

Series II. - « ANALECTA OSBM » - Sectio I.
Серія II. - « ЗАПИСКИ ЧСВВ » - Секція I.

LAURENCE DANIEL HUCULAK, OSBM

THE DIVINE LITURGY OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

IN THE KIEVAN METROPOLITAN PROVINCE
DURING THE PERIOD OF UNION WITH ROME
(1596-1839)



ROMAE 1990

PP. BASILIANI - VIA S. GIOSAFAT, 8 (AVENTINO)

«ANALECTA OSBM» – «ЗАПИСКИ ЧСВВ»

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3. WOJNAR M., *De Capitulis Basilianorum*. Rome 1954, pp. XVI+204.
4. НАЗАРКО І., *Св. Володимир В.-Володар і Христитель Русь-України (960-1015)*. Рим 1954, стор. XXXII+229. (*Saint Vladimir the Great-Ruler and Baptizer of Rus-Ukraine*).
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11. BILANYCH I., *Synodus Zamostiana a. 1720*. Rome 1960, pp. XVI+128.
12. STASIW M., *Metropolia Haliciensis (eius historia et iuridica forma)*. Rome 1960, pp. XVIII+240.
13. НАЗАРКО І., *Київські і Галицькі Митрополити*. Бібліографічні Нариси (1590-1960). Рим 1962, ст. XVIII+272. (*Metropolitans of Kiev and Halyc*).
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ЗАПИСКИ ЧИНА СВ. ВАСИЛІЯ ВЕЛИКОГО
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**БОЖЕСТВЕННА ЛІТУРГІЯ СВ. ІВАНА ЗОЛОТОУСТОГО
В КИЇВСЬКІЙ МИТРОПОЛІЇ
В ПЕРІОД З'ЄДНАННЯ З РИМОМ (1596-1839)**

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With Ecclesiastical Permission

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AOSBM = *Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni*.
- APF = Archivum Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide.
- APF, SC:MPR = Archivum Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Scritture riferite nei Congressi: Moscovia, Polonia, Ruteni.
- Arxiv JuZR = *Arxiv jugo-zapadnoj Rossii*, 8 parts, 35 vols., Kiev 1859-1914.
- AS = *Arxeografičeskij sbornik dokumentov odnosjaščixsja k istorii severo-zapadnoj Rusi*, 12 vols., Vilna 1867-1900.
- ASCPF = *Acta S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjæ spectantia (1622-1862)*, ed. A. Welykyj, 5 vols., Rome 1953-1955.
- ASUB = *Audientiae Sanctissimi de rebus Ucrainae et Bielarusjæ (1650-1862)*, ed. A. Welykyj, 2 vols., Rome 1963-1965.
- ASV = Archivum Secretum Vaticanum.
- AV = *Akty izdavaemie Vilenskoju arxeografičeskoju kommissieju*, 33 vols., Vilna 1865-1908.
- BAS = Byzantine Liturgy of St. Basil.
- BEN = Greek euchology approved by Pope Benedict XIV, Rome 1754.
- CHR = Byzantine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.
- ČOIDR = *Čtenija v imperatorskom Obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskix pri Moskovskom universitete*.
- CP = *Congregationes Particulares Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjæ spectantes (1622-1862)*, ed. A. Welykyj, 2 vols., Rome 1956-1957.
- CSEL = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*.
- DACL = *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*.
- DPRU = *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia (1075-1953)*, ed. A. Welykyj, 2 vols., Rome 1953-1954.
- DUB = *Documenta Unionis Berestensis eiusque auctorum (1590-1600)*, ed. A. Welykyj, Rome 1970.
- EM = *Epistolae metropolitaram Kioviensium Catholicorum (1613-1838)*, ed. A. Welykyj, 9 vols., Rome 1952-1978.
- FRAN = Francis Skaryna Byelorussian Library, London.
- LE = *Litterae episcoporum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes (1600-1740)*, ed. A. Welykyj, 5 vols., Rome 1972-1981.
- LB = *Litterae Basilianorum in terris Ucrainae et Bielarusjæ (1601-1760)*, ed. A. Welykyj, 2 vols., Rome 1979.
- LNA = *Litterae Nuntiorum Apostolicorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes (1550-1693)*, ed. A. Welykyj, 14 vols., Rome 1959-1977.
- LSCPF = *Litterae S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Ecclesiam Catholicam Ucrainae et Bielarusjæ spectantes (1662-1862)*, ed. A. Welykyj, 7 vols., Rome 1954-1957.
- MUH = *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica (1075-1839)*, 13 vols., Rome 1964-1975.

- OBS = "Observationes in Missam Polocensem", *ASV*, Archivio della Nunziatura di Varsavia, vol. 149, f. 526r-531r.
- OCP = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*.
- OSBMCuria = Order of St. Basil the Great Curia Archives, Rome.
- PG = MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca*.
- PIO = Pontifical Oriental Institute Library, Rome.
- PL = MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina*.
- POL = Missa Polocensis. The full title and source is "Čyn Svjaščennyja y Božestvennyja Litourhiji – Ordo Sacrae ac Divinae Liturgiae", *APF*, Scritture riferite nei Congressi, Greci-Miscellanea, vol. unico, f. 251v-270v.
- PRES = Byzantine Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts.
- SEU = *Supplicationes Ecclesiae Unitae Ucrainae et Bielarusjae (1600-1769)*, ed. A. Welykyj, 3 vols., Rome 1960-1965.
- SJH = *S. Josaphat Hieromartyr: Documenta Romana Beatificationis et Canonizationis (1623-1867)*, ed. A. Welykyj, 3 vols., Rome 1952-1967.
- SPZ = *Synodus Provincialis Ruthenorum, Habita in Civitate Zamosciae Anno MDCCXX*, 3rd ed., Rome 1883.
- VAT = Vatican Library.
- XČ = *Xristianskoe Čtenie*.

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- Amvrosij, "Zamojskij sobor" = Arximandrit Amvrosij [Lotockij], "Vzgljad pravoslavnogo na zamosc'skij sobor byvšij v 1720 godu", *Trudy Kievskoj duxovnoj akademii*, 1862, 2:396-427.
- Antelenchus = *Antelenchus, to iest odpis na skrypt uszczyplivy zakonnikov Cerkwie odstepney S. Duchy, Elenchus nazwany, napisany przez Oyca Anastazego Sielawę przelożonego monastyra Wileńskiego S. Troyce zakonu S. Bazilego*, Vilna 1622 (reprinted in *Arxiv JuZR*, I, 8:674-731).
- Arcudius, *De concordia* = P. Arcudius, *De concordia ecclesiae occidentalis et orientalis in septem sacramentorum administratione*, Paris 1672.
- B.A. Činovnik = B.A., "420: Činovnik arxierejski", O.A. Fotinski and N.M. Burčak-Abramovič, *Kratkoe opisane pamjatnikov drevnosti postupivšix v Volynskoe eparxialnoe drevlexranilišče ot 1 avgusta 1894 goda po 1 nojabrja 1898 goda*, 3 (Počajiv 1899): 66-80.
- Barsov, "Ierodiakon Makarij" = N. Barsov, "Ierodiakon Nevskogo monastyrja Makarij", *XČ*, 1882, 2:648-686.
- Bilanych, *Synodus Zamostiana* = J. Bilanych, *Synodus Zamostiana an. 1720 (eius celebratio, approbatio et momentum)*, Rome 1960.
- Bocian, "De modificationibus" = I. Bocian, "De modificationibus in textu slavico liturgiae S. Ioannis Chrysostomi apud Ruthenos subintroducitis", *XPYCOCTOMIKA*, Rome 1908, p. 929-969.
- Bohoslovija npravoučytelnaja* = *Bohoslovija npravoučytelnaja soderžaščaja v sebi sobranoje v kratci poučenie o svjatyx tajnax, o dobroditelex bohoslovskyx, o zapovidex Božijyx, o zapovidex cerkovnyx, o hrixax, o kaznex y karax cerkovnyx s priloženiem obyčnyja nauky o dohmatax viry katoličeskyja*, Lviv 1760.
- Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo* = G. Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo cum notis et observationibus R. Sala*, 3 vols., Augustae Taurinorum 1747.
- Codex Constitutionum* = *Codex Constitutionum Ordinis S. Basilii M. ex sancitis antiquorum capitulorum Congregationis Ruthenorum et Decretorum Sanctae Sedis collectarum, ad textum regulae S. Patris nostri exactus conformatus*, Počajiv 1791.
- Dejanija* = *Dejanija moskovskix soborov 1666-1667 godov* (part II: *Kniga sobornyx dejanij 1667 goda*), Moscow 1905.
- Deruga, *Piotr Wielki* = A. Deruga, *Piotr Wielki a unci i unja kościelna 1700-1711*, Vilnius 1936.
- Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie* = A. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie v russkoj cerkvi v XVI veke*, Kazan 1884.
- Dmitrievskij, "Otzyv" = Id., "Otzyv o sočinenii M.I. Orlova, Liturgija svjatogo Vasilija Velikogo", *Sbornik otčetov o premijax i nagradax v imp. Akademii nauk za 1909*, 4 (St. Petersburg 1911): 176-347.
- Dmitrievskij, "Videxom svet" = Id., "O stixire 'Videxom svet istinnyj' v činax liturgij sv. Ioanna Zlatousty i sv. Vasilija Velikogo", *Rukovodstvo dlja sel'skix pastyrej*, 27 (1886): 265-278.

- Durbak, "Mytropolycha dijalnist", = R. Durbak, "Mytropolycha dijalnist Lva Kyšky (1713-1728)", *Nyva*, 34 (Lviv 1939): 164-171, 204-212, 215-256.
- Goar = J. Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordines Divinae Liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum, consecrationum, benedictionum, funerum, orationum, etc. cuilibet personae, statui vel tempori congruos, juxta usum Orientalis Ecclesiae... editio secunda expurgata, et accuratior*, Venice 1730.
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- transl. G. Murkos, *ČOIDR*, 1896, 4:i-x, 1-156; 1897, 4:i-vi, 1-202; 1898, 3:i-iv, 1-208; 4:i-x, 1-195; 1900, 2:i-v, 1-245.
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INTRODUCTION

In 1981 the hierarchs of the Ukrainian Catholic metropolia in the United States issued a document entitled: "Instructions on Liturgical Matters". In their opening remarks in the Ukrainian text they write:

We have received various complaints that priests are introducing practices contrary to our traditional rites into liturgical services. This prompts us to issue some instructions on liturgical matters. We do not wish to reproach any of our priests. On the contrary, we are happy to see a keen interest in the enhancement of our divine worship, which the Ukrainian Church received from the Christian East.¹

The issues dealt with by the bishops have their roots in the thousand-year liturgical history of the Kievan Ruthenian Church and in the Byzantine tradition from which this rite developed. This history can be divided into several major periods: the early Kievan Ecclesiastical Province up to the mid-fifteenth century; from the division of the Province in 1458, following the Council of Florence, until the Union of Brest in 1596; the Catholic Kievan Metropolitan Province from Brest until its destruction in the early nineteenth century; the Orthodox Kievan Metropolitan Province from Brest until its loss of autonomy to Moscow in 1786; the renewal of the Halyč metropolia from 1806 until 1945; and the Ukrainian Church in the diaspora in this century.

Our attention is focused on the period from the Union of Brest until the

¹ The Ukrainian text was in the form of a pastoral letter sent to the clergy of the metropolia dated 19 June 1981, signed by the three ordinaries of Philadelphia, Stamford, and Chicago. The document was then published, but without these opening remarks, in the archeparchial weekly *The Way* (Philadelphia), 20 September, 1981, p. 4; 27 September, 1981, p. 4-5.

Various terms are used for the Church and people during the period under study. This is due to the variety of names found in the sources and the shifts in meaning many of them have undergone. We are studying the period of the seventeenth - eighteenth centuries in the ecclesiastical province called the Metropolia of Kiev, headed by the metropolitan of Kiev. The Kievan Church included two main ethnic groups, called today the Ukrainians and Bielorussians. These ethnic distinctions and terms were still developing in the sources at this time. Forms of "Rus'" and "Russia" were still applied to the people and lands called today Bielorusia and Ukraine. What today is called Russia was then called Muscovy until tsar Peter I promoted the change to "Russia" in the 1700s.

Latin documents generally refer to the people and Church of Kiev as "Ruthenian". This term is preferred since it avoids confusion over political and ethnic divisions and church rite. The term "Ruthenian" should not be confused with its more restricted use today for the Byzantine Ruthenian Metropolitan Province of Pittsburgh in the United States. The Roman liturgical editions begun in 1942 called "recensio ruthena" are meant for all those of the Eastern Rite who call themselves Ruthenians or Ukrainians.

end of the Catholic Kievan Metropolia. As a point of departure, we have taken a document from the Vatican archives entitled: "Observationes in Missam Polocensem" (OBS). This is an evaluation of a Slavonic text of the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom translated in 1790 under the initiative of the Catholic Ruthenian Archbishop of Polock, Heraclius Lisovs'kyj (1794-1809). The translation, entitled "Missa Polocensis" (POL), was made from the Greek euchology printed in Rome in 1754 under Pope Benedict XIV (BEN) and was recently found in the archives of the Propaganda Fide by P. Pidručnyj, OSBM. Together, these documents provide an opportunity to re-examine the history of the eucharistic liturgy in the Ruthenian Church from the Union of Brest up to the time of Lisovs'kyj, that is from circa 1596 to circa 1800.

Sources and Previous Studies

We have no overall detailed picture of CHR for this period. Existing studies are centered on specific liturgical and historical arguments and often remain isolated from the general background that influenced them. Other studies are too general, as they treat the whole period from Brest up to the Roman editions of the Ruthenian liturgical books in the 1940's.

The primary sources are divided into two main groups. One group consists of the liturgical texts themselves, mainly služebnyky. These are listed in an appendix at the end of this study.

The other primary source consists of the ecclesiastical decrees, correspondence of bishops and other church figures, plus other documents that deal with liturgical matters. Previous studies have used many of the collections published in the last century, in Russian, containing material no longer accessible. But after the reestablishment of the Basilian *Analecta* in Rome since the 1940's, much new correspondence has been published by A. Welykyj and P. Pidručnyj. This material from the various archives in Rome provides valuable new information.

The first major study on the services and rites of the Catholic Ruthenians is that of A. Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, published in 1871. His work is valuable because of the sources and texts used. However, he, like other Orthodox writers, is polemical in his approach.

N. Odincov's series of articles, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie," also provides information on sources not available today, although his study was restricted to mss in the Vilna Public Library.

At the turn of the century A. Dmitrievskij published various liturgical studies, but his important description of euchologies in large measure deals mainly with Greek mss before our period.² He does provide some information

² A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskix rukopisej xranjaščixsja v bibliotekax pravoslavnogo Vostoka*, I-II, Kiev 1895, 1901; III, Petrograd 1917.

on Ruthenian practices, as in his article “Videxom svet” concerning the refrain “We have seen the light” and its use after the communion in CHR.

The earliest Catholic Ruthenian works such as those of Popel³ and Pelesz,⁴ were not meant as studies on liturgical matters, but as manuals. They provide information on the liturgy of their day, but their approach is more theological and spiritual than historical.

The first major Catholic Ruthenian work is the article of Bocian, “De modificationibus in textu slavico liturgiae S. Ioannis Chrysostomi apud Ruthenos subintroductis”. Bocian used the previous works of Xojnackij, Odincov, Dmitrievskij, and others, but concentrated on the liturgical texts themselves. He was not as thorough as S. Rud', who thirty years later also dealt with CHR in his article “Liturgija sv. Ivana Zolotoustoho”, but only for the first half of the seventeenth century.

When the Oriental Congregation became involved in the preparations of the Ruthenian liturgical editions, works dealing with Ruthenian practices began to appear in Rome. One prominent member of the Oriental Congregation's liturgical commission was C. Korolevskij. He travelled much and was well versed in many rites and liturgical practices. He had been in Halyčyna and observed the Ruthenian/Ukrainian traditions first hand. But his comments on what he saw are too tendentious and must be considered cautiously.

A. Raes also was involved with the Ruthenian/Ukrainian liturgical question and the publication of the Roman editions. His article “Le Liturgicon ruthène depuis l'Union de Brest” is important here, but since he also tried to cover the whole period in one article, he was not that thorough in his approach.

Good use of the material contained in the Roman archives was made by I. Praszko in his work *De Ecclesia Ruthena Catholica*, a study on the Catholic Kievan Metropolitan Province when the see was vacant from 1655 until 1665. He treats liturgical material only in an appendix, but this in no way lessens its value. Unfortunately, he passes judgement too hastily on the Basilians and their role in this period of history, failing to consider the overall situation.

M. Solovey has written several important works for this period. In *De reformatione liturgica Heraclii Lisowskyj* he examines the liturgical reform of Heraclius Lisov's'kyj. However, in his study *The Byzantine Divine Liturgy* Solovey provides good Slavic sources for the history of CHR. The chapter on the ritual development in the Ukrainian Church is useful, but as he himself writes, it is only cursory.⁵ We have also made use of his last work, on Meletius

³ M. Popel, *Lyturhyka yly Nauka o bohosluzhen'ju cerkvy hrečesko-katolyčeskoj*, Lviv 1863.

⁴ Ju. Peleš, *Pastyrskoe bohoslovie*, Vienna 1885.

⁵ This chapter — Rozdil 4, “Obrjadovyj rozvytok služby božoji v ukrajins'kij cerkvi”, *Božestvenna Liturhija*, Rome 1964, p. 68-109 — was not included in the English translation of the

Smotryc'kyj, which gives information on various polemical works of the early seventeenth century.

S. Wiwčaruk's study, *De synodo provinciali Berestensi*, concerns the planned Synod of Brest (1765) and is very important for the immediate background to Lisovs'kyj's reform. What that synod would have decided, had it been held, must remain a conjecture. But at least from its preparatory material we see the trends and concerns of that period.

P. Skrincosky does not add any new information to the historical picture in his John XXIII lectures.⁶ Again this is not surprising, since he tries to cover the entire period.

The most important research done in recent years is found in the articles of M. Wawryk. He continues where Rud' left off by studying the second half of the seventeenth century, examining the lack of liturgical books in this period and the attempts to have them reprinted. Wawryk made use of Welykyj's documents and the liturgical texts themselves to give a very detailed picture of liturgical developments in this period.

Finally, the work of C. Sipovyč has been very important for us in two ways. His study on the pontifical ms from the 1600's, *The Pontifical Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, falls into our period. We were also able to make use of many of the texts, photo-reproductions, and microfilms that he had collected for his study and which are now part of the Francis Skaryna Belorussian Library in London.

The Scope of this Work

Our work will not treat the period before Brest except in reference to specific practices and prayers that were problematic or unusual after the Union of Brest. That period requires a separate study, in part already accomplished.⁷ Any new studies made must take into account the recent works on the Greek texts of CHR, the various traditions like the Calabrian and Sicilian, and the transition from the cathedral rites to the monastic Sabaitic tradition.

The terminus of our study is the reform of Lisovs'kyj. A future work could deal with the period following him up to the Roman editions of the 1940's, which coincides with the renewal of the Halyč Metropolitan Province.

book, but appeared later as: M. Solovey, "Latinization in the Byzantine Ukrainian Liturgy", *The Romanization Tendency* (= *Syrian Churches Series* 8), ed. J. Vellian, Kottayam 1975, p. 15-45.

⁶ P. Skrincosky, "A Survey of the Development of the Byzantine-Slav Liturgy in the X-XVI Centuries", and "The Formation of the Byzantine (Ruthenian) Typical Liturgy", *John XXIII Lectures*, 1 (Fordham University 1966): 165-191.

⁷ See: Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluzhenie*; Odincov, *Porjadok bogosluzhenija*; Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave".

A study on the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts that includes our period is being prepared for publication by the Ukrainian Studite, R. Turkoniak. His work deals with PRES in the Kievan tradition, relating it to the Venice euchologies and the Muscovite služebnyky.

The first part of our work deals with the historical background, first from the Union of Brest to Metropolitan Žoxovs'kyj's služebnyk, then from Žoxovs'kyj to Lisovs'kyj's period. In the first two chapters we discuss various developments, synods, and publications. In the third chapter we deal with Lisovs'kyj and his planned reform and the two related documents, POL and OBS.

The second part of our work concentrates on the development of CHR among the Ruthenians, especially the changes described by OBS in its evaluation of POL. By examining many Ruthenian and some non-Ruthenian služebnyky, plus other liturgical texts, we can delineate the traditions and individual služebnyky that make up the historical framework for the development of CHR in the Kievan Church. We conclude with an evaluation of Lisovs'kyj's reform.

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PART I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1

THE FIRST CENTURY OF UNION WITH ROME

I. THE UNION OF BREST AND LITURGICAL QUESTIONS

Heraclius Lisovs'kyj lived within a liturgical tradition whose roots extended back through the eight-hundred-year history of the Kievan Church. This tradition had taken on particular traits especially during the two hundred years following the Union of Brest. The conditions and agreements made at Brest would constantly be the reference point in all further discussions on liturgical and ritual matters. Therefore, we can begin our survey by examining the liturgical points raised at the time of the Acts of Union.

After much deliberation and preparation, Metropolitan Rahoza of Kiev and all the Ruthenian hierarchy at the Synod of Brest of 12 June 1595, approved a set of conditions or articles, usually numbered thirty-three, formulated by Bishops Hypatius Potij and Cyril Terlec'kyj. In these articles, as well as in other correspondence sent to religious and civil leaders, the Ruthenian hierarchy sought to obtain guarantees for their separate identity and the rights of their Church.

The following are the articles that directly concern our topic.

Article 2: Divine worship and all morning, evening, and night offices are to remain for us completely as they are, according to the traditional practice and custom of the Eastern Church, namely the three liturgies of Basil, Chrysostom, and Epiphany [= PRES], which is celebrated during the Great Lent with presanctified gifts, as well as all other rites and ceremonies of our Church that have been in use among us up to now, since they are practiced even in Rome under the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, and all this is to be in our language.

Article 3: We are to retain the most holy sacraments of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the two species of bread and wine, as we have had them up to now, without changes for all times.

Article 5: We do not dispute concerning purgatory, but we desire to be taught by the holy Church.

Article 6: We shall accept the new calendar if it is not possible for us to retain the old, but under the condition that the order and manner of celebrating Easter and our feasts as was our usage during the time of unity, will be conserved and maintained for us integrally and without change. We have some particular feasts which the Roman Church does not have, as for example January 6th, when we commemorate the baptism of Jesus Christ and the first revelation of the Triune God, which we commonly call Bohojavlennja, that is, Theophany. On this day we have the solemn ceremonies of the blessing of water.

Article 7: We should not be compelled to have a procession for the feast of Corpus Christi, that is, that we too should be obliged to walk in procession with the Blessed Sacrament, since our usages and practices concerning the sacraments are different.

Article 8: And also we should not be forced to have the ceremony of the blessing of fire before Easter or to use wooden clappers instead of bells, or other ceremonies which we have not had up to now; rather we should conserve the rite and custom of our Church fully in all things.

Article 23: We are to be allowed to carry the most holy Sacrament for the sick publicly with candles and in vestments, according to our practice and custom.

Article 24: We are to be free on feasts to hold processions whenever our Rite requires them, without hindrance.¹

The opening statement as well as the whole context and later history of the Union show that the particular examples just given are illustrations of the general principle: ratification of the union was to depend largely on Rome's acceptance of the whole liturgical tradition of the Kievan Church. The hierarchy at the Brest Synod of 1595 wrote to Pope Clement VIII that their representatives, Bishops Terlec'kyj and Potij, were to render obedience to the Holy See if the pope

would preserve and confirm for us, in your name and in the name of your successors, the administration of the sacraments and all rites and ceremonies of the Eastern Church, integrally and inviolably, in the manner in which they were observed at the time of union.²

Rome's official reply was given in the bull, "Magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis", issued by Clement VIII during the official ceremonies of the union on 23 December 1595. The Ruthenian requests had already been studied, and the papal bull accepted in general terms the Kievan liturgical tradition.

In greater evidence of our love for them, out of our Apostolic benevolence, we permit, concede, and grant to the Ruthenian bishops and clergy all the sacred rites and ceremonies in the divine offices, the sacrifice of the holy mass, the administration of all the sacraments, and any other sacred functions which they use according to the institutions of the holy Greek fathers, insofar as they are not in opposition to truth and to the doctrine of the Catholic faith and do not exclude communion with the Roman Church.³

¹ *DUB*, p. 61-75. Our translation is made from the Latin and Polish versions prepared contemporaneously with the original Ruthenian text and sent to Rome in 1595. The use of the term "Epiphany" for PRES in the first article is due likely to the attributed authorship of PRES in some Greek mss to Epiphanius of Crete; Cf. D. Moraitis, *I liturgia ton proigiasmenon*, Thessalonica 1955, p. 25; also Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 122.

² *Ibid.*, p. 81. The "union" is a reference to the Union of Florence mentioned earlier in the letter.

³ *DPRU*, 1:242-243.

Clement VIII reiterated this position in a letter to the other bishops who had not come to Rome.⁴ The liturgy and other rites of the Ruthenian Church were to be guaranteed, even though the guarantee was not elaborated according to the articles that the bishops had proposed. In theory Rome had provided secure norms for continuity in the liturgical life of the Kievan Church.

It is well to note, however, why the individual articles of union proposed by the Ruthenian hierarchs were not confirmed but were only given general approval. The list of articles presented to the Holy See had been studied by a commission of cardinals who, in turn, had asked the views of various theologians on the matter. These theologians gave their criticism of the articles, rejecting some and altering others. But the Spanish theologian Juan Saragoza di Heredia made a significant general objection when he noted that the Ruthenians were setting down conditions for the reunion with the Catholic Church. According to Saragoza no one could propose conditions for their salvation, which was possible only in the Church of Rome.⁵

It is not surprising that the Holy See would want to examine closely the beliefs and intentions of the Kievan Church in her request for union. But already we see examples in Rome of an attitude that would be still more common in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, namely that the Greek, or in particular, the Ruthenian Church, was second-rate in comparison to the Latin Church. This view, consciously or unconsciously held, influenced judgments concerning the practices of the Ruthenian Church and exercised a pressure in favour of the assimilation of Latin practices. An incident in Rome reveals a like mentality: a cardinal criticized Terlec'kyj and Potij for attending the Christmas services in St. Peter's in their usual vestments, which they had also worn on the day of the solemn conclusion of the union in Rome. He felt that they should now attend in Latin vestments. The cardinal in question was silenced with the reply that they just did not have all the required vestments.⁶

The Union of Brest, the single most important event in the Ruthenian Church in its thousand years of existence, was bound to have an impact on all aspects of ecclesial life, including the liturgical. Its effects on liturgical practices to a great extent came about indirectly: through a sense of fraternal oneness with the Latins, through theological views assimilated from the Latins, as well as in response to criticism, sometimes exaggerated and incomprehending, of Eastern discipline. Some of the liturgical changes and developments in the Ruthenian Church would come about later by decrees and legislation. But

⁴ Ibid., p. 256-259.

⁵ Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, p. 323.

⁶ Ibid., p. 333.

often these decrees and legislation only sanctioned liturgical usages already existing.

We see a direct example of a change in ritual practice at the very time of the union negotiations in Rome. In recognition for the work that Potij and Terlec'kyj had done to promote the union, Clement VIII gave both of them the privilege of wearing the saccos during the Divine Liturgy and other pontifical services.⁷ Clement VIII ordered that special sets be made for the two bishops in Rome, complete with chalice veils, epitachelia, omophoria and sticharia. As was described in the document, previously only the metropolitan had the right to wear the saccos and no one else.

As considerate as this privilege may have been, it later caused problems. The successors of Potij, the bishops of the Volodymyr eparchy, continued to wear the saccos by virtue of the same privilege. (The successors of Terlec'kyj in the Luc'k eparchy did not remain faithful to the Union.) Thus in 1672, the then bishop of Volodymyr, asked Propaganda to clarify his right to the saccos to Metropolitan Kolenda and his coadjutor Žoxovs'kyj.⁸ These not only objected to his use of the saccos, but ripped it off during the recent ordination of the bishop of Smolensk.⁹ In 1748 the matter was again referred to Rome. The metropolitan objected that the archbishops of Polock and Smolensk were likewise now wearing the saccos, whereas previously the bishop of Volodymyr had the right to wear it only within his eparchy, not as he had done recently for the funeral in Lviv of the previous metropolitan.¹⁰

Although the use of the saccos was becoming more widespread in the East during this period,¹¹ we see how the pope's privilege to Potij and Terlec'kyj spread its use among the Ruthenian bishops.¹²

The Union had not been a total success since the bishop of Lviv, Gedeon Balaban, and that of Peremyšl', Michael Kopystens'kyj, did not accept the ratification of the Union of the final Brest Synod in 1596. The refusal of these bishops, backed as they were by the powerful Ruthenian noble, prince Constantine Ostroz'kyj, served to create a split in the Kievan Church. Eventually two parallel Ruthenian churches, Catholic and Orthodox, would develop.

The Union of Brest clearly called for the integrity and continuity of the

⁷ *DPRU*, 1:269-271.

⁸ *SEU*, 1:234.

⁹ *EM*, 4:82-83. Hlins'kyj also had his hair pulled, was given a broom for his staff, and was temporarily excommunicated by Metropolitan Kolenda — his uncle! Cf. *CP*, 1:30-33.

¹⁰ *CP*, 2:163.

¹¹ Taft, "Pontifical Liturgy", p. 103-104.

¹² The present Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy often celebrate wearing only an omophorion over the phelonion, an old practice which Korolevskij noted that it shared in common with the Old Believer hierarchy; cf. C. Korolevskij, "Chez les Starovères de Bucovine", *Stoudion*, 4 (1927): 134.

Kievan liturgical tradition. But at the same time for the Kievan Church it opened the door to the western world, a world of Protestant reform and Catholic restoration.

II. EARLY LITURGICAL CONCERNS

During the Union negotiations in Rome, there were two views concerning the position of the Ruthenian Church and her liturgy. Official documents clearly called for the integrity and preservation of her liturgical rites and ceremonies, giving even explicit instructions to that effect. At the same time, there were those who felt that the Ruthenian Church, by entering into union with the Church of Rome, needed to be examined and guided carefully in her new course. Tension soon arose from the clash of these two divergent positions.

The experience of Peter Arcudius is one example. A Catholic priest and theologian of the Greek Rite, Arcudius had worked extensively for the cause of church union in general and with the Ruthenian Church in particular. He had been in the Polish-Lithuanian state from 1591 until 1593 and was in Rome during the Union proceedings led by Potij and Terlec'kyj. After the Union he returned to the Ruthenian lands and worked closely with Potij, especially after Potij became metropolitan in 1600.¹³ He was active in Greek and Ruthenian liturgical matters: he helped revise the service for the consecration of the holy myron for the Ruthenian bishops;¹⁴ he was one of the examiners of the Greek euchology in Rome in 1597;¹⁵ and he published *De concordia*, his own study on the sacraments of the Eastern and Western Churches. After the proclamation of the Union, Arcudius concelebrated mass with Potij in Brest and Volodymyr to show the local clergy and people that nothing had changed in the liturgy on that account, as he himself writes: "per mostrargli che non si era alterata cosa veruna delli riti loro."¹⁶

If, however, Arcudius showed confidence in the celebration of the liturgy, his writings show that he was not so confident in the devotion and respect for the eucharist practiced in the Byzantine tradition, the Ruthenian included.¹⁷

¹³ For more information on Arcudius see P. Pidrutchnyj, "Pietro Arcudio – Promotore dell'Unione", *AOSBM*, 14 (1973): 254-277.

¹⁴ M. Wawryk, "Cinnyj pam'jatnyk obrjadovosty Kyjivs'koji mytropoliji XV-XVI st.", *AOSBM*, 10 (1963): 391-460.

¹⁵ *LB*, 1:13.

¹⁶ O. Halecki, "Unia Brzeska w świetle współczesnych świadectw greckich: Dodatek 1, Listy ks. Piotra Arkudiusza do o. Klaudjusza Aquavivy, Generała zakonu Jezuitów", *Sacrum Poloniae Millennium*, 1 (Rome 1954): 106.

¹⁷ Arcudius, *De Concordia*, p. 339; cf. Krajcar, "A Report", p. 88.

1. *Celebration of the Eucharistic Liturgy*

One of the first major effects of the Union was the reform of the monastic life under Metropolitan Joseph Rutskyj. He began this reform in the Holy Trinity Monastery in Vilna when he was its archimandrite. Under his leadership as metropolitan, representatives of the first five monasteries which accepted the reform met in Novhorodovyšči in 1617 to delineate the principles of reform of what was to be called later the Basilian Order. Eventually the Order would extend itself throughout the Polish-Lituanian Commonwealth with over a thousand members at its highest point. From these reformed Basilians all the Ruthenian hierarchy was to come, as was decided by the hierarchy itself and confirmed by the king in 1635. The Order's chapters were held frequently, and since they included the bishops as well as representatives of the monastic clergy, they served practically as substitutes for the seldom held provincial synods. The history of the Basilians is so interwoven with that of the Ruthenian Church that it is hard to separate the two or treat one without the other.¹⁸

The Basilians' second chapter, held in Lavryšiv in 1621, called on the monks to maintain uniformity in their liturgical celebrations. A committee was to be formed to prepare a detailed description of the rites and ceremonies.¹⁹ If such a work was ever made, it has not come down to us. The chapter singled out the Suprasl monastery, where certain traditional ceremonies had already been dropped or were being neglected. These ceremonies were to be reinstated and retained.²⁰ We are not informed exactly what ceremonies were in question.

In the polemical literature of this period we find more specific information on liturgical celebration. In *Sowita Wina*, written by one or more Basilians, we see that in 1621 the monks of the Vilna Trinity Monastery were celebrating the eucharistic liturgy daily, with four masses on four altars.²¹ The following year Anthony Sjeljava (later metropolitan) wrote in *Antelenchus* that when the monks held a chapter they would celebrate one mass daily and each

¹⁸ More information on Rutskyj and his reform is found in S. Senyk, "Rutskyj's Reform and Orthodox Monasticism: A Comparison", *OCP*, 48 (1982): 406-430.

¹⁹ *AS*, 12:20.

²⁰ *AS*, 12:25.

²¹ "Ażeby się wam nie zdał tak krótki respons za krzywdę, sprawuiemy się wam w miłości braterskiej, tymże porządkiem iako nam zadaiecie: o chwałę Bożą w cerkwiach naszych staramy się: w Wilnie oprócz nabożeństwa zwykłego trzy służby Boże niepochybnie na każdy dzień odprawują się u trzech ołtarzów, a to iest naygłównieysza, jeśli się znaci na tym, chwała Boża, czego u was niemasz." *Sowita Wina, to iest odpis na script, Maiestat Krola Iego Mości, honor y reputatia ludzi zacnych, duchownych y świeckich obrażaiący nazwany "Verificatia Niewinności", wydany od Zgromadzenia nowey cerkwie, nazwaney S. Duchy przez oyca monastyra Wilenskiego S. Troycy, zakonu św. Bazylego*, Vilna 1624 (this is reprinted in *Arxiv JuZR*, I, 7:499); cf. Solovey, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, 2:236.

would receive the eucharist from the hand of the one celebrant.²² Here the piety and fervour of the monks is being stressed. Although not all the priests celebrated the eucharistic liturgy daily, they did attend and communicate at the communal celebration.

In 1624 we find the first request by the Basilians to Propaganda for a Privileged Altar.²³ They asked this for three times a week: Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday, and every day during the week for the commemoration of the dead before Lent. A naive note added to this request states:

This favour, which concerns the article on purgatory, which the Greeks deny, should be permitted. [...] If this article is confirmed for the Catholic Ruthenians, then the Orthodox Ruthenians perhaps will be attracted to accept the Holy Union, seeing the Catholic Ruthenians showered with so many favours and graces from the Roman Church.²⁴

Propaganda granted the Basilians their request, but only for one day a week plus the octave for the dead before Lent.²⁵ Soon after in the same year the Basilians asked that the decree be modified to allow for the use of this altar three times a week in monasteries where there were at least six priests, “because according to the old Greek Rite custom, more than one mass a day cannot be celebrated on one altar without causing great scandal to the people.”²⁶ Propaganda then allowed the change. The stipulation was added by Rome that there be at least three priests per monastery.

An important figure among the early (reformed) Basilians was St. Josaphat Kuncevyč, who with his living example influenced both the monks and the entire Ruthenian Church.

The documentation on the life and death of St. Josaphat provides us with useful information on liturgical practices in the second and third decades after the Union of Brest. Various persons attested either to his frequent or even daily celebration of the Holy Eucharist. The witnesses varied in their accounts.

²² “A iż rzeczy ludzkie same przez się skazitelne i odmianom podległe są, na naprawę tego, co się wyzpacilo, co cztery lata mamy zyazd walny zakonny, na który ze wszystkich monastyrów, w tym związku naszym będących, przelożeni i po iedniemu od braciey z każdego monastyra wysłani, zyeżdżaią się y o dobrze pospolitym wszytkiego zakonu radzą; do czego, aby im Pan Bóg dopomógł, każdego dnia każdy z nich z ręki iednego służącego liturgią Ciało y Krew naydrozszą Zbawiciela naszego, dla większego z nim związku przyimuie...” *Antelenchus*, p. 711; cf. Solovey, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, 2:296.

²³ A “Privileged Altar” is one for which the pope grants a plenary indulgence in favour of the deceased for whom the mass is celebrated on determined days on the given altar. For further information, see E. Mangenob, “Autel”, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 1 (Paris 1923): 2584.

²⁴ *SEU*, 1:21-22.

²⁵ *ASCPF*, 1:25.

²⁶ *SEU*, 1:24-25. This, like so many other aspects of Eastern discipline, once pertained also to the Latin Rite but was abandoned.

One noted that he frequently celebrated: "From this union [with God and devotion to Mary] he frequently celebrated the holy sacrifice of the mass with great spiritual delight." Another witness said it was daily: "He celebrated the sacrifice of the mass every day (*singulis diebus*)."²⁷ Bishop Jakiv Suša of Xolm is somewhat unclear in his work on Josaphat. He writes: "Every day, with his soul purified by confession, he accomplished the most pure and sacred [mysteries] for God (*purissima Sacra Deo fecerit*)."²⁸ And in the margin beside this text is printed: "he celebrates daily (*quotidie celebrat*)."²⁹ Whether the verb "fecerit" should be understood as "celebrate" or "took part" is unclear. We do know that Josaphat was exemplary not only in attending the offices, but in leading the singing as well, and the reference could be only to participation. The text then continues, stating that he often received the eucharist (*saepius ipsi accedere*) with great delight before he was ordained, a delight which then became that much greater after his ordination. During the public solemn funeral for Josaphat in Polock in 1625, the bishop-elect of Smolensk, Leo Krevza, delivered the eulogy in which he stated that:

even when he himself [Josaphat] did not celebrate the liturgy, which was rarely, he would receive from the hands of the priest the body and blood of Christ, [...] this we have witnessed with our own eyes.²⁹

As a monk, deacon, and priest, Josaphat showed great love for all the services, often being the first in church and leading the singing himself. As bishop, Josaphat issued regulations for his clergy, in which he required uniformity in celebration and instructed them not to introduce any unneeded ceremonies into the liturgy.³⁰ In these regulations he sought to ensure that the clergy celebrate on the required days, administer the needed sacraments, preach to the people, and in general take an active spiritual interest in their faithful. For this, Josaphat himself provided a good example.

Are these reports on his celebration of the liturgy contradictory? Not at all. Josaphat, like others of this period, was interested in maintaining the traditional liturgical practices and celebrations specific to the Ruthenian Church. But he was also interested in a renewed spirituality for the monks, clergy, and laity, a devotedness and piety of which he was the best example. Thus, he undoubtedly celebrated the eucharistic liturgy very frequently if not daily, but excluding Lent. During Lent the Ruthenian Church, like the Byzantine Church in general, did not celebrate the liturgy of John Chrysostom, but rather that of the Presanctified Gifts, and this only on

²⁷ *SJH*, 1:180, 2:314.

²⁸ I. Suša, *Cursus Vitae et Certamen Martyrii B. Iosaphat Kuncevicii*, Rome 1665, p. 20.

²⁹ Quoted by Ja. Levyc'kyj, "Sv. Josafat Kuncevyč v svetli propovidyj XVIII st.", *Sv. svščm. Josafat Kuncevyč: materijaly i rozvidky z nahody jувyleju*, ed. J. Slipyj, Lviv 1925, p. 88.

³⁰ "Regulae S. Josaphat pro suis praesbyteris", *SJH*, 1:240, n. 20.

Wednesdays and Fridays. Although no mention of this is made in the above reports, we can assume that Josaphat followed this traditional norm.³¹

Between the years 1617 and 1636 Rutskyj prepared a set of regulations for the Basilians. In the regulations for priests we find the following:

3. They should so live that every day they could celebrate mass. Therefore they will confess at least twice a week, they will observe the same rites and ceremonies of the liturgy as others do, adding nothing of their own invention, nor removing anything, nor changing anything.

6. Those who are to celebrate mass will go to the church at the first bell and begin the offertory [prothesis]; after the second bell they will immediately begin mass.³²

These two rules suggest that every priest did not celebrate daily, since priests were to be prepared spiritually as if they were to celebrate, and those that were to celebrate were to be on time.

Rutskyj's regulations for the ecclesiarch also indicate that not all celebrated daily, but took turns according to a prescribed order.

2. Every Saturday before vespers he should post a chart in the sacristy where the priests vest, on which is written the order on which day the priests are to celebrate mass, be it the main or the early mass (*tam maturam quam summam*). In the same manner, the order for the deacons should be posted, so that on Sundays and feasts the priest is always assisted by a deacon; if there are two [deacons], one can serve at the early mass, unless the main mass is to be celebrated with special pomp (*alter ad summam ministrare poterit, nisi solemnem pompam celebranda sit missa*); thus he will arrange the serving of the deacons according to their number.³³

In her article "Ruthenian Liturgy", Senyk gives ample documentation on the frequency of celebration and attendance up to the 19th century. She discusses the practice in the sobors (the major church of any city — be it the cathedral or some other church), parish churches, and monasteries. Daily mass was normal in larger centers where it was often requested by benefactors. Monasteries also normally had a daily mass, in addition to — or to comply with — the requests of founders and benefactors.

This was the case at the Suprasl monastery, which we read about in Rutskyj's 1635 visitation. A daily eucharistic liturgy for deceased benefactors and monks was celebrated in Suprasl immediately after matins. The celebrants for this mass were rotated according to a list posted behind the altar. This mass — the "rannja služba boža" — was distinct from the main liturgy — "velyka služba boža" — celebrated around nine o'clock for the

³¹ See also S. Senyk, "The Sources of the Spirituality of St. Josaphat Kuncevyč", *OCP*, 51 (1985): 425-436, especially p. 425-427.

³² *EM*, 1:356-357.

³³ *EM*, 1:358.

whole community. Rutskyj instructed the servants to attend the benefactors' mass when they could not attend the main liturgy. This benefactors' mass is specified as daily. The main mass would also have been daily, even though it is not specifically described as such, since it is listed under the heading of daily services.³⁴

We see in these documents a distinction made between two types of eucharistic liturgies; one — the *summa* — is an earlier celebration, attended by fewer people, while the other — the *matura* — is celebrated later in the morning, probably with more ceremony and solemnity, attended by the majority of community members. Up to now, however, a recited mass has not been mentioned in the sources.

An entry in the Acts of the Polock Jesuit archives written in 1618 mentions that to promote the divine services and increase devotion, St. Josaphat, then a newly ordained bishop, introduced two masses on every feast day, one sung and the other "recited":

Idem id quod alias non fuit ad Dei cultum promovendum, et devotionem augendam quovis die festo duo, cantatum unum, lectum alterum, pro festo vero unum Sacrum instituit.³⁵

Is this our first report of the recited or low mass? We shall see later that Cassian Sakowicz took credit for introducing this practice, at least for the area of Volyn', if not for the entire Ruthenian Church. In no other place do we find mention that Josaphat introduced or celebrated a recited mass. And in fact, it seems incompatible with his views against liturgical change and innovation. The author of the Polock Jesuit comment was undoubtedly a Latin familiar with the solemn sung and simple recited masses in the Latin Rite. He may have used these categories to describe the two types of liturgies noted in the above source. The more solemn mass, perhaps a pontifical, may have been celebrated in the Polock cathedral, while a simpler celebration may have been held in another chapel or church at an earlier hour for the convenience of merchants and other workers.

Even though the early or "summa" mass was probably not the recited low mass celebrated by Sakowicz and by many others by the middle of the 17th century, and certainly not the extremely latinized version prescribed in some 18th century *služebnyky*, it did set the scene for these later versions. A mass said at a secondary altar by one priest, early in the morning, perhaps with a single cantor and a minimum of ceremony, often for the intention of a deceased benefactor, with little attention given to the feasts of the liturgical calendar, easily paved the way for an eventual totally recited mass.

³⁴ *AS*, 8:153-154.

³⁵ *SJH*, 1:118.

One final point concerns the number of masses one priest could say a day. The possibility of allowing a priest to celebrate two masses a day was one of the faculties Pope Clement VIII gave the Ruthenian metropolitans. These faculties had to be renewed every seven years, and we find them renewed for Metropolitan Korsak in 1638 and Sjeljava in 1653.

[They could allow] celebration twice in one day, if it was needed, on the condition that the ablution of the first not be performed [earlier] than one hour before dawn, and the other [not later than] after midday.³⁶

The Roman missal of Pius V, promulgated in 1570, gave these same limits for private masses.³⁷ Bination was restricted in the Latin Church by Alexander II in 1065 and Innocent III in 1212.³⁸ In the East, multiple celebration by one priest a day was also practiced, but this was considered an abuse. It was prohibited in a Byzantine synodal decree of the 9th century, and also in the *Protheoria*, a mid-eleventh century liturgical commentary by Theodore of Andida.³⁹

2. Liturgical Formation

The prescription that the Ruthenian Church hold a provincial synod every four years, was never carried out.⁴⁰ After the Synod of Brest in 1596, there were only two other synods held for the Catholic Kievan metropolia: Kobryn' in 1626 and Zamostja in 1720.

The Kobryn' synod called for uniformity in celebration through the proper formation of candidates to the priesthood. To ensure uniformity in the Divine Liturgy, no candidates were to be ordained until they had spent some time with the ordaining bishop in order to learn the correct way to celebrate and administer the sacraments.⁴¹ The synod required at least this traditional form of clerical training for candidates to the priesthood who otherwise would have no other type of preparation.

The hierarchy's inability to provide for the needs of their Church was

³⁶ Žoxovs'kyj, *Colloquium Lubelskie*, p. 47. For the same faculties for Korsak and Sjeljava see *APF*, Fondo Vienna, 18:293.

³⁷ "Rubricae Generales Missalis: XV, De hora celebrandi missam", *Missale Romanum*, 18th ed., Rome 1958, p. XXXIII.

³⁸ For further information see T. Ortolan, "Binage", *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 2 (Paris 1910): 892-899.

³⁹ The ninth century legislation is found in *Les Registres du patriarcat de Constantinople*, ed. V. Grumel, vol. 1, fasc. 2, (Kadiköy 1936) no. 588. The *Protheoria* text is in PG, 140:465. See also the discussion on the *Protheoria* and multiple celebrations in J. Darrouzès, "Nicolas d'Andida et les azymes", *Revue des études byzantines*, 32 (1974): 199-201. Cf. Taft, "Frequency of Eucharist", p. 16.

⁴⁰ *EM*, 1:187.

⁴¹ *ASCPF*, 1:24-25.

most evident in their failure to establish a permanent seminary. Certainly one of the best ways to achieve uniformity and correct celebration would have been through the education of the younger clergy. The idea of establishing a seminary was considered during the Union negotiations in Rome, and indeed Clement VIII had made a financial contribution for this purpose.⁴² The seminaries frequented by the Ruthenian clergy (the most important one being the Pontifical Seminary in Lviv for Ruthenians 1709-1784), were never able to provide sound liturgical formation, due to their often insecure and troubled history. At the same time, the training received by the Basilians in foreign centers was inadequate. Not even the Greek College in Rome could provide the necessary training in Eastern theology and traditions, and the programs of instruction in the Latin seminaries had even less to offer in these topics.⁴³

Metropolitan Rutskyj seemed content with the preservation of the Rite in general for this early period after the Union. He wrote: "for forty years now since the Union, the Ruthenians have kept their Rite, although some persons privately seem to latinize."⁴⁴ He does not say what this latinization was, but he obviously disapproved of it.

3. *The Eucharist*

In the later Byzantine tradition, eucharistic communion and devotion has largely been restricted to the Divine Liturgy, or, on fast days, to the Presanctified. Communion is rarely administered outside those services except to the sick.⁴⁵ For this latter purpose, it was the practice to consecrate a separate *ahneć* (plural *ahnci*, meaning lamb — the main square piece of bread prepared during the prothesis rite for consecration and communion) on Holy Thursday, intinct it with consecrated wine and then dry it so that it could be kept for the whole year. When needed, a piece was broken off and put into a chalice with unconsecrated wine and communicated to the sick person.

Besides being given to the sick, the eucharist outside the liturgy was self-communicated by the laity before going into war, a practice that may have begun during the Tatar invasion.⁴⁶ To one of the many questions sent by Bishop Theognost of Saraj (at the Tatar court), the patriarch of Con-

⁴² Cf. Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, p. 340.

⁴³ More information on seminaries and clerical formation can be found in D. Blażejowskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical Seminaries of Lviv (1665-1784)*, Rome 1975; S. Senyk, "The Education of the Secular Clergy in the Ruthenian Church before the Nineteenth Century", *OCP*, 53 (1987): 387-416.

⁴⁴ *EM*, 1:380.

⁴⁵ For a general historical view, see R. Taft, "The Frequency of the Eucharist Throughout History", *Concilium*, 172 (1982): 13-24.

⁴⁶ Cf. Krajcar, "A Report!", p. 89.

stantinople with his synod replied in 1276 that the practice of taking the eucharist on a journey was permitted and even praiseworthy.⁴⁷ The monks also received the eucharist outside of mass, during a particular monastic office called the Typica (Izobrazytelna, Obidnycja). Arcudius writes that this ancient practice was still kept by Greek monks in the 16th century.⁴⁸

In the West, reaction to dogmatic problems concerning the eucharistic elements caused the Latin Church to stress the real presence of Christ in the eucharist. Adoration and glorification of the Lord at the consecration during the mass at times even appeared as the sole goal of the mass.⁴⁹ Thus, the practice of the eucharistic reservation for a year in the Ruthenian Church, the manner in which it was prepared, and the general attitude of the clergy and laity towards the reserved eucharist, especially outside of liturgical functions, all appeared worthy of censure in the eyes of the Latins. The Ruthenian attitude, nevertheless, was in direct continuity with that of the whole of Christendom during the first millenium. It was the Latins who had evolved further away from original practice, and they expected everyone else to accept their new norms.

Pope Innocent IV in 1254 had forbidden the Greeks in Cyprus the yearly reservation of the eucharist, prescribing that it be changed every fifteen days.⁵⁰ In 1595 Clement VIII reaffirmed Innocent's decree, prohibiting the followers of the Greek Rite in Italy at the same time the use of holy oil in preparing the reserved eucharist.⁵¹ And Arcudius came out against yearly reservation in *De*

⁴⁷ "1276 g. avgusta 12. Otvety Konstantinopolskogo patriaršogo sobora na voprosy Sarajnskogo episkopa Feognosta", *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka*, 6 (St. Petersburg 1908): 138.

⁴⁸ Arcudius, *De concordia*, p. 398-399. Cf. Krajcar, "A Report", p. 89. See also E. Herman, "Die häufige und tägliche Kommunion in der byzantinischen Klöstern", *Archives de l'Orient Chrétien* (Mémorial Louis Petit, Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines), *Institute Francais d'études byzantines*, Bucarest 1928, p. 203-217. On the office of the Typica see J. Mateos, "Un Horologion inédit de Saint-Sabas", *Studi e Testi*, 233 (Mélanges Eugène Tisserant, vol. 3, part 2), Vatican 1964, p. 64-68.

⁴⁹ Joseph Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der Römischen Messe*, Vienna 1948, p. 179-203. See the same in the abridged and revised English edition: *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, transl. F. Brunner, 5th ed., Westminster Md. 1980, p. 106-119.

⁵⁰ "Sed Eucharistiam in die Coenae Domini consecratam usque ad annum, praetextu infirmorum, ut de illa videlicet ipsos communicent, non reservent, liceat tamen eis pro infirmis ipsis corpus Christi conficere ac per XV dies et non longiori temporis spatio conservare, ne per diutinam ipsius reservationem, alteratis forsitan speciebus, reddatur minus habile ad sumendum, licet eius veritas et efficacia semper eadem omnino remaneat nec ulla umquam diuturnitate seu volubilitate temporis evanescit." "Sub Catholicae" (6 March 1254), *Acta Innocentii PP. IV* (1243-1254), eds. T. Haluščynskij and M. Wojnar, (= Pontificia Commissio ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis - Fontes - Series III, vol. 4, tom. 1), Rome 1962, p. 173.

⁵¹ "Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum, quod pro infirmis asservatur, singulis octo diebus, aut saltem quindecim renovetur. Non asservetur idem Sacramentum toto anno, si tamen asservatum fuerit, saltem in fine anni sumatur.

Tollatur abusus tundendi, vel eam miscendi sacro Oleo, ac iterum conquendi, vel alias exsiccandi species Sacramenti Sacrae Eucharistiae Feria V Coenae Domini, ut deinde illud

concordia.⁵² Goar, however, disagreed with Arcudius on the preparation of the eucharist for later use, saying that the Greeks knew well how to dry the eucharist.⁵³ Perhaps Arcudius' objections were directed against the Kievan Church.

In the early period after the Union, reception of the eucharist became more frequent especially among the Basilians. We can assume that this implied a greater attention to its reservation and use. At the first Basilian chapter, Rutskyj ordered all the monks attending the chapter to receive communion daily during the chapter liturgy.⁵⁴ We saw earlier that St. Josaphat was praised for his frequent reception, even when he did not celebrate. In the polemical work *Antelenchus*, we read that the monks would confess every week and frequently receive communion to help them in their observance of the virtue of chastity.⁵⁵ This is confirmed in 1635 when Rutskyj made a visitation of the Supraśl monastery. Rutskyj did not require as much from these monks, who had not joined the Basilian reform.

We wish that you would confess once a week and receive communion once a month, as is practiced in our other monasteries; but since this has not been the practice here, we require everyone to confess once a month, namely on the first Sunday, and to receive communion every fast period, not just during Lent, which even the laity should do, but also during the fasts before the Dormition, Sts. Peter and Paul, and Christmas, and on the other major feasts which will be listed separately. And if someone does not keep our regulations, then he is to go without food or drink until he does so, and his confessor should inform the superior about him.⁵⁶

Rutskyj also encouraged the laity to more frequent reception of the sacraments. In 1630 he requested a plenary indulgence for all those who, on the first Sunday of the month, went to confession and received communion in Żyrovyci, where many pilgrims came to venerate the icon of the Mother of God. Rutskyj's coadjutor, Raphael Korsak, wrote in 1634 that at times there were three thousand communicants a day at Żyrovyci.⁵⁷

4. Cassian Sakowicz and His Criticisms

One extreme critic of Ruthenian liturgical practices was Cassian Sakowicz.

asservert." "Sanctissimus Dominus" (31 August 1595), *Bullarium Romanum, tomus V, 2: Clemens VIII, 1594-1602*, p. 72. See also chapter 2, note 70.

⁵² Arcudius, *De concordia*, p. 394-395.

⁵³ Goar, p. 131.

⁵⁴ *AS*, 12:8.

⁵⁵ "Na zachowanie czystości mamy różne pomocy, spowiedź co tydzień, służenia liturgiey s. y communie częściuchne, rady duchowne, według postanowienia zakonnego w pewne dni, y oprócz spowiedzi", *Antelenchus*, p. 710; cf. Solovey, *Meletyj Smotryc'kyj*, 2:296.

⁵⁶ *AS*, 9:152.

⁵⁷ *SEU*, 1:58, *EM*, 2:120.

Born in 1578, in 1620 he became an Orthodox monk in Kiev and was rector of the Orthodox Brotherhood school there from 1620 to 1624. In 1625 he joined the Catholic Ruthenian Church and received priestly ordination from Rutskyj. Subsequently he became archimandrite of the Dubno monastery. In 1634 he was deposed by the Ruthenian bishop of Luc'k and wandered about until 1639, when he relinquished all claims to his archimandriteship. In 1641 the Latin bishop of Luc'k accepted him into the Latin Church, and a year later he wrote his famous work *Perspectiwa*.⁵⁸

In this work he takes a strong polemical stand against the liturgical practices of the Ruthenian Church, both Catholic and Orthodox. His was not the first such work against the Ruthenian Church. At the beginning of the 16th century, circa 1501, we have the work *Elucidarius errorum ritus Ruthenici*, but this was written by a Pole, Jan z Oświęcima (Sacranus), who was not familiar with the Rite. After the Union, there were many polemical works by both Catholic and Orthodox writers, but these dealt with liturgical matters only in passing. Sakowicz was the first to make a violent attack on the Ruthenian liturgical usages as such.

The Orthodox replied to Sakowicz in the work *Lithos*, written by Peter Mohyla and others in 1644.⁵⁹ A more notable reply appears in Mohyla's *1646 Trebnyk*, where we find stress placed on points that Sakowicz had criticized, such as the form and matter of the sacraments, frequent changing of the reserved eucharist, and prostrations during the Great Entrance.

The Catholic Ruthenians replied in the work *Zwierciadlo* by the Bishop of Pinsk, Pachomius Vojna-Orans'kyj.⁶⁰ But he criticized Sakowicz's person more than the issues he had raised. The archimandrite of the Derman' monastery, John Dubovyč, also replied in 1645 in a work entitled *Obraz*.⁶¹ The Catholic Ruthenians were planning to discuss Sakowicz's case in a synod at Vilna in 1648 which never convened. Sakowicz died in 1647 as a Latin pastor in Cracow.

The Ruthenian hierarchy appealed to Rome to ban Sakowicz's work and to induce him to return to the Basilians, but its appeal produced no effect. Thus his *Perspectiwa* remained a source for others in denouncing and

⁵⁸ The Latin translation of *Perspectiwa* used by Praszko, *De ecclesia*, p. 256, is no longer found in the APF. We are grateful to Robert Hospodar who sent us a photocopy of the original text.

⁵⁹ Evsebi Pipin (pseud.), *Lithos*, Kiev 1644. This is reprinted in *Arxiv JuZR*, I, vol. 9.

⁶⁰ *Zwierciadlo albo Zaslona od Przewielebnego Jego Mosci Oycza Pachomiusza Woyny Oranskiego, z laski Bożey y Ś. Stolicy Apostolskiej Episkopa Pińskiego y Turowskiego, naprzeciw uszczypliwey Perspektywie, przez X. Kassiana Sakowicza, złożonego Archimandritę Dubieńskiego zebraney y napisaney etc., wystawiona w Wilnie w drukarni Oyców Bazyljanów unitów, roku 1645;* cf. Golubev, *Petr Mogila*, 2:348.

⁶¹ *Obraz prawosławney Cerkwi Wschodniej*, Vilna 1645; cf. Golubev, *Petr Mogila*, 2:356.

ridiculing the very existence of the Ruthenian Church.⁶²

In Part II of our work we shall deal more specifically with Sakowicz's criticisms of CHR. Here we note his views on the reservation of the eucharist and the reasons for celebrating the liturgy.

Sakowicz rejected the practice of yearly reservation of the eucharist for the sick. He especially objected to the way the ahnec was prepared on Holy Thursday. A few drops of consecrated wine were placed on the consecrated ahnec and it was then left to dry. Sometimes the ahnec was left in the open for the wind to dry, exposing it to birds and mice. For Sakowicz this could only mean that no consecrated wine remained in the ahnec and so any reference to the precious blood was pointless when communion was administered to the sick.⁶³

He cites cases where the eucharist had turned mouldy or was full of worms. When administered to the sick, the dried eucharist was put into ordinary wine or even other liquids including the common soup "boršč". He cites a case where even this did not soften the hard eucharist and the sick person had to put it back into the chalice as she could not swallow it.⁶⁴

Sakowicz questioned why this ahnec could only be consecrated on Holy Thursday. He advised the Ruthenians to consecrate and change it every second Sunday as was the practice in the Vilna Trinity monastery, Žyrovyci, Bycen', and other places.⁶⁵

Since consecrated wine was not used in the celebration of PRES, Sakowicz suggested that the priest should recite only the communion formula for the holy bread when distributing it to the faithful and when communicating himself. Furthermore, the priest, not the deacon, should carry the discos during the Great Entrance. Otherwise the priest could solve the problem by consecrating some wine on the prothesis before the Great Entrance!⁶⁶ This suggestion and other comments we shall note below suffice to show the weak eucharistic theology of Sakowicz's arguments.

In his criticism of the manner of reservation of the eucharist he cites cases where it was wrapped in paper and stuffed into cracks in the wall.⁶⁷ He advised that it be kept in a chalice or pyx, especially so that mice would not get at it. If they did take it, then what was the priest to do, Sakowicz asked?⁶⁸

The celebration of PRES involved the question of the frequency of CHR.

⁶² *SEU* 1:121; *LE*, 2:37, 41-42; *ASCPF*, 1:188-189, 190, 211; Praszko, *De ecclesia*, p. 249-256.

⁶³ Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, p. 18.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19, 20.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18-20.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Sakowicz questioned why there was no celebration of CHR but only PRES during the weekdays of Lent, and this only on Wednesdays and Fridays. He stressed that Lent was the time when people made more offerings for their sins and came closer to God. The clergy were denying them this possibility by not celebrating CHR.⁶⁹ If CHR was not celebrated for reasons of fasting, he suggested that the people could continue their fast after the liturgy as well.⁷⁰ He understood that married clergy could not celebrate daily, but at least in the monasteries he felt there should be daily liturgy and this before noon, as was the Latin practice. What, he asks, occupies the time of the Ruthenian monks that they cannot celebrate? How, in monasteries of twenty or thirty priests, could there be no CHR but only one celebration of PRES?⁷¹

We read in *Perspectiwa* that the Orthodox were criticizing the Catholics for celebrating several masses a day on the same altar, a practice which they had been doing from around the 1630s. Sakowicz argues against the Orthodox, who maintained that since Jesus Christ died only once on the cross, there should be only one liturgy a day. He replies that the Orthodox should be consistent then and celebrate only on Good Friday. He goes on to explain that a priest is ordained in order to bring offerings to God for the sins of mankind. How can all this be handled by one mass on Sunday and even then not always? How, he asks, can people be deprived of making offerings on big feasts when hundreds gather together with many priests, and yet only one mass is celebrated? He concludes by questioning whether those Catholic Ruthenian clergy who celebrate on the same altar with the same vestments, books, and the like defile or abuse these things as people commonly thought?⁷²

Finally, Sakowicz informs us about the recited mass, which some Catholic Ruthenian clergy had begun to practice in imitation of the Latins, a practice which both Catholic and Orthodox Ruthenians were criticizing. He himself was criticized when he introduced it in Volyn'. But, he tells us, he explained to the people that this was a praiseworthy practice for the glory of God in the Roman Church. And as the Ruthenians were now in union with Rome, they could do the same. Was it not better, he asks, to have a liturgy with one server than to have a sung liturgy with a cantor "who bleated like a goat!" At times the priest's wife had to respond at mass. In one case he describes, she sang the responses and the epistle better than any man. Sakowicz rejoins, "The devil only knows who ordained her deaconess!"⁷³

In spite of his sarcasm and ridicule, Sakowicz gives important early evidence for the multiplication of masses, the recitation of CHR, and perhaps

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 31a (pages 31 and 32 are duplicated in the original text).

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 31b.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 32a.

⁷² Ibid., p. 32b.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 33.

even the celebration of CHR during Lent. But what is more important is his reasoning on these points. The essential role of the priest is to offer reparation for the sins of mankind to God. This function had to be performed as often as possible in consideration of the number of sins and the lack of priests and opportunities to celebrate mass. This was his principal understanding of the liturgy, in full accord with prevailing Latin theology.

We find little understanding of the relation between fasting and penance with the festive nature of the eucharist and the mass. Neither do we see any consideration of the “ephapax” of St. Paul — the once and for all nature of the sacrifice of Christ on the cross (Rm 6:10, also Heb 7:27, 9:11, 10:10). The controversy arose out of different theologies, not because of corrupt practices and ignorance.

5. *Reservation of the Eucharist*

Sakowicz focused attention on the respect for the eucharist as had others both before and after him. In 1624, the Warsaw Nuncio, Giovanni Lancellotti, wrote to Rome that the Ruthenians were changing over to the Latin Rite because of their disgust for the conditions of their churches and clergy. He adds:

They keep the most holy sacrament in a box, on the stove, on a shelf; sometimes it is eaten by dogs, or taken by thieves instead of bread.⁷⁴

After the publication of *Perspectiwa*, we find mention made of both frequent changing of the eucharist and the older custom of yearly reservation. In the instructions meant for the visitation of the Ruthenian Church, written in Rome in 1643, we read:

In the visitation of priests and pastors, it should be observed how often they celebrate, whether their churches are neat and tidy, whether they change the eucharist often or if they follow the Greek abuse of reserving some hosts for a year, and whether there is anything lacking in their administration of the sacraments.⁷⁵

In his 1646 *Trebnyk*, Peter Mohyla cautioned the priests to be careful when preparing on Holy Thursday the ahnec for reservation. He added that to avoid abuse this eucharist could be changed every month, week, or day, the old eucharist being put into the chalice and consumed by the priest. In large cities or monasteries where there was a daily mass, Mohyla suggested that the eucharist could be changed on a daily basis, a portion of the one ahnec being broken off and reserved. If the tabernacle was not made of silver or other

⁷⁴ LNA, 4:119.

⁷⁵ SEU, 1:131.

precious metals, then the eucharist was to be placed on a clean piece of paper in the tabernacle for reserve.⁷⁶

In 1656 the visitator to the Sts. Sergius and Bacchus Church in Rome (the residence of the Ruthenian procurator) noted that no eucharist was reserved at all. He was told that they used to keep it in a burse on the corporal on the altar, but that since the previous Easter they had stopped this practice.⁷⁷ In 1661, during another visitation there, it was noted that they were now changing the eucharist every ten to fifteen days.⁷⁸

The Latin bishop of Xolm in 1663 still criticized the Ruthenians for the yearly reservation, warning of the danger this involved.⁷⁹

Not until the Synod of Zamostja in 1720 do we finally find clear legislation on this practice.

6. *Processions, Devotions, and Indulgences*

To conclude this section on early liturgical concerns we shall note several paraliturgical practices that spread during these early years. One was the procession with the Blessed Sacrament. During the celebrations at the conclusion of the 1596 Brest synod, the eucharist was taken in triumphal procession from the Ruthenian to the Latin Church. This was a particular event, meant to mark the new fraternal and ecclesial unity of the members of the two Churches.⁸⁰

It was said of St. Josaphat that whenever he could, he attended the public supplications, Corpus Christi, and Rogational processions in the Latin Rite.⁸¹

Cassian Sakowicz gives us the first clear evidence of the Ruthenians carrying the eucharist in procession for their own devotion, a practice which he credits the bishop of Volodymyr (Joachim Moroxovs'kyj 1613-1631, or Joseph Bakovec'kyj 1632-1650) with introducing. He noted that in other places priests carried only the gospel book and cross in processions according to the traditional Byzantine Rite usage.⁸²

The future Basilian protoarchimandrite, Pachomius Ohilevyč, wrote to Rome in 1665 that the Basilians had introduced the solemn procession for Corpus Christi in Žyrovyci, though he adds, "in the conditions of the Union the express stipulation was made that they, the Ruthenians, be not obliged to

⁷⁶ Cf. 1646 *Kiev Trebnyk*, 1:264-265.

⁷⁷ *MUH*, 3:14.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁷⁹ *LE*, 2:265.

⁸⁰ Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, p. 381.

⁸¹ *SJH*, 1:145.

⁸² Cf. Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, p. 46-47.

do this.”⁸³ These processions in Žyrovyci were heavily criticized by a contemporary Basilian, Peter Kamins’kyj, who was just as critical of many other practices and persons in the Ruthenian Church.

And the monks of Žyrovyci go about the church in procession even with the most holy Sacrament in a monstrance; the Lord should not just remain always on the altar, rather every corner should be filled up with Him. During the procession they beat drums in the choir and play heartily on the pipes — a triumphal celebration!⁸⁴

This development was gradual. Individuals admired Latin processions with the Blessed Sacrament and took part in them. The carrying of the eucharist was then introduced into those traditional processions in which previously only the gospel book and cross were carried. Then such processions were held specifically for the feast of Corpus Christi in the Latin Rite, as in Žyrovyci or other shrines which drew many Latins. Ohilevyč describes them as evidence of the progress made by the Ruthenian Church, a view not held by all of his contemporaries.

During this period the use of indulgences increases. Although not unknown in the Kievan Church before the Union,⁸⁵ they had been given by Clement VIII at the time of the Union, and they then appear more frequently. In 1624 Pope Urban VIII granted the Basilian monks all the indulgences, privileges, and graces given by Paul V in 1606 to Latin Rite monks, to show that the Basilians were equal to their Latin counterparts.⁸⁶

Among the faculties given by the popes to the Ruthenian metropolitans was that of granting plenary indulgences for attendance at the Forty Hours Devotion, confession and reception of communion (up to three times a year), for heretics who converted, and others.⁸⁷

We also find the Forty Hour devotion, a service admired by St. Josaphat among the Latins,⁸⁸ in use at the Basilian chapter in 1667.⁸⁹

The effects of closer contacts with the Latin Church were slowly being felt.

⁸³ *LB*, 1:109. Texts for the feast of Corpus Christi begin appearing in Ruthenian liturgical books from the second half of the 17th century; cf. Wawryk, “Do istoriji”, p. 141.

⁸⁴ Šćurat, *V oboroni Uniji*, p. 92. Concerning the authorship of *V oboroni Uniji*, see M. Wawryk’s note in (M. Wawryk), *Narys rozvytku i stanu Vasylijans’koho Čyna XVII-XX st.*, Rome 1979, p. 13, n. 71, where he supports the attribution to Kamins’kyj.

⁸⁵ Cf. S. Senyk, “Rites and Charters of Remission: Evidence of a Seventeenth Century Source”, *OCF*, 47 (1981): 438-440.

⁸⁶ *SEU*, 1:216; *DPRU*, 1:457-458; *SEU*, 1:58.

⁸⁷ Cf. Žoxovs’kyj, *Colloquium Lubelskie*, p. 46-47, where these faculties are listed. The same faculties for Metropolitan Korsak and Sjeljava are found in *APF*, Fondo Vienna, 18:293.

⁸⁸ *SJH*, 1:145.

⁸⁹ *AS*, 12:93, 99.

III. A HETEROGENEOUS SOCIETY

1. *A Universal Outlook*

Having ties with both Eastern and Western Christianity, the Ruthenian Church felt a strong desire to contribute to the cause of church unity. Thus Rutskyj in 1628 informed Propaganda that he was ready to send missionaries into Croatia to help in the work for church union among the Orthodox.⁹⁰ Rutskyj felt the Ruthenians were well suited for this work among the Serbs (or Wallachians, as they are consistently called in contemporary sources), as well as with Moldavians and Muscovites, since they shared the same church language and liturgical rites, unlike the Latin missionaries.⁹¹ These attempts to work with other Slav nations had only limited success.

At the same time, the Catholic Ruthenian Church began encountering an ever better organized Orthodox Ruthenian Church, especially after the ordination of a new hierarchy in 1620 in Kiev by Patriarch Theophanes II of Jerusalem. The Catholics sincerely desired unity with their fellow Ruthenians. One possible solution lay in the creation of a Kievan patriarchate. Rutskyj would have liked to see a united Ruthenian Church in union with Rome but with a patriarch of her own. One candidate, in fact, was Orthodox Peter Mohyla.⁹² The Orthodox, on the other hand, were concerned about the preservation of the traditions of the Kievan Church without danger of absorption in any union with Rome.⁹³

One final area of pastoral work concerned the Latins, with whom the Ruthenians came into regular contact, living as they did in the same territories. In 1631, Bishop Korsak asked permission for the Basilians in Žyrovyci to celebrate the Latin mass for the Latins who came to pray before the Marian icon in their church. For this the Basilians would use the Illyrian texts, the Slavonic translation of the Roman Rite liturgical books printed in Glagolitic characters for the Croations. Thus they could not only provide services for the Latins, but also enable the Ruthenian Catholics to see much better their unity

⁹⁰ *SEU*, 1:53-54.

⁹¹ *LB*, 1:7-11; *EM*, 2:19-22. Wallachian was the name for the Southern Serbs of Žumberak, also called the Uskoki; this and other information on missionary work in Croatia is found in S. Senyk, "Methodius Terlec'kyj – Bishop of Xolm", *AOSBM*, 18 (1985): 345ff.

⁹² For further information, see J. Krajcar, "The Ruthenian Patriarchate. Some remarks on the project for its establishment in the 17th century", *OCP*, 30 (1964): 65-84.

⁹³ For further information, see: M. Harasiewicz, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*, Lviv 1862, p. 449-457; Praszko, *De ecclesiae*, p. 271-272; A. Baran, "Propaganda's Concern for the Church in Ukraine and Bielorrussia", *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, ed. J. Metzler, 1 (Rome 1971), 4:228.

with Rome.⁹⁴ This was the first of many requests made by the Ruthenians to serve the Latins coming to Žyrovyci. Their reasons, however, were not sufficient for Propaganda, which denied the request, as it continued to deny similar requests in the future, on the grounds that such a mingling of traditions was detrimental to convincing the Orthodox to enter into church union.⁹⁵ Propaganda, rather, instructed that provision be made for a Latin altar in Žyrovyci, at which the Latin clergy could celebrate and provide for the needs of their faithful.⁹⁶

The problem, then, was how the two Rites could co-exist, especially when one was in need of what the other could offer. The question of whether the Latins could confess to the Ruthenian clergy and attend their liturgies was sent by Propaganda to the Holy Office.⁹⁷ No answer followed and the problem arose over and over.

At Žyrovyci intercommunion between Rites continued to pose difficulties. Bishop Jakiv Suša wrote to Rome in 1662 that many Latins were coming to Žyrovyci to receive the sacraments. The Ruthenians would ask visiting Latin clergy to hear confessions, celebrate mass, and consecrate extra hosts for later distribution. But this did not suffice. So Suša asked that he be allowed to appoint worthy Basilians to hear the confessions of the Latins, and, in cases of necessity, that at least one Basilian be allowed to consecrate Latin hosts when he was celebrating his own Ruthenian liturgy. He adds:

This I know was the practice of our religious celebrating in their own Rite in Vienna, Austria, about thirty years ago, on the advice of Jesuit theologians and with the permission of the nuncio.⁹⁸

To either this or a similar request, Propaganda replied in 1666 reiterating Rome's position.

The theologians of the Holy Office have not wanted to permit, for reasons of confusion of Rites, that uniate priests, when saying mass in their Rite and consecrating their leavened bread consecrate also some unleavened hosts to reserve them and distribute them to Latins as the need arises.⁹⁹

Propaganda gave the same reply to a similar request in 1673.¹⁰⁰

With similar intentions to serve the Latins, the Basilian George Maleivs'kyj went a step further and asked permission in 1684 to celebrate in the Latin Rite. He wanted to provide services for the Latins in the region of

⁹⁴ *SEU*, 1:73-74.

⁹⁵ *ASCPF*, 1:106-107.

⁹⁶ Cf. *SEU*, 1:115-116; *ASCPF*, 1:177, a similar request in 1681 by Metr. Sjeljava.

⁹⁷ *ASCPF*, 1:180-181.

⁹⁸ *LE*, 2:248.

⁹⁹ *SEU*, 1:227.

¹⁰⁰ *ASCPF*, 2:36.

Smolensk up to the border with Muscovy, who were without the services of a Latin priest.¹⁰¹

2. *Ritual Changes and the Orthodox*

The acts of the Basilian chapters, like other documents, express alarm at changes being introduced into the liturgy during the second half of the seventeenth century. The seventh chapter in Vilna states:

Since some of our monks, especially the more simple, have introduced abuses in the celebration of the recited liturgies, in which they carry out unnecessary ceremonies, adopting them from the Roman missal, we order every superior and visitor to exterminate these abuses and not to permit their continuance, in conformance with the ancient practices of the Greek Rite, and if they do not obey, then they are all to be severely punished.¹⁰²

Similar calls for ritual integrity, especially in order not to scandalize the Orthodox, were made in succeeding chapters.¹⁰³

Jakiv Suša, a staunch supporter of ritual purity, though he made requests for adaptation to serve the Latins in Žyrovyci, in 1662 seconded the complaint that had been made at the chapter the previous year.

Our religious are introducing many innovations, changing the ancient Greek usages and accommodating them to the Roman Rite in the celebration of the liturgy, in which they also differ one from another, changing some rites that have no need of change, while others they neglect, reject, or distort. The Holy Roman Church must admonish them that they not be a scandal to the Orthodox.¹⁰⁴

The effect of liturgical change on the Orthodox was also discussed by Pachomius Ohilevyč, Basilian vicar general and Roman procurator, in his 1665 report, "On the Religious Life of the Ruthenian Monks and Their Needs and Concerning the Conversion of the Schismatics."¹⁰⁵ He expressed the view that the Orthodox would be brought to church union only through the efforts of the Catholic Ruthenians, as the Latins were failing by detesting the Greek Rite while highly praising their own.¹⁰⁶ The Orthodox, on the other hand, were impressed by the orderliness of the Basilians in religious matters and their many recited masses. The Catholic Ruthenians shared much with the Orthodox and so could more easily bring them into church union and at the same time provide them with the ceremonies already taken over from the Latin Rite.¹⁰⁷ A note added to Ohilevyč's report expresses the bewilderment of

¹⁰¹ *SEU*, 1:256-257.

¹⁰² *AS*, 12:48.

¹⁰³ *AS*, 12:74, 87, 88.

¹⁰⁴ *LE*, 2:248.

¹⁰⁵ *LB*, 1:108-113.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

someone in Rome as to how the Greek Rite intermixed with Latin usages could be advantageous in pleasing the Orthodox.¹⁰⁸

Ohilevyč, in Rome when his report was being discussed at Propaganda, was able to explain his case further, presenting a larger picture of the problem and his proposed solution. (He refers to past requests to pass into the Latin Rite, which we shall see shortly in detail.)

[Ohilevyč], who sees the depression in which his monks and nation find themselves, and the continual hardships which they are suffering from the Cossacks and the schismatics and their desire to pass into the Latin Rite, points out that if the Sacred Congregation persists in wanting the monks to remain in the Greek Rite, it would be of great benefit to allow them to celebrate in the Latin Rite as well in cases of necessity, since the people are extremely devout, and much good will come from this.¹⁰⁹

Ohilevyč and Suša could probably find individuals among the Orthodox who really held the views they reported, but they must have been few. It was the political and social turbulence of this period (1660s) that forced many Ruthenians to see in the Latin Church their only hope for a secure and peaceful existence. A change of Rite would have been the easiest solution for individual monks, as can be seen by their many requests. The secular married clergy did not have the flexibility of the monks nor as much contact with the Latin Church. Also, a Ruthenian priest with a wife and family would not find an easy place in the Polish Latin Church.

In 1684 the Basilians made a request to Rome, where they simply ask, "that where there are six priests, one, or where there are more, then two be allowed to celebrate in the Latin Rite."¹¹⁰ This is the first request we find to celebrate in the Latin Rite without any mention made of service to the Latins. Such requests would still be made, but the above request, which was a privilege already enjoyed by the Italian Basilians since 1649, brought a sharp reply from the Ruthenian hierarchy. This request was made not only in the context of the Ruthenians' constant contact with and service to the Latins, but also in the context of the gradual exemption of the Basilians from the control and jurisdiction of the hierarchy.¹¹¹

Suša reacted strongly to this Basilian request and asked what was the good of Rome's decree against changing Rites. What, he asked, would happen to the Union if this were allowed?¹¹² The combined hierarchy made a similar

¹⁰⁸ "Dichiari che significa questa. Dice che essi conservano il Rito Greco quanto alla sostanza, ma nel modo si accostano quanto più al Latino, il che piace anche a Scismatici, doppo haverli veduti. Si dichiari meglio", *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹¹⁰ *SEU*, 1:270.

¹¹¹ Cf. Pidručnyj, *Narys*, p. 198-207.

¹¹² *LE*, 3:279-280.

protest against the Basilians, whom they labelled “lovers of novelty”.¹¹³

Service to the Latins and lack of orientation were causing much confusion and disorder for the Ruthenians, and the Basilians in particular. But we cannot assume that the situation was thoroughly one of chaos or latinization. A traveller from Muscovy, P.A. Tolstoj, passed through Žyrovyci in January 1699 and described the liturgy he attended there at the Basilian church.

I was in that church during the liturgy, celebrated in Slavonic at the large altar by a uniate priest with a deacon; there they sing in the Kievan style; during this liturgy the choir sang in eight-part harmony. In this church there are many Roman side altars in front of sacred icons. There are fifty monks in this monastery, all uniate, who dress like the Greek monks and call themselves Basilians, i.e., of the rule of St. Basil the Great.¹¹⁴

Since there were such frequent contacts with the Latins in Žyrovyci, as we have seen in the numerous requests made to Propaganda, it is interesting to note Tolstoj's impressions of what he found.

3. *The Political and Social Situation*

The decision to unite with Rome had not been an easy one for the Kievan hierarchy. They encountered opposition from their own laity, clergy, and fellow hierarchs, plus opposition from the Polish Church and state — even opposition in Rome. Once the Union was concluded, many Polish political and religious leaders considered the Catholic Ruthenian Church only a passing stage to total absorption into the Latin Church. The Ruthenian Church continued to lose her nobility and gentry to the Polish Church and soon her religious were being enticed as well. In 1622 Rutskyj asked the newly organized Propaganda to stop this flow into the Latin Church, for the Orthodox were using it to denounce the goals of the church union.¹¹⁵ The Basilians were also passing into various Latin Orders, especially since the Basilians had the strictest life style of all religious Orders in the Commonwealth.¹¹⁶ And so on 7 February 1624, Urban VIII passed a decree prohibiting the laity and religious of the Ruthenian Church from passing into the Latin Church.¹¹⁷ The Polish king, Sigismund III, immediately objected against the prohibition for the laity to change Rites. That same year Propaganda modified the decree to restrict it only to religious and clergy, but with an admonition to the Jesuits to stop encouraging the Ruthenians to pass to the Latin Rite.¹¹⁸ However, the decree was not formally made public. Thus,

¹¹³ “Novitatum amatores”, *EM*, 3:131.

¹¹⁴ “Putešestvie stolnika P.A. Tolstogo”, *Russkij arxiv*, 26 (1888), 2:397.

¹¹⁵ *EM*, 1:75-76.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *ASCPF*, 1:16, 17.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22-23.

it could conveniently be ignored by those not wishing to abide by it. When the Ruthenian hierarchy wanted the decree enforced, its validity as law was contested.¹¹⁹

Latin religious Orders continued to accept Ruthenians, and Rutskyj again asked Propaganda to stop this in 1626.¹²⁰ The Jesuits were especially influential in Ruthenian lands. In Poland since 1556, they had over twenty-three colleges in the Ruthenian areas and provided much of the education for the youth and the Basilians. Rutskyj mentions that a hundred of the first Basilians had come from Jesuit colleges, to which they returned to continue their studies after completion of their novitiate.¹²¹ The Jesuits not only tried to win people over to the Latin Church, but even ridiculed the Ruthenian Rite; for this in 1668 Propaganda apologized to the metropolitan.¹²² But other religious Orders also looked down on the Ruthenians. The Dominicans had to be told repeatedly by Rome that they had no right to take precedence over the Basilians in religious processions.¹²³

In many cases the attitude of the Polish hierarchy was no different from that of the religious Orders. Two years previous to Pope Urban's decree in 1624, some Polish hierarchs maintained that the Ruthenians should be slowly integrated into the Latin Church.¹²⁴ Urban's decree did little to elevate the Ruthenian bishops in their eyes, as can be seen from the anti-Ruthenian attitude expressed at the provincial synod held in Warsaw in 1643, against which the Ruthenian hierarchy protested. Rome eventually invalidated this synod.¹²⁵ The Latin diocese of Xolm in 1645 and again in 1663 attacked the Catholic Ruthenians, declaring that since the Union they "had professed and continue to profess various beliefs alien to the Catholic faith."¹²⁶

Even at the parish level the Ruthenian Church suffered much mistreatment. In 1686, a Latin pastor was responsible for the burning of the local Ruthenian church in order to increase the number of faithful in his parish. Bishop John Malaxovs'kyj, the author of the report of this incident, concluded that this was even worse treatment than that received from the Turks, who at least allowed the Christians to build churches.¹²⁷

In the political field, the Catholic Ruthenian Church's existence came into

¹¹⁹ This has been studied in depth by C. Beneditti, "Le vicende di un decreto della Propaganda sul passaggio dei Ruteni al rito Latino (1624)", *Stoudion*, 1 (1923-1924): 12-16, 41-45, 65-68, 129-135, 167-172.

¹²⁰ *SEU*, 1:38.

¹²¹ *EM*, 1:157.

¹²² *LSCPF*, 1:297-298.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹²⁵ *LE*, 2:55-58; *EM*, 2:192-194; *ASCPF*, 1:217.

¹²⁶ *LE*, 2:265.

¹²⁷ *SEU*, 1:281-282.

question when the new king, Ladislas IV, showed support for the Cossacks and the Orthodox Kievan Church. After the Cossack uprising in 1648 under Bohdan Xmeľnyc'kyj, king Casimir was forced to sign the peace treaty of Zboriv in 1649 which, among other things, called for the liquidation of the Catholic Ruthenian Church in Cossack territories, with church properties going to the Orthodox. This treaty, however, was eventually replaced by that of Bila Cerkva in 1651, with that clause omitted. In 1654, the Cossacks united with the Muscovites and declared war on Poland, bringing much death and destruction to the Ruthenian Church, especially in Bielorrussia, which for a time was occupied by the Muscovites. For a ten-year period, from 1655 to 1665, the Ruthenian Church had no metropolitan and was deprived of needed leadership. In 1658, in Hadjač, Poland eventually signed a peace treaty with the Cossacks, which once again called for the destruction of the Catholic Ruthenian Church. After a great deal of intervention by Propaganda and the nuncio this clause was dropped, even though recognition was given only to the Latin and Orthodox Churches.

When the Polish-Muscovite war ended with the peace treaty of Andrusovo in 1667, the Catholic Ruthenians were able to breathe more freely. And at the time of the Lublin Colloquium in 1680 they were finally in a more favourable position.¹²⁸ However, there were those who still wanted the total destruction of the Ruthenian Catholic Church, as is seen in one project from the turn of the seventeenth century by an anonymous Pole. He proposed slowly to compel all the Ruthenians to pass over to the Latin Rite in order to strengthen the Polish religious and political situation.¹²⁹

In such a confused society the Ruthenian Church could hardly expect to live in serenity, untouched in her liturgy by the world around her.

IV. PRINTED LITURGICAL TEXTS

The need for printed liturgical texts was one of the earliest liturgical concerns of the Kievan hierarchy following the Union. At the fourth Basilian chapter in Lavryšiv in 1626, we find the first brief discussion on the printing of liturgical books. The delegates decided to defer the correction — “naprawa” — of the *trebnyk* and other liturgical texts to the next chapter,¹³⁰ perhaps because the upcoming Kobryn' synod was to deal with the same matter.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Cf. J. Krajcar, “The Ruthenian Patriarchate”, *OCP*, 30 (1964): 66.

¹²⁹ For further information on this plan, see: “Programma Suppressionis Ritus Rutheni”, ed. A. Welykyj, *AOSBM*, 13 (1971): 249-257; *Projekt na Zniszczenie Rusi*, ed. H. Ščypavka, Černivci 1903; M. Andrusjak, “Projekt znesennja našoho obrjadu”, *AOSBM*, 3 (1930): 574-581.

¹³⁰ *AS*, 12:32.

¹³¹ Wawryk, “Cerkovni drukarni”, p. 114.

The Kobryn' synod made the first request to Rome for financial aid to print the needed books. It was explained that the Ruthenians, like the Greeks, had many more liturgical books than the Latins. These were defective and full of errors. Their menaion, they went on, had many discrepancies from the Greek original due to the malice of schismatic and heretical copiers. Many of these texts were available only in manuscript. The Basilians would reprint corrected texts, but they were short of funds because of their work with the new seminary. So the synod decided to turn to Rome for help. "Therefore they ask the Holy Congregation to consider helping them financially so that they could print the mentioned books."¹³² Such texts, they continued, would be useful to others like the Muscovites, Moldavians, and Serbs, who use the same books and the same alphabet.

Propaganda responded favourably to this request, offering at the same time to print the new books at its own press. It also stipulated that Rutskyj send texts already corrected by qualified monks.¹³³ Rutskyj and Korsak later wrote again to Rome to ask if Propaganda was going to pay for the printing as well, or had it just agreed to print them? If the latter, then the Ruthenians would print the books themselves because of the expense. Propaganda replied once more that it would cover the expenses as well, receiving reimbursement from the sale of the books.¹³⁴ After this, we hear no more about Rome printing the books, except that the books had been sent to the Holy Office for examination.

The Catholic Ruthenians were unable to print the books themselves. All the presses had either remained under Orthodox control during this period or, like the Mamonyč press, were under the control of private individuals or families. In 1617 Mamonyč had printed one služebnyk for the Catholics. We shall see more of this later. However, this edition, the first under Catholic auspices since the Union, was probably limited and not easily available, judging from the small number of references we find to it.

None of the Catholic hierarchy were as fortunate as the Orthodox bishop of Lviv, Gedeon Balaban, who had his own press and printed an important služebnyk in 1604. The Catholics during this period used either manuscripts or books printed by the Orthodox. In either case, they complained of errors. The manuscripts contained mistakes of transcription, while the texts received from the Orthodox had problems of content which Korsak mentions.

In these [texts for Sundays, and from Lent to Pentecost] are found the greatest number of errors, since the prayers and hymns were composed and introduced by Palamites, Ephesians, and many other schismatic authors.¹³⁵

¹³² *SEU*, 1:42.

¹³³ *ASCPF*, 1:48.

¹³⁴ *LE*, 1:150.

¹³⁵ *EM*, 2:56. The references are to followers of Gregory Palamas and the metropolitan of Ephesus Mark Eugenicos; the latter was the leading opponent to the Council of Florence.

Korsak also mentions that a regular pastor needed around twenty books, which he normally could not afford due to the high costs.

To alleviate their need, the Ruthenians turned to Rome. Their request coincided with the establishment of Propaganda's polyglot press, which by 1627 contained twenty-seven types for print and was still expanding. The purpose of the press was to aid the missionary work for which this Congregation had been established. In 1629, Propaganda decided that only books necessary and useful for missionary activity were to be printed. They had to be prepared in a Latin or Italian translation to ensure that they contained no errors in matters of faith. The books to be printed had to have a special decree of approval from a "Congregatio Particularis", a commission formed specifically to study the books.¹³⁶

In 1634 Korsak asked Propaganda to print a pontifical (archieratikon) in Church Slavonic. Propaganda discussed and approved his request and decided to give the text to their examiners for closer study.¹³⁷ We hear no more of the matter. As the pontificals were less in demand than other books, even the Orthodox used manuscript copies, though they had an excellent press in Kiev.¹³⁸

In 1643 Bishop Methodius Terlec'kyj of Xolm wrote to Propaganda, reminding it that the Ruthenian euchology had been examined by learned Ruthenians to ensure that it contained nothing against the faith, as required by Clement VIII. These examiners knew both Ruthenian (Church Slavonic) and Latin well. The euchology itself had been prepared before the schism by simple, honest men.¹³⁹ The reason why Terlec'kyj made such an explanation is not clear. It may be connected with his request the following year for matrices to print a služebnyk and časoslov, which had been translated and corrected according to Greek texts and which were to be printed in his eparchy of Xolm.¹⁴⁰ Again, nothing more is heard of Terlec'kyj's request.

¹³⁶ W. Henkel, "The Polyglot Printing-Office of the Congregation", *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, ed. J. Metzler, 1 (Rome 1971), 3:335-350.

¹³⁷ *ASCPF*, 1:137-138.

¹³⁸ Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 100-101.

¹³⁹ *LE*, 2:42.

¹⁴⁰ *ASCPF*, 1:204-205; cf. S. Senyk, "Methodius Terlec'kyj – Bishop of Xolm", *AOSBM*, 18 (1985): 342-373. Terlec'kyj did not stipulate exactly which Greek texts these were, but one of them certainly was the 1578 *Venice* Greek liturgicon, a reprint of the 1526 *Rome* Greek editio princeps. A copy of the 1578 *Venice* Greek edition is found in the State Library in Moscow. It contains the following donor's note on the title page: "Methodius [Terlec'kyj] Bishop of Xolm and Belz [1630-1648] has donated this Greek služebnyk printed in Venice to the library of the Polock archbishopric through His Grace Anthony Sjeljava the archbishop of Polock [1624-1655] at the Warsaw Diet in 1635"; there is added an owner's note in Anthony Sjeljava's hand; see N.P. Kiselev, "Knigi grečeskoj pečati v sobranii Gosudarstvennoj biblioteki SSSR im. V.I. Lenina", *Kniga*, 26 (Moscow 1973): 140-141, which includes a description and photograph of the title page.

The problem of uniformity in celebration and lack of necessary books comes up in the report to Propaganda of the Roman procurator, Philip Borovky, in 1647. He wrote concerning the planned visitation of the Ruthenian Church prior to an eventual synod.

The pontifical, liturgicon, and other books, well revised and corrected, should be printed, even if a special contribution has to be taken up for this. Thus, the uniformity and decency required will be maintained in the administration of the sacraments; neither should certain bishops impart major ordinations outside the celebration of the divine liturgy.¹⁴¹

In 1655, under Metropolitan Sjeljava, the Ruthenians once again asked Rome to print their needed books, listing specifically the služebnyk and časoslov, “petentium impressionem Missalium et Breviarium ruthenorum in ritu catholico.”¹⁴² They stressed once more the lack of presses, problems with the manuscript copies, and the necessity of buying from the Orthodox. One result was that services were not being celebrated in their entirety: “thus many are forced either not to celebrate the divine offices in full or to omit them completely.”¹⁴³ Propaganda agreed once more to the request and this time had the books examined by Bishop Sojmirovič of Prizren, originally from Bulgaria, who was knowledgeable in the Slavonic language.¹⁴⁴ But, as is usual by now, we hear no more about this matter, perhaps because of the death of Metropolitan Sjeljava in 1655, following which the metropolitan see remained vacant for ten years.

The 17th Basilian chapter in 1667, in Vilna, made the by now customary call for the correction and printing of texts, specifically the služebnyk and trebnyk.¹⁴⁵ These were to be prepared by Bishop Suša and Pachomius Ohilevyč, the then Basilian vicar general. They specifically referred to the use of the Mamonyč edition as a norm to follow: “y žeby według Mamoniczowskiego Sluzebnyka odprawowano.”¹⁴⁶ They also recommended to Metropolitan Kolenda that he renovate the Holy Trinity monastery press in Vilna.¹⁴⁷

In his report in 1756 to Propaganda concerning the Kievan metropolia and the Polock eparchy of which he was archbishop, Metropolitan Florian Hrebnyč'kyj refers to this Polock library, which contained books printed in Rome and Venice, gathered and used by his predecessors, *EM*, 4:371.

¹⁴¹ *LB*, 1:52.

¹⁴² *ASCPF*, 1:259, 261.

¹⁴³ *SEU*, 1:190.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 191. Concerning Sojmirovič, we know only that he was born of a noble Bulgarian family, became a Franciscan of the Minor Observance, then bishop of Prizren from 27 February 1651 and metropolitan of Ohrid from 20 March 1656 (both sees are in the southern Illyrian peninsula): cf. *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi*, ed. P. Gauchat, 4 (Münster 1935): 56, 289.

¹⁴⁵ *AS*, 12:96.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

Kolenda did get this press operating, since we hear that he printed a časoslov there around 1670, in which he left out Kievan saints not known in the Latin Church.¹⁴⁸

The 18th Basilian chapter held in Novhorodok in 1671 wanted the Vilna press to continue operating, but all material for printing was to be checked first by Ohilevyč.¹⁴⁹

That same year Ohilevyč published his own work in the Vilna press, entitled *Ecphonemata Liturgiey Greckiey*, containing parallel Latin and Polish versions of CHR with rubrics in Polish. CHR is followed by a section entitled *Harmonia*, in which he compares the Latin and Byzantine liturgies. His work was a follow-up to an earlier work entitled *Hermenia*, printed by the Basilians in Byten' in 1652, which also contained a Polish version of CHR meant for the Latins who attended the Ruthenian churches, especially where there were no Latin churches. Ohilevyč's work was reprinted at least once, in 1685.¹⁵⁰

The Vilna press did not seem to offer any final solution for the Ruthenians' needs, as we find the hierarchy under Metropolitan Žoxovs'kyj once more asking for Propaganda's help in 1679 to print a long list of liturgical books.¹⁵¹ Two years later they also asked for help to set up a press and seminary in the Žyrovyci monastery.¹⁵² But Innocent XI, to whom the request was directed, said nothing in reply.¹⁵³

Opizio Pallavicini, the nuncio in Warsaw, intervened as well to ask Propaganda's help. Pallavicini saw a need for the Ruthenians to have their own press, "so that they would not have to get from Muscovy books which are full of errors." Propaganda replied that it did not have all the needed material and suggested that he inquire into a press which they had heard about in Lviv that was reportedly very good.¹⁵⁴ This was the Stauropedia press, which at this time was still in Orthodox hands and strongly against the Union. This reason was given by Žoxovs'kyj to Propaganda in 1682 when he asked for help to reprint books which were worn out with age and falling apart, "so that we would no longer have to beg for the corrupted books from Muscovy."¹⁵⁵

At a meeting in Warsaw in 1683 between nuncio Pallavicini and the Ruthenian hierarchy and Basilian representatives, it was decided that the Suprasł monastery would build a press at its own expense, in order to print all needed books. These would be based on the Mamonyč editions, and a

¹⁴⁸ *EM*, 2:293, 315-316; cf. Wawryk, "Cerkovni drukarni", p. 119-120.

¹⁴⁹ *AS*, 12:104.

¹⁵⁰ Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 107.

¹⁵¹ *CP*, 1:64-65.

¹⁵² *EM*, 3:68.

¹⁵³ A. Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, 3 (Rome 1863): 677-678; also Wawryk, "Cerkovni drukarni", p. 122.

¹⁵⁴ *LSCPF*, 2:123-124.

¹⁵⁵ *EM*, 3:70.

commission was formed with members from the hierarchy, the Basilians, and a Jesuit (Theophilus Rutka, of Ruthenian origin), who were to examine and prepare the texts.¹⁵⁶ But the commission produced nothing. The Basilians decided to wait no longer for the Suprasl' press (the Suprasl' archimandria was independent of the Order at this time.)¹⁵⁷ At their chapter in Novhorodok in 1686 they advised Metropolitan Žoxovs'kyj to collect funds and prepare a press himself.¹⁵⁸

Žoxovs'kyj finally printed a large *služebnyk* in 1692, the most important liturgical text for the Catholic Ruthenian Church since the time of the Union. It became the model for subsequent *služebnyky*, but it did not provide a permanent solution to the desire for liturgical uniformity within the Ruthenian Church.

Conclusion

The first one hundred years after the Union of Brest were difficult ones for the Catholic Ruthenians. In this period their Church lost almost all of its upper class to the Latins. They had to deal with a Polish Church of theologians and effective preachers, supported by the nobility and the state. They had to defend their church properties and civil rights from the rival Orthodox Ruthenian Church centered in Kiev. In their own Church they were beset by numerous problems and needs. Perhaps a provincial synod, the acceptance of the Church Union by three Orthodox eparchies, and Žoxovs'kyj's *služebnyk* would bring some peace and stability to the Catholic Ruthenians and put some order into their divine worship.

¹⁵⁶ *EM*, 3:74.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Wawryk, "Cerkovni drukarni", p. 123.

¹⁵⁸ *AS*, 12:124.

CHAPTER 2

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY RUTHENIAN CHURCH

I. MAJOR ECCLESIASTICAL EVENTS

1. *The Union of Three Eparchies*

At the turn of the seventeenth century the last three eparchies of the Kievan metropolia entered into union with the Church of Rome. Although Bishop Innocent Vynnyč'kyj of the Peremyšl'-Sjanok-Sambir eparchy had earlier accepted the Union privately, the eparchy publicly entered the Union during its synod held on 23 April 1693.¹ This synod dealt mainly with the internal order and discipline of the eparchy. We shall note various points brought out by this synod when discussing the liturgical life in the eighteenth century.²

In 1700, Bishop Joseph Šumlans'kyj concluded the union of his eparchy of Lviv-Halyč-Kamjanec' Podil's'kyj with Rome. His earlier private acceptance of the Union was publicly declared by a solemn liturgy on 11 July in which the pope was commemorated.³ Although the eparchy as such accepted the Union at this time, there were holdouts, the most notable being the Stauropegia Brotherhood in Lviv, which entered into union with Rome only in 1709. We do not have such a clear picture of the internal life of the Lviv eparchy as we do for Peremyšl'. Its expectations from the Union appear primarily in the decree of King Augustus II, where, among other points, the equality of the Ruthenian clergy with the Latin was declared along with a reaffirmation of past rights and privileges.⁴

Finally, the eparchy of Luc'k-Ostrih was brought into the Union in 1702 with the ordination of its Bishop, Dionysius Žabokryč'kyj, following his personal acceptance of the Union. He was the candidate of Augustus II for the Orthodox see of Luc'k, but the Orthodox would not accept him since he had

¹ Cf. *LE*, 4:112-131; Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 7-24.

² For further information, see: B. Balyk, *Inokentij Ivan Vynnyč'kyj: epyskop Pere-mys'kyj, Sambirs'kyj, Sjanic'kyj, 1680-1700*, Rome 1978; M. Marusyn, "Vereinigung der Peremysler Eparchie", *AOSBM*, 8 (1956): 419-451.

³ *LE*, 4:214-218, 220-224; *ASCPF*, 2:156-160, 161-165.

⁴ *LE*, 4:216; Deruga, *Piotr Wielki*, P. 8-17.

married a widow.⁵ We have no detailed information on this eparch's entry into the Union, effected mainly by the fact of *Žabokryc'kyj*'s ordination by Catholic Metropolitan Leo *Zalens'kyj*.⁶

The Catholic Ruthenian metropolia had now attained its greatest territorial extent, comprising all Ruthenian lands in the Polish-Lithuanian state. Its size and strength offered hope for peaceful development. Tensions arose, however, due to the diversity of the two parts of the church province. The eparchies in the north, which had been in the Union now for over a century, were dominated by the monastic organization of the Basilians and characterized by the changes introduced in this long period of coexistence with the Latin Church. Church life in the newly united eparchies of the south had developed at a different pace and in a different way.

2. *The Synod of Zamostja*

In 1713 the nuncio to Warsaw, Jerome Grimaldi, announced the appointment of Leo *Kyška* (protoarchimandrite 1703-1713, bishop of Volodymyr-Brest 1711-1728, metropolitan 1714-1728) as administrator of the *Peremyšl* eparchy following the death of Bishop George *Vynnyč'kyj*. *Kyška* played an important role in the publication of liturgical texts and in the whole liturgical life of the Ruthenian Church in general. As administrator of *Peremyšl* he could observe at first hand ecclesiastical life and practice in this eparchy. It was this experience which influenced his decision to call a provincial synod for the Ruthenian Church. He explained why such a synod was needed in his letter to Propaganda of 14 February 1715, where he drew attention to the influence of the Orthodox in Polock, *Luc'k*, and *Lviv*, and to the need to stop new heresies, unify ritual matters, and abolish abuses in the Church.⁷ He repeated these arguments, stressing the liturgical problems and simony, in subsequent correspondence.⁸ The controversy between the *Peremyšl* clergy and *Kyška* over collections for synods, payments for ordinations, and other practices smacking of simony was discussed by Propaganda on 17 December 1715.⁹

An outline for the planned synod was sent by Nuncio Grimaldi to Rome on 11 November 1716. It included topics concerning the sacraments,

⁵ *LE*, 4:232-234, 235-242.

⁶ For further information, see: S.V. Kurganovič, *Dionisij Žabokryc'kyj: episkop Luckij i Ostrožskij*, Kiev 1914, p. 208-219; Deruga, *Piotr Wielki*, p. 18-35; M. Marusyn, "Bischof Dionisij Zabokryckij und die Wiedervereinigung der Eparchie von Luck mit dem Apostolischen Stuhle", *AOSBM*, 10 (1963): 112-123.

⁷ *EM*, 4:41.

⁸ *EM*, 4:44-45, 49-52; *SEU*, 2:111.

⁹ *ASCPF*, 3:135-138.

antimensia, parish administration, and liturgical books.¹⁰ Just prior to the synod, Bishop Athanasius Šeptyc'kyj of Lviv submitted a set of topics he wanted discussed at the synod; these also dealt with simony and other payments to the bishops, plus liturgical matters.¹¹

In 1715 Rome gave permission to call the synod,¹² but Kyška convoked it for August 1720. One reason for the delay was Kyška's displeasure over Propaganda's appointment of Grimaldi rather than himself as president of the synod.¹³ Propaganda, in fact, had doubts whether Kyška wanted to call the synod for the reasons he had given, or rather to work out his dispute with the Basilians, and it feared that Kyška would use the synod for his own particular interests, "interesse particulare".¹⁴

The synod lasted from 26 August to 17 September 1720. It was attended by the hierarchy, a large representation of the Ruthenian clergy, Basilian superiors, and two representatives of the Lviv Stauropigia. In the working sessions they dealt with the Catholic faith, preaching and catechesis, the sacraments, church officials, office taxes, parish administration, monastic life, church goods, simony, education of the clergy, feasts and fasts — in short, a very thorough examination of church life.¹⁵

Of special interest to us are the liturgical discussions on the eucharist, mass, and liturgical books, which we shall see more in detail later. Approved in a Brief of 19 July 1724, "Apostolatus Officium", this synod was the last held for the entire Kievan metropolitan province.¹⁶

3. Pope Benedict XIV and the Basilian Centralization

In its decisions on monastic life the Zamostja synod called for the unification of the monks of the newly united eparchies, together with those of Xolm and Volodymyr, into one religious body.¹⁷ Although the synod wanted this reorganization done quickly, a drawn-out struggle between the hierarchy, the already organized Basilians in the north (the Lithuanian or Bielorussian branch), and the newly united monks (the Ukrainian branch) developed.

¹⁰ *EM*, 4:58-62.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 173-174.

¹² *ASCPF*, 3:119-120.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

¹⁴ *LSCPF*, 3:151.

¹⁵ There are three editions of the acts of Zamostja printed by Propaganda: *Synodus Provincialis Ruthenorum habita in civitate Zamosciae anno 1720*, Rome 1724, 1838, 1883; another edition is found in the collection, *Acta et Decreta Sacrorum Conciliorum Recentiorum Collectio Lacensis*, 2 (Freiburg 1876): 1-74. We have made use of the 1883 Rome edition.

¹⁶ *DPRU*, 2:49-50. For further information on the Synod of Zamostja see J. Bilanych. *Synodus Zamostiana an. 1720: eius celebratio, approbatio et momentum*, Rome 1960.

¹⁷ *SPZ*, Tit. 11: "De monasteriis et statu monachorum", p. 107-108.

A chapter in Lviv in 1739 established the latter into the “Ruthenian Congregation of the Pokrov” (Protection of the Mother of God).¹⁸ Before and after this Lviv chapter all sides sent many letters and representatives to Rome to present their views on the planned centralization.

Propaganda worked on the problem from 1740 until its final decision of 1 May 1742. Over two hundred pages of material were collected containing detailed information.¹⁹ Opposition came from the hierarchy, who did not want to lose their traditional control over the individual monasteries and the income they received from them. The two branches had significant historical differences. The Lithuanian (Bielorussian) branch had been centralized since 1617 with common rules, chapters, and superiors. Its religious had lived for over a century in close contact with the Latin Church. In contrast, the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) branch had had no unified organization, but consisted only of independent monasteries subject to the local bishop. Influence of Latin practices on these monasteries was slight.

Pope Benedict XIV himself attended Propaganda’s session of 1 May 1742, at which a decision concerning centralization was made.²⁰ He wrote later how he had been interested in matters concerning the Oriental Churches from the beginning of his pontificate.²¹ He was already familiar with the Ruthenian Church from his work with the acts of the Synod of Zamostja, which had been sent to Rome for approval when he was secretary for the Sacred Congregation of Rites (1718-1728).²² Propaganda decided that centralization was preferable to avoid competition between the two branches of the Order for the nomination of bishops, archimandrites, and other dignitaries, and to enable the Order to work more effectively for the cause of Church union, as the centralized Lithuanian branch had done up to this time. Thus, it was decided to have one united Order, which would come directly under the authority of the Holy See. The Basilians were instructed to call a general chapter to elect a protoarchimandrite, which they did at Dubno in 1743.²³

During the Dubno chapter the Basilians and the hierarchy worked out a new Nexus or agreement on the canonical position of the metropolitan with regard to the Basilians and on the voice of the Order’s members in the election of metropolitans, bishops, and archimandrites.²⁴ The acts of the Dubno

¹⁸ *APF*, Congregazioni Particolari, vol. 91, f. 283-284.

¹⁹ Cf. Pidručnyj, *Narys*, p. 276-278.

²⁰ *CP*, 2:48-75.

²¹ Cf. Benedict XIV, “Ex Quo Primum” (1 March 1756), *Opera Omnia*, vol. 17: *Bullarium*, III-2 (Prati 1847): 299.

²² Cf. W. King, *Benedict XIV and the Orientals*, Rome 1940, p. 7; Bilanych, *Synodus Zamostiana*, p. 108.

²³ Cf. *APF*, Congregazioni Particolari, vol. 92, f. 302-320; Pidručnyj, *Narys*, p. 278-282.

²⁴ For the text of this Nexus see D. Blažejowskyj, *De Potestate Metropolitanum Kioviensium Catholicorum in Clerum Regularem*, Rome 1943, p. 157-161.

chapter were examined by a Particular Congregation in Rome on 30 March 1744, also attended by Benedict XIV.²⁵

This centralization of the Basilians, as well as the acts of the Dubno chapter, was approved by Pope Benedict in his Brief of 11 May 1744, "Inter Plures", a very important decree in the history of the development of the Basilian Order.²⁶

In several decrees following "Inter Plures", Benedict caused changes within the Basilian Order, which to a certain extent affected liturgical matters. In his apostolic constitution "Inclutum Quidem" of 12 April 1753²⁷ he revoked an earlier decree of Benedict XIII (which had already fallen into disuse), which required the Basilians, by taking a fourth vow, not to seek higher offices in the church.²⁸ The delineation of authority between the metropolitan and the protoarchimandrite was established in his decree "Super Familiam" of 30 March 1756.²⁹ To strengthen the position and authority of the protoarchimandrite (a temporary elected position) over that of the archimandrites (a permanent dignity), the pontiff allowed the protoarchimandrite the use of some pontifical insignia (mitre, pectoral cross, and staff) for the duration of his tenure.³⁰ This meant that a simple priest could use these insignia with the appropriate liturgical rubrics only for the given period of office, then had to renounce them after it expired. A request was eventually made in 1780 to allow ex-protoarchimandrites to continue to use these insignia. But Propaganda's reply permitted this only for the particular case of Porfirius Važyns'kyj.³¹ The anonymous author of the Polock St. Sophia monastery chronicle wrote in 1765 of an attempt to pass civil legislation requiring the protoarchimandrites, like the archimandrites, to be gentry by birth. It was not enough to be just a religious person, the chronicler wrote, but noble blood should also be required of candidates for protoarchimandrite. If a commoner did become protoarchimandrite, then he should not be permitted the use of the pontificalia.³²

Following the unification of the two branches, the Basilian Order became

²⁵ *CP*, 2:75-101. Although Benedict XIV never attended the General Congregations, he did attend the Particular Congregations, including the nine dealing with Ruthenian Church matters: cf. J. Metzler, "Benedetto XIV e Propaganda Fide: Le sue relazioni con il card. prefetto Petra", *Benedetto XIV (Prospero Lambertini): Convegno internazionale di studi storici*, ed. M. Cecchelli, I (Ferrara 1981): 699.

²⁶ *DPRU*, 2:88-100 (text); Pidručnyj, Narys, p. 310-315 (commentary).

²⁷ *DPRU*, 2:134-138.

²⁸ See the decree "Cum Sicut Dilectus" (16 December 1728), *DPRU*, 2:58-59; also Pidručnyj, *Narys*, p. 321-323.

²⁹ *DPRU*, 2:161-164.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 126-129.

³¹ *ASUB*, 2:35-36.

³² *AS*, 10:346.

the most influential force within the Ruthenian Church. Such a body should have been able to coordinate its liturgical activities and provide uniformity in celebration among its members. However, differences in liturgical practices between the two branches continued, and the metropolitan, the highest authority in the Ruthenian Church, did not have effective control over the Basilians in liturgical matters.

4. *The Planned Synod of Brest*

After the Synod of Zamostja the only synodal acts we have are those from the Peremyšl' eparchy. The synod of 1740, under Bishop Jerome Ustryč'kyj (1715-1746), was meant mainly to put into effect the decisions of Zamostja. It was concerned with the administration of the sacraments and setting church penalties and fines. But it also aimed at consolidating and protecting the position of the Ruthenian clergy and laity against Latin officials and clergy.³³ Following the Peremyšl' synod, there was a series of eparchial meetings held in Valjava (1756, 1764, 1765, 1780, 1783), which dealt with liturgical celebrations, the sacraments, and the administration of communion during the Easter season.³⁴ The acts of these synods also inform us on church life in general during this period.

At a meeting of the Ruthenian hierarchy in Novhorodok on 6 August 1761, Metropolitan Florian Hrebnyč'kyj proposed a provincial synod to discuss the problems of the metropolia.³⁵ A presynodal commission was to meet in Volodymyr to examine the proposals made by the various eparchies concerning possible topics. The only complete list of these proposals we have comes from the Polock eparchy (of which Hrebnyč'kyj was also archbishop).³⁶ But we also have a summary of the proposals from the Lviv eparchy.³⁷ Hrebnyč'kyj died in 1762, soon after the Novhorodok meeting. His successor, Metropolitan Felecian Volodkovyč, received permission from Clement XIII to call the synod for 26 August 1765 in Brest; as at the Synod of Zamostja, the Warsaw nuncio was to preside, and not the metropolitan.³⁸ The synod was postponed indefinitely, mainly for political reasons, the chief of which was the clear intention of the king to control the synod's agenda.³⁹

The presynodal commission did meet and it prepared a set of proposed

³³ Cf. Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 28-30.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 59-78.

³⁵ The best study and presentation of documents on the 1765 Brest synod plans is that of S. Wiwčaruk, *De Synodo Provinciali Berestensi anno 1765 non celebrata*, Rome 1963.

³⁶ *EM*, 8:22-30; also given in Wiwčaruk, *De synodo*, p. 141-150.

³⁷ Cf. Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, 2:935.

³⁸ *DPRU*, 2:183-184.

³⁹ Cf. Wiwčaruk, *De synodo*, p. 33-51.

acts for the synod, a copy of which was sent probably by Bishop Anthony Mlodovs'kyj (coadjutor of Pinsk with the title of Bishop of Turiv) to the Warsaw nuncio in 1765 and by him forwarded to Rome.⁴⁰ We do not have any information on the discussions of this commission, consequently we cannot say to what extent the proposals represent the views of the entire metropolia at that time. But we find in all three sets of proposals (Polock, Lviv, and the commission's) an emphasis on the use of Eastern liturgical traditions, the reform of the secular clergy, and the raising of the cultural life in general within the Ruthenian Church.

Although we see a tendency to return to traditional Eastern practices, a clear distinction was made between the Catholic and Orthodox Ruthenian Churches. *Article II: De Fide Orthodoxa* prescribed that the solemn rite of excommunication of all heretics be reinstated on the Sunday of Orthodoxy (first Sunday in Lent). The point immediately following, however, noted that there was to be no intercommunion (*communicatio in sacris*) between Catholic and Orthodox Ruthenians, and pastors were to instruct their faithful on the gravity of this erroneous practice, which was a reserved sin that could only be absolved by the bishop.⁴¹

Whereas the Synod of Zamostja dealt more with doctrinal and disciplinary concerns, this synod was directed more towards liturgical matters. Later this was the concern of Lisovs'kyj also, but his approach was too independent and lacked the representative character which this synod brought out already in its preparations. This planned synod and its presynodal acts fill the gap between Zamostja, often considered too Western or latinized, and Lisovs'kyj, often judged to have been too radical and pro-Orthodox.

II. ORTHODOX AND LATIN NEIGHBOURS

1. *Russia and the Ruthenian Orthodox Church*

From the late seventeenth century the Kievan Orthodox Church slowly lost its autonomy in civil and religious matters to Muscovy. When Gedeon Čertvertyns'kyj, Bishop of Luc'k, was elevated to metropolitan of Kiev on 18 November 1685, the ceremony of installation took place in the Moscow Uspenskij sobor in the presence of the young co-tsars, Ivan and Peter, and was the first time that a Kievan metropolitan vowed obedience to a Moscow patriarch. The following year Patriarch Dionysius of Constantinople, under whose jurisdiction the Kievan Orthodox metropolia nominally fell, signed

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73, 111-141.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

a decree placing the metropolia under the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarch.⁴²

This coincided with the Eternal Peace Treaty arranged in the same year between the Polish King John III Sobieski and the regent Sophia for Ivan and Peter of Muscovy. Article IX of this treaty gave the tsar the right to protect the Orthodox faithful within the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth (at this time in the four eparchies of Lviv, Peremyśl, Luc'k, and Mohyliv), especially from the proselytizing of the Catholic Ruthenians.⁴³ The Orthodox eparchies were to be allowed normal communications with the metropolitan see in Kiev, which since the Treaty of Andrusovo in 1667 fell under the political control of Muscovy.

The Eternal Peace Treaty was at first rejected by the Polish Diet in 1690. Moscow asked its representative in Warsaw why it was rejected and instructed him to maintain that Article IX was considered the most important point of this treaty. The Polish parliament finally ratified it in 1710. During that time the Catholic Ruthenians continued to receive Orthodox into their Church. In 1694 a Venetian, G. Alberti, wrote that the Moscow representative in Warsaw complained to the Polish king that it was he, King Sobieski, who was responsible for the Orthodox joining the Union, whereas it was the duty of the Moscow tsar to care for the Ruthenian faithful.⁴⁴

Tsar Peter's claim over the Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth brought him into direct conflict with the Catholic Ruthenians with tragic consequences. In 1705, in the course of the Northern War, he was allied with Augustus II against Charles XII of Sweden. He entered Bielorrussian territory and in Polock on 11 July 1705 he went to the Catholic Ruthenian cathedral of St. Sophia, where, after some heated words on St. Josaphat, church union, and the Orthodox, four Basilians were killed by the Muscovites, one by Peter himself. Subsequently the monastery was pillaged and the other Basilians imprisoned.⁴⁵

Metropolitan Leo Zalens'kyj protested to Rome and to the Polish king over the attacks of Peter I on the Catholic Ruthenians, especially the killing of the Basilians.⁴⁶ Pope Clement XI replied that same year to Zalens'kyj, promising to intervene with the Polish king on their behalf.⁴⁷ Zalens'kyj fled to

⁴² *Arxiv JuZR*, I, vol. 5, introduction by Sergej Ternovskij, gives a detailed account of the passage of the Orthodox Kievan metropolia under the patriarchate of Moscow, while the rest of the volume contains pertinent documents.

⁴³ Cf. *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossijskoj imperii*, 2 (St. Petersburg 1830): 777. The entire treaty is no. 1186 in this work.

⁴⁴ Deruga, *Piotr Wielki*, p. 13, 15-16.

⁴⁵ A good account is found in Metropolitan Zalens'kyj's report to Rome, *EM*, 3:207-210. See also Deruga, *Piotr Wielki*, p. 89-120, especially p. 100-106.

⁴⁶ *EM*, 3:206-210.

⁴⁷ *DPRU*, 2:6-8.

the west to escape further violence against the Catholic Ruthenians by Peter's forces and allies, such as the sacking of the Holy Trinity monastery in Minsk in 1708.⁴⁸ Clement XI intervened in 1710 and 1711 in separate letters to the Polish chancellor, the primate, and the king.⁴⁹

In 1709 Bishop Dionysius Żabokryc'kyj of Luc'k was taken prisoner by the Muscovite forces and brought to Kiev, then to Moscow. He was treated as a traitor, above all for his union with Rome, and died in prison in Moscow in 1715.⁵⁰

During the years 1708-1709 much of the territory of the Ruthenian Church was being crossed by various armies. This inflicted great hardships on the local population, who had to provide for the armies' needs, often seeing its own lands ravaged. The following year the Muscovite forces sacked numerous Catholic Ruthenian monasteries, churches, and land holdings, especially in the Polock area. Defeat in battle in 1711 finally checked the interference of Peter I in Poland's political affairs and put an end to attacks on the Ruthenian Church.⁵¹

After the union of the Peremyśl, Lviv, and Luc'k eparchies with Rome, the tsars made frequent use of the Mohyliv eparchy, the only eparchy for the Orthodox in Bielorrussia, as a political foothold in the Polish-Lithuanian state. The Orthodox sees in the Ukrainian lands were under constant pressure throughout the eighteenth century to conform to Russian Church practices. Losing by degrees the autonomy it had hitherto enjoyed, the Orthodox Ruthenian Church after 1686 had to submit all planned liturgical publications for censorship to Moscow before printing. Gradually the texts themselves were made to conform to the Muscovite Nikonian editions, especially following the ukaz of Peter I on 5 October 1720.⁵²

In spite of political interference, many Orthodox Ruthenians were joining the Catholic Ruthenian Church. Heraclius Lysans'kyj, superior of the Polock Basilian monastery and visitor for Bielorrussia, sent reports to Rome in 1740 and 1749 listing many conversions of both individuals and entire parishes.⁵³ Metropolitan Hrebnyč'kyj, in writing on the state of the Catholic metropolia in 1752, stated that eighty deaneries of twenty to thirty parishes each had joined the Union.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Cf. Deruga, *Piotr Wielki*, p. 142, 167.

⁴⁹ *DPRU*, 2:20-24.

⁵⁰ *LE*, 5:4-7, 75-76; Deruga, *Piotr Wielki*, p. 175-221.

⁵¹ Cf. Deruga, *Piotr Wielki*, p. 240, 263. For further information on Peter, see L.R. Lewitter, "Peter the Great and the Polish Dissenters", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 33, n. 80 (1954): 75-101.

⁵² *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossijskoj imperii*, 6 (St. Petersburg 1830), n. 3653 (5 October 1720); Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 99; Ohijenko, *Istorija drugarstva*, p. 265-295.

⁵³ *LB*, 2:66-73, 80-81.

⁵⁴ *EM*, 4:294-303.

During the hajdamaky uprisings, the Catholic Ruthenians were especially persecuted. The hajdamaky were bands of landless serfs from the south of Kiev. Their rebellion was social and political in nature, aimed at Polish overlords and Jewish merchants. But they also attacked the Catholic Ruthenians, whom they considered tools of the Poles. The most famous single attack was that on the fortress and trading center of Uman' on 10 June 1768, when thousands who had taken refuge there were massacred. George Mokryc'kyj, an official of Metropolitan Volodkovyč, was in the city at that time and later gave a detailed description of the attack in his report to Rome of 9 November 1769.⁵⁵ On the day of the attack, Mokryc'kyj began to celebrate a sung mass in the morning in the Ruthenian St. Elias church, after which he continued with sung Akathists all day long, since he was too frightened to leave the altar. His non-stop celebration seems to have saved his life, to judge from several incidents he describes:

As I was thus singing the mass, before the gospel a cossack entered the sanctuary armed with musket, lance, and rifle; he listened attentively to the whole gospel as it was sung, after which, when I had finished, he made the sign of the cross and said the following in a clear voice: "They say the Uniate faith is bad, but that is not so; it has to be good since they sing so well!" — and he left...

[. . .]

Another cossack came up the sanctuary during the silent prayer when the choir sings "It is right and proper to praise you, Mother of God", and at that moment when he aimed his musket at my breast, I began to sing, "Among the first, O Lord, remember the most holy ecumenical archbishop, the Pope of Rome"; upon hearing the singing he put away the musket, spit at me, and left.⁵⁶

The Basilian superior Peter Kostec'kyj had celebrated a low mass in the Latin church that morning, as did his vicar, Levyc'kyj, in another chapel, during which the other Basilians recited a litany to Mary. The Basilians were arrested during the litany. Levyc'kyj was allowed to finish his mass, but then the cossacks threw the reserved eucharist on the floor. The five Basilian priests were then killed, together with one of their students in place of Mokryc'kyj, whom the cossacks could not find, not recognizing him as the celebrant in the Ruthenian church.⁵⁷

During the hajdamaky pogrom over three hundred priests and thousands of faithful were killed. The movement was at first fomented by Russia. Eventually Catherine II, fearing for her reputation, ordered Russian forces to intervene to stop it. But once expelled from their parishes by the Orthodox,

⁵⁵ Cf. *APF*, SC:MPR, vol. 10, f. 125r-132v. See also the documentation given by M. Karovač, "Do istoriji Kolijivščyny", *AOSBM*, 3 (1928): 204-208. For a good analysis of the hajdamaky movement, see Z. Kohut, "Myths Old and New: The Haidamak Movement and the Koliivshchyna (1768) in Recent Historiography", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 1 (1977): 359-378.

⁵⁶ *APF*, SC:MPR, vol. 10, f. 129.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 130.

many Catholic Ruthenian priests could not return. Those that did in the border territories coming more and more under the control of Russia were often arrested. A notable example were the sixty-eight priests imprisoned in Berdyčiv.⁵⁸ With the first partition of Poland in 1772, a large part of the Catholic Ruthenian metropolia fell within the borders of an Orthodox nation, under the rule of Empress Catherine II.

2. Relations with Polish Catholicism

Changes in the liturgical life of the Ruthenian Church in the eighteenth century came about not only through synods and other major events. Daily coexistence with Polish Latins also continued to leave its mark on Ruthenians.

Cassian Sakowicz had severely ridiculed the Ruthenian Church in the first half of the seventeenth century in his work *Perspectiwa*. Many of his criticisms were repeated by a group of clergy from the Peremyšl Latin diocese in 1717 in a booklet entitled *Praxis Indebita*.⁵⁹ In this work, they list the practices and beliefs of the Catholic Ruthenians concerning the sacraments, accusing them of ignorance and dubious faith. In their criticisms they do not distinguish between what they saw in their day and what they were repeating from Sakowicz. The Warsaw Nuncio, Jerome Grimaldi, and the Theatine rector of the Lviv Pontifical seminary, Stephen Trombetti, defended the Ruthenians in a set of replies to these accusations sent to Rome in 1720, in which they indicate both the errors in the Latin accusations and the problems in the Ruthenian Church which partially gave cause to such attacks.⁶⁰ Their replies are based on their own observations and represent more accurately the situation of the early eighteenth century. We shall note individual criticisms later. For now, it should be observed that the objections of *Praxis Indebita* are often similar to the liturgical regulations made by the Synod of Zamostja.

In 1727 Propaganda dealt with several complaints from the Lviv Latin diocese against the Ruthenians. The Lviv Latins objected that the Ruthenians were ringing their church bells during the Latin Holy Week, causing great scandal among the Latin faithful. The Latins pointed out that the Armenian

⁵⁸ *MUH*, 6:360-362; *EM*, 5:267ff.

⁵⁹ "Praxis indebita circa Sacramentorum administrationem ac varias ecclesiae ceremonias, a quibusdam Ritus Graeci Episcopis, et Presbyteris, nonnullis in locis cum gravi Christi fidelium scandalo observari solita, ut in posterum evitetur perpetuo in lucem publicam prodit, cum licentia Superiorum, Cracoviae, vel Varsaviae, aut Leopoli, Anno Domini 1717mo", *CP*, 1:141-162.

⁶⁰ The authorship of these replies is not given in the above text, but is found in *APF*, *Congregazioni Particolari*, vol. 64, f. 173: "Dopo aver letto diligentemente il libretto che cotesta Sacra Congregazione si degnò mandarmi con sua lettera de' 16 Marzo prossimo passato toccante gl'abusi de Ruteni, habbiamo col P. Trombetti formate sopra ogni articolo del medesimo le injunte Osservazioni Lettera A." The writer is the nuncio to Warsaw Jerome Grimaldi.

Rite cathedral in Lviv refrained from ringing out of respect for the superiority of the Latin Rite, “in obsequium ritus Latini dominantis”. But Propaganda did not accept this argument and recalled that a similar problem had been decided on 28 August 1643 in favour of the Ruthenians. Besides, Lviv was the residence of the current Ruthenian metropolitan, who had more faithful, churches, and parishes than any other Rite.⁶¹ (Propaganda failed to point out that ringing church bells according to their own needs was one of the conditions mentioned by the Ruthenian hierarchy in the Union of Brest articles.)

Another complaint of the Lviv diocese clergy concerned the differences in festive days between the Gregorian and the Julian calendars; this, they said, caused scandal to the faithful. The Armenians refrained from work on Latin feasts, so why could the Ruthenians not do the same, again in the name of Latin superiority? Propaganda replied once more in the Ruthenians’ favour, noting that their feasts were regulated not only according to their traditional calendar, but more recently by the Synod of Zamostja. If labourers were to observe the Latin feasts in addition to their own by refraining from work, economic hardships would ensue. Furthermore, although Clement VIII had required Greeks to observe Latin feasts, this applied to the Albanians in Italy and not to the Ruthenians, who had always had their own hierarchy with jurisdiction independent of the Latin ordinaries. They had observed their calendar feasts from time immemorial without ever having being burdened with others.⁶²

The church calendars caused other problems besides. In 1731 the Ruthenian procurator in Rome submitted a request concerning the cathedral in Xolm, in which a Latin benefactor had endowed an altar in honour of St. Anthony of Padua. The Basilians there wanted to celebrate St. Anthony’s feast on 13 June according to the Gregorian calendar for the many Latins who came to this cathedral shrine. But the Latin Piarist Fathers (Order of Poor Clerics Regular of the Mother of God of the Pious Schools) objected, saying that this should be celebrated according to the Julian Calendar. This, the procurator wrote, would cause scandal and displeasure to the Latin faithful since:

In all Basilian churches all the major feasts, especially those of the Mother of God, are celebrated according to the Gregorian calendar with great solemnity and with indulgences received from the Holy Apostolic See; this has always been the practice in Poland and Lithuania without anyone objecting, and is the practice still.⁶³

⁶¹ *SEU*, 2:247-249.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 246-247.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

This willingness to help serve the liturgical needs of the Latins is seen in the following request made by Metropolitan Kyška in 1720:

The archbishop of Kiev, metropolitan of all Rus', would like to bring to the attention of your Eminences that the faithful of the Latin Rite in the palatinate of Kiev who have no priests of their own Rite except at a distance of over thirty Polish miles, have not been able to receive the sacrament of the eucharist now for over six years. For this reason, and also at the request of these faithful, he asks your Eminences to beseech from His Holiness for the Basilian monks, with permission of the Latin ordinary, where the priests of this [Latin] Rite are far away, the faculty to administer to them the sacraments, as is the practice in Lithuania, where at their masses they consecrate particles [hosts] also for the Latins; this is done in particular by the superior of the said Fathers or some other monk especially designated for this in cases of strict necessity.⁶⁴

The writer went on to say that on 9 August 1701 the bishop of Vilna had found, among the many abuses in his diocese, the administration of sacraments to Latin faithful by Ruthenian pastors, who, out of ignorance, thought it licit to do so. They based themselves on the decree of Clement VIII of 31 August 1595, which permitted the Greek Catholic priests to absolve Latins in cases of necessity. In response to Kyška's request Propaganda sent a decree to the Warsaw nuncio so that the metropolitan could use it.

It is unclear what decree Propaganda sent to the metropolitan or just how he was to use it. Further decisions repeat the earlier ban that Ruthenian priests could not consecrate Latin hosts. Thus, the Zamostja synod forbade the consecration of unleavened bread in wine consecrated in the Latin Rite.⁶⁵ Propaganda again forbade a request similar to Kyška's made by the Basilian Metrofan Menžonkovs'kyj on 14 March 1754 for the eparchy of Xolm. This refusal to Menžonkovs'kyj was used as a precedent for another refusal made around 1766.⁶⁶

Latin missionaries in 1737 made a request in opposite terms. They wanted to distribute leavened eucharist consecrated by Ruthenian clergy to the Ruthenian faithful who attended their missions, where none of their own Ruthenian priests were available to communicate them.⁶⁷

Even though Rome constantly refused to allow the consecration of eucharistic bread of another Rite, requests continued to be made.

3. *Transfer to the Latin Rite*

The canonical guarantee the Ruthenians held for the preservation of their Church and Rite was the decree of Urban VIII forbidding the Ruthenians

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁶⁵ *SPZ*, Tit. 3, §4: «De celebratione missarum», p. 70-71.

⁶⁶ *ASCPF*, 5:89-90.

⁶⁷ *SEU*, 2:296.

from changing over to the Latin Rite. Nevertheless, Latin bishops, especially those of Luč'k, Xolm, and Peremyšl', continued to accept Ruthenians into the Latin Rite. The Kievan hierarchy protested against this in 1712 and asked Propaganda to reiterate the decree and force those who had joined the Latin Rite to return to their own.⁶⁸

Several years later the same problem was again brought up to Propaganda by the Warsaw Nuncio Jerome Grimaldi. He wrote that Latin bishops were justifying their visitations of Ruthenian parishes by a constitution of Pius IV,⁶⁹ and especially by instructions concerning the reform of the Greeks issued on 31 August 1595 by Clement VIII.⁷⁰ The Kievan hierarchy, Grimaldi explained, maintained that when joining the Catholic Church, they had never been deprived of their jurisdiction nor subordinated to Latin ordinaries.

For a long time in all of Lithuania-Bielorussia the practice of changing from one Rite to another has been tolerated, when it is a question of assuming a more perfect state, and not only are there many among the Basilians that were born in the Latin Rite, and vice versa among the Latin religious many who were born in the Greek Rite, but the Ruthenians do not do anything when someone of their Rite wants to be ordained by a Latin Bishop. In Ukraine, on the contrary, the Ruthenian bishops insist on the exact observance of the decree of the Holy See which prohibits the passage from one Rite to another, insisting that it be again proclaimed; and because this decree should take effect throughout the whole kingdom, which could give rise to some perturbation in Lithuania, where custom has already been established, the Sacred Congregation is requested to give advice on how to proceed.⁷¹

Again in 1731 Metropolitan Athanasius Šeptyc'kyj asked Propaganda to state that the Clementine Instructions were only meant for Italy. The Ruthenians were subject, rather, to the decree of Urban VIII, which included regulations concerning interritual marriage.⁷²

The 1740 synod of the Peremyšl' eparchy lamented the loss of its faithful, who, for "superficial accommodation", were joining the Latin Rite, baptizing

⁶⁸ *ASCPF*, 3:56.

⁶⁹ In his constitution "Romanus Pontifex" of 16 February 1564 Pius IV put all Eastern Rite Albanians and Greeks in Italy under the jurisdiction of the local Latin ordinaries; he also forbade infant communion during baptism; cf. *Bullarium Pontificum Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, Rome 1839, 1:8-10; see also Isidoro, "Italo Albanesi", p. 244.

⁷⁰ These regulations or "Clementine Instructions" were decreed for the Eastern Rite Albanians and Greeks of Italy. Although they received an ordaining bishop, they were treated as inferior to the Latins, and many of their traditional practices were curtailed: priests could not confirm, portable altars were recommended while antimensia were only tolerated, the indicative formula of absolution was to be used, preference was given to Latin spouses in interritual marriages, Latin feasts and vigils were recommended and holy days of obligation were made compulsory; cf. *Bullarium Romanum, tomus V.2: Clemens VIII, 1594-1602*, p. 72-73.

⁷¹ *SEU*, 2:148.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 261.

their children in Latin churches and receiving communion there, and no longer keeping the fasts of their own Rite. They were doing this without any permission: in some areas the majority had thus passed into the Latin Church. In order to safeguard the Ruthenian Rite and help it grow, the synod instructed the various officials to collect the names of those who had left their Rite and warn them to return.⁷³

But all this seems to have had little effect. A few years later the Latin bishop of Peremyšl suggested to Rome that the Ruthenians be allowed to join the Latin Church for their spiritual benefit, so that they could receive more easily the sacraments and needed instruction.⁷⁴

Benedict XIV passed several decrees, which presented a confused policy on the equality of Rites and did not solve the problem of changing Rites. In *Etsi Pastoralis* (26 May 1742), meant at first only for the Greek Rite Albanians in Italy, but later applied elsewhere as well,⁷⁵ the superiority of the Latin Rite over other Rites was clearly formulated.

The Latin Rite, because of its eminence as the Rite of the Holy Roman Church, which is the mother and teacher of all Churches, prevails, therefore, over the Greek Rite.⁷⁶

However, in *Allatae Sunt* (26 July 1755) he forbade the Orientals in general from changing to the Latin Rite and stressed that all need not be members of the Latin Rite to belong to the Catholic Church. "The Holy See earnestly desires [...] that all become Catholic, not that all become Latin."⁷⁷

Again, in *Etsi Pastoralis* he forbade the Latin faithful from receiving the eucharist in the Greek Rite, but permitted the contrary in some circumstances.⁷⁸ Three centuries earlier, Metropolitan Isidore of Kiev had encouraged such intercommunion after the Council of Florence to help in mutual understanding and respect.⁷⁹ Benedict also forbade Latin priests from celebrating on Greek antimensia in Italy.⁸⁰ But in *Impositio Nobis* (29 March 1751) he permitted the Latin clergy in the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth to celebrate on antimensia in Catholic Ruthenian churches if no Latin church or portable altar was available.⁸¹ And in *Inter Plures* (24 May 1744) Benedict

⁷³ Cf. Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 52.

⁷⁴ *SEU*, 3:12.

⁷⁵ Cf. Isidoro, "*Italo Albanesi*", p. 257-264.

⁷⁶ Benedict XIV, "*Etsi Pastoralis*" (26 May 1742), *Opera Omnia*, vol. 15: *Bullarium*, I (Prati 1845): 202.

⁷⁷ Benedict XIV, "*Allatae Sunt*" (26 July 1755), *Opera Omnia*, vol. 17: *Bullarium*, III-2 (Prati 1847): 272.

⁷⁸ Cf. "*Etsi Pastoralis*", p. 203.

⁷⁹ Cf. Krajcar, "*Benedetto XIV*", p. 500.

⁸⁰ Cf. "*Etsi Pastoralis*", p. 204.

⁸¹ Benedict XIV, "*Impositio Nobis*" (29 March 1751), *Opera Omnia*, vol. 17: *Bullarium*, III-1 (Prati 1846): 271-274.

forbade the Ruthenian Basilians from changing to the Latin Rite,⁸² although elsewhere he permitted the Latins to enter the Basilians and accept the Ruthenian Rite.⁸³ With Rome making such contradictory decisions, the provinces could not be expected to be any more consistent.

III. THE CLERGY AND LITURGICAL PROBLEMS

1. *The Ruthenian Clergy*

At the turn of the seventeenth century the Latin bishop of Vilna, Constantine Brzostowski, wrote to Rome about various abuses he found in his diocese. He felt that some of these were caused by the Ruthenian clergy. Since the abuses touched on questions of faith, he thought it proper to make the following observation.

The main source from which originate truly lamentable consequences is that the Greek metropolitan and his suffragans promote persons utterly ignorant of the holy ministry to the care of souls, these persons being often totally stupid and boorish, who know only how to cultivate fields, totally lacking in gravity of manners and in knowledge, against the dispositions of the sacred canons, so that the souls of the Greek Rite under their care are ruled more by the superstitions of these uncouth and unlearned pastors than by true christian doctrine; in fact, it has often been necessary for missionaries in the course of their missions to teach the main mysteries of our faith to such pastors.⁸⁴

The bishop added that these pastors took the liberty of administering the sacraments to Latins and even of assisting at their marriages without the proper Latin pastor's assistance, which was contrary to the Council of Trent.

One of the accusations made by the Peremyśl clergy in 1717 against the Ruthenians was that all secular candidates for ordination had to be married first. They were repeating here objections raised by the Polish Jesuit Peter Skarga in 1577.⁸⁵ To this Nuncio Grimaldi and rector Trombetti replied that this law was binding in Muscovy, not in the Kievan metropolia. Since the founding of the Ruthenian seminary in Lviv (in the early eighteenth century) already three alumni had been ordained celibate.⁸⁶ There was no significant increase in celibate clergy, and Latin missionaries note in 1737 that the married clergy continued to live in poverty, with much manual labour and little time to celebrate mass or recite the lengthy divine office.⁸⁷

⁸² *DPRU*, 2:97.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 336. We shall see more on this in chapter 3.

⁸⁴ *SEU*, 2:10.

⁸⁵ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1:152-153.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁸⁷ *SEU*, 2:296.

The Synod of Zamostja passed legislation aimed at raising the standard of the clergy. *Title XV* dealt with seminaries and the education of both monastic and secular clergy. Monasteries of more than twelve members were to organize theology courses. Bishops were to organize their own eparchial seminaries or send more gifted candidates to the Lviv Pontifical seminary.⁸⁸ Various regulations on the age, education, spiritual formation, and general character of candidates to the priesthood were passed in attempts to raise the clergy's standard. Once ordained, priests were to be ensured economic support. One means towards this was not to appoint more than one pastor per parish, and assistants were to be appointed with the approval of the pastor.⁸⁹ Bishops were to make parochial visitations, and deans also were to check on the pastor's activities, which were described in a specific title on pastors and parishes.⁹⁰

The complaints of the Lviv Latin clergy seen earlier included objections to the dress of Ruthenian clergy and hierarchy. Married clergy wearing white collars were especially objectionable: "scandal and confusion", cried the Latins! How, they asked, could a Ruthenian priest, ploughing the fields together with his wife, wear the same clerical garb used by celibate Latin clergy? They also objected to the Ruthenian metropolitan wearing red-colored attire instead of the monastic garb proper to his Rite.⁹¹ Propaganda said nothing about the metropolitan's red attire, but it did argue in favour of the white collar for the Ruthenian clergy, since its use distinguished them from non-Catholics. Several previous decrees of Propaganda and the congregation for Rites had declared the equality of the Ruthenians with the Latins in questions of precedence and other privileges. Finally, Propaganda noted that with the Union common customs, like this uniformity in dress, were introduced, which would strengthen the Ruthenians faith.⁹²

The Peremyšl eparchial synod of 1740 instructed priests to stop taking their grain, fruits, and other wares to market accompanied by their wives. Rather, they should have their servants to this: "because not only do the townspeople laugh at this, but even the Jews, which subjects our Rite to disdain and ridicule". The priests should rather conduct themselves properly:

In order that a priest can be recognized anywhere, every priest should go about dressed as a priest in black clothing, with tonsure, trimmed hair, cut fingernails, in shoes or decent boots, so as not to look ridiculous, but to give a dignified appearance.⁹³

⁸⁸ Cf. *SPZ*, Tit. 15: "De studiis instaurandis et seminariis", p. 117-119.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Tit. 3, §7: "De sacris ordinationibus", p. 80-87.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Tit. 6: "De episcopis", p. 96-99; Tit. 9: "De proto-presbyteris, sive decanis ruralibus", p. 103; Tit. 10: "De parochis et parochiis", p. 104-107.

⁹¹ *SEU*, 2:248.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁹³ Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 44.

Pope Benedict XIV took an interest in the plight of the Ruthenian secular clergy. In his letter to King Augustus II of 10 April 1744, he asked the king to protect the clergy from injustices at the hands of Jews and Polish nobility. He hoped that at the upcoming Diet there would be a general consensus to ensure the rights and freedoms of the clergy and that those guilty of injustices would be punished.⁹⁴

The education of the clergy was also a concern of Benedict XIV. In his decree, *Commendatissimum Studium* of 5 April 1753, he called for the reorganization of the seminary in Vilna in favour of the Ruthenian clergy. It had originally been planned for them by Gregory XIII at its creation in 1582, but gradually came to serve predominantly the Latin clergy. Benedict ordered sixteen places to be maintained there for the secular clergy, each eparchy receiving an allocated number, and four places for Basilian clerics.⁹⁵ He also instructed the Ruthenian hierarchy to employ educated secular priests rather than Basilians in eparchial offices.⁹⁶

The pope's decree on eparchial offices was met with resistance by both Basilians and the hierarchy. The secular clergy sent a complaint to Rome in 1757, saying that the decree had still not been carried out. They also noted the continued deficiencies in seminaries and in the education of candidates for the priesthood.⁹⁷

In 1780, for the first time since the Union, a secular priest, Peter Bilans'kyj was elevated to the episcopacy, which had been the prerogative of the Basilians up to that time.⁹⁸ Largely because of his refusal to go through the formality of making a monastic profession, this requirement fell into disuse in the Catholic Ruthenian Church.

2. Liturgical Celebration and Attempts at Uniformity

The problem of uniform liturgical celebration became more acute with the addition of the new eparchies to the Catholic Kievan metropolia. The Peremyšl synod of 1693 sought to provide means for greater order.

And since, as many have noticed, there is no uniformity in church ceremonies among the priests, in order that such disorder might not continue, this present gathering deems it necessary that every priest, leaving another priest in his place in his parish, celebrate at his own expense in the dean's church for one week every year, while the reverend dean himself or his substitute are bound in conscience and under heavy censure to assist at the holy mass and instruct him where "the

⁹⁴ *DPRU*, 2:87-88.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 129-132; D. Blažejovskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical Seminaries of Lviv (1665-1784)*, Rome 1975, p. 62-68.

⁹⁶ *SEU*, 3:142-145.

⁹⁸ *ASCPF*, 5:117.

Son" is to be added both in ceremonies and in the profession of the apostolic creed.⁹⁹

The diversity in liturgical services was not a problem only for the Catholic Ruthenians, since the above quote refers to a situation existing prior to the Union.

The Basilian chapters of 1703 and 1709 called for uniformity in religious services, especially the mass.¹⁰⁰ J. Oleševs'kyj made a visitation of the Vilna Basilians in 1711 for the then Protoarchimandrite Leo Kyška, and he reminded the monks not to change traditional ceremonies, "so that the Orthodox would not be scandalized and increase even more in hatred toward us."¹⁰¹ No changes were to be made without the provincial's approval. Any changes made, he warned, risked the punishment of God!

The Synod of Zamostja passed legislation on specific points in liturgical celebration and made mention of uniformity in general.

Uniformity of ceremonies, with all modesty, devotion, and gravity, is to be observed by all, both in sung and recited masses, and all priests are recommended to celebrate often. The Holy Synod orders the deans to watch over this uniformity in ceremonies according to the new ritual typikon which is to be published, thus they are to enquire about these ceremonies in their visitations and instruct the ignorant.¹⁰²

One of the goals of the Zamostja synod was to coordinate the liturgical ceremonies of the newly united eparchies with those now long part of the Union. But it would require more than the synod's formal legislation to accomplish this.

Twenty years later, the Peremyšl' eparchial synod complained about the confusion in services. Practically every priest celebrated differently and not according to the rubrics of the Vilna služebnyk.¹⁰³ The Basilian chapter of 1739, held in Lviv for the newly united monks, called on all monasteries to observe uniformity in the rites and ceremonies.

The rites and ceremonies pertaining to divine cult should be uniform in every way in all our monasteries, and those whose duty it is should see to this with great diligence.¹⁰⁴

The Dubno chapter in 1743 similarly called on the monks to keep integrally the ceremonies, devotions, fasts, and customs of the Eastern Church in both provinces.¹⁰⁵ The Peremyšl' eparchy again in 1764 made a point of insisting on

⁹⁹ *LE*, 4:123, cf. Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 21. The filioque will be treated later in this work.

¹⁰⁰ *AS*, 12:153.

¹⁰¹ *LE*, 5:35.

¹⁰² *SPZ*, Tit. 3, §4: "De celebratione missarum", p. 73.

¹⁰³ Cf. Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁴ *APF*, Congregazioni Particolari, vol. 91, f. 286v.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 92, f. 307v-313v.

correct liturgical functions, admonishing the clergy to celebrate according to the typikon in a unified manner, adding nothing and omitting nothing, using no other ceremonies or vestments.¹⁰⁶

In preparation for the Brest synod, the Lviv eparchy included among its proposals a reference to the Council of Trent, which in Session VII Canon 13 anathematized anyone who made changes or omissions in church rites. They suggested a similar stipulation be made for the Ruthenian Church.¹⁰⁷ The acts for the planned Brest synod show a strong interest in Eastern liturgical tradition. Whereas previously only general complaints about divergences were heard, now the following concrete proposal was made:

So that moreover the rite and ancient discipline of the Eastern Church may be restored not only in the administration of the sacraments but also in the rest of the divine services, that there be a general norm to which all churches should conform, men should be designated by this holy synod, knowledgeable in the oriental ecclesiastical rites and the Greek language, who will prepare rubrics or a typikon conforming to the Greek typica, in which the manner of carrying out divine services may be exactly described for the future synod to examine and approve; they should also make up a booklet containing the synaxaria or readings proper for feasts, with brief acts of the saints, which are to be read not only in the public divine office after the sixth ode in the canon of matins, but also in private.¹⁰⁸

The acts here also bring out specific items that needed correction; they note unauthorized latinizing changes that caused scandal to the Orthodox. Instructors in seminaries were especially admonished to teach correct Eastern discipline, and strict penalties were to be meted out by the bishop for infractions.

The manner in which the Catholic Ruthenian services affected the attitude of their Orthodox counterparts toward the Union was brought out by Caesar Stebnovs'kyj in his report to Rome in 1739-40 on the state of the Union. He wrote that in passing a Catholic Ruthenian church, and hearing there the singing of the mass which they could understand, the Orthodox were often drawn to enter. In the church they saw their own familiar rites and ceremonies. They would conclude that God was as much in one Church as the other. Since no one started an argument on matters of faith with them, they became disposed to the Union. They then would begin to attend the Catholic church and bring their family and friends as well. Such propagation of the Union was activated not by preaching, but by liturgical services alone.¹⁰⁹

Stebnovs'kyj described a particular incident concerning the Muscovite

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, 2:935.

¹⁰⁸ Wiwčaruk, *De synodo*, p. 123-124.

¹⁰⁹ *LB*, 2:43-44.

forces which had entered the Bielorussian area. They often attended mass in the Catholic Ruthenian churches. On Easter Sunday they came to the cathedral in Polock:

They would come to our churches and listen to the mass with great reverence and propriety. Especially in 1735 on Easter Sunday, all who were with their general, prince Repnin, in the town of Polock came to our church to the sung mass (even though there is a schismatic church in the same town); some of them came up to the altar to observe the ceremonies and the missal and then went to tell the others with amazement: "The ceremonies are just like ours!" Some of them had believed that the united Ruthenians, in submitting to the Roman Church, had changed the Rite, the ceremonies, to which these people are extremely attached. When the mass ended, beginning with prince Repnin they all came up to kiss the cross and the hand of the celebrant, as is the practice on that day.¹¹⁰

This introduction on liturgical celebrations has covered a variety of services and the entire geographical area under consideration. We shall now look more closely at the divine liturgy and eucharist.

3. *The Divine Liturgy*

The celebration of mass during the eighteenth century basically followed the pattern set in the seventeenth century, combining both Eastern and Western traditions.

In the first manual for Ruthenian clergy by Leo Kyška, printed in 1692, there is a brief passage on how many masses a priest could celebrate per day. Formerly a second mass was allowed on the same day if it was either for the king's intention or to consecrate the eucharist for a sick person, but these practices had now stopped, according to Kyška. The pope, he went on, did permit second masses in the pagan (sic) lands of Turkey, England, and Holland, due to the shortage of priests, and three masses were allowed on Christmas, but then only water could be used for the first two ablutions so as not to break the fast.¹¹¹ Kyška's approach here gives the impression of being a theoretical discussion taken from Latin manuals, divorced from any actual practice.

That same year specific indications about mass during Lent were given in Źoxovs'kyj's newly printed *služebnyk*. He acknowledges that according to the old Eastern tradition the mass was celebrated only on Saturdays and Sundays in Lent, while PRES was served on Wednesdays and Fridays. But now, he wrote, the practice of celebrating CHR daily during Lent was common among the Catholic Ruthenians, "following the custom of the Roman Church". For

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 2:39.

¹¹¹ Cf. Kyška, *Mów różnych przypadków*, p. 788-790; K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska*, 19 (Cracow 1903): 267.

these masses they took the service of the Holy Cross, the Mother of God, the dead, or other intentions according to need.¹¹²

Praxis indebita made several criticisms on the frequency of the eucharistic liturgy among the Ruthenians. It attacked practices approved by the Union of Brest which conformed to traditional Eastern usage.¹¹³ During Lent no mass was celebrated on weekdays except for Saturday.¹¹⁴ Grimaldi and Trombetti confirmed this in their reply.¹¹⁵ Only one mass was celebrated in large monasteries and pilgrimage centers according to *Praxis Indebita*, though there were many priests available. Once mass was celebrated on a given altar, no others could be said there that day.¹¹⁶ The Grimaldi-Trombetti reply confirmed that this had been the practice earlier, but the Lviv, Peremyšl, and Xolm eparchies were now allowing several masses per day per church and even per altar. In the Luc'k eparchy the situation was not known. Their replies also mention that in monasteries normally only one monk celebrated, while secular pastors celebrated normally on Saturday, Sunday, and on feast days. We should recall that Grimaldi and Trombetti were describing mainly the newly united eparchies.¹¹⁷

The Zamostja synod gave a few indications on frequency of celebration. Among the questions visitors were to ask, the following were included: was mass celebrated during the week in parishes and was that daily; did pastors refrain from intercourse for three days prior to celebration; did nuns attend mass daily.¹¹⁸ Nothing was indicated for men's monasteries.

The three-day period of marital abstinence referred to by Zamostja was in line with preceding and later norms. The 1646 *Mohyla* trebnyk calls for the same for married priests before celebrating mass. But in practice this was not always the case. Metropolitan Demetrius Tuptalo of Rostov († 1709), of Ukrainian origin and training, instructed the clergy of his eparchy to refrain from intercourse for three days, or at least two, or a minimum of one day. A nineteenth century manual for Russian Orthodox clergy also prescribes that married priests refrain for several days in preparation for the eucharistic liturgy.¹¹⁹

The main canonical source on this point is Balsamon (1105-1195), who mentions the question of the period of abstinence at the Council of Carthage in 419, at which the Roman legate raised the issue of clerical celibacy in

¹¹² 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj služebnyk*, f. 6r.

¹¹³ For the history and sources on the Eastern tradition see Taft, "Frequency of Eucharist".

¹¹⁴ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1:147, 151.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹¹⁸ Cf. *SPZ*, "Quaestiones in visitationibus indagandae", p. 128, 136, 141.

¹¹⁹ Cf. 1646 *Kiev* trebnyk, 1:222; *Sočinenija S.togo Dimitrija, Mitropolita Rostovskogo*, 1 (Kiev 1895): 202; P. Zabelin, *Prava i objazannosti presviterov po osnovnym zakonam xristianskoj cerkvi*, Kiev 1899, p. 127.

general. Balsamon also cites Greek canonical prescriptions for lay people on refraining before receiving communion.¹²⁰ For Balsamon, the question concerned both the celebrants as well as the faithful wishing to receive communion. In the "Clementine Instructions" for the Greek Rite in Italy issued in 1596 Pope Clement VIII instructed the married Greek clergy to refrain from intercourse either for a week or for three days prior to celebration of the eucharistic liturgy. But these instructions were neither meant for nor followed by the Ruthenians.¹²¹

Although Zamostja did not legislate on this three-day period but only included it among the questions for visitors, the synod elsewhere encouraged more frequent celebration.¹²² The two points were obviously in conflict and the period of marital abstinence must have been gradually shortened and then done away with.

After Zamostja, Metropolitan Kyška printed another manual for the clergy in 1722. This concerned the sacraments, commandments, church laws, and the like, and in it he describes the priest's responsibility to say mass. Under pain of mortal sin a priest should celebrate mass immediately for a sick person so that he would not die without mass. The priest should also promptly celebrate for the souls in purgatory so that they would not suffer longer than needed.¹²³

Two reports by Latin clergy describe the situation of the secular Ruthenian clergy. After visiting Ruthenian lands, a group of Latin missionaries noted in 1737 that due to poverty and the need to work to maintain his family, the married priests could celebrate mass only on feast days, reciting daily only the lengthy divine office.¹²⁴ The Theatine, Jerome Moro, in a report in 1745 gave the following description of parochial liturgies.

The secular Ruthenian churches are officiated each by its own pastor, who ordinarily says mass on Wednesdays and Fridays, and on feast days; they sing it with the help of some singers — priests' sons — who serve the church. After mass he turns to the people and reads the current gospel, and if he is capable he often explains it. Then together with the people he recites the Our Father, the Hail

¹²⁰ Cf. "Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Africanae", *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et amplissima Collectio*, ed. J. Mansi, 3 (Paris 1901): 710E-711A; Theodor Balsamon, "Canones CCXVII Beatorum Patrum qui Carthagine convenerunt", *PG*, 138:31D-35C, where he also gives further sources.

¹²¹ "Presbyter Graecus conjugatus ante sacrum sacrificium seu Sanctam Missam celebrandam vel per hebdomadam vel per triduum absteineat ab uxore." "Sanctissimus Dominus" (31 August 1595), *Bullarium Romanum, tomus V, 2: Clemens VIII, 1594-1602*, p. 73.

¹²² Cf. *SPZ*, Tit: 3, §4: "De celebratione missarum", p. 73.

¹²³ Cf. L. Kyška, *Sobranie pryvadkov kratkoe y duxovnym osobom potrebnoe....*, Suprasl 1722. For a description of this work see Svjencyc'kyj, *Kataloh knyh*, n. 506. A copy of Kyška's work is found in the Francis Skaryna Byelorussian Library, London.

¹²⁴ *SEU*, 2:296.

Mary, and the Creed, with the main articles of faith separately, and concludes by announcing the current fast or feast.¹²⁵

Benedict XIV formalized the Basilian centralization in 1744 with *Inter Plures*. In this decree he congratulated the Basilians on their ritual concerns.

In it [resolutions of the Dubno chapter] you wisely decreed for the proper discipline of the monasteries of both provinces of the Grand Duchy and of the Crown: that the usages, customs, exercises, fasts, rites, and ceremonies of the Eastern Church are to be observed in these monasteries.

Then he called their attention to his recent decree, *Demandatam Caelitus*.

Since we have issued an encyclical letter on 24 December 1743 to the Patriarch of Antioch of the Greek Melchites and to the other Catholic bishops of that Rite subject to that patriarch, in which many things concerning abstinence and fasting and other customs of the Eastern Church are regulated, we desire that you would also make mention of this by adding these words to the above mentioned decree: according to the decree of His Holiness, and so on, which was written by us, as above, with the added penalty of the loss of active and passive voice incurred ipso facto, not only by those who transgress against the usages, customs, fasts, rites, and ceremonies of the Eastern Church, but also by their superiors who dare to give them a dispensation, even for a particular case, without a pressing and urgent need.¹²⁶

Demandatam Caelitus was Benedict's reply to a synod held by the Melchite Church in 1736 in Lebanon. The synod had approved several ritual changes, including reduced periods of fasting, celebrating CHR during Lent, and multiple celebrations of masses on one altar per day. In his decree Benedict took a stern position, forbidding these innovations. He suggested that more altars be built in churches to provide for the increase in masses resulting from priests' piety and requests made by the faithful. He also insisted that PRES be celebrated on all five weekdays of Lent. These recommendations were repeated likewise in two subsequent decrees.¹²⁷

Benedict's liturgical decrees (like his euchology) had only limited effect on the Ruthenian Church. One work that did reflect an interest in the Eastern liturgical tradition was the Počajiv *Teaching on the Christian Rites or Poučenie*.¹²⁸ It refers specifically to Benedict's legislation when speaking of the frequency of celebration. The West, it notes, gradually allowed more masses per altar per day, while the Synod of Zamostja allowed the same for the Ruthenians. The Greeks either celebrated on side altars or concelebrated,

¹²⁵ *MUH*, 6:175.

¹²⁶ *DPRU*, 2:97.

¹²⁷ Cf. *Benedict XIV: Acta sive nondum sive sparsim edita*, ed. R. de Martinis, 2 (Naples 1894): 329-344.

¹²⁸ For a description of the *Poučenie* see Svjencyc'kyj, *Kataloh knyhy*, n. 551; also Solovey, *Divine Liturgy*, p. 81-82.

according to *Demandatam Caelitus*.¹²⁹ For PRES the *Poučenie* points out Canon 47 of the Council of Laodicea, which forbade CHR normally on Lenten weekdays, while both *Demandatam Caelitus* and *Etsi Pastoralis* insist that PRES be celebrated in parishes.¹³⁰

A theological manual printed in Lviv in 1760 gives the following indications on frequency of celebration. A priest without a parish should celebrate at least three times a year on the major feasts, while pastors should celebrate on all Sundays and feast days according to the Council of Trent. Priests should celebrate immediately for the sick when requested so that the sick person will not die without mass; this may even help the sick live longer. Priests should also say mass as soon as possible for the souls in purgatory so that their period of suffering would be shortened. A priest may not celebrate on the same altar on the same day on which a bishop has celebrated. On Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday there is to be only one mass in any given church, even if there are more priests, altars, and chapels available. The manual here cites both church tradition and a ruling of Clement XI of 23 March 1701.¹³¹

The convenience and popularity of the recited private mass is seen in two requests made by Basilians in 1776. On one occasion they asked that on Thursday and Saturday of Holy Week they be permitted to celebrate private masses in their chapels and oratories in order to distribute communion to those seeking to fulfill their Easter duty. This would be before the solemn liturgy, which on those days was celebrated in the afternoon according to the Eastern tradition, which made it difficult for the old and sick to attend (presumably due to the fast). A private mass was requested, since the eucharist could not be distributed outside of mass. However, the clergy and bishop of Luc'k were against this Basilian request, since it would take people away from the cathedral and parishes.¹³² Propaganda allowed this practice, but only for Holy Thursday.¹³³ The Basilians also asked that when the feast of the Annunciation fell on Thursday or Saturday of Holy Week, they be permitted to celebrate six or seven private masses before the solemn mass in the main church.¹³⁴ Propaganda denied this request.¹³⁵

Intentions given by the faithful also determined how often masses were celebrated. Zamostja allowed only one stipend per mass; this was to be voluntary.¹³⁶ Benedict XIV allowed the Melchites to accept multiple stipends

¹²⁹ Cf. *Poučenie*, f. 36v.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 37r.

¹³¹ Cf. *Bohoslovija nравоučytelnaja*, p. 66, 79.

¹³² *ASCPF*, 5:85-86.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

¹³⁶ *SPZ*, Tit. 3, §4: "De celebratione missarum", p. 74.

for one mass if the persons giving were informed and agreed.¹³⁷ In 1775 the Basilians in Počajiv asked permission to be able to satisfy with two or three masses a day at the Marian altar all the stipends they were receiving, since the church was under construction. Propaganda permitted this with the exception of the Marian feasts, an exception that the Basilians themselves had listed.¹³⁸

Concerning the time of celebration, some benefactors insisted that the priest not begin mass until they had arrived in church.¹³⁹ Zamostja regulated this, at least in parishes, saying that the parish mass should be at a determined time, most convenient for the majority of parishioners. This should normally be before noon, except for the vigils of Christmas and Epiphany, and Thursday and Saturday of Holy Week.¹⁴⁰ Kyška, the Počajiv *Poučenie*, and others noted that these last four cases were according to traditional Greek usage.¹⁴¹ *Praxis Indebita* expresses the indignation of the Latins over the afternoon and evening masses prescribed for these days, as well as over the traditional absence of CHR during Lent. The Latins ridiculed the Ruthenian explanation that the late masses were due to the requirement of fasting, since such an explanation implied that fasting after mass was not licit.¹⁴²

Kyška and the Počajiv *Poučenie* stipulated that mass on regular days could begin no sooner than dawn — an hour and a half before sunrise — and no later than twelve-thirty noon. The *Poučenie* adds that it was normal to celebrate at nine in the morning, the third hour, when Christ was nailed to the cross.¹⁴³

One notable variation on the time regulation was made by the Basilians in 1776, when they asked to say mass for the convenience of the faithful in winter one to two hours before dawn and up to three hours after noon.¹⁴⁴ Propaganda replied that in winter they could celebrate one hour before dawn and up to one hour after noon.

Discussion and criticism of these practices, especially in *Praxis Indebita*, shows lack of understanding about the relationship of fasting and the eucharist in the Byzantine tradition. On days of strict fast no mass is prescribed, only the reception of the eucharist at the end of vespers. During

¹³⁷ Cf. Benedict XIV, “Demandatam Caelitus” (24 December 1743), *Opera Omnia*, vol. 15: *Bullarium*, I (Prati 1845): 328.

¹³⁸ *ASUB*, 1:190.

¹³⁹ *AV*, 9:68.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *SPZ*, Tit. 3, §4: “De celebratione missarum”, p. 74.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Kyška, *Mów różnych przypadków*, p. 78-79; *Poučenie*, f. 36r.

¹⁴² Cf. “*Praxis indebita*”, *CP*, 1:147. This source also correctly states that when the vigils of Christmas and Epiphany fall on Saturday or Sunday this vigil mass is to be celebrated in the morning.

¹⁴³ Cf. *Poučenie*, f. 35v.

¹⁴⁴ *ASCPF*, 5:85, 89. Propaganda also noted that in 1665 the Chinese were permitted to celebrate three hours before dawn, but that was due to the ban by civil authorities on education, which necessitated the people to complete everything by dawn.

certain fast days that are also vigils of major feasts the eucharist is celebrated at the end of the day, allowing both for the penitential, preparatory aspect of fasting and the festive function of the mass. Unfortunately, Ruthenians, without grounding in their rite and theological reflections on it, tended likewise to lose sight of this relationship between the eucharist and fasting.

4. *Places of Worship*

Many churches were built by wealthy patrons. Although patrons hoped for lasting spiritual and social benefits through such grants, the churches often did not share in an equally lasting good fortune, but declined in prosperity. *Praxis Indebita* remarks that the Ruthenians had quite a few churches, but the majority were poorly furnished. The pastors often had to pay the patron for being confirmed in their positions. Grimaldi and Trombetti attest that most of the churches were not consecrated, but only blessed by either the bishop or a priest: the vicar general, the dean, or an archpriest.¹⁴⁵ Kyška complained in 1716 that churches were being used to store lard, butter, and grain; other churches were in ruin and only half-covered.¹⁴⁶

The Theatine Jerome Moro reported in 1745 that the cathedrals, half the Basilian churches, and some of the confraternity churches were built of stone, the rest of wood. He continued:

As concerns the Ruthenian churches, which for the most part are of wood, many are so old that they are collapsing and are full of cracks and unworthy of being houses of the Lord, so that the bishops are forced to forbid services in them until either the villagers or other parishioners or the landowners who have the *jus patronatus* there, either rebuild them or decently repair them: because of the self-interest the landowners have in that matter, this is the only way the bishops can fully get results.¹⁴⁷

According to the Brest presynodal acts (1765), churches with straw roofs were to have them changed within twelve weeks after notification or else they would be placed under interdict.¹⁴⁸

5. *The Eucharist*

The principal interest in the eucharist throughout the eighteenth century concerned the reservation of the gifts themselves and the respect and reverence proper to them, especially outside the eucharistic liturgy. This concern carried over from the previous century, together with the new stress on the purpose

¹⁴⁵ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1:152, 161.

¹⁴⁶ *EM*, 4:60.

¹⁴⁷ *MUH*, 6:176.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Wiwčaruk, *De synodo*, p. 124.

and goals of the mass, became the main motivating force in Ruthenian liturgical life.

The manner in which the eucharistic species were reserved caused great concern. The 1693 Peremyšl synod instructed the deans on visitations (four times a year) to check if the reserved eucharist was fresh and changed every week. Among the list of things the dean was to check on, only this carried the possible penalty of interdiction.¹⁴⁹

Praxis Indebita repeats earlier objections that Ruthenians reserved the eucharist in wax vases or boxes, wrapped in paper and stuffed into cracks in the wall, instead of using a pyx or chalice.¹⁵⁰ Grimaldi and Trombetti in 1720 reported that normally chalices of silver or tin were being used. The pyxes at first had been wooden, but the current Lviv bishop had ordered that they be made of tin and he himself distributed many of these.¹⁵¹ The practice in the other eparchies was not known. Although formerly the reserved species were consecrated only on Holy Thursday, this practice had been abolished by the current Lviv bishop, who ordered them changed every eight days. Xolm and Peremyšl had probably done the same, but it was doubtful whether Luc'k had changed: "it is probable that they continue the old abuse, because it has not been purged and cultivated like the others after the Union".¹⁵²

At this time Joseph Radanaschi, then procurator for the Theatine missions, sent a report to Propaganda in 1720 on the disorder he found in Ruthenian churches. One incident he describes is both shocking and humorous.

It happened to me that on one occasion, when I entered one of their village churches, I saw a filthy wooden box under the altar, and I urged the pastor to remove that disgrace from the church; he replied that he kept there Our Lord Jesus Christ; since I was greatly taken aback he thought to reassure me by saying that he kept the eucharist for the villagers there, but for the patron-benefactor he kept it elsewhere in a tin box!¹⁵³

Kyška wanted Zamostja to legislate on changing the eucharist regularly and to forbid storing it in paper or in wooden pyxes.¹⁵⁴ The Synod of Zamostja did just that, requiring the spoon and pyx to be of silver if possible, otherwise of tin. The eucharist was to be kept on the main altar. Thus the practice of reserving the eucharist in an artophorion (tabernacle) on the prothesis table or in the wall was discontinued. (It was this practice that Sakowicz and *Praxis*

¹⁴⁹ *LE*, 4:122; Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 19.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1:125.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 146, 157.

¹⁵³ *APF*, *CP*, vol. 64, f. 81r.

¹⁵⁴ *EM*, 4:60.

Indebita referred to as stuffing the eucharist into cracks in the wall.)

The Zamostja synod also required a vigil lamp to be permanently lit as a sign of the eucharistic presence. If the church could not afford a permanent lamp, then it should be lit on Sundays and feast days during the liturgy.¹⁵⁵ In the West at the end of the twelfth and start of the thirteenth centuries we find that instructions for the regular use of vigil lamps became general in the Latin Church only after the Council of Trent (although poorer churches were not required to always have them lit). The Roman Ritual of 1614 ordered that at least one burn day and night before the eucharist.¹⁵⁶ In the East a vigil lamp is kept lit in churches as a sign of the holiness of the place, whether or not the eucharist is present. Liturgically this begins at the consecration of a church, when after the vesting of the newly consecrated altar, the bishop lights a new lamp which is kept elevated behind the altar.¹⁵⁷ In the Ruthenian Church a church was either consecrated by a bishop or blessed by a priest in a shorter ceremony.¹⁵⁸ The latter was by far the more common form, and does not have a specific mention of a permanent vigil lamp.¹⁵⁹ Since Zamostja made a specific ruling on vigil lamps, they obviously were not in use generally. Even after Zamostja the practice was not found everywhere. Unlike the Greek stone or brick churches, Ruthenian churches were mainly built of wood; unattended vigil lamps were a fire hazard and perhaps even prohibited in places.¹⁶⁰

The Synod of Zamostja directed that the eucharist be changed every eight to fifteen days, and the yearly consecration of an ahnec for the sick on Holy Thursday was forbidden for "grave reasons", which, however, were not listed. When taking it to a sick person, the priest, vested, was to carry the eucharist with awe and reverence, accompanied by candlebearers (an ancient Ruthenian practice, predating the Union of Brest). If the sick person was some distance away, the priest, vested in a stole and preceded by candlebearers, could take

¹⁵⁵ Cf. *SPZ*, Tit. 3, §3: "De eucharistia", p. 69, 70.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. A. King, *Eucharistic Reservation in the Western Church*, N. Y. 1965, p. 129-131, 214.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Placido de Meester, *Liturgia Bizantina Libro II, Parte VI Rituale-Benedizionale Bizantino*, Rome 1930, p. 201.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. V. Priluckij, *Častnoe bogosluženie v ruskoj cerkvi v XVI i pervoj polovine XVII v.*, Kiev 1912, p. 45-68. This section deals precisely with the consecration and blessing of churches in the Ruthenian tradition.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1:152, 161.

¹⁶⁰ The neglect of the use of vigil lamps is noted by the Theatine Jerome Moro in his report to Rome of 8 September 1745; cf. *MUH*, 6:176. It is possible that they were in fact prohibited due to the risk of fire. In some parts of Ukraine the village watchman in the eighteenth century was to check during the spring and summer that the villagers did not keep open fires going in their homes or taverns after the evening bell had rung; cf. M.E. Slabčenko, *Maloruskij polk v administrativnom otnošenii (= Zapiski imperatorskogo Novorossijskogo universiteta: istoriko-filologičeskogo fakulteta 1)*, Odessa 1909, p. 211.

the eucharist in a proper silver or tin container made especially for this.¹⁶¹

The Peremyšl synod of 1740 required the eucharist to be changed every other Sunday, the gifts being kept locked in a tin tabernacle, “v cynovij hrobnyci”. Contrary to traditional Byzantine usage, no consecrated wine was to be added to the eucharistic bread reserved for the sick or kept for PRES, under severe penalty. Communion was taken to the sick with the ringing of bells, not in a chalice but rather in a burse containing an eiliton, purificator, discos, spoon, and bottle of wine.¹⁶²

The Lviv theological manual of 1760 also forbade intinction of the gifts and year-long reservation from Holy Thursday, citing the previous bans of this by Innocent IV, Clement VIII, and the Synod of Zamostja. The eucharist was to be changed every other Sunday.¹⁶³

This last example suggests that the yearly reservation was still practiced in spite of bans (to which could have been added that of Benedict XIV in *Etsi Pastoralis*).¹⁶⁴ The Theatine Jerome Moro also suggested that the decrees of Zamostja were not being strictly adhered to in his 1745 report on his trip through Ruthenian lands.

The most holy sacrament is reserved in all the parochial churches. In the Armenian churches it is kept in the public ciborium in the Latin style. In Ruthenian churches it is often in the public ciborium, but more often in the choir, in a box or a pyx, few of which are of silver, the majority being of tin or another cheap metal, and always without a lamp, with the exception of a few churches in which it is lit for a few hours.¹⁶⁵

Processions with and adoration of the eucharist were given special attention by Žoxovs'kyj in his 1692 služebnyk. In more important churches Žoxovs'kyj instructs the priest to consecrate two ahnci on Holy Thursday, one for immediate use, the other for Good Friday. During the singing of the troparion “Venerable Joseph” near the end of Good Friday vespers, a procession is to be formed with one priest carrying the burial shroud, followed by the superior fully vested in black vestments and shoulder veil carrying the eucharist in a pyx. A baldachino is held over the superior, two deacons accompany him with censors, and others hold candles in the procession which proceeds around the church. The shroud is then placed on the tetrapod for veneration and the eucharist exposed on the grave set up in the center of the church until just prior to resurrection matins, when, again in procession, it is placed back on the altar. The celebrants then return from the altar to the

¹⁶¹ Cf. *SPZ*, Tit. 3, §3: “De eucharistia”, p. 69-70.

¹⁶² Cf. Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 48-49.

¹⁶³ Cf. *Bohoslovija npravoučytelnaja*, p. 51, 77.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. “Etsi Pastoralis”, p. 202.

¹⁶⁵ *MUH*, 6:176.

church entrance and begin the resurrection matins proper.¹⁶⁶

Žoxovs'kyj's is the first known description of a burial shroud procession in Ruthenian liturgical texts. Earlier works like the 1631 *Kiev* triodion and the 1642 *Lviv* triodion contain the liturgical verses and readings but make no mention of the shroud or rubrics for it. The first important description is found in *Lithos* (1644), where the Orthodox reply to Sakowicz's criticism of the Ruthenian Lenten services.¹⁶⁷ *Lithos* describes how the priest carries the shroud in procession to the prepared grave during the singing of the aposticha ("styxyry na styxovnax") of Good Friday vespers. This shroud is then venerated by the clergy and faithful during and after the singing of the troparion "Venerable Joseph" and the resurrection troparion in the second tone. It was at this point that Sakowicz had criticized the Ruthenians for venerating only a painted cloth, while the Catholics venerated the real thing, namely Christ in the eucharist.

In the Ukrainian/Ruthenian Catholic churches today the shroud is carried during the Good Friday vespers following this Kievan tradition. In a few churches the eucharist is still carried. The Orthodox Ruthenians began to carry the shroud also during the Great Doxology of Holy Saturday matins when the priest, fully vested, carries the gospel book in procession. (This practice is not mentioned in *Lithos*.) The rites of the burial shroud were still developing during the seventeenth century in Slavic lands. In the nineteenth century both processions were being practiced in Kiev.¹⁶⁸

In the West, Good Friday ceremonies for the deposition and burial of both the eucharist and cross developed by the tenth century. The Polish Church, following the Latin Rite custom, also had some usages of its own, including the exposition of a consecrated host in a grave where a figure of Christ had been laid among flowers following Good Friday vespers. The faithful then kept a vigil until Easter Sunday.¹⁶⁹

The parallels here to the Ruthenian tradition are strong. Corbin did not want to conclude that the Polish took this custom from the East, yet she could not explain its origins. A mixing of the two traditions is the most likely explanation. The use of the eucharist is clearly from the West, since the Byzantine tradition has no PRES on Good Friday and does not require its use, while the Latin Rite does. The Polish may in turn have been influenced by the use of the burial shroud and its placement on the tetrapod. This tetrapod,

¹⁶⁶ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj služebnyk*, f. 22v, 24v.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. *Lithos*, p. 249-250 (with Sakowicz's rejoinder in his copy of *Lithos* reproduced here); Sakowicz, *Perspektiwa*, p. 74-75.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. *Ukazatel svjatyri i svjaščennyx dostopamjatnostej Kieva, kak v samom gorode, tak i v ego okrestnostjax, dija poklonnikov, poseščajuščix svjatyja mesta kievskija*, Kiev 1881, p. 230.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Solange Corbin, *La Deposition Liturgique du Christ au Venerdi saint*, Paris 1960, p. 109-110, 161-169, 239-245.

a normal furnishing in Ruthenian churches, is a small table standing between the sanctuary and the nave of the church on which icons of the patron saint, a hand cross, and festive icons are placed for veneration. Various functions are also celebrated here, including baptism and funeral services. This was a normal place for the rites of the burial shroud. Although further evidence is still required to explain the history of this burial grave and procession with the shroud, the origin of the eucharist here is quite clear.¹⁷⁰

The 1740 Peremyšl' synod cautioned that the eucharist left for exposition on the grave was not to be intincted and was to be consumed on the third day of Easter.¹⁷¹ Easter Tuesday — the third day — in fact was the day when traditionally the new *ahneć* consecrated on Holy Thursday for the yearly reservation was to be put into the tabernacle after having being dried over the Easter weekend.¹⁷²

Processions with the eucharist were encouraged for every first Sunday of the month and on holy days by the 1760 Lviv manual, which noted the benefits of indulgences that could be gained by the faithful.¹⁷³

A warning note on the exposition and use of the eucharist was planned for the Brest synod (1765). It was proposed that the eucharist should not be exposed in monasteries or secular churches without the bishop's permission. The bishop was first to enquire about the reverence and decor of the place and whether everything was in conformance with the decree of Clement XI.¹⁷⁴ Attention was also given to the distribution of the eucharist outside of mass, other than to the sick or during PRES. Such distribution was contrary to Eastern discipline, since the eucharist was always to be given under both species. It was pointed out that when many priests were available to celebrate mass there was no reason for this extra-liturgical distribution.¹⁷⁵

IV. PRINTED LITURGICAL TEXTS

1. *The Žoxovs'kyj Služebnyk*

Almost one hundred years after the Union of Brest, the Ruthenian hierarchy still did not have an authoritative Catholic text for the eucharistic

¹⁷⁰ See also M. Marusyn, *Čyn svjatyteľs'kyx služb v kyjiv'skomu evxologioni z počatku XVI st.*, Rome 1966, p. 91-95; Praszko, *De ecclesia*, p. 288-290; Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 216-219.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 48.

¹⁷² *1631 Kiev triodion*, p. 323; *1642 Lviv triodion*, f. 191v. A note given at the beginning of the matins service for Easter Tuesday in these texts instructs the priest to store at this time the *ahneć* which had been consecrated on Holy Thursday for the year-long reserve.

¹⁷³ Cf. *Bohoslovija nraoučytelnaja*, p. 77.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Wiwčaruk, *De synodo*, p. 125.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

liturgy. Metropolitan Cyprian Žoxovs'kyj finally took concrete steps toward a solution, about which we hear from the Warsaw Nuncio Opizio Pallavicini in 1688. The nuncio wrote to Rome that he had been trying for several years to have a služebnyk and trebnyk printed for the Ruthenians, who were using faulty manuscript texts. Metropolitan Žoxovs'kyj was now willing to print the needed books, but he did not want to submit them first to Propaganda since it would prolong the matter. Besides, the Union was well established and this ensured the correctness of Ruthenian Church doctrine for Žoxovs'kyj.

The nuncio went on to say that the metropolitan wanted to print a menaion which would be in conformity with a Greek missal printed by Propaganda. This missal had a calendar at the beginning and the changeable parts at the end of the book. Pallavicini tried to convince Žoxovs'kyj to submit his projected works to Propaganda for examination since they would serve for a long time to come — “saranno eterne” — and all other texts would be based on them. But Žoxovs'kyj replied that sending them to Rome would also take forever — “perpetuo duratura” — adding that he had already hired the printers. The nuncio once more urged him to reconsider in view of the importance of the matter. Pallavicini also asked him to have his works examined by two persons knowledgeable in the language and by two theologians who also knew Church Slavonic. The nuncio would then send the project to Propaganda, who, he reassured Žoxovs'kyj, would return them quickly. His works thus would be that much more accurate — something the metropolitan himself desired.¹⁷⁶

With his letter the nuncio included a sample of the Church Slavonic used so that Propaganda could see if they had anyone who could understand it. They would then be able to work with the original text and not a translation.

Pallavicini, however, was not able to convince Žoxovs'kyj. He left a report for the new nuncio, Giacomo Cantelmi, about his attempts to have the planned works first sent to Rome.¹⁷⁷

Žoxovs'kyj also failed to follow the agreement of the Warsaw meeting of 25 March 1683, at which the Ruthenian hierarchy, Basilian representatives, and Nuncio Pallavicini had agreed that a planned služebnyk was to be based on the 1617 *Mamonyč* edition.¹⁷⁸ Available documents give no indication why Žoxovs'kyj did not follow this plan.

It took Žoxovs'kyj several more years before he was ready to print a služebnyk, the only liturgical book he published. He based his work on the Greek liturgicon printed in Rome in 1683 for the Basilians of Grottaferrata by

¹⁷⁶ *LNA*, 14:146.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

¹⁷⁸ *EM*, 3:74; Wawryk, “Do istoriji”, p. 113.

their Protector, Cardinal Nerli (who also had been the Warsaw nuncio from 1670 to 1671).¹⁷⁹

Nerli's liturgicon had a distinctive structure and contents, which Nerli explained in the introductory remarks.

Therefore to eliminate from the altar the unsightliness of so many books and to make things easier for the celebrant, we thought of editing what is scattered in various volumes in one only, with everything in its proper place, arranged according to the yearly cycle, retaining, however, the rite of the typicon or order of the holy monastery of Grottaferrata [...]. In such a liturgicon or missal, besides the liturgies of our holy fathers Basil the Great and John Chrysostom, as well as the one called the Presanctified Gifts, the old liturgicon added hardly anything else; and whatever is required for the entire mass throughout the year, whether for Sundays, for the feasts of the saints, or for weekdays has been collected into one by the work and effort of those to whom it was confided, and we hope it will be of great profit.¹⁸⁰

Nerli's text followed closely the structure of the Roman missal, especially in its orderly manner of presenting all the needed material for a mass celebrated by a single priest without a deacon or the active participation of the laity. His, however, was not the first such liturgicon that collected various parts together. A similar Greek liturgicon had been printed in Rome in 1601, although it did not contain as much as Nerli's.¹⁸¹ Nilo Borgia gives a description of a Greek ms liturgicon from 1278 found in the cathedral library at Piana dei Greci in Sicily, which also contains many needed parts as in Nerli's text. But Borgia only speculates that the liturgies of CHR, BAS, and PRES were part of the ms, since the title of the ms lists it as an euchology.¹⁸²

Greek euchologies generally contain in one volume liturgical material which is divided into several books in Slavic usage. Thus, the three eucharistic liturgies are found in the služebnyk, the sacraments in the trebnyk, the episcopal functions in the svjatytyl's'kyj služebnyk or činovnik. The influence and convenience of the Greek euchologies in grouping this material together is seen in some Slavic texts as well, such as the pre-Nikonian Muscovite

¹⁷⁹ *EM*, 3:136, 140.

¹⁸⁰ 1683 Rome liturgicon, f. 1v-2r. For a description of this text, see E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique ou Description Raisonnée des Ouvrages Publiés par des Grecs au XVIIe s.*, 2 (Paris 1894): 416-417, n. 579. See also Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 100; Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 117; Praszko, *De ecclesia*, p. 277-280.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique... au XVIIe s.*, 1 (Paris 1894): 1-2, n. 1. See also A. Jacob, "L'evoluzione dei libri liturgici bizantini in Calabria e in Sicilia dall'VIII al XVI secolo, con particolare riguardo ai riti Eucaristici", *Calabria Bizantina: Vita religiosa e strutture amministrative, Atti del primo e secondo incontro di Studi Bizantini*, Reggio Calabria 1974, p. 68; Wawryk "Do istoriji", p. 118.

¹⁸² Cf. N. Borgia, "Rarissimo Messale Bizantino", *Il Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, November-December 1937, p. 21-24; A. Salaville, *Studia Orientalia Liturgico-Theologica*, Rome 1940, p. 144.

služebnyky. For example, the 1646 *Moscow* služebnyk contains a large number of services, prayers, and readings, much more than is found in Žoxovs'kyj's text. This Muscovite text includes the three eucharistic liturgies, various gospels, prokeimena, and alleluia verses, mass propers for the general classes of saints, selections from the eight Sunday resurrection tones needed for mass, a complete calendar of the saints, the blessing of water, the sacraments of baptism and marriage, indications for epistle readings, plus other material. However, the presentation of this material is far from orderly. Žoxovs'kyj, who must have known this and other Muscovite texts, could have been favourably impressed by this large selection of material, though disliking its disorderliness.

Žoxovs'kyj received a copy of Nerli's liturgicon from Nerli himself and he was so impressed with its order and convenience that he took it as a model: "it will be as large as the Nerli missal, with the same admirable order".¹⁸³ So at his own expense and by his own authority Žoxovs'kyj printed a služebnyk on the same lines. The work came out in 1692 from the Holy Trinity monastery in Vilna. He was proud of his work and saw a promising future for it.

Such a liturgicon has never been seen in Rus', and for this reason his majesty [King John Sobieski of Poland] wants a copy sent to the grand dukes of Muscovy, to the emperor, and to Cardinal Colonitz, so that similar ones can be printed for the Serbs, Bulgarians, Croatians, Dalmatians, and Bosnians, who follow the Eastern Rite. This missal has received much praise from Uniates and schismatics. Your Eminence would never believe how much this cost me, both for the workers brought from Muscovy and Lviv, and for the printing, the press and rollers, and paper from Holland [...] As soon as possible I will print the trebnyk, which is very necessary for the priests of the Rus' voevodship, and then the missal will be again reprinted for the whole territory of the Ruthenian dioceses.¹⁸⁴

Žoxovs'kyj sent out copies of the printed book to the pope, to Nerli, and to Propaganda via the nuncio. He had no intentions of having it checked or corrected by anyone in Rome. Rather, he was offering it for the use of the other Slavic nations either in the Hapsburg Empire or under the Venetian Republic.¹⁸⁵ He noted that the inclusion of St. Josaphat Kuncevyč into the calendar plus the addition of the filioque would not please the Orthodox.¹⁸⁶ But this did not diminish the mission he envisaged for his text.

Both Pallavicini and Žoxovs'kyj were well aware of the importance of this book. Not only was it to fill an immediate need, but it would serve as the model for future služebnyky. Although it did become one of the most important editions for the Ruthenian Church, it fell short of becoming the

¹⁸³ *EM*, 3:151, p. 139.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 150. The Rus' voevodship was the eparchies of Lviv and Peremysl.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

typical edition acceptable to and used by all. Žoxovs'kyj's failure to comply with the nuncio's request was unfortunate. When we see the plans the metropolitan had for the text beyond the Ruthenian Church, the nuncio's argument for examining the text thoroughly takes on added importance.

The situation had changed from the first decade after the Union of Brest. When Propaganda had agreed to print liturgical books for Ruts'kyj, it asked that he first have them examined by qualified monks. Žoxovs'kyj did not ask Propaganda to assist him financially or to print the text. Yet Rome wanted to control the texts first.

Several decades later a contemporary of Heraclius Lisovs'kyj and an adviser to Propaganda on Lisovs'kyj's reform, Porfirius Važyns'kyj, expressed reservations about Žoxovs'kyj's *služebnyk*. His views are especially valuable because of his interest in liturgical matters. He was educated in the Greek College in Rome, twice elected Basilian protoarchimandrite, and eventually named bishop of Xolm. In 1788 Važyns'kyj wrote an extensive report on Ruthenian liturgical usages and how they differed from those of the Greek Rite. On Žoxovs'kyj's *služebnyk* he wrote:

I am not sure whether in arranging this missal in this way for the convenience of the priests the metropolitan was equally careful about preserving integrally the original rites. Indeed, if we carefully compare this book with old liturgical books, whether Ruthenian or Greek, we shall easily find not a few departures from both in actions and in words. I believe he followed the example of the Greek missal arranged in a similar manner, as our Basilian monks of the Greek Rite in Italy at that time wanted very much, who already, according to the testimony of Jacob Goar, used a ritual redolent of innovations, in order to be more like the Latins.¹⁸⁷

Važyns'kyj went on to say that Žoxovs'kyj could have received the Nerli text from Joseph de Camillis when the latter was procurator in Rome (1674-1689), since the two men corresponded. Važyns'kyj had seen a copy of Nerli's liturgicon in the Holy Trinity monastery library in Vilna, but by the time of his writing (1788) he no longer knew of its whereabouts.

To finance the printing Žoxovs'kyj had borrowed money from the Suprasl' monastery. After the *služebnyk* was printed, he stored 1300 copies in Suprasl'. When he died shortly after in 1693, his debt with the monks remained unpaid, but he had written in his will that payment should be made to the monastery by giving them a certain number of *služebnyky*. His successor, Metropolitan Leo Zalens'kyj, told the monks in a letter of 7 September 1694 that for this debt and for various funeral services celebrated by them for the late metropolitan he was giving them five hundred copies of the *služebnyk* for their use or sale.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Važyns'kyj, "Observatio brevis", f. 56v-57r. An Italian summary is given in *ASCPF*, 5:160-168.

¹⁸⁸ *AS*, 9:308-309.

The Suprasł monks under Archimandrite Cyprianovyč had obtained matrices, letters, and other printing material from the Vilna monastery by 1694.¹⁸⁹ At the chapter that year the Vilna monks wanted these things returned. Later the vicar of the Vilna monastery, Leo Kyška, asked Metropolitan Zalens'kyj to order Suprasł to return the typographical materials to Vilna by 1697.¹⁹⁰

Suprasł printed an addition to the enlarged edition of the služebnyk in 1695, adding twenty-two pages at the end containing vespers, the midnight service, matins, and other material not found in Nerli's edition.¹⁹¹ This became the final format under which *Žoxovs'kyjs služebnyk* was known.

2. Early Acceptance of *Žoxovs'kyj's Služebnyk*

For over thirty years the *Žoxovs'kyj* edition was the only printed Catholic služebnyk available to the Ruthenian Church. Early indications suggested it was to become the typical or standard edition. The twenty-fifth Basilian chapter held in 1703 made the usual call for uniformity in liturgical services, especially the mass, but now added that this be according to the new služebnyk.¹⁹² The next chapter in 1709 likewise stressed liturgical uniformity, calling also for the printing of needed liturgical books, especially the polustav (časoslov) and trebnyk; however, this chapter did not make any mention of *Žoxovs'kyj's služebnyk*, which was in circulation by then.¹⁹³ A note in the 1713 Vilna chapter said that the služebnyk should not be called a "missal" nor the polustav a "breviary".¹⁹⁴ Did the format of *Žoxovs'kyj's služebnyk* encourage the use of the term "missal"?

Leo Kyška occupied in succession several important posts in the Ruthenian Church, which enabled him to spread the *Žoxovs'kyj* edition. We saw earlier that Kyška, as vicar of the Holy Trinity monastery in Vilna, had asked the Suprasł monks to return the printing materials in 1697. In 1708

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 12:32.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 9:310-311.

¹⁹¹ For a separate description of the edition before and after the Suprasł addition see Svjencyc'kyj, *Kataloh knyh*, n. 196, 197. The main body of the text contains 259 pages numbered on one side only, followed by a second section of pages numbered on both sides containing services for general categories of saints and other material. This second section ends on p. 64 in the original edition with the customary conclusion "Budy čest, slava i xvala Bohu, v Troicy svjatoj jedynomu. Amin'." In the Suprasł edition this section then reverts to numbering on one side only, starting from f. 65 through to the end of f. 86v. At the bottom of f. 86v is the customary colophon stating that this work was completed under Metropolitan Zalens'kyj and Archimandrite Cyprianovyč in Suprasł in 1695.

¹⁹² *AS*, 12:153.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 163-164.

¹⁹⁴ I. Kozlovskij, "S'ezdy Bazilijan v Zapadnoj Rusi", *Vestnik Zapadnoj Rossii*, 2 (1870), 4:35. The acts of this chapter are known only from this summary given by Kozlovskij.

Kyška, then protoarchimandrite of the Basilians, was elected archimandrite of Suprasł, where he reorganized their printing press. He asked Rome in 1712 to give its approval to the press.¹⁹⁵ This Rome did on 13 March 1718, stipulating that all books must be prepared by qualified persons and approved by the nuncio.¹⁹⁶ In 1713 Nuncio Grimaldi informed Rome that he had appointed Kyška not only administrator of the metropolitan see, but also of the vacant Peremyśl eparchy,

so that he could introduce into that eparchy the use of the corrected missal and breviary, which were printed in his eparchy of Volodymyr and which are wanting in that of Peremyśl, at least as far as the greater part of the clergy are concerned.¹⁹⁷

Kyška was bishop of Volodymyr (1711-1728), but there is no evidence that he ever printed a *služebnyk* in those years or that there ever was a press in Volodymyr.¹⁹⁸ Any text would have been printed in Suprasł.

Kyška undoubtedly only reprinted the *Žoxovs'kyj* text. This is supported by the accusation brought against him and the other Ruthenian bishops by the Peremyśl clergy. The clergy were angry that eparchial synods were not called and over the cathedraticum exacted by the bishops plus payment for ordinations. On top of that the clergy were being obliged to buy a new book.

They unlawfully want to obligate the clergy to take the newly printed missal at a high price, under the pretext that it has been corrected of many errors in the celebration of the mass, when in fact this new missal is completely identical to others, being only a reprint.¹⁹⁹

Propaganda sent this complaint from the clergy back to the Warsaw nuncio and advised him as follows:

As to the missal, their Eminences consider it necessary that Your Lordship should have it again examined by well-experienced and learned persons, to see if it is truly purged of errors, and in order to be more certain, after having it examined, you should send here a copy each of the new and old missals at an appropriate opportunity, since, there being expert persons here, everything will be properly checked, and then they will be sent back well corrected and purged with the approval of the Sacred Congregation; meanwhile, as to the high price, Your Lordship could prudently point out to the metropolitan and his ministers that it is not licit to burden their own subjects beyond what is just.²⁰⁰

Kyška mentioned nothing about the price in his 1715 report concerning

¹⁹⁵ *ASCPF*, 3:56, 57.

¹⁹⁶ *AS*, 9:317; Durbak, "Mytropolyča dijalnist", p. 253.

¹⁹⁷ *MUH*, 5:258.

¹⁹⁸ See, for example, Ohijenko, *Istorija drugarstva*, p. 156-159; *Knyha i drugarstvo*, p. 42-69.

¹⁹⁹ *ASCPF*, 3:135.

²⁰⁰ *APF*, Congregazioni Particolari, vol. 603, f. 524v-525r. A similar argument is found in *LSCPF*, 3:116-117.

the služebnyk. He was concerned that the newly united eparchies were using texts which contained errors against the faith and he proceeded to list them. He felt that at least in Peremyšl they should be substituted with new Catholic editions.²⁰¹ Many of the služebnyky in use had been printed by the Orthodox. The Lviv Stauropegia Brotherhood had printed one in 1712, after their acceptance of the Union. Lviv Bishop Athanasius Šeptyc'kyj objected to the errors in this edition already prior to 1720.²⁰²

Right up to the Synod of Zamostja the clergy continued to attack the hierarchy's involvement in financial affairs, even suggesting that this was the main cause of all the problems in the metropolia.

The main source of these enormous scandals is recognized to be without doubt the avarice of the bishops, who, instead of being more solicitous about souls placed in their care, seem to busy themselves only in finding ways to accumulate money, since for this sole purpose they extravagantly multiply the number of pastors absolutely unfit for such a holy ministry.²⁰³

This antagonism between the clergy and the hierarchy helps to explain why Grimaldi and not Kyška was appointed president of the Zamostja synod, even though the metropolitan had originally proposed calling the synod. It also may explain why Zamostja mentioned neither Žoxovs'kyj's nor Kyška's edition when it dealt with the need for liturgical texts.

In the section "De fide catholica" the synod prescribed which books required the permission of the local ordinary to be printed. It added:

Nevertheless, it is agreed that missals, rituals, breviaries, menaia, and pontificals cannot be approved by the ordinary unless they conform to the edition that the synod itself will issue and the Holy See will approve.²⁰⁴

The synod instructed the metropolitan to look after this:

So that there would be no confusion and discord or the like in the manner of officiating the divine services [...the synod] orders that the churches of our Rite use one and the same ritual, neither adding to it nor detracting anything from it. The most illustrious metropolitan will see to the arrangement of this ritual, and after it is approved by the Holy See will have it printed and distributed at a just price.²⁰⁵

Here the Latin term "rituale" can be understood as the Slavic *trebnyk*. In the section concerning the mass itself, "De celebratione missarum", the same term is used: "The holy synod orders the deans to watch over its uniformity in ceremonies according to the new rituale to be edited".²⁰⁶ Here the term

²⁰¹ *EM*, 4:49, 52. The errors cited by Kyška will be examined in part II of this work.

²⁰² *MUH*, 5:340.

²⁰³ *LSCPF*, 3:140.

²⁰⁴ *SPZ*, Tit. 1: "De fide catholica", p. 57-58.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Tit. 3: "De sacramentis eorumque administratione", p. 61-62.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, §4: "De celebratione missarum", p. 73.

“rituale” must be understood in the wider sense of a book containing all the sacraments and liturgies — similar to the Greek euchology.

In effect, Zamostja was requiring of Kyška what Žoxovs’kyj failed to accomplish: to prepare a text in consultation with others and with Rome’s approval prior to printing.

Sometime after the synod, Archimandrite Jakiv Solikovs’kyj of Kobryn’ and former Rome procurator Policarp Fylypovyč were appointed to correct the *služebnyk*, *časoslov*, and other liturgical books. We hear about this in 1722. Kyška prepared a manual for pastors and a catechism for the people.²⁰⁷ Zamostja did not require Rome’s approval for these publications, yet when Kyška printed them on his own, Propaganda objected. The Congregation had informed him on 15 May 1722 that they wanted to examine the catechism before its publication.²⁰⁸ We know little about Solikovs’kyj’s and Fylypovyč’s work other than that a *služebnyk* was prepared in Suprasl’. The title page gives the date 1727, but it was printed only in 1733. Nothing indicates that this book had Rome’s approval. This *služebnyk* is similar to Žoxovs’kyj’s edition, but not identical.²⁰⁹

3. *The Lviv Brotherhood and Bishop Athanasius Šeptyc’kyj*

The post-Zamostja era was marked by strong competition in the printing of liturgical books by the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood on one side and several bishops and monasteries on the other. The main conflict arose between the Brotherhood and Athanasius Šeptyc’kyj, who was archimandrite of Univ from 1713, bishop of Lviv from 1715, and metropolitan from 1729, holding all posts simultaneously until his death in 1746.

The Lviv Brotherhood had received various rights and privileges from Orthodox Patriarch Joachim of Antioch. It was raised to a *stauropugia* by Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople in 1588, when he exempted it from the jurisdiction of the local Lviv bishop and placed it directly under his own.²¹⁰ Hence it is often referred to simply as the Lviv *Stauropugia*.

The Brotherhood began to print in the late sixteenth century. In 1594 it sought a monopoly for the Vilna Brotherhood and itself as sole printers of Church Slavonic books in the Ruthenian Church, but this was not granted them.²¹¹ Its printing privileges were confirmed by successive Polish kings.

²⁰⁷ *LSCPF*, 3:199.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 268-270, 288.

²⁰⁹ A copy is found in the Francis Skaryna Byelorussian Library, London. See also Solovey, *Divine Liturgy*, p. 22; Raes, “Liturgicon”, p. 104.

²¹⁰ Cf. *Monumenta Confraternitatis Stauropigianae Leopoliensis*, ed. W. Milkowicz, 2 (Lviv 1895): 56-59.

²¹¹ See the list of instructions for the Brest synod of 24 June 1594 signed by various nobles and leading laity, in *Opisanie dokumentov arxiva zapadnorusskix uniatskix mitropolitov*, 1 (St. Petersburg 1897): 76, n. 168.

Sigismund III permitted them to operate a press on 15 October 1592.²¹² This was confirmed by Ladislav IV on 30 November 1639.²¹³ King John Casimir reconfirmed this on 29 January 1649,²¹⁴ and King Michael added a clear monopoly for the Lviv area in his confirmation of 10 October 1669.²¹⁵ Finally, when Bishop A. Šeptyc'kyj was about to reopen the press in Univ, the Stauropegia asked and obtained from King Augustus II a confirmation of its past rights with the addition that the Brotherhood was to be the sole printer of Church Slavonic texts for the entire kingdom.²¹⁶

Armed with these privileges, the Brotherhood either took legal action against those who printed or sold Church Slavonic books, or, in the case of smaller presses, simply bought them out: press, books, and all.²¹⁷ In addition, it also received permission from Peter I in 1701 to sell books in Ukrainian territories under Russian control.²¹⁸ When the Lviv Brotherhood decided to enter the Union it wanted to preserve its stauropegial status by having it transferred to Rome. Bishop Šumljans'kyj of Lviv agreed, and in 1709 its union was ratified.²¹⁹

In 1712 the Stauropegia printed a služebnyk on its own, while Šeptyc'kyj commissioned it to print a trebnyk for his Lviv eparchy in 1719. The latter text was similar to the 1646 *Mohyla* trebnyk.²²⁰ By 1720 Šeptyc'kyj's rapport with the Brotherhood seems to have soured, since he wanted the Zamostja synod to examine its printing activities.²²¹ The dispute that subsequently developed was basically twofold: first, being exempt from Šeptyc'kyj's authority, the Stauropegia was able to print liturgical texts without his or anyone else's approval, which went against the recent Zamostja legislation; secondly, although the Brotherhood editions contained errors, they were being used by the clergy in Šeptyc'kyj's eparchy. In 1722 Šeptyc'kyj forbade the purchase of the Brotherhood's texts and complained to the nuncio that these books were full of errors and heresy, were based on Orthodox redactions, therefore had schismatic tendencies, and were contrary to the Synod of Zamostja legislation,

²¹² Cf. *Monumenta Confraternitatis*, 1:389-391.

²¹³ Cf. *Arxiv JuZR*, I, 10:182-183, n. 80. This, however, does not contain such a clear monopoly right as some have maintained; cf. A. Krylovskij, *Evovskoe Stavropigialnoe Bratstvo*, Kiev 1904, p. 111; Ohijenko, *Istorija drukarstva*, p. 87.

²¹⁴ Cf. *Arxiv JuZR*, I, 10:192-195, n. 86.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 675, n. 251.

²¹⁶ Cf. Rudovyč, "Epyskopy Šeptyc'ki", p. 248.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²¹⁸ Cf. *Arxiv JuZR*, I, 12:614; *Knyha i drukarstvo*, p. 47.

²¹⁹ Cf. *ASCPF*, 2:244-243; *DPRU*, 2:9-11. For more information and source material, see: Krylovskij, *Evovskoe Stavropigialnoe Bratstvo*; *Zbirnyk Lvivs'koji Stavropihiji*, ed. K. Studyns'kyj, Lviv 1921; D. Zubryc'kyj "Litopys Evovskaho Stavropyhialnaho Bratstva", *Vremenyk Stavropyhijsskaho Instytutu s misjaceslovom na obyknovennyj hod 1926*, Lviv 1925, p. 101-269.

²²⁰ Cf. Rudovyč, "Epyskopy Šeptyc'ki", p. 245.

²²¹ *EM*, 4:174.

to which synod the Brotherhood had sent its own delegates.²²² In a letter to Rome he asked that it be placed under his jurisdiction.²²³ Propaganda referred the matter back to the nuncio for further study and told Šeptyc'kyj to await his opinion.²²⁴

Nuncio Vincent Santini (1721-1728) then appointed a commission or tribunal to make a visitation of the Brotherhood. It was composed of two Latins: the Lviv suffragan and later Bishop of Xolm Felix Szaniawski and a certain canon Józefowicz; and two Basilians: the archimandrite of Myłci Innocent Pihovyč and the Lviv St. George cathedral preacher Joseph Naroł's'kyj.²²⁵ On 6 July 1725 the tribunal concluded in Šeptyc'kyj's favour.²²⁶ We hear about the commission's results in a report from the metropolitan curia. The commission had found no statutes and so felt that the Stauropegia could not be considered a brotherhood. The rights and privileges it possessed were received from Orthodox patriarchs and interfered with the authority of the local Lviv bishop. The brotherhood had no distinctive garb and had only four members, one of whom had been financial administrator for over twenty years. The commission found much abuse in its financial affairs. The brotherhood members had requested and been received into the Union, but they had never made the profession of faith required by Zamostja. Rather, they wanted to make their profession in the form given them by Orthodox Patriarch Joachim of Antioch. Since the Brotherhood had the only operating Slavonic press in the Polish-Lithuanian state, it printed for the Orthodox as well, and the Lviv bishop could only stand back and do nothing while these books "full of heresies" were printed before his eyes. The threat of censure only brought derision from the four Brotherhood members.²²⁷

On the basis of the commission's report, Bishop Šeptyc'kyj appointed Policarp Fylypovyč to examine the Brotherhood editions. In his observations sent to Rome we have an important source of liturgical information, of which we shall make use later.²²⁸ The commission also sent a report of its findings to Rome, and it was up to Rome now to make the final decision.²²⁹

²²² Cf. Rudovyč, "Epyskopy Šeptyc'ki", p. 246.

²²³ *EM*, 4:177-178. He wrote the same to rector Trombetti; cf. p. 178-179.

²²⁴ *LSCPF*, 3:208-209, 210.

²²⁵ Rudovyč confused Bishop Constantine Felician Szaniawski, bishop of Włocławek 1706-1720, bishop of Cracow 1720-1732, with Bishop John Felix Szaniawki, suffragan of Lviv 1717-1725, afterwards bishop of Xolm; cf. Rudovyč, "Epyskopy Šeptyc'ki", p. 247; *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi*, ed. R. Ritzler and P. Sefrin, 5 (Patavii 1952): 141, 157, 175, 416, 418. Rudovyč gives the names of four members, while the report from the metropolitan curia mentions only three unnamed members, one of whom was the bishop of Xolm; see *SEU*, 2:210.

²²⁶ *LE*, 5:269.

²²⁷ *SEU*, 2:210-212.

²²⁸ *LE*, 5:269-315.

²²⁹ Propaganda asked the nuncio for a more detailed explanation on 8 September 1725, but it had not received a reply by 9 February 1726, *LSCPF*, 3:277-278.

The Stauropegia protested the commission's findings and appealed to Rome; it accused the commission of being one-sided, since its members were those proposed by Šeptyc'kyj.²³⁰ Rome, however, supported the commission. In 1727 the Brotherhood again appealed to Rome to reopen the case. In the meantime, it kept on printing books, which were not in total conformity with the Zamostja legislation. Its časoslov printed in 1726 conformed to the Zamostja regulations by including the filioque and omitting Gregory Palamas from the calendar; but the časoslov still had no approval.²³¹

Šeptyc'kyj had more in mind than books tending to heresy. The Brotherhood church of the Dormition in Lviv was the largest church in the city and the traditional place where the Lviv bishops, including Šeptyc'kyj, were ordained; there the bishops celebrated on the major feasts and during Holy Week. The Brotherhood was also involved in many charitable works. Šeptyc'kyj was under the false impression that it had accepted the Union exactly when the Lviv see was vacant in 1709 to ensure its independence from the local bishop.²³² The Lviv bishop had much to gain from control of the Brotherhood.

On 9 September 1727 Propaganda made a final decision, this time in the Brotherhood's favour, allowing it to retain its exempt status. It ordered the return of all the Brotherhood's books, which Šeptyc'kyj had confiscated. Rome instructed the nuncio, however, to appoint a Latin visitor to examine all its works for possible errors against the faith. If the Stauropegia planned any new works, the nuncio was also to appoint one or more Latin theologians to examine and approve them.²³³

The nuncio had some reservations about fulfilling Rome's instructions. By this time Fylypovyč had completed his examination and had found errors that were "more in conformity with the Greek schism than with Catholic beliefs". If the Brotherhood was now to be given back the texts Šeptyc'kyj had confiscated, it could sell these texts not only to the Muscovites, but also to the Catholic clergy. The nuncio proposed, rather, that these confiscated books be burnt and the Brotherhood ordered to send a copy of any projected work to Rome for approval after being prepared by qualified Basilians and receiving the approval of all the Ruthenian hierarchy. The nuncio went on to say that just as Latin liturgical texts are all identical, so too the Stauropegia should print uniform books once these had Rome's approval. He objected to the stipulation that a Latin was to examine these works, since there were few who understood the Ruthenian language well enough — even among the

²³⁰ *SEU*, 2:220.

²³¹ Cf. Rudovyč, "Epyskopy Šeptyc'ki", p. 247.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 210.

²³³ *CP*, 1:242-243. This decree was sent to the nuncio on 27 September 1727, *LSCPF*, 3:302.

Ruthenian clergy! The nuncio suggested Fylypovyč's study as a good starting point.²³⁴

Fylypovyč's results arrived in Rome after Propaganda had made its decision. Propaganda mentioned this to Nuncio Santini when, on 13 December 1727, it acknowledged his reservations regarding Propaganda's decree. Rome instructed him to put the confiscated books in a safe, neutral place, together with the copies that Fylypovyč had used, especially so that none of Šeptyc'kyj's people could get at them. As concerns the commission members who were to examine the texts, the nuncio was told he could nominate both Latins and Ruthenians.²³⁵

On 17 November 1729 the new Nuncio Camillo Paulucci-Merlini (1728-1738) formed a commission with members of both Rites: two Latin canons of Lviv, two Dominicans, two Jesuits, and two Basilians (Dionysius Markevyč and Joseph Narol's'kyj). The commission began work in March of 1730, examining all the books, including the "Bukvar" from 1723 (a primer with appended prayers). It concluded its work in March 1731. The commission suggested that some books be corrected and others totally destroyed.²³⁶ It gave its results to the nuncio who, however, returned them in 1732, since he wanted the examination to be carried out more accurately.²³⁷ He also increased the commission to twelve members,²³⁸ appointing the Lviv Theatine rector Joseph Radanaschi to head the commission, and adding two theologians in the person of Policarp Fylypovyč and Peter Koss, the latter a gifted lay Ruthenian who had studied at the Urbanian in Rome. During sixteen sessions the commission examined twenty books and completed its work in 1733 with a written description in booklet form of the corrections needed, which was presented to Šeptyc'kyj, then metropolitan. With Radanaschi's consent Koss tore out and burnt the censured portions of the books he had access to and printed new sections to replace them.²³⁹

The most important result of all these commissions and examinations was the pastoral letter of Metropolitan Athanasius Šeptyc'kyj issued on 4 May

²³⁴ *MUH*, 5:416-418.

²³⁵ *LSCPF*, 3:304-305. For further correspondence during 1728, see *LSCPF*, 3:307, 310; *CP*, 1:281.

²³⁶ Cf. Rudovyč, "Epyskopy Šeptyc'ki", p. 247.

²³⁷ This information is taken from the personal notes of the Basilian historian T. Halušcyns'kyj († 1953), who cited the work of A. Petruševyč, *Dissertatio de paleoslavonica et microrussicis versionibus Sacrae Scripturae*, Lviv 1888, p. 55-56. Petruševyč in turn located this in the Lviv Stauropigia Institute archives, roll n. 122.

²³⁸ The Warsaw nuncio Joseph Garampi wrote to Rome on 20 April 1776 the following: "Dal P. Rossetti [rector of the Lviv Pontifical seminary] intendo che circa l'anno 1732 furono deputati da questa nunziatura dodici deputati per la correzione dei libri dei divini uffici stampati dalla Confraternità Stauropigiana." *APF*, Miscellanee Varie, vol. 1, f. 181v.

²³⁹ Cf. *APF*, Congr. Part., vol. 72, f. 313v; *MUH* 6:38-40. Source information on this commission is incomplete. We have reconstructed this according to the most probable sequence.

1738. The letter itself has not come down to us, but there are various descriptions, the best being that of Archimandrite Ambrose.²⁴⁰ The letter was addressed to deans and monastic superiors; it listed corrections for fifteen books, which all priests were to make in their copies. Such corrections would be cheaper than printing new editions, which most clergy could not afford. Many of the corrections were those decreed by Zamostja, or were an outcome of that synod. Thus, the commemoration of the pope in place of the Eastern patriarchs and the inclusion of the filioque both in the creed and in prayers expressing the procession from the Father were among the corrections. Texts of dubious historical value or offensive to the Roman Church, such as some synaxaria, were to be omitted or changed. Many of these points, especially those concerning the eucharistic liturgy, had also been proposed by Fylypovyč.

4. *The Stauropedia, Počajiv, and Other Presses*

Besides other liturgical books, the Suprasl press produced several more služebnyky after Kyška's edition. The Stauropedia wanted Propaganda to close the Suprasl press along with those of Univ and Počajiv to ensure the Brotherhood income for its church, monastery, and other needs.²⁴¹ We hear nothing more on Stauropedia's dispute with the Suprasl monks, probably because their press was so distant and produced little.²⁴²

Several služebnyky were printed at the Univ monastery near Lviv after it entered the Union in 1700. Most of its editions appeared when Athanasius Šeptyc'kyj was its archimandrite. In 1733, ignoring the Stauropedia monopoly and earlier agreements not to infringe on it, Šeptyc'kyj printed a služebnyk in the Univ press. On 9 May 1733 Stauropedia asked the nuncio to stop the Univ press, but on 17 November of that year the služebnyk appeared. Šeptyc'kyj intended it to become the typical edition, according to which all other texts would be corrected.²⁴³ Stauropedia brought Šeptyc'kyj before the civil court over this edition; on 9 May 1739 a compromise was reached. The Stauropedia retained the right to print those books it had printed up to that time. These

²⁴⁰ Cf. Amvrosij, "Zamojskij sobor", p. 418-427. A lengthy description is also given by Metropolitan Andrew Šeptyc'kyj, "Pastyr'ske poslannja 3 travnja 1941 r.: pro obrjady". *Pys'ma-poslannja Mytropoljta A. Šeptyc'koho ČSVV, z časiv nimec'koji okupaciji (= Logos: Supplementum Homileticum ad Logos)*, 3 (1964): 149-161. Nedelskij, *Lev Kiška*, p. 315, refers to a copy he saw in the Kiev Dux. Akad. 1 kom, p. 4. Other references are Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 14; Rudovyč, "Epyskopy Šeptyc'ki", p. 293; Bocian, "De modificationibus", p. 959; Solovey, *Divine Liturgy*, p. 22.

²⁴¹ *SEU*, 2:324.

²⁴² Cf. Durbak, "Mytropoljča dijaInist", p. 164-171, 204-212, 251-256; Archimandrite Nikolaj [Dalmatov], *Supraslskij Blagoveščenskij Monastyr'*, St. Petersburg 1892, p. 218ff, especially p. 327-332; Wojnar, "Basilian Publishing", p. 87-88.

²⁴³ Cf. Rudovyč, "Epyskopy Šeptyc'ki", p. 248, 289-291.

were listed by royal decree the following year. But Šeptyc'kyj was allowed to keep the Univ press operating.²⁴⁴ The metropolitan continued to print and put out another služebnyk in 1740, which brought on a warning from the king in 1741. Šeptyc'kyj then showed some willingness to comply with Stauropegia's privileges, but soon more editions appeared from the Univ press.²⁴⁵ After his death in 1747 the activities of the press decreased and it was eventually sold to the Počajiv monastery in 1770.²⁴⁶

The Počajiv monastery press was the most productive of all Ruthenian presses. The monastery accepted the Union in 1712, but asked to be put under the jurisdiction of Athanasius Šeptyc'kyj of Lviv and not under the bishop of Luc'k, within whose territory it was located.²⁴⁷ On 18 October 1732 it received permission from King Augustus II to have a press,²⁴⁸ to which the Stauropegia immediately reacted, filing a protest with the nuncio. The nuncio decided in the Stauropegia's favour on 27 October 1732, forbidding the Počajiv monks from printing any books in Slavonic. In 1735 Počajiv printed the first of many služebnyky (a CHR excerpt was printed in 1734), but then nothing else for two years. Augustus III reconfirmed in 1736 the earlier decision of Augustus II allowing Počajiv to print, and Nuncio Merlini overturned his own earlier decision against the Počajiv press. Thus, by 1737 the monastery began to print on a regular basis.²⁴⁹ The Lviv Brotherhood complained to Rome in 1737.²⁵⁰ After much correspondence, Propaganda finally decided in 1745 to support the nuncio's permission for Počajiv to print.²⁵¹

Undaunted, Stauropegia turned to the civil courts and after a lengthy process won its case against Počajiv in 1771. The court forbade Počajiv to print those books reserved to the Stauropegia, instructing Počajiv to sell those that it had already printed to the Brotherhood at a cheap price. But this victory was short-lived. With the division of the Polish-Lithuanian state in 1772, Lviv fell under Austrian control and Počajiv remained with the only Slavonic press in Poland. Bishop Sylvester Rudnyc'kyj made an agreement with the Počajiv press, whereby it functioned as an eparchial institution. This received civil approval in 1773. During the years 1772 to 1795, having no competition, the Počajiv press produced 133 editions.²⁵²

²⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 292-297; Wojnar, "Basilian Publishing", p. 89-90.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Rudovyč, "Epyskopy Šeptyc'ki", p. 297.

²⁴⁶ Cf. Wojnar, "Basilian Publishing", p. 90; *Knyha i drukarstvo*, p. 64; Ohijenko, *Istorija drukarstva*, p. 151.

²⁴⁷ *ASCPF*, 3:57, 59-60; *LE*, 5:117; *MUH*, 5:215-216, 217-219; Tylawskij, "Monastero di Počajiv", p. 233-237.

²⁴⁸ Cf. Tylawskij, "Monastero di Počajiv", p. 248.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 258; Ohijenko, *Počajivs'ka Lavra*, p. 312.

²⁵⁰ *MUH*, 6:70-71.

²⁵¹ *ASCPF*, 4:37-38.

²⁵² Cf. Tylawskij, "Monastero di Počajiv", p. 251.

5. *The Euchology of Pope Benedict XIV*

We have seen several times the interest and involvement of Pope Benedict XIV in matters concerning the Eastern Churches. One of the most concrete and positive contributions was the publication of a Greek language euchology (BEN) in 1754. This was the text that Lisovs'kyj tried to introduce into the Ruthenian Church in Slavonic translation, and it was the text that served as a basis for the Ruthenian/Ukrainian liturgicon published by the Oriental Congregation in Rome in 1942.

The preparation of the Greek euchology began in 1636, when Urban VIII created a Particular Congregation to correct the Greek euchology. It met eighty-two times, but at Urban's death in 1641 it had not reached any agreement on the form of ordination. His successor Innocent X suspended the Congregation.²⁵³ Clement XI (1700-1721) restored the commission in 1717 with the name "Congregatio Particularis super correctione librorum liturgicorum Ecclesiae Orientalis". During his pontificate the commission printed a triodion in 1724 and nine other volumes in 1738: offices for general categories of saints plus the readings and troparia for the three liturgies, a three-volume anthology or abridged twelve-month menaion, a psalter and horologion, a two-volume paracleticon, a pentecostarion, and a triodion. Due to differences over the form of the sacraments, the commission was not able to publish the euchology.²⁵⁴

When Prospero Lambertini became Pope Benedict XIV in 1740, he took an active interest in this work. From 1744 until 1750 the commission had eighteen sessions, whose minutes Benedict always closely examined.²⁵⁵ He was convinced that the Orthodox would be more favourable to church union if Rome published correct liturgical books, and he was very critical of those Latins who, ignorant of the Greek Rite, rejected everything in it that did not conform to Latin thought and usage. In his decree *Ex Quo Primum* of 1 March 1756, addressed to the Eastern hierarchs on using the new euchology, Benedict describes in detail the history, sources, purposes, and changes in the text. He

²⁵³ The acts of the 1636-1645 commission are found in *APF*, Acta, vols. 12-16.

²⁵⁴ Cf. Schweigl, "Revisio librorum", p. 364; O. Raquez, "La Congr gation pour la Correction des Livres de l'Eglise Orientale (1719-1862)", *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum 1622-1972*, ed. J. Metzler, 2 (Rome 1973): 250-252; E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hell nique ou Description Raisonn e des Ouvrages Publi s par des Grecs au XVIIIe s.*, 1 (Paris 1918): 198,265-268. The 1724 triodion = Legrand, p. 198, n. 162; the general offices for the three liturgies = Legrand, p. 265, n. 245; the three anthologies = Legrand, p. 265-266, n. 246-248; the psalter and horologion = Legrand, p. 266, n. 249; the paracleticon = Legrand, p. 267, n. 250-251; the pentecostarion = Legrand, p. 267, n. 252; the triodion of 1738 = Legrand, p. 268, n. 253.

²⁵⁵ Cf. "Ex Quo Primum", p. 301, 302; Schweigl, "Revisio librorum", p. 364-366; Krajcar, "Benedetto XIV", p. 495.

notes that of the printed sources Goar's euchology was especially valuable, while the Vatican Library codex Barberini 336 and the Grottaferrata twelfth-century patriarchal codex G.B. 1 (Bessarion) were the oldest of the ms euchologies used. To this we can add mention of a note in the material for the 1744-1750 commission, which says that the 1720 *Venice* euchology was also used as the basis for BEN.²⁵⁶ Benedict explains in detail why several changes were made. For the eucharistic liturgies these included: the addition of the commemoration of the pope; forbidding the faithful from making prostrations during the Great Entrance in CHR and BAS, since only ordinary bread and wine are being carried, and not consecrated gifts as in PRES; consecrating all particles on the discos and not just the lamb or ahnec; and permitting the deacon to make commemorations during the prothesis rite.²⁵⁷ These changes are also summarized in the introduction of the euchology.²⁵⁸

When the Ruthenian hierarchy met on 6 August 1761 to discuss plans for a provincial synod, they proposed BEN as the norm for any future liturgical reform.²⁵⁹ The initial point of the Polock eparchy proposals for this synod calls for the use of BEN: "Liturgies are to be celebrated everywhere according to the euchology of Benedict XIV".²⁶⁰ In Article IV of the synod's proposed acts BEN is envisioned as the solution to the disorder in the administration of the sacraments.

Since through the many different editions of the ritual a great deformity has been introduced in the administration of the sacraments, the holy synod should order that the Greek euchology printed in Rome by order of Pope Benedict XIV be used by all and exactly observed; however, before sending a Slavonic text collated with the Greek text for printing, it should be presented at the provincial synod and examined, and then the bishops are to sign this original examined copy, which is to be kept in the metropolitan archives.²⁶¹

The eucharistic liturgy was also to be regulated according to BEN.

The holy synod should abrogate all novelties audaciously introduced in the celebration of the solemn holy liturgy and order the strict observance of the rites that will soon be published in a liturgicon collated with the Greek liturgicon printed in Rome and which the holy synod will review.²⁶²

Although some later služebnyky were influenced by BEN, such as the Počajiv editions of 1778 and 1788,²⁶³ no official translation was ever published

²⁵⁶ *APF*, Rescripta, vol. 7, f. 14; Schweigl, "Revisio librorum", p. 366.

²⁵⁷ Cf. "Ex Quo Primum", p. 302-310, 310-315, 316.

²⁵⁸ 1754 *Rome* euchology (BEN), p. 3-4; "Ex Quo Primum", p. 329.

²⁵⁹ Cf. Wiwčaruk, *De synodo*, p. 30.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 117-118.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

²⁶³ Cf. Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 106, 133; Solovey, *Divine Liturgy*, p. 27.

for the Kievan metropolia or the later metropolia of Halyč. Bocjan concluded his liturgical study of the Ruthenian liturgy, published in 1908, with the hope that BEN would be followed by the Ruthenian/Ukrainian Church for further editions, especially since the 1891 Lviv synod expressed a similar desire.²⁶⁴

When the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches prepared the first standard liturgical texts for the Ruthenian/Ukrainian Church, at the request of its hierarchy, BEN was closely followed, as A. Raes, a member of the commission recounted.²⁶⁵ Solovey mentions the same, with a reference to Muscovite practices.

Closer examination of the models or types used for the Roman publications reveals that it conformed to the better Greek types, upon which the Greek euchology of Benedict XIV (1754) was based. With this the Liturgical Commission confirmed a fact already established by the science of liturgics, that the liturgical books and ritual practices of the old Kievan metropolitan see bear greater similarity and conformity to the Greek originals than do, for example, the liturgical books and ritual practices of the Church of Moscow.²⁶⁶

How exact Solovey's conclusion is on the difference between BEN, the Kievan, and the Muscovite texts and traditions, remains to be seen.

6. *The Garampi Study – Conclusion*

The study and recommendations made by the Nuncio to Poland Joseph Garampi (1772-1776) provide a suitable conclusion to the development of liturgical texts up to Lisovs'kyj's time. The following rather lengthy quote, taken from his report to Rome of 13 March 1776, sums up well what little information we do have on Garampi's activities.

I have noticed that there is much confusion among the Ruthenian clergy in the order of the divine services, due to the many and varied editions of the breviary, missal, and other church books which have come out over the years. Each is different from the others; there are very many adaptations, so much so that it is not uncommon for two priests not to be able to say the divine office together due to the differences in the editions of the breviary which each has.

I wrote to persons in various places, who I believed could give me more information, to find out if and with what authority these editions were made, and if by chance any doctrinal errors were found in them. Of all the replies I received, the most categorical is that of Father [Samuel] Novyc'kyj, first consultor of the Basilian Order, a man equally eminent in virtue and in letters and critical acumen; I am including a copy of his letter to Your Eminence. All the others agree in admitting the greatest disorder in this matter and in wishing that the Sacred [Particular] Congregation, instituted for the correction of the Eastern books, take into consideration the needs of the Ruthenian Church and provide for it what is

²⁶⁴ Cf. Bocjan, "De modificationibus", p. 969.

²⁶⁵ Cf. Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 118.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Solovey, "Latinization", p. 41.

needed, since once an accurate edition of the books in question is acknowledged and made in Rome, the use of any other text not perfectly similar to the edition approved by Rome could then be forbidden; without any prejudice, however, to the special rejection which some of the old [editions] deserve, that are found infected with some errors. As long as the Stauropegia Confraternity enjoyed the monopoly of printing such books these things were better regulated, but since presses have been opened in various Basilian monasteries, each with true republican freedom has changed, has corrected, and has added everything that the director of the press or the superior of the monastery wanted.²⁶⁷

Garampi goes on to suggest that Propaganda have Novyc'kyj, whom he highly praised for his knowledge, ability, and zeal, come to Rome, and that the Basilian protoarchimandrite send copies of all books printed in Poland and Lithuania to Rome.

Garampi included the reports of the rector of the Lviv Pontifical seminary, Ignatius Rosetti, the bishop of Xolm, Maximillian Ryllo, and Novyc'kyj's.²⁶⁸

Novyc'kyj was in favour of the books being corrected in Rome according to BEN to avoid past mistakes, with special attention given to the translation and the use of proper terminology.²⁶⁹

Ryllo thought it necessary and useful to print a standard edition of the Ruthenian liturgicon. He commented on Kyška's 1727 *Suprasl* edition, Šeptyc'kyj's 1747 *Univ* edition, and Rudnyc'kyj's 1765 *Počajiv* edition (a later hand added a reference to the 1759 *Lviv* edition). Ryllo could not find a copy of Žoxovs'kyj's *služebnyk* and noted that it was rare. He also observed that, contrary to the old discipline of the Greek Church, the Catholic Ruthenians had introduced CHR during the weekdays of Lent, but no variable parts for such liturgies existed. He hoped that these readings and prayers would be officially provided.²⁷⁰

Garampi was transferred to Vienna in 1776, and so ended his involvement in Ruthenian liturgical matters. Up to Lisovs'kyj's time no one had succeeded in providing one acceptable and correct set of liturgical texts for the Catholic Kievan metropolia. By the time Lisovs'kyj began his attempt, the political situation had changed, and this in no small way affected his approach.

²⁶⁷ *APF*, SC:MPR, vol. 12, f. 447r-448r.

²⁶⁸ *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 101, f. 463r-464v, f. 471v-477r (this is also found in *APF*, Miscellanea Varie, vol. 1, f. 180r-182v, dated 10 April 1776); *APF*, Miscellanea Varie, vol. 1, f. 175r-178v, dated 4 March 1774 (this is also found in *APF*, SC:MPR, vol. 12, f. 449r-452r).

²⁶⁹ *APF*, Miscellanea Varie, vol. 1, f. 177v-178v.

²⁷⁰ See the same sources given in note 268 above. This is also partially printed in Petruševyč, "Kratkoe izvestie", p. 5.

CHAPTER 3

THE SETTING AND GOAL OF LIISOVS'KYJ'S LITURGICAL REFORM

I. THE AFTERMATH OF THE FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND 1772

The first partition of Poland in 1772 marked the beginning of the destruction not only of the Polish-Lithuanian state but of the Catholic Kievan metropolia as well. Now large numbers of both Latin and Ruthenian Catholics were under the domain of the Russian government of Empress Catherine II. In light of the perennial Russian hostility to the Union of Brest, persecution of the Catholic Ruthenians was not entirely unexpected. The motivations for this were described by Nuncio Garampi in his letter to Rome of 17 March 1773.

It is clear that what is being done is not out of religious zeal, but for political ends, to win an immense population by attaching the label religion, which always attracts and dedicates it to Muscovite interests, even in the very heart of Poland, and against every other Catholic principality.¹

The Catholic Ruthenian Church within the new Russian border, according to Garampi, had over half a million faithful and close to five hundred parishes. He believed that after the death of the current titular archbishop of Smolensk Russia would not let another Catholic take his place, leaving it rather for the Orthodox. After the partition, the Catholic Ruthenians were forbidden to accept any Orthodox into their ranks, while Catholics were allowed to join the Orthodox Church. Garampi was able to obtain guarantees for the Catholics in a new treaty signed between Muscovy and Poland in 1773 which called for the status quo for all Catholics from the time of the new boundaries of 1772.²

Garampi informed Propaganda that Catherine II had decreed in 1773 that all Catholic Ruthenian churches throughout the empire were to come under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Polock Jason Smogoževs'kyj, and all the Latins were to be reorganized under one see headed by Stanislaus

¹ *MUH*, 6:353.

² *CP*, 2:313-314; cf. P. Lescoeur, *L'Eglise Catholique en Pologne sous le gouvernement Russe depuis le premier partage jusqu'à nos jours (1772-1875)*, 1 (Paris 1876): 43-44; Likowski, *Dzieje Kościoła*, p. 169-170.

Siestrzeńcewicz, until then Latin auxiliary bishop of Vilna.³ He noted the importance of these two Catholic sees.

Since the bishops of Mallo [titular see of Siestrzeńcewicz] and of Polock are the two supports on which the Catholic Church in these parts mainly rests, and their coolness or negligence in pastoral vigilance could alone bring down the Church, I continually try to encourage and animate them as best I can, showing my complete faith in them.⁴

In Siestrzeńcewicz, Catherine II found a man willing to comply with her plans to organize all the Latins under a metropolitan see which she wanted created in Mahyliv. He readily fell in with her designs, even before Rome was consulted. Rome at first only gave him temporary jurisdiction over the Latins in Russia. But his ambitions aimed at total jurisdiction not only over the Latins, but also over the Catholic Ruthenians in the Russian state.⁵

With the election of Smogożevs'kyj to the Ruthenian metropolitan see in 1780, the Polock eparchy was left vacant. The search for a new candidate to fill the see brought the Catholic Ruthenians into further conflict with Catherine II, who was not pleased to lose Smogożevs'kyj. The new Warsaw Nuncio Giovanni Archetti obtained the agreement of the St. Petersburg court for Bishop Maximilian Ryllo of Xolm to be transferred to the Polock See. At first Ryllo expressed his willingness, but then he was offered the See of Peremyśl by the Vienna government. No doubt memories of his earlier imprisonment by the Russian forces in Ukraine in 1774 were still vivid and he accepted the Peremyśl See. Catherine II was offended at Ryllo's refusal and did not accept Archetti's next candidate for Polock, Porfirius Važyns'kyj. Rather, to administer the eparchy she appointed a consistory made up of three Basilians: Ambrose Kiriati, Innocent Melanovs'kyj, and Heraclius Lisovs'kyj.⁶

The situation was becoming more and more difficult for the Catholic Ruthenians. All their correspondence outside the empire was controlled, including letters to the metropolitan and to Rome. It was decreed that at the death of a pastor the parishioners were to decide if they wanted to remain in the Union or "reunite" with the state Orthodox Church, even a few voices for which were deciding. It is no wonder that many parishes were lost.

Nuncio Archetti wrote to Propaganda in 1781 that Catherine wanted to make Siestrzeńcewicz bishop of Polock and then to order the Catholic

³ *MUH*, 6:356. See the study made by A.A. Brumanis, *Aux origines de la hiérarchie latine en Russie. Mgr. Stanislas Siestrzencewicz-Bohusz, premier archevêque-metropolitain de Mohilev (1731-1826)*, Louvain 1968, especially p. 63-70 on the uniate Church and passage to the Latin Rite.

⁴ *MUH*, 7:45.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 192-193, 207-208; *ASCPF*, 5:43-44; Lescoeur, *L'Eglise Catholique*, p. 37-93; Likowski, *Dzieje Kościoła*, p. 177, 181, 186-189.

⁶ *CP*, 2:314-315; Likowski, *Dzieje Kościoła*, p. 177-191.

Ruthenians to declare themselves either for the Latin Rite or for the Orthodox Church. The Russians speculated that few would want to join the Latin Rite, and the Orthodox Church would gain many new members, not only from within the Russian territory, but from Poland as well. Archetti noted Siestrzeńcewicz's intentions:

to set up his own glorious throne on the ruins of the Ruthenian cathedral of Polock. He has always had a craving and ambition for a true canonical establishment of his spiritual jurisdiction, only delegated up to now.⁷

In 1783 Rome agreed to confirm Siestrzeńcewicz's appointment to the Mahyliv see, and the following year Catherine II approved the nomination of Heraclius Lisovs'kyj to the eparchy of Polock for the Ruthenians.⁸

During much of his episcopacy Lisovs'kyj was aided by Prince Potemkin, at this time the most influential person with Catherine. After the second (1793) and third (1795) partitions of Poland, Catherine suppressed the Catholic Ruthenian metropolitan see, plus the Luc'k and Volodymyr eparchies, which now all fell in Russian territory. From 1795 to 1798 Lisovs'kyj was the only functioning Catholic Ruthenian hierarch in the entire Russian empire. More parishes joined the Orthodox Church, and Lisovs'kyj was even forced to issue a pastoral letter instructing his clergy to allow faithful who so wished to join the Orthodox Church unhindered.⁹ Only after the death of Catherine II did the plight of the Ruthenian metropolia ease up for a time under her successors, Paul and Alexander I.

II. THE INTERNAL LIFE OF THE CATHOLIC KIEVAN METROPOLIA

1. *Organization*

The new political boundaries divided the Kievan metropolia, making communications difficult within its vast territory. The hierarchy, after the failed attempt at Brest in 1765, now had no chance to convene a provincial synod. Only in 1790 were Metropolitan Rostoc'kyj and four other bishops able to meet in Warsaw at the episcopal ordination of Porfirius Važyns'kyj for Xolm. They discussed many of the problems of the metropolia, among them Lisovs'kyj's reform. He did not attend.¹⁰ Liturgical comments exist from this meeting, and also from two meetings at Valjava in the Peremyšl eparchy in

⁷ *MUH*, 7:166; see also *CP*, 2:315.

⁸ *CP*, 2:326-327; Solovey, *De reformatione*, p. 7.

⁹ *EM*, 9:224-226.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73-82.

1781 and 1783, as well as from the Kiev eparchial synod held in 1789 in Radomyśl.¹¹

The Basilians held three general chapters during this period: in Brest (1772), Torokan' (1780), and Žydyčyn (1788).¹² At the 1780 chapter it was decided to divide the Basilians into four provinces in order to administer them better on the basis of the new political boundaries. Thus, after 1780 there were the Lithuanian, the Bielorussian, the Polish (Ruthenian), and the Galician provinces.¹³

Besides the acts of these chapters, we also find pertinent liturgical data in the constitutions printed in 1791 and in the records kept by Porfirius Važyns'kyj of his visitation of the Lithuanian province in 1784-1788.¹⁴

Važyns'kyj's visitation reports are much more detailed on Basilian liturgical practices than any previous documents. His general interest in liturgical matters and his notes of this visitation induce us to take a closer look at this prominent churchman. After his first term as protoarchimandrite (1772-1780), he was elected provincial of the Lithuanian province (1784-1788), then again protoarchimandrite from 1788 until 1790, when he was nominated bishop of Xolm, which he remained until his death in 1804. In October 1785 he issued an extensive letter to his Lithuanian province on liturgical matters, in which he calls on the monks to celebrate the divine office according to approved and correct rubrics. He gives specific descriptions of the points that needed attention.¹⁵ He presents a similar detailed analysis of the eucharistic liturgy in the Ruthenian Church in 1788 in his report *Observatio brevis*, to which we referred earlier when discussing Žoxovs'kyj's služebnyk.¹⁶ Važyns'kyj prepared this report in connection with Lisovs'kyj's planned liturgical reform, in which he had an important advisory role. He had been Lisovs'kyj's master of novices, and both Lisovs'kyj and the prefect of Propaganda Cardinal Antonelli respected his opinion.¹⁷ He expressed his views on the question of liturgical reform in the Ruthenian Church and its relation to the Orthodox in numerous letters, which we shall note. It was he who was given the final translation of BEN to examine before it was to be given to the nuncio to send to Rome.

¹¹ The Valjava meetings are described in Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 69-78; the results of the Kiev eparchial synod are printed in *EM*, 9:66-71.

¹² The 1772 chapter is found in *APF*, Congregazioni Generali, vol. 842, f. 417-433; the 1788 chapter *ibid.*, vol. 885, f. 280-297; there are no copies available of the 1780 chapter acts.

¹³ For Propaganda's discussion, see *ASCPF*, 5:118; the decree is given in *AV*, 16:239-240.

¹⁴ Cf. *Codex Constitutionum*, Počajiv 1791; Važyns'kyj, *Visitationes*. We are grateful to Fr. P. Pidručnyj for allowing the use of his transcription of the Važyns'kyj visitation ms.

¹⁵ *AV*, 16:553-561.

¹⁶ See chapter 2, p. 83-89.

¹⁷ Solovey, *De reformatione*, p. 96; *LSCPF*, 7:50-51.

2. *Change of Rite and the Basilians*

It was in this anti-uniate climate where only the Latin and Orthodox Churches were considered entitled to existence that Archbishop Smogoževs'kyj asked Rome in 1774 to renew the decree of Urban VIII of 7 February 1624 prohibiting the Ruthenians from changing to the Latin Rite. He requested this because of the "present critical circumstances [...] at least for those areas and provinces which are presently under the domain of Moscow."¹⁸ Not only did Smogoževs'kyj see a worsening future, but so did Rome, which on 10 April 1774 renewed the decree for Russian territory.¹⁹

Numerous requests continued to be made for a change of Rite, although we hear mostly from the Austrian and Polish regions of the metropolia, since communications were curtailed from the Russian side.²⁰ These formal requests represent only a small portion of the changes of Rite that were carried out in practice.

On 7 February 1781 Archetti wrote to Propaganda that Siestrzeńciewicz had written him:

that in the dangerous circumstances of the uniates, time should not be lost in allowing the Basilians to pass over to the Latin Rite, because they run a great danger of falling into the snares of the schismatics.²¹

The nuncio asked him for further information about this "great danger", although he must have suspected Siestrzeńciewicz's motives by now.

Shortly after this, on 17 March 1781, Pius VI gave Archetti the faculty, for himself or for delegation, to allow the Catholic Ruthenian laity living within the Russian domain to change to the Latin Rite on an individual basis.²²

Pressure continued on the Ruthenians to abandon their Rite, as Metropolitan Rostoc'kyj complained in 1789 to the nuncio:

The priests of the Latin Rite, especially in Lithuania, are frequently persuading our people to give up the Rite in which they were born, which forces me to implore Your Excellency that this be forbidden them.²³

As Rostoc'kyj mentions, it was in Lithuania that the greatest number of persons passed to the Latin Rite or adopted Latin practices into Ruthenian

¹⁸ *ASCPF*, 5:44.

¹⁹ *ASUB*, 1:181.

²⁰ Some examples: *ASUB*, 1:206, 212-213, 216-217, 219-220, 222, 244; 2:10, 39-40, 57-58, 90-91, 98-101, 117, 147-150.

²¹ *MUH*, 7:167.

²² *ASCPF*, 5:242.

²³ *EM*, 9:63.

liturgical life. The Basilians were also involved with latinization, and this brings us to the important question of the Order and its relations with the Latin Rite.

In a reply to Lisovs'kyj's earlier letter concerning the need for a liturgical reform, Metropolitan Smogoževs'kyj wrote the following on 4 April 1786:

I do not think that anyone can testify better than I that the Basilians of the Lithuanian province, for the most part baptised and brought up in the Latin Rite, and who formerly held the main offices in our dioceses, gradually accommodated some things of the Greek Church to the Latin Rite for no other reason than to convince more clearly the Latins who came to our churches of their union with the Roman Church or, rather, of their difference from the Orthodox.²⁴

Smogoževs'kyj's observations can be clarified by data Važyns'kyj collected on his visitations of the Lithuanian province from 1784 to 1788. Of the 371 monks questioned from over half of the monasteries of that province, 201 said they were baptised in the Latin Rite, 144 were baptised in the Catholic Ruthenian Church, three were originally Jewish, and one a Lutheran, while twenty-two gave no reply. Thus over half were born and raised in the Latin Rite. Some examples: in the Braslav monastery there were two monks, one Latin, one Ruthenian; in Polock there were four Latins, three Ruthenians, and one not specified; in Vilna there were thirty-seven Latins, ten Ruthenians, and ten not specified; in Lavryšiv there were nine Latins, ten Ruthenians, and two Jews.²⁵

It is hard to determine how many of these Basilians were of Ruthenian ethnic background. But we know that by the eighteenth century the majority of Ruthenian nobility and gentry had joined the Latin Church, leaving the Ruthenian Church with largely a peasant population.²⁶ In preceding chapters, we tried to show the reasons for this exodus, to which the developments after 1772 also contributed. Heraclius Lisovs'kyj himself was born and raised a Roman Catholic in gentry family.²⁷ Thus, not only social and political conditions, but also the personal background of many Basilians facilitated an easy acceptance and adjustment to Latin practices, which, if only because of this social setting, seemed so much more progressive, refined, and cultured.

The Basilians never had formal or canonical problems in accepting Latins. In a letter from the Jesuit Superior General Claudius Aquaviva to the visitor of the Jesuit Lithuanian province P. Argent on 15 July 1613, we find the first mention of permission for Latins to enter the Ruthenian Basilians, given orally by Pope Paul V (1605-1621).

²⁴ *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 149, f. 572r.

²⁵ 2 *Visitationes*, Dobryhory, f. 27v-29v; Polock, f. 29v-32v; Vilna, f. 76r-92v, 118v-119v; Lavryšiv, f. 108r-115v.

²⁶ Cf. Likowski, *Dzieje Kościoła*, p. 269-271.

²⁷ Solovey, *De reformatione*, p. 4; EM, 9:147.

His Holiness approves those Latins who want to pass over to the Order of St. Basil and on that account into the Greek Rite, allowing them to pass freely; His Holiness does not permit, however, a passage into the Greek Rite outside the Order of St. Basil, on account of the backwardness of the secular clergy. The reason is that the choice of the religious state, in whatever Rite it may be, as long as it is Catholic, cannot be forbidden in any way, since the calling to that is of Divine Right, as St. Thomas teaches. [...] No one, not even the pope, can on his own make a law contrary to Divine Right.²⁸

The Basilians, then, had from the earliest times accepted Latins into their Order. The Roman procurator in 1740 referred to this privilege granted orally by Paul V and added that by his time the majority of the religious were born in the Latin Rite. This information was discussed around 1800 by Propaganda, but it could find no documentary proof of a concession from Paul V and added that Propaganda had never wanted to decide on the matter.²⁹ However, on 30 July 1822 Pius VII renewed such a permission, citing the precedent set by Clement VIII, Paul V, Benedict XIV, and others.³⁰

This concession required those entering the Order to accept the Eastern Rite as well. Eventually some began to retain the Latin Rite, which Propaganda did not approve of at first, as in the case of the former Augustinian Christian Lapkowski on 22 January 1759. By 1785 Latin entrants were explicitly permitted to retain the Latin Rite.³¹ On 30 January 1787, by which time the practice of the Latin Basilians keeping the Latin Rite was seemingly commonplace, Propaganda discussed a request made by the Basilian vicar general.

Father I. Korčyns'kyj, vicar general of the Ruthenian Basilian monks, in order to stop some disorders introduced into his Congregation for the sake of the Latin priests who are admitted to monastic profession to assist in the parishes of this Rite, asks Your Eminences to deign to decree and to explain that these Latin priests, both secular and religious, since they have embraced the Basilian Institute, even if they retain the Latin Rite in the celebration of the mass and in the recitation of the office, are not therefore dispensed from observing all the other things that belong to both internal and external discipline, but are obliged to carry out everything that is prescribed in the constitutions of that Order, confirmed by the Holy See.³²

A rescript at the end of this petition orders that a decree in accordance with it be issued; this was done on 5 February that same year.³³

Possibly for more conciliatory motives Važyns'kyj requested the Warsaw

²⁸ M. Harasiewicz, *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*, Lviv 1862, p. 376-377.

²⁹ *MUH*, 7:213-214.

³⁰ *DPRU*, 2:335-336.

³¹ *ASCPF*, 5:188.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³³ *AV*, 16:249.

nuncio in 1786 to allow the monasteries in Podubys' and Helijanovo to continue to follow the Gregorian calendar and keep the Latin fasts in consideration of their particular circumstances (which he did not specify).³⁴ At the time of his visitation, the Podubys' monastery had two Latin and two Ruthenian Rite members, while the Helijanovo house had four monks, all of the Latin Rite.³⁵

In 1795-1796 Rome reconfirmed the nuncio's faculty of accepting Ruthenian laity into the Latin Rite in which they then had to remain permanently. The nuncio could also allow the secular Ruthenian clergy to celebrate in the Latin Rite, but this permission was not to be extended to the Basilians, "to whom His Holiness does not permit any innovation."³⁶ We can only conjecture why the Basilians were treated differently. Perhaps it was due to the need for Ruthenian Rite pastors. This was the complaint given by the Roman procurator in 1802, when he asked Propaganda to try and stop this flow of Basilians to the Latin Rite, especially those educated in the Pontifical colleges, since the Ruthenians were being deprived of needed pastors and services.³⁷

An interesting case with which to conclude is that of Bishop Joachim Horbac'kyj of Pinsk (1784-1792). In 1792 he asked the pope to permit him to give up his see and to celebrate the mass and divine office in the Latin Rite and possibly even to pass totally into the Latin Rite. He argued that he had entered the Basilians as a Latin Rite priest with the understanding that he would not have to change his Rite, which indeed was the case for twenty years. Then, without his knowledge or consent, his superiors asked the Holy See to permit him to change his Rite. He was then promoted superior, archimandrite, and finally bishop of Pinsk. Horbac'kyj argued that he accepted this change of Rite against his will, only out of obedience and with much difficulty, due to his ignorance of the Ruthenian language. Now in his old age he had scruples and a troubled conscience over this language defect and ignorance of ceremonies and discipline of the Ruthenian Church. He therefore wanted to resign his see to his coadjutor and to live out his life in retirement in the Latin Rite with a clear conscience.³⁸

Propaganda asked the Warsaw nuncio for information on this request, and he in turn asked Bishop Važyns'kyj of Xolm, who as protoarchimandrite had promoted Horbac'kyj to these positions. The nuncio asked how it was possible to promote to the episcopacy someone who did not even speak the language of his flock!

³⁴ *LSCPF*, 6:238-239.

³⁵ *Visitationes*, Podubys', f. 73v-76v; Helijanovo, f. 48v-52v.

³⁶ *CP*, 2:318-319.

³⁷ *ASCPF*, 5:203-205.

³⁸ Horbac'kyj's version is given in *ASUB*, 2:214-215.

Važyns'kyj replied that as a young Latin religious priest Horbac'kyj had tired of his calling and changed to the Ruthenian Rite, where already his older brother Gedeon was a Basilian. Gedeon was respected and able to get Joachim into the Order, in which after a year of trial he made his vows, and for thirty years practiced in the Latin Rite. Here Važyns'kyj noted that this was the practice of many in the Order. Gedeon became bishop of Pinsk (1769-1784) and together with the old archimandrite of Lješč (Cyprian Bulhak, a relative of the Horbac'kyjs) asked protoarchimandrite Važyns'kyj to permit Bulhak to take Joachim for his coadjutor. Važyns'kyj was unable to say no, even though this caused problems.

Even though many Latin Basilians had been promoted to positions of set terms, none of them, however, up to that time had ever been promoted to the permanent position of archimandrite. Besides, since the Basilian archimandrites are supposed to obtain their blessing from the metropolitan of Rus' alone and to receive their pontifical insignia from him, it had to be decided how to act in this case.³⁹

Važyns'kyj did not believe that the Latin Basilians were to be considered of inferior rank to the Ruthenians, and since such cases were not covered by the constitutions, he asked Rome to decide whether a Latin candidate was to receive the abbatial blessing from the Ruthenian metropolitan or from a Latin bishop, and in which Rite? On 16 June 1777, Propaganda issued a decision concerning Horbac'kyj's case only. It ruled that he had to accept the blessing from the Ruthenian metropolitan, change his Rite, and never again celebrate in the Latin Rite. This Horbac'kyj accepted, according to Važyns'kyj. "But soon after he became bored at the length of the Basilian office" and asked Rome permission to use the Latin breviary. Propaganda denied his request, but at his complaints conceded him a dispensation from a great part of the Ruthenian office. After the death of Gedeon, Joachim Horbac'kyj was appointed bishop of Pinsk, a position he then held for eight years. "And now he is complaining that he does not know the Ruthenian language and is bothered by scruples!" Važyns'kyj concluded: "I believe that the source of his pusillanimity is his love for solitude and a certain hypochondria caused by scruples."

Horbac'kyj was allowed to resign his see and to celebrate in the Latin Rite privately, but not to change his Rite completely, even after he appealed the decision.⁴⁰

³⁹ *ASCPF*, 5:189; see the entire documentation, p. 187-191.

⁴⁰ Horbac'kyj's second request is in *ASUB*, 2:221-222.

3. *Liturgical Uniformity and Celebration*

Concern over uniformity in liturgical celebrations and over the problem of liturgical texts was still shown by the Basilian general chapters during this period. The 1772 chapter made a brief reference to liturgical matters in the series of inquiries that the provincials were to make during their visitations: "Whether all who are obliged to the divine office diligently attend, and if the sacred rites and ceremonies are followed."⁴¹ We do not have the acts of the 1780 chapter in Torokan', but Važyns'kyj refers to it near the end of his *Observatio brevis*, when he says that Metropolitan Smogoževs'kyj at this chapter forbade the printing of any new editions of liturgical books until he himself could submit a final revised and corrected edition for printing.⁴²

A year after being elected provincial superior of the Lithuanian province Važyns'kyj issued a letter dated 12 October 1785, addressed to all the Basilians of the province, especially the superiors, "praesertim vero monasteriorum superioribus". After his visitation, during which he had observed much, and on the advice of others, including the provincial chapter, he felt obliged to address the monks to remind them of their liturgical traditions and of pronouncements of church synods and papal decrees. Before dealing with specifics, he makes some initial remarks on liturgical practices in general.

Thus, if some changes have crept into these rites without the approval of any authority, they are to be considered corruptions and should be discarded completely, restoring the earlier ritual observances that are according to church prescriptions or accepted by praiseworthy usage. I wish that the superiors, their vicars, and the prefects of monastery choirs would be very attentive about the singing of divine praises and the sacred rites which our liturgical books prescribe, not presuming that they can omit or change anything in them.⁴³

He made a thorough examination of liturgical uniformity during his visitation. In Vilna, for example, he had every priest celebrate a "dry" mass, which he then corrected and instructed the celebrant where needed.⁴⁴

When Dionysius Czaday, archimandrite of Lješč, on 30 March 1788 submitted his views on Lisovs'kyj's planned reform, he concluded by saying:

It is true that in our whole Catholic Ruthenian Church in this kingdom there is no uniformity in the sacred ceremonies; there are many monasteries and many

⁴¹ *APF*, Cong. Generali, vol. 842, f. 425v.

⁴² Važyns'kyj, "Observatio brevis", f. 59v; *ASCPF*, 5:167.

⁴³ *AV*, 16:553.

⁴⁴ "Tandem ad introducendam uniformitatem in sacrificio Missae celebrando, congregatis omnibus, qui aderant demandavi Missam siccam celebrare cui praesens aderam atque multas praecautiones et instructiones necessarias dedi." *Visitationes*, Vilna, f. 91.

parishes of the secular clergy in which not only in those things which concern the internal arrangement of the church and its decor, but also in the manner of reciting the office, in the rubrics and ceremonies not a few discrepancies are found.⁴⁵

Czaday ended with the hope that Važyns'kyj's letter would bring about needed corrections and vigilance in these celebrations.

Following the commotion stirred up by Lisovs'kyj and at the suggestion of Nuncio Saluzzo,⁴⁶ the Basilians discussed liturgical uniformity and reform at their 1788 chapter. The chapter suggested:

that the provincials who are to be elected see to it that the prescribed conformity in rites in sung and recited masses and in the vestments be observed. It has also been decided that if His Excellency the metropolitan requires monks from one or the other province for the revision of liturgical books and other Ruthenian Church matters, the provincials should promptly accede to it, but they are to be maintained at the metropolitan's expense. In the meantime, censors of church books are to watch out that no variations or novelties are inserted into any printed texts.⁴⁷

One more official position is given in the 1791 Basilian constitutions.

Furthermore, the rite, ceremonies, and incensations which are used according to the prescriptions of the Eastern Church *typika*, legitimately received in our Church and approved by ancient observance in the divine office, should be followed correctly.⁴⁸

The synod of the Kiev eparchy on 16 May 1789 called attention to uniformity and strict observance in both sung and recited masses. It stipulated that sung mass was to be celebrated according to the prescriptions of the *Univ služebnyk* (no date given), while the recited mass was to be said according to what the synod established. No rubrics for the recited mass are found in the documents of this synod that are still extant. It is surprising that the synod stipulated that the sung mass alone be based on the *Univ* editions, since the 1733 *Univ služebnyk* provides a set of rubrics for the recited mass, reprinted in turn by many other Catholic *služebnyky*.⁴⁹

During the meeting of the Ruthenian hierarchy in Warsaw on 17 September 1790 the bishops chose Važyns'kyj to prepare, with appropriate help, liturgical books that would be permanent, "pro semper duraturos", without the changes and innovations found in the current printed texts. Since the recited mass was not celebrated uniformly everywhere, the meeting drew

⁴⁵ ASV, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 149, f. 638r.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 87, f. 35r.

⁴⁷ *APF*, Congr. Generali, vol. 885, f. 294. An Italian summary is printed in *ASCPF*, 5:175.

⁴⁸ *Codex Constitutionum*, p. 53.

⁴⁹ *EM*, 9:70; 1733 *Univ služebnyk*, f. 87-89.

up a set of rubrics which were to be used universally. Again, we have no indication of what these rubrics were.⁵⁰

These formal resolutions are edifying, since they show concern among the hierarchy for liturgical matters, but they also testify to the continuing confusion in daily practice. The Peremyšl eparchial meeting in Valjava on 26 May 1780 noted that services were being omitted on holy days in some parishes (presumably including Sundays), since they had no "bakalar" or teacher-cantor. Priests were to preach only on religious topics at mass and not use the pulpit to air their own arguments and disputes. Pastors were not to omit services on feasts and Sundays in their churches in order to attend functions elsewhere, unless they found a substitute. And some churches were still being used to store grain, oil, and the like.⁵¹

The Basilians often drew attention to the frequency of sung liturgies as opposed to recited. There were to be sung masses on Sundays and feast days according to both the 1772 chapter and the 1791 constitutions, which stipulated that in all major monasteries, including houses of study, there was to be one sung mass daily. If in houses of study the students could not sing on days when they had classes, then hired youths were to do it.⁵² Važyns'kyj recorded a variety of practices in his visitation. In the Čerljona house, mass was rarely sung without the accompaniment of an organ. In Novhorodok mass was sung on Sundays and feasts with the help of an organ, while during the week not all the rites were carried out (some litanies, for example, were omitted). The Little and Great Entrances were often omitted, as in the Mylci monastery, where, he says, the priests did not like them, "ab iisdem abhorrere". But some monasteries did have daily sung mass, as in Žyrovyci, where two masses a day were sung, and in Xolm, where there was a daily sung mass and two or three on Sundays and feast days.⁵³

Requests to celebrate several masses a day are common during this period, generally for pastoral reasons, such as the distance between localities within one parish.⁵⁴ The lack of churches was likewise a factor in the requests to celebrate in private homes.⁵⁵ This was especially the case in Bielorrussia, where there were fewer churches and the faithful were scattered over larger areas.⁵⁶

Such was the condition of church life in general and the liturgy in particular in the period when Lisovs'kyj lived. His own views on these conditions will now be seen as we examine his planned liturgical reform.

⁵⁰ *EM*, 9:76.

⁵¹ Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 70-73.

⁵² *Codex Constitutionum*, p. 54.

⁵³ *Visitationes*, f. 97v, 104r, 106v, 125v, 138r, 177v.

⁵⁴ *ASUB*, 2:95-96; also p. 23, 25, 26.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31, 74, 102-103, 125, 145.

⁵⁶ Cf. Senyk, "Ruthenian Liturgy", p. 147-148.

III. HERACLIUS LISOVS'KYJ AND HIS LITURGICAL REFORM

Once ordained archbishop of Polock, Lisovs'kyj immediately began to carry out his plans for a liturgical reform. He also had other concerns. There was his dispute with Metropolitan Smogoževs'kyj over parishes on either side of the new Russian borders belonging to both the Kiev and Polock eparchies. Lisovs'kyj was perpetually bickering with the Basilians in his eparchy for resisting his jurisdiction over them. He wanted to reduce the number of church feasts in his eparchy, a plan he later dropped. Our main interest is in his plans for the reform of CHR in the Ruthenian Church, although his other concerns also overlap at times.

Solovey's study, *De reformatione*, is the authoritative work on the material we are about to examine. The sources he used were mainly unpublished letters found in the Roman archives. We have examined these letters and decrees again, most of which have now been published, concentrating on the translated euchology as a whole and on POL in particular.

1. *Initial Correspondence*

In January 1785 Lisovs'kyj wrote to Rome for the first time concerning his liturgical plans. We have no copy of this letter but we do have Propaganda's reply of 14 May 1785, in which he was given the jurisdiction over the Basilians in his eparchy, as he had requested. At the same time Rome asked for more specific information on his proposed calendar and liturgical reform, reminding him of Zamostja's decision that the metropolitan was to supervise the editing of liturgical texts, which could be printed only with Rome's approval.⁵⁷ Propaganda gave Lisovs'kyj jurisdiction over the Basilians in Russia with a decree similar to that with which it granted Siestrzeńcewicz jurisdiction over all Latin Orders in Russia. Propaganda also communicated this to Prince Jusupov, the legate of Catherine II who brought Lisovs'kyj's letter to Rome, reminding Catherine through Jusupov that the Zamostja synod wanted all Ruthenian bishops to be chosen from among the Basilians. Propaganda hoped that Catherine would continue to do this, just as she had already done in choosing Lisovs'kyj.⁵⁸ In a second letter to Propaganda on 22 February 1786 Lisovs'kyj wrote that he had not received this letter from Rome.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 70, f. 201. At the same time Propaganda also wrote to Warsaw Nuncio Ferdinand Saluzzo, instructing him to keep a copy of its reply to Lisovs'kyj in the nuncio's archives; cf. *LSCPF*, 6:200.

⁵⁸ *LSCPF*, 6:199-200.

⁵⁹ *EM*, 9:163.

That Propaganda was already suspicious of Lisovs'kyj's motives is evident in the letter of 7 January 1786 to Nuncio Saluzzo.

As concerns the archbishop of Polock, whose conduct seems equivocal in adapting the rites to Orthodox usage, you do very well in obtaining information about this. But since the Sacred Congregation has already written to him about the same subject, asking him to indicate clearly those things in which he was planning to make changes in order that we could examine them and act accordingly, it is incumbent on you to remind the prelate once more of our reply and to advise him to put his conscience at ease in this matter, since the uniate Ruthenian prelates cannot arbitrarily make new changes in the Rite "inconsulta Sede Apostolica" after what the Synod of Zamostja decided; our reply was not secret, since a copy of the letter written to him was given to Prince Jusupov, and he naturally sent it to St. Petersburg; thus, since it is a case of what is now a public matter, Your Lordship has full freedom to suggest this to him.⁶⁰

2. *Lisovs'kyj's Position*

The first clear exposition of Lisovs'kyj's ideas is found in his letter to Metropolitan Smogoževs'kyj of 8 February 1786. He notes that Zamostja had made some changes in the ancient rites, though it had also ordered the correct observance of traditional ceremonies in the mass and the sacraments. The metropolitan with the entire hierarchy was to prepare a euchology, subject to the examination and approbation of the Holy See. And yet, Lisovs'kyj goes on, after the synod a missal, a pontifical, and a *trebnyk* were printed in Suprasl', all of which Rome would have disapproved of had it seen them. After 1754 any new liturgical texts were to be based on BEN, according to the wish of Benedict XIV in *Allatae Sunt*. It was due to liturgical changes, Lisovs'kyj notes, such as those found in the Suprasl' editions, that many Catholic Ruthenian parishes had joined the Orthodox Church. Such innovations, like moving the *služebnyk* from side to side on the altar, turning to the people with open hands at certain *ecphoneseis*, omitting the processional entrances during mass, and other changes, were approved neither by the fathers nor the Synod of Zamostja. Only two changes were acceptable to Lisovs'kyj, namely the commemoration of the pope and the addition of the *filioque* to the creed. He then concludes:

Thus, having clearly explained myself, I advise Your Excellency to order that a euchology agreeing with the Roman one be prepared as soon as possible for greater usefulness to holy Church and for our honour, excluding all novelties from the Rite which we hold, according to the thinking of the Synod of Zamostja, thus fulfilling what your predecessors failed to do.⁶¹

⁶⁰ *LSCPF*, 6:224.

⁶¹ *EM*, 9:161-163. This is the only reference to a pontifical printed in Suprasl' during the period 1720-1786. Perhaps Lisovs'kyj had the 1740 *Univ* pontifical in mind.

This is the basic position which Lisovs'kyj maintained throughout his reform attempt.

He described this in more detail to Propaganda on 22 February 1786. He was impatiently waiting for a reply to his letters and suspected that his enemies, whom he did not identify, were intercepting them. In the first letter he says that he had written to Rome for permission and help in reforming the abuses which had crept into the Rite after Zamostja. Besides the official Zamostja position Lisovs'kyj notes the decree *Ex Quo Primum* of Benedict XIV, where the pope reproves Latins who tried to change things in the Greek Rite, which they did not understand. He cites Goar, who in his euchology notes the corruptions introduced by the Italian Basilians, who erroneously thought it necessary to conform as much as possible to the Latins. Lisovs'kyj once again refers to the scandal he found among the faithful in Podillja:

For this reason, a large part of Ukraine [Kievan Podillja] has passed to Orthodoxy, while a few years previously more than three hundred of these parishes defected from their uniate pastors for this reason, complaining solely that "We want to have Orthodox celebrations, not uniate"; thus they so hated this new Rite that they turned away from the Union itself, which they judged to consist solely of this new Rite. Especially now, when the Orthodox have their own bishop, it is to be feared that — knowing as I do the nature of the people, who are very tenacious about the old Rite — all of Ukraine [Kievan Podillja] will pass over to him unless this same more ancient Rite is totally restored there, which was integrally practiced by our predecessors from the acceptance of the Union in 1596 up to the year 1720, namely up to the Synod of Zamostja.⁶²

Besides the three hundred parishes mentioned, which belonged to the Kiev eparchy, Lisovs'kyj wrote that over one hundred parishes were lost from his eparchy when it was without a bishop, and more would have followed had he not finally intervened. Several notable Orthodox laymen also questioned how the Catholic Ruthenians could accept various changes and poked fun at them saying that each priest had his own ceremonies, "alius sacerdos, alia ceremonia", and "Your Rite is neither Latin nor Greek, but something spurious in between, which is not acceptable to the holy fathers". Prince Potemkin, he added, even argued from Goar against the confusion and changes after attending a Catholic Ruthenian liturgy.

To improve this situation, Lisovs'kyj proposed to do nothing else other than translate BEN.

Furthermore, I do not want to put together any ritual which I would have to give to the Holy See for revision, but I want to use the full corrected Roman euchology.

⁶² Ibid., p. 164-165; entire letter, p. 163-167.

Not only would he be avoiding printing a new text, but the use of BEN would have an extra advantage.

I know from elsewhere that this euchology conforms in nearly everything to the rituals which are used by the Orthodox here in Russia; I foresee that my doing this will be very pleasing to them and that they will then cease molesting us about the things mentioned above and drawing people over to them, nor will they so abhor the Union, from which their souls have been alienated up to now mainly by these corrupt Rites.⁶³

This universal mission which Lisovs'kyj envisioned for his future euchology was not unlike Žoxovs'kyj's expectations for his služebnyk, as we saw earlier.

3. *Reaction to Lisovs'kyj's Plans*

After writing this lengthy explanation to Rome, Lisovs'kyj received a reply from Smogoževs'kyj, to which we have already referred when treating of the Basilians of the Lithuanian province. In this letter of 4 April 1786 the metropolitan describes the attempts at liturgical reform from Zamostja up to the failed 1765 Brest synod. As for himself, Smogoževs'kyj recalls how as archbishop of Polock he tried to maintain correct liturgical ceremonies and specifically mentions his admonition to the Basilians not to shorten the liturgical chant. He had enquired about the work on a corrected služebnyk prepared for the Brest synod and sought the advice of other hierarchs and Lisovs'kyj on how this work could be completed. The metropolitan now asked Lisovs'kyj to keep him informed and to communicate to him Rome's response. He offered to renew the commission for preparing corrected texts, if not through a synod, then at least by means of a Basilian chapter. He then would try to publish the results.⁶⁴

Warsaw Nuncio Saluzzo replied to Lisovs'kyj on 13 May 1786, mentioning Propaganda's request to him the previous year to look into the planned reform. He cautioned Lisovs'kyj that any reform had to be worked out by all the hierarchy, according to the Zamostja decision.⁶⁵

Lisovs'kyj's lengthy explanation reached Rome on 27 May 1786. Propaganda sent a copy of this letter to Warsaw Nuncio Saluzzo, asking him to have a Basilian examine it.⁶⁶ Lisovs'kyj also wrote to Saluzzo on 1 July 1786, describing his three letters to Propaganda, to which he had as yet received no reply. He included a copy of his most recent letter to Rome for the nuncio to examine.⁶⁷ Saluzzo in turn began to enquire among others for their

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁶⁴ *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 149, f. 572-573.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 86, f. 140r-142r; also found in vol. 149, f. 540r-542v.

⁶⁶ *LSCPF*, 6:233.

⁶⁷ *EM*, 9:167-168.

opinions on Lisovs'kyj's plans. In his letter to Porfirius Važyns'kyj he noted that the reform would be risky and that it required expert advice such as Važyns'kyj's. The nuncio asked both Važyns'kyj and Smogoževs'kyj how opportune they thought it was to introduce BEN at this time.⁶⁸

On 29 July 1786 Propaganda again wrote to Saluzzo, saying that it found Lisovs'kyj's diligence very commendable and that it was happy that he was working with the metropolitan. But the matter had to be dealt with by all the bishops so that the entire hierarchy could stop this scandal to the Orthodox. Propaganda was also waiting for Važyns'kyj's views on the plan.⁶⁹

On the same day, Propaganda replied to Lisovs'kyj, warning him of the risks involved in his plans. It asked him for a more detailed description of what he wanted to change, since many rites had become firmly entrenched; it could not give him a general faculty to change whatever he liked. Some Ruthenian traditions should be kept even if they differed from BEN, since the substance of BEN was not changed by small particular variations or even additions. It noted that the Latin Church had much variety in rites within its territories. Some differences at times must be tolerated due to the particular circumstances of the people involved, while other changes were even to be accepted as a help to the faith and as a rejection of certain errors of faith. So until Propaganda could decide on the changes Lisovs'kyj wanted, neither he nor any bishop was to undertake any reform. This followed a set principle in the Latin Church that changes must be made universally and not just by each diocese independently. If certain changes in the Ruthenian Church helped unite it better to Rome, then these could not be thrown out, even though the Orthodox might hope that all such barriers would be eliminated. The Orthodox, it pointed out, keep some ceremonies just to protect their errors, and if the Catholics copied them blindly, they also would assume errors. The Ruthenians should rather be happy that there exist differences which keep them from being united with the Orthodox in their erroneous faith. Propaganda concluded by saying that it would take care of any new laws or disciplines that needed to be passed.⁷⁰

4. *Further Explanation by Lisovs'kyj*

In two separate letters, both dated 28 December 1786, Lisovs'kyj addressed Propaganda and the nuncio, giving the most detailed explanation yet of what he wanted to change. The two letters are similar — we shall examine the one to Rome.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 86, f. 162v-164r.

⁶⁹ *LSCPF*, 6:241.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 244-245.

⁷¹ *EM*, 9:176-184. The date should read 28/XII/1786 and not 21/XII/1786.

The first matter he wanted cleared up was the problem of the often disrupted communications, which detained letters and cast doubt on Lisovs'kyj's motives. He now proposed to show, by clearly stating his position, that these suspicions were unjustified.

In its letter of 29 July 1786 Propaganda had referred to an Orthodox Ruthenian bishop as a "pseudo episcopus intrusus".⁷² This phrase caused trouble for Lisovs'kyj since it offended both the Russian court and the Orthodox bishop, jarring the delicate relationship worked out between the Catholics, the Orthodox, and the Russian government, which Lisovs'kyj describes in detail.

He then discusses the liturgical question, calling for the rejection of all ceremonies not in accordance with the ancient Greek Rite handed down by church fathers and practiced in the Ruthenian Church.

It is necessary to remove all these [ceremonies or corruptions], which are totally debasing the ancient Greek Rite handed down by the holy fathers and observed by the Ruthenian people after the acceptance of the Christian faith by perpetual consent, also in the uniate Church up to about the year 1730, which means for another few years after the Synod of Zamostja, and which have been mixed with the Latin Rite by an inept striving to ape it; [these ceremonies] are neither introduced by legitimate authority nor confirmed by long custom, but have been gradually inserted into the Catholic Ruthenian Church by the rashness of private individuals to such an extent, that there remains hardly anything of the ancient ceremonies which were not changed by their whims or omitted out of contempt.⁷³

These innovators argue, Lisovs'kyj continues, that such ceremonies do not concern the substance of the Rite. But when they were asked what ceremonies were part of the Rite's substance, they replied that only those which make up the validity of the sacraments. Lisovs'kyj refers to Trent, which applied the "anathema sit" to any ministers who changed sacramental ceremonies. Various papal decrees, including *Allatae Sunt*, he goes on, also guarantee ritual preservation. These changes began after the Synod of Zamostja and the hierarchy were to blame for them.

Slowly [our Rite], due to the inactivity of our bishops, began to be corrupted and, what is worse, without the consultation of the Holy See, day by day it began to change according to the whims of private individuals, so that it is hardly possible to find two churches which agree in the administration of the services.⁷⁴

There were many more abuses besides those which Lisovs'kyj was listing, and he made reference only to the ones in the new texts printed after Zamostja

⁷² *LSCPF*, 6:243: This was in reference to Bishop Victor Sadkovs'kyj (1785-1793), the newly appointed vicar of the Orthodox Kievan metropolitan, and his work within the Polish state.

⁷³ *EM*, 9:179.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

in Suprasl, Vilna, and Univ, which ignored the decisions of the synod requiring official approval for such texts. Lisovs'kyj then describes several sacraments with changes and omissions. In the eucharistic liturgy he notes various blessings given by the priest with open hands facing the people, genuflections and open hands during the anaphora, the reading of a "last gospel" at the end of mass, plus other ceremonies which we shall see in Part II of this work. Lisovs'kyj considered these examples reason enough for a reform. His goal was in line with the decree *Ex Quo Primum* of Benedict XIV, where he recommends all Eastern Rites to use BEN.

My prime concern will be to have the said euchology literally translated as soon as possible into the Slavonic language.⁷⁵

Lisovs'kyj points out that the metropolitan had already agreed to this plan, and the translation would be sent to Rome for revision and approval, all in accordance with the Zamostja decision. In reply to Propaganda's earlier statement that care must be taken not to scandalize the Orthodox by rejecting traditional ceremonies, he writes:

I know from elsewhere that the rituals [i.e., euchology] now in use in Russia by the Orthodox were amended according to the Venice euchology and concur completely with the above-mentioned Roman euchology, not only with the errors against the Roman Church, which had been inserted in their previous rituals, expunged, but even with the indicative form of absolution "Our Lord Jesus Christ — and I — absolve you" added.⁷⁶

Unless Rome decided otherwise, Lisovs'kyj planned to use the Orthodox euchology which, he said, would please both the Orthodox hierarchy and prominent laity.

Lisovs'kyj here described his plan as fully as he was ever going to. From now on he concentrated on the actual translation of the text and on the reform of various liturgical practices in his Polock eparchy.

5. Further Correspondence

Propaganda discussed his detailed plan on 18 June 1787 and communicated to him its definitive response.⁷⁷ It insisted that the Zamostja decision be followed. At the same time BEN was not just to be copied blindly. Rather, the particularities of Ruthenian liturgical usage were to be retained, namely "those changes introduced for more evident manifestation of the Catholic faith and the Union." In the meantime, until the euchology was

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 182.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ *ASCPF*, 5:147-152.

ready, the archbishop was forbidden from making any changes, especially from using Orthodox texts.

Propaganda relayed this decision to Smogoževs'kyj, encouraging him to work towards the preparation of the euchology according to Zamostja and based on BEN. Propaganda also showed understanding of the delicacy of Lisovs'kyj's position in Russia, the relationship between the various groups, and Propaganda's own role in preserving the Rites of the Eastern Churches.⁷⁸

Lisovs'kyj wrote Propaganda of his satisfaction over its decision. He mentioned two specific additions he intended to make to the future euchology, complying with Propaganda's position.

Certainly it is quite sufficient to show better our Catholic faith and unity if in our ritual we retain the commemoration of the Roman Pontiff and the filioque in the creed; even the Orthodox will not reprove us in the least about it, well knowing that in this consists the crucial point of our union with the Roman See.⁷⁹

However, Lisovs'kyj foresaw delays on the part of the Ruthenian hierarchy in deciding on these and other changes, so he intended to translate the euchology and send it directly to Rome once it was completed.

The metropolitan had written to Saluzzo on 17 June 1788 that due to his ill health and other concerns he could do little on this matter, since it was involved and required much serious study.⁸⁰ The nuncio had little hope in Smogoževs'kyj's help; he told Propaganda: "To induce the metropolitan to a serious examination of the matter is almost impossible."⁸¹ This was unfortunate, since the nuncio also noted that there seemed to be no opposition to BEN. He wrote to the metropolitan again to ask his help since he was head of the Ruthenian Church. But Smogoževs'kyj died just prior to receiving this letter.⁸²

6. Observatio Brevis and Other Reports

At about this time the Basilians expressed various views on Lisovs'kyj's reform to Nuncio Saluzzo. Dionysius Czaday, whom we noted earlier, reported on 30 March 1788 that Lisovs'kyj had made several changes in his eparchy, among them a reintroduction of the sponge and teplota in the liturgy, though Zamostja had abolished them, the closing of the central (holy) iconostasis doors during much of the mass contrary to Ruthenian usage, allowing only one mass per altar per day, and removing altars built in the

⁷⁸ *LSCPF*, 6:272-274.

⁷⁹ *EM*, 9:192.

⁸⁰ *EM*, 8:421.

⁸¹ *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 75, f. 105r.

⁸² *Ibid.*, vol. 87, f. 65v-66r.

Latin style against the wall. He also noted that Lisovs'kyj dressed like an Orthodox bishop in a tunic and open palandreon (rjasa) with wide sleeves. He was also using Orthodox liturgical books printed in Kiev, which Propaganda had expressly forbidden him to do.⁸³ These accusations were seconded by Timothy Pavlavs'kyj and Justin Krupic'kyj.⁸³

We hear from Nuncio Saluzzo in his letter to Cardinal Antonelli on 8 June 1785, that Lisovs'kyj curtailed the practice of recited liturgies.

Here it is feared that Lisovs'kyj also wants to suppress the "low mass", so that everything would be in conformity with the style of the Greek schismatics who have only solemn ones.⁸⁴

Bishop Levyns'kyj wrote to Metropolitan Smogoževs'kyj in 1787 that Lisovs'kyj had banned the low mass in his eparchy, allowing it only in cases of need, and then the priest had to have one server and keep the curtain of the iconostasis closed. In addition, Lisovs'kyj required pastors to attend a weekly meeting ("sedmice") for instruction on liturgical ceremonies and he forbade his clergy from acquiring Catholic Ruthenian liturgical books from outside the country. This, Levyns'kyj wrote, was part of the ten conditions Lisovs'kyj accepted from the Russian authorities for receiving his archbishopric.⁸⁵

The most detailed study on the liturgical problem was Porfirius Vazyns'kyj's *Observatio brevis*, to which we have referred several times already. Vazyns'kyj begins by commenting on the lack of rubrics for the low recited mass, which was not practiced among the Greeks nor formerly among the Ruthenians. There was the problem of the many books needed to celebrate the liturgy, which in secular churches was done only on Sundays, feast days, and for funerals, while monasteries had a single mass daily. (It is not always clear when Vazyns'kyj is referring to Greek and previous Ruthenian practices and when he has contemporary usage in mind.) He poses two basic problems: did the Greeks keep to one rule in liturgical celebrations, especially in the mass; and secondly, were the Slavic translations of the Greek texts accurate. In answer to the first question, he found much variety in Greek practice as described by Goar from Greek mss and the Venetian editions. Since the Ruthenians had used these Venetian texts, especially to prepare the Kievan editions, they inherited this variety. Concerning the accuracy of the translations, Vazyns'kyj noted that they were generally good, but he gives some examples of mistakes or confusion.

He goes on to say that since all the Ruthenian eparchies did not accept

⁸³ For Czaday's remarks, see *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 149, f. 638r; for Timothy Pavlavs'kyj's note of 20 July 1785, see *APP*, SC:MPR, vol. 15, f. 594, 596; for Justin Krupic'kyj's comments of 12 March 1790, see *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 149, f. 583r-534v.

⁸⁴ Solovey, *De reformatione*, p. 38.

⁸⁵ *AV*, 16:387-388.

the Union at the same time, those that remained Orthodox developed their own customs separately, which the Latins then confused with the practices of the Catholic Ruthenians, accusing the Catholics of Orthodox errors. Thus, to please the Latins the Catholic Ruthenians began to make changes, such as introducing the recited mass, to convince the Latins of their unity with and fidelity to Rome. Važyns'kyj then gives a list of changes introduced by the Catholic Ruthenians, some of which were approved by Zamostja and others by common use. He criticizes Lisovs'kyj for acquiescing to the Orthodox objections to these innovations, since a Catholic Ruthenian prelate should understand the background that caused them.

Važyns'kyj elaborates on several liturgical practices and innovations which, he says, were not all practiced by all priests. He concludes that Lisovs'kyj should not be allowed to carry out his reform based on BEN, because BEN lacks needed rubrics for the celebrant. The presynodal commission for the 1765 Brest synod had prepared a text based on BEN, which now would be good for the Ruthenian hierarchy to publish. Such an edition with proper instructions, rubrics, and ceremonies would bring uniformity and control liturgical errors.

7. *Suggestions by Propaganda*

Propaganda discussed *Observatio brevis* on 23 June 1788 along with Lisovs'kyj's plans and its own previous decisions.⁸⁶ In August that same year it wrote to Lisovs'kyj once more explaining that "not all changes which have been made by the Ruthenians in these years should be called abuses."⁸⁷ It questioned whether the commemoration of the pope and the filioque were the only ones worth keeping. Should the changes made by Zamostja, it asked, now be rejected according to Lisovs'kyj just because the Orthodox do not have these practices? It was precisely to avoid scandal that Zamostja called for uniformity through proper authorized editions and inspections made by the deans in their visitations, Propaganda explained. It suggested that the Ruthenian hierarchs should also have a liturgical codex prepared, a typicon where everything would be explained and which would help reduce the number of books needed for celebration. Propaganda also suggested this typicon to Smogoževs'kyj, when it informed him of its reply to Lisovs'kyj.⁸⁸

Propaganda was not the first to suggest a typicon. The presynodal acts of

⁸⁶ *ASCPF*, 5:154-168.

⁸⁷ *LSCPF*, 6:295.

⁸⁸ For the letter to Lisovs'kyj, see *LSCPF*, 6:293-297; for the letter to the metropolitan, see p. 297-298; Propaganda summarized this to the nuncio on 19 December 1786 and said that it still had not heard from Lisovs'kyj, p. 321-322.

the planned 1765 Brest synod had also called for a typicon with an exact description of the services; this the planned synod was to have approved.⁸⁹ But Propaganda's proposal was ambiguous. A typicon would not eliminate liturgical texts needed; it indicates, rather, how to use them. Perhaps Propaganda had in mind a single book containing the various texts needed for given services and feasts, such as Žoxovs'kyj had included in his *služebnyk*.

8. *Results of Lisovs'kyj's Liturgical Reform*

Following a period of silence — during which Saluzzo and Antonelli asked each other what was happening⁹⁰ — Lisovs'kyj finally sent a letter to Saluzzo on 3 July 1790, to which he added the following note:

For the time being I am including the mass of St. Chrysostom translated by my vicar into Latin and Slavonic from the euchology of Benedict XIV, until I send the same translator with the whole euchology to Warsaw.⁹¹

Already by this time, however, Lisovs'kyj had sent Turkevyc̆ to Moscow to request permission from the Holy Synod to print the euchology. We learn of this not from Lisovs'kyj or Turkevyc̆, but from Justin Krupic'kyj, Basilian theology professor from the Polock monastery, in his reply of 12 March 1790 to inquiries made by Saluzzo concerning Lisovs'kyj.⁹² It is unclear from this report whether they wanted only the Synod's permission to print the euchology or if they wanted the Synod actually to print it: "advenam causa imprimendi euchologii Benedicti XIV." In any case, the Synod was against printing the euchology, since it wanted the Ruthenians to buy its publications instead.

Shortly after receiving the CHR translation on 22 July 1790, Saluzzo wrote to Cardinal Antonelli that not only had Lisovs'kyj tried to get the euchology printed in Moscow, but also in Poland, and this without informing the nuncio. Saluzzo's suspicions were aroused.

This has caused me to suspect [...] that in the new version there is something he

⁸⁹ Cf. Wiwčaruk, *De synodo*, p. 124.

⁹⁰ See Antonelli to Saluzzo of 7 March 1789 in *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 71, f. 95; also 17 July 1789; f. 124v; also 29 December 1789, f. 153r-154r; Saluzzo to Antonelli on 20 January 1790, vol. 78, f. 144v.

⁹¹ *EM*, 9:201. The translator, George Grot-Turkevyc̆, a secular Ruthenian priest, held theological views very similar to the Orthodox, especially on the procession of the Holy Spirit, which together with his favourable view on union with the Orthodox Church made him a controversial figure among the Catholic Ruthenians of his day. He was involved in the planning of the 1765 Brest synod and favoured a liturgical reform similar to Lisovs'kyj's, which he maintained was essential for Podillja, where many Catholics had joined the Orthodox Church. For more information and sources, see: Solovey, *De reformatione*, p. 74-78; also Wiwčaruk, *De synodo*, p. 75-78.

⁹² Cf. *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 149, f. 533v.

does not dare show to the censorship of the sacred congregation.⁹³

Saluzzo did not say where he got the information on the attempts to print in Moscow and Poland.

Only much later, on 2 May 1791, do we hear Lisovs'kyj's explanation of how, where, and why he tried to have the book printed. He wrote to Saluzzo that by law he was required to send anything for printing to the senate in St. Petersburg. But the senate was always busy with the affairs of the empress and it would take a long time before it would be able to decide whether or not the euchology could be printed. So Lisovs'kyj suggested an alternative plan.

I think it would be better if I received through private channels from Poland a printed copy. Then I would have others printed in exact conformity, approved in my name, in the press of the Latin Rite archbishop [Siestrzeńcewicz].⁹⁴

Lisovs'kyj's explanation suggests that he was trying all channels to get the book printed, while Krupic'kyj and Saluzzo thought that he was trying to avoid Rome for suspect reasons.

Saluzzo acknowledged receipt of Lisovs'kyj's letter with POL and asked him in turn what he thought of Propaganda's idea of a liturgical codex or typicon.⁹⁵ In his reply on 14 November 1790 Lisovs'kyj said nothing about the typicon, but again repeated that his vicar Turkevych would bring the complete translation to Warsaw once it was completed.⁹⁶ A month later he wrote that Turkevych was ready to bring the completed euchology to the nuncio.⁹⁷

But Turkevych was held up after leaving Polock and probably never reached Warsaw. He wrote the nuncio on 14 February 1791 from Brest concerning the reasons for his delay. First he had been sick. More importantly, he wanted to stop off in Xolm to have Važyns'kyj, the new bishop, examine the euchology for accuracy of the Greek translation, since Važyns'kyj knew more Greek than Turkevych. Finally, Turkevych thought it would be best to make another copy of the completed euchology so that both Rome and the nuncio could have one. He concluded that he expected to arrive in Warsaw around Pentecost.⁹⁸

Saluzzo was happy that Važyns'kyj was given the translation to examine. He hoped that the bishop would also inform him about Turkevych's orthodoxy, about which he had received disquieting reports.⁹⁹

⁹³ *Ibid.*, vol. 78, f. 152; found also in *APF*, SC:MPR, vol. 16, f. 438v.

⁹⁴ *EM*, 9:210.

⁹⁵ *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 87, f. 188r.

⁹⁶ *EM*, 9:202-203.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 203-204. Saluzzo wrote Antonelli on 26 January 1791 that he had not yet received the euchology; cf. *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 78, f. 171.

⁹⁸ *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 149, f. 649.

⁹⁹ See Saluzzo's letter to Antonelli on 2 March 1791, *ibid.*, vol. 78, f. 178.

On 11 June 1791 Antonelli wrote to both Saluzzo and Lisovs'kyj. This was Rome's last statement on the euchology. He told the nuncio that he was very surprised that Lisovs'kyj had tried to print the text elsewhere without informing Rome. But he was happy that Turkevyc̆ was to show the translation to Važyns'kyj, since this would help assure its fidelity to the Greek original. Antonelli had confidence both in Važyns'kyj's judgement and in that of the metropolitan and the other bishops.¹⁰⁰

He also wrote to Lisovs'kyj that he was happy that Važyns'kyj would examine the work, and Rome would certainly study his views and those of other Basilians on the text and reform. The euchology would be in accordance with the Zamostja decision and for the betterment of the Ruthenian Church and its union with Rome.¹⁰¹

We have already noted the 1788 Basilian general chapter and the 1790 Ruthenian bishops' meeting in Warsaw. The 1788 chapter heard Lisovs'kyj's detailed letter to Propaganda outlining his reform plans, then Propaganda's reply, and Važyns'kyj's *Observatio brevis*. The chapter left on record its praise of *Observatio brevis*.¹⁰² The Warsaw bishops' meeting made some specific liturgical decisions, none of which dealt with the Polock euchology. Only Važyns'kyj presented a short opinion on the completed euchology. He found the translation good, but he questioned the motivation behind it, especially the desire to placate the Orthodox at the expense of Ruthenian history and custom, views he had already expressed in more detail in *Observatio brevis*.¹⁰³

9. Conclusion

We hear no more about the translated euchology after Važyns'kyj saw it in Xolm. Solovey speculates that the nuncio gave it to Metropolitan Rostoc'kyj, who was confined to St. Petersburg after the third partition of Poland in 1795. The book may have remained with him there or have been lost.¹⁰⁴

After taking the euchology to Xolm, Turkevyc̆ did not return to Polock but remained in Poland. In 1795 he published a false encyclical under Lisovs'kyj's name, in which Catholic Ruthenian liturgical practices and even the Union itself were attacked. Although Lisovs'kyj denounced the encyclical, it undoubtedly destroyed any concrete hopes the archbishop had of seeing his reform and euchology officially accepted and used.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ *LSCPF*, 7:50-51.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 54-55.

¹⁰² *APF*, Congregazioni Generali, vol. 885, f. 294r.

¹⁰³ *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 149, f. 450r-451v, dated 20 March 1791.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Solovey, *De reformatione*, p. 27-28.

¹⁰⁵ A Latin version of the encyclical is found in *ASV*, Nunz. di Polonia, vol. 344/III, fasc. 93 (no pagination). Lisovs'kyj's refutation is in *EM*, 9:246; cf. Solovey, *De reformatione*, p. 29.

Lisovs'kyj still had hope that Rome could bring about liturgical uniformity within the Ruthenian Church and in accord with its Orthodox neighbours. In 1796 he wrote to Važyns'kyj that he wanted the pope to intervene with the Russian monarch.

Some of our uniate Ruthenian bishops should be permitted to go either to Rome or to the nunciature to explain more fully that the Russian Church believes the same that we uniates believe; that it administers the sacraments according to the same rite that we do, even though there is still no single typicon, *služebnyk*, or pontifical conforming to the euchology of Benedict XIV, which would at least console us in our present agony.

[...]

Therefore I humbly ask Your Excellency, in my name and in the name of all uniates, to try and explain to the Holy Father about all this and to beseech him to seek out means to peace, which would bring to the Holy Church, which is declining now, an immense increase by the union of the Russian kingdom, the largest in Christendom, by its protection, and eternal glory to the Holy Father if he succeeded in ending disunity among the Churches, which has lasted so long and been so distressing, in this enlightened century; at the same time this would bring our bishops, now without sees, back again to their episcopal sees; our poor pastors, who are restrained a *divinis* after the departure of their people to the state religion, would return to their altars; many churches of Basilian monasteries which had the care of souls would again be opened; the monasteries of monks and nuns and the residences of three bishops taken for the Orthodox clergy would be returned, and all the secular and religious priests who now sit as if in the shadows would again be respected and honoured; and innumerable other blessings would follow for the joy of all Catholics.¹⁰⁶

Although this remained only a dream of Lisovs'kyj, it shows how he envisioned the relationship between Rome, the Catholic Ruthenian Church, and the Russian Orthodox state and Church. For a church leader in the midst of political and religious oppression, he remained surprisingly optimistic about treatment of the Catholic Ruthenian Church by the Russian state. At the same time he showed poor pastoral judgement in thinking that a liturgical reform could be accomplished by authoritarian means alone. The two-hundred year liturgical history of the Catholic Kievan metropolia, of which Lisovs'kyj had only a limited understanding, could not be "corrected" by merely printing a euchology and passing a few decrees. The liturgical life of the people was part of their total existence, which included their political, social, and economic situations as well. It was not yet time to give the Ruthenian Church its needed liturgical reform a uniformity.

¹⁰⁶ *AV*, 16:597. A Latin paraphrase of this letter sent to Važyns'kyj to Rome is found in *EM*, 9:235-236.

IV. THE MISSA POLOCENSIS

1. *The Destination of the Two Documents*

Even though the completed euchology was lost, the initial translation of the liturgy of John Chrysostom — POL — made from BEN for the new euchology, met a better fate. After Lisovs'kyj had sent POL to Nuncio Saluzzo, the latter explained to Cardinal Antonelli on 13 October 1790 the following:

I have delayed forwarding the translation up to now, since I hoped to be able to send at the same time the views of the Ruthenian bishops, whom I asked to examine the translation of the mass of St. John Chrysostom, which is the only thing the archbishop of Polock has sent me. The work is not finished yet, but I know that they have found variations in it, and I myself have shown that the commemorations of the pope, which were prescribed by the Synod of Zamostja, have been omitted. The metropolitan with the other five bishops who were in Warsaw at the same time for the consecration of Fr. Vazyns'kyj and of the coadjutor of Pinsk also took up all the other matters for the Ruthenian Church and have formulated plans to present them to the diet, and at the proper time will send their views to the Sacred Congregation.¹⁰⁷

Saluzzo also said that he was including a copy of the letter Lisovs'kyj had sent him several weeks earlier.

The copy of Lisovs'kyj's letter to Saluzzo of 3 July 1790 (in which he included POL) found in the APF has the following note added in Italian, dated Warsaw, 13 October 1790.

The pages added to this letter of the archbishop of Odessa [sic] transmitted by the nuncio, which are three quinterni of the mass of St. John Chrysostom, translated into Latin and Muscovite Slavonic from the liturgy of the same saint printed in the euchology of Benedict XIV, were given by me to D. Serafim de Simone, teacher of the Illyrian language to examine the Muscovite translation. There is a quinterno added of Latin observations made in Poland of this translation.¹⁰⁸

Although the author of these observations is not given, it would not have been Metropolitan Rostoc'kyj or any of the hierarchy, since they were involved in other matters, according to Saluzzo's letter. The metropolitan later did give

¹⁰⁷ *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 78, f. 163; this is also found in *APF*, SC:MPR, vol. 16, f. 501.

¹⁰⁸ "Le carte annesse a questa lettera di questo arcivescovo di Odessa [sic] trasmesse a Mons. Nunzio, le quali sono tre quinterni della Messa di S. Gio. Crisostomo, tradotti in Latino, e Schiavonico Moscovita dalla Liturgia del medesimo Santo, stampata nell'Eucologio di Benedetto XIV, furono da me consegnati a D. Serafino de Simone, Maestro di lingua illirica, per confrontare la traduzione Moscovita. Vi è un quinterno annesso di osservazioni latine, fatte a detta traduzione in Polonia." *EM*, 9:201-202.

some observations on POL, to which the nuncio made a brief reference in his letter to Rome on 26 January 1791: "the metropolitan gave me some reflections and notes on the version of the liturgy of John Chrysostom sent to me some time ago by the archbishop of Polock."¹⁰⁹ Antonelli acknowledged receipt of this material on 26 March 1791:

I received, together with your dispatch of 26 January, the reflections made by the metropolitan on the version of the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom made by the archbishop of Polock.¹¹⁰

About these observations he commented on 11 July 1791:

Concerning all the other variations in this same translation of the mass of St. John Chrysostom which were noted in the work you sent me with the same dispatch of 13 October, I cannot pass judgement on them yet, having given them to an expert in the Greek and Slavonic language so that he would give me his views.¹¹¹

There is no mention here of the metropolitan's reflections which Saluzzo sent on 26 January 1791, only of the Latin observations sent on 13 October 1790. We never hear of the metropolitan's report again, nor of any further substantial study or discussion about POL or the observations made about it in Latin (OBS).

2. *Text Description of OBS*

The two documents eventually became separated, and while the location of OBS was known, that of POL was not. OBS is found in ASV in the fondo entitled "Archivio della nunziatura di Varsavia". In the last section of volume 149 of this Warsaw archive we find material related to Lisovs'kyj on f. 524-649. It consists of letters and documents written by a variety of authors on various types of paper. Much of this material has been published, but not f. 526r-531r entitled: "Observationes in Missam Polocensem".

This consists of seven sheets in folio bound by a single string. The recto side of the first folio and the verso side of the last folio are blank blue covers. Each folio measures 30 cm. by 18 cm., and the printed surface on the eleven folios containing the handwritten Latin text measures 25 cm. by 14,5 cm. The numeration found is a later addition. The water mark ZONEN HONIC is found on some of the folios, while another, illegible water mark is found on others. The text is all written by the same hand. It consists of just over three folios of introductory commentary, followed by eight folios concerning a series of sixty-one enumerated points.

¹⁰⁹ ASV, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 78, f. 171.

¹¹⁰ LSCPF, 7:45.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 51.

No date or author is given on the document itself, but it would have been written prior to 13 October 1790, when Saluzzo sent it to Rome. Solovey suggests that its author was a Basilian, probably Maximillian Viľčyns'kyj (protoarchimandrite 1790-1793), but he does not elaborate on this choice.¹¹²

3. *Text Description of POL*

The whereabouts of POL was unknown to Solovey, which is not surprising. In the APF the section entitled “Scrittura riferite nei Congressi” is divided mainly according to geographical or ethnic topics, among them Poland, Muscovy, and Rutheni. One of these divisions, “Graeci”, consists of four volumes with a fifth volume called “Miscellanea”. On f. 251r-270r, we find the text of CHR in Church Slavonic, with a parallel Latin text starting on f. 252r. Only the title is given, “Čyn Svjaščennyja y Božestvennyja Litourhiy – Ordo sacrae ac divinae Liturgiae”, with no other information as to authorship, origin, ownership, or date. This document consists of three fascicles of twelve pages each, with a last or fourth fascicle of four pages. The water mark ZONEN HONIC is visible on some sheets, the same as found for OBS, while a second water mark is illegible on others.

From the internal structure we can identify this to be POL. It is a very close translation of BEN with only a few variations, which we shall note in our commentary. More importantly, the numbers 1-61 are listed in the margins of the Latin pages with various Latin texts underlined. These are the 61 points found in OBS.

This concludes PART I — a study of the historical background of the liturgical life in the Ruthenian Church from the Union of Brest to the proposed liturgical reform of Heraclius Lisovs'kyj during the final years of the Catholic Kievan metropolia.

We can now proceed with PART II — an analysis of the eucharistic liturgy of St. John Chrysostom during this same period, using as a point of departure the criticisms given in OBSERVATIONES IN MISSAM POLOCENSEM.

PART II

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LITURGY
OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM
IN THE KIEVAN CHURCH**

CHAPTER 4

PREPARATION

I. THE INTRODUCTION OF "OBSERVATIONES IN MISSAM POLOCENSEM"

In the first ten paragraphs, the author of OBS presents a brief history of the rites of the Christian Church, followed by a slightly more detailed description of what concerns the Catholic Ruthenian Church. We have already seen the development of the liturgical life in the Ruthenian Church in our first three chapters, and OBS gives us little new information here. OBS does not clearly distinguish specific rubrical "rites" in the mass and "Rites" used in the larger sense, such as the Latin, the Byzantine, or the Alexandrian Rite. For the history of the rites in the Christian Churches in general, the author gives a general outline stressing points relevant to Ruthenian Church events. OBS makes use of patristic sources, but we find upon closer study that all are taken from the work of Cardinal Giovanni Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo*. The author does refer to Bona's work (1.2, IV.1.), but only mentions specifically Chapter I of Book I (IV.1), and never mentions Chapter VI from where all this material is taken, down to the exact quotes and page numbers in paragraphs V.1, V.3 and VIII.1.¹

There are three main reasons, according to OBS, for the development of various customs and rites within the Christian Church. The first is that neither Christ nor his apostles gave any specific legislation concerning the rites and ceremonies to be used by the Churches, but left this for their successors to decide without prejudice to the faith (I.2). Secondly, the customs, traditions, and thinking of the various peoples or nations differing from one another caused differences in rites (II.1). And thirdly, the frequent persecutions in the first centuries prevented the calling of synods to regulate ritual uniformity (III.1).

The tenacity of these multiple Rites in the West was a problem for the Roman Church. It had to enlist the help of civil rulers to induce their subjects to accept the Roman Rite. Even so, the Ambrosian Rite of Milan and the Mozarabic Rite of Spain continued to exist in spite of such pressure. (IV.1).

If the West could not produce ritual uniformity, all the less the Greek

¹ Cf. Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo*, vol. I, lib. I, cap. 1, p. 1-10, cap. 6, p. 90-101. References made to OBS are according to the text given in the Appendix of this study.

Churches divided into four independent patriarchates distant from one another (V.1). This variety is especially evident in liturgical rites and ceremonies, as Goar notes in his euchology, when he refers to the diversity among the Greek mss he studied (V.3-4).

This brief outline of the origins of the Christian Rites brings the author of OBS to the following conclusion concerning the Ruthenian Church.

If the differences of time and place brought various discrepancies in the rites normally observed in the holy sacrifice of the mass in the Latin and Greek Churches, then there is no reason for anyone to criticize the uniate Ruthenian Church for some changes it has permitted during almost two centuries. (VI.1).

In the sung mass only a few differences from Greek usage are attributed by OBS to the 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj služebnyk*. *Žoxovs'kyj* eliminated some of the dialogue between the deacon and priest for commencing some actions, while other rubrics and texts in the prothesis were changed and eventually eliminated by the Zamostja synod, without stating why (VI.2-3).

OBS draws another conclusion for the Ruthenian Church from the erroneous historical premise that John Chrysostom had shortened the liturgy of St. Basil, who previously had shortened the liturgy of St. James, the first liturgy used in the East.²

The uniate pastors gathered at the said Zamostja synod should not be blamed, therefore, for forbidding a few small things in their uniate Church, which were either offensive to the listeners of the mass or were not practical for the celebrant (VI.8).

OBS touches on the major innovation, the private recited or low mass, introduced after the Union, and which was unknown in the Greek Church. The author of OBS neither justifies nor condemns this practice outright, although he remarks that the Ruthenians rendered obedience to the pope not only as head of the Church, but also as patriarch of the West (VII.1). Perhaps by this OBS tries to justify the use of Latin Rite traditions among the Ruthenians. In any case, OBS mentions the practice of saying in the sacristy all the preparatory prayers before mass as well as the prothesis. OBS refers also to the practice of the priest putting on the phelonion only after saying the prothesis and notes other ceremonies no longer observed in the private recited masses. In contrast to what Smogoževs'kyj wrote to Lisovs'kyj, OBS points to the secular churches in Lithuania where, due to the lack of singers and books, mass and other services were seldom sung (VII.2).

OBS refers to the planned Brest synod of 1765, at which the Ruthenian hierarchy intended to correct these abuses (VII.3). The author of OBS sees a

² The origin of this theory is discussed by F.J. Leroy, "Proclus, 'de traditione divinae Missae': un faux de C. Palaeocappa", *OCP*, 28 (1962): 288-299.

need to correct Ruthenian liturgical practices, but prudence is to be used in any such attempts.

These abuses, which are not common to all uniate churches, but are found some in this one and some in another, more here, less there, in our opinion must be corrected gradually and cautiously to avoid scandal to some and not to offend others (VIII.1).

In this sense, he judges Lisovs'kyj's attempt at a liturgical reform as being too hasty; there was added danger that if all the ritual differences, including those decided by Zamostja, between the Catholic and Orthodox were eliminated, the Catholic Ruthenian faithful might believe there were no longer any dogmatic differences between the Catholics and the Orthodox (IX.1).

The introduction of OBS concludes with some remarks on the text itself of POL, which, it says, was translated first from Greek into Slavonic and then from Slavonic into Latin. The Slavonic text does not always correspond to the Greek, although the Slavonic meaning is better at times than the Greek, according to OBS. The Latin text does not always correspond to the Greek or Slavonic. But the author of OBS is concerned less with the translation and more with the rubrics and rites found in POL. It is these rites and rubrics that OBS intends to examine (X.1-3).

II. THE SPIRITUAL PREPARATION OF THE CELEBRANT

1. *The Philothean Rubric*

POL begins with the initial rubrics found in BEN, taken from the diataxis of Patriarch Philotheus Kokkinos, common to most ms and printed služebnyky.³

When the priest intends to celebrate the divine mysteries, he should first confess and be reconciled with everyone, holding nothing against anyone, and as much as possible he must keep his heart from evil thought, refraining from intercourse from the night before and remaining watchful until the time of celebration.⁴

The first objection in OBS seems unusual. It warns that if the verb "vigilare" (trezvytysja – to remain watchful) means to pray mentally or vocally, then this is in accordance with the Church's understanding. But if it is understood as staying awake the whole night, then this is contrary to the practice and custom of the Church.

³ Cf. BEN, p. 23. On the Philothean diataxis and its role in CHR see Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. XXXVI-XXXVIII.

⁴ POL, f. 252r. See the reference in Appendix I, note 19.

The reason for the OBS warning was undoubtedly the author's unfamiliarity with the formulation of the entire rubric. Although common to the Orthodox Ruthenian texts and the first Catholic *služebnyky*,⁵ it is not found in the Žoxovs'kyj tradition. In these texts, we find the following rubric printed just before the introductory prayers for the mass:

When the priest intends to vest himself in the priestly vestments to celebrate the liturgy, he begins to say silently to himself:⁶

then follow the introductory prayers.

There are exceptions, such as the 1712 *Lviv* edition, which still closely follows the Philothean formulation.⁷ Another exception is the 1788 *Počajiv* edition, which gives the Philothean rubric with the added explanation that the celebrant must refrain from food and drink at least from midnight.⁸

The 1779 *Počajiv Poučenie* gives its customary explanation of Eastern practices, including the Ruthenian. In explaining how a priest should prepare himself for celebrating, the *Poučenie* quotes the Philothean text almost verbatim. It uses the word “bdity” (to keep vigil, to be attentive) for the “vigilare” in POL. Then it explains in detail that the priest is to refrain from intercourse for three days prior to celebration, citing the sources we saw earlier when discussing the position of Zamostja on the same question.⁹

2. The 1617 *Mamonyč Nauka*

Neither POL nor OBS make any reference to the instructions for the celebrant found in the majority of Orthodox *služebnyky*. Unknown in previous editions, the first extensive set of instructions on the mass is printed in the 1617 *Mamonyč služebnyk* from Vilna. These instructions for the priest are entitled *Nauka Ijerejom do porjadnoho otpravovanja Služby Božoe velce potrebna*.¹⁰ A similar set of instructions is also printed in a *trebnyk* edited by Mamonyč in 1618.¹¹ Peter Mohyla in turn incorporated much of this material into his 1646 *trebnyk* with detailed instructions on the reservation of the

⁵ See for example the introductory prayers in the following editions: 1583 *Vilna*, f. 6v; 1604 *Balaban*, p. 1; 1617 *Mamonyč*, [f. 1]; 1629 *Kiev*, p. 105; 1639 *Kiev*, p. 165; 1646 *Lviv*, f. 72r; 1653 *Kiev*, f. 83r. Other Mohylan and Nikonian texts give the same. Cf. 1519 *Venice*, [f. 3r]; Rud, “Liturgija”, p. 170. The method used for describing *služebnyky* and other liturgical texts is explained in our appendix, p. 384.

⁶ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, intro. prayers f. 80r.

⁷ 1712 *Lviv*, intro. prayers f. 52r.

⁸ 1788 *Počajiv*, intro. prayers f. 1.

⁹ *Poučenie*, f. 33r. We discuss this three-day period in chapter 2, p. 81.

¹⁰ 1617 *Mamonyč, Nauka* [f. 26]. Note that the *Nauka* is preceded by three folia of preamble which we do not take into consideration for our foliation of the *Nauka*.

¹¹ Cf. Wawryk, “Cerkovni drukarni”, p. 111.

eucharist, its form and matter, and what to do when various problems arise.¹² A study of this *Nauka* and a comparison with the eventual versions which appeared in the Muscovite *služebnyky* was made by A. Petrovskij.¹³ Although he is quite thorough, he fails to mention several points which will be important for us.

The Mamonyč *Nauka* is an attempt to harmonize traditional Eastern liturgical practices and theology with certain rubrics and moral cases taken from the Latin tradition. The purpose is to instruct the priest on the minimal requirements for celebrating and on what to do in perplexing situations that might arise — some quite improbable. The *Nauka* is divided into six parts. The first concerns the preparation of the priest before celebration.¹⁴ This section contains information similar to the Philothean preparatory rubrics referred to in XI.1., but with more details. The celebrant is to confess all mortal sins to another priest; he is to refrain from food and intercourse from the night before; he is to celebrate (*otpravty*) the divine office before the eucharistic liturgy, unless he has to hear confessions; if he is under any kind of church censure, instructions are given on what he is to do; finally, the mass is not to be celebrated too early in the morning nor in the afternoon, unless it is prescribed with vespers. If no eucharist for the sick is reserved, in cases of need mass could be celebrated in the afternoon, but the celebrant should be an older priest.¹⁵

The second part of the *Nauka* concerns the celebration of the mass itself, while the third part deals with what is to be done after celebration.¹⁶ These two parts treat of the altar, vestments, liturgical vessels, and other articles, which we shall examine in more detail later. Both of these sections also comment on the celebrant and the frequency of celebration. A clear position is taken against a priest saying a mass only by himself. There is no mention of a private mass as such, but rather the absence of a server.

A male server is required at the altar, but no woman, not even a nun, should approach the altar. If the priest should serve himself, then he scorns the mystery of Christ and his beloved Church, regards the Person whom he represents as nothing, and thus sins.¹⁷

The priest should celebrate tranquilly, piously, and respectfully, attentive to every word he says. The eucharistic liturgy is to be celebrated in parishes on all major feast days and every Sunday, while a priest with no parish should

¹² See the description in our appendix, p. 407-408.

¹³ Petrovskij, "Učitel'noe izvestie".

¹⁴ *1617 Mamonyč, Nauka* [f. 1v-4r].

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, [f. 4r-7v].

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, [f. 7v-9v].

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, [f. 7r].

celebrate mass at least on the dominical feasts. Since Christ died once on the cross, the priest can celebrate only one mass a day.¹⁸

The fourth section of the *Nauka* deals with the matter of the eucharist, namely the bread, water, and wine used, and its consecration.¹⁹ The consecration is treated in more detail in the fifth section, on the form of the eucharist.²⁰

The *Nauka* ends with a series of cases concerning the matter and form of the eucharist.²¹ These include a variety of situations, such as failure to use bread or wine, bugs falling into the chalice, spills at communion time, freezing of the wine, and the death of the celebrant (both before and after the consecration). There is only a limited amount of historical data for us in these cases.

The Catholic *služebnyky* following the *Žoxovs'kyj* tradition incorporated little of this material from the *Nauka* into their texts. They repeat some of the material in their forewords and dedications, and in certain rubrics throughout the liturgy. One exception, however, is the 1759 *Lviv služebnyk*, which gives instructions and information for the celebrant in a note between the prothesis and the Liturgy of the Word.²² Catholic Ruthenian theological manuals, like those referred to earlier in chapter 2, cover many of the moral problems and situations found in the *Nauka*.²³

In the *Nauka*, the editors of this 1617 *Mamonyč* *služebnyk* are able to caution the celebrants to be attentive in their liturgical functions. The editors also take the opportunity to suggest some new rubrics promoting a deeper respect for the eucharist. At the same time, they make no innovations in the liturgical texts themselves, showing regard for the liturgical tradition that they held in common with the Orthodox Ruthenians.

3. *The Divine Office*

The celebration of the divine office in parishes on the eve and morning of those days when the eucharistic liturgy was celebrated, was considered part of the preparation of the celebrant and faithful for the eucharistic liturgy. This we see, for example, in a 1715 *Lviv Octoichos* containing only Sunday services meant for parish use. This text encourages the laity to prepare themselves for mass by participating in the preceding vespers and matins.²⁴ The Synod of

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, [f. 7v-8r].

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, [f. 9v-12v].

²⁰ *Ibid.*, [f. 13r-15].

²¹ *Ibid.*, [f. 16r-26v].

²² 1759 *Lviv*, prothesis f. 87r-89r.

²³ See chapter 2, notes 111, 123, 128 and 131.

²⁴ Cf. *Arxiv JuZR*, I, 12:110, note 3; also Senyk, "Ruthenian Liturgy", p. 143-144.

Zamostja called on pastors to celebrate the divine office on Sundays and feasts,²⁵ and the preparatory acts for the planned Brest synod of 1765 did the same.²⁶ Such admonitions suggest that this was not always being done.

This preparation also involved the celebration of the all-night vigil on Saturday evening and on the eves of major feasts with the celebration of vespers and matins together.²⁷ The Polock eparchy called for the restitution of the all-night vigil in its desiderata for the planned Brest synod. Its recommendations were made part of the presynodal acts, which call for the traditional vigil service to be celebrated on the eves of major feasts, the neglect of which was causing scandal to the Orthodox.²⁸ In his letter to the Lithuanian Province Basilians in 1785, Porfirius Važyns'kyj also calls for the joint celebration of vespers and matins for the vigils.²⁹ But the Ruthenian Church celebrated vespers and matins separately as well, a custom the Ruthenians, following the Slav usage, shared with the Greeks, as Korolevskij noted.³⁰ Examples of celebrating matins separately in the morning were recorded by Paul of Aleppo in his travels through Ruthenian lands with Patriarch Macarius of Antioch in 1654.³¹

III. INTRODUCTORY PRAYERS AND RUBRICS

1. *POL and OBS*

POL continues to follow the introductory Philothean rubrics, instructing the priest to make the usual bow to the superior (predstojatelju – praesidi), then to enter the church, and together with the deacon to make three more bows to the east before the holy doors of the iconostasis. This is prescribed by BEN in the same manner. The celebrants then say the series of prayers, much

²⁵ *SPZ*, Tit. 10: "De parochis et parochiis", p. 104.

²⁶ Cf. Wiwčaruk, *De synodo*, p. 124.

²⁷ On the all-night vigil, see N.D. Uspenskij, "Čin vsenoščnogo bdenija na pravoslavnom vostoce i v ruskoj cerkvi", *Bogoslovskie Trudy*, 18 (1978): 5-117, 19 (1978): 3-69; also M. Arranz, "L'office de la veillée nocturne dans l'église grecque et dans l'église russe", *OCP*, 42 (1976): 117-155, 402-425. An English translation of Arranz's work is printed as "N.D. Uspenskij: 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, 169-195.

²⁸ Cf. Wiwčaruk, *De synodo*, p. 124, 141.

²⁹ "Iam vero instante hora magni vespertini officii, quod etiam vigiliae nomine, sive Agripinae appellamus et cum officio matutino conjungimus, solemniori ritu tale officium celebrari debet." *AV*, 16:554.

³⁰ Cf. C. Korolevskij, "Le Pontifical dans le rite byzantine", *OCP*, 10 (1944): 204.

³¹ These can be found in the Russian translation of the original Arabic text made by G. Murkos, "Putešestvie antioxijskogo patriarxa Makarija v Rossiju, v polovine XVI veka, opisannoe ego synom, arxidijakonom Pavlom Aleppskim", *ČOIDR*, 1897, 4: 2, 25, 42, 92.

like those today.³² POL, like BEN, gives only the incipit for the prayers, except for the prayer, “Lord, stretch forth your hand” (Hospody, nyzposly ruku tvoju – Domine emitte manum tuam), which is given in full. POL follows exactly the rubrics of BEN, prescribing the kissing of the Marian icon on the iconostasis while her troparion is said (hlaholjušče tropar – dicendo troparium). Nothing is said about kissing the icon of Christ. After the prayer, “Lord, stretch forth your hand”, the celebrants bow once to each choir, right and left, and then enter the sanctuary reciting Ps. 5 from verse 8 onwards: “I will enter your house” (vnydu v dom tvoji; i pročaja – introibo in domum tuam: et reliqua). The deacon and priest bow three times in front of the altar, kissing the gospel book and the altar.³³

OBS has several objections here. The initial bows made to the bishop or other superiors, like those made before the icons, were done by the Ruthenians only after the priest and deacon had entered the church and had said the usual troparia before the icons (XII.2). OBS notes that the prayers before the iconostasis were not recited everywhere by the Ruthenians when preparing for a sung mass; some said these prayers elsewhere privately, as was the practice when saying a low mass (XII.3). In the following paragraph, OBS adds that the Catholics do not bow to the choirs before entering the sanctuary, nor do they recite Ps. 5, which, it notes, is not found in Goar. Rather, they say the short prayer, “God, be merciful to me, etc.” (XIII.2)

2. Early Slavic Variants

The order of the prayers and rubrics found in POL is not all that unusual compared to the variants found in other Slavic texts. The simplest style is that given by the Philothean diataxis: a bow is first made to the superior; then the deacon and priest come to the center of the church in front of the iconostasis and bow three times, bow to each choir, and enter the sanctuary saying the only prayer common to all texts, “Lord, stretch forth your hand”. This is found in the *1519 Venice* editio princeps.³⁴

In contrast to this simple structure, many mss and printed texts have up to twenty prayers and psalms which the celebrant begins to recite from the time he hears the church bells ring, and continues as he enters the church, comes before the iconostasis, enters the sanctuary, and stands before the altar. Dmitrievskij and Petrovskij describe in detail, by groups and by century, these prayers, including the rubrics for kissing the icons and hand cross.³⁵ A large

³² By referring to “today’s” practice, we always intend that found in or based on the *1942 Rome služebnyk* — “recensio Ruthena” — listed in our appendix, p. 468.

³³ POL, f. 251v-252r; BEN, p. 23-24; *1942 Rome*, p. 161-168.

³⁴ *1519 Venice*, [f. 3v].

³⁵ Cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 57-75; Petrovskij, “Rédaction slave”, p. 862-925.

number of prayers and rubrics is found in printed texts, such as the 1602 and 1646 *Moscow služebnyky*.³⁶

The 1583 *Vilna služebnyk* also gives a large selection of these prayers, followed by the Philothean rubric, “when the priest intends to celebrate”. It next prescribes the series of bows and the prayer, “Lord, stretch forth your hand”, as found in the 1519 *Venice* edition. To this are added three more bows made to the east in front of the altar, with the prayer, “God, cleanse me of my sins and have mercy on me”. Nothing from Ps. 5 is given.³⁷ Sipovič points out the similarity of the 1583 *Vilna* text to the 1598 *Vilna* edition and the seventeenth century pontifical ms which he published. Dmitrievskij was not able to fit the 1583 *Vilna* text into any of the categories he made, based on these introductory prayers. Sipovič in effect suggests that the two *Vilna služebnyky* and the pontifical form a group in themselves.³⁸

With the 1604 *Balaban služebnyk*, the Ruthenian editions begin to follow one basic pattern for the introductory prayers. In the *Balaban* text, the priest makes a bow to the superior, then enters the church, and together with the deacon makes three bows to the east and one to each choir; they then begin the regular prayers found in POL. These are all said quietly. However, the prayers, “God, cleanse me a sinner and have mercy on me” (said with three bows), plus the prayer, “Lord, stretch forth your hand”, are given before the troparia said at the icons of Christ and Mary. Three more bows are made, plus one to each choir, and then the troparion before the icon of Christ is said while the icon is kissed. The same is done at the Marian icon. The celebrants enter the sanctuary — no mention is made of Ps. 5 — and begin to vest. There is also no mention of kissing the altar or gospel book.³⁹

The 1617 *Mamonyč* edition also begins with the bow to the superior, and upon entering the church the three bows made to the east plus one to each choir. The prayers follow, just as they are given in POL. Both the Christ and the Marian icon are kissed while saying the respective troparia. Three bows are next made, while saying “God, cleanse me of my sins and have mercy on me”, followed by “Lord, stretch forth your hand”. With no further bows made to the choirs, the celebrants enter the sanctuary, reciting Ps. 5 from verse 8 — only the incipit is given. At the altar three more bows are made, and the altar and gospel book are kissed.⁴⁰

Raes observed that the 1617 *Vilna* Orthodox and the 1620 *Kiev* texts copied *Balaban* (reproduisent celle de Strjatyn), at least according to

³⁶ See the introductory prayers in 1602 *Moscow*, [f. 1v-8v]; 1646 *Moscow*, f. 68v-76r.

³⁷ 1583 *Vilna*, intro. prayers, f. 1v-8r.

³⁸ Cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 155; also Leonid, *Bibliografičeskaja zametka*, p. 13; Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluzhenie*, p. 59-60.

³⁹ 1603 *Balaban*, intro. prayers p. 2-8.

Saxarov.⁴¹ This does not seem to be entirely true, since the two *1617 Vilna* editions are identical on this point (no copies of the *1620 Kiev* editions are available). Although the differences between the Balaban and Mamonyč editions are minimal, they cannot be simply ignored, since the constant quest in Ruthenian liturgical life was precisely for uniformity.

3. *The Mohylan Tradition*

The *1629 Kiev* edition follows the *1617 Mamonyč* služebnyk, but again there are variants.⁴² The Kiev text prescribes two bows to be made before each icon, which is then kissed by the celebrants, while reciting its troparion. Next comes the prayer, “God, be merciful to me a sinner”, accompanied by three bows, and the prayer, “Lord, stretch forth your hand”, as found in Mamonyč. At this point a new set of rubrics and prayers are introduced. The celebrant bows once to the east and says the following penitential prayer:

Absolve, remit, and pardon, O God, my transgressions, willing and unwilling, committed in action and word, consciously or unconsciously, during this day and night, intentional and unintentional, for you are good and the lover of men.

Then the celebrant turns to the people, bows, and asks forgiveness of his sins, saying a prayer similar to that found at the end of today’s compline service.

Forgive me, fathers and brothers, all that I have sinned in all the days of my life and in this day and night, in deed, word, and thought, and through all my senses, and pray for me a sinner.

To this the people reply:

May God forgive you and have mercy, and you, o holy father, pray for us to God.⁴³

The celebrants then enter the sanctuary, saying only verses 8 and 9 of Ps. 5. They make three bows at the altar, saying “God, be merciful to me a sinner”, and kiss the altar and the gospel book. This format of the *1629 Kiev* edition became the basis for the Mohylan tradition. The recitation of only verses 8 and 9 of Ps. 5, the only verses that really suit this portion of the liturgy, is included.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ *1617 Mamonyč*, intro. prayers [f. 1v-4v].

⁴¹ Cf. Raes, “Liturgicon”, p. 95-96.

⁴² *1629 Kiev*, intro. prayers p. 105-110.

⁴³ For the text of today’s compline service see *1942 Rome* služebnyk, p. 78-79; also Rud, “Liturgija”, p. 170.

⁴⁴ See the introductory prayers in the following texts from the Mohylan tradition: *1639 Kiev*, p. 166-173; *1646 Lviv*, f. 72v-76r; *1653 Kiev*, f. 83v-87r; *1666 Lviv*, f. 81v-84v; *1681 Lviv*, f. 83v-86r; *1691 Lviv*, f. 52r-54v; *1712 Lviv*, f. 52r-54v.

4. *The Nikonian Tradition*

The Orthodox Ruthenian texts underwent several changes when they changed to the Nikonian tradition. The initial bow made to the choirs before the introductory prayers is eliminated. Only the Marian icon is kissed, while nothing is indicated for the Christ icon. The Marian troparion is followed immediately by the prayer, "Lord, stretch forth your hand", with no mention made of the verse, "God, be merciful to me a sinner", said first in the Mohylan tradition. The priest then bows to the choirs, but says none of the Mohylan penitential prayers.

On entering the sanctuary Ps. 5 from verse 8 to the end is recited, as opposed to only verses 8 and 9 prescribed in the Mohylan tradition. At the altar three bows are made, but nothing is said. The altar and the gospel book are kissed. This is identical to POL, which, however, gives only the incipit of the prayers. When the Kievan texts do give the publican's prayer, it is no longer the "God, be merciful to me a sinner" found in the Mohylan tradition, but that found in the Nikonian tradition: "God, cleanse me a sinner and have mercy on me."⁴⁵ Oddly enough, the Muscovite pontifical is more similar to the Mohylan tradition than to the Nikonian, since it gives only verse 8 and 9 of Ps. 5, and prescribes both icons to be kissed.⁴⁶

5. *Žoxovs'kyj and Other Catholic Editions*

Žoxovs'kyj gives no rubrics at all for the introductory prayers in his *služebnyk* and he makes no mention of the deacon. The prayers are basically the same as those in POL (and today), with the exception of "God, be merciful to me a sinner", which follows "Lord, stretch forth your hand". No indication is given how many times the verse is said. Ps. 5 is not given, and no mention is made of the iconostasis; consequently there is no mention of kissing the icons. No bows are prescribed, nor is the altar even mentioned, thus eliminating any rubrics to kiss it or the gospel book.⁴⁷ It should be noted here that the *1683 Rome* Greek euchology gives no introductory prayers or rubrics at all before vesting.⁴⁸ The majority of Catholic Ruthenian *služebnyky* follow closely the Žoxovs'kyj tradition.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ For examples, see the introductory prayers in *1739 Kiev*, f. 43r-45r; *1754 Černihiv*, f. 43r-45r; *1762 Kiev*, f. 39v-41v.

⁴⁶ This is found in the *1798 Moscow* činovnik, intro. prayers f. 1v-3v. Here Ps. 5:8-9 is said before any of the introductory prayers found in our *služebnyk*.

⁴⁷ *1692 Žoxovs'kyj*, intro. prayers f. 80r-81r.

⁴⁸ For information on this edition, see chapter 2, notes 189-190.

⁴⁹ For examples, see the introductory prayers in the following editions: *1740 Univ*, p. 3-4; *1744 Počajiv*, p. 1-2; *1755 Počajiv*, p. 1-2; *1759 Lviv*, p. 84; *1763 Suprasł*, p. 189-190; *1765 Počajiv*, f. 2.

One exception is the *1788 Počajiv* služebnyk, which gives the prayers according to the Žoxovs'kyj tradition, but also includes rubrics for kissing the Marian icon only. No bows to the choir or faithful are prescribed, but a bow only to the east at the beginning of the prayers. The priest and deacon bow their heads for “Lord, stretch forth your hand”, and then enter the sanctuary, saying “God, cleanse me a sinner and have mercy on me”. Ps. 5 is not mentioned, nor are any further rubrics concerning the altar.⁵⁰

The Vilna ms služebnyky of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, described by Odincov, display a variety of practices. N. 199, from the eighteenth century, contains the prayers just as Odincov knew them — this would mean it follows the Nikonian tradition. N. 197, also from the eighteenth century, gives no prayers at all before mass. And n. 194, from the eighteenth century, like n. 192 (the Pilixovs'kyj ms from the 1680s), instructs the priest on entering the church to go to the place of vesting and there to say the introductory prayers kneeling.⁵¹

The practice of kneeling during the introductory prayers is indicated in the Borgia ms in the note on episcopal celebration. The bishop enters the church, blesses the people with holy water, approaches the altar, kneels, and prays. This is only a rubric — no specific prayers are given.⁵² It also appears in the *1716 Suprasl* pontifical. Like the seventeenth-century Sipovič pontifical and the early nineteenth-century Burčak-Abramovič ms, the *Suprasl* pontifical gives a variety of introductory prayers characteristic of early služebnyky like the *1583 Vilna* text. Even though these prayers disappeared from the regular služebnyky, many are still preserved in the Ruthenian pontificals. Of the above mentioned pontificals, only the *1716 Suprasl* text instructs the celebrant to enter the sanctuary and kneel before the altar and say Ps. 50. After this, he stands and says the long prayer, “Lord God Almighty, you do not desire the death of sinners”, a prayer common to other pontificals.⁵³ We will see this practice of kneeling and reciting Ps. 50 again when we discuss the initial rubrics and prayers for the Liturgy of the Word at a low mass. It is interesting to note that this Ps. 50 is indicated at about the same place that other texts give Ps. 5.

From the initial variants in these introductory prayers, an established usage set in, following either the Žoxovs'kyj or the Nikonian tradition. Compared to all the various usages, Žoxovs'kyj's is the simplest, with minimal rubrics. This minimal approach in the Žoxovs'kyj tradition should be noted as

⁵⁰ *1788 Počajiv*, intro. prayers f. 1.

⁵¹ Cf. Odincov, “Uniatskoe bogosluženie”, p. 197-198. See Appendix, III, p. 403-404.

⁵² Borgia ms, f. 76r; cf. Wawryk, “Do istoriji” p. 132.

⁵³ *1716 Suprasl* pontifical, intro. prayers f. 1r-5r; cf. *B.A. Činovnik*, p. 69-71; Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 155-157, with a chart of the ms prayers, (ms f. 1r-6r); Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 134-136. Sipovič (p. 157) mistakenly says that Xojnackij does not note the prayer “Lord, God Almighty, you do not desire the death of sinners”, found in these pontificals.

we continue our study. One practice eliminated was that of the penitential prayers found in the Mohylan texts, which are still found in the 1712 *Lviv služebnyk*.

IV. THE VESTING AND LAVABO

1. *The Vesting in General*

The vesting in POL takes place exactly as it is prescribed today. The priest and deacon each take their sticharion in hand, make three bows to the east, and say "God, be merciful to me a sinner". The deacon, holding his sticharion and orarion, goes to the priest, bows, and asks his blessing on the vestments. The priest replies, "Blessed is our God always, now, and forever." The deacon goes to one side of the sanctuary, vests, and prepares for the prothesis rite. The vesting prayers for the deacon and priest are like today's, though POL gives only the incipit for some. Also, POL gives only the first half of the prayer for the zone (belt) found in BEN and said today. Having vested, the priest goes to the prothesis table and washes his hands with the usual prayer.⁵⁴

According to OBS, Catholic Ruthenian practice for the vesting and lavabo rites differed in several places from that given in POL. For one, the deacon did not always request the priest's blessing before vesting, nor did the celebrant make the bows to the east — presumably when holding the sticharion (XIV.2). Neither did the priest and deacon vest in the sanctuary; most vested in the sacristy, omitting the prescribed blessings, but carrying out all other rubrics and prayers (IV.3).

The amice ("humerales" in OBS) was used by the Catholic Ruthenians from time "immemorial", just as it was used in the Greek college in Rome, even though, OBS notes, the Greeks did not use it (XIV.4). The Greeks used sticharia of various colours made of silk, while the Catholic Ruthenians and the Orthodox in Ukraine used sticharia made of linen. For this reason the deacon also wore a dalmatic exactly like that in the Latin Rite, whereas Greek deacons wore only a sticharion (XIV.5). Other major differences between POL and Catholic Ruthenian practice concerned the lavabo. The Catholics washed their hands while saying the usual prayer before vesting, while POL followed the Greek manner by giving it after vesting (XV.2-3).

Ruthenian *služebnyky* not following the Žoxovs'kyj tradition basically give the same prayers and rubrics for vesting. We shall look at the Žoxovs'kyj and other Catholic usages separately later.

⁵⁴ POL, f. 251v-253r; BEN, p. 24-26; 1942 Rome, p. 169-173.

The three bows made to the east by the celebrants holding their sticharia (and orarion) are given in all the služebnyky with variations only in the verse, "God, be merciful to me a sinner." This is the formulation given by the Mohylan texts, but the Vilna, Balaban, and Nikonian texts give, "God, cleanse me of my sins and have mercy on me."⁵⁵ The 1519 *Venice* edition gives the shortest version, "God, cleanse me a sinner", while the 1602 *Moscow* text gives a three-verse version:

God, cleanse me a sinner and have mercy on me;
 You who created me, O Lord, have mercy on me;
 I have sinned without number, Lord, forgive me.⁵⁶

According to the various Ruthenian služebnyky, the deacon vests with a sticharion, orarion, and cuffs. The prayers for the sticharion and cuffs are the same as the priest's. No prayer is given for the orarion, but it is the only piece the deacon is instructed to kiss. The deacon then prepares the vessels for the prothesis.

2. Alternate Vesting Prayers

The text of the vesting prayers appears stabilized by the seventeenth century. Variants occur only as additions to the regular prayers. The 1583 *Vilna* edition gives a variant of the regular prayer said when putting on the epitachelion:

They took Jesus and bound him and delivered him to the procurator Pontius Pilate. You, O Saviour, who yourself underwent the passion, save us also from suffering, our life and resurrection, glory to you.⁵⁷

Then follows the customary prayer, "Blessed be God who pours out his grace."

This variant, found also in the 1602 and 1646 *Moscow* editions, is known since the fourteenth century.⁵⁸ It is very similar in theme to the complete set of alternate vesting prayers given in small print in the Mohylan texts. First printed in the 1629 *Kiev* edition, these are all based on New Testament passages from Christ's passion. A note in the služebnyk explains that they are from the old Rus' tradition and can be said by the priest and deacon if so desired. These are the prayers:

[for the sticharion - Luke 23: 11] Herod humiliated Jesus with his soldiers and mocked him; he put a crimson robe on him and sent him back to Pilate.

⁵⁵ See the vesting in 1583 *Vilna*, f. 8r; 1604 *Balaban*, p. 11; 1629 *Kiev*, p. 110-111; 1639 *Kiev*, p. 173; 1691 *Lviv*, f. 54v; see the introductory prayers-vesting section of 1617 *Mamonyč*, [f. 5v].

⁵⁶ 1519 *Venice*, [f. 4r]; 1602 *Moscow*, [f. 8v].

⁵⁷ 1583 *Vilna*, vesting f. 10r; cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 77; Ruđ, "Liturgija", p. 172.

⁵⁸ 1602 *Moscow*, [f. 9]; 1646 *Moscow*, vesting f. 77v; see the examples from the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries given by Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 886, 896, 915, 926.

[...]

[for the epitrachelion - Matthew 27: 31] The soldiers dressed Jesus in his own clothes and led him to his crucifixion.

[...]

[for the zone (belt) - Matthew 27: 1-2] All the chief priests and elders of the people met in council against Jesus, how to put him to death; after binding him they led him and gave him over to the procurator Pontius Pilate.

[...]

[for the cuffs - John 18: 12-12] The soldiers, the tribune, and the Jewish servants arrested Jesus and bound him and led him first to Annas.

[...]

[for the phelonion - Matthew 27: 27-29] The procurator's soldiers took Jesus inside the pretorium and gathered against him the entire company; they stripped him and dressed him in a crimson cloak, and weaving a crown of thorns they fixed it on his head and stuck a reed in his right hand.⁵⁹

The *1583 Vilna* variant is not part of this group. There is no prayer given for the epigonation (nabedrenyk).

Eliminated from the Orthodox Ruthenian texts with the change to the Nikonian tradition, these prayers appear in some Catholic editions, like the Borgia ms and the *1712 Lviv služebnyk*. But they are crossed out of the Borgia ms and they do not appear in later Lviv editions. They only survived in the printed Catholic Ruthenian pontificals, like the *1716 Suprasl* edition. The Sipovič and the Burčak-Abramovič ms pontificals do not give them.⁶⁰

3. The Lavabo

After he has vested, POL instructs the priest to go to the prothesis and wash his hands, saying Ps. 25: 6-12, "I shall wash my hands among the innocent", for which POL gives the full text. The priest's lavabo and its prayer are found at this point also in the *1617 Mamonyč* and in all Orthodox texts. Like today's practice, POL does not instruct the deacon to wash his hands.

The early Vilna editions make no mention of the deacon's lavabo, while the Balaban and Mohylan editions do give the rubric for the deacon to wash, but he only says verse 6 of Ps. 25.⁶¹ Before the lavabo in the *1583 Vilna* text the priest first says the prayer, "Lord God Almighty, you do not desire the death of sinners".⁶² We noted earlier that this prayer survived only in the pontificals, while it disappeared from the regular služebnyky. Dmitrievskij lists many prayers found between the vesting and prothesis rite in various early Slavic

⁵⁹ *1629 Kiev*, vesting 111-115; cf. Rud', "Liturgija", p. 172-173. We have not found these prayers in Goar or any other Greek source.

⁶⁰ Borgia ms, f. 52r-62r; *1712 Lviv*, vesting f. 55r-57r; *1716 Suprasl* pontifical, f. 5v-6v; cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 161; B.A. Činovnik, p. 71-72; Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 124.

⁶¹ *1604 Balaban*, vesting, p. 11; *1629 Kiev*, vesting, p. 113; *1639 Kiev*, vesting, p. 176-177.

⁶² *1583 Vilna*, vesting f. 11v-14v.

mss, among which is included this prayer. A large number of such prayers is given in the 1602 and 1646 *Moscow* texts.⁶³

In the history of the eucharistic liturgy the lavabo is found in several places. Taft discusses this with regard to the Great Entrance. In the preparation for the liturgy the lavabo also appears in several locations besides its customary place today after vesting. The Esphigmenou Roll 34 from 1306 gives it before the vesting, as do two mss from the fourteenth century cited by Muretov. The lavabo is also found at times after the prothesis.⁶⁴

We see, then, that Raes was too hasty in criticizing Žoxovs'kyj, when he wrote that this was contrary to the usage not only in the Byzantine Rite, but in all the Oriental Rites.⁶⁵

Prior to the 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj* služebnyk Catholic texts give the lavabo both before or after vesting. The Borgia ms gives it after, while Pilixovs'kyj gives it before. Once the lavabo was given in the *Žoxovs'kyj* text before vesting, it became established at this point in most subsequent printed Catholic služebnyky.⁶⁶ But some eighteenth century Vilna ms služebnyky still give it after vesting, while one ms says that if the lavabo was done before vesting, then it should not be repeated after vesting.⁶⁷

4. *The Paraman and the Amice*

The *Žoxovs'kyj* tradition has several variants in the rite of vesting, mainly in the rubrics. The first is the use of the amice (naplečnyk in Slavonic). This is the first vestment that the priest puts on. It is a copy of the amice used in the Latin Rite. The prayer used by the Ruthenian pastors for this is different from that used by the Latins. The Ruthenian prayer is based on Isaiah 50: 6:

I gave my shoulders for wounds and my cheeks for buffeting, and turned not my face away from the shame of weeping.⁶⁸

Changes and innovations in the 1617 *Mamonyč* služebnyk are found not

⁶³ Cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluzhenie*, p. 80-91; 1602 *Moscow*, [f. 10]; 1646 *Moscow*, vesting f. 79r-83r.

⁶⁴ The Esphigmenou Roll 34 is printed in A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskix rukopisej xranjaščixsja v bibliotekax pravoslavnogo Vostoka: tom II. Evxologija*, Kiev 1901, p. 262. Muretov printed a 14th century ms from the St. Petersburg Academy n. 522, and a variation of the same found in the Voskresenskij Monastery library n. 8, f. 3; cf. Muretov, "Posledovanie proskomidii", p. 20. See also Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 879, 881, 896-897; Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. XXXVI, 172-176.

⁶⁵ Cf. Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 101.

⁶⁶ Borgia ms, f. 62; Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluzhenie", p. 198, (ms n. 192, f. 222v); 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, vesting f. 80v.

⁶⁷ Cf. Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluzhenie", p. 198 (ms n. 195 f. 12, 196 f. 19, n. 199 f. 1, which all give it after the vesting; n. 196 f. 19 gives the possibility of both).

⁶⁸ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, vesting f. 80v.

so much in the text of the liturgy, which is very traditional, as in the instructions given in the *Nauka*. The *Nauka* lists only the five traditional vestments: sticharion, zone, epitachelion, cuffs, and phelonion. It warns that if the priest celebrates without even one of these, he commits a mortal sin. Had the amice been in use by this date, it undoubtedly would also have been included in the *Nauka's* instruction.⁶⁹

The amice appeared somewhat later. But did it have a precedent? Sipovič points out that in his seventeenth-century pontifical, after the sticharion the bishop puts on an item called “paraman” in the Slavonic text and “humerales” in the Latin translation.⁷⁰

The paraman — also “paramand” in Slavonic and “paramandias” in Greek — is a rectangular piece of cloth on which are depicted one or more crosses, the instruments used during Christ’s passion, and various abbreviated inscriptions. It is a part of traditional monastic garb given to the second rank of monk (the stavrophore, krestonosec, or microschemos), when he receives the “Small Angelic Habit”. It is worn over the chest and is tied to the body by strings that go around the neck and behind the back. Its origins are obscure, but it parallels, in its decoration and symbolism, the much longer analav worn only by the third or highest grade of Eastern monk (the megaloschemos, or sxymnyk), when he receives the “Great Angelic Habit”. This analav resembles in shape the scapular worn by Western monks. The paraman is given and worn immediately over the basic cassock-like tunic commonly called today the “podrjasnik”, or in older Slavonic sources the “svitka”.⁷¹

We do not find references to the paraman or its prayer, “The Lord said, my yoke is sweet and my burden light” (Matthew 11: 30), in Ruthenian pontificals other than the Sipovič ms. But we find that it was worn by the hierarchy when celebrating the liturgy, according to several sources. In Muscovy, Patriarch Nikon wore it over his sticharion on 25 December 1657.⁷²

Another interesting case is that of Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem, who was in Muscovy collecting alms in 1619. (On his return trip to Jerusalem in 1620 he stopped in Kiev and ordained the new Orthodox Ruthenian

⁶⁹ 1617 *Mamonyč*, *Nauka* [f. 5r].

⁷⁰ Sipovič, *Pontifical Library*, p. 160 (ms f. 6v-7r). There is a confusion here, found also in other sources, between two separate vestments in the Latin Rite, due to unfamiliarity with them. The amice is the initial shoulder covering put on before the other vestments. The humerale is the shoulder veil used for the benediction service, worn over all other vestments. We are discussing here the Ruthenian use of the amice. The Ruthenians also used the humerale for the benediction service, but this does not come up in the sources under consideration.

⁷¹ On the paraman and svitka see Arximandrit Innokentij, *Postrizhenie v monašestvo*, Vilna 1899, p. 196-197, 212-213, 216-217. See also N.F. Robinson, *Monasticism in the Orthodox Church*, London 1916, p. 1-68; a diagram of a paraman is given on p. 50.

⁷² Savva [Tixomirov], “Pojasnitel’nyj slovar’”, *Ukazatel’ dlja obozrenija moskovskoj patriaršej (nyne sinodalnoj) riznicy*, Moscow 1868, p. 12 (see also his photograph n. 51 of a paraman); cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 160.

hierarchy.) When he was celebrating the liturgy with the Muscovites, they brought to his attention what to them appeared as erroneous practice. One objection concerned the paraman, which the patriarch wore over his tunic. The Muscovites felt that he should have had another paraman for “serving” as well.

A paramanda služebnogo u nego ne bylo, liš tot paramand, čto po svitke.

The Patriarch replied that one was quite sufficient:

i on skazal: paramand de na mne ješ, na čto de drugoj!⁷³

From this it appears that besides the regular monastic paraman which the patriarch had over his tunic, the Muscovites wanted him to wear a second one — “paramand služebnoj” — at least in place of the first. The difference between these two paramany cannot be determined from these meagre references, nor is it certain that the paraman was always worn by all monks. Arsenij Suxanov, the monk who collected Greek liturgical mss for Patriarch Nikon, also said in reference to the Eastern patriarchs that they wore a paraman under their sticharia.⁷⁴

The Ukrainian Basilians today receive a paraman at their solemn profession, which they wear only on that day (and again at their burial). If the paraman was worn continuously by the monks, or at least for liturgical functions, then it would have been used not only by the hierarchy, who were traditionally taken from the monastic clergy, but also by hieromonks. Thus the paraman in the Catholic Ruthenian Church may have been the forerunner to the later adoption of the Latin amice. Both the Borgia ms (ca 1670) and the Pilixovs’kyj ms († 1693) give the prayer and placement of the amice just as it is found in the later Žoxovs’kyj služebnyk, although in the Slavonic text of the Borgia ms it is called the small sticharion — “malyj styxar”.⁷⁵ The amice is also given in the 1683 *Rome* Greek euchology⁷⁶ and listed by Kyška in his 1692 theological manual, *Mów różnych przypadków*.⁷⁷

Two final observations should be made. Sipovič doubts that the bishop’s paraman had any connection with the later “naplečnyk” or amice used by the Catholic Ruthenians precisely because of the different prayers given for each item. However, we have seen that the alternate vesting prayers given in the 1583 *Vilna* služebnyk and in the Mohylan editions are based on New

⁷³ Leonid [Kavelin], “Svedenic o slavjanskix pergaminnyx rukopisjax”, *ČOJDR*, 1883, 2: 166.

⁷⁴ Cf. Savva, *Ukazatel*, p. 12.

⁷⁵ Borgia ms, f. 59r; cf. Odincov, “Uniatskoe bogosluženie”, p. 198 (ms n. 192 f. 222v; also given in n. 194 f. 3v and n. 196 f. 16, both from the 18th century).

⁷⁶ 1683 *Rome* Greek euchology, p. 269.

⁷⁷ Cf. Kyška, *Mów różnych przypadków*, p. 81.

Testament passages, and Sipovič's prayer readily fits into this group. Odincov was unaware of Sipovič's New Testament paraman prayer and suggested that the Ruthenians came up with a new amice prayer based on Old Testament passages to match the other Old Testament-based vesting prayers, rather than adopt the Latin prayer.⁷⁸ Indeed, Žoxovs'kyj's amice prayer does fit in well with the other vesting prayers used today based on the Old Testament. What we may be dealing with in effect are two traditional paraman prayers based respectively on the Old and New Testament like the other vesting prayers in the series, with the Old Testament prayer being used for the adopted Latin amice.

Secondly, Sipovič notes that in the pontifical the paraman is worn over the sticharion. Patriarch Theophanes wore his over his tunic or svitka and did not want a second one. If the paraman was worn outside the liturgy, the celebrants, like Theophanes, may not have wanted either to remove it or add another one for "serving". Thus it could have been worn under the sticharion as well as over.

The 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical, like the early nineteenth century Burčak-Abramovič ms, instructs the bishop to put on an amice — here "humerales" is used even in the Slavonic text — before anything else. But the prayer is not that found either in Žoxovs'kyj or Sipovič; rather, it is taken directly from the Latin Rite:

Put, O Lord, a helmet of salvation on my head to conquer the attacks of the devil.⁷⁹

The other vesting prayers in the pre-Žoxovs'kyj and Žoxovs'kyj texts are the same as those found in POL. There are differences in the order of vesting. The zone (belt) is put on before the epitachelion in the Žoxovs'kyj rubrics, which the 1788 *Počajiv* edition also gives, but the latter adds a note that this is according to contemporary usage.⁸⁰ Nothing is said of an epigonation (nabedrenyk) in the Catholic texts.

5. The Phelonion

The phelonion was put on only after the completion of the prothesis. This too is found in the earlier Pilixovs'kyj ms.⁸¹ In the 1683 *Rome* Greek euchology the phelonion is put on with the other vestments.⁸² But the Greek phelonion,

⁷⁸ Cf. Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 198. Odincov makes no reference to the paraman or to any prayer like that found in Sipovič.

⁷⁹ 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical, f. 5v; *B.A. Činovnik*, p. 71.

⁸⁰ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, vesting f. 80v; 1788 *Počajiv*, vesting f. 1r.

⁸¹ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, prothesis f. 83v; cf. Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 198 (ms n. 192 f. 225; n. 194 f. 8).

⁸² 1683 *Rome* Greek euchology, p. 269.

which is longer in the front than the Ruthenian, is often kept up around the neck until after the prothesis for the convenience of the priest performing the preparations.⁸³

As to when the phelonion is put on, the 1788 *Počajiv služebnyk* suggests a compromise. It gives the rubric and prayer immediately after the other vestments; then it adds a note that this is according to the Greek usage, while the Ruthenian custom is to put it on after the prothesis rite. At the end of the prothesis text it again gives a similar note.⁸⁴ Several of the Vilna ms *služebnyky* of the eighteenth century also instruct the phelonion to be put on with the other vestments.⁸⁵ Xojnackij says the same for the *Počajiv služebnyky* of 1765 and 1791, but the 1765 text clearly follows the *Žoxovs'kyj* style.⁸⁶ The Synod of Zamostja decreed that each priest was to celebrate the prothesis vested — “indutus vestibus” — but whether this included the phelonion is unclear.⁸⁷

According to various sources, the cut of the Catholic Ruthenian phelonia was shortened, at least in the front. This was probably both to facilitate movement of the hands and to imitate the Latin chasuble. The Polock eparchy's *desiderata* for the planned 1765 Brest synod includes a warning that phelonia should be made according to the traditional form, since the ones then in use were causing ridicule and laughter.⁸⁸ A similar concern was expressed in Lisovs'kyj's time by Porfirius Važyns'kyj in *Observatio brevis* (1788), where he lists shortening of the phelonia among the changes made by the Catholics.⁸⁹ The 1791 Basilian Constitution also draws attention to this, in the regulations given for the ecclesiarch. He is to make certain that when new phelonia are made, they are sewn in the traditional manner; they are not to be too tight and they are to extend at least to the waist if not farther down the front. The epitrachelia are to be wide and attached at the proper places.⁹⁰

6. The Deacon's Vestments

Among the inquiries the Zamostja synod directed visitators to make is a

⁸³ Cf. S. Petrides, “La préparation des oblats dans le rite grec”, *Echos d'Orient*, 3 (1899-1900): 69.

⁸⁴ 1788 *Počajiv*, vesting-prothesis f. 1v-2r, 3r.

⁸⁵ Cf. Odincov, “Uniatskoe bogosluženie”, p. 198 (ms n. 195 f. 11-12; n. 199 f. 1; n. 209 f. 37-38).

⁸⁶ 1765 *Počajiv*, (CHR excerpt), prothesis [f. 3v]; cf. Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaia unija*, p. 60-61.

⁸⁷ Cf. *SPZ*, Tit. 3, §4: “De celebratione missarum”, p. 71.

⁸⁸ Cf. Wiwčaruk, *De synodo*, p. 141.

⁸⁹ Cf. Važyns'kyj, “*Observatio brevis*”, f. 52v (see note 95 below).

⁹⁰ “Videat, dum conficiuntur nova felonia, ne ab antiqua communi forma recedant, neve angustiosa sint, quam dignitas sacri hujus indumenti patiat. Curet quoque ut felonia ex parte antica protensiora sint, et saltem infra cingulum oram porrigant: Epitrachelia vero, ut late ante pectus pateant et diloricata sint, hoc est media sui parte in longum discissa et aliquot in locis taeniolis connexa.” *Codex Constitutionum*, p. 129.

series concerning the deacon: on his moral behaviour; on whether he attended mass frequently (et quam frequenter missam audiat), or just on feast days; on whether women were living with him, and who they were.⁹¹ Nothing was asked about his liturgical functions, which could indicate either that this was presupposed, or not a major concern. Žoxovs'kyj qualifies what instructions he does give with the phrase, "if there will be one". The first reference to the deacon comes only after the vesting of the priest, contrary to other liturgical texts we saw above, which include the deacon from the initial prayers before the iconostasis. The deacon is to say the same prayers as the priest for the respective vestments, which are not specified. There are also no rubrics for the deacon either to wash his hands or to prepare the vessels for the prothesis rite. Rather, the Žoxovs'kyj rubrics instruct the priest to go to the prothesis table and prepare the vessels himself.⁹²

In his derisive work against the Catholic Ruthenian clergy and practices, Peter Kamins'kyj wrote in 1685 that instead of a sticharion, the Catholic Ruthenian deacons wore a dalmatic. In the Greek Rite, he explains, this belongs only to the patriarchs, archbishops, and metropolitans, and it is called a saccos. He advised the Ruthenians to follow the example of the deacons in the Greek College in Rome, who wore a sticharion. They could also see an example of a deacon wearing a beautiful sticharion and orarion in the painting of the Exaltation of the Cross on the deisis in the Vilna church.⁹³ As OBS points out, the deacon wore a dalmatic over a white linen sticharion. The same combination is mentioned by the 1779 Počajiv *Poučenie*, which notes that the dalmatic means the same thing as the sticharion.⁹⁴

This Latin-style dalmatic is referred to by Važyns'kyj in *Observatio brevis* among the changes made by the Catholics to their vestments. The deacon's sticharion or dalmatic, he says, originally extended to the heel and was sewn on the cuffs and the sides; now it is in the style of the Latin dalmatic.⁹⁵

The Catholic Ruthenian deacons also used the amice according to Xojnackij's reference to the 1788 Počajiv diakonikon, where the deacon first put on the amice, then the sticharion, zone, dalmatic, and orarion.⁹⁶ Cuffs were not used by the Catholic deacons, although the 1788 Počajiv služebnyk says that the deacon could wear them according to the use of the venerable Greek College in Rome.⁹⁷ Žoxovs'kyj and those after him left the deacon's

⁹¹ Cf. SPZ, "Quaestiones in visitationibus indagandae: Diaconus", p. 130.

⁹² 1692 Žoxovs'kyj, vesting-prothesis f. 81r.

⁹³ Cf. Ščurat, *V oboroni Uniji*, p. 90.

⁹⁴ *Poučenie*, f. 19v.

⁹⁵ "Decurtatis sacerdotum pheloniis, diaconalia sticharia seu vestes dalmaticas, quae olim talaris erant, lateribus et manicis consutis, modulo a Latinis usitato confecta ubique nunc habentur a vetusta sua forma plurimum discrepantia." Važyns'kyj, "Observatio brevis", f. 52v.

⁹⁶ Cf. Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 61-62.

⁹⁷ 1788 Počajiv, vesting f. 1v.

rubrics quite skimpy; this made the use of Latin Rite rubrics that much more convenient to fill in needed detail.

7. Other Attire

Not only did the deacon copy the Latin style in his attire, but so did the priests in adopting semi-liturgical garb. This is referred to by Kamins'kyj in 1685, when he notes that the Catholic Ruthenian clergy were using the rochet, called *komža* in Polish. With typical irony he writes:

There is nothing more beautiful, especially when on that *komža* he puts on his formidable *klobuk*, like a kerchief on a nag — a total fright!⁹⁸

In the 1736 *Suprasl'* trebnyk approved by Metropolitan A. Šeptyc'kyj, the priest, when hearing confessions, is instructed to put on his sticharion, "sijest *komža*".⁹⁹ The presynodal acts for the planned 1765 Brest synod wanted priests to be forbidden to wear the recently introduced "superpellicium" or surplice when administering the sacraments or celebrating the divine office. Only the acolytes were to be permitted to wear them, according to this proposed legislation.¹⁰⁰

8. Vestment Colour

One final problem with the vestments which appears in various sources is that of the colour. In response to Cassian Sakowicz's criticism of the Ruthenian priest's use of vestments, the author of *Lithos* says that many of the priests were too poor to own more than one set of vestments, which they had to use for every service. Then he adds that even if they had more vestments, the use of colour is not that important for the Ruthenian liturgy.¹⁰¹ This is reaffirmed over two centuries later by Julian Pelesz in his 1885 pastoral manual. He knew of no legislation for the Catholic Ruthenians on the question of liturgical colours.¹⁰² This is in accordance with the general custom in the Byzantine Rite, which has no strict rules on when to use any given colour of vestment.

In 1668 the Basilians in the Sts. Sergius and Baccus church in Rome asked Propaganda for funds to buy two phelonia, one black and the other of a peacock colour.¹⁰³ Žoxovs'kyj prescribes black vestments for the celebrants for

⁹⁸ Ščurat, *V oboroni Uniji*, p. 90.

⁹⁹ Cf. A. Raes, "Le rituel ruthène depuis l'Union de Brest", *OCP*, 1 (1935): 380.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Wiwčaruk, *De synodo*, p. 125.

¹⁰¹ Cf. *Lithos*, p. 120.

¹⁰² Cf. Pelesz, *Pastyrskoe Bohoslovie*, p. 386.

¹⁰³ Cf. *ASCPF*, 2: 7,9.

the burial shroud procession on Good Friday in his 1692 *služebnyk*.¹⁰⁴ The 1717 *Praxis Indebita* includes among its criticism of Catholic Ruthenian liturgical practices their failure to distinguish liturgical colours for the various feasts and classes of saints. Nuncio Grimaldi and the Theatine Trombetti agreed, but explain in their reply that even though the vestments used are always the same, they are multicoloured and for this reason the Ruthenians never change them.¹⁰⁵

The Lviv eparchy's proposals for the 1765 Brest synod point out some widely discrepant liturgical practices. One example given was that some priests wore black vestments for funerals while others wore bright-coloured ones.¹⁰⁶

The 1779 Počajiv *Poučenie* also comments on this question. Bright-coloured vestments are always used, it says, except for funerals and fast periods, when dark colours are proper. The Greeks use red in masses for the dead and for martyrs, while the Latins follow a different practice, which, the *Poučenie* adds, the Ruthenians should also follow. Namely, bright colours are used for Sundays, feasts, and days when the Great Doxology (Velyke Slavoslovije) is taken at matins, even if the mass intention is for the dead, and adds that in that last case the readings and litanies for the dead should not be taken.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, triodia propers f. 22v.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1: 148, 158.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 935.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *Poučenie*, f. 20v, 51v.

CHAPTER 5

THE PROTHESIS RITE

I. PREPARATION

Once the deacon has vested, the rubrics in POL instruct him to go to the prothesis table and prepare the vessels by putting the discos on the left, the chalice on the right, together with everything that goes with the chalice. When the priest finishes the lavabo, he joins the deacon at the prothesis, they bow three times, saying “God, be merciful to me a sinner and have mercy on me” and “You have redeemed us from the curse of the law”. The deacon then says, “Bless, master”; the priest replies, “Blessed is our God always, now and forever and ever”; the deacon, “Amen”; and the priest begins to cut the bread.¹ OBS has no specific complaints here, but covers this portion later with some general comments.

In effect, POL agrees here with most Ruthenian texts, excluding the Žoxovs’kyj group. Žoxovs’kyj has the priest go to the prothesis table and prepare the vessels, saying only “You have redeemed us”, followed by “Blessed is our God...”. No deacon, no bows, and no publican prayer verse are indicated.²

The 1583 *Vilna* služebnyk has one additional prayer, said by the priest after the lavabo, not found in POL or in other printed Ruthenian texts.

My Lord, God and Master, forgive me a sinner and do not remember my transgressions, and let me stand blameless before your holy altar and bring you this unbloody offering, for you are blessed forever, amen.³

Then the priest continues with the deacon, “God, cleanse me a sinner and have mercy on me”, following which the priest says the prayer, “You have redeemed us”. This is one of the many variants in rubrics and prayers found at this point in the liturgy in early Slavic mss.⁴

¹ POL, f. 512r-523r.

² 1692 *Žoxovs’kyj*, prothesis f. 81r. See the prothesis also in 1740 *Univ*, p. 3; 1744 *Počajiv*, p. 2; 1755 *Počajiv*, p. 2; 1759 *Lviv*, f. 85r; 1763 *Suprasl*, p. 191; 1765 *Počajiv*, f. 3r; 1773 *Vilna*, f. 5r; 1788 *Počajiv*, f. 2r.

³ 1583 *Vilna*, prothesis f. 15.

⁴ Cf. Petrovskij, “Rédaction slave”, p. 881, 897, 917.

The Balaban and Mohylan texts have the same preparatory prayers as POL, but differ in some rubrics. In these texts, the deacon kisses the discos and chalice when setting them out, as well as the spoon, which he takes immediately and places on the altar. The priest holds his hands raised and says the prayer, “You have redeemed us”, and the deacon holds the discos in his right hand. They again make three bows.⁵ The priest’s raised hands are likely a formalization of his motion of raising the front of his phelonion to free his hands for the cutting of the bread. The accompanying prayer has little to do with the raised hands other than perhaps the phrase “nailed to the cross”.

The 1617 *Mamonyč* edition is identical to POL in the prayers and rubrics at this point, as are the later Ruthenian texts following the Nikonian tradition.⁶

The articles that the deacon prepares on the prothesis table are described in the *Mamonyč Nauka*. The chalice and discos are to be made of gold, silver, or some other valuable material, but not out of iron, wood, or glass.⁷ The 1640 Kiev council held by the Orthodox also stressed that the chalice be of silver or pewter and nothing else.⁸ Leo Kyška wrote in his theological manual that the chalice and discos are to be of gold or silver and consecrated by a bishop. If they are regilded, then they must be reconsecrated.⁹

This Latin custom of consecrating a chalice with chrism blessed by the bishop began from the time of the Union. Included among the faculties given by Clement VIII to the Catholic Ruthenian metropolitans and repeatedly renewed afterwards is that of allowing a priest to consecrate chalices, discos, and other articles, should an eparchy be without a bishop.¹⁰ The 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical, the first printed Catholic Ruthenian pontifical, contains the service for the consecration of a chalice and discos with holy myron.¹¹

The material from which the spoon is made, like its size and shape, was also the object of some concern. Sakowicz suggested that the Ruthenians should give only one species at communion like the Latins, and not use a spoon. But if they were going to use a spoon, it should be small and meant to hold small particles — not like the big spoons used by the peasants for eating

⁵ See the vesting-prothesis sections in the following: 1604 *Balaban*, p. 11, 13-18; 1629 *Kiev*, p. 113, 117; 1639 *Kiev*, p. 183-188; 1646 *Lviv*, f. 80v-92r; 1653 *Kiev*, f. 92r-94v; 1666 *Lviv*, f. 89v-92r; 1681 *Lviv*, f. 90v-93r; 1691 *Lviv*, f. 54v-55r; 1712 *Lviv*, f. 56r-58r.

⁶ See the vesting-prothesis sections in: 1617 *Mamonyč*, [f. 6],[9]; 1736 *Kiev*, f. 47v-48r; 1754 *Černihiv*, f. 48; 1762 *Kiev*, f. 44r.

⁷ 1617 *Mamonyč*, *Nauka*, [f. 6v].

⁸ The only account that we have of this council was written by Sakowicz, “Kievskij sobor”, col. 29.

⁹ Cf. Kyška, *Mów różnych przypadków*, p. 80-81.

¹⁰ The renewal of these privileges for Kyška is printed in *SEU*, 2:109. We give other sources in chapter 1, note 36.

¹¹ 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical, f. 28.

cabbage!¹² This criticism was repeated by the Latin clergy of Lviv in *Praxis Indebita* in 1717, where they accuse the Ruthenians of using wide spoons made of copper, tin, or even animal horn. They also said that wooden spoons were being used just like those used by the people for eating boršč. Nuncio Grimaldi and Theatine rector Trombetti replied that this was not true.¹³

Many of these items, along with other aspects of the liturgy, are given symbolic interpretations in the 1779 Počajiv *Poučenie*. The chalice symbolizes Christ's grave; the discos, the bier on which Christ's body was carried from the cross; the asterisk is the star of Bethlehem; the spoon, that with which the angel put the hot coal to Isaiah's lips. This symbolism for the spoon is also indicated by the prayer, "This has touched my lips and shall remove my iniquities and cleanse me of my sins" (which, however, is said after the celebrants drink from the chalice). For this symbolic interpretation of the entire liturgy, the author of the *Poučenie* based himself on patristic commentaries, especially that of Patriarch Germanus of Constantinople († ca 730).¹⁴

II. SIMPLIFICATION OF THE PROTHESIS RITE

OBS deals in several points with the simplification of the prothesis rite practiced by the Catholic Ruthenians. The particles that are cut during the prothesis are generally all taken from one prosphora and not from several, according to the Greek practice; the remainder of this the Greeks give out as antidoron (XVI.3). The number of particles is determined not by the commemorations made in the prothesis rite, but by the number of expected communicants, if any (XVII.6). This is related to the question of what is to be consecrated — the ahnec alone or everything on the discos. We shall examine this topic when we treat of the anaphora.

1. *The Number of Prosphoras and Particles*

Although the traditional Ruthenian practice was, like that of the Old Believers, to cut the ahnec and particles from a total of seven prosphoras,

¹² Cf. Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, p. 17.

¹³ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, I:146, 157.

¹⁴ Cf. *Poučenie*, f. 35. On these commentaries in general and that of Germanus in particular see R. Taft, "The Liturgy of the Great Church: An Initial Synthesis of Structure and Interpretation on the Eve of Iconoclasm", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 34-35 (Washington 1980-1981): 45-76. The symbolism of the eucharist as coal is not elaborated on in *Poučenie*, even though this is a traditional symbol in the Christian East, as among the Syrians; cf. R. Taft, "Receiving Communion – A Forgotten Symbol?" *Worship*, 57 (1983): 416-417.

smaller numbers have been used in history, including just a single prosphora. Dmitrievskij, Petrovskij, and Mandalà give examples of these variations, recalling also that early mss do not always specify the exact number.¹⁵ One example of special interest is that of the eleventh-century chartophylax Peter from Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, who was asked if the prothesis rite could be performed with only one prosphora. He replied that this was possible if no saint or deceased person was being commemorated.¹⁶

Since the traditional Byzantine practice was to consecrate only the ahnec on the discos and not all the particles, Sakowicz attacked the Ruthenians for putting the unconsecrated particles into the chalice together with the consecrated particles and distributing them indiscriminately to the faithful for communion. Sakowicz advised the Ruthenians to prepare an ahnec which would be large enough to satisfy the needs of all the communicants. This in effect would reduce the need for the other particles, possibly even eliminating them altogether.¹⁷

In the Borgia ms, although seven prosphoras were originally indicated, all but one were later crossed out.¹⁸ And several of the Vilna ms služebnyky do not give specific numbers of prosphoras to be used.¹⁹

Žoxovs'kyj gives a rubric that later many Catholic služebnyky reprinted. He instructs the priest to prepare only the number of particles needed for the number of communicants; if there are many communicants, then more particles can be given for the commemorations made for the living and the dead; if there are no communicants, then only the ahnec is needed, with the possible addition of one particle each for Mary, the nine orders of the saints, the living, the dead, and the celebrant. The particles can be three-pointed (triangular) or four-pointed (square or rectangular).²⁰ Other Catholic editions do not include this exact rubric. Rather, in separate instructions at the end of CHR to the priest on the manner of distributing communion to the faithful, they say that as many consecrated particles as needed are to be put into the chalice.²¹ The 1779 Počajiv *Poučenie* combines theory with practice in its

¹⁵ Cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 84-86; Mandalà, *Protesi*, p. 144-145; Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 865-868, 882.

¹⁶ *PG*, 119: 1094B; Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 85; Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 864-865.

¹⁷ Cf. Sakowicz, *Perspektiva*, p. 17. The Orthodox replied that their practice was based on tradition; cf. *Lithos*, p. 157.

¹⁸ Borgia ms, f. 65v-68v; Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 130.

¹⁹ Cf. Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 198 (mss n. 192 f. 233-234, n. 194 f. 20-22, n. 197 f. 1-5).

²⁰ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, prothesis f. 83v. See also the prothesis in: 1740 *Univ*, p. 7; 1759 *Lviv*, f. 87r; 1763 *Suprasl*, p. 196.

²¹ "Jelyko budet na potrebu xotjaščym pryčastytsja"; 1755 *Počajiv*, CHR p. 36; 1773 *Lviv*, CHR p. 30; 1788 *Počajiv*, CHR f. 16v.

description by saying that the particles can be taken from one or more prosphoras.²²

2. *The Quality of the Bread*

Although OBS makes no mention of the quality of the bread used, this was often a concern. The *1617 Mamonyč Nauka* specifies that only bread made from wheat flour can be used for the eucharist.²³ The Orthodox defend themselves in *Lithos* against Cassian Sakowicz, that they have always insisted on proper bread. It was the Catholics who were buying the bread for the eucharist at the market, not the Orthodox.²⁴

Peter Kamins'kyj also derided the Catholics in 1685 for using ordinary bread (or pretzel-type bread) made from kvas or sour dough.²⁵ The 1693 Peremyšl eparchial synod instructed deans in their visitations to check if the prosphoras were made in accordance with the rite, that is, from wheat flour and stamped with a cross.²⁶ *Praxis Indebita* accused the Ruthenians of using bread made from barley, wild oats, and other ingredients. Grimaldi and Trombetti replied that barley had been used in the past, but this had now been stopped.²⁷ Kyška complained that barley and rye were being used for the bread.²⁸ And soon after, the Synod of Zamostja directed priests to have the communion bread made in their homes to ensure its purity. It especially warned against buying the bread from the Jews, who mixed other ingredients into it.²⁹

But the use of different grains continued, and the 1740 Peremyšl synod repeated the prohibition of anything besides wheat flour. The bread was also to be fresh, made not more than two Sundays previously.³⁰ Twenty years later the Lviv theology manual (1760) called for bread that was stamped with the proper figures and which had not been purchased in town.³¹ The matter warranted the concern of those preparing for the 1765 Brest synod, who wrote that the bread should be prepared with care and should have only the traditional cross and Greek letters marked on it and nothing else.³² The *Poučenie* is quite explicit on the purity of the prosphora and adds that it

²² Cf. *Poučenie*, f. 34r.

²³ *1617 Mamonyč, Nauka* [f. 9v].

²⁴ Cf. *Lithos*, p. 58.

²⁵ Cf. Ščurat, *V oboroni Uniji*, p. 88.

²⁶ Cf. Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 20.

²⁷ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1: 145, 156.

²⁸ *EM*, 4: 60.

²⁹ Cf. *SPZ*, Tit. 3, §3: "De eucharistia", p. 68.

³⁰ Cf. Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 48.

³¹ Cf. *Bohoslovija nraoučytelnaja*, p. 55.

³² Cf. Wiwčaruk, *De synodo*, p. 125.

should be round, with a cross and Greek letters stamped on it.³³ Finally, the 1791 Basilian Constitution prescribes that the eucharistic bread be made in the monasteries, from pure flour, and with a cross marked on it.³⁴

3. *The Stamp on the Prosphora*

Several of the sources stress the cross and Greek letters stamped on the prosphora. The figures given in the Balaban and Mohylan texts depict an elongated ahnec with a six-pointed cross, including the slanted lower bar. This same diagram is found in Sipovič's seventeenth century pontifical on both the Latin and Slavonic sheets. The 1617 *Mamonyč* služebnyk does not give a diagram for the prosphora or ahnec, but opposite the title page for CHR there is a large seven pointed cross (a "T" with a top horizontal bar, a longer middle bar and a third slanted bar), with a spear and lance jutting out from the base of the cross; it also has the abbreviated Slavonic words for "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews — Jesus Christ — conquers".³⁵

The 1666/1667 Moscow council which condemned Patriarch Nikon but approved his liturgical reforms prescribed that a four-pointed Greek cross be depicted on the prosphora. Up to that time an eight-pointed cross had been used with a spear, skull, and cross-bones, with the words: "This is the lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world."³⁶ This four-pointed Greek cross appears in the Nikonian editions in spite of the protests of the Old Believers, who wanted the three-barred cross retained.³⁷ The Žoxovs'kyj texts give no diagrams.

The Greek letters referred to are the abbreviation for the inscription, "Jesus Christ conquers". It is according to the division of this inscription that the ahnec is divided at the fraction. Sakowicz ridiculed this practice and thought that a diagram of a lamb on the bread would be much more appropriate.³⁸ The Latins in *Praxis Indebita* could not understand the significance of the Greek letters on the bread, neither could Grimaldi and Trombetti.³⁹

³³ Cf. *Poučenie*, f. 33.

³⁴ Cf. *Codex Constitutionum*, p. 130.

³⁵ See the prothesis sections in: 1604 *Balaban*, p. 26; 1617 *Mamonyč*, [f. 26v]; 1629 *Kiev*, p. 121; 1639 *Kiev*, p. 190; 1646 *Lviv*, f. 84r; 1691 *Lviv*, f. 60r; cf. Rud', "Liturgija", p. 175; Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 68-69 (ms f. 30v-31r).

³⁶ For the acts and diagram, see *Dejanija*, part II, f. 2r; cf. Nikolskij, *Posobie*, p. 377.

³⁷ On the Old Believers' protest, see Subbotin, *Materijaly*, p. 263. An example from the Nikonian Ruthenian editions is the 1762 *Kiev*, prothesis f. 45v.

³⁸ Cf. Sakowicz, *Perspektiva*, p. 25-27.

³⁹ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1: 144, 157. The short work by Mytropolyt Ilarion (I. Ohijenko), *Tryramennyj xrest zo skisnym pidnižkom – nacionalnyj xrest Ukrajinjy*, Winnipeg 1951, is polemical in nature but provides good reproductions of woodcuts and other examples of the crosses used in the Ruthenian Church, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries.

4. *Pre-cut Particles*

The first comment OBS makes regarding the prothesis concerns the use of pre-cut particles. By this time, it was common practice among the Catholics to perform the prothesis rite for a sung mass in the same manner as was done for a low private mass, namely, pre-cut particles were put on the discos either in the sacristy where the priest vested or at the prothesis table. For the sung mass at least, OBS affirms that all the prayers of the prothesis rite were still said (XVI.2). In *služebnyky* with separate rubrics for the low, recited mass, the priest performs the prothesis in the sacristy, then takes the chalice, discos, and veils out to the altar.⁴⁰

This use of pre-cut particles prepared in the sacristy avoided the confusion described by Sakowicz when the bread for communion was prepared in the traditional manner. He writes that particles were cut out not only during the prothesis rite before the Liturgy of the Word, but also during the liturgy, when the celebrant would interrupt the service to cut out a commemorative particle from prosporas offered by the faithful. More confusion followed when the prospora leftovers were returned to the donors, who fought over which portion was theirs. Worse, even the priests fought among themselves to get the heaviest bread and the largest candles, which were also given as offerings by the faithful. Sakowicz refers to one incident during the time of Orthodox Metropolitan Borec'kyj of Kiev (1620-1631), when in one church the priests fought over these offerings during the sermon at the Christmas liturgy, pulling each others' beards!⁴¹

It is still the practice today in many churches of the Byzantine Rite for faithful to offer prosporas and other gifts during the eucharistic liturgy up to the Great Entrance.⁴² Although not a practice in the Ukrainian Catholic Church today during the mass, bread and fruit are often offered by the faithful during the general services for the commemoration of the dead, especially during lent (*sorokousty*) and after Easter.

Similar confusion is described in *Praxis Indebita*, which claims that the priest bought the bread, some of which was old, dried, and even burnt. He cut the needed particles from this, but left a mess. This occurred not only in small churches, but even in the cathedrals. In reply to the accusation Grimaldi and Trombetti said this was doubtful, since the priests normally had the bread prepared in their own homes.⁴³

The Basilian chapter held in Žyrovyci in 1661 called on the Basilians to

⁴⁰ This can be seen in the printed low mass rubrics given at the end of the *1755 Počajiv služebnyk*, [f. 1].

⁴¹ Cf. *Lithos*, p. 157-158.

⁴² Cf. Taft, *Greet Entrance*, p. 25-26, 34, 264-265.

⁴³ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1: 145, 156.

celebrate both sung and recited masses according to the traditional rubrics (which were not specified). The chapter in Vilna in 1667 was more explicit, instructing each priest to perform the prothesis personally, and to do it according to the Mamonyč služebnyk.⁴⁴ This is an indication that the prothesis rite for the low mass was being neglected, although the chapter did not elaborate further on this. We see this simplification in the Borgia ms low mass rubrics; the deacon's parts are cancelled, the ahnec is not cut out since it has already been pre-cut, and the priest only makes a sign of the cross over the ahnec when he says the prescribed prayers.⁴⁵ Whether this was done in the sanctuary or the sacristy is not specified in the Borgia ms. Kamins'kyj criticized the Catholic Ruthenian clergy in 1685 for cutting the bread — purchased in town — on a board in their room or elsewhere, which the celebrants then brought to church in a piece of paper, putting it into the chalice (sic). Some Ruthenian monks, he said, read Slavonic so poorly that they were embarrassed and said low mass in their cells.⁴⁶ When the Lviv eparchy made its recommendations in 1763 for the Brest synod, the prothesis rite was in such a bad state that the eparchy did not even want to go into the matter.⁴⁷ The presynodal acts called on the bishops to ensure that the lance was used for the prothesis at all masses and not just solemn ones.⁴⁸ This means that the cutting out of the particles was to be done at every mass, sung or recited.

Važyns'kyj remarks in *Observatio brevis* that the bread was usually prepared in the sacristy and so the lance was not needed.⁴⁹ Lisovs'kyj criticized those who let the server cut out the particles ahead of time in the sacristy, which were then kept for several weeks. This bread, he says, did not even have a cross marked on it.⁵⁰

This reduced, simplified format of the prothesis rite was the result of many factors: variations in the rubrics in liturgical texts as to the number of prosphoras and particles used; insistence on bread of proper quality, which undoubtedly involved more expense for priests and hesitancy in using too many particles or prosphoras; the increased frequency of celebration due especially to the increase in private masses; confusion before and during the liturgy due to the cutting and redistribution of the prosphoras. In such a situation, the simplicity and frugality of the Latin mass in the preparation of the gifts seemed to recommend itself so much the more.

⁴⁴ AS, 12: 74, 96. The latter reads: "Nad to proskomidią żeby każdy sam personalnie odprawował, y żeby według Mamoniczowskiego służebnika odprawowano."

⁴⁵ Borgia ms, f. 76; cf. Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 132.

⁴⁶ Cf. Ščurat, *V oboroni Uniji*, p. 88, 92-93.

⁴⁷ Cf. Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 935.

⁴⁸ Cf. Wiwčaruk, *De synodo*, p. 123.

⁴⁹ Cf. Važyns'kyj, "Observatio brevis", f. 54v (Italian summary in *ASCPF*, 5: 164).

⁵⁰ *EM*, 9: 170.

III. THE CUTTING OF THE AHNEC

The rubrics and prayers for the cutting of the first prosphora in POL and BEN are exactly like today's. OBS has no remarks at this point.⁵¹ Other than the complete absence of the deacon, the Žoxovs'kyj tradition agrees here also with POL.⁵²

The early Vilna, Balaban, and Mohylan editions contain several minor variants. The Mohylan texts clarify that the first cut is made on the right side, "on that marked with the name Jesus". The cut is made from the bottom to the top.⁵³

For the spearing of the ahnec (when the priest pierces the right side of the ahnec which has been lifted out of the prosphora), the 1583 *Vilna* text again shows its links with early Slavic služebnyky in the following prayer:

The Lamb of God, Son and Word of God, who takes away the sins of the world, is sacrificed and is slain for the life and salvation of the world.⁵⁴

The words "Son and Word of God" and "is slain" are not found in POL or in other Ruthenian texts.

Two versions are given for lifting the ahnec out of the prosphora from which it is cut. Some say to take it out from the right side — which POL has — while others say to take it out from the left side. The Žoxovs'kyj tradition does not stipulate from which side.⁵⁵

The 1583 *Vilna* služebnyk contains a note found in other early služebnyky concerning the use of freshly baked prosphoras. If the ahnec is still warm when lifted out of the bread it is to be left stamp side down on the discos until the Great Entrance. This is to avoid the humidity that would form from the freshly cut surface on the discos. Other texts in the Mohylan tradition say to turn the ahnec over during the anaphora.⁵⁶ We shall see later that the point at which the ahnec was turned over in this latter group was determined by the understanding of the consecration.

⁵¹ *POL*, f. 252r; *BEN*, p. 27-28; 1942 *Rome*, p. 174-176.

⁵² 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, prothesis f. 81. Since there are so many texts printed according to the Žoxovs'kyj tradition, all basically identical with the 1692 edition, we shall list only this edition, with references to other texts from the Žoxovs'kyj tradition if they differ.

⁵³ See the prothesis in: 1629 *Kiev*, p. 118; 1639 *Kiev*, p. 185; 1646 *Lviv*, f. 81; 1691 *Lviv*, f. 58v; 1712 *Lviv*, f. 58v; cf. Rud', "Liturgija", p. 174.

⁵⁴ 1583 *Vilna*, prothesis f. 8r; cf. Rud', "Liturgija", p. 174. For the early variations see Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 864, 881, 897-898, 918.

⁵⁵ The right side is prescribed in the prothesis of 1604 *Balaban*, p. 21; 1617 *Mamonyč*, [f. 10v]; 1736 *Kiev*, f. 48r-49r; 1754 *Černihiv*, f. 48v-49v; 1762 *Kiev*, f. 45r. The left side is given in the prothesis of 1583 *Vilna*, f. 17v; 1629 *Kiev*, p. 119; 1637 *Lviv*, p. 10; 1639 *Kiev*, p. 186; 1646 *Lviv*, f. 82; 1691 *Lviv*, f. 59r; 1712 *Lviv*, f. 59r.

⁵⁶ 1583 *Vilna*, prothesis f. 19; cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 89.

IV. THE WATER AND THE WINE

1. *Poured Together*

One notable difference between POL and contemporary Catholic Ruthenian practice is not mentioned in OBS. In POL the deacon is instructed to pour the water and wine together into the chalice, asking the priest at the same time to bless “the union”; the priest blesses this but without any spoken formula. The same is found in BEN and in today’s practice.⁵⁷

This is the basic manner of pouring given in all Orthodox Ruthenian editions and the 1617 *Mamonyč* text. In the 1583 *Vilna* editions the priest responds to the deacon’s request to bless with the formula:

Because these three, spirit, blood, and water are one, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

Similar examples are found in other early ms služebnyky.⁵⁸

The 1604 *Balaban*, 1617 *Mamonyč*, and 1637 *Lviv* texts, like POL, instruct the deacon to pour the water and wine into the chalice. The *Mamonyč* text stipulates only as much wine as needed — “jelyko na potrebu” — and little water — “zilo malo”.⁵⁹ The Ruthenian Nikonian editions also give the rubrics in the same manner.⁶⁰ The Mohylan texts formulate the rubrics slightly differently, telling the deacon to pour the water and wine into the chalice, if they have not already been previously combined into one container; the priest blesses them saying nothing while the deacon pours.⁶¹

The 1617 *Mamonyč Nauka* suggests a change from this traditional manner of pouring the water and wine together, found even in its own prothesis rite. The *Nauka* says to pour only a very few drops of water into the wine during the prothesis.

Času proskomydiy tež majetsja malo barzo tolko kroplju do vyna ulyvaty vody.⁶²

The rubrics for pouring the water and the wine in the Borgia ms are divided into four parts: 1) the deacon holds the wine together with the water in his hand; 2) these are already combined in one vessel; 3) or they are in two

⁵⁷ POL, f. 253v-254r; BEN, p. 27-28; 1942 *Rome*, p. 176-177.

⁵⁸ 1583 *Vilna*, prothesis f. 18v-19r; cf. Ruđ, “Liturgija”, p. 175. Other examples from early Slavic mss are found in Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 90-92.

⁵⁹ 1604 *Balaban*, prothesis p. 24; 1617 *Mamonyč*, prothesis [f. 11v]; cf. Ruđ, “Liturgija”, p. 175.

⁶⁰ See the prothesis in 1670 *Moscow*, f. 74v-75r; 1736 *Kiev*, f. 49v; 1754 *Černihiv*, f. 49v; 1762 *Kiev*, f. 54v.

⁶¹ See the prothesis in 1629 *Kiev*, p. 120-121; 1639 *Kiev*, p. 188-189; 1646 *Lviv*, f. 83; 1653 *Kiev*, f. 94v-95r; 1666 *Lviv*, f. 92; 1681 *Lviv*, f. 93; 1691 *Lviv*, f. 95v.

⁶² 1617 *Mamonyč, Nauka*, [f. 12v].

separate vessels; 4) the priest blesses them and the deacon pours the wine and a little water into the chalice. The second rubric was then crossed out by the Borgia ms corrector, meaning that the clarification from the Mohylan tradition was considered unnecessary.⁶³

The 1671 *Ecphonemata* mentions in its brief notes on the prothesis that the priest pours the water and the wine, even though a deacon is present. Pilixovs'kyj in his ms also assigns the pouring to the priest.⁶⁴

2. *Poured Separately*

Žoxovs'kyj gives a different rubric, which became the regular practice among the Catholics up to Lisovs'kyj's time (and up to the 1942 *Rome* edition). The priest pierces the ahnec, saying "And one of the soldiers pierced his side with a lance"; then the priest pours as much wine as needed into the chalice, continuing the prayer, "and immediately blood poured forth"; the priest then blesses the water (he had not blessed the wine), and pours in very little — "velmy malo" — continuing the prayer, "and water. An eyewitness has given this testimony and his testimony is true".⁶⁵

The 1712 *Lviv* edition, printed after the Stauropegia Brotherhood had accepted the Union, gives the Mohylan rubrics for this pouring. When the *Lviv* texts were examined by Polycarp Fylypovyč, he noted that the wine and the water were to be mixed previously by the deacon without the priest's blessing, and then poured by the deacon into the chalice. This Mohylan rubric for pouring went against the Zamostja legislation, and Fylypovyč included this among the criticisms of the Stauropegia editions he sent to Rome in 1727.⁶⁶ This point was also included in Metropolitan A. Šeptyc'kyj's letter of 4 May 1738, concerning the corrections to be made in the Ruthenian liturgical books.⁶⁷

The 1712 *Lviv* copy at the PIO has these Mohylan rubrics, but they have been scratched out by hand. In the 1712 *Lviv* copy at FRAN (photocopy and microfilm), the folio has been reprinted and inserted into the original *služebnyk* with the Šeptyc'kyj change.⁶⁸

The Zamostja synod considered the point serious enough to legislate on it. Only the priest, it states, and not the server is to pour the water and the wine directly into the chalice; they are not to be mixed previously. In summer

⁶³ Borgia ms, f. 65; cf. Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 129.

⁶⁴ 1671 *Ecphonemata*, CHR [f. 1r]; cf. Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 198 (Pilixovs'kyj ms n. 192 f. 223v).

⁶⁵ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, prothesis f. 81v.

⁶⁶ Cf. *LE*, 5: 273. See chapter 2, p. 100-103, where we discussed Fylypovyč's report.

⁶⁷ Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 62-64, with a passage from the letter.

⁶⁸ 1712 *Lviv*, prothesis f. 59v in both copies.

this is to be done during the prothesis rite, while in winter it can be done just before the Great Entrance (due to the problem of freezing in unheated churches).⁶⁹

Xojnackij was quick to point out the similarity of this practice (like most variants) with the Latin Rite usage. The parallels are there, especially in the blessing only of the water and not the wine.⁷⁰ But it should be noted that in the Byzantine tradition the deacon has not always been the one who poured, nor has the formula found in POL and most other texts been the only one.

Like other rites in CHR, the prothesis has undergone constant evolution through the centuries with changes in rubrics, prayers, and celebrants. Taft states, "we have considerable evidence for the fact that the prothesis was once within the competence of the deacons". He also notes that Symeon of Thessalonika († 1429) forbade deacons from performing the prothesis, which means that they had been doing it.⁷¹

One other example can be added here, from the work of Nicholas Cabasilas (14th century), *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, in which he specifically mentions that the priest pours, giving the formula said during this act:

While the priest recalls these events in this way he repeats the words of the Evangelist: "One of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side." The blood and water which flowed from this holy side are also recalled by the priest, who symbolizes them by pouring wine and water into the chalice — another commemoration of the Lord — and saying the words: "And forthwith there came out blood and water."⁷²

Examples of similar combinations of pouring water and wine with today's prayer for the piercing are found in Goar, Petrovskij, and Mandalà.⁷³ Once again, that which Žoxovs'kyj prescribes harmonizes both with Latin practice and past usage in the Byzantine tradition.

One further concern throughout Ruthenian liturgical history was over the wine used for the liturgy. The difficulty in obtaining pure grape wine was not a problem among the Ruthenians alone. The patriarchal synod in Constantinople in 1276 allowed for the use of juice pressed from grapes if no wine was available. And Patriarch Job of Moscow (1586-1605) sanctioned the

⁶⁹ SPZ, Tit. 3, §4: "De celebratione missarum", p. 71.

⁷⁰ Cf. Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 64.

⁷¹ Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 274. For the passage in Symeon of Thessalonika see *PG*, 155: 290A-D.

⁷² Nicholas Cabasilas, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, transl. J.M. Hussey and P.A. McNulty, London 1960, p. 37-38. (*PG*, 150: 386A-B).

⁷³ Cf. Goar, p. 86; Mandalà, *Protesi*, p. 103; Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 874, 898, 918-919.

probably existing use of cherry wine, due to the difficulty in obtaining grape wine for mass.⁷⁴

Sakowicz accused the Ruthenians of using vinegar, cider, and fruit juices in place of wine, but the Orthodox denied that this was the practice. Sakowicz also suggested that in winter the chalice could be kept in a warm house before the liturgy; then at the prothesis only a little wine should be poured in, and the rest added with a little warm water at the sanctus. He also suggested that the server could heat a white purificator which the priest could wrap around the chalice to keep it warm, or else heat an iron bar to prevent the chalice from freezing.⁷⁵

In 1666 the Latin bishop of Xolm wrote to Rome that the Catholic Ruthenians were using various fruit juices instead of wine for the eucharist.⁷⁶ And the Peremyšl synod of 1693 instructed deans to see that the wine used for mass was not spoiled or sour.⁷⁷ *Praxis Indebita* also complained about the wine, saying that juice from apples and pears, plus sour and mouldy wine, were being used. Grimaldi and Trombetti agreed in their reply that this did occur at times.⁷⁸

In 1716 Leo Kyška included cherry wine among the other substitutes already listed, which he said the pastors used due to the shortage of grape wine.⁷⁹ Zamostja followed this up by decreeing that only pure wine could be used, mixed with nothing else. For this reason it was not to be purchased from the Jews.⁸⁰

The 1740 Peremyšl synod repeated the Zamostja decree, while the 1760 Lviv theology manual says that the wine could be old or new, red or white, but it must be unadulterated.⁸¹ The 1791 Basilian Constitution also calls for unadulterated wine not purchased from the Jews.⁸²

All these examples indicate that poor quality wine and various fermented fruit juices were being used repeatedly for the eucharist. A good dose of water could always help to dilute the taste of mouldy or acidic wine. Water could also help to stretch out a minimal amount of expensive, good quality wine. The insistence on both good bread and proper, unadulterated wine for the eucharist reflected the use of poor quality substitutes. Celebrants would also tend to use sparingly what they did have of the proper ingredients.

⁷⁴ Cf. *Russkaja istoričeskaja biblioteka*, 6 (St. Petersburg 1908): 138; *Izvestija Rossijskoj akademii nauk*, 22 (1917): 1-9; Krajcar, "A Report", p. 90.

⁷⁵ Cf. Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, p. 15, 39; *Lithos*, p. 61-62.

⁷⁶ *LE*, 2: 265.

⁷⁷ Cf. Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 19.

⁷⁸ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1: 145, 156.

⁷⁹ *EM*, 4: 60.

⁸⁰ *SPZ*, Tit. 3, §3: "De eucharistia", p. 68.

⁸¹ Cf. Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 48; *Bohoslovija npravoučitel'naja*, p. 45.

⁸² Cf. *Codex Constitutionum*, p. 130.

A final note concerns the colour of the wine. Around 1726 Macarius Timofijiv, an Orthodox Ruthenian hierodeacon, who wandered through various monasteries in Kiev, Černihiv, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, submitted a list of criticisms of the liturgical practices in the Ruthenian Church to the Russian Holy Synod. His complaints were against the Orthodox in Kiev and Černihiv, with whom he had been in direct conflict, and against the Catholic Ruthenians in general. He accused the Ruthenians of using white wine for the liturgy, following the custom of the Polish Catholics, while the proper type, he said, was red wine, since it was the colour of blood. Macarius' objection is not commonly found in other sources, probably since the concern was whether or not wine was being used at all, while colour and type of wine was of secondary importance.⁸³

V. THE PARTICLES AND THE COMMEMORATION OF THE SAINTS

Once the number of particles was based on the number of communicants (if any) and pre-cut particles introduced, the traditional rubrics given in the prothesis for the division of the prosphora for the saints, the living, and the dead, lost their significance. It is not surprising that the post-Žoxovs'kyj služebnyky refer only in general terms to the particles cut for the commemorations. They no longer give any indication of the number of prosphoras to be used. But was this the only reason Žoxovs'kyj had for giving these apparently new rubrics?

1. *The Position of the Particles*

POL has all the particles placed either on the right side of the ahnec or below it, while the Žoxovs'kyj texts put the Marian particle on the right and the others on the left or below the ahnec, as today's rubrics prescribe.⁸⁵ The *1617 Mamonyč* and the Orthodox Ruthenian texts give various explanations, which reflect the still formative state of this rite.⁸⁵ Balaban tried to settle an apparent disagreement in his day by giving two diagrams, showing the incorrect and the correct arrangement.⁸⁶ His "incorrect" diagram was reprinted by all the texts in the Mohylan tradition, namely, the Marian particle is on the right of the ahnec (like today), but then the other particles are

⁸³ Cf. Barsov, "Ierodijakon Majarij", p. 675.

⁸⁴ POL, f. 253v-255r; 1692 Žoxovs'kyj, prothesis f. 81v-82v.

⁸⁵ For the various arrangements see Mandalà, *Protesi*, p. 150-153; Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 874.

⁸⁶ 1604 Balaban, prothesis p. 24, 26. On p. 59-67 following the prothesis a further explanation is given on the particles and their positions.

placed below it and the ahnec. Yet the rubric in the text says to put Mary on the right — “odesnuju xliba” — while the saints are to be placed on the left — “na livoj strani xliba” — and the others below.⁸⁷

Once again the 1617 *Mamonyč* text, which gives no diagram, agrees with POL and prescribes Mary and the saints to be placed all on the right of the ahnec.⁸⁸ Thus Mamonyč and POL follow the “incorrect” Balaban diagram.

Neither the 1519 *Venice* nor the 1583 *Vilna* editions give diagrams. Their rubrics are identical, placing the particles for Mary and the saints all on the left of the ahnec. In both texts only one particle is indicated for the long list of saints.⁸⁹

In his description of the 1598 *Vilna služebnyk* (which he mistook for the 1617 *Vilna* Holy Spirit Orthodox edition), Rodosskij notes that it differs from the 1583 *Vilna* text by placing the particle for Mary on the right, and an undetermined number of particles for the saints on the left. It also uses five prosphoras, while the 1583 *Vilna* text gives the traditional number of seven used by the Ruthenians. The undetermined number of particles for the saints Rodosskij mentions could have been the single particle seen both above and in the following examples.⁹⁰

The two diagrams given in the Sipovič pontifical from the seventeenth century, which also do not indicate the number of prosphoras, place the particle for Mary on the right, those for the saints on the left, and for the living and dead below the ahnec. These are the positions used today. But in both diagrams only one particle is depicted for the saints, while many are given for the living and the dead. (The saints normally receive nine particles in three rows in the Mohylan and Nikonian diagrams.) Sipovič thought this was unique to his ms, at least for a diagram, but the same appears in the text of the 1602 and 1646 *Moscow služebnyky*, where in spite of a long list of saints only one particle is placed on the left at the end of the commemorations. Here too the Marian particle is placed on the right.⁹¹

The Žoxovs'kyj tradition prescribes the same positions, but provides no diagram: Mary on the right, the saints on the left, the living and the dead below. Žoxovs'kyj also indicates only the general use of the particles for all the saints, similar to the other examples that mention only one particle. This variation in the number of particles for the saints could easily have provoked

⁸⁷ 1629 *Kiev*, prothesis p. 121-131; 1691 *Lviv*, prothesis f. 60r-65v.

⁸⁸ 1617 *Mamonyč*, prothesis [f. 12v-16r].

⁸⁹ 1519 *Venice*, [f. 6v-7r]; 1583 *Vilna*, prothesis f. 20r-22r.

⁹⁰ A. Rodosskij, *Opisanie staropečatnyx i cerkovno-slavjanskix knig xranjaščixsja v biblioteke S. Peterburgskoj duxovnoj akademii: vypusk pervyj 1491-1700*, St. Petersburg 1891, p. 75-77, n. 57.

⁹¹ Cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 174 (ms f. 30v-31r); 1602 *Moscow*, [f. 22v-25r]; 1646 *Moscow*, prothesis f. 95r-97v.

Žoxovs'kyj's explanatory note, which we saw earlier, on how many particles to use for the prothesis.⁹²

The Ruthenian Nikonian editions follow the placement of the particles given in the pre-Nikonian Muscovite texts, providing the same diagram we find today in our texts. Such a diagram is found in the *1670 Moscow* text.⁹³

None, it seems, ever followed the "correct" Balaban diagram, where a particle for Mary and nine for the saints are put together on the left of the ahnec, with those for the living and dead placed below.⁹⁴

2. *The Commemorations*

OBS is also concerned with who is *not* commemorated in POL. POL omits commemorations of the holy cross and of the angels, which Ruthenians included immediately after Mary (XVII.2). Found in Greek sources as well, these are included in the *1519 Venice* edition, as well as the *1583 Vilna*, *1604 Balaban*, and the Žoxovs'kyj texts. The *1617 Mamonyč služebnyk* omits both the cross and angels, just like POL, while the Mohylan texts omit the holy cross, since Mohyla himself could not find it in any of the Greek or older Slavic mss or Muscovite sources that he consulted. He adds that, in any case, the holy cross cannot "pray for us".⁹⁵ The Ruthenian Nikonian texts also omit the holy cross and the angels.

POL includes names that the Ruthenians were not accustomed to. Together with John the Baptist and the other prophets referred to in general, POL adds Moses, Aaron, Elijah, Elisha, David, Jesse, the three holy youths, and Daniel. The Žoxovs'kyj texts list only John the Baptist and the other prophets in general (XVII.3). The full list of prophets is found only in the *1617 Mamonyč* text and the Borgia ms — both Catholic sources. All Orthodox texts mention either John the Baptist alone or add "and all holy prophets".⁹⁶

Among the church fathers and bishops commemorated, POL does not include Josaphat Kuncevyč, who especially should have been included according to OBS, since he had been archbishop of Polock (XVII.4). The Žoxovs'kyj texts, like the Borgia ms, all include Kuncevyč.

OBS objects to POL's including Athanasius of Athos among the monastic

⁹² *1692 Žoxovs'kyj*, prothesis f. 81v-82r. 83v.

⁹³ See the prothesis in *1670 Moscow*, f. 74r; *1736 Kiev*, f. 49v; *1754 Černihiv*, f. 49v; *1762 Kiev*, f. 45v.

⁹⁴ According to Ruđ, "Liturgija", p. 174-175 only the *1637 Lviv* text gave a diagram that corresponds to the instruction in the text.

⁹⁵ Cf. Xojnackyj, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 71. We were unable to check the Mohyla preface, since it is missing from the text available at the PIO.

⁹⁶ *1519 Venice*, [f. 6r]; *1602 Moscow*, [f. 23r]; *1617 Mamonyč*, prothesis [f. 12v]; Borgia ms, f. 65v-68v; cf. Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 130.

fathers (XVII.5). POL does not include any of the Kievan or Muscovite saints who appear in other Ruthenian editions. The 1583 and 1598 *Vilna služebnyky* differ on this point, while the Borgia ms gives names mentioned in no other Ruthenian source.⁹⁷ The Mohylan texts keep to the list from the 1629 *Kiev* edition, and the Balaban and the 1617 *Mamonyč* texts, like POL, give none of the Muscovite or Kievan entries. In criticizing the list in POL, OBS follows the list of names given in the Žoxovs'kyj tradition, although the Žoxovs'kyj commemorations are actually much closer to POL's than to the Mohylan list.

Metropolitan Kolenda omitted from his 1670 *časoslov* the Kievan saints not found in the Latin calendar of saints. According to some authors, Žoxovs'kyj also omitted the Kievan saints from his *služebnyk* for the same reason.⁹⁸ But we should note that the inclusion or exclusion of saints may also have been motivated by variations in the liturgical texts.

The acceptance of various saints was disputed among the Catholic Ruthenians. The sixteenth Basilian chapter held in 1709 called for the celebration of the office for Theodosius and Anthony of the Kiev Pečers'ka Lavra, plus the offices for Metropolitans Peter and Alexis, John of Sučeva, "and all those who lived in the Ruthenian Church during its time of union with Rome".⁹⁹ In 1711 Kyška criticized the Supraśl monks for failing to observe the feasts of these saints.¹⁰⁰ But four years later he criticized the newly united eparchies for commemorating "schismatic saints", which he did not list.¹⁰¹ If there was uncertainty whether these saints were to be included in the calendar, a certain degree of hesitancy can also be expected at the mass.¹⁰²

The final saint to be commemorated in POL is either John Chrysostom or Basil the Great, depending on whose liturgy is being celebrated. This last commemoration is given by no other Ruthenian text, except for those of the Ruthenian Nikonian tradition. Even the 1617 *Mamonyč služebnyk*, identical to POL in many other features, does not include Basil or Chrysostom at this point.

⁹⁷ Cf. Leonid, *Bibliografičeskaja zametka*, p. 12; Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 130.

⁹⁸ Cf. Wawryk, "Cerkovni drukarni", p. 119-120; Praszko, *De ecclesia*, p. 279.

⁹⁹ "Aby o śś. Antonim Theodozým Pieczarskich, Pietrze, Alexim, metropolitach, y o Janie Soczawskim, iako o tych którzy stante unione Roxolanae ecclesiae cum Romana żyli y znayduią się in Anno Caelesti, odprawowane było officium divinum, gdy ich święto przypadnie." *AS*, 12: 164.

¹⁰⁰ *LE*, 5: 65.

¹⁰¹ *EM*, 4: 49.

¹⁰² For further information on the question of the calendar for the Ruthenians, see: Odincov, *Porjadok bogosluženia*, p. 187-189, 195-197; Praszko, *De ecclesia*, p. 274-275, 279, 302; Raes, "Première édition", p. 521; Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 116, 139; Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 44-56.

VI. COMMEMORATION OF THE LIVING AND THE DEAD

As there was variety in commemorating the saints, so also there was variation in the remembrances made of the living and the dead. This is only natural, since it involved different civil leaders, religious superiors, benefactors, those for whom prayers had been requested, and their particular intentions. Consequently, each služebnyk or tradition has its own formulation. At least one prosphora is always assigned for the living and one for the dead, though the number of particles cut from each varies.¹⁰³

1. *The Living*

For the living the list in POL includes: all orthodox bishops, the local bishop, priests, deacons, all priestly orders, plus religious superiors, concelebrating priests, deacons, and all brothers. All these receive one particle. Then the priest commemorates whomever he wishes of the living by name, offering another particle.¹⁰⁴

By comparison, the 1583 *Vilna* edition gives a much longer list, including the civil leaders and several groups of the faithful.¹⁰⁵

The 1604 *Balaban* služebnyk ends the commemoration for the living with the verse found here for the first time:

Lord Jesus Christ, accept this sacrifice for the remission of the sins of your servant N.N.¹⁰⁶

This formula for the celebrant's particular intention for the living is not given in POL, which has only the rubric for the priest to commemorate whomever he wishes of the living, offering a particle for them. But Balaban's verse is given in subsequent Ruthenian editions with the exception of those of the Nikonian tradition. Thus the 1617 *Mamonyč* edition would be identical with POL were it not for the former's addition of the ruler — "o blahočestyvim y xrystoljubyvym hospodary našem N.N." — and the Balaban verse.¹⁰⁷

The 1691 *Lviv* text, like others in the Mohylan tradition, first lists "all orthodox bishops", then the four oriental patriarchs and their higher and lower assistants, and the rest as given in POL, including the ruler (tsar) and family.¹⁰⁸ These Mohylan texts also end with Balaban's verse. With the change

¹⁰³ Cf. Rud, "Liturgija", p. 176, where some figures are given. See also Bocian, "De modificationibus", p. 954-955; Mandalà, *Protesi*, p. 118-120; Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 874.

¹⁰⁴ *POL*, f. 254v-255r.

¹⁰⁵ 1583 *Vilna*, prothesis f. 22v-24v.

¹⁰⁶ 1604 *Balaban*, prothesis p. 27.

¹⁰⁷ 1617 *Mamonyč*, prothesis [f. 14v-15v].

¹⁰⁸ 1691 *Lviv*, prothesis f. 63r-64v.

to the Nikonian tradition, the Orthodox Kievan texts commemorate the Russian Church synod, the oriental patriarchs, the ruling tsar and his family by name, and others listed in POL.¹⁰⁹

The Žoxovs'kyj tradition lists the pope, ruler, local bishop, all orthodox bishops, all priests, deacons, and those in holy orders, plus the monastic categories. It too ends with Balaban's verse, the omission of which from POL is criticized by OBS (XVIII.3.)¹¹⁰

2. *The Dead*

For the dead, POL lists the benefactors, the celebrant's ordaining bishop, and anyone else by name that the celebrant wishes. This ends with the phrase:

and all our deceased orthodox fathers and brothers [departed] in the hope of resurrection, eternal life, and your fellowship, O Lord, lover of men.¹¹¹

This agrees basically with the *1519 Venice*, *1617 Mamonyč*, and the Mohylan texts. In the Žoxovs'kyj tradition only the benefactors and the celebrant's intention are listed, with no mention of the ordaining bishop.¹¹²

The *1583 Vilna* služebnyk gives a much longer list, including civil leaders, patriarchs, all orthodox Ruthenian princes, and all Christians, plus specific intentions, members of "our" families, and all who have died in the hope of the resurrection.¹¹³

The Ruthenian Nikonian editions give the deceased orthodox patriarchs, tsars, and the rest as in POL.¹¹⁴

3. *The Celebrant*

Most Ruthenian editions include a commemoration of the celebrant himself immediately after those for the dead. In POL only the deacon commemorates himself, and in no place does the priest do this. In the *1519 Venice* text we find the following formulation after the list for the dead:

Remember also, O Lord, my unworthiness in the abundance of your mercy, and forgive me all my transgressions, voluntary and involuntary. (Pomjany, Hospody, i moje nedostojnstvo po množestvu ščedrot tvojix i prosty my vsjako prehršenie volnoje že i nevolnoje.)¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ For example, *1762 Kiev*, prothesis f. 48r-49r.

¹¹⁰ *1692 Žoxovs'kyj*, prothesis f. 82.

¹¹¹ POL, f. 254v-255r.

¹¹² *1519 Venice*, [f. 7v-8r]; *1617 Mamonyč*, prothesis [f. 15v-16v]; *1691 Lviv*, prothesis f. 64v-65r; *1692 Žoxovs'kyj*, prothesis f. 82v.

¹¹³ *1583 Vilna*, prothesis f. 24v-25v.

¹¹⁴ For example, *1762 Kiev*, prothesis f. 49r.

¹¹⁵ *1519 Venice*, [f. 8r].

The 1583 *Vilna* služebnyk gives a different variant, but the text is also given after the list of the dead:

Remember, O Lord, in the abundance of your mercy, me also, an unworthy one. Forgive me all my transgressions, voluntary and involuntary. (Pomjany, Hospody, po mnohym ščedrotam tvojim i mene nedostojnaho. Prosty my vsjako prehršeniije volnoje i nevolnoje.)¹¹⁶

In the 1602 *Moscow* edition the priest commemorates himself after the living and not the dead, saying:

Remember, O Lord, in the abundance of your mercy, me also, your unworthy servant N.N., and forgive me all my transgressions, voluntary and involuntary. (Pomjani Gospodī po množestvu milosti tvojeja i mene nedostojnogo raba tvojejo, N.N., i prosti me vsjako pregrešenje volnoje i nevolnoje.)¹¹⁷

The priest then commemorates the dead.

The Balaban, the 1617 *Mamonyč*, and the Mohylan and Žoxovs'kyj texts have the same formula as the 1583 *Vilna* edition, except that they give "my unworthiness" (moje nedostojnstvo).¹¹⁸

The Nikonian texts give a reduced formula:

Remember also, O Lord, my unworthiness, and forgive me all my transgressions, voluntary and involuntary. (Pomjany, Hospody, i moje nedostojnstvo i prosty my vsjakoje sohrišenje volnoje že i nevolnoje.)¹¹⁹

This is identical to the formulation given for the deacon in POL.¹²⁰

4. *The Concelebrants*

The 1604 *Balaban*, the 1617 *Mamonyč*, and Mohylan texts add instructions for concelebrants not found in POL nor mentioned by OBS, since the Žoxovs'kyj tradition does not have them. These instructions are given together with those concerning the deacon's offerings and are placed either following the priest's commemoration of himself or at the end of the prothesis text. The first among the concelebrants is to perform the rite up to the words, "and all in the hope of the resurrection" at the end of the commemoration of the dead. Then each concelebrating priest commemorates himself and whoever he wishes of the living and the dead. After placing the particles on the discos each concelebrant says the verse, "and all in the hope of the resurrection —

¹¹⁶ 1583 *Vilna*, prothesis f. 25v.

¹¹⁷ 1602 *Moscow*, [f. 26r].

¹¹⁸ For examples, see the prothesis in: 1604 *Balaban*, p. 38; 1617 *Mamonyč*, [f. 16v-17r]; 1691 *Lviv*, f. 65; 1692 *Zoxovs'kyj*, f. 82v.

¹¹⁹ For examples, 1762 *Kiev*, prothesis f. 49.

¹²⁰ See also Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 71.

[and the rubric adds] — and the rest as is written below”; then they bow and leave. Among the Russian clergy it is the youngest who performs the prothesis, while for the Ruthenians it is the senior concelebrant.¹²¹

The Ruthenian Nikonian editions have a different formulation of the concelebrants’ rubric, with only one of them performing the prothesis and saying the prayer, while the others say nothing of the prothesis rite. Nothing is said of the concelebrants making any commemorations.¹²²

VII. THE COMMEMORATION OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF

POL nowhere mentions the pope, following BEN exactly, which also makes no mention of the pope in the text of the mass. However, Benedict XIV in *Ex Quo Primum* called for the commemoration of the pope. This and several other changes ordered by Benedict XIV are summarized in the beginning of BEN.¹²³

OBS objects here, since the Catholic Ruthenians already include the pope’s name first among the list of the living (XVIII.2).

Before Lisovs’kyj had given BEN to be translated, he had specifically mentioned the pope’s commemoration as one of the two changes already in use among the Ruthenians which he planned to retain.¹²⁴ After POL was prepared Lisovs’kyj wrote to Nuncio Saluzzo on 2 May 1791, explaining that the pope was not mentioned, just as he was not mentioned in BEN. But, Lisovs’kyj adds, the pope was being commemorated three times in the mass in his Polock eparchy.¹²⁵

Cardinal Antonelli, prefect of Propaganda, wrote to Saluzzo on 11 June 1791 that he was not surprised at the pope’s exclusion from POL, since BEN did not include him. Although Lisovs’kyj had written him that he would include the pope, Antonelli assumed that this was going to be explained in the preface to the fully translated BEN.¹²⁶ Solovey thought that Lisovs’kyj and Turkevych (his vicar, who translated BEN) probably disagreed on this point and that Turkevych purposely had omitted the pope’s name.¹²⁷ The more

¹²¹ This is found in the prothesis of the following: 1604 *Balaban*, p. 41-43; 1617 *Mamonyč*, [f. 18v]; 1629 *Kiev*, p. 143; 1637 *Lviv*, f. 17v; 1639 *Kiev*, p. 221-223; 1646 *Lviv*, f. 99v-100r; 1653 *Kiev*, f. 111v-112r; 1666 *Lviv*, f. 107-v-108r; 1691 *Lviv*, f. 71r; 1681 *Lviv*, f. 110r. Cf. C. Korolevskij, “Le pontifical dans le rite byzantine”, *OCP*, 10 (1944): 204.

¹²² See the prothesis in: 1670 *Moscow*, f. 79r; 1736 *Kiev*, f. 58r; 1754 *Černihiv*, f. 58r; 1762 *Kiev*, f. 53v.

¹²³ *BEN*, p. 3-4.

¹²⁴ *EM*, 9: 192.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

¹²⁶ *LSCPF*, 7: 49-51.

¹²⁷ Cf. Solovey, *De reformatione*, p. 77-78.

probable explanation is that given by Antonelli, since POL follows BEN so closely in everything else.

The addition of the pope's name to Catholic Ruthenian texts was a gradual process. The first mention of the practice is given by the first Basilian procurator in Rome, Philip Novak, in 1626.

We put the name of the pope in two places in our mass — when the deacon sings in a loud voice when the metropolitan celebrates — to distinguish ourselves from the schismatics, who pray to God for the schismatic patriarchs; thus the name of the pope, which up to now has been foreign and hateful, will become common and pleasing.¹²⁸

Novak is here referring only to a mass celebrated by the metropolitan, since traditionally in the Byzantine Rite a celebrant commemorates only his immediate superior.

In *Perspectiwa* (1642) Sakowicz criticizes Catholic Ruthenian priests, monks, and bishops for not commemorating the pope; only the metropolitan did so, he says, when celebrating mass.¹²⁹

The first liturgical text in which we find the pope commemorated is the Sipovič pontifical. Here, if the metropolitan is celebrating, the commemorations are prescribed during the ektené, during the preparation of the gifts at the Great Entrance where both the reigning pontiff and the deceased are remembered (but not during the Great Entrance procession itself), during the anaphora commemorations, and after the anaphora if the acclamations (polychronion, mnoholitstvija) are taken.¹³⁰

At the Basilian chapter held in Žyrovyci in 1661 Bishop Jakiv Suša, newly elected protoarchimandrite and a staunch supporter of traditional ritual observance, proposed to the Basilians that not only the metropolitan, but all bishops and priests should commemorate the pope, as, he said, had been done by the Greeks before the schism. This would be a sign of the obedience of the Ruthenians to the pope. Just as the Orthodox commemorated the patriarchs first and then the local bishop, so too the Catholics should commemorate the pope first and then the local bishop. Bishop Suša had already convinced the pastors in his eparchy of Xolm to do this. The Basilians accepted his proposal and according to the chapter acts they introduced the practice the very next day.¹³¹

This by no means became a universal practice immediately, and one even wonders to what extent the pope was commemorated in Suša's Xolm eparchy.

¹²⁸ *LB*, 1: 11.

¹²⁹ This is found in the dedication to Stanislaus Lubomirski; cf. Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, f. 5. This passage is also given in Golubev, *Petr Mogila*, 2: 322.

¹³⁰ Cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 182-184 (ms f. 22v-23r, 29v-31r, 42v-44r).

¹³¹ *AS*, 12: 72.

The Latin bishop of the same diocese and his cathedral chapter complained in 1663 that the Ruthenians commemorated the king but not the pope.¹³² The *1671 Ecphonemata* gives the pope's name only in the acclamations at the end of the mass. Yet this work was written by Pachomius Ohilevyč, who had been elected vicar general to Suša at the 1661 Basilian chapter.¹³³

The Borgia ms služebnyk lists the pope in the prothesis at the commemoration of the living, but his name is placed only after the four oriental patriarchs, given according to the Mohylan formula. The Latin text in Borgia reads:

Memento clementissime Domine episcopatus fidelium quatuor patriarcharum sanctae orientalis ecclesiae et cuncti post eos superioris ac inferioris ordinis ecclesiastici. Memento Domine Universalis Pontificis nostri, N.N., episcopi N.N., [...] ¹³⁴

The Borgia ms corrector subsequently gave an indication in the margin that the commemoration of the patriarchs was to be eliminated, leaving the commemoration of the pope in first place.

The pope is listed in the prothesis by Pilixovs'kyj († 1693) in his služebnyk, while another seventeenth century Vilna ms includes the pope in the anaphora commemorations.¹³⁵

The variations in commemorating the pope in the mass were reduced to a fixed pattern in the Žoxovs'kyj edition. He includes the pope in the list of the living in the prothesis, in the ektené, at the Great Entrance, in the anaphora, and at the concluding polychronion.¹³⁶ The pope was never listed in the Litany of Peace during the eighteenth century.

Although the printed texts following the Žoxovs'kyj tradition are consistent here, the Vilna ms služebnyky continue to vary as to if and when the pope is to be included.¹³⁷

On 10 April 1715 Metropolitan Kyška sent to Propaganda a list of corrections for the služebnyky used by the newly united eparchies of Peremyšl, Lviv, and Luc'k. He refers to the commemoration of the oriental patriarchs which implied the recognition of their jurisdiction over these Ruthenians according to Kyška.¹³⁸

The Synod of Zamostja decreed in 1720 that in order to demonstrate

¹³² *LE*, 2: 266.

¹³³ *1671 Ecphonemata*, CHR f. 22v-23r.

¹³⁴ Borgia ms, f. 68v; Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 125.

¹³⁵ Cf. Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 199 (mss n. 192 f. 223, n. 190 f. 25v).

¹³⁶ *1692 Žoxovs'kyj*, prothesis f. 82r; CHR f. 87v, 90r, 94v, 98v.

¹³⁷ Cf. Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 198, 204 (mss n. 194 f. 6, n. 199 f. 2 give it for the prothesis; ms n. 194 f. 24v gives it for the anaphora; mss n. 195, 196, and 197 have no mention at all).

¹³⁸ *EM*, 4: 49.

better the union of the members with their head, the pope was to be commemorated everywhere in the dyptychs and during the Great Entrance loudly and clearly.¹³⁹ The synod did not specify just where the pope's name was to be included.

The failure of the Lviv *Stauropedia* to mention the pope in its liturgical books — which were probably those Kyška was referring to — was pointed out by Policarp Fylypovyč in 1727. He accused the *Stauropedia* of retaining its former affection for the oriental patriarchs even after its acceptance of the Union in 1709, since it did not replace their commemorations with that of the pope, thus ignoring the Zamostja decision. Fylypovyč first made a general complaint about this and then referred specifically to the 1712 Lviv *služebnyk*, where the patriarchs (but not the pope) were included in the preamble, the *ektené* of vespers, the Great Entrance, and the anaphora.¹⁴⁰ He did not mention the prothesis, where the patriarchs were commemorated and not the pope. Together with the other criticisms of the Lviv editions made by Fylypovyč, these were included by Metropolitan A. Šeptyc'kyj in his letter of 4 May 1738 on the corrections to be made in liturgical books.¹⁴¹ In the FRAN copy of the 1712 Lviv *služebnyk*, which had the respective pages reprinted to accord with these changes, the pope is listed for the Great Entrance and the anaphora, as Fylypovyč had wanted, but no addition has been made to the prothesis, where only the four oriental patriarchs are mentioned. In the Litany of Peace and the *ektené* only the local bishop is listed.¹⁴²

Metropolitan Hrebnyč'kyj wrote on 17 February 1753 that the pope's name was pronounced three times during the mass, giving the faithful an opportunity to pray for him in their own Rite. (He was countering critics who wanted the Catholic Ruthenians to pass to the Latin Rite.)¹⁴³ The inclusion of the pope was not an unreasonable matter by any means, since both civil and religious leaders were always mentioned in the liturgy.

VIII. THE DEACON'S COMMEMORATIONS

Perhaps the clearest departure POL makes from Ruthenian practice is to allow the deacon to make commemorations from the *prosporas* of himself

¹³⁹ Cf. *SPZ*, Tit. 1: "De fide catholica", p. 55.

¹⁴⁰ *LE*, 5: 261-274.

¹⁴¹ Cf. "Pastyr's'ke poslannja 3 travnaja 1941 r.: pro obrjady", *Pys'ma-poslannja Mytropoljta A. Šeptyc'koho ČSVV, z časiv nimec'koji okupaciji* (= *Logos: Supplementum Homileticum ad Logos*) 3 (1964): 152; Amvrosij, "Zamojskij sobor", p. 420-421, 426.

¹⁴² 1712 Lviv, prothesis f. 63r; CHR f. 92r, 105v.

¹⁴³ *EM*, 4: 323.

and whomever he wishes. Lisovs'kyj would have been hard pressed to find any precedent in the Ruthenian Church for this practice during the previous two hundred years. OBS points this out and adds that even though Goar gives examples of this practice in his "variae lectiones", he notes that this was not the practice in Constantinople (XIX.2-3). And not everyone agreed with Benedict XIV, when he allowed this rubric in his euchology.¹⁴⁴

We already referred to the role of the deacon in the prothesis when discussing the pouring of the water and wine, as well as the commemorations made by the celebrants. Although Greek and early Slavic sources did allow for this practice, it had been prohibited in Rus' by the 1273 Synod because of abuses in the Novgorod eparchy.¹⁴⁵

It is permitted in the 1519 *Venice* služebnyk, but the 1583 *Vilna* edition, in many ways similar to the Venetian text, forbids it.¹⁴⁶ The 1604 *Balaban*, 1617 *Mamonyč*, 1637 *Lviv*, and the Mohylan editions give an explanation of this at the end of the prothesis. It refers to the Council of Nicea's supposed ban on the deacon celebrating the prothesis or making any commemorations, since the priest is the one ordained to do this. If the deacon wants to make some commemorations, this explanation continues, he is to give two prosphoras to the priest, who is to cut out the particles for the living and the dead which the deacon requests.¹⁴⁷ Sakowicz also refers to this Nicean ban against the deacon making commemorations.¹⁴⁸

Needless to say, Žoxovs'kyj does not include this warning, nor do the other Catholic editions. The Nikonian texts also do not have it.¹⁴⁹

IX. THE SPONGE

Like BEN, POL prescribes the use of the sponge for the prothesis and at the communion, in accordance with traditional Byzantine usage. It is not

¹⁴⁴ On the deacon's commemorations Benedict XIV wrote: "Nec defuerunt qui contenderent expungenda esse ab euchologio verba quae pertinent ad oblationem diaconalem, utpote a schismaticis adjecta [...]. Utrum tollenda esset oblatio, quae a diaconis fiebat ad prothesim in ea autem, quae habita est die 3 Januarii anni 1745 rescriptum fuit, nobis deinde approbantibus, nihil esse innovandum," "Ex Quo Primum", p. 315, § 41, 43. Cf. A. Pellegrini, "Benedetto XIV e le Chiese Orientali", *Roma e l'Oriente*, 8 (1914): 265-269.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Mandalà, *Protesi*, p. 86-96; Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 863. A Latin version of the acts of the Vladimir synod is found in Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, 1: 434-438; see n. 10 on the legislation concerning the deacon.

¹⁴⁶ This is according to Rud, "Liturgija", p. 179; our copy of the 1583 text is defective here.

¹⁴⁷ See the prothesis in: 1604 *Balaban*, p. 39-41; 1617 *Mamonyč*, [f. 17r-18r]; 1629 *Kiev*, p. 142-143; 1639 *Kiev*, p. 221-222; 1646 *Lviv*, f. 98v-99v; 1653 *Kiev*, f. 111; 1666 *Lviv*, f. 107; 1681 *Lviv*, f. 109; 1691 *Lviv*, f. 70v-71r; 1712 *Lviv*, f. 70v-71r. For the 18th canon of the Council of Nicea see Mansi, 2: 675D-E.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, p. 47.

¹⁴⁹ On the minister of the prothesis see Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 257-275.

mentioned for the ablution, since POL gives no detailed rubrics for this.¹⁵⁰ OBS objects to its inclusion in the prothesis of POL, where the deacon is to wipe away the crumbs from the discos, after the particles have been cut and placed (XX.2). OBS cites the Synod of Zamostja, which forbade the use of the sponge to wipe the consecrated particles into the chalice at communion because of the poor quality sponges available to the Ruthenians and the subsequent danger of irreverence to the eucharist, since crumbs could cling to the sponge. Zamostja advised celebrants to clean the discos with their fingers as the Latins did (XX.3).¹⁵¹ We should note here that Zamostja forbade the use of the sponge for wiping the consecrated particles into the chalice at communion; it did not mention its use at the prothesis, where the bread was not yet consecrated and nothing was wiped into the chalice; nor did the synod refer to its use at the ablutions.

All Orthodox Ruthenian služebnyky mention the sponge, as does the 1617 *Mamonyč* text.¹⁵² The *Mamonyč Nauka* also calls for its use for wiping the eucharistic bread into the chalice at communion. The sponge is always to be kept clean and stored in the eiliton after the liturgy.¹⁵³

The sponge did not meet the approval of Sakowicz, who said it was often mouldy and was hung on the wall, since the Ruthenians did not know what to do with it after use. He notes that the služebnyk says to clean the chalice with the sponge and to suck the sponge dry of any moisture. This was still being done in his day by the Catholic Ruthenians and Sakowicz advised them to use a purificator and their fingers in place of the sponge. There should be a supply of purificators on hand so that soiled ones could be changed and washed by the priest. The water from this wash should then be poured where no one walked, a practice already being followed by some Catholic Ruthenians in his day, Sakowicz added.¹⁵⁴

The Orthodox reply to Sakowicz in *Lithos* agreed that some may have kept dirty sponges, but certainly this was not the case everywhere.¹⁵⁵

The visitator sent by Propaganda in 1661 to Sts. Sergius and Bacchus church in Rome noted that a small sponge was kept there on the "corporal". But the local Basilians told him that they now cleaned the discos with two fingers, in the Latin manner.¹⁵⁶

The 1671 *Ecphonemata* makes no mention of the sponge when the priest

¹⁵⁰ POL, f. 254v-255r, 269v-270r; BEN, p. 31, 60.

¹⁵¹ SPZ, Tit. 3, § 4: "De celebratione missarum", p. 72-73.

¹⁵² Cf. Ruđ, "Liturgija", p. 177.

¹⁵³ 1617 *Mamonyč*, *Nauka* [f. 8v, 21v].

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, p. 37-38.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. *Lithos*, p. 109.

¹⁵⁶ MUH, 3: 116.

wipes the particles from the discos into the chalice.¹⁵⁷ The Borgia ms *služebnyk* first lists its use in the prothesis, but then this is crossed out, while no mention at all is made of its use at communion.¹⁵⁸

The derisive attack made by Metropolitan Žoxovs'kyj at the 1680 Lublin Colloquium undoubtedly settled the fate of the sponge among the Catholics. He criticized the Orthodox for using the sponge for cleaning the chalice just like they cleaned a horse.¹⁵⁹ Five years later Peter Kamins'kyj wrote that in Žyrovyci the Basilians were not using the sponge, since the metropolitan had ridiculed it in his printed Colloquium.¹⁶⁰ Žoxovs'kyj excluded any mention of the sponge from his *služebnyk*.

Praxis Indebita repeats Sakowicz's criticism that the Catholic Ruthenians used a sponge to clean the chalice and then hung it up wet where mice, spiders, and dust got into it. Nuncio Grimaldi and rector Trombetti replied in 1720 that the Ruthenians first used a purificator to clean the chalice and then a sponge, which they kept hung on the wall or elsewhere, sometimes leaving it uncovered.¹⁶¹

Both Fylypovyč and Šeptyc'kyj criticized the use of the sponge at communion as the Lviv edition prescribed, since this went against the Zamostja legislation.¹⁶²

Lisovs'kyj not only included the sponge in POL, but, according to the Basilian Dionysius Czaday, he allowed its use in practice.¹⁶³ In this Lisovs'kyj went against general Catholic usage, since Zamostja forbade its use at communion, while the Catholic editions had eliminated it altogether.

X. THE COMPLETION OF THE PROTHESIS

The incensation, covering of the gifts, and dismissal of the prothesis in POL are almost identical to today's rite. One difference is found in the psalm said when placing the first veil over the discos, for which POL gives the first verse of Ps. 92:

The Lord has been enthroned and has clothed himself in splendour; the Lord has clothed himself in power and has girded himself. (Ps. 92:1)

¹⁵⁷ 1671 *Ecphonemata*, CHR [f. 17v-18r]; cf. Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 111.

¹⁵⁸ Borgia ms, f. 71; cf. Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 130.

¹⁵⁹ "Iako więc zażywaią do chędożenia koni"; Žoxovs'kyj, *Colloquium Lubelskie*, p. 28.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Ščurat, *V oboroni Uniji*, p. 90.

¹⁶¹ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1: 147, 158.

¹⁶² Cf. *LE*, 5: 276; Amvrosij, "Zamojskij sobor", p. 425.

¹⁶³ Cf. *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 149, f. 638r.

POL adds that the priest incenses the gifts three times, saying "Blessed is our God who willed this, glory to you." POL gives only the incipit for the offertory prayer, "God our God", and then refers the reader to the full text given at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word.¹⁶⁴ This reflects an ancient usage in many Greek mss. The prothesis prayer was the only element in the original preparation. When the rite began to develop, the new prothesis ceremonies were often put before the liturgy, in a separate "rite of the prothesis", but the offertory prayer remained in its primitive location.

OBS questions why POL puts the offertory prayer at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word when both Greeks and Ruthenians have it at the end of the prothesis, where it makes more sense (XXI.2). OBS also suggests that in the dismissal POL should mention only John Chrysostom's name and not St. Basil's, since their liturgies are different and only CHR is given here in POL (XXI.2.3).

1. *The Asterisk*

The use of the asterisk had been omitted by Catholic Ruthenians for the low mass and by some even for the sung mass. When John Olešev's'kyj made a visitation of the Suprasl' monastery for Leo Kyška in 1711, he criticized the monks for not using the asterisk.¹⁶⁵ He did not elaborate.

The presynodal acts for the 1765 Brest synod called on the hierarchy to ensure that the asterisk be used for all masses and not just for solemn ones.¹⁶⁶ Porfirius Važyns'kyj wrote in *Observatio Brevis* that the Catholics were not using them for low masses, some were not using them even for sung masses, and some churches did not have any asterisk at all!¹⁶⁷

2. *The Veils*

OBS fails to note the psalm for the small veil that goes over the discos, for which POL gives only the first verse, as we saw above. All other Ruthenian texts give the entire psalm, as we have it today.¹⁶⁸ If the asterisk were not used, then the small discos veil would also have been discarded. All liturgical texts refer to three veils, and the Mamonyč *Nauka* also specifies three veils. The 1779 Počajiv *Poučenie* gives the symbolic meanings: the two small veils represent the burial shroud in which Christ's body was wrapped plus the cloth

¹⁶⁴ POL, f. 254v-256r; 1942 Rome, p. 184-189.

¹⁶⁵ LE, 5: 35.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Wiwčaruk, *De synodo*, p. 123.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Važyns'kyj, "Observatio brevis", f. 54v; Italian summary in LSCPF, 5: 164.

¹⁶⁸ See the prothesis in: 1583 Vilna, f. 26v; 1604 Balaban, p. 46-47; 1617 Mamonyč, [f. 20v-21r]; 1629 Kiev, p. 133-134; 1692 Žoxovs'kyj, f. 82v-83r; 1736 Kiev, f. 53v-55r.

put over his face in the tomb; the large veil symbolizes the stone rolled in front of the tomb.¹⁶⁹

Važyns'kyj describes the small discos veil in *Observatio Brevis* as having four sides meant to cover the four parts of the asterisk over the discos. All of these veils were being replaced by the Latin pall and burse, he writes.¹⁷⁰

An oddity of the Černihiv služebnyky, at least before 1726 when hieromonk Macarius submitted his criticisms to the Russian Holy Synod, was the omission of the verse said when covering the chalice with its veil, "Your bounty covered the heavens, and the earth is full of your praises".¹⁷¹ Perhaps this was an omission in printing.

3. *The Incensation*

The order of the incensation is not always the same in the texts. Unlike POL, many texts clearly indicate that the priest blesses the thurible, making the sign of the cross with his right hand. Thus the 1602 *Moscow* edition has the words: "i prekrestit kadilo"; in the 1617 *Mamonyč* služebnyk the rubric is worded: "ijerej blahoslovljaje rukoju kresta obrazni"; the Mohylan texts have: "ijerej že blahoslovljajet rukoju krestoobrazno". The 1604 *Balaban* and the 1637 *Lviv* texts give similar rubrics.¹⁷²

In POL and the pre-Mohylan texts the deacon puts the incense into the thurible first, before asking the priest's blessing, while in the Mohylan texts the deacon first says, "Let us pray to the Lord", the priest blesses the incense, and then the deacon puts the incense into the thurible.¹⁷³

According to POL, after incensing the asterisk and each veil, the priest again takes the thurible and says, "Blessed is our God who willed this, glory be to you." He says this three times while incensing, and the deacon replies, "always, now, and forever and ever, amen." This is identical to the Ruthenian Nikonian texts. Dmitrievskij points out that it was the custom of the Greeks and southern Slavs (Serbians) for the priest and deacon to cross their hands on the breast, bow, and say the prayer "Blessed is our God".¹⁷⁴ We find this in the 1519 *Venice*, 1602 *Moscow*, 1583 *Vilna*, 1604 *Balaban*, 1637 *Lviv*, and the 1646 *Moscow* editions.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹ 1617 *Mamonyč*, *Nauka*, [f. 6v]; *Poučenie*, f. 33r. The *Poučenie* describes both small veils as belonging to the discos.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Važyns'kyj, "Observatio brevis", f. 524; Italian summary in *LSCPF*, 5: 163.

¹⁷¹ Barsov, "Ierodiakon Makarij", p. 676.

¹⁷² See the prothesis in: 1602 *Moscow*, [f. 27r]; 1604 *Balaban*, p. 44; 1617 *Mamonyč*, f. 19v; 1691 *Lviv*, f. 65v; cf. Rud, "Liturgija", p. 177.

¹⁷³ See the prothesis sections in: 1629 *Kiev*, p. 132; 1639 *Kiev*, p. 206-207; 1646 *Lviv*, f. 91v; 1691 *Lviv*, f. 65v.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluzhenie*, p. 99.

¹⁷⁵ See the prothesis in: 1519 *Venice*, [f. 9r]; 1583 *Vilna*, f. 28r; 1602 *Moscow*, [f. 28v-29r]; 1646 *Moscow*, f. 104; 1604 *Balaban*, p. 48-51; cf. Rud, "Liturgija", p. 177-178.

The 1617 *Mamonyč* and the Mohylan editions give the rubric of POL, with incensing during the prayer.¹⁷⁶ Žoxovs'kyj has the priest put the incense into the thurible himself, as in the Latin Rite, but of course no deacon is present for the prothesis in any case. He mentions no incensing of the asterisk or veils, but only during the prayer "Blessed is our God."¹⁷⁷

4. The Offertory Prayer

All the regular služebnyk texts give the offertory prayer, "O God our God", in place in the prothesis. Even Sipovič's pontifical places there the prayer which the bishop says for the prothesis prepared by one of the priests, even though the bishop repeats the rite prior to the Great Entrance procession. The Burčak-Abramovič pontifical, the 1716 *Suprasl'*, and the 1740 *Univ* pontificals all indicate that the bishop performs a full prothesis rite at the Great Entrance with no mention of this rite or its prayers anywhere else.¹⁷⁸ Taft provides a detailed history of the origins of this duplication and confusion in the pontifical liturgy.¹⁷⁹

Žoxovs'kyj has the priest bless the gifts during the offertory prayer, inserting the rubric just before the phrase "bless this offering and receive it". An early example of this practice is noted by Dmitrievskij, and is also found in the 1583 Vilna služebnyk, but in no others prior to Žoxovs'kyj.¹⁸⁰

Following the offertory prayer, some texts have the priest incense the gifts again. In the 1519 *Venice* text the priest incenses the gifts only after the offertory prayer. In the 1602 and 1646 *Moscow* editions the priest says both the offertory prayer and then the troparion "In the tomb", which was normally said by the deacon while incensing. Then, in these Muscovite texts, the priest incenses the gifts three times, after which the deacon opens the holy doors, takes the thurible, and incenses the whole church. While the deacon is incensing, the priest says Ps. 50 according to the 1646 *Moscow* text. The rubrics in the 1646 *Moscow* text read as follows:

posem kadit ijerej svjataja 3 (triždi), i priim kadilo dijakon, otvorjajet carskija dvery i kadit svjatyj prestol okolo krestoobrazno, glagolja k sebe psalom 50 [...] ijerej že stav odesnouju stranou prestola glagolet tojže psalom. Dijakon že kadit

¹⁷⁶ For examples, see the prothesis in: 1617 *Mamonyč*, [f. 21v-22r]; 1629 *Kiev*, p. 135; 1646 *Lviv*, f. 94r; 1653 *Kiev*, f. 106; 1666 *Lviv*, f. 102v; 1691 *Lviv*, f. 67r; cf. Ruđ, "Liturgija", p. 178.

¹⁷⁷ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, prothesis f. 82v-83r. For references to Russian practice when the priest and bishop put the incense into the thurible on certain occasions, see: Nikoľskij, *Posobie*, p. 83; Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 72.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 161-162, 173-176 (ms f. 7v-8r, 28v-32r); B.A. Činovnik, p. 75; 1716 *Suprasl'* pontifical, f. 13v; Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 141.

¹⁷⁹ Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 257-275, especially p. 266-267. He notes that Russian pontificals give the offertory prayer, like POL, at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word.

¹⁸⁰ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, prothesis f. 83r; 1583 *Vilna*, prothesis f. 28; cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 99.

svjataja, i ves' oltar' i stav v carskix dverex kadit nastojatelja i pravij krylos i levij i prjamo zapadnyx dverej i obrašč'sja kadit svjatij prestol i ijereja i otdast kadilo.¹⁸¹

5. *The Dismissal*

The *1583 Vilna*, *1604 Balaban*, and the Mohylan texts give two dismissals, one for the prothesis and a second for the hour of the divine office said by the choir while the prothesis was being prepared.¹⁸² Others, like POL, give only one dismissal. Although the deacon gives the responses for that dismissal, which would be proper for the prothesis, the choir gives the final "Amen", which is proper for the second dismissal.

In the dismissal text we see a minor difference that appears at the end of CHR. In POL the deacon says the "Glory: and now", and an unspecified (or intentional single) "Lord, have mercy", plus "Bless, master – Vladyko blahoslovy". In the *1617 Mamonyč*, there are three "Lord, have mercy", and only "Bless!" The Mohylan texts are the same as Mamonyč for both dismissals, as are also the later Ruthenian Nikonian texts for their single dismissal. The Žoxovs'kyj tradition contains only one dismissal, that of the prothesis. It consists of two "Lord, have mercy" plus, "Lord, bless – Hospody blahoslovy!"

The commemoration of either John Chrysostom or Basil in the dismissal is indicated, as in POL, by the *1617 Mamonyč*, the Mohylan, Žoxovs'kyj, and the Nikonian služebnyky.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ See the prothesis in: *1519 Venice*, [f. 9v]; *1583 Vilna*, f. 29r; *1602 Moscow*, [f. 29v-30r]; *1604 Balaban*, p. 50-51; *1671 Ecphonemata*, CHR [f. 1r]; *1646 Moscow*, f. 105.

¹⁸² See the prothesis dismissal in: *1583 Vilna*, f. 29v, 30v-31r; *1604 Balaban*, p. 53, 57-59; *1639 Kiev*, p. 214, 216; *1646 Lviv*, f. 95r-96r, 97v-98; *1653 Kiev*, f. 107v-108v, 110r-111r; *1666 Lviv*, f. 104r-106v, 108r-109.

¹⁸³ *POL*, f. 251v-252r; *1617 Mamonyč*, prothesis [f. 23r]; *1691 Lviv*, prothesis f. 68r, 70r; *1692 Žoxovs'kyj*, prothesis f. 83r; *1762 Kiev*, prothesis, f. 51v-52r.

CHAPTER 6

PRELIMINARIES TO THE LITURGY OF THE WORD

I. INITIAL PRAYERS AND RUBRICS

1. *POL and OBS*

Once the deacon and priest complete the dismissal of the prothesis in POL, the initial prayers and rubrics given are identical to today's, except that the deacon incenses the whole church in POL, whereas today, besides the altar and sanctuary, the deacon incenses the "icons, choir, and people", according to the formulation of the rubrics.¹

OBS criticizes the inclusion of the troparion "In the tomb", which the deacon says while incensing. According to OBS, the Ruthenian deacons only said Ps. 50 while incensing the altar, sanctuary, and holy icons, even though "In the tomb" is found in Goar (XXIII.2). OBS also points out that the deacon does not kiss the altar just before his dialogue with the priest. Rather, after their dialogue the priest gives the hand cross to the deacon to kiss and only the priest kisses the altar.

2. *Similar Texts*

Two groups from our sources follow POL very closely and can be briefly mentioned first. The 1617 *Mamonyč* služebnyk is practically identical here to POL. It has the deacon incense only the "church" and makes no mention of the iconostasis doors. The *Mamonyč* text repeats some of the rubrics again after the title page for the Liturgy of the Word.² The Nikonian texts also closely resemble POL, but add that after the dialogue the deacon goes out the north door, since the holy doors are not to be opened until the entrance. The Nikonian texts do not mention the doors during the incensation.³

3. *Early Variants and the Pontificals*

The 1519 *Venice* služebnyk, a good reference point as the editio princeps,

¹ *POL*, f. 255v-257r; 1942 Rome, p. 189-192.

² 1617 *Mamonyč*, prothesis [f. 24r-26r], CHR p. 1-2.

³ 1670 *Moscow*, CHR f. 83r-84v; 1736 *Kiev*, CHR f. 56v-58r; 1754 *Černihiv*, CHR f. 56v-58r; 1762 *Kiev*, CHR f. 52r-53v.

also resembles POL quite closely at this point, but after prescribing that the deacon incense the whole church saying “In the tomb” and Ps. 50, it adds a note that on Mount Athos Ps. 50 is said first, followed by “In the tomb”, “As a life-bringer” (Jako žyvonosec), and “Sanctified dwelling place of the Most High God” (Vyšnjaho osvjaščenko Božie selenie).⁴ According to Dmitrievskij and Odincov the use of these troparia was characteristic of Serbian practice.⁵ The first two troparia along with “Noble Joseph” are also given in the Mohylan tradition after the Great Entrance procession when the gifts are placed on the altar.⁶ The Venice edition gives no rubrics for the iconostasis doors here.

Compared to other Ruthenian služebnyky, the 1583 *Vilna* edition differs the most from POL. The deacon incenses the same way as prescribed in POL, but he does not incense the prothesis since the priest has just done that. While incensing, the deacon recites the three above mentioned troparia, followed by Ps. 50. Then he puts the thurible away. After the choir has completed the sixth hour of the divine office, the priest says the dismissal of the prothesis, including the name of John Chrysostom in the final prayer. The priest then recites two additional preparatory prayers attributed to St. Basil:

O Lord our Master and God, desiring to approach now this tremendous and wonderful mystery [...]. (Vladyko Hospody Bože naš, nyny prystupyty xotjašča)
O Lord, deliver me from all my iniquities [...]. (Otymy ot mene vsja bezzakonija moja Hospody)⁷

Both these prayers are found in early Slavic mss but disappeared from later služebnyky.⁸ The first prayer remains in the Ruthenian pontificals. In the 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical it is given as the fifth prayer said by the bishop in his room before he leaves for church. In the Sipovič and Burčak-Abramovič ms pontificals it is found after the bishop has vested and washed his hands, just before he and the clergy begin the regular introductory prayers we know today, beginning with “Heavenly King”.⁹ Following these two prayers in the 1583 *Vilna* text the priest and deacon begin the regular introductory prayers for CHR, but saying first “Blessed is our God always, now, and forever and ever”, and continuing with “Heavenly King”, plus the rest as given in POL. No rubrics for the holy doors are given here.

The 1602 and 1646 *Moscow* služebnyky give fuller rubrics. The priest says

⁴ 1519 Venice, [f. 9v-10v].

⁵ Cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluzhenie*, p. 100; Odincov, “Uniatskoe bogosluzhenie”, p. 198.

⁶ For example, see 1691 *Lviv*, CHR f. 93 (misprinted f. 99).

⁷ 1583 *Vilna*, CHR f. 29v-34r.

⁸ Cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluzhenie*, p. 80-81, 100; Petrovskij, *Rédaction slave*, p. 862-863.

⁹ 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical, f. 2; Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 162 (ms f. 8v-9r); *B.A. Činovnik*, p. 72-73. It is also found in the 1886 *Lviv* Bačyns'kyj pontifical, f. 5.

the offertory prayer, followed immediately by “In the tomb”; next he incenses the gifts. The deacon takes over and opens the holy doors and incenses the altar, sanctuary, and the church (the church is specified as the superior’s place, right and left choir, and towards the west door); finally the deacon incenses the priest and the altar once more. He does all this while reciting only Ps. 50, which, according to the 1646 text, the priest also recites. The deacon puts away the thurible and the priest stands at the holy doors for the dismissal of the sixth hour, in which he mentions John Chrysostom. Then the deacon closes the holy doors, and he and the priest face the altar and perform the rite of forgiveness — “*tvorjat proščenie*”. We shall see what this means in a moment. If the priest celebrates by himself he performs the *proščenie* to the whole church without closing the holy doors. The priest and deacon then say the regular introductory prayers and dialogue with the rubrics given in POL. They also begin these prayers with “Blessed is our God” before the “Heavenly King”. The verse “Glory to God” is said three times, and “Lord, open my lips” is said twice as at matins. The deacon goes out the holy doors and stands at his regular place before them — “*isxodit svjatymi dvermi i stav na obyčnom meste prjamo svjatyx dverej*”.¹⁰

4. *The Forgiveness Rite*

We noted above the rubric “*tvorjat proščenie*” in the Muscovite texts. They give no further explanation or prayers for this *proščenie*. In the Sipovič pontifical, the bishop vests, washes his hands, blesses the prepared gifts, and says today’s offertory prayer for the prothesis, plus the prayer “O Lord our Master and God, desiring to approach”. This is followed by the incensation of the church by the archdeacon, who recites “In the tomb” and Ps. 50. Then we find this rubric:

The bishop, having completed the prayers, bows his head and says to the concelebrants: “Forgive me, reverend fathers, what I have sinned in word, deed, and thought, and in all my reflections, and give your blessing.” The priests bow their head and say: “May God absolve you, o holy father, with his grace.” The bishop and priests cross themselves and begin the introductory prayers with “Blessed is our God [...] Heavenly King”, etc.¹¹

In the Burčak-Abramovič pontifical, after the bishop washes his hands, he says the prayer “O Lord our Master and God, desiring to approach”. Immediately after this (at least according to Burčak-Abramovič’s indication), the bishop bows to the priest and says, “Forgive me fathers and bless, and

¹⁰ 1602 *Moscow*, [f. 29r-31v]; 1646 *Moscow*, CHR f. 105v-106v.

¹¹ Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 24-27 (ms f. 8v-10r).

pray for me a sinner.” The priests reply: “Through the grace of the Holy Spirit” (blahodatiju svjatoho). The bishop blesses the priests with his hand saying “May God forgive you by his grace”, and they all begin the regular introductory prayers from “Heavenly King”.¹²

The 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical, we said, gives the prayer “O Lord our Master and God, desiring to approach” among those said by the bishop in his room. But it retains this forgiveness rite after the vesting (and the pontifical blessing in the four directions), when the bishop bows and says much the same as in the *Burčak-Abramovič* ms.¹³

This now helps to clarify the forgiveness rite seen earlier in the Mohylan tradition, before the priests enters the sanctuary to vest. Mohyla either may have moved the rite there for the convenience of the priest, who could say this with the people before he began to vest — especially if no deacon was present — or it may have occurred at this point in Mohyla’s sources, as it does in the example given by Petrovskij from the fifteenth century.¹⁴

5. *The Balaban and Mohylan Texts*

In the 1604 *Balaban* and Mohylan editions, the initial prayers and rubrics agree with those of POL until after the dialogue, when the deacon stands before the holy doors. At this point the deacon opens the holy doors and the priest gives the second dismissal for the hours of the divine office. More rubrics are then given at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word.

According to the 1604 *Balaban*, 1637 *Lviv*, 1691 *Lviv*, and 1712 *Lviv* texts, the deacon stands at his regular place before the holy doors. In the 1629 *Kiev* text for CHR the deacon stands on the ambon at his regular place, while in the 1629 *Kiev* BAS, 1639 *Kiev*, 1646 *Lviv*, 1653 *Kiev*, 1666 *Lviv*, and 1681 *Lviv* editions, the deacon leaves the sanctuary via the north door and stands on the first step of the ambon before the holy doors.¹⁵

Up to now, none of these sources have agreed with the objections made in

¹² *B.A. Cinovnik*, p. 73.

¹³ 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical, f. 7: the same is in the 1886 *Lviv* Bacyns’kyj pontifical, f. 12r.

¹⁴ Cf. Petrovskij, “Rédaction slave”, p. 897. In the recently published *Old Orthodox Prayer Book*, translated and edited by Priest Pimen Simon et al., Russian Orthodox Church of the Nativity of Christ (old Rite), Erie, Pennsylvania, 1986, a short service is given called “Proščenie - The Order of Forgiveness”, p. 88. The rubrics indicate that it is taken after the Compline and Midnight service (as is the case today in the Ukrainian/Ruthenian usage) and also after the Hours. Since the mass should be preceded by the Third Hour, this forgiveness rite was opportune in preparing celebrant and participants for the mass in the Kievan and Muscovite traditions.

¹⁵ See CHR in the following: 1604 *Balaban*, p. 53-59, 69-70; 1629 *Kiev*, p. 138-140 (BAS p. 115); 1639 *Kiev*, p. 216-221, 225-226; 1646 *Lviv*, f. 96r-98r, 101; 1653 *Kiev*, f. 108v-110r, 113; 1666 *Lviv*, f. 104v-106r, 109; 1681 *Lviv*, f. 106v-108r, 111r; 1691 *Lviv*, f. 68v-70r, 72r; 1712 *Lviv*, f. 68v-70r, 72r; cf. Rud, “Liturgija”, p. 178.

OBS. All give the troparion “In the tomb” for the incensing, although the 1602 *Moscow* edition gives it to the priest to say before he incenses. All the texts have the priest kiss the gospel book and the deacon kiss the altar before their dialogue, while none of the sources have the priest kiss the altar or give the deacon the hand cross to kiss.

6. *The Catholic Editions*

The above-mentioned variants first appear in the pre-Žoxovs’kyj Catholic editions and then in Žoxovs’kyj. The 1671 *Ecphonemata* is the earliest source to instruct the priest to kiss the altar, and the deacon to kiss the hand cross, just before the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word. Although the initial prayers and dialogue of the celebrants are not indicated, the *Ecphonemata* does prescribe that the priest incense the gifts; then the deacon incenses the people and the church.¹⁶

In the Borgia ms the introductory prayers and dialogue are given at the start of the Liturgy of the Word, and not at the end of the prothesis. The priest also kisses the altar.¹⁷

The Pilixovs’kyj ms gives the three troparia found in the 1519 *Venice* and 1583 *Vilna* editions for the initial incensing. For the introductory prayers of the Liturgy of the Word, Pilixovs’kyj begins with “Blessed is our God” and “Heavenly King”. The rubrics prescribe a bow to be made on the lowest step before the altar, with the hands joined at the breast. The celebrants then make a sign of the cross and go to the altar, saying twice “Glory to God in the highest”, and once “Lord, open my lips”.¹⁸ Pilixovs’kyj often shows latinizing tendencies, of which these altar step rubrics may be an example, although we shall see shortly that the Mohylan texts also refer to the steps of the ambon (but not using rubrics like Pilixovs’kyj’s). Pilixovs’kyj’s use of the three troparia found in the Venice and early Vilna texts indicates he used a non-Mohylan source.

In relation to the Orthodox and 1617 *Mamonyč* texts, Žoxovs’kyj displays his customary simplified approach. The priest puts on the phelonion after the prothesis with the usual prayer found in POL. He goes from the prothesis to the altar saying Ps. 50, opens the holy doors, and begins the liturgy. These are the only rubrics Žoxovs’kyj gives after the prothesis. At the start of the Liturgy of the Word more rubrics are added, which now include the deacon. The celebrants stand before the altar; they make the sign of the cross and say “Blessed is our God”; they join or cross their hands at the breast —

¹⁶ 1671 *Ecphonemata*, CHR [f. 1r-2r].

¹⁷ Borgia ms, f. 77r-78r.

¹⁸ Cf. Odincov, “Uniatskoe bogosluženie”, p. 198-199 (ms n. 192 f. 225-226).

“sovokupyvše že ruci pry persex” — and continue with “Heavenly King [...], Glory to God in the highest [...] (twice), Lord, open my lips [...] (once)”; the priest kisses the altar and gives the deacon the cross to kiss, and they recite their dialogue. The deacon then leaves the altar, goes before the (open) holy doors, bows and says “Bless, master”.¹⁹ The number of bows is not indicated, and no mention is made of the verse “Lord, open my lips”. Noteworthy is the absence of any mention of an incensation as well as of the troparion “In the tomb”. The priest, not the deacon, says Ps. 50.

In the 1740 *Univ* služebnyk we find small hands drawn throughout the text, indicating to the celebrant how to hold his hands at the given place. For the prayer “Heavenly King” Žoxovs’kyj’s rubrics to hold the hands folded at the breast are given, but in this *Univ* text the hands are depicted as joined finger to finger. This often occurs in the *Univ* text. In later editions these hand illustrations are omitted, but the rubrics are eventually changed from “joined (crossed) at the breast”. Thus the 1740 *Univ* text gives: “sovokupyvše že pry persyx”, while the 1905 *Lviv* služebnyk gives: “sovokupše že ruci persty ko perstom pry persix”.²⁰

The 1744 and 1755 *Počajiv* editions indicate in CHR that the verse “Glory to God in the highest” is said three times (as in the Sipovič pontifical and the pre-Nikonian Muscovite texts), while in BAS and PRES it is taken twice.²¹ According to Raes, the 1778 *Počajiv* edition instructs the deacon to incense after the prothesis saying “In the tomb”, while the rubrics to open the holy doors before the solemn liturgy are suppressed — all of this under the influence of BEN.²² The 1779 *Počajiv Poučenie* refers to the priest kissing the gospel book and the deacon the altar, but makes no mention of anyone kissing the cross.²³ And the 1788 *Počajiv* služebnyk says that the priest can put on the phelonion after the prothesis according to the contemporary practice, but it gives the phelonion prayer earlier, in the vesting section. It prescribes incensing by the deacon like POL, and the priest kisses the altar; but again according to contemporary usage the deacon is given the cross to kiss.²⁴

The 1759 *Lviv* OSBM curia copy gives interesting variants on the Žoxovs’kyj tradition. It has the priest or deacon incense as in POL. At the altar the celebrants cross themselves and begin the introductory prayers with “Blessed is our God”, but this is printed in brackets, a sign it was considered

¹⁹ 1692 *Žoxovs’kyj*, CHR f. 83v-84r.

²⁰ 1740 *Univ*, CHR p. 10; 1905 *Lviv*, p. 279.

²¹ 1744 *Počajiv*, CHR p. 5-6, 34, 59; 1755 *Počajiv*, p. 7-8; Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 26-27 (ms f. 9v-10r).

²² Cf. Raes, “Liturgicon”, p. 106.

²³ Cf. *Poučenie*, f. 77v.

²⁴ 1788 *Počajiv*, CHR f. 3r.

optional. Then the priest and deacon go up the step to the altar, if there is a step, and the priest kisses the gospel book and the deacon kisses the altar. After their dialogue, the deacon immediately goes before the holy doors, bows, and says "Bless, master".²⁵

Although most of the rubrics for the recited low mass given in the printed *služebnyky* are taken directly from the Latin mass, we should not ignore them altogether. The earliest instructions specifically meant for a low recited mass, although only partial instructions, are given in the Borgia ms. The priest celebrates without a deacon. At the prothesis, he uses a precut *ah nec* and just makes a sign of the cross over it instead of cutting it out of a *prospora* during the prothesis; however, the prayers for the cutting rite are still given. It is not indicated if the priest is to make any commemorations. The priest says the offertory prayer and goes to the altar saying Ps. 50. At the altar the priest bows, puts the chalice and *discos* on the altar, and begins the Liturgy of the Word.²⁶

The set of rubrics for a low mass given at the end of the 1755 *Počajiv* *služebnyk* are typical of those found in other printed editions during the eighteenth century. After completing the prothesis (in the sacristy), the priest, preceded by a server carrying the *služebnyk* (this last rubric is put in brackets), brings the covered chalice and *discos* to the altar saying Ps. 50 "and the rest". At the altar he bows, opens the *eiliton*, puts the vessels on it, and covers them with the veil. He bows again, takes the *služebnyk* to the right side of the altar, and opens it. He joins his hands and stands in front of the altar, bows, turns to the right side and descends to the lowest step, crosses himself and says, "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, amen. Blessed is our God [...]" (three times crossing himself); he goes up the altar steps, kisses the altar and says once "Lord, open my lips"; he next goes to the right of the altar, crosses himself and begins "Blessed is the kingdom".²⁷

The Lviv eparchy, preparing for the Brest synod of 1765, objected to the practice of beginning the mass with "In the name of the Father [...]". It said that the older traditional texts gave only "Heavenly King" or "Blessed is our God" for the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word.²⁸

The objection is valid. Lisovs'kyj wrote to Propaganda on 28 December 1786 that priests were copying the "mea culpa" said during the Confiteor in the prayers at the foot of the altar of the Latin mass by turning to the server, striking the breast and saying "Glory to God" and "Lord, open my lips".²⁹

²⁵ 1759 Lviv OSBM curia copy, f. 106.

²⁶ Borgia ms, f. 76; Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 132.

²⁷ 1755 *Počajiv*, low mass rubrics [f. 1r]. A triple "Glory to God" in a 15th century source is noted by Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 899-900.

²⁸ Cf. Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 935.

²⁹ *EM*, 9: 170.

Lisovs'kyj is the only source to mention such a practice, although this abuse is not hard to imagine.

Recalling the objections in OBS, we see that in the Catholic sources the troparion "In the tomb" was omitted even for sung masses, while the priest did kiss the altar and give the deacon the hand cross. However, this was before the dialogue and not after, as OBS implies (XXIV.2).

II. THE ICONOSTASIS DOORS

Due to the often scant rubrics given in liturgical texts, we cannot draw a precise rule for the opening and closing of the holy doors. The only place POL refers to the holy doors is before the communion of the faithful, when they are to be opened.

The *1583 Vilna*, *1604 Balaban*, and *1617 Mamonyč* texts do not mention the doors at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word, although the first two texts include a second dismissal for the hours, which when given in other sources, requires the doors to be open. The *Balaban* and *Mamonyč* editions instruct the doors to be open for the communion of the faithful, but they say nothing about them at the two entrance processions, when they obviously had to be opened.³⁰

The Mohylan tradition prescribes the doors to be opened for the second dismissal of the prothesis. The next reference is after the Great Entrance, when the deacon closes them. We find them mentioned next at the communion of the faithful, when the deacon opens them.³¹

In 1633 Metropolitan Rutskyj, describing Cossack maltreatment of Catholic clergy, mentions an incident in the monastery of Lješč in the Pinsk eparchy, where a Basilian was celebrating mass and a soldier tried to stab him by pushing his sword through the frame of the holy doors. The doors must have been closed in this case, although we do not know at what point of the mass this incident occurred. The priest got away with his life, since the altar was too far away from the holy doors for the sword to reach him.³²

Sakowicz provides some information on the holy doors. He objects that they are closed during the consecration and the people are not able to see the raising of the gifts. He makes a similar objection that the Catholic Ruthenians leave the chalice with the consecrated wine uncovered until the opening of the

³⁰ *1604 Balaban*, CHR p. 124, 205; *1617 Mamonyč*, CHR p. 86, 117.

³¹ For example see the following: *1629 Kiev*, prothesis p. 140, CHR p. 93; *1639 Kiev*, prothesis, p. 219, CHR p. 292, CHR p. 367; *1646 Lviv*, prothesis f. 97v, CHR f. 130v, CHR f. 164v; *1691 Lviv*, prothesis f. 69v, CHR f. 93r (misprinted f. 99), CHR f. 118r (misprinted f. 119).

³² *EM*, 1: 290.

holy doors, but he does not say exactly when the doors are opened. When a bishop celebrates Sakowicz says the doors are closed only for the celebrants' communion.³³

The Orthodox reply in *Lithos* confirms the Mohylan practice. Even if the doors are closed for the consecration, the faithful still know what is going on, since they can hear the celebrant's words. Then, *Lithos* adds, the doors are opened for the communion so that the people can make a prostration before the consecrated gifts, even if there are no communicants. *Lithos* repeats this later: the doors are open from the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word until after the Great Entrance and they are opened for the communion of the faithful.³⁴

Compared to his other extreme views, Sakowicz surprisingly does not advocate total rejection of the iconostasis in his reply to *Lithos*. Doors being doors, he says their closure is proper for the creed, when the celebrant calls: "The doors, the doors", but then they are opened immediately after the creed and closed again for the celebrants' communion. Sakowicz here must be referring to an episcopal liturgy, at which the doors are closed much less than at a regular presbyteral liturgy. We see this in the Sipovič pontifical, where the doors are closed only for the creed and opened immediately after (at the end of the anaphora the archdeacon goes through the open holy doors to stand on the ambon and chant the litany). The holy doors are closed again for the celebrants' communion.³⁵

In his complaints to the Holy Synod in 1726, hierodeacon Macarius refers several times to the use of the holy doors in the Černihiv texts. Macarius does not identify his texts, but by 1726 there had been two služebnyky printed (in 1694 and 1704 – see our appendix). He gives both rubrics and actual practice.

After the hours it is written to open (and they open) the royal doors and to say the dismissal:

[...]

After the gospel it is not written to close the holy doors, and they do not close them;

[...]

After the Cherubicon it is not printed to close the holy doors, and they do not close them, and they do not close the inner curtain.³⁶

This means that the Černihiv texts agree with the Mohylan (and other Ruthenian sources) by not closing the doors up to the Great Entrance. Unlike

³³ Cf. Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, p. 41-42, 48.

³⁴ Cf. *Lithos*, p. 113, 152-153.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 152-153; Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 80 (ms f. 36v), p. 82 (ms f. 37v), p. 98 (ms f. 45v), p. 106 (ms f. 49v).

³⁶ Barsov, "Ierodiakon Makarij", p. 676.

the Mohylan texts, though, the Černihiv editions do not prescribe them to be closed after the Great Entrance, thus agreeing with subsequent Catholic usage. Macarius gives no indication whether or not the doors were closed during the celebrants' communion according to the Černihiv texts.

The doors are closed for the celebrants' communion at both pontifical and presbyteral liturgies according to Sakowicz and the Mohylan texts. The doors are likewise closed during the anaphora in presbyteral liturgies according to Sakowicz and *Lithos*. Taft gives a number of examples and sources where the doors are opened immediately after the anaphora.³⁷ It is doubtful (but not totally excluded) that the Ruthenians opened the holy doors after the anaphora, since none of their sources ever mention this possibility for a presbyteral liturgy.

The seventeenth Basilian chapter held in Vilna in 1667 expressed concern over the use of the holy doors. The chapter called on every priest personally to celebrate the prothesis according to the Mamonyč služebnyk, and then it adds:

The holy doors are to be closed in the sung mass according to traditional usage.³⁸

This warning indicates not only conflicting views about the doors, but a distinction between recited and sung liturgies. The chapter wanted the doors used properly at least at the sung mass.

The Borgia ms contains a rubric for the deacon to open the holy doors for the dismissal of the prothesis, but then this rubric was rejected by the corrector of the ms. Wawryk speculates that the rubric was superfluous, since the 1617 *Mamonyč* text has no such rubric, and by the 1680s it was common practice to leave the doors open.³⁹ But the question remains: when were they first opened? Thus, this rubric was not all that superfluous, and all the texts of the Žoxovs'kyj tradition specifically have the priest open the doors at the end of the prothesis.

Praxis Indebita contains the objections of the Lviv Latin clergy in 1717 to the iconostasis. They repeat Sakowicz's criticism that the doors are closed during the consecration and the chalice is left uncovered until the opening of the holy doors. In their reply, Grimaldi and Trombetti agree that this was the practice, but they note that the doors were of a decorative design and people could see through them.⁴⁰ In another, separate reply sent by Trombetti to Propaganda, he notes that since the time of the late Bishop Šumljans'kyj

³⁷ Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 408-411, where he discusses the use of the curtains, iconostasis doors, and church doors for the creed and anaphora. Praszko gives no explanation or sources when he says that the doors of the iconostasis were closed from the beginning of mass; cf. Praszko, *De ecclesia*, p. 251.

³⁸ "Carskie drzwi in cantato sacro zawierać według dawnego zwyczaiu"; *AS*, 12: 96-97.

³⁹ Borgia ms, f. 75r; Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 131.

⁴⁰ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1: 148, 158.

(bishop of Lviv 1677-1708), the Ruthenians closed the holy doors only during the communion (of the celebrants).⁴¹ This suggests that earlier the doors were kept closed more often, as prescribed for example in the Lviv *služebnyky* which follow the Mohylan tradition.

In the *Žoxovs'kyj* tradition the doors are to be opened after the prothesis and then are not mentioned again, not even at the end of the mass, when they should certainly be closed again. In practice, by the eighteenth century the Catholics kept the doors open throughout the entire eucharistic liturgy. Archimandrite Dionysius Czaday reported in 1788 that in the Polock eparchy *Lisovs'kyj* had ordered the doors and curtain to be kept closed up to the communion of the faithful, as in Orthodox usage. This meant they were closed for most of the mass.⁴² Two years later the Basilian theology professor in Polock, Justin *Krupic'kyj*, wrote the nuncio that *Lisovs'kyj* ordered that at solemn sung liturgies the doors and curtain be closed up to the creed, during the consecration, just before the call to communion, and after the call to communion of the faithful.⁴³

From *Krupic'kyj's* description it is uncertain if and what was closed from the beginning of the mass, what happened during the creed, and what was closed after the call to communion. Czaday was also not overly explicit, but it is probable that *Lisovs'kyj* was following the Nikonian tradition, in which the doors are opened for the Little Entrance and left open until the end of the gospel, then are opened only for the Great Entrance procession, and finally are opened for the communion of the faithful and left open until the end of the liturgy. In the 1646 *Moscow služebnyk* we find a set of rubrics for the door and curtain according to the use on Mount Athos. These rubrics are much like the Nikonian practice.⁴⁴

We shall refer to specific rubrics for the doors when they arise later. At this point, we should note that only the Nikonian texts clearly indicate that the doors are to be closed from the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word. Today's practice by the Greeks and Melchites, who close the doors, if at all, only for the celebrants' communion, parallels that given in the 1617 *Mamonyč* text and in POL. *Ohijenko* held that this was also the old Ruthenian custom. And

⁴¹ Cf. *APF*, SC:MPR, vol. 4, f. 107v.

⁴² "Aureasque portas cum velo ubique in ecclesiis dioec. Polocensis more acatholico usque communionem fidelium habere iussit atque clausis vix non tota missa, sola in die celebratur." *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 149, f. 638r.

⁴³ "Praeterea in missis solemnibus seu cantatis portae regiae clauduntur et velo abducuntur ad 'credo' tum tempore consecrationis item ante invitatorium ad communionem fidelium 'Cum timore et fide accedite', tum post talia verba." *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 149, f. 533.

⁴⁴ 1646 *Moscow*, prothesis f. 107. 2-5. (The last folio of the prothesis is number 107. This number is repeated on the next four folia containing the iconostasis rubrics).

we find this same usage indicated in contemporary Ukrainian Orthodox *služebnyky*.⁴⁵

Two final notes can be added. The presynodal acts for the 1765 Brest synod call for churches to have an iconostasis with three doors to divide the sanctuary from the nave.⁴⁶ This, along with the *Poučenie's* explanation and description of the iconostasis and curtain, was intended for the benefit of the many churches, primarily in Bielorrussia, which had no iconostasis or had thrown it out.⁴⁷

III. OTHER LITURGICAL ACCESSORIES

1. *Služebnyk*

The *1617 Mamonyč Nauka* lists several things needed for the correct celebration of the liturgy, which should be mentioned here. The *Nauka* says that the *služebnyk* is essential, even if the priest knows the mass by heart!⁴⁸ We saw in Part I the need for printed *služebnyky* among the Catholics, since many were still using manuscript copies. The transcribing of *služebnyky* was one of the activities of nuns into the nineteenth century.⁴⁹ The cost of printed books limited their use among the poorer rural pastors.

2. *Candles*

Candles are essential, of course, and here the *Nauka* says a minimum of one candle is permitted.⁵⁰ This may have been good economy, but it could not

⁴⁵ 1963 *Bound Brook USA*, p. 58, 99, 104 (*služebnyk* printed by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA). Wawryk, "Služebnyk Žoxovskoho", p. 328, also cites the following two editions which we were unable to check: 1920 *Kiev*, p. 26; 1972 *Winnipeg*, p. 88, 149, 155 (printed by the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada). Cf. I. Ohijenko, *Svjata služba Boža sv. o.n. Ioanna Zolotoustoho*, Lviv 1922, p. 40. For the general history and references to the Greeks and Melchites, see Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 405-416.

An interesting view on the rubrics for the iconostasis in the Russian Orthodox Church is expressed by the noted liturgist Alexander Schmemmann. In response to instructions on liturgical practices issued by Metropolitan Irenej, Primate of the Orthodox Church in America (OCA) on 30 November 1972, Schmemmann writes: "Personally I am convinced that the contemporary Greek practice of not closing the doors at all during the entire Liturgy is much more faithful to the true spirit of the Eucharist and the Orthodox understanding of the Church than the one adopted in the Russian Church which seems constantly to stress the radical separation between the people of God and the clergy." A. Schmemmann, "A Letter to My Bishop", *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 17 (1973): 237.

⁴⁶ Cf. Wiwčaruk, *De synodo*, p. 122.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Poučenie*, f. 11-12; Solovey, "Latinization", p. 29.

⁴⁸ *1617 Mamonyč Nauka* [f. 6v].

⁴⁹ Cf. Senyk, *Women's Monasteries*, p. 182-183.

⁵⁰ *1617 Mamonyč Nauka* [f. 6v].

have provided adequate lighting. Kamins'kyj describes an altar in 1685 that had a cross and "only seven candles on it." He liked the simplicity of that altar compared to others that, he said, were loaded down with all sorts of things.⁵¹ We saw earlier Sakowicz's criticism of the Orthodox priests who fought over the offerings of candles made by the faithful, the remainders from which the priests sold afterwards to the Jews.⁵²

3. *Altar Cloths*

The *Nauka* lists two altar cloths or, in case of necessity, at least one folded in half.⁵³ A list of altar coverings for the Sts. Sergius and Bacchus church in Rome in 1656 does not indicate how the different varieties there were used.⁵⁴ Kyška still refers to the two altar cloths traditional in the Byzantine Rite in his 1692 manual. Like the *Nauka*, he says that one could be folded in half.⁵⁵ Peter Mohyla refers to three altar cloths in his 1646 *Trebnyk*, although he does not describe them clearly. He writes that the eiliton is to be on the very top of everything, and the antimension under the upper cloth. But concerning the cloths themselves, he says only that one could be doubled:

treteje na prestoli trem yndytijam yly ubrusom podobajet byty, a pone dvom [sic], sijest, na pervoj yndytij jedynomu suhubo sohbennomu, verxu že syx da budet ylyton [...] antimys ubo pod verxnym ubrusom rasprostert vsehda da budet, ylyton že verxu vsix ubrusov.⁵⁶

The Synod of Zamostja clergy ordered three altar cloths to be used, though one could be folded in half. They were all to be of linen. It also required that the altar be covered after services to avoid uncleanliness, which seemed to have been the main concern here. If by two months after publication of the decree this had not been done, a fine was to be levied on the pastor and he was required to buy the needed altar coverings.⁵⁷

4. *The Altar*

The *Nauka* says nothing about the altar, but by Kamins'kyj's time in 1685 some altars were being placed directly against the wall. Kamins'kyj objected, saying that in the Greek Rite the altar should be free-standing so that the celebrants can stand around it to pray and eat together, just as Christ and the

⁵¹ Cf. Ščurat, *V oboroni Uniji*, p. 89.

⁵² Cf. *Lithos*, p. 157.

⁵³ *1617 Mamonyč Nauka*, [f. 5v-6r].

⁵⁴ *LB*, 1: 81.

⁵⁵ Cf. Kyška, *Mów różnych przypadków*, p. 81.

⁵⁶ *1646 Kiev, trebnyk*, 1: 232.

⁵⁷ *SPZ*, Tit. 3, § 4: "De celebratione missarum", p. 72.

apostles did at the Last Supper. The altar should not be piled high with unnecessary paraphernalia like a wagon full of wood, blocking the view of the bishop when he sits on the throne behind it. Kamins'kyj describes how a side altar dedicated to St. Basil in Žyrovyci, at which mass was celebrated during his octave (sic) in 1684, had been decorated for the saint's feast. It seemed degraded when the decorations were removed. Subsequently other side altars dedicated to other saints were decorated, since Basil had already received enough attention!⁵⁸

Larger churches, whether monastic or not, generally had small chapels or "pydily" attached to them with their own free-standing altars.⁵⁹ Several masses a day could be celebrated in such centers. With the increase in the number of monastic priests and private masses, more altars were needed. We saw in Part I how Benedict XIV suggested that more altars be built to accommodate this increase (since the Byzantine tradition kept the ancient rule of only one mass per altar per day.)⁶⁰ These now were generally Latin-style side altars built against the wall. Eventually some of the main altars were also built in the same manner. This explains Czaday's report in 1788 that Lisovs'kyj was throwing out in his eparchy all "Catholic" altars that were built against the wall.⁶¹

The Počajiv *Poučenie* gives a symbolic interpretation for the altar, which it says should face the east. It also includes the ciborium (baldachino) in its explanation.⁶²

In his denunciations about the Černihiv služebnyk to the Holy Synod in 1726, hierodeacon Macarius writes:

The priest stands leaning against the altar, and the deacon puts his hands on the altar; they put the služebnyk, bound in animal hides, on the altar, and the gospel book which is found on the altar sometimes is also bound in animal hides; they put all kinds of needless things on the altar: various books, a box of incense, sometimes prosphoras, five or six candle holders, various paper decorations, towels, and cups, and in general anyone puts whatever he likes on the altar without being admonished for it; when vesting and unvesting the priest puts his clothes on the altar; unordained persons touch the altar and lean against it. They never cover the altar with a cover. Don't they understand the greatness of the altar, that they do not give it proper honour? The secretary of St. Sophia, [Eleutherij] Ladyns'kyj, a member of the consistory, in the name of the consistory at its meeting said that he was ordering a servant: tell the sacristan to put two vases of flowers in the center of the altar.⁶³

⁵⁸ Cf. Ščurat, *V oboroni Uniji*, p. 91.

⁵⁹ Cf. Senyk, "Ruthenian Liturgy", p. 141-142.

⁶⁰ Cf. Taft, "Frequency of Eucharist", p. 17-18, where he notes that this was the Western practice as well.

⁶¹ "Altaria ad parietes more Catholicorum extracta iam ferme ex omnibus ecclesiis eiecit." *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 149, f. 638r.

⁶² Cf. *Poučenie*, f. 13v-14v.

⁶³ Barsov, "Ierodiakon Makarij", p. 676-677.

These observations likely apply to many Ruthenian churches, Orthodox and Catholic alike, and not just those around Černihiv. Although we find criticism of cluttering the altar needlessly and lack of respect around it, we find no legislation by the Ruthenian Church regulating what could or could not be put on the altar itself.

5. *Incense*

Incense is also an essential liturgical accessory, according to the *Nauka*. The use of incense is mandatory at every mass, and the priest who omits it sins seriously. The incense cannot consist totally of wax chips, although these can be mixed with it.⁶⁴ The Orthodox took this point from the *Nauka* in their reply to Sakowicz in *Lithos*. Sakowicz had accused the Ruthenians of using incense with wax in it. He also complained that they incensed the bishops seven to nine times, which was more than they incensed the icons. He chided them that their piety consisted in how much incense they used and how often they rang the bells!⁶⁵

The *Poučenie* symbolically describes incense as the fragrant spices used at Christ's burial, while *Praxis Indebita* warns that it constitutes a danger to the uncovered chalice containing the consecrated wine, since ashes from the thurible could fall into the chalice. Grimaldi and Trombetti agreed with this complaint as well.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ 1617 *Mamonyč*, *Nauka* f. 6v.

⁶⁵ Cf. Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, p. 48; *Lithos*, p. 134.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Poučenie*, f. 35r; "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1: 148-158. For more information on incensation, see Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 149-151, 154-162.

CHAPTER 7

THE ENARXIS AND INTROIT

I. THE LITANIES AND ANTIPHONS

1. *The General Outline in POL*

The Liturgy of the Word in POL begins with the title:

Božestvonnaja Služba vo svjatyx otca našeho Ionna [sic] Zlatousta – Divina Liturgia Sancti Patris nostri Ioannis Chrysostomi.

This is immediately followed by the title and text for the offertory prayer:

Molytva Predloženiya: Bože Bože naš [...] – Oratio propositionis seu oblationis: Deus Deus noster [...].

No rubrics are given at this point. The deacon calls on the priest, “Bless, master”; the priest says the initial doxology, “Blessed is the kingdom”; the choir replies “Amen”; and the deacon chants the first of the three synapte, namely the Litany of Peace. At the end of this first litany the choir sings the first antiphon (text not given); the priest says the first antiphon prayer; the deacon bows and stands before the icon of Christ facing west, holding his orarion with three fingers of his right hand. Only then is the text of the first antiphon prayer given. After the completion of the first antiphon, the deacon returns to his regular place, bows, and says the small synapte. The choir next sings the second antiphon (no text given); the deacon does “as before”, and the prayer of the second antiphon is given. The deacon takes the third synapte, for which, as for the first two synapte, the full text is given. After this comes the text of the third antiphon prayer, while the choir is instructed to sing the third antiphon, or the beatitudes if it is Sunday (no text given).

POL agrees exactly with BEN, but differs from today’s usage in several places. The 1942 *Rome* služebnyk does not give the offertory prayer at the start of CHR; it includes petitions for the dead in the Litany of Peace; and the three antiphon prayers are given before the concluding ephonesis of each synapte.¹

¹ *POL*, f. 257v-259v; *BEN*, p. 34-37; 1942 *Rome*, p. 194-204.

2. *The Opening Doxology*

Even though the 1942 *Rome služebnyk* does not give the rubric in the text, it is the practice today for the priest to make a sign of the cross with the gospel book when saying the initial doxology, "Blessed is the kingdom".² This rubric is not given in POL nor in any of the Orthodox Ruthenian texts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Neither is it found in the Catholic editions during this period. In the Borgia ms and the Žoxovs'kyj texts, the priest makes the sign of the cross while saying this doxology.³

The 1646 *Moscow služebnyk* indirectly excludes any such action. Immediately after the doxology the text says that the priest is not to open or raise his hands at any place not prescribed by the rubrics. Such was the case for this doxology, unaccompanied by any rubrics whatsoever.⁴

In the pontifical liturgy approved by the 1666/67 Moscow council the priest says the doxology making a sign of the cross with the gospel book similar to that made at the Little Entrance; he then kisses it and puts it back on the altar:

sotvoriv krest so svjatym evangeliev, jako tvoritsja i v malom vxode, i celovav, polagaet ego na svjatoj trapeze.⁵

This same rubric is given in the 1798 *Moscow činovnik*, but it is not found in any of the Ruthenian pontificals.⁶ Nor is it given in the 1910 *Moscow Old Believer činovnik*, which is based on two sixteenth century Muscovite mss: Moscow Synod n. 366 (909) and n. 367 (680).⁷

Černihiv služebnyky and practice omitted this rubric, according to hierodeacon Macarius. He charged that the priest did not make a sign of the cross with the gospel book over the antimimension when saying the doxology:

govorja "Blagoslovenno carstvo", evangeliev antiminsa ne krestjat.⁸

The only exception among Catholic Ruthenian služebnyky is the 1759 *Lviv OSBM curia* copy — of which the exact date and origin are uncertain —

² This rubric is given in the supplementary rubrics to the 1942 *Rome služebnyk* published by the Oriental Congregation; cf. *Ordo celebrationis vesperearum, matutini et divinae liturgiae iuxta recensionem Ruthenorum*, Rome 1953, p. 57 (n. 119).

³ Borgia ms, f. 78r; 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 84v.

⁴ 1646 *Moscow*, CHR f. 108v.

⁵ *Dejanija*, part II, f. 46r.

⁶ 1798 *Moscow činovnik*, f. 10r.

⁷ Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 173. Muscovite mss are described in K. Nevostruev and A. Gorskij, *Opisanie slavjanskix rukopisej Moskovskoj Sinodalnoj Biblioteki, otdel tretij, Knigi bogoslužebnyja: časť pervaja*, Moscow 1869, n. 366, 367.

⁸ Barsov, "Ierodiakon Makarij", p. 676.

where the priest makes the sign of the cross with the gospel book: “Ijerej znamenaja so svjatym jevanhelijem”.⁹

Since the doxology contains a trinitarian formula, some form of the sign of the cross is demanded, in keeping with Byzantine practice. However, the celebrants’ crossing themselves is more natural than making a sign of the cross with the gospel book. The latter is more in line with episcopal functions when the bishop makes a sign of the cross with various items, such as the candles, hand cross, and his hands.

In POL the last word of the doxology ends in the genitive plural: “vikov – saeculorum”. In the Borgia ms the Latin word ends in the genitive plural, but the Slavonic ends in the dative plural: “saeculorum – vikom”. The use of the dative plural is normal in the Venice, pre-Nikonian Muscovite, and Ruthenian služebnyky into the eighteenth century. Patriarch Nikon’s use of the genitive plural in his reformed Muscovite texts promptly drew objections from the Old Believers¹⁰ Catholic and Orthodox Ruthenian texts gradually adopted the genitive “vikov” during the eighteenth century.¹¹

3. *The Synapte*

While looking at these grammatical and phonetic elements, we should also mention the accent given to the verb, “let us pray – pomolimsja”. The majority of Ruthenian texts give the accent on the third syllable – pomolimsja. This is the case for the 1519 Venice edition as well. Yet Sipovič states:

nearly all service books printed in Byelorussia including the famous Liturgicon of Metropolitan Žochowski (Vilna 1692, Suprasl 1694), have the distinct Byelorussian accentuation: pamólimsja [sic].¹²

In the 1692 *Žoxovs’kyj* text both accents are found: in CHR we find it on the third syllable, while in BAS it is found on the second.¹³ These differences indicate confusion between imperative and future forms.

It is always risky to make generalizations on the basis of these služebnyky, since very often they give rubrics and formulations from various

⁹ 1759 Lviv OSBM Curia copy, f. 106v.

¹⁰ The following is the objection of the Old Believers: “Da v novyx že knigax napečatano vo vsex molitvax i v vozglasech ‘Nyne i prisno i vo veki vekov’. I ta reč’ eretičeskaja”; N.I. Subbotin, *Materialy dlja istorii raskola za pervoe vremja ego suščestvovanija*, vol. 4, *Istorika i dogmatiko-polemičeskija sočinenija pervyx raskoloučitelej*, Moscow 1878, p. 200. See also “Vek”, *Slovar’ russkogo jazyka XI-XVII vv.*, 2 (Moscow 1975): 54.

¹¹ Examples of the dative plural “vikom” are found in the following: Borgia ms, f. 78r; 1691 Lviv, CHR f. 72v; 1692 *Žoxovs’kyj*, CHR f. 84v; 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical, f. 1r. The genitive plural is found in 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical, f. 5r; 1763 Kiev, CHR f. 59r; 1740 *Univ*, CHR p. 9. Cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 163.

¹² Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 163.

¹³ 1692 *Žoxovs’kyj*, CHR f. 84v, BAS f. 111r.

sources. Like other early books in the Byzantine Rite, they are more copilations than scientifically edited texts. The diverse origins of the texts which give the accent on the second syllable — pomólimsja — indicate that no fixed rule was followed. POL, like the Nikonian Ruthenian texts, gives the accent on the second syllable.¹⁴

Some texts also stress the pronunciation of the third syllable by using the “Ъ” (pomolimsja), in place of the “И” (pomolymjsja), which gives the stronger stress on the vowel of the third syllable. This would be similar to the English word “keen” compared to the English word “kin”.¹⁵

Variants in the petitions of this synapte occur especially where civil and religious leaders are commemorated. This is only natural. OBS compliments POL for listing the kings — “tsari, reges” — in the plural, so that all “orthodox” kings can be included (XXV.3). But OBS felt that they should have been referred to as “orthodoxi – pravoslavni” and not “piissimi – blahočestyvijši” (XXV.2). The latter is given not only in POL, but also in Nikonian texts for commemorating the Russian rulers, whereas the Žoxovs’kyj texts refer to the king as “blahovirnyj”, meaning true believer.¹⁶

This petition was of special interest during the time of Lisovs’kyj, since the Catholic Ruthenians in the Russian empire had to commemorate Catherine II and other members of the imperial family in their liturgies. One of the reasons Bishop Maximillian Ryllo gave to Propaganda in 1779 for not wanting to be transferred from his Xolm eparchy to Polock (which would have meant a promotion) was to avoid this knotty problem. He also objected to those Catholics who were commemorating Catherine as “catholicissima”. The exact Slavonic word for this term in the Latin document is uncertain, since the pope is commemorated as “oecumenicus”, and the Grand Prince as “orthodoxus” in the same document.¹⁷

Earlier we discussed in detail the commemoration of the pope in the prothesis. No sources mention him in the Litany of Peace, with the sole exception of the Borgia ms.¹⁸

The double set of petitions for the dead, general and individual, inserted into the Litany of Peace today, are found in very few texts in the seventeenth

¹⁴ Examples of the accent on the second syllable are found in CHR in: 1583 *Vilna*, f. 41v; 1759 *Lviv* OSBM curia copy, f. 106v; 1763 *Suprasl*, p. 2; 1788 *Počajiv*, f. 5v. Examples of the accent on the third syllable are found in CHR in: 1519 *Venice*, [f. 10v]; 1604 *Balaban*, p. 70; 1617 *Mamonyč*, p. 2; 1629 *Kiev*, p. 2; 1691 *Lviv*, f. 72v; 1740 *Univ*, p. 10.

¹⁵ See CHR in: 1646 *Lviv*, f. 101v; 1740 *Univ*, p. 10; 1759 *Lviv* OSBM curia copy, f. 106v.

¹⁶ 1692 *Žoxovs’kyj*, CHR f. 84v; 1762 *Kiev*, CHR f. 55v. Russians seldom used “pravoslavie” as a label for their religion, but rather, “blagočestie”, which is equivalent to the term “orthodox”.

¹⁷ Ryllo’s unpublished letter is in *APF*, SC:MPR, vol. 13, f. 593-594. Propaganda’s discussion of the latter is in *LSCPF*, 6: 70-71, 78-79.

¹⁸ Borgia ms, f. 78v.

and eighteenth centuries. The Mohylan and Žoxovs'kyj traditions include them with the services for various intentions, placed generally near the end of the služebnyk. In the 1759 Lviv OSBM curia copy, a rubric refers the celebrant to these petitions if he wants to use them in the synapte. The 1788 *Počajiv* edition gives the four petitions within the synapte, as in today's Ukrainian/Ruthenian books. They are not found anywhere in POL.¹⁹

Several sources indicate that some celebrants were omitting the litanies, although it is not always clear exactly which ones. In 1685 Peter Kamins'kyj wrote that in some places the litanies were being suppressed, "because the bishops of Volodymyr and Pinsk are bishops just like St. Basil, therefore full of the Holy Spirit (for that is necessary) and can decide to do whatever they please."²⁰ The two candidates would have been Marcian Bilozor of Pinsk (1666-1697), and Leo Zalens'kyj of Volodymyr (1679-1708). Kamins'kyj did not specify which litanies, nor did Važyns'kyj when a century later he noted in his visitation of the Novhorodok monastery in the Basilian Lithuanian Province that the Basilians also omitted some litanies.²¹ But Lisovs'kyj specifically refers to the omission by some of the Litany of Peace in his letter to Metropolitan Smogoževs'kyj in 1786 concerning abuses in the mass.²²

Although all texts indicate that the deacon says the litanies, the Žoxovs'kyj texts add that the priest is to recite them quietly to himself while the deacon chants them aloud. Some later texts, however, instruct the priest just to listen — "poslušajet" — and not to recite them.²³

4. *The Antiphons and Typica*

POL gives only the titles for the three antiphons but no text, stipulating the beatitudes for Sunday. This is the formulation given in the Philothean diataxis of the fourteenth century which many Ruthenian služebnyky, except those of the Žoxovs'kyj tradition, repeat.²⁴ Several authors agree that the Catholic Ruthenians did not adopt the use of the monastic typica (Ps. 103, 145, and the beatitudes) in place of the three daily antiphons, but have always retained the older tradition, still kept by the Greeks and southern Slavs of

¹⁹ 1759 Lviv OSBM curia copy, f. 107r; 1788 *Počajiv*, CHR f. 4v. Raes says that the 1778 *Počajiv* edition allows for this set of petitions for the dead during the synapte; cf. Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 106.

²⁰ Ščurat, *V oboroni Uniji*, p. 88.

²¹ Cf. *Visitationes*, f. 106v.

²² *EM*, 9: 162.

²³ 1788 *Počajiv*, CHR f. 4v; 1778 *Počajiv*, according to Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 106. Cf. Rud, "Liturgija", p. 179. For more information on the history of the synapte see Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 70; Taft, "Structural Analysis", p. 319-320.

²⁴ Cf. Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 70.

using Ps. 91, 92, and 94 for weekdays at least, and (at least in this century) Ps. 65, 66, and 94 on Sundays.²⁵

Only a few sources give the actual texts of the antiphons concerned. The *1519 Venice* služebnyk gives the following format:

Antiphon 1

Ps. 91: 2-3, 16

Glory: By the prayers of the Mother of God, Saviour, save us.

And now: By the prayers of the Mother of God, [etc.]

Antiphon 2

Ps. 92: 1a-b, 5

Glory: By the prayers of your saints.

And now: Only-begotten Son and Word [only incipit given]

Antiphon 3

Ps. 94: 1-5

[refrain] Save us, Son of God. [given after each verse]²⁶

Both the number of verses for Ps. 94 and the text and position of the refrains fit into the variants given in Mateos' study on psalmody and the antiphons.²⁷ The Venice text gives no special Sunday antiphons, but it does indicate that the beatitudes can be taken in place of the third antiphon.

The *1671 Ecphonemata* gives the full text of the three antiphons with the following refrains.

Antiphon 1

Ps. 91: 1-3

[refrain] By the prayers of the Mother of God, Saviour, save us. [given after each verse]

Glory: and now: By the prayers of the Mother of God, Saviour, save us.

Antiphon 2

Ps. 92: 1a-b, 5

[refrain] By the prayers of your saints, Saviour, save us. [given after each verse]

Glory: and now: Only-begotten Son [etc.]

Antiphon 3

Ps. 94: 1-5

[Sunday refrain] O Son of God, you who rose from the dead, save us who sing to you: Alleluia [3 times].

[Weekday refrain] O Son of God, you who are awesome in your saints, save us who sing to you: Alleluia [3 times].²⁸

²⁵ Cf. Bocian, "De modificationibus", p. 959; Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 102-103; Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 199; Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 80-81.

²⁶ *1519 Venice*, [f. 12r-14r].

²⁷ Cf. Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 46-48, 53-57.

²⁸ *1671 Ecphonemata*, CHR f. 3v-5v.

The triple alleluia given in the 1671 *Ecphonemata* was also used in pre-Nikonian Muscovy. When Patriarch Nikon reduced it to a single number in his služebnyk as part of his liturgical reform, the Old Believers protested.²⁹

In his služebnyk Žoxovs'kyj gives the full antiphon texts as in the 1671 *Ecphonemata*, but the third antiphon has only the three verses in current use. The third antiphon has a triple alleluia. No beatitudes or any alternative psalms for Sunday are indicated by Žoxovs'kyj. Other Catholic editions follow him, but exceptions are found in the 1759 Lviv OSBM curia copy and the 1788 Počajiv služebnyk, which give only a single alleluia for the third antiphon.³⁰

The use of the typica is not totally excluded. In Sipovič's pontifical, only the incipit of the typica are indicated in the text of CHR, with a marginal note "or others" allowing for other antiphons. Since the pontifical would have been used mainly on Sundays and feasts, the typica would have been the most logical text to give here, without excluding the use of other special psalms for feasts, as indicated in the marginal note. In the rubrics for the beatitudes the word "choir" in both versions (lyk – chorus) was crossed out and the verb "they read" (čtut – legentur) written in, suggesting that the beatitudes were read and not sung. This could be due not so much to the length of the beatitudes, but more so of the verses from the octoichos and menaion that were to be intercalated between the beatitudes. After the archdeacon said "Wisdom, upright" for the Little Entrance, the regular entrance verse from Ps. 64: 6a is given (with no indication of who proclaimed it), with three possible refrains:

Save us, O Son of God

[on Sunday:] you who have risen from the dead,

[on weekdays:] you who are wondrous among the saints,

[for the dead:] you who reign over the living and the dead, — we sing to you:
alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.³¹

Besides the triple alleluia, the refrain for the dead is also of interest.

In reply to Cassian Sakowicz the *Lithos* authors explain that on feasts, in place of the antiphons, psalms and the beatitudes are taken. The beatitudes are alternated with hymns from the canon of the saints. The entrance verse from Ps. 94: 6a ("Come let us worship and bow down before Christ") is followed by various refrains, *Lithos* explains, depending on the feast or day of the week.³²

²⁹ Cf. Subbotin, *Materialy*, p. 266. Mateos refers to the triple alleluia, but only as the sole refrain for the second antiphon still used in Constantinople in the 11th century; cf. Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 50.

³⁰ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 85r-86r; 1759 Lviv OSBM curia copy, f. 108r; 1788 *Počajiv*, CHR f. 5v.

³¹ Cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 163-164 (ms f. 12v-15r). For the order in taking these verses, see Nikofskij, *Posobie*, p. 390-394.

³² Cf. *Lithos*, p. 122-123.

The Roman procurator Nicholas Novak, who submitted his views in 1626 to Propaganda on Ruthenian *služebnyky*, mentions that only certain common antiphons are given in the *služebnyky*; he adds that the numerous special antiphons proper to various feasts were not given in the *služebnyky*.³³

From these sources we can draw the following conclusion. The use of the *typica* on Sundays, although called for in many *služebnyky*, was not common, undoubtedly because of their length, and because the intercalation of refrains between the beatitude verses required more work and more books. The *typica* contrasted with the older and more coherent use of Ps. 91, 92, and 94, the most frequent antiphons used. Even when the beatitudes were taken, the entrance verse, illogically, comes from Ps. 94: 6a ("Come let us worship and bow down before Christ"). The insertion of the complete text of Ps. 91, 92, and 94 in the *Ecphonemata* and the *Žoxovs'kyj* texts, indicates their use not only for weekdays, but especially for Sunday, since the faithful participated more on that day than during the week. This is especially true in the case of the 1671 *Ecphonemata*, which was meant specifically for the use of the laity and not the celebrants. Also, the meager rubrics in these editions instruct that either Ps. 91, 92, and 94, or those proper to the feasts be used. No mention is ever made in these editions of replacing the first two psalms of Sunday with Ps. 65 and 66, as is done today. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Ps. 65 and 66 were assigned only to Easter Sunday and its festive period, which in the *Žoxovs'kyj* tradition includes only the first two Sundays after Easter.³⁴ Further study of the sources from the nineteenth century should give the origin of their regular use on Sundays in present practice.

5. *The Antiphon Prayers*

The proper place for the prayers of the antiphons is prior to their ecphonesis at the end of each litany, as in the 1942 *Rome služebnyk*. The Ruthenian *služebnyky* give the prayers both before and after the ecphonesis, even within the same *služebnyk*.

An important factor here is the presence of a deacon to chant the litany. The 1604 *Balaban* edition gives the prayers after the ecphonesis, but explains that if a deacon says the litany, the priest is to say the prayer during the litany; if no deacon is present, the priest takes everything from the altar. The text does not say when the priest should say the prayers in the latter case.

The 1617 *Mamonyč* text gives in CHR the same rubric and format as found in the 1604 *Balaban*, but in BAS it places the first prayer several petitions before the ecphonesis, while the next two prayers are given after their

³³ *LB*, 1: 12.

³⁴ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, pentecostarion propers f. 39r, 40r.

ecphonesis. The rubrics in BAS instruct the priest to say the prayer after he says the ecphonesis (and litany, if no deacon is present).

The 1629 *Kiev* služebnyk places the prayer after the ecphonesis, but indicates that the priest should say the prayer before it. The 1639 *Kiev* edition gives still another combination: the prayer is printed before the ecphonesis, and the priest is to say it before the ecphonesis even if no deacon is present. Subsequent Mohylyan texts are not consistent. We find the 1691 *Lviv* edition giving the prayer after the ecphonesis in CHR, but before it in BAS.

The Borgia ms, following the 1629 *Kiev* služebnyk, gives the prayer after the ecphonesis, but in a note for the first prayer it has the priest open his hands while he says it:

ijerej že prosteršy ruci hlaholet
sacerdos vero expansis manibus secreto dicit.³⁵

The Žoxovs'kyj tradition texts generally agree in giving the prayer before the ecphonesis, but not always.

6. The Deacon's Rubrics

OBS comments that after the litany the deacon bows and goes to the altar steps, or remains in his place until the antiphon is completed. OBS questions how the Greek deacon can stand before the icon of Christ if a bishop, whose throne is in front of this icon, is assisting at the liturgy (XXVI.2).³⁶

The Žoxovs'kyj tradition does not specify where the deacon stands. POL says the deacon goes before the icon of Christ and faces the people during the first antiphon and does the same for the second, exactly the way it is given in BEN. Balaban gives the same directions.

The 1519 *Venice*, 1583 *Vilna*, and 1617 *Mamonyč* texts have the deacon stand before the icon of Christ, but do not indicate which way he faces. The same is true for the Nikonian Ruthenian editions. The Old Believers criticized Nikon for having the deacon face the people (the west) instead of the east.

The Mohylyan texts give the most detailed rubrics. In the 1629 *Kiev* text he stands in front of the Christ icon facing the people for both antiphons in

³⁵ 1604 *Balaban*, CHR p. 74; 1617 *Mamonyč*, CHR p. 6, BAS p. 150-156; 1629 *Kiev*, CHR p. 5-9, BAS p. 119-123; 1639 *Kiev*, CHR p. 232-238, BAS p. 414-421; 1646 *Lviv*, CHR f. 104-107, BAS f. 183-185v; 1691 *Lviv*, CHR f. 74r-76r, BAS f. 133r-135r; 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 85r-86r, BAS f. 101v-102r; 1788 *Počajiv*, CHR f. 5, BAS f. 18v-19v (they are given after); Borgia ms, f. 79v. On these prayers see Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 57-61; Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 860, 875, 900.

³⁶ The position of the bishop's throne is discussed by Taft, "Pontifical Liturgy", p. 105-106. He notes that in contemporary usage the Russian bishops sit in the center of the nave during the enarxis (the antiphons and litanies), while the Greeks sit to the right. The Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy use both, depending on the bishop and the place.

CHR, but in BAS he stands in front of the Marian icon for the second antiphon. Each time he comes back to the center for a litany in BAS, the deacon goes up one more step of the ambon. The 1639 Kiev text has the deacon in CHR stand in front of the Christ icon facing the people during the first antiphon, then stand before the Marian icon during the second antiphon, with no mention of where he faces. The deacon also progressively goes up the ambon steps.³⁷ This is the same for the 1646 Lviv, 1653 Kiev, and 1681 Lviv texts. But in the 1691 Lviv text, no mention is made of the steps, and the deacon stands before the icon of Christ both times, facing the people during CHR; for BAS, the steps are mentioned, and the deacon stands first before one, then before the other icon. Thus, not only do we find variants within the same tradition, but even within the same text, demonstrating how random were the editors' choices when preparing these texts. And if the text itself was not always consistent, much less could consistency be expected from a simple pastor or deacon.

The 1759 Lviv OSBM curia copy gives an interesting rubric, unusual for a text in the Žoxovs'kyj tradition. After the first litany, the deacon bows and stands before the Christ icon, facing north! This would mean he turns inward at a 90° angle to the direction the congregation faced. After the second litany, he is to do "likewise as during the first antiphon", but before the Marian icon. No exact direction for where he faces is given in this second case, but it is probably south.³⁸

7. "Only-Begotten Son" and the Low Mass Rubrics

When the choir begins to sing the "Glory: and now: Only-begotten Son", the bishop, according to the Sipovič pontifical, stands and removes his mitre until the end of the hymn. In the 1716 Suprasl' pontifical the bishop only removes his mitre and stands until the words "and was incarnate", after which he sits down again. According to Xojnackij, the Russian bishops stand for the hymn but keep their mitres on their heads. The likely explanation is that this is a sign of respect and attention, as at other more solemn parts of the liturgy.³⁹

³⁷ Mention is made of the ambon steps in the early Greek patriarchal diataxis of BAS; cf. Strittmatter, "Notes on the Byzantine Synapte", *Traditio*, 10 (1954): 86-87. See also Goar, p. 153.

³⁸ See the deacon's rubrics in: 1519 Venice, [f. 13r]; 1583 Vilna, CHR f. 38r; 1604 Balaban, CHR p. 75-76; 1617 Mamonyč, CHR p. 6-7, 10-11; 1629 Kiev, CHR p. 6, 8, BAS p. 115, 121-122; 1639 Kiev, CHR p. 225, 234, 236, BAS p. 414-421; 1646 Lviv, CHR f. 104-107r, BAS f. 183r-187r; 1691 Lviv, CHR f. 72r, 74v, 75, BAS f. 131r-134; 1759 Lviv OSBM curia copy, f. 107v-108r. Cf. Bocian, "De modificationibus", p. 952; Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluzhenie*, p. 101; Rud', "Liturgija", p. 180.

³⁹ Cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 189 (ms f. 13v-14r); 1716 Suprasl' pontifical, f. 8r; Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 139. Nikoľskij says the Russian bishops stand for the hymn, but he mentions nothing about the mitre; cf. Nikoľskij, *Posobie*, p. 387. This is borne out by the 1798

In the Borgia ms, when the choir begins to sing the “Glory: and now: Only-begotten Son”, the rubrics instruct the priest to come to the center of the altar, while a bishop, if present, is to stand and remove his mitre. The bishop, priest, and choir are to sing the hymn starting at the “Glory”:

post antiphonam sacerdos stat in medio altaris, si sit episcopus deposita mitra surgit, et stans dicit hunc versum, quem dicit et sacerdos, et chorus canit, hic vero est: Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, et nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum, amen. Unigenite fili [...].

After the words, “and without change became man”, rubrics are inserted for the bishop to bow and sit down, and the priest to bow and return to the right side of the altar:

si sit episcopus facta reverentia sedet, si simplex sacerdos similiter facta reverentia, abit ad dextrum cornu altaris dicens: Crucifigi Christe Deus [...].⁴⁰

The 1671 *Ecphonemata* gives no such rubric, but one of the Vilna ms služebnyky from the seventeenth century indicates a bow to be made during the words, “for our salvation”.⁴¹

In the separate set of low mass rubrics printed at the end of the 1755 *Počajiv* služebnyk, we find the following description. The priest, standing at the right side of the altar, makes the sign of the cross and begins, “Blessed is the kingdom”. With his hands joined at the breast he says the Litany of Peace and after its ecphonesis continues with the first antiphon prayer. The server reads the antiphon either of the day or of the feast. At the “Only-begotten Son” the priest stands at the center of the altar, crosses himself, and recites the hymn as well, bowing low at the words “and was incarnate of the holy Mother of God”. He then returns to the right side of the altar and says the second small synapte, followed by its prayer.⁴²

In the regular text of CHR the Žoxovs’kyj tradition includes this bow during the “Only-begotten Son”. But some celebrants must also have been genuflecting at this point, since the 1760 Lviv theology manual clearly tells the priests not to genuflect at the words “and was incarnate”. We shall see later that priests were also genuflecting at other places in the liturgy.⁴³

These rubrics parallel those formerly in the Latin Rite for the creed at the words “who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven [celebrant genuflects] and was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin

Moscow činovník, f. 13r. Taft discusses the entrance into the sanctuary in “Pontifical Liturgy”, p. 107.

⁴⁰ Borgia ms, f. 80v, 81r.

⁴¹ Cf. Odincov, “Uniatskoe bogosluženie”, p. 199 (ms n. 190 f. 12). Wawryk mistakenly took this for the Pilixovs’kyj ms n. 192; cf. Wawryk, “Do istoriji”, p. 134.

⁴² 1755 *Počajiv*, low mass rubrics [f. 1r].

⁴³ 1692 *Žoxovs’kyj*, CHR f. 85v; cf. *Bohoslovija npravoučytelnaja*, p. 80.

Mary". The similarity of these two phrases of the creed and of the "Only-begotten Son" undoubtedly encouraged the introduction of the Latin practice here too. Since the Ruthenian pontificals have the bishop make a special sign of respect by standing for the hymn, the priest, who during the pontifical liturgy normally stands at the side of the altar and not in front, also began to make a similar gesture of respect, which carried over into regular presbyteral liturgies without the bishop.

II. THE LITTLE ENTRANCE

1. *POL*

The rubrics and prayers given in *POL* are quite similar to those in most other *služebnyky*. When the choir sings the third antiphon or the "Glory" of the beatitudes, the priest and deacon make three bows before the altar. The priest gives the deacon the gospel book and, preceded by candle bearers, they go out the north side. Standing in the usual place, the deacon says quietly, "Let us pray to the Lord", and the priest says the entrance prayer silently. The deacon points to the east with his orarion and asks the priest to bless the entrance, which the priest does saying, "Blessed is the entrance of your saints always, now, and forever and ever, amen." The deacon gives the superior the gospel book to kiss. When the choir has finished, the deacon stands in front of the priest, raises his hands, shows the gospel book, and says "Wisdom, upright." The two celebrants bow and go to the altar and the deacon puts the book on the altar. The choir sings the troparia. *POL* makes no mention of the iconostasis, nor of the thurible during the entrance.⁴⁴

2. *Early Texts*

Several additions to this rite are given in the 1583 *Vilna služebnyk*. At the altar, the number of bows is not indicated. When the priest gives the deacon the gospel book he also says, "Let us go in peace". They proceed out the north side, which means they go around the altar. When passing by the prothesis table the deacon points to the gifts and says "Bless these offerings"; the priest blesses them with his hand and says:

Blessed are the offerings of your divine Mysteries always, now, and forever and ever.

This blessing is found in the 1637 *Lviv služebnyk*, in the 1646 *Moscow*

⁴⁴ *POL*, f. 258-260r.

text, and in other early Slavic sources, as well as in some of the Vilna ms služebnyky. After the priest says the customary entrance prayer (in the 1583 *Vilna* text), the deacon points to the east with his orarion and the priest blesses with his hand facing the east. If a bishop is present, the deacon takes the gospel book to him to kiss, and the bishop blesses the deacon over the head. If no bishop is present, the priest-celebrant kisses the book. In a monastery the deacon takes the gospel book to the superior to kiss, but no instruction is given for the superior to bless the deacon.⁴⁵

The blessing of the gifts on the prothesis table in the Černihiv služebnyky was criticized by hierodeacon Macarius. He adds that, according to these Černihiv služebnyky, the deacon does not point to the holy doors at the entrance, and the priest blesses not the entrance, but the deacon over the head. If a priest serves without a deacon, he still does not make a sign of the cross over the entrance, nor does he kiss the holy doors, according to Macarius. We see, in fact, that no Ruthenian texts direct the celebrant to kiss the holy doors.⁴⁶

In the 1604 *Balaban* and 1617 *Mamonyč* texts the celebrants bow three times at the altar and walk around the altar as POL prescribes; no indication is given in these texts on which side of the priest the deacon stands. The priest kisses the gospel book after reciting the entrance prayer, and the deacon points to the east, asking the priest to bless the entrance, which the priest does with the usual formula. If an archbishop or archimandrite is present, the deacon takes the book to him to kiss, and he blesses the entrance.⁴⁷

3. *The Mohylan Tradition*

In the 1629 *Kiev* text of CHR the deacon enters the sanctuary, stands at the left side of the altar, makes three bows, kisses the altar and waits. When it is time for the procession, he and the priest bow three times, the deacon receives the gospel book from the priest and kisses his hand, then they proceed out the north door.

The rubrics in BAS are slightly different. The deacon enters the sanctuary through the north door, but it is not mentioned where he stands and if he makes any initial bows as given in CHR. At the procession, the celebrants make three bows, the priest gives the deacon the gospel book, but the deacon does not kiss his hand. They proceed out the north door.

The 1639 *Kiev* text combines the 1629 *Kiev* CHR and BAS rubrics to form

⁴⁵ 1583 *Vilna*, CHR f. 42-44r; 1646 *Moscow*, CHR f. 112v. Cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluzhenie*, p. 103-104; Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluzhenie", p. 199 (ms n. 195 f. 23v, n. 199 f. 5v); Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 860, 920, 927; Rud', "Liturgija", p. 181.

⁴⁶ Cf. Barsov, "Ierodiakon Makarij", p. 676.

⁴⁷ 1604 *Balaban*, CHR p. 82-87; 1617 *Mamonyč*, CHR p. 16-18.

a single set used in both the *1639 Kiev* BAS and CHR. According to the *1639 Kiev* text, the deacon enters the sanctuary via the north door and stands on the left of the altar and bows. For the procession, the celebrants bow three times, the priest gives the deacon the book, the deacon kisses his right hand, and they go around the altar out the north door. Most subsequent Mohylan texts follow the *1639 Kiev* formulation for these rubrics, but the *1691* and *1712 Lviv* texts for CHR follow the *1629 Kiev* CHR, while for BAS they follow the *1639 Kiev* formulation. It is noteworthy that in the Mohylan texts the deacon enters by the north door and waits at the priest's left before beginning the procession.

The same is true for the *1646 Moscow* služebnyk (and perhaps for other pre-Nikonian služebnyky), where the deacon also enters the sanctuary and stands on the priest's left, bows three times, and kisses the altar. This clearly contradicts present Byzantine usage, which considers it improper for celebrants to cross in front of the altar (except when incensing around the altar at certain services). We shall see shortly that the deacon often stands on the priest's left in the texts we are studying, suggesting that he entered the sanctuary via the north door, and crossed in front of the altar to make the procession. This is clear in many texts for the Cherubic hymn, before the Sanctus in the Mohylan texts, after the Sanctus in the *1602* and *1646 Moscow* texts, and it is implied just before the procession to the throne in the Mohylan texts. Macarius criticizes this in Černihiv texts:

When entering and leaving the sanctuary, the deacon does not kiss the altar and he stands on the left side of the priest all throughout the liturgy.⁴⁸

According to the Mohylan texts, when the deacon asks the priest to bless the entrance he bows to the priest rather than to the east, and the priest blesses the deacon over the head and kisses the gospel book. If a bishop or monastic superior is present, the deacon takes the book to him to kiss, and he, not the celebrant, blesses the deacon.

The *1639 Kiev* služebnyk prescribes three bows by the priest after the deacon says "Wisdom, upright": the first is from his place on the solea, the second when he enters the sanctuary, and the third when the deacon puts the gospel book on the altar when they both bow. This rite of bowing shows similarity to the three bows made by the bishop in an Arabic ms dated 1260 (but which describes the liturgy of the eleventh century). It is given in other later Mohylan texts like the *1646 Lviv* edition, whereas the *1691 Lviv* text gives it only in BAS. It is not found at all in the *1629 Kiev* služebnyk.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Cf. Barsov, "Ierodiakon Makarij", p. 676.

⁴⁹ *1629 Kiev*, CHR p. 9-12, BAS p. 123-126; *1639 Kiev*, CHR p. 239-243; *1646 Lviv*, CHR f. 109v, BAS f. 189; *1653 Kiev*, CHR f. 120r-122v; *1666 Lviv*, CHR f. 116-118v; *1681 Lviv*, CHR f. 117v-120v; *1691 Lviv*, CHR f. 76r-77v, BAS f. 135r-137r. Cf. Rud, "Liturgija", p. 180-181.

4. *The Žoxovs'kyj Tradition*

The 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj* služebnyk gives for the Little Entrance a much different structure, which is found in most later Catholic editions. The priest says the regular entrance prayer while the choir says the third antiphon. Then the priest gives the gospel book to the deacon (no bows are indicated), and they go out by the north door, preceded by candle bearers. The priest keeps his hands joined at the breast. Before the holy doors the priest kisses the gospel book, and the deacon asks him to bless the entrance, which he does by saying the usual formula and blessing with his hand. If a bishop is present, the deacon takes the book to him to kiss and he blesses the entrance. Then the deacon raises the gospel book, says “Wisdom, upright”, they enter the sanctuary, and the deacon puts the book on the altar, while the choir sings the entrance verse, which the priest and deacon also recite. No bow at the altar is indicated in *Žoxovs'kyj*; the 1583 *Vilna* text does not indicate how many bows, and the Philothean diataxis prescribes only one.⁵⁰

The change in the position of the entrance prayer may have been due to the order of the rubrics. As we saw with the antiphon prayers, rubrics and prayers have not always been ordered coherently. Originally, rubrics and prayers were contained in separate books and were combined into one text only gradually.⁵¹

We should note here that all texts describe the procession as going out the north side. They do not state specifically that it went around the altar, although this seems certain from the rubrics indicating that the prothesis be blessed.⁵²

Another reason for the placement of the entrance prayer sooner in *Žoxovs'kyj* may have been due to the recited mass. The Borgia ms, which often includes rubrics for a recited mass, does not indicate anything here, and the description of the Pilixovs'kyj ms is silent on this point. But the printed low mass rubrics, such as those in the 1755 *Počajiv* text, describe what must have been established usage in the eighteenth century. Here, while the server reads the third antiphon, the priest reads the entrance prayer, adding to it immediately the entrance blessing formula, plus “Wisdom, upright”. Both server and priest say the entrance verse of the antiphon. No procession is indicated, there is no deacon, and the recited antiphon is short, so the priest could read the entrance prayer as soon as the server began the antiphon.⁵³

The Arab ms is printed in C. Bacha, “Notions générales sur les versions arabes de la liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome suivies d'une ancienne version inédite”, *XPYCOCTOMIKA*, Rome 1908, p. 405-471; see p. 449 on the Little Entrance. The date of this document is referred to in Taft, “Pontifical Liturgy”, p. 97. See also Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 268.

⁵⁰ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 86; cf. Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 75.

⁵¹ Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. XXXII-XXXIII.

⁵² Cf. Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 76.

⁵³ 1755 *Počajiv*, low mass rubrics [f. 1r]; cf. Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 112.

5. *Omission of the Little Entrance*

Catholic Ruthenians often omitted the Little Entrance procession even in sung liturgies. Kamins'kyj wrote in 1685 that the Basilians in Žyrovyci dropped it as a “schismatic invention”. In 1711 John Oleševs'kyj, who made a visitation of the Vilna Basilians for Leo Kyška, told them not to leave out the procession with the gospel book. The Lviv eparchy in its report for the 1765 Brest synod complained that many were suppressing this entrance.⁵⁴

Porfirius Važyns'kyj points out many cases of this in his visitation of the Basilian Lithuanian province in 1784. In Sveržan Novyj, he writes, it was left out due to “defectum loci”, which probably meant that the altar was against the wall (a further proof that the procession went around the altar). In Mir some priests did not perform it due to their personal distaste for it: “ab iisdem abhorrere”. And in Novyj Dvir it was omitted even at festive liturgies.⁵⁵

In his extensive report to Nuncio Saluzzo of 23 December 1786 Lisovs'kyj writes that the majority of priests were omitting both entrance processions even at solemn masses.⁵⁶ If the Little Entrance was being neglected so regularly, it is suprising that OBS makes no comment on it in POL.

6. *The Nikonian Tradition*

The Nikonian Ruthenian služebnyky basically agree with POL, but they (and only they) add that the holy doors are to be opened for the entrance. None of the Ruthenian texts indicate that the thurible or cross are carried in the procession, or that any icons are kissed, or that the deacon makes a sign of the cross with the gospel book at “Wisdom, upright”.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Cf. Ščurat, *V oboroni Uniji*, p. 89-90; the visitation is found in *LE*, 5: 35; the Lviv eparchy complaints are in Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 935.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Visitationes*, f. 106v, 123, 125v, 162.

⁵⁶ *EM*, 9: 171.

⁵⁷ More information can be found in Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluzhenie*, p. 104; Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 82-89; Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 165.

CHAPTER 8

THE TRISAGION, THRONE PROCESSION, AND READINGS

I. THE TRISAGION

1. *POL and OBS*

The trisagion involves some interesting practices no longer in use today. When the choir comes to the last troparion, the deacon in POL turns to the priest, bows, raises his orarion and says “Bless, master, the time of the thrice-holy hymn”; the priest blesses him (*znamenuja – signans illum*) and says “For you are holy, our God, always, now, and forever and ever.” After the troparion, the deacon comes near to the holy doors, points with his orarion to the icon of Christ and says “Lord, save the devout and hear us”; then he turns and says aloud to the worshippers, “and forever and ever”; the choir replies “Amen” and sings the trisagion, while the priest says the trisagion prayer, “Holy God, who dwell among the holy”. This prayer ends with the *ecphonesis*:

For you are holy, our God, and to you we give glory, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now, always, and forever and ever.

The priest and deacon then sing the trisagion themselves, making three bows before the altar.¹

OBS objects first to the deacon’s “Lord, save the devout and hear us”, as not practiced by Catholic Ruthenians, nor by the Greeks according to Goar. OBS also refers to POL’s rubric that the deacon says the troparia, suggesting that this also was not the practice among the Ruthenians (XXVII.2). The celebrants say the prayer before the trisagion, and not after, as in POL. While the choir sings the trisagion, the priest and deacon recite it silently to themselves. During a pontifical liturgy, the celebrants sing it in Greek. (XXVIII.1-3)

2. *Similar Redactions*

This trisagion rite is more complicated than the one OBS suggests. We

¹ *POL*, f. 259v-260r.

can point out immediately that the Nikonian Ruthenian texts are identical here to POL, except for the ecphonesis said by the priest before and after the prayer. In POL, the first one is like the second, omitting only “and to you we give glory”. In Nikonian texts the two ecphoneses are identical. Neither POL nor the Nikonian texts indicate where the priest faces when saying the ecphoneses, nor are the Nikonian texts explicit on whether the celebrant says the trisagion quietly or aloud.²

The 1604 *Balaban* and 1617 *Mamonyč* editions follow the format given in POL, with the same differences noted for the Nikonian texts: namely, the ecphoneses are the same, and there is no indication of where the priest faces or how the celebrants say the trisagion. In *Balaban* the deacon takes “Lord, save the devout and hear us” in a loud voice.³

The 1519 *Venice* and 1583 *Vilna* editions are like the Nikonian and 1617 *Mamonyč* texts, but they do not contain “Lord, save the devout”; the deacon just ends the ecphonesis facing the people. According to the *Venice* edition, the deacon says this ending quietly, while in the *Vilna* text he says it aloud.⁴

3. *The Mohylan and Early Muscovite Traditions*

In the 1629 *Kiev služebnyk*, we find the trisagion prayer before the first ecphonesis. The priest faces the west (towards the worshippers) and makes the sign of the cross — “znamenaja” — when he says his part of the ecphonesis. The deacon goes out the holy doors, points to the icon of Christ and says “Lord, save the devout”; then he turns to the people and completes the ecphonesis saying “forever and ever”. BAS has the priest face east when he blesses the deacon.

The 1639 *Kiev* text gives for CHR what the 1629 *Kiev* edition gives for BAS: the prayer before the ecphonesis, the priest facing east, the deacon saying “Lord, save the devout” in a low voice. This format is followed in the 1653 *Kiev*, and the *Lviv* texts of 1646, 1666, and 1681. The 1691 *Lviv* edition and the 1712 *Lviv* edition repeat the format given in the 1629 *Kiev* text, where the priest turns to the west for the ecphonesis in CHR, but faces the east in BAS.⁵

Of the pre-Nikonian Muscovite editions, the 1602 and 1646 *Moscow* texts give the prayer first, after which the priest turns to the west for the ecphonesis.

² See CHR in the following texts from the Nikonian tradition: 1670 *Moscow*, f. 92r-93v; 1736 *Kiev*, f. 64v-65v; 1754 *Černihiv*, f. 64v-65v; 1762 *Kiev*, f. 60r-61v.

³ 1604 *Balaban*, CHR p. 88-89; 1617 *Mamonyč*, CHR p. 19-24.

⁴ 1519 *Venice*, [f. 15r-16r]; 1583 *Vilna*, CHR f. 44v-46v.

⁵ 1629 *Kiev*, CHR p. 13-15, BAS p. 128-129; 1639 *Kiev*, CHR p. 245-248; 1646 *Lviv*, CHR f. 111v; 1635 *Kiev*, CHR f. 123r-125r; 1666 *Lviv*, CHR f. 118v-120v; 1681 *Lviv*, CHR f. 120v-122v; 1691 *Lviv*, CHR f. 78r-79r, BAS f. 138r; 1712 *Lviv*, CHR f. 78r-79r.

These do not have “Lord, save the devout”, which was added to the later Nikonian texts.⁶

4. *The Pontificals*

Three Ruthenian pontificals from this period have variants in the trisagion rite, including its recitation in Greek. In the Sipovič ms, the bishop says the trisagion prayer immediately after the Little Entrance. He then blesses the gospel book with the dikerion, saying the following three troparia (which together form a single prayer said just before the dimissal of the first hour from the divine office).

Sipovič ms Dikerion Troparia

1. O Christ, true light, that illuminates and sanctifies every man who comes into the world; [based on Jn. 1: 9]
2. May the light of your face shine upon us, that in it we may behold the inaccessible light; [based on Ps. 4: 7, 35: 10]
3. Guide our steps towards fulfilling your commandments; through the prayers of your most holy Mother, Christ our God, save us.

Then the archdeacon asks the bishop to bless the time of the trisagion, at which he blesses the gospel book with his hand saying:

Father and Son and Holy Spirit, in the three distinct hypostasies, together blessed, in one divinity and one essence.

The bishop kisses the gospel book and the archdeacon places it on the altar. The archdeacon continues with, “Let us pray to the Lord”, the bishop stands in the holy doors, faces the people and says the ephonesis of the trisagion prayer, which the archdeacon concludes as usual. There is no “Lord, save the devout”. While the choir sings the trisagion three times, the bishop and concelebrants recite it also three times, after which the bishop blesses the people with the trikerion, saying the following troparia adapted from Ps. 79 and 32.

Sipovič ms Trikerion Troparia

1. Lord, Lord, look down from heaven, and see, visit this vineyard and perfect what your right hand has planted; may your right hand be on the man and the son of man whom you have strengthened for yourself. [Ps. 79: 15b-16a, 18]
2. Lord God of powers convert us, let your face shine on us and we shall be saved. [Ps. 79:8]

⁶ 1646 *Moscow*, CHR f. 114v-115; cf. Nikoľskij, *Posobie*, p. 402. According to Macarius, the printed Černihiv služebnyky did not contain “Lord, save the devout”, Barsov, “Ierodiakon Makarij”, p. 676.

3. Thrice holy Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, look down from your holy heaven and bless all of us. [Ps. 32: 13a-14a]

The bishop and celebrants then proceed to the throne behind the altar. When they leave the altar, the “Glory: and now: Holy Immortal, have mercy on us” is sung (but not stipulated by whom), and the concelebrants sing the trisagion once more. Once the celebrants are at the throne, the trisagion is sung again, probably by the choir, although it is not stipulated clearly by whom.⁷

The description given by Burčak-Abramovič of the early nineteenth century pontifical indicates that it is very similar to the Sipovič ms. During the troparia after the Little Entrance, the bishop blesses the altar and gospel book as in Sipovič, but the order of the second and third dikerion troparia are reversed. The archdeacon next asks the bishop to bless the time of the trisagion, and he blesses the gospel book with the same prayer given in Sipovič. Only then does the bishop turn to the people, saying the ecphonesis of the trisagion prayer. Unlike the Sipovič ms, this source has the bishop say the entire ecphonesis by himself. Then he turns back to the altar, bows, and says the trisagion (how often is not specified), while the choir also sings it. The bishop then blesses the people with the trikerion, as prescribed in the Sipovič ms, with the same troparia. The concelebrating clergy sing the trisagion from the altar (how often is not specified); the choir sings the “Glory: and now: Holy Immortal, etc.”; and the clergy sing the trisagion again from the altar. Burčak-Abramovič’s description does not clearly indicate when the trisagion prayer is said.⁸

The 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical gives several rubrics not found in the previous two pontificals. After the deacon says “Wisdom, upright” for the Little Entrance, the bishop takes his staff and one candlestick and blesses in the four directions, saying the three dikerion troparia given in the Sipovič ms, but dividing the last one into two. The bishop then enters the sanctuary and the choir sings “For many years, master” in Greek. The bishop kisses the altar and walks around it three times, accompanied by a priest and a deacon singing aloud “Save us, Son of God”. When they finish this, the choir sings the regular entrance verse, “Come, let us worship”. The choirs — “krylošany” — sing the troparia and kontakia, and the bishop sits on his throne to the left of the altar. The archdeacon receives his blessing, wishes him many years (*mnoholitstvujet*), takes a candlestick, stands in the holy doors and sings aloud the series of acclamations or great praises for the various dignitaries and people present, beginning with the pope. To these the choir replies alternately with either “and for all men and everything” or “for many years”.⁹

⁷ Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 165-166 (ms f. 15v-19r).

⁸ Cf. *B.A. Činovnik*, p. 73-74.

⁹ These acclamations are also given at this point in the 1798 *Moscow činovnik*, f. 16v-17v. In

After these acclamations, the bishop stands and says the trisagion prayer; the archdeacon asks him to bless the time of the trisagion; the bishop blesses the gospel book; he then says the trisagion ecphonesis aloud up to “now and always”; whereupon the archdeacon silently says “Lord, save the devout Christians”, and continues aloud, “and forever and ever”. The choir responds and sings the trisagion only twice, after which the bishop and clergy sing it once in Greek; here the music and Greek text are printed in the pontifical. This is the only pontifical of the three we have studied that indicates that the trisagion is taken in Greek and only once by the celebrants.

After it has been sung in Greek, a priest holds the gospel book, which the bishop blesses with the trikerion — “trema sviščamy osijajet svjatoje jevanhelije” — making a sign of the cross three times over the book, saying a slightly different adaptation of the psalm verses from that given in the Sipovič ms.

1716 Suprasl Trikerion Troparia

1. Lord, Lord, look down from heaven and see and visit your vineyard and perfect it, what your right hand has planted. [Ps. 79: 165a-16a]
2. Lord, God of powers, turn to us and let your face shine on us and we shall be saved. [Ps. 79:8]
3. Holy Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, look down from heaven, your holy heaven, and bless us. [Ps. 32: 13a-14a]

After this the bishop kisses the gospel book and the archdeacon proclaims “Give glory to Christ our God”; the choir sings “Glory: and now: Holy Immortal etc.” and repeats the trisagion once more. The bishop and clergy go to the throne behind the altar, bow, and also say the trisagion (presumably once). Nowhere in this *1716 Suprasl* pontifical are the clergy directed to sing the trisagion three times.¹⁰

The phrase “Lord, save the devout and hear us”, objected to in OBS, originated with the acclamations made for the dignitaries when these entered the church at the introit during the pontifical liturgy. (At an episcopal ordination the acclamations are chanted after the celebrants are seated in the apse; the ordination takes place after the Little Entrance and an acclamation can be made for the new bishop once they are all seated.) It is surprising that this phrase appears only in the *Suprasl* pontifical, which is also the only one to give the full set of acclamations at this point. This phrase duplicates these acclamations. On the other hand, the phrase is not given in the Sipovič or

the Sipovič pontifical and the *B.A. Činovnik* they are given after the anaphora. Cf. Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 122-123; Nikoľskij *Posobie*, p. 402-403; Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 166; Taft, “Pontifical Liturgy”, p. 115 (with further bibliography).

¹⁰ *1716 Suprasl* pontifical, f. 8r-10r.

Burčak-Abramovič pontificals, which also do not give the acclamations at this point. Even though many služebnyky contain the phrase “Lord, save the devout and hear us”, two notable exceptions are the *1519 Venice* and the *1583 Vilna* editions.¹¹

5. *Žoxovs'kyj and Other Catholic Sources*

The pre-Žoxovs'kyj texts containing a presbyteral version of CHR have combinations of the above elements. The *1671 Ecphonemata* has the priest sing the entire ecphonesis, even though a deacon is present. No indication is given of where the priest faces, nor is the phrase, “Lord, save the devout” given.¹²

The Borgia ms tells the priest to turn to the west for the ecphonesis and cancels the deacon's “Lord, save the devout”.¹³

According to one Vilna ms služebnyk from the seventeenth century, the priest opens his hands for the last part of the ecphonesis, presumably facing the people, although Odincov does not explicitly state this.¹⁴

The Žoxovs'kyj rubrics are criticized by some for being latinized. The priest first says the trisagion prayer with hands joined at the breast. When he says the first half of the ecphonesis, a rubric is inserted into the text for him to turn to the people with open hands (as at the Latin “Dominus vobiscum”) and say “now and always”; the deacon completes it with “and forever and ever”. The choir sings the full trisagion, which the celebrants say to themselves. Only the format of the trisagion said by the choir is given, with no indication that the priest says it in any other way.¹⁵

6. *Facing the People*

According to the Lviv eparchy report for the 1765 Brest synod, some priests turned only halfway at this ecphonesis, while others turned completely around to the people for the last ecphonesis before the Great Entrance.¹⁶ Both Važyns'kyj and Lisovs'kyj refer to and criticize this practice, which they took to be a latinization.¹⁷ Diagrams for the hands are inserted in some služebnyky at these points.

But is this totally a latinization? The gesture with the hands surely is, but

¹¹ On this invocation and the episcopal trisagion, see Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 104-107; Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 122-123; Taft, “Pontifical Liturgy”, p. 106-115.

¹² *1671 Ecphonemata*, CHR [f. 5v-6r].

¹³ Borgia ms, f. 85r; Wawryk, “Do istoriji”, p. 134.

¹⁴ Cf. Odincov, “Uniatskoe bogosluženie”, p. 199 (ms n. 190 f. 13v).

¹⁵ *1692 Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 86v-87r.

¹⁶ Cf. Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 935.

¹⁷ Cf. Važyns'kyj, “Observatio brevis”, f. 57v; Italian summary in *ASCPF*, 5: 166; the Lisovs'kyj reference is in *EM*, 9: 170.

we saw examples of the celebrant facing the people even in the pre-Nikonian Muscovite editions.

Mateos has traced the development of the rubrics preceding the trisagion in early sources.¹⁸ At one time the Litany of Peace was taken just before the trisagion, and the ecphonesis of the trisagion prayer served as the ending of this litany, introducing at the same time the trisagion. (Something similar is still done today on the vigil of greater feasts when vespers is followed immediately by BAS or CHR. Before the trisagion, a small synapte is sung, the ecphonesis for which is that of the trisagion prayer.) The služebnyky that place the trisagion prayer before the choir sings the trisagion retain this connection between the ecphonesis and the trisagion itself.

Once the Litany of Peace was suppressed at the Little Entrance, various substitutes developed to introduce the trisagion. Some introduced the trisagion by chanting the ecphonesis out loud, regardless of whether the prayer was said before or after it. Others said the prayer and ecphonesis quietly during the troparia, but especially after the fourteenth century, the deacon said the last part of that ecphonesis aloud to give the choir the signal to begin the trisagion. A third group of sources gives the prayer during the trisagion, without any ecphonesis to introduce the trisagion. In this last case the deacon only made a sign to the choir to begin the trisagion, but without saying anything. This was usually done by pointing with the orarion, or by making a sign of the cross with the orarion, or even by the priest, who also made a sign of the cross to the choir to begin.

A good example is found in the twelfth century diataxis edited by Taft. Here the archdeacon raises his orarion and asks the bishop to bless; the bishop blesses him, saying only in the hearing of the archdeacon “Blessed is our God always, etc.” When the archdeacon replies “Amen”, the singers begin the trisagion and the bishop says the trisagion prayer. The ecphonesis of the trisagion prayer is not chanted aloud.¹⁹

It remains customary for the deacon always to ask permission from the celebrant to begin a ceremony. The celebrant replies by making a sign of the cross over the deacon (as we saw for the Little Entrance, when a non-celebrating superior blesses the deacon). The deacon and priest often have formulae with this blessing to announce the trisagion. We see the deacon’s phrase “Bless, master, the time of the trisagion” common to most služebnyky. The celebrant just blesses him silently or adds the trisagion ecphonesis (the pre-Mohylan služebnyky) or adds a new formula, such as those found in the three pontificals, “Father and Son and Holy Spirit, etc.”

In his *pravyla* or rules for the priests of his eparchy, Josaphat Kuncevyč

¹⁸ Cf. Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 92-97, with ample documentation.

¹⁹ Taft, “Pontifical Liturgy”, p. 286-287, 111.

warns them not to introduce unneeded ceremonies into the liturgy, an indication that in practice they were doing just that.²⁰ One instance is the practice of blessing with the hand crosswise. This, he says, should be done only twice: after communion, when the priest says "Save, O God, your people and bless your inheritance"; and at the end of mass, at the words "The blessing of the Lord be upon you all". Josaphat's explicit instructions exclude any blessing with the hand crosswise at the trisagion or at the other places during the mass where this is practiced today.

How, then, should the rubric "znamenajet" at the trisagion be explained? Wawryk interprets this to mean that the priest gave the blessing without the full sign of the cross. One way to do this would have been by opening the hands when facing the people, as the Latin priest does for "Oremus" and "Dominus vobiscum".

7. *The Celebrant's Trisagion*

In conclusion, we should mention Peter Kamins'kyj's accusation against the Vilna Basilians in 1685, that they were singing the trisagion only three times, with no "Glory: and now". This was, he says, on the orders of the Basilian provincial Martyškevyč:

What a devilish invention: they omit the "Glory, and now", where God is commemorated, one in nature but three in persons.²¹

In reality, this may have been a confusion with the rubric for the celebrants to say the trisagion only three times, a rubric Žoxovs'kyj did not give.²²

The clergy generally say the trisagion three times themselves before going behind the altar to the throne for the readings. Here the triple trisagion is made with three bows, a common action by the clergy when approaching or leaving the altar, or when beginning a new rite. The triple recitation of the trisagion by the choir and the clergy is characteristic of antiphonal psalmody in the Byzantine Rite, where, for example, the refrain can be repeated six times: three times by each of two choirs. The celebrants often take the role of a choir or of a psalmist (the case of the bishop who reads verses from Ps. 79

²⁰ "Cereemonias inutiles sacerdotes non introducant in ecclesiam, uti v.g. signando homines cruce ad altare consistendo, aut reverentiam hominibus, abeundo ab altari maiori ad minus, offertorii tempore faciendo; neque etiam manu crucem formando saepius hominibus benedicent in liturgia, duabus exceptis vicibus: tempore elevationis, verba ista profendo: 'Salva Deus populum tuum et benedic haereditati Tuae', et in fine dum dicit: 'Benedictio Domini super vos omnes'." *SJH* 1: 240.

²¹ Ščurat, *V oboroni Uniji*, p. 88.

²² Examples of the number of times of the trisagion was said by the celebrants are found in: Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 106-107; Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 860, 887, 901, 927; Ruč, "Liturgija", p. 181; Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 81-82.

when blessing the worshippers). The trisagion may have been the refrain for Ps. 79. Mateos and Taft point out several combinations of this antiphonal psalmody for the trisagion, including cases where it is only taken once, such as we saw in the 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical.²³

The Vilna example referred to by Kaminskyj may have been an arbitrary abuse by Martyškevyč, if it was meant for the choir or faithful. But if it concerned the celebrants' recitation of the trisagion, then it may have reflected a conflict between traditions giving different rubrics for the trisagion's execution. The latter seems more probable, considering that Žoxovs'kyj did not use Martyškevyč's change when printing his *služebnyk* just a few years later in the same city of Vilna. Rather, Žoxovs'kyj gives only the format for the trisagion taken by the choir, implying that the celebrants are to do the same.

II. THE PROCESSION TO THE THRONE

Once the celebrants have said the trisagion and made three bows, POL gives a prayer for the throne not found in today's text:

O Master, Lord our God, save your people, pacify them by the strength of your Holy Spirit, by the sign of your precious cross of your only-begotten Son, with whom you are blessed forever and ever, amen.

The deacon then says "Povely, vladyko – iube domine" (literally: "Command, master"); they go to the throne or "raised place"; the priest says "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord"; the deacon, "Bless, master, the upper throne" (*hornyj prestol – supernam sedem*); the priest, "Blessed are you on the throne of glory of your kingdom, seated over the cherubim always, now, and forever and ever".²⁴

The first throne prayer given in POL is found in the codex Barb. 336. It is found in no other ms, nor is it given in any other *služebnyky*, nor in Goar according to OBS (XXIX.2). Jacob, like Mateos, points out that this prayer has nothing to do with the blessing of the throne, but is rather a preparation of the people for the blessing of peace about to be given by the celebrant.²⁵ Even though Ruthenian *služebnyky* never contained this prayer, it would have been

²³ On antiphonal psalmody and the trisagion, see Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 7-26, 91-126 (an example where the trisagion is only taken once by the choir is given on p. 108); Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 86-88; Taft, "Structural Analysis", p. 323; Taft, "Pontifical Liturgy", p. 112-114, with a reconstruction of the early use.

²⁴ *POL*, f. 259v-261r.

²⁵ The Barb. 336 text is printed in F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, (Oxford 1896), p. 314. Cf. A. Jacob, "La tradition manuscrite de la liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome (VIIIe-XIIe siècles)", *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident* (= *Lex Orandi* 47), 2 (Paris 1970): 120-121; Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 119-120.

opportune, since a characteristic of Ruthenian usage is precisely the initial blessing given by the celebrant before the prokeimenon, which ironically POL does not have.

The Nikonian Ruthenian and 1617 *Mamonyč* texts, as usual, are very similar to POL, but they do not have the Barberini throne prayer. The Nikonian texts add a note that the priest should not sit on the throne, but rather to the “south” of it, that is, to the left of the throne, since the throne is reserved for the bishop.²⁶ Other Ruthenian texts and traditions do not make this prohibition.

The 1519 *Venice* and 1583 *Vilna* texts omit the phrase “seated upon the cherubim” in the prayer for the throne blessing, “Blessed are you on the throne”. The phrase is found in POL, the Nikonian, and 1617 *Mamonyč* texts.²⁷

The 1637 *Lviv služebnyk* gives a still different formula for the prayer when proceeding to the throne:

By command of God the heavens were made firm, and all their strength by the spirit of his mouth. [Ps. 32: 6]

The deacon then says “Bless, master, the passage to the holy place”, and the priest, “Blessed is he who comes”.²⁸

The text of BAS in the 1629 *Kiev* and the CHR and BAS texts in the 1639 *Kiev* editions give more precise rubrics, which are repeated by the other texts in the Mohylan tradition. The 1639 *Kiev* text is the most explicit. After the deacon says to the priest, “Command, master”, he bows and goes along the right side of the altar — “proxodja između jerejem i sv. trapezoju”. The deacon must have been on the priest’s left, and then passed in front of the priest to walk between him and the altar, proceeding along the right side of the altar to get to the back. (Odd as this may seem to today’s practice, the position of the deacon on the priest’s left is also prescribed just before the Little Entrance and for the Cherubic hymn in the Mohylan and 1646 *Moscow služebnyky*.) The priest goes along the left side of the altar, so that the two of them crisscross — “krestnoje svojim voprečnym proxodom znamenije voobrazujušča”. If no deacon is present, the priest bows three times before the altar and goes along the right side of the altar, and not the left, to get to the throne.

In the 1629 *Kiev* CHR text there is no mention at all of how the celebrants are to proceed, while in BAS the priest is to go along the left and the deacon

²⁶ 1617 *Mamonyč*, CHR p. 24-25; 1762 *Kiev*, CHR f. 61v-62r.

²⁷ 1519 *Venice*, [f. 16]; 1583 *Vilna*, CHR f. 47r.

²⁸ The description for the 1637 *Lviv* text is found in Ruđ, “Liturgija”, p. 183. Other examples are given in Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 107-108; Petrovskij, “Rédaction slave”, p. 902.

along the right; there is no further explanation that they are to crisscross.²⁹

This crisscross procedure is similar to one found in early Slavic sources mentioned by Dmitrievskij. However, he describes the seating procedure behind the altar for a pontifical liturgy, where those from the right side of the altar sat on the left and those from the left side of the altar sat on the right.³⁰ This arrangement preserved correct precedence among the celebrants, with the highest ranking concelebrant (after the bishop) always on the bishop's right.

In Mohyla's crisscross procedure involving the priest and deacon, they would have to cross over again behind the altar as well if the priest kept to the principle of not sitting on the throne but to the south or left of it; the deacon would be on the priest's right.

Once at the throne, the deacon bows, saying, "Bless the throne", which the priest blesses as in POL, but both priest and deacon bow three times here. These three bows made at the throne are not given in the Balaban text, but are found in the 1629 *Kiev* edition.³¹

This crisscross procedure is also given in the 1646 *Lviv* and 1653 *Kiev* služebnyky, while the 1666 and 1681 *Lviv* texts confuse the deacon's path, saying that he goes along the right side of the altar on the left:

proxodja mežu ijerejem y sv. trapezoju v dnesnuju stranu svjatyja trapezy šujuju.

The 1691 and 1712 *Lviv* služebnyky just leave the rubric out altogether from CHR, but they give it in BAS.³²

In the Sipovič pontifical ms the bishop gives a simple blessing to the prothesis when he passes by on his way to the throne. This indicates that he went along the left side of the altar as well.³³

The rubrics in the Žoxovs'kyj tradition are quite simple for this rite. The priest goes to the throne saying:

Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord; blessed are you on the throne of glory of your kingdom, seated over the cherubim always, now, and forever and ever.³⁴

Žoxovs'kyj gives the same throne prayer found in POL, the Nikonian and 1617 *Mamonyč* editions. No deacon is mentioned at this point in Žoxovs'kyj.

²⁹ 1629 *Kiev*, CHR p. 16, BAS p. 129; 1639 *Kiev*, CHR p. 249, BAS p. 431.

³⁰ Cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluzhenie*, p. 108.

³¹ 1604 *Balaban*, CHR p. 93; 1629 *Kiev*, CHR p. 15.

³² 1646 *Lviv*, CHR f. 112; 1653 *Kiev*, CHR f. 125; 1666 *Lviv*, CHR f. 120; 1681 *Lviv*, CHR f. 122v-123r; 1691 *Lviv*, CHR f. 79v, BAS f. 138; 1712 *Lviv*, CHR f. 79v. Hieromonk Macarius indicates in his complaints to the Holy Synod in 1726 that the printed Černihiv služebnyky differ from the Mohylan at this point. He says that for the procession to the throne the priest and deacon had no clear procedure: "po trisvjatom k gornemu mestu idut, dijakon — kuda sleduet popu, a pop — kuda dijakonu"; see Barsov, "Ierodiakon Makarij", p. 676.

³³ Cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 166 (ms f. 17v-18r).

³⁴ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 87r.

III. THE BLESSING, PROKEIMENON, EPISTLE, AND ALLELUIA

According to POL, the deacon goes to the holy doors after the completion of the trisagion and procession to the throne. The following sequence then occurs.

POL f. 260v-261r

Deacon: "Let us be attentive."
 Reader: Prokeimenon (psalmody)
 Deacon: "Wisdom"
 Reader: Title of epistle
 Deacon: "Let us be attentive."

EPISTLE

Priest: "Peace be to you."
 Reader: Alleluia with psalm verses

OBS observes that among the Ruthenians after the first "Let us be attentive" the priest says "Peace be to all." This is also found in Goar, but not in POL (XXX.2). The blessing is given in all of our sources, but practically every tradition and individual text gives a different set of rubrics and prayers here. The easiest way to look at them will be to list them as we did for POL.

1519 Venice f. 16v

Deacon: "Let us be attentive."
 Priest: "Peace be to all."
 Deacon: "Wisdom"
 Reader: "Psalom Davydov"
 Deacon: "Let us be attentive."
 Reader: "Prok. apostolu"
 Deacon: "Wisdom"
 Reader: Title of the epistle
 Deacon: "Let us be attentive."

EPISTLE

Priest: "Peace be to all."
 Deacon: "Wisdom"
 Reader: Announces alleluia with psalm verses
 Deacon: "Let us be attentive."
 Reader: Sings the alleluia

1583 Vilna f. 47v

Deacon: "Let us be attentive."
 Priest: "Peace be to all."
 Deacon: "Wisdom"
 Reader: Prokeimenon
 Deacon: "Wisdom"
 Reader: Title of the epistle
 Deacon: "Let us be attentive."

EPISTLE

Priest: "Peace be to you."

Deacon: "Wisdom"

Choir: Announces alleluia with psalm verses

Deacon: "Wisdom"

Choir: Sings the alleluia

1617 Mamonyč p. 25-26

Deacon: "Let us be attentive."

Priest: "Peace be to all."

Reader: "And to your spirit." Prokeimenon of the tone with psalm verses

Deacon: "Wisdom"

Reader: Title of the epistle

Deacon: "Let us be attentive."

EPISTLE

Priest: "Peace be to you"

Reader: Tone of alleluia with psalm verses

1646 Moscow f. 116v-117r

Deacon: "Let us be attentive."

Priest: "Peace be to all."

Deacon: "Wisdom, let us be attentive."

Reader: "And with your spirit." Prokeimenon with psalm verses

Deacon: "Wisdom"

Reader: Title of the epistle

Deacon: "Let us be attentive."

EPISTLE during which the priest sits and the deacon stands near the priest

Priest: (stands) "Peace be to you."

Deacon: "Let us be attentive, wisdom, let us be attentive."

Reader: "And with your spirit."

Alleluia sung five times: three by the right choir and two by the left choir

Sipovič Pontifical ms (ca 1652) f. 18v-29r

Archdc: "Many years, master, let us be attentive."

Bishop: "Peace be to all."

Deacon: "And with your spirit." Announces prokeimenon

Choir: Sings prokeimenon

Archdc: "Wisdom"

Deacon: Title of the epistle

Archdc: "Let us be attentive."

EPISTLE read by the deacon

Bishop: "Peace be to you."

Deacon: "And with your spirit." Chants psalm verses

Choir: (Added in margin) three alleluias

Nikonian Ruthenian Tradition

1735 Kiev f. 66 1754 Černihiv f. 66 1762 Kiev f. 62r

Deacon: "Let us be attentive."

Priest: "Peace be to all."
 Reader: "And with your spirit."
 Deacon: "Wisdom"
 Reader: Prokeimenon with psalm verses
 Deacon: "Wisdom"
 Reader: Title of the epistle
 Deacon: "Let us be attentive."

EPISTLE

Priest: "Peace be to you."
 Reader: "And with your spirit."
 Deacon: "Let us be attentive."
 Reader: Alleluia

Balaban and Mohylan Tradition

1604 Balaban p. 93-95 1629 Kiev p. 16-17 1639 Kiev p. 251-252 1646 Lviv f. 112v-113r Borgia ms f. 86 1653 Kiev f. 126 1666 Lviv f. 121v-122r 1681 Lviv f. 123v-124r 1691 Lviv f. 79v-80r 1712 Lviv f. 79v-80r

Deacon: "Let us be attentive."
 Priest: "Peace be to all."
 Reader: "And to your spirit."
 Deacon: "Wisdom, let us be attentive."
 Reader: Prokeimenon with psalm verses
 Prokeimenon is sung
 Deacon: "Wisdom"
 Reader: Title of the epistle
 Deacon: "Let us be attentive."

EPISTLE

Priest: "Peace be to you."
 Deacon: "Wisdom, let us be attentive."
 Reader: Tone of the alleluia and psalm verses

1692 Žoxovs'kyj f. 87r
 (and all later Catholic texts)

Deacon: "Let us be attentive."
 Priest: "Peace be to all."
 Deacon: "Wisdom, let us be attentive."
 Choir: Prokeimenon
 Deacon: "Wisdom"
 Reader: Title of the epistle
 Deacon: "Let us be attentive."

EPISTLE

Priest: "Peace be to you."
 Deacon: "Wisdom, let us be attentive."
 Choir: Alleluia

1755 Počajiv Low Mass Rubrics f. 1v

Priest: "Let us be attentive, peace be to all, wisdom, let us be attentive."
 Server: "And with your spirit."
 Priest: Announces the prokeimenon

Server: Repeats the prokeimenon three times

Priest: "Wisdom"

? Title of the epistle

EPISTLE

Priest: "Peace be to you, wisdom, let us be attentive."

Server: Repeats alleluia three times

Priest: Reads the alleluia psalm verses

The 1519 *Venice* text gives two separate rubrics for the psalmody before the epistle reading, "psalom Davydov" and the abbreviated "prok. apostolu". These are separated by the deacon's "Let us be attentive." Other texts, like the 1617 *Mamonyč* edition, indicate this psalmody more clearly following the sequence of the announcement of the prokeimenon psalmody ("psalom Davydov"), the execution of the psalmody ("rek prokimen hlasu"), and with its completion the title of the epistle ("Skončannu že prokimenu. Paky dijakon. Premudrost"). The 1519 *Venice* rubrics undoubtedly indicate the announcement of the prokeimenon (or "David's psalm", the term often used in early texts) and its execution. In today's Catholic Ukrainian and Ruthenian usage the prokeimenon psalmody is immediately executed with no initial announcement.

In the 1671 *Ecphonemata* the priest does not say "Peace be to all", but it is difficult to know if this is intentional or not, since the full text for the celebrant is not given.

In his 1626 report on Ruthenian liturgical practices the Roman procurator, Nicholas Novak, notes that the epistle and gospel books are separate from the služebnyky, in order to distinguish the people who use them.³⁵ We noted in chapter 2 some examples of Greek euchologies which contain the texts for some epistle and gospel readings. To this can be added the *Venice* služebnyky of 1519, 1554, and 1570 and the Borgia ms. The *Venice* editions are still quite small in size compared to the Žoxovs'kyj edition, which includes many more readings. The printed low mass rubrics listed above suggest one reason why these readings are included in the priest's text: the priest may often have been the only literate person. Thus, although low masses were often private, even when there was a small congregation attending, the priest may have had to read the epistle, announce the prokeimenon, and say the alleluia verses.

In the Sipovič pontifical it is the deacon who sings the epistle, a usage in the Russian Church today when two deacons are present.

The epistle was sung by the nuns in the monastery in Kiev visited by Paul of Aleppo with Patriarch Macarius on their way to Moscow in 1654. This did

³⁵ Cf. *LB*, 1: 11-12.

not strike the visitors as odd or illicit.³⁶ It probably was common for nuns to sing the epistle in their monasteries.³⁷

We should note the difference between the regular *Žoxovs'kyj* text and the structure given in the printed low mass rubrics for the prokeimenon and epistle. In the low mass the server replies "And with your spirit", which is not given in *Žoxovs'kyj*; the prokeimenon is repeated three times by the server after the priest announces it; the server also repeats the alleluia three times while the priest reads the verses. This suggests the different origins of these low mass rubrics, even though the regular CHR text in the same *služebnyk* follows the *Žoxovs'kyj* tradition.

The alleluia during the masses for the dead was being omitted in some cases, according to *Lisovs'kyj* in 1786, obviously in imitation of the Latin Rite, where alleluia is omitted at masses for the dead.³⁸

The 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical does not give a complete text for this section, but when the bishop says "Peace be to all" the rubrics instruct him to bless the people — "blahoslovljaja ljudy" — and a cross is printed in the text.³⁹ As we saw earlier, Josaphat Kuncevyč said the priest is to make the sign of the cross only twice over the people — both times after communion. In the 1763 Lviv eparchy's report for the Brest synod an objection is included about the confusion at the words "Peace be to all", when some priests turned to the people and made the sign of the cross, while others did not.⁴⁰ Most of our liturgical texts do not describe exactly what the priest does at the words "Peace be to all", but other sources indicate a growing practice of making the sign of the cross over the people at this point as well as for the other blessings later in the mass, which we shall see shortly.

IV. THE INCENSATION AND THE GOSPEL

1. *POL and OBS*

While the alleluia is being sung, the deacon in *POL* takes the thurible and incense to the priest and receives his blessing. He incenses the altar crosswise (on four sides), plus the sanctuary and the priest; the choir, the icons, and the church are not mentioned. The priest says the gospel prayer "Light up in our hearts". The deacon puts the thurible away, comes to the priest, bows to him

³⁶ Cf. "Putešestvie", *ČOIDR*, 1897, 4: 58-59.

³⁷ Senyk discusses the sparse information available on prayer in general in women's monasteries; Senyk, *Women's Monasteries*, p. 171-176.

³⁸ *EM*, 9: 170.

³⁹ 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical, f. 10r.

⁴⁰ Cf. Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 935.

holding the orarion and the gospel book with the tips of his fingers, and “from the place by the holy altar” he says — “hlaholet”:

Bless, master, the announcer of the good news according to the holy apostle and evangelist, N.

The priest blesses him — “znamenuja jeho hlaholet” — saying:

May God, through the prayers of the holy glorious apostle and evangelist, N., let you proclaim the word with great power to fulfill the gospel of his beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.

The deacon replies “Amen”, bows with the gospel book, takes it and goes to the holy doors, preceded by candle bearers, and stands on the ambon or at the appointed place. The priest stands in front of the altar facing the people and says “Wisdom, let us be attentive, let us listen to the holy gospel”; the deacon immediately continues, “a reading of the holy gospel from N.” The choir replies “Glory to you, O Lord, glory to you.” The priest adds “Let us be attentive.” After the gospel the priest says “Peace be to you, announcer of the good news.” The deacon comes to the holy doors and gives the gospel book to the priest, goes to his regular place and begins the ektené. No choir response is indicated, as in the earliest Greek sources.⁴¹

The only comment made by OBS about these rubrics is that during the reading of the gospel the priest normally stands near the altar facing the west, while in the Greek College in Rome, “where the Greek Rite is exactly observed”, the priest stands in the holy doors facing the people, letting (the front of) his phelonion fall loose. (XXXI.2)

2. *Early Printed Sources*

According to the *1519 Venice* služebnyk, the deacon can begin the incensation during the alleluia verses or even during the epistle. He incenses only around the altar, while the priest says the gospel prayer. The deacon asks the priest’s blessing to read the gospel, but he still does not hold the book. Only after the usual blessing does the deacon go to the altar, bow, take the gospel book himself, go through the holy doors and stand at the appointed place; he is preceded by two candle bearers. The priest remains behind the altar, “if there is room”; otherwise he is to stand facing the people from the front of the altar. The priest and deacon introduce the gospel reading as in POL; there is no “Peace be to all”. The rubrics add that if another deacon is serving, then this second deacon says “Wisdom, let us be attentive and listen to the holy gospel” (before the gospel), and “Let us be attentive” (after the

⁴¹ POL, f. 260v-261r.

announcement of the gospel text) which the priest would otherwise say. When the deacon finishes the gospel, he comes to the holy doors, gives the gospel book to the priest, and then begins the ektené.⁴²

The 1583 *Vilna* text closely follows the Venice edition, but has the deacon hold the gospel book and orarion when receiving the priest's blessing; but then it gives the Venice rubric for the deacon to go to the altar and take the gospel book after the priest's blessing. This confusion may indicate that both practices were in use. The Vilna text gives another gospel prayer before the one found in POL and the Venice edition.⁴³ This other prayer — "O Lord our God, incline our hearts to the obedience of your divine commandments" — is cited by Petrovskij in other sources from the fifteenth century, which do not contain today's gospel prayer.⁴⁴ Today's prayer (that found in POL and 1519 *Venice*) entered CHR from the Liturgy of St. James around the eleventh century.⁴⁵ The unusual Vilna prayer is found before the epistle in fourteenth-century sources. The pre-Nikonian Muscovite texts also give this Vilna prayer, but place it after "Light up in our hearts".⁴⁶

In the 1602 and 1646 *Moscow* služebnyky the deacon requests the priest's blessing for the incense, which the priest gives, saying the incense prayer of the prothesis. The deacon incenses the altar from the front and then crosswise — "so predi i okrest" — plus the prothesis, the sanctuary, the holy doors and the entire church, then again the altar and the priest. (Neither POL, the 1519 *Venice*, nor the 1583 *Vilna* texts give such a full incensation.) He puts away the thurible, takes the hand cross from the altar, and holding it in his right hand with the orarion, goes to the priest. The priest takes the cross, makes a sign of the cross on himself with it and kisses it, then blesses the deacon. The deacon takes the cross, kisses it and puts it back on the altar. Before the altar the deacon makes three bows and says aloud:

Bless, master, the announcer of the good news of the holy, glorious, and all-praiseworthy universal announcer of the good news, the apostle and evangelist N.

The deacon takes the gospel book, bows to the priest, and the priest says from his place:

May God, by the prayers of the holy, glorious, and all-praiseworthy universal announcer of the good news, the apostle and evangelist N., let you proclaim with great power this good news.

⁴² 1519 *Venice*, [f. 16v-18r].

⁴³ 1583 *Vilna*, CHR f. 47v-51r; cf. Ruđ, "Liturgija", p. 184.

⁴⁴ Cf. Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 902. See also Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluzhenie*, p. 110.

⁴⁵ Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 139-141.

⁴⁶ 1646 *Moscow*, CHR f. 118r; cf. Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 927. From this point in CHR we have only random folia from the 1602 *Moscow* edition, for which we cannot give any reasonable numeration since the text has no printed foliation or pagination at all.

The rest continues as the previous texts mentioned above prescribe, including the note about the second deacon.⁴⁷

The Muscovite texts describe more precisely that after the gospel reading the priest comes from the throne (there is no rubric about standing in front of the altar if space is lacking) and goes to the holy doors to receive the gospel book from the deacon saying quietly “Peace be to you”; the priest kisses the book, and if there are other concelebrants they do so too. The priest then puts the gospel book on the altar behind the eiliton — “pozadi litona”. The deacon stands in his regular place before the holy doors and chants the ektené.

In the 1604 *Balaban* služebnyk the incensation and gospel prayer are the same as that given in POL. For the dialogue blessing the deacon says his part quietly — “tyxo” — and the priest puts his hand on the deacon’s head, says the prayer quietly, and blesses him. The deacon bows three times at the altar and takes the gospel book out to be read. A note adds that if a bishop is present he, and not the priest, is to bless the deacon.⁴⁸

The 1617 *Mamonyč* text has the deacon incense the altar crosswise, the prothesis, the sanctuary, and the priest. The deacon comes to the priest without the gospel book, bows holding the orarion, and asks for the blessing quietly; the priest’s reply is not specified if said aloud or quietly; The priest blesses him before saying the prayer. After the blessing the deacon bows and takes the gospel book from the altar. The priest remains behind the altar facing the people. The rest continues as in POL; there is also the rubric about the second deacon.⁴⁹

3. *The Mohylan and Nikonian Traditions*

Beginning with the 1629 *Kiev* služebnyk, the Mohylan tradition gives combinations of the rubrics we have seen up to now. In the 1629 *Kiev* text the deacon can incense during the epistle, but the incensation is of the whole church, similar to that given in the early Muscovite texts. After this the deacon goes to the altar, bows three times, takes the gospel book, goes to the priest for his blessing, and says the formula quietly; the priest (or bishop if present) blesses him by putting his hand on the deacon’s head. The rest proceeds according to POL, with the addition of a rubric for the second deacon. The priest is to put the gospel book behind the eiliton after all other celebrants have kissed it, a rubric not found in POL.

However, in BAS the 1629 *Kiev* služebnyk instructs the deacon to go the

⁴⁷ 1646 *Moscow*, CHR f. 119r-120v; cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluzhenie*, p. 110, where he also mentions the kissing of the cross.

⁴⁸ 1604 *Balaban*, CHR p. 96-100.

⁴⁹ 1617 *Mamonyč*, CHR p. 26-31.

priest for the blessing without the gospel book. He quietly asks the celebrant “command master – povely vладыko”; and the priest blesses him crosswise over the head saying:

Blessed is he who has sent to announce and who announces the good news to the lowly, always, now, and forever and ever... (Blahosloven blahovistyty nyščym poslavyj y blahovistyvyj...)

The deacon replies “Amen”, approaches the altar, bows three times, and stands there until the alleluia is completed. Then he takes the gospel book in his finger tips and says aloud the regular gospel formula for the blessing, to which the priest also replies out loud. The rest continues as in POL.

In CHR of this 1629 *Kiev* text the gospel book is placed by the priest on the altar behind the eiliton after the reading, and a note in brackets directs that it be given to the concelebrants to kiss. None of this is found in BAS.⁵⁰

The 1639 *Kiev* text gives basically the same format for CHR as the 1629 *Kiev* edition, but the deacon incenses only the altar, prothesis, sanctuary, and priest. The priest blesses the deacon with his right hand, but does not put his hand on the deacon’s head. Up to this point the printed folia of CHR and BAS are the same in this 1639 edition, only the pagination being changed. But now a new set of rubrics begins here in BAS, not found in CHR; namely, the 1639 BAS makes a specific point of copying the 1629 *Kiev* BAS at this point. This pattern is followed by the 1646 *Lviv*, 1653 *Kiev*, 1666 *Lviv*, and 1681 *Lviv* editions.⁵¹

The 1691 and 1712 *Lviv* texts give the incensation like the early Muscovite and 1629 *Kiev* texts, whereby the priest says the incense prayer and the deacon incenses everything, including the holy doors and the church. The gospel blessing is done according to the 1629 *Kiev* CHR format. In BAS the deacon incenses only the sanctuary, altar, prothesis, and priest according to the 1629 *Kiev* BAS, but now the deacon bows three times before the altar. He quietly says the regular formula as does the priest. In CHR the priest puts the gospel book behind the eiliton, while in BAS the priest puts it behind the antimension.⁵²

The Nikonian Ruthenian texts follow POL quite closely, agreeing on everything except the blessing “Peace be to all”, which the priest adds before the gospel as today. The rubric for the second deacon is given, and after the deacon reads the gospel and gives the book back to the priest, he closes the holy doors and begins the ektené.⁵³ According to hieromonk Macarius, in the

⁵⁰ 1629 *Kiev*, CHR p. 19-21, BAS p. 132-134.

⁵¹ 1639 *Kiev*, CHR p. 255-259, BAS p. 437-442; 1646 *Lviv*, CHR f. 114v-115v, BAS f. 192r-194r; 1653 *Kiev*, CHR f. 128, BAS f. 219v-220v.

⁵² 1691 *Lviv*, CHR f. 80r-82r, BAS f. 139r-141r.

⁵³ 1736 *Kiev*, CHR f. 66r-68r; 1754 *Černihiv*, CHR f. 66r-68r; 1762 *Kiev*, CHR 61v-63v. Cf. Barsov, “Ierodiakon Makarij”, p. 676.

Černihiv služebnyky the deacon takes the gospel book himself from the altar and from the altar says aloud the formula “Bless, master...”; the priest also replies aloud, “May God, by the prayers...”. As in other Ruthenian texts, the priest gives no blessing before the gospel.

4. *Žoxovs'kyj and other Catholic Sources*

The 1671 *Ecphonemata* has the deacon take the gospel book and go to the priest for the blessing, which he and the priest say aloud. There is no “Peace be to all.”⁵⁴ The Borgia ms suggests some uncertainty for the gospel blessing formula, in that the deacon asks the priest’s blessing out loud but in a quiet voice: “tyxo hlaholet velehlasno – secreto ait alta voce”. This perplexity is understandable if the Borgia author had been consulting the same sources we have seen! There is also no “Peace be to all” before the gospel.⁵⁵

Finally, we find the *Žoxovs'kyj* tradition that the deacon takes the thurible (but who puts the incense into the thurible is not mentioned), receives the priest’s blessing, incenses the four sides of the altar, plus the prothesis and the whole church and people. The priest does the incensation if no deacon is present. Then the gospel prayer is said. The deacon stands before the altar and says aloud — “voshlašajet” — the gospel blessing formula found in POL, to which the priest responds in turn aloud, blessing the deacon. The deacon does not reply “Amen”; there is no “Peace be to all” before the reading. The note for the second deacon is given. After the reading the deacon gives the gospel book to the priest to kiss, the priest having come to the holy doors; it is not indicated where the priest stands during the reading itself. When the priest kisses the book he says “Peace be to you, announcer of the good news”, and a further rubric adds that if a bishop is present the deacon gives him the gospel book to kiss. The deacon then stands at his regular place and begins the ektené; the priest joins his hands at his breast.⁵⁶

We can observe in conclusion that the greeting “Peace be to all”, found today before the gospel, was never used in any Ruthenian texts during the period we are studying, nor is it given in BEN (contrary to what Raes wrote).⁵⁷ At most, it only came into the Ruthenian texts via the Nikonian tradition. The priest always remained behind the altar for the reading unless there was not enough room.

During the gospel reading it was the custom (and still is in some Ukrainian parishes) for the laity to come up to the gospel stand with lit

⁵⁴ 1671 *Ecphonemata*, CHR [f. 6v-8r].

⁵⁵ Borgia ms, f. 87v-89r; Wawryk, “Do istoriji”, p. 125.

⁵⁶ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 87.

⁵⁷ Cf. BEN, p. 41; Raes, “Liturgicon”, p. 119.

candles and either kneel or stand with bowed heads during the reading. *Žoxovs'kyj* refers to this practice in his 1680 *Colloquium*.⁵⁸ It is an honour to hold candles around the celebrant when he reads the gospel. Such a privilege was given to a newly formed or revised brotherhood in the village of Smidyn' in Volyn' in 1773 by Metropolitan Volodkovyč.⁵⁹ It is also the custom after the reading to give the gospel book to kiss, especially to those standing nearby. The 1760 Lviv manual observed that in the Latin Rite masses for the dead the gospel book was also kissed, perhaps implying that the Ruthenians should follow suit.⁶⁰

The recited low mass rubrics have the priest put his hands on the edge of the altar and bow to say the gospel prayer "Light up in our hearts", just as Latin Rite priests did while reciting the prayer before the gospel in the Roman mass. During this prayer the server takes the *služebnyk* from the right side of the altar to the left. The priest then goes to the left side, crosses himself, and says the regular introductory formulae. He joins his hands and reads the gospel, after which he kisses the book, joins his hands at the breast, and says the *ektené*. Since many of the readings are included in the large Catholic *služebnyky*, and no separate gospel book is used at low masses (the chalice and *discos* are always at the center of the altar, where the gospel book normally lies), the priest reads the gospel from the *služebnyk* with his back to the people. All this, of course, was identical to Latin practice at that time.⁶¹

The Lviv eparchy's report in 1763 for the Brest synod includes a comment on the gospel. It says that some celebrants read the gospel facing the people, while others read it at the altar.⁶² Some sources also indicate that priests were observing the Latin custom of making with the thumb a small sign of the cross on their forehead, mouth, and chest just before the gospel reading.⁶³ There is no difficulty in believing this.

5. *The Choir's Response to the Gospel*

As a response for the choir to the announcement of the gospel reading the earliest Greek sources give only "Glory to you, O Lord." The choir did not repeat this phrase after the gospel. This is the format still retained in the Latin Rite. An Armenian ms of the thirteenth century gives "Glory to you, O God" before and after the gospel reading, but this is not found in Greek mss up to the fifteenth century. It should be remembered that the eucharisties and

⁵⁸ Cf. *Žoxovs'kyj*, *Colloquium Lubelskie*, p. 28-29.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Arxiv JuZR*, I, 4: 624.

⁶⁰ *Bohoslovija nравоučytelnaja*, p. 79.

⁶¹ 1755 *Počajiv*, low mass rubrics [f. 1v].

⁶² Cf. Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 935.

⁶³ Cf. Solovey, *De reformatione*, p. 46.

služebnyky generally do not give the complete choir responses until more recent times.⁶⁴

The reply of the choir said today both before and after the gospel is not commonly found in the texts of this period. Early sources often indicate no response at all. This is the case for the 1519 *Venice*, 1583 *Vilna*, 1604 *Balaban*, 1617 *Mamonyč*, and 1646 *Moscow* texts.

In the Mohylyan tradition we find only “Glory be to you, O Lord” given before the gospel but not after it in 1629 *Kiev* and 1691 *Lviv* CHR texts. In BAS of these two Mohylyan texts, plus in CHR and BAS of the other Mohylyan editions, this gospel response is given both before and after the reading. The Borgia ms gives it only before the gospel in CHR, faithful to its 1629 *Kiev* model.⁶⁵

In the other Catholic sources, this shorter response is given both before and after the gospel, such as in the Sipovič pontifical, the 1671 *Ecphonemata*, and *Žoxovs’kyj* texts.⁶⁶ But in the 1759 *Lviv* OSBM curia copy and the 1788 *Počajiv* služebnyk we find the response as said today — “Glory be to you, O Lord, glory be to you” — given before and after the gospel.⁶⁷

In its Slavonic text POL gives today’s response before the gospel, but not after. In the Latin text of POL only the earlier shorter version is given before the gospel — “Gloria tibi Domine” — and nothing after the reading. Interestingly enough, BEN has no responses at all!⁶⁸

Today’s responses before and after the gospel were introduced by Patriarch Nikon, but not without the Old Believers’ objections.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Cf. Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 145.

⁶⁵ 1691 *Lviv*, CHR f. 81v, BAS 141r; Borgia ms, f. 89r.

⁶⁶ 1671 *Ecphonemata*, CHR [f. 6v-8r]; 1692 *Žoxovs’kyj*, CHR f. 87v; cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 48 (ms f. 20v-21r).

⁶⁷ 1759 *Lviv* OSBM curia copy, CHR f. 110; 1788 *Počajiv*, CHR f. 7r.

⁶⁸ *POL*, f. 260v-261r; *BEN*, p. 41-42.

⁶⁹ Cf. Subbotin, *Materialy*, p. 267. On the early use of this response, for which only “Glory to you, Lord” was given for the title of the reading, see Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 145-147.

CHAPTER 9

THE LITANIES AND PRAYERS OF THE FAITHFUL

I. THE EKTENÉ

1. *The Petitions in POL*

After the customary three initial petitions, the ektené given in POL contains six further petitions, which are found in no other Ruthenian or Nikonian text in the same order or combination. This is not surprising, since whenever a part of the liturgy has commemorations, especially for the living, these are adapted to the particular situation. These are the petitions given in POL.

1. Let us say with all our soul and with all our mind, let us say.
2. Almighty Lord God of our fathers, we pray you, hear and have mercy.
3. Have mercy on us, O God, according to your great mercy, we pray you, hear and have mercy.
4. Let us also pray for our most devout and God-serving kings, for their power, triumph, stability, peace, health, and salvation, so that our Lord God would greatly help and give them success in everything and trample under their feet all enemies and adversaries.

Here the prayer of fervent supplication is inserted: "O Lord our God, accept this fervent prayer".

5. Let us also pray for our archbishop, N., the honourable priests, the deacons in Christ, for all the attendants and people.
6. Let us also pray for our brothers the priests, the ordained monks, and all our brothers in Christ.
7. Let us also pray for the mercy, life, peace, health, salvation, visitation, for the pardon and remission of the sins of the servants of God, the brothers of this holy monastery.
8. Let us also pray for the blessed and glorious founders of this holy monastery, and for all our fathers and brothers already departed, who piously lie here, and all orthodox everywhere.
9. Let us also pray for those who bring offerings and do good works in this holy and venerable temple, for the singers and the people present, who await your great and rich mercy.

The ektené ends with the regular ecphonesis. The choir replies “Lord, have mercy” once for the first two petitions and three times for the others.¹

2. *The Variants*

OBS gives the following objections to these petitions. For n. 4 the Catholic Ruthenians commemorated the pope before the rulers, but all in one petition. OBS correctly notes that this entire petition is absent in BEN (XXXII.2). For n. 5 the phrase “the deacons in Christ and the attendants and the people” is also not found in BEN or Goar (XXXIII.2). N. 6 through 9 were found neither in Ruthenian texts nor in Goar, except for the concluding phrase of n. 9, “the present people, who await your great and abundant mercy” (XXXIV.2 - XXXV.2).

We have already seen the particular problem for the Catholic Ruthenians of commemorating Catherine II in the Litany of Peace. Petition n. 4 for the civil leaders, although not given in BEN, is found in Ruthenian texts, even in the Žoxovs'kyj editions, but the formulation varies.

In the 1583 *Vilna* služebnyk petition n. 1 is divided into two: “Let us all say” and “With all our soul and all our mind let us say”. This is the common form of this petition in early Greek sources and in many služebnyky. After the prayer the deacon is to say the petitions without stopping — “neprestanno” — which is not all that unreasonable, since there are at least thirteen petitions in the 1583 *Vilna* text.²

The 1617 *Mamonyč* edition also seems to divide the first petition at least grammatically, with a semicolon. The choir’s responses are not indicated. Petitions nn. 1-6 agree with POL, but vary in some terminology. It gives only two more petitions after these, which are worded more like today’s ektené than that in POL:

7. Let us also pray for the people present, who await your great mercy.
8. Let us also pray for those who are merciful to us and for all orthodox christians.³

The Balaban and Mohylan texts say that if there are two deacons, it is the second who goes out to chant the ektené. These editions also divide the first of their twelve petitions. Many of the petitions are similar to those in POL, but the Mohylan tradition has its own particular combinations.⁴

¹ *POL*, f. 260v-262r.

² 1583 *Vilna*, CHR f. 51v-53v. On the form of the first petitions in early Greek sources, see Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 150-153.

³ 1617 *Mamonyč*, CHR, p. 32-35.

⁴ 1604 *Balaban*, CHR p. 100-102; 1629 *Kiev*, CHR p. 21-24; 1639 *Kiev*, CHR p. 259-265; 1646 *Lviv*, CHR f. 116r-124v; 1681 *Lviv*, CHR f. 127v-137v; 1691 *Lviv*, CHR f. 82r-84r. Cf. Ruđ, “Liturgija”, p. 185.

The Sipovič pontifical indicates that after the archdeacon has commemorated the celebrating hierarch, if he is a metropolitan, he then commemorates the pope by blessing with the candlestick while saying:

Lord, save the universal pontiff and hear him in the day he calls upon you.

The hierarch has just given a similar commemoration of the king.⁵

The 1671 *Ecphonemata* also splits the first petition, but does not have n. 3; rather, the choir replies “Lord, have mercy” three times after the petition “Almighty Lord”, n. 2 in POL but the third petition in *Ecphonemata* due to the division of n. 1. Petitions nn. 4-5 are the same as in POL. Then come petitions with different formulations:

6. Let us pray for our spiritual fathers, for all our brothers in Christ, for all who serve and have served in this holy monastery, for their health and salvation.
7. Let us also pray for the people here present, who await your great mercy, for their health and salvation.
8. Let us also pray for our benefactors, for whom we have promised to pray constantly, and for all orthodox christians, for their health and salvation.⁶

Finally, the Žoxovs’kyj format divides the first petition with a colon, but the choir’s reply is given only after the completed phrase (as in POL). The pope is listed in n. 4 (confirming the OBS comment). We saw this earlier in the prothesis, when discussing the pope’s commemoration. For petition n. 5, the local hierarch is combined with the monastic superiors and brothers. Then one more petition concludes the ektené:

6. Let us also pray for the people here present, who await your great mercy, for those who are merciful to us, and for all orthodox christians.⁷

This became the basic structure we have today in the ektené. The pope has now been put together with the other religious superiors (elements of POL n. 5 and 6); the civil leaders have been placed after the religious (elements of POL n. 4); and a general petition follows for everyone else (elements of POL nn. 8-9).⁸

The Nikonian texts are the only ones to instruct the deacon to close the holy doors after the gospel reading. Even the pre-Nikonian Muscovite texts do not give this rubric.⁹

⁵ Cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 167 (ms f. 22v-23r).

⁶ 1671 *Ecphonemata*, CHR [f. 7v-9v].

⁷ 1692 *Žoxovs’kyj*, CHR f. 87v-88r.

⁸ 1942 *Rome služebnyk*, p. 214-218. More information on the history of the ektené is found in Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 148-156; Petrovskij, “Rédaction slave”, p. 866, 875, 903.

⁹ 1762 *Kiev*, CHR f. 63v-65v. The note on the holy doors and the pre-Nikonian editions is found in the 1907 edition of Nikoľskij, *Posobie*, p. 412-413, note 5; it is not given in the 1900 edition of the same work, p. 425-426.

II. THE LITANY FOR THE DEAD

Although POL and OBS give nothing concerning a litany for the dead, most Ruthenian and Muscovite texts include some form of this immediately after the ektené.

The 1519 *Venice* služebnyk, like BEN and other Greek euchologies, does not include a specific litany for the dead in CHR, not even as a possibility referred to only in rubrics, and even today this litany for the dead taken during the eucharistic liturgy remains a Slavic peculiarity.

1. 1583 *Vilna General Commemorations*¹⁰

In the 1583 *Vilna* edition, we find a litany for the dead, but the formulation of the deacon's petitions is not the same as that found in later Ruthenian texts or today. After the ektené the deacon says the following petition, for which no clear response by the choir is indicated, although the structure of the petition is of the type that often requires twelve or more "Lord, have mercy".

1. Let us also pray for the repose, tranquility, blessed memory, and pardon of sins of the departed servants of God, N.N., the ever-remembered blessed founders, monastic fathers and brothers who lie here, and all orthodox christians everywhere, for the forgiveness of all their transgressions, voluntary and involuntary, so that the Lord God will place their souls in a place of light, a flowery place, a place of rest, in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, let us pray to the Lord.
2. Having asked for the mercy of God and the heavenly kingdom and the forgiveness of their sins, let us commend ourselves and one another and all our life to Christ our God.

These petitions are said by the deacon; the priest then says the prayer for the dead commonly found in later texts and today, "God of spirits and all flesh"; however, the ecphonesis of this prayers ends with a very long list of deceased church and civil authorities, laity, and monks. Several lines in the text of this rare edition available to us are completely effaced after this ecphonesis, and we cannot determine what text or rubrics were given here. After this came the regular litany for the catechumens.

2. 1583 *Vilna Kolyvo Litany*¹¹

The 1583 *Vilna* služebnyk has a litany near the end of the book given with the "Prayer for the Kolyvo for the Dead". This is the prayer for the blessing of

¹⁰ 1583 *Vilna*, CHR f. 54r-56v.

¹¹ 1583 *Vilna*, kolyvo prayer f. 291r-293v.

the boiled wheat eaten in commemoration of the dead. The blessing usually took place near the end of the mass. Actually, in spite of the title, there is no prayer for the kolyvo given here in the 1583 text, only a litany identical in structure but not in text to that found today after the ektené.

1. Have mercy on us, O God, according to your great mercy.
2. Let us also pray for the blessed memory and the pardon of the sins of our ever-remembered founders and all the predeceased monastic fathers and brothers who lie here, and all orthodox Christians everywhere.
3. That they be forgiven all their transgressions, voluntary and involuntary.
4. That the Lord God place their souls in a place where the holy repose.
5. Having asked for the mercy of God and the heavenly kingdom, let us commend ourselves and one another and our whole life to Christ our God.
6. Let us pray to the Lord.

The regular prayer for the dead is given with its ecphonesis. No choir response is indicated anywhere, not even at the end. No rubric is given in any of the petitions for mentioning a specific request, a possibility given in the general petition in CHR.

3. *Early Muscovite Texts*

Dmitrievskij refers to a litany for the dead in early MSS of CHR, some of which include commemorations for those days when the deceased are remembered in general. These days are: Meat-Fare Saturday (the second Saturday before lent); the second, third, and fourth Saturdays in lent; the Saturday before Pentecost Sunday. On these occasions of general commemorations the left and right choirs, and sometimes the priest, concluded the litany for the dead with the refrain "Eternal Memory".¹²

The 1602 and 1646 *Moscow služebnyky* give two litanies for the dead in CHR. The first is for specific intentions:

Deacon: Let us also pray for the forgiveness of sins of your departed servants blessed in memory, N.N., whose commemoration we are making.

Choir: Lord, have mercy. [three times]

Deacon: That they be forgiven all their transgressions, voluntary and involuntary.

Choir: Lord, have mercy. [three times]

Deacon: That our Lord God place their souls in a place of light, a flowery place, a place of rest in the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, let us pray to the Lord.

Choir: Lord, have mercy. [three times]

¹² Cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 111-112. See the 1942 *Rome služebnyk*, p. 218-221 for the litany of the dead in CHR; there is no "Eternal Memory" invocation with this litany, but it is found at the end for the final dismissal in CHR, p. 311.

Deacon: Having asked for the mercy of God and the heavenly kingdom and the forgiveness of their sins, let us commend ourselves and one another and our whole life to Christ our God.

Choir: To you, O Lord.

Deacon: Let us pray to the Lord.

Choir: Lord, have mercy. [repeated 40 times in the 1646 Moscow text]

The priest takes the usual prayer for the dead, “God of all spirits and all flesh”. Then a note adds that on days of general commemoration the following litany is to be taken instead. This alternate litany is similar to that given in the *1583 Vilna General Commemorations*, and includes every church and civil leader possible. In the *1646 Moscow* text, this general commemoration does not end with “Eternal Memory”.

Further on in the *1646 Moscow* služebnyk the kolyvo blessing is given without any litany for the dead. But for the vespers of Meat-Fare Saturday numerous petitions are given in the Litany of Peace, similar to those taken today at the full vigil service for the dead (the parastas in Ukrainian usage, the panixida in Russian usage). But at the end of the parastas (the final part, called the panaxyda in Ukrainian usage), the litany given has the same structure as today’s, beginning with “Have mercy on us, O God”. As in CHR, the choir replies “Lord, have mercy” forty times in response to the deacon’s invitation, “Let us pray to the Lord.”¹³

4. Other Ruthenian Sources

The *1604 Balaban* and *1617 Mamonyč* texts do not provide a litany for the dead in CHR. But they do give one at the end of the služebnyk, to be taken with the blessing of the kolyvo. It follows the same structure and division found in the *1583 Vilna Kolyvo Litany*, but with textual variants. For example, the first petition given in Balaban and Mamonyč is exactly like today’s:

Have mercy on us, O God, according to your great mercy, we pray you, hear us and have mercy.¹⁴

Neither Balaban nor Mamonyč give “Eternal Memory” at the end of the kolyvo litany.

The system and structure used in the *1629 Kiev* edition is kept by the other texts in the Mohylyan tradition. Only the prayer itself for the blessing of the kolyvo is given later on in the služebnyk, without any litany attached to it.

¹³ *1646 Moscow*, CHR f. 123r-126r, kolyvo blessing f. 328r-330v. Meat-Fare Saturday vespers f. 347v-355r; also *1602 Moscow*.

¹⁴ *1604 Balaban*, kolyvo blessing p. 518-526; *1617 Mamonyč*, kolyvo blessing p. 427-431 (misprinted 429).

A litany very similar to the *1583 Vilna Kolyvo Litany* is given in the Mohylan texts immediately after the ektené. Thus we find the basic structure and order of the petitions used today after the ektené. The *1583 Vilna* and Muscovite texts do not include the first petition, “Have mercy on us, O God”, which the Mohylan texts give here. There are differences in the wording of these petitions, as in every edition or tradition. A note in the Mohylan texts says that this litany for the dead is not found in the reformed Greek sources. No litany for the dead is included in BAS. There is no “Eternal Memory” at the end.¹⁵

The Borgia ms often follows the *1629 Kiev* text, but this is not the case here. In CHR it gives a litany of the *1573 Vilna Kolyvo* type; nn. 2-3 in Borgia are combined (they are also combined in the *1583 Vilna General Commemorations* n. 1); the “Eternal Memory” invocation and response is given at the end. The other choir responses are the same as those given in the Muscovite texts and used today.¹⁶

The Sipovič pontifical gives a litany after the ektené with the structure and division of the *1583 Vilna Kolyvo* type, but with a text more similar to today’s. When the deacon says “Let us pray to the Lord”, the choir replies “Lord, have mercy” twelve times. This is indicated in both the Slavonic and Latin versions. The bishop takes the prayer for the dead silently, and it ends with “Eternal Memory” and its invocation.¹⁷

The *1671 Ecphonemata* gives a litany similar to what we have today, but the choir replies “Lord, have mercy” three times, where today we have it only once, in Sipovič twelve times, and in the *1646 Moscow* text forty times.¹⁸

The Žoxovs’kyj texts do not include a litany for the dead after the ektené, nor is there any rubrical indication to take one. This is all handled in the services given at the end of the služebnyk for various intentions. The petitions are similar to today’s, and the choir’s responses are the same; in Žoxovs’kyj the “Eternal Memory” formula also concludes the litany.¹⁹

The *1759 Lviv OSBM* curia copy explains in a note after the ektené that the litany for the dead, “Have mercy on us, O God – Pomyľuj nas Bože”, can be taken at this point if the service for the dead is included with that for the day; if only a service for the dead is being celebrated, then the ektené is to be omitted and only the litany for the dead taken:

ostavljajet jekteniju: Rcem vsi, i hlaholet tokmo jekteniju za usopšyx.²⁰

¹⁵ *1629 Kiev*, CHR p. 25-27, kolyvo blessing p. 300; *1639 Kiev*, CHR p. 265-267, kolyvo blessing p. 716-718; *1691 Lviv*, CHR f. 84r-85r, kolyvo blessing given on unnumbered folia after f. 287v.

¹⁶ Borgia ms, f. 91v-92v.

¹⁷ Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 167-168 (ms f. 23v-25r).

¹⁸ *1671 Ecphonemata*, CHR [f. 8v-11r].

¹⁹ *1692 Žoxovs’kyj*, services for various intentions p. 49-54.

²⁰ *1759 Lviv OSBM* curia copy, f. 110v.

The 1778 and 1788 *Počajiv* editions give the full text of the litany for the dead after the ektené. The formulation of the 1788 *Počajiv* edition is exactly the same as found in the 1942 *Rome* edition.²¹ This *Počajiv* text is also identical to that in the Nikonian Ruthenian *služebnyky*, including one small detail: neither the Nikonian nor the *Počajiv* *služebnyky* indicate the choir's reply when the deacon says "Let us pray to the Lord", even though all the other choir responses are given.²² This lacuna in the choir's responses is at the same place where the other texts give three, twelve, or forty repetitions of "Lord, have mercy".

The absence of the litany for the dead in POL indicates how closely Lisovs'kyj and Turkevč were following BEN, which also has no litany for the dead. All Ruthenian and Nikonian *služebnyky* either give this litany in place in CHR, or else indicate that it can be taken. Since the intentions for most liturgies were for the dead, it was frequently required, and it is strange that the editors of POL did not see fit to include it.²³

III. THE EILITON AND THE ANTIMENSION, AND THE CATECHUMEN LITANY

1. *The Catechumen Litany*

The text of the catechumen litany holds no surprises in POL or in other Ruthenian texts. It was an anachronism of little interest to the worshippers and celebrants, and some just eliminated it altogether. The Latin Lviv clergy found this litany odd, especially its call to the catechumens to leave the church.²⁴ When Leo Kyška, as protoarchimandrite, made a visitation of the Suprasl' monastery in 1711, he criticized the monks for omitting this litany. The same year, his vicar John Oleševs'kyj made a visitation of the Vilna monastery, where too the monks had dropped this litany.²⁵ The Lviv eparchy's report the 1765 Brest synod called attention to this litany, which, it said, some took and others omitted.²⁶

²¹ 1788 *Počajiv*, CHR f. 9v; cf. Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 106; 1942 *Rome*, p. 218-221.

²² An example of the Nikonian Ruthenian formulation is in 1762 *Kiev*, CHR f. 66r-67r.

²³ More information on the origin of this litany for the dead can be found in Arranz's study on the Pannychis (vigil service held for various intentions, especially between vespers and matins of major feasts), and its more specific use for the dead (parastas, panaxyda); cf. M. Arranz, "Les prières presbytérales de la 'Pannychis' de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin et la 'Panikhida' des défunts", *OCP*, 40 (1974): 119-139, especially p. 127-139. On the ektené and stational litanies, see also Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 148-156.

²⁴ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1: 148.

²⁵ *LE*, 5: 35, 65-66.

²⁶ Cf. Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 935.

2. *The Eiliton and Antimension in POL*

What is of interest to us is the handling of the eiliton and the antimension, normally in relation to the catechumen litany. POL introduces the priest's prayer for the catechumens with the following title:

Prayer for the catechumens, before which the antimension is unfolded.

BEN has the same prayer and title, but uses the word "eiliton", not "antimension." This is not a simple oversight on the part of the editors of POL.²⁷

3. *Their Use in Early Texts*

A confusion over the use of the eiliton and antimension is found in liturgical sources. The antimension, containing relics of a saint, was formerly meant to take the place of a consecrated altar, that is, an altar in which the bishop had placed relics during the rite of consecration. The eiliton or corporal is a small cloth, similar in size to the antimension, on which the gifts are placed during the eucharistic liturgy. The eiliton is used whether or not the altar is consecrated. Although the antimension is not required on a consecrated altar, it is often found on one.²⁸

Serbian and Bulgarian služebnyky of the fifteenth century confuse the use of these two cloths, using the term antimension in place of eiliton.²⁹ In the 1519 *Venice* edition we find the term antimension given in CHR, BAS, and PRES. The 1583 *Vilna* služebnyk uses the term eiliton at the sanctus and the communion.³⁰

The most surprising rubrics are given in the pre-Nikonian Muscovite služebnyky. After the deacon gives the gospel book to the priest following the reading, the priest puts the gospel book behind the eiliton and immediately opens up the eiliton while the deacon goes out to chant the ektené. No mention is made at the catechumen litany of either eiliton or antimension in the 1602 and 1646 *Moscow* texts, which give this immediate opening of the eiliton. By the time of the 1652 *Moscow* služebnyk, the eiliton is opened at the

²⁷ POL, f. 261v-262r; BEN, p. 43.

²⁸ See the study made by J. Izzo, *The Antimension in the Liturgical and Canonical Tradition of the Byzantine and Latin Churches: An Inter-Ritual Inter-Confessional Study*, Rome 1975. Antimensia were indeed dispensed with if the altar was consecrated; see *Synod Dijecezalnyj Stanyslavivs'kyj 1908 r.*, Stanyslaviv 1908, p. 36.

²⁹ Cf. A. Raes, "Antimension, Talbit, Tabot", *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, 1 (1951): 64.

³⁰ 1519 *Venice*, [f. 19r, 27r, 42v, 64r]; 1583 *Vilna*, CHR f. 73v, 93r. The rubrics are not legible around the catechumen prayer in our Vilna copy and we cannot say exactly which terms are used.

ecphonesis of the catechumen litany in BAS.³¹ No Ruthenian texts ever say to open the eiliton immediately after the gospel.

The 1604 *Balaban* and 1617 *Mamonyč* editions refer only to the eiliton in CHR and BAS, but in PRES they mention the antimimension.³² In the *Mamonyč Nauka* the first thing listed as essential for celebrating mass is a consecrated altar. No priest is allowed to celebrate on an unconsecrated altar without the permission of the bishop. Even if a priest does receive this permission, he has to use a portable antimimension — “antymys podvyžnyj” — no matter how sacred the place might be. In such a case, before beginning the prothesis, the priest first is to say the prayer for the blessing of a home and then bless the place with holy water.

Further on, when listing the articles needed for celebration, the *Nauka* places the antimimension first; it has to be consecrated and large enough to hold both chalice and discos. Next, the two altar cloths and the eiliton are mentioned, with the admonition that these are always to be kept clean as a sign of respect. The *Nauka* warns that neglect of this on the part of the celebrant signifies disrespect of the Lord.³³

4. *The Mohylan Use*

Both Sakowicz and the *Lithos* authors were familiar with the *Nauka*, as can be seen by their references to the *Nauka* elsewhere. But the *Nauka* instructions are only partially evident when Sakowicz and the *Lithos* authors exchange words over the eiliton and the antimimension. The Orthodox explain that the antimimension should be large enough to hold the discos and chalice; it would be a sin if it were folded up so that mass could not be celebrated on it. The eiliton, according to *Lithos*, is not blessed in the Eastern Church, since it is only meant to wrap up or hold the antimimension; the eucharistic liturgy is not to be celebrated on the eiliton.

Sakowicz replies that if the antimimension is not portable, then it should be attached to the altar under the altar cloths. If it is portable, then it should go under the eiliton and remain unattached. The eiliton, he says, should be blessed — “poswiecone” — like the chalice, discos, veils, and other articles used for mass. He criticizes the Orthodox for not blessing these items — in that case, he adds, any pot or apron can be used at the altar! The Orthodox would be better off if they included in their liturgical books the blessings which

³¹ 1646 *Moscow*, CHR f. 120v; also 1602 *Moscow*; 1652 *Moscow*, BAS f. 201v (CHR is missing from the text at the PIO).

³² 1604 *Balaban*, CHR p. 108, 11, BAS p. 155, 262, PRES p. 385; 1617 *Mamonyč*, CHR p. 38, 41, BAS p. 168, 172, PRES p. 295.

³³ 1617 *Mamonyč*, *Nauka* [f. 4r-6r].

the Catholic Ruthenians used, translated into Slavonic from the Roman pontifical.³⁴

The Mohylan texts are not consistent in this matter. The *1629 Kiev služebnyk* refers to the eiliton in CHR and BAS and to the antimimension in PRES. In the *1639 Kiev* edition the stress is put on the antimimension. It is constantly referred to in the opening instructions for reserving the ahnec. In CHR and BAS the priest opens the “eiliton and the antimimension inside it” at the ecphonesis for the catechumen litany. But a few pages later only the eiliton is mentioned at the prayers of the faithful.³⁵

Mohyla seems to have rethought the matter after the *Lithos* discussion, since his *1646 Trebnyk* makes reference to the antimimension being under the top altar cloth and the eiliton unfolded on top of everything. This *trebnyk* also gives a blessing for the eiliton and other liturgical articles.³⁶

Other Mohylan-tradition *služebnyky* follow the *1639 Kiev* edition in this matter. Exceptions are the *1691 Lviv* edition and its practically identical reprint, the *1712 Lviv* text; these two as usual follow the *1629 Kiev* format. They refer to the eiliton before the Great Entrance and to the antimimension when the gifts are placed on the altar after the Great Entrance.³⁷

5. Muscovite Practice

More information is found in Muscovite sources. In the *1636 Moscow potrebnik* of Patriarch Joseph we find in the service for the blessing of a church the description of how the altar is to be prepared. The lower altar cloth is blessed with holy water and tied to the altar at the four corners. On the top of this cloth is placed the antimimension, which is sewn at the four corners so that it will not fall off:

pologajut svjaščennicy antimis i prišivajut ego na četyre ugly da ne kako otstupit ot mesta svoego.³⁸

Studies made on the antimimension, first by Nikolskij and later by Petrovskij, explain this further. The antimimension, especially if it was old, was sewn on to the top of the lower altar cloth or even nailed to it. The Muscovite *trebnyky* of Patriarchs Joseph and Philaret, and the Old Believers even today keep this usage. Sewing the antimimension to the lower altar cloth was common

³⁴ Cf. *Lithos*, p. 139-140. The reference is probably to the first *trebnyk* printed for the Catholic Ruthenians in 1618 in Vilna at the Mamonyč press.

³⁵ *1629 Kiev*, CHR p. 29, 31, BAS p. 139, 143, 156, PRES p. 248; *1639 Kiev*, p. 1-7, CHR p. 270-273, BAS p. 450, 455 (in PRES neither are mentioned).

³⁶ *1646 Kiev* *trebnyk*, 1: 231-232 (on the antimimension), 2: 90-92 (blessing of eiliton).

³⁷ *1691 Lviv*, CHR f. 86r, 87r, 92v (misprinted 94).

in Muscovy, while in Kiev and Ruthenian lands it was the custom to lay the antimimension on top of the eiliton. Nikolskij cites examples in the *1604 Balaban*, *1617 Vilna*, *1620 Kiev*, *1629 Kiev*, *1639 Kiev*, *1641 Jevje*, and *1653 Kiev* texts.³⁹

We cannot accept Nikolskij's affirmation so easily, since we already have seen that this is not the case in the *1604*, *1617*, and *1629* editions.

The placement of the antimimension was fixed in Muscovy with the Nikonian reform. In his reply to Nikon's liturgical questions, Patriarch Paisios of Constantinople said that the antimimension should be opened on top of the eiliton and not removed from the altar. Thus the antimimension was not permanently attached to the altar cloths nor was it to be removed from the altar after services.⁴⁰ The Nikonian *služebnyky*, approved by the 1666/67 Moscow council, prescribe the antimimension to be placed on the eiliton and opened prior to the Great Entrance.⁴¹ These rubrics, found also in the *1639 Kiev služebnyk*, have remained from then on in Nikonian texts.

Pryluc'kyj, another author familiar with the Muscovite and Ruthenian liturgical sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, observes that according to the sources available to him the Ruthenians put the antimimension between the lower and upper cloths.⁴²

These authors are probably not contradicting one another, but only reflecting the variations found in actual practice. Such a lack of liturgical uniformity has been evident throughout our study.

6. Catholic Ruthenian Practice

Catholic liturgical texts usually mention only the eiliton, but there are notable exceptions.⁴³ The Peremyšl' eparchial synod of 1693 instructed the deans when visiting parishes to check on the antimensia to see that no particles of the eucharist were left on it; they were also to check on the condition of the eiliton.⁴⁴ In 1711 John Oleševs'kyj, during his visitation of the Vilna Basilians

³⁸ *1636 Moscow potrebnik*, f. 33r.

³⁹ Cf. K. Nikolskij, *Ob antiminsax*, p. 115-128; A. Petrovskij, "Antimins", *Pravoslavnaja bogoslovskaja enciklopedija*, 1 (St. Petersburg 1900): 797-809; Petrovskij, "Učitel'noe izvestie", p. 932-933.

⁴⁰ "Gramota konstantinopolskogo patriarxa Paisija I k moskovskomu patriarxu Nikonu", *XČ*, 1881, 1: 559-560. Paisios was twice patriarch, 1652-1653 and 1654-1655. The document was likely issued during the second term.

⁴¹ Cf. *Dejanija*, part II, f. 64.

⁴² Cf. V. Priluckij, *Častnoe bogosluženie v rusckoj cerkvi v XVI i pervoj polovine XVII v.*, Kiev 1912, p. 49.

⁴³ Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 168 (ms f. 24v-25r); Borgia ms, f. 93v; Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 203 (mss n. 190 f. 16, n. 192 f. 232, n. 194 f. 30, n. 197 f. 12, n. 199 f. 80); *1692 Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 88.

⁴⁴ Cf. Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 19.

for Leo Kyška, told the monks that mass was to be celebrated using an antimimension and not a portable altar stone.⁴⁵

The Synod of Zamostja settled the use of the two cloths for the Catholics. The synod declared that the antimimension be placed on two lower and underneath a third upper altar cloth:

atque ut inter duas inferiores et tertiam superiorem ponatur antimissale super iisdem vero mapis;

the eilton or corporal is to go on top of this:

et antimissale suppositum extendatur corporale.

This, the synod said, is to avoid ruining the antimimension by constant handling:

et antimissale non ita facile continua attractione teretur.⁴⁶

Zamostja probably chose the practice better known in the Bielorussian and Lithuanian areas of the Kievan metropolia, which paralleled the same usage in pre-Nikonian Muscovy.

The use of the antimimension in POL is contrary not only to BEN, but also to Catholic Ruthenian practice. The Nikonian texts were the only contemporary source for POL's directions concerning the antimimension.

IV. THE PRAYERS OF THE FAITHFUL

1. *The Format in POL*

After the deacon has called upon the catechumens to leave, POL introduces the priest's prayer with the following title:

First prayer of the faithful, after the unfolding of the antimimension.

The prayer contains nothing unusual. Just before the ecphonesis the deacon says: "Help, save, have mercy on us, and save us, O God, by your grace. – Wisdom." Again, after the ecphonesis the deacon says: "Again and again in peace let us pray to the Lord." Then the priest says the second prayer of the faithful. Before its ecphonesis the deacon repeats: "Help, save [...] Wisdom", and the priest chants the ecphonesis and then begins the prayer of the Great Entrance "No one is worthy". POL agrees here with both BEN and today's texts.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *LE*, 5: 35.

⁴⁶ *SPZ*, Tit. 3, § 4: "De celebratione missarum", p. 72.

⁴⁷ *POL*, f. 261v-263v; *BEN*, p. 44-45; *1942 Rome*, p. 224-227.

2. *The Ecphonesis of the Second Prayer*

OBS points out that Catholic Ruthenian priests concluded the ecphonesis of the second prayer by turning to the faithful and opening their hands as they did for the trisagion ecphonesis (XXXVI.2).

This rubric had been controversial among the Ruthenians, and Lisovs'kyj only too gladly omitted it from POL. The Lviv eparchy's report in 1763 for the Brest synod called attention to the practice of some priests turning around completely to the people for this ecphonesis.⁴⁸ Lisovs'kyj objected to this in his 1786 letter to Nuncio Saluzzo concerning the liturgical errors of the Ruthenians.⁴⁹ He turned theory into practice by forbidding the priests in his eparchy to do this.⁵⁰ Xojnackij lists this among latinizations, since an identical gesture is found in the Latin mass.⁵¹

But it is the gesture with the hands and not the turn that is a latinization. As at the ecphonesis for the trisagion, we also find this turning to the people for the conclusion of the second prayer of the faithful in early sources. In the *1602* and *1646 Moscow* služebnyky the priest turns to the people and stands in the holy doors at this point:

jerej že obrašč'sja nazapad stav v carskix dverex glagolet vozglas: Jako da pod deržavoju [...].⁵²

This rubric disappeared from the Nikonian editions such as the *1670 Moscow* text.

The first known Ruthenian source to have this rubric is the Sipovič pontifical, where the bishop says the ecphonesis turned to the holy doors. In the Borgia ms the priest turns and faces the people, but, as in other sources, there is no indication of what he does with his hands. Odincov also refers to this in the Vilna ms služebnyky, but he is not explicit.⁵³

Žoxovs'kyj made the Latin gesture permanent, if it was not already, by giving the rubric in his služebnyk. The priest turns to the people for the last part of the ecphonesis, opens his hands, and completes it saying "now and always and forever and ever". This rubric is reprinted in all later služebnyky, including the maverick *1788 Počajiv* and the *1759 Lviv OSBM* curia copy.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Cf. Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union*, 2: 935.

⁴⁹ *EM*, 9: 170.

⁵⁰ The Basilian theology professor Justin Krupic'kyj wrote in 1790: "Iam vero ad trisagion et hymnum cherubicum sese convertendi usum antiquo more inhibuit." *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 149, f. 533v.

⁵¹ Cf. Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 77-79.

⁵² *1646 Moscow*, CHR f. 129r; also *1602 Moscow*.

⁵³ Cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 168 (ms f. 26v-27r); Borgia ms, f. 96v; Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 199 (mss n. 190 f. 13v, n. 194 f. 12v, f. 16); cf. Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 134.

⁵⁴ *1692 Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 89r; *1759 Lviv OSBM* curia copy, f. 112r; *1788 Počajiv*, CHR f. 8v.

Examples of this turn to the people are not as numerous as with the trisagion turn and blessing. Certainly its appearance in the 1602 *Moscow* text excludes any direct borrowing from the Latin Rite.

3. *A Blessing or Dismissal?*

In Antioch and Constantinople during the time of John Chrysostom the structure and content of the litanies and prayers given after the gospel were much different from today's. After the two prayers of the faithful, there was also a third prayer with the bowing of the head and a blessing. These three prayers were typical of the dismissal rite also in vespers and matins in Constantinople. Mateos suggests that the third prayer over bowed heads, missing today in CHR (and BAS), could be that now found after the Our Father, which does not fit this location too well.⁵⁵

The turn to the people could be a remnant of a blessing or dismissal at this point in the Liturgy of the Word. But the opening of the hands, for which no precedents are found in the Byzantine tradition, is a latinization. We shall see more examples shortly from the pontifical liturgies.

When discussing the history of vespers in early Slavic sources, Dmitrievskij mentions a practice in fifteenth century mss, not found in Greek or southern Slavic areas. After the various litanies, including the ektené, the priest often gave the blessing "Peace be to all". Where this originated, he did not know, but he suspected early Greek sources. Dmitrievskij also does not mention any rubrics for this, but by now we see that the actions carried out today by the celebrant for the various blessings were not common earlier.⁵⁶

4. *The Pontifical Rite*

In a twelfth-century diataxis of a pontifical liturgy from Constantinople's Hagia Sophia, critically edited and commented on by Taft, the bishop comes to the altar during the ektené. Just prior to the ecphonesis of the ektené, he blesses the people three times. Taft notes that this blessing is found not only in the earliest sources of the pontifical liturgy, but also in twelfth-thirteenth century presbyteral liturgies.⁵⁷

In the Sipovič pontifical, after the archdeacon has commemorated the king in the ektené (to which the concelebrants reply "Lord, have mercy" three

⁵⁵ Cf. F. van de Pavverd, *Zur Geschichte der Messliturgie in Antiocheia und Konstantinopel gegen Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts*, Rome 1970 (= OCA 187), p. 462-467; Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 159-173.

⁵⁶ Cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluzhenie*, p. 16-17.

⁵⁷ Taft, "Pontifical Liturgy", p. 116 (diataxis IV.6, p. 294-295); cf. Goar, p. 154; Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 153.

times), the bishop turns to the people, and standing in the holy doors, he blesses them with the dikerion three times saying:

Lord, save the tsar and hear him in the day he calls upon you.

When the archdeacon commemorates the celebrating hierarch (to which all concelebrants reply “Lord, have mercy” three times), the hierarch blesses the altar three times saying:

Lord, save the universal pontiff (if the celebrant is the metropolitan another celebrant says) the most reverend Metropolitan, and hear him in the day he calls upon you.

He gives the deacon the trikerion after this petition, for which he does not turn to the people.⁵⁸

In the 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical these blessings are slightly different. When the archdeacon commemorates the pope, all are to remain silent and only the priests and deacons sing “Lord, have mercy” three times. The bishop faces the altar and blesses with the trikerion three times towards the east, then to the north, to the south, and finally to the west, saying the verse “Lord, Lord, look down from heaven” (Ps. 79: 15a-16a). Then the archdeacon commemorates the king, while the bishop stands in the holy doors and blesses — “osijajet” — the people with the dikerion saying “Lord, save the king”. When the archdeacon next commemorates the celebrating bishop, the bishop turns to the people, holding his staff in his left hand, and blesses them with his right hand (no verse is given for this blessing). After this no further rubrics are given up to the Great Entrance.⁵⁹

The 1886 *Lviv Bačyns'kyj* pontifical follows the pattern given in the 1716 *Suprasl* text with some exceptions. In *Bačyns'kyj* no responses are indicated for the concelebrants, and the choir replies “for many years” three times for each of the three blessings. The bishop holds his staff and blesses the people with the trikerion for the first blessing, uses the dikerion for the second blessing, and blesses with his hand for the third blessing. The bishop only blesses towards the worshippers and not towards the altar (east), north, or south. No indications are given for the ecphonesis or holy doors.⁶⁰

We have found no blessing made with the hand crosswise at this point in the Ruthenian presbyteral liturgies which we have examined, but such a blessing would fit in well with this turn to the people given in many of these služebnyky for the ecphonesis of the second prayer of the faithful. A blessing would be even more suitable in the pre-Nikonian Muscovite texts where the

⁵⁸ Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 167-168 (ms f. 21v-23r).

⁵⁹ 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical, f. 10v-11r.

⁶⁰ 1886 *Lviv Bačyns'kyj* pontifical, p. 26-27.

priest faces the people and stands in the holy doors. It should be noted that the episcopal blessings are given during the ektené, while the presbyteral turn to the faithful is for the prayers of the faithful. However, the Sipovič pontifical includes both.

5. *The Petitions*

The petitions given with the two prayers of the faithful in POL and the 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj* text are exactly the same. This agreement is significant, since other Ruthenian texts and traditions include more petitions according to two possible arrangements.

First Arrangement (Slavic Abbreviations)

One arrangement is found in the 1583 *Vilna*, Muscovite, and Nikonian Ruthenian služebnyky, in this format:

Deacon: "All catechumens leave [...] All the faithful again and again in peace let us pray [...]."

Priest: Recites the *First Prayer* of the faithful

Deacon: "Help us, save us, [...] Wisdom."

Priest: Ecphonesis of the first prayer

Deacon: "Again and again in peace let us pray [...]."

"For peace from on high and the salvation of our souls [...]."

"For the peace of the whole world [...]."

"For this holy church [...]."

Priest: Recites the *Second Prayer* of the faithful

Deacon: "Help us, save us, [...] Wisdom."

Priest: Ecphonesis of the second prayer.⁶¹

This arrangement, still given in today's Russian texts, is characterized by the one main set of petitions taken from the Litany of Peace, given between the two prayers of the faithful. The repetition of "Again and again in peace [...] Help us, save us, [...]" "Wisdom" is common to the other arrangements.

Second Arrangement (Philothean)

The second arrangement is commonly found in Ruthenian služebnyky, excluding those of the *Žoxovs'kyj* tradition. It is given in CHR of the 1519 *Venice*, 1604 *Balaban*, 1617 *Mamonyč*, Sipovič pontifical, and all Mohyla tradition texts.

⁶¹ 1583 *Vilna*, CHR f. 58r-60v; 1646 *Moscow*, CHR f. 127r-129v; 1670 *Moscow*, CHR f. 101v-104r; 1736 *Kiev*, CHR f. 73r-75v; 1940 *Rome* služebnyk "recensio vulgata", p. 49-52.

- Deacon: "All catechumens leave [...] All the faithful again and again in peace let us pray [...]."
 "For peace from on high and the salvation of our souls [...]."
 "For the peace of the whole world [...]."
 "For this holy church [...]."
 "Help us, save us, [...] Wisdom."
 (Instruction: If no deacon is present the priest says only "All catechumens leave [...] All the faithful again and again in peace let us pray [...]", then)
- Priest: Recites the *First Prayer* of the faithful
 "Help us, save us, [...] Wisdom."
- Priest: Ecphonesis
- Deacon: "Again and again in peace [...]."
 "For this monastery, every city [...]."
 "For good weather [...]."
 "That we may be delivered [...]."
 "Help us, save us, [...] Wisdom."
 (Instruction: If no deacon is present, the priest says only "Again and again in peace [...], then)
- Priest: Recites the *Second Prayer* of the faithful
 "Help us, save us, [...] Wisdom."
- Priest: Ecphonesis.⁶²

This arrangement is characterized by a large number of petitions from the Litany of Peace divided into two groups before each of the prayers of the faithful. One small variant in the Sipovič pontifical is the addition to the second set of the petitions for travellers.

Third Arrangement (Reduced Greek Format)

The texts with the second arrangement in CHR do not give the identical format for BAS. The 1519 Venice BAS gives a reduced format found in POL, the Žoxovs'kyj texts, and many Greek sources (where this reduction first occurs in PRES).

- Deacon: "All catechumens leave [...] All the faithful again and again in peace let us pray [...]."
 Priest: Recites the *First Prayer* of the faithful
 Deacon: "Help us, save us, [...] Wisdom."
 Priest: Ecphonesis
 Deacon: "Again and again in peace let us pray [...]."
 Priest: Recites the *Second Prayer* of the faithful
 Deacon: "Help us, save us, [...] Wisdom."
 Priest: Ecphonesis.⁶³

⁶² 1519 Venice, [f. 38r-41r]; 1604 Balaban, CHR p. 108-116; 1617 Mamonyč, CHR p. 39-47; 1629 Kiev, CHR p. 30-35; 1639 Kiev, CHR p. 271-279; 1646 Lviv, CHR f. 121r-124v; 1691 Lviv, CHR f. 86r-89r; Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 56-61 (ms f. 24v-27r).

⁶³ 1519 Venice, [f. 83r-85r].

In the 1519 Venice BAS format no mention is made of other petitions from the Litany of Peace.

Variants

The 1604 *Balaban* and 1617 *Mamonyč* služebnyky, which give the second arrangement for CHR, display uncertainty in BAS. These two editions give a rubric — but no text — after the text of the First Prayer of the faithful for the deacon to say the litany given in CHR; if the priest is celebrating without a deacon, he takes the few petitions himself according to the third arrangement.⁶⁴

Although their CHR texts have the second arrangement, the Mohylan texts give still another format for BAS. The First Prayer of the faithful is given immediately after “All catechumens leave [...] All the faithful again and again in peace [...]”. Thus the Mohylan BAS follows the first arrangement by placing the petitions between the two prayers of the faithful, but follows the second by giving the petitions from the Litany of Peace divided into two sets.⁶⁵

Conclusion

In his study of the synapte (Litany of Peace), Strittmatter discusses its use with the prayers of the faithful.⁶⁶ After examining ms sources, he also looks at the printed služebnyky. Here he notes the differences between Ruthenian and Muscovite editions. The Muscovite editions (and the 1583 *Vilna* text) follow that which Strittmatter calls the “Slavic abbreviation”, for which he found twenty-four similar Greek mss from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries. This “Slavic abbreviation” is a direct remnant of the role of the Litany of Peace at this point in the eucharistic liturgy.⁶⁷

Like the Venice texts, the Ruthenian služebnyky do not follow this format of the “Slavic abbreviation”, but rather adopt the Philothean arrangement, in which petitions from the synapte are divided into two sets between the two prayers of the faithful. This Philothean arrangement was probably an attempt to preserve the synapte, which was falling into disuse here.⁶⁸

Strittmatter does not point out the variants in BAS from the Venice and

⁶⁴ 1604 *Balaban*, BAS p. 262-266; 1617 *Mamonyč*, BAS p. 172-177.

⁶⁵ 1629 *Kiev*, BAS p. 144-147; 1639 *Kiev*, BAS p. 457-461; 1646 *Lviv*, BAS f. 200r-202r; 1691 *Lviv*, BAS f. 145v-147v.

⁶⁶ Cf. A. Strittmatter, “Notes on the Byzantine Synapte”, *Traditio*, 10 (1954): 51-108, especially p. 80-83.

⁶⁷ A. Strittmatter, “A Peculiarity of the Slavic Liturgy Found in Greek Euchologies”, *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann et al., Princeton, New Jersey 1955, p. 197-203.

⁶⁸ See the Philothean diataxis given by N. Krasnoseļcev, *Materialy dlja istorii činoposledovanija liturgii svjatogo Ioanna Zlatoustogo*, Kazan 1889, p. 58-59.

Ruthenian texts. The Ruthenian texts show a reluctance to accept the reduced Greek format of the Venice BAS. Either by giving rubrics (Balaban and Mamonyč) or inserting the litany text (Mohylan tradition), they try to retain the use of the petitions.

Once the Orthodox Ruthenians were forced to accept the Nikonian liturgical tradition, the Philothean format or second arrangement was totally eliminated from Ruthenian služebnyky.

Starting with the 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj* služebnyk, the reduced Greek format or third arrangement became standard in Catholic Ruthenian služebnyky. *Žoxovs'kyj* found this format in the 1683 *Rome Nerli* liturgicon, while the editors of POL found it in BEN.⁶⁹

Thus POL agrees not with the Nikonian tradition, but with the *Žoxovs'kyj* usage. However, this is an agreement based on common Greek sources.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ 1683 *Rome* Greek euchology, CHR p. 276, BAS p. 287-288; *BEN*, CHR p. 44-45, BAS p. 71-72.

⁷⁰ More information on the Litany of Peace at this point in the liturgy is found in Mateos, *Célébration*, p. 159-160; Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 327-328; Taft, "Structural Analysis", p. 321.

CHAPTER 10

THE EUCHARISTIC LITURGY – THE GREAT ENTRANCE

After the completion of the Liturgy of the Word, the bread and wine are brought to the altar to begin the Eucharistic Liturgy. The early simple rite for the transfer of the gifts to the altar slowly developed into a series of rites and prayers called the Great Entrance, which has become one of the culminating points of the entire mass. Its development in the Byzantine Rite, and specifically among the Ruthenians, can be seen through the various liturgical sources available.¹

I. PREPARATION FOR THE PROCESSION

1. *POL and OBS*

The Great Entrance rite in *POL* begins with the title and rubric:

Prayer said by the priest silently to himself while the Cherubic Hymn is being sung.²

Then follows the text for the prayer of the Cherubic Hymn, “No one is worthy”. Following this prayer the priest recites the Cherubic Hymn, but here the text is not given nor the number of times it is said.³ The deacon takes the thurible with the incense in it, goes to the priest for his blessing, and proceeds

¹ To facilitate the references in this section on the Great Entrance we give here the main liturgical texts we have consulted. *POL*, f. 262v-264r; *BEN*, p. 45-47; 1519 *Venice*, [f. 21v-24r]; 1583 *Vilna*, CHR f. 61r-68r; 1602 *Moscow*, (cf. Muretov, “Posledovanie proskomidii”, p. 34-35); 1646 *Moscow*, CHR f. 129v-135r; 1604 *Balaban*, CHR p. 117-128, BAS p. 267-275; 1617 *Mamonyč*, CHR p. 47-58, BAS p. 182; 1629 *Kiev*, CHR p. 35-44, BAS p. 147-158; 1639 *Kiev*, CHR p. 280-294, BAS p. 463-480; 1646 *Lviv*, CHR f. 124v-131v; 1653 *Kiev*, CHR f. 140v-147v; 1666 *Lviv*, CHR f. 134v-141v; 1681 *Lviv*, CHR f. 138r-145v; 1691 *Lviv*, CHR f. 89r-94r; 1712 *Lviv*, CHR f. 89r-94r; 1736 *Kiev*, CHR f. 75r-80r; 1754 *Černihiv*, CHR f. 75r-80v; 1762 *Kiev*, CHR f. 70r-85r; Borgia ms, f. 96v-102v; 1671 *Eophonemata*, CHR [f. 10v-11r]; 1692 *Žoxovs’kyj*, CHR f. 89r-90v; 1759 *Lviv OSBM curia copy*, f. 112r-113r; 1788 *Počajiv*, CHR f. 8v-9v; 1755 *Počajiv*, low mass rubrics [f. 1v].

The essential study on this material is Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. XIII-275, to which we shall make more specific references where they apply.

² Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 119-148, for the text and history of the prayer.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 53-118, on the Cherubic Hymn.

to incense; he incenses the altar crosswise, the sanctuary, and the priest, saying Ps. 50 and the penitential troparia (text not given).⁴ He next comes together with the priest at the altar, from where they both go to the prothesis table; the deacon walks in front, incensing the gifts and saying to himself, “God be merciful to me a sinner.” At the prothesis, the deacon says to the priest, “Take this, master” and the priest puts the veil on the deacon’s left shoulder saying “Raise your hands on high and bless the Lord.” The priest carefully puts the discos on the deacon’s head, while the deacon holds the thurible on one finger of his right hand. They then make the procession.⁵

Surprisingly, the only comment of OBS here refers to the rubrics for the priest to put the discos on the deacon’s head. Ruthenian priests gave the deacon the discos in his hands and the deacon held it up at eye level for the procession (XXXVIII. 2-3).

2. *Early Služebnyky*

The *1519 Venice* služebnyk begins this section with the rubric “prayer said by the priest to himself”, followed by the text of the prayer “No one is worthy”. The deacon’s rubrics after the prayer are the same as those given in POL for the incensation, with no indication of what, if anything, the deacon says while incensing. The deacon then stands on the priest’s left, and after the priest has completed the prayer both say the Cherubic Hymn three times, bow, and go to the prothesis, the deacon going first. There the deacon incenses the gifts, saying to himself “God, cleanse me a sinner”. The rest follows according to POL.

The *1583 Vilna* služebnyk begins the rite with the title “tvorenie Ioanna Zlatoustaho” and gives the text of the Cherubic Hymn, which ends with a single alleluia.⁶ Next follows the prayer “No one is worthy”. While the Cherubic Hymn is being sung, the deacon incenses according to POL, but no prayers are indicated. The priest, with the deacon standing at his left side, together say the Cherubic Hymn three times, bow, and go to the prothesis. When incensing the gifts there, the deacon says the verse “God, cleanse me a sinner and have mercy on me.” The priest puts the veil on the deacon’s right shoulder, saying “Lift up your hands to the sanctuary.” Then comes the odd rubric, “se druhij smyrenij” (where “*smyrenij*” is preceded by a hard sign), and the full final two verses of Ps. 133 are given:

Lift up your hands to the sanctuary and bless the Lord;
May the Lord bless you from Sion, the maker of heaven and earth. Ps. 133: 2-3.

⁴ Ibid., p. 149-177; on Ps. 50 and the penitential troparia, see p. 223-227.

⁵ Ibid., p. 178-210.

⁶ Several lines, probably of rubrics, are illegible in our copy.

The priest gives the deacon the discos as usual, but when the priest takes the chalice, he says the trisagion three times, a practice found in some other *služebnyky* as well.

According to the *1602* and *1646 Moscow* *služebnyky*, the deacon enters the sanctuary, bows three times to the altar and to the priest and performs the forgiveness (*tvorit proščenie*). The deacon incenses the altar and sanctuary, the choir sings the Cherubic Hymn, and the priest says the prayer “No one is worthy”. Then the priest and deacon (standing on the priest’s left) say the Cherubic Hymn together (how often is not specified) and bow three times at the altar, as in the Venice and Vilna texts above, but here they say the verse “God, be merciful to me a sinner.” After this they make a *proščenie* before the altar, kiss the altar, and go to the prothesis with the actions and words as in POL.

In the *1604 Balaban* and *1617 Mamonyč* texts the deacon (with no initial bows) incenses the altar and sanctuary, saying Ps. 50. The priest and deacon (standing on his left according to Balaban) recite the Cherubic Hymn, which ends with one alleluia in CHR, but with three in BAS. Note that neither these nor any of the texts up to now instruct the celebrants to raise their hands for the Cherubic Hymn or prayer. The Balaban and Mamonyč texts instruct the deacon and priest to bow three times when saying the Cherubic Hymn. At the prothesis the deacon incenses and says “God, cleanse me a sinner and have mercy on me”; the rest continues as in POL.

3. *The Mohylian and Nikonian Traditions*

The Mohylian tradition, beginning with the *1629 Kiev* edition, has the deacon enter the sanctuary, make three bows before the altar and a bow to the priest. No mention is made of the holy doors (nor is there in the other texts we have seen), since they are already open. The deacon incenses the altar, sanctuary, and priest, saying Ps. 50, while the choir sings the Cherubic Hymn and the priest says “No one is worthy”. A note after the prayer tells the priest to incense if no deacon is present. After incensing the deacon stands to the left of the priest.

Starting with the *1639 Kiev* edition, when the priest finishes “No one is worthy”, he and the deacon on his left bow their heads, raise their hands, and say Ps. 50. After Ps. 50 they again raise their hands and say the Cherubic Hymn. This is the first reference we find to raised hands during the Cherubic Hymn and the first time we see the deacon saying Ps. 50 after the incensation.

In all the Mohylian texts the Cherubic Hymn has only one alleluia, although the hymn is said three times. After the hymn the celebrants bow once and kiss the cross and altar. At the prothesis the priest takes the thurible from the deacon and incenses the gifts three times with three bows, saying each time “God, be merciful to me a sinner.” The priest returns the thurible to the

deacon, who incenses the priest saying "Take, master." (In the 1637 *Lviv* text the deacon first says "Let us pray to the Lord." ⁷) The priest puts the veil on the deacon's left shoulder, saying "In peace lift up your hands to the sanctuary and bless the Lord." The deacon accepts the discos, covered with its veil, with reverence, and carries it with both hands on his head. He also carries the thurible with the small finger of the right hand. The priest carries the chalice with both hands. The rest continues as in POL.

According to the complaint of hierodeacon Macarius to the Holy Synod in 1726, the Černihiv služebnyky prescribed the deacon to carry the discos in front of him and not on his head.⁸ This practice is commonly found in later Catholic usage.

In the Nikonian texts the deacon enters the sanctuary via the north door; he opens the holy doors and incenses the altar crosswise, then the sanctuary and priest while reciting Ps. 50 and the penitential troparia (prescribed only by POL among the texts seen so far). The priest says "No one is worthy", followed by the Cherubic Hymn, which he says three times, bowing after each. The hymn has three alleluias. After the incensation by the deacon he goes together with the priest to the prothesis; no mention is made that the deacon stands beside the priest for the Cherubic Hymn. In the last rubric the Nikonian texts agree with POL and BEN. At the prothesis the deacon incenses the gifts, saying three times "God, cleanse me a sinner." The rest is the same as in POL.

4. *Žoxovs'kyj and Other Catholic Sources*

The Borgia ms follows the Mohylan tradition quite closely. The deacon enters the sanctuary, makes three bows to the altar and one to the priest, and incenses the altar, sanctuary, and priest, saying Ps. 50; the priest says "No one is worthy"; if no deacon is present, the priest is to incense. The priest with the deacon on his left silently say the Cherubic Hymn, which ends in one alleluia. After saying it three times they bow once, kiss the altar and the cross, and proceed to the prothesis. The priest incenses the gifts three times, saying "God, be merciful to me a sinner." The rest continues according to the Mohylan tradition; the priest puts the discos on the deacon's head — "ponit super caput diaconi" — a rubric which the Borgia corrector saw no need to cancel.

The 1671 *Ecphonemata* text of the Cherubic Hymn for the faithful has three alleluias. Little other information is provided by this source for the worshippers.

Except for the incensation, the Žoxovs'kyj tradition has a much more

⁷ Cf. Ruđ, "Liturgija", p. 188.

⁸ Cf. Barsov, "Ierodiakon Makarij", p. 676.

modified version of the Great Entrance. In the 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj* služebnyk for the first time we find that the deacon incenses not only the altar, but the prothesis and “the church with all the people”, saying Ps. 50. This full incensation is all the more surprising when one considers that no incensation whatever is prescribed at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word in this same text. If no deacon is present, the priest incenses (a possibility not mentioned at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word). The priest and deacon together say the Cherubic Hymn three times silently, making the sign of the cross each time. It ends with one alleluia. They then bow once, kiss the altar and the cross, and go to the prothesis. Here we find for the first time that the priest puts the discos into the deacon’s hands and not on his head. We also see again that the celebrants kiss the hand cross on the altar, a rubric characteristic of Catholic usage, found likewise at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word in the 1671 *Ecphonemata* and *Žoxovs'kyj* texts.

The *Žoxovs'kyj* text says nothing about raising the hands during the prayer “No one is worthy” or for the Cherubic Hymn. In the printed low mass rubrics the priest opens his hands during “No one is worthy”, according to a similar rubric given in the Mohylan texts during Ps. 50. At the end of “No one is worthy” in the low mass rubrics the priest makes the sign of the cross and opens his hands again, saying the Cherubic Hymn three times. After the final repetition he kisses the altar saying “God, be merciful to me”, takes the great and small veils and the asterisk “if there is one” off the vessels, and puts them to one side, saying “In peace lift up your hands”; then he puts the discos with the ahnec on top of the chalice as in Latin usage, raises them slightly off the altar with his right hand, steadying them with his left hand, and says the commemorations given in the regular *Žoxovs'kyj* CHR.

The 1759 *Lviv* OSBM curia copy gives some variations on the *Žoxovs'kyj* usage. The text of the Cherubic Hymn is taken from the Nikonian tradition (which we shall see shortly). When leaving the altar, the priest and deacon do not kiss the altar or cross. The priest puts the veil on the deacon’s left shoulder, saying the Mohylan variant of Ps. 133: 2-3, “In peace lift up your hands”. The priest then puts the discos with the asterisk and veil cover into the deacon’s hands. A note adds that if there is no deacon, the priest puts the veil on his left arm and places the discos on the top of the chalice with the veil. This combination of rubrics makes it difficult to place this 1759 *Lviv* OSBM curia copy into any precise tradition.

No texts ever indicate that the priest reads the prayer “No one is worthy” with open or raised hands. Even the 1740 *Univ* text, which has open hand diagrams for the final ecphonesis just before this prayer, gives nothing for the prayer itself.⁹ The rubric to open the hands for “No one is worthy” appears

⁹ 1740 *Univ*, CHR p. 19.

only in texts of the twentieth century; it likely derives from the low mass rubrics of the eighteenth century.¹⁰ Also, nowhere in any of our sources do we find that the priest holds the thurible while saying the Cherubic Hymn if a deacon is assisting, a practice often seen today.

Although none of the texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries indicate it, some priests made a bow to the people when leaving the altar for the prothesis. In his regulations for the clergy of his Polock eparchy, Josaphat Kuncevyč writes that such a bow is not to be made.¹¹ This practice probably originated with the “proščenie”, like that in the pre-Nikonian Muscovite texts just before the priest and deacon went to the prothesis. These Muscovite texts instruct the priest to make such a proščenie to the people at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word if no deacon is present; the same principle may have been operative here.

5. The Text of the Cherubic Hymn

The majority of Ruthenian sources give the text of the Cherubic Hymn with the variants noted by Taft: “prynosjašče”, instead of “prypivajušče”; “podemljušče”, instead of “podymem”; and “otverzim”, instead of “otložym”.¹² Variants on “doriosyma” (daronosyma, darynosyma) are also found. One other difference not listed by Taft is for the word “care – worry”, with the required change in case endings: “vsjako(je) nyini žytejskoje otložim popečeniye”. Ruthenian and pre-Nikonian Muscovite texts normally used “pečal” and not “popečenie”, with the exception of those texts which later took the Nikonian version of the Cherubic Hymn (used also by the 1942 Rome edition). The Nikonian version is found in the 1759 Lviv OSBM curia copy, while the 1778 and 1788 *Počajiv* texts first give the commonly used Ruthenian version, then immediately give the version they describe as based on the Greek text — namely the Nikonian.¹³

One further point concerns the number of alleluias in the Cherubic Hymn. The majority of texts give only one, but we saw that the 1604 *Balaban* and

¹⁰ The following služebnyky from the 19th century contain no rubrics to open the hands: 1840 *Peremyšl* CHR p. 21; 1850 *Lviv*, CHR [f. 10r]; 1866 *Lviv*, CHR p. 21. The hands are to be opened in the 1905 *Lviv*, CHR p. 293; 1917 *Zovkva*, p. 29.

¹¹ “Ceremonias inutiles sacerdotes non introducant in ecclesiam [...] reverentiam hominibus, abeundo ab altari maiori ad minus, offertorii tempore, faciendo.” *SJH*, 1: 240.

¹² Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 58-59.

¹³ Cf. Raes, “Liturgicon”, p. 106. We mention this distinction between “pečal” and “popečenie” since among Ukrainian Catholics who still use the Church Slavonic text for the eucharistic liturgy today, the faithful often object to the term “popečenie”. Although an antiquated word, it is understood in contemporary Ukrainian language as meaning “burn”, while “pečal”, which is still a correct literary term, expresses the notion of “care” or “worry” required for the sense of the Cherubic Hymn. Cf. “Pečal”, *Slovyk ukrajins'koji movy*, 6 (Kiev 1975): 346.

1617 *Mamonyč* texts give three in BAS, and the 1671 *Ecphonemata* gives three for CHR. The triple alleluia was introduced into Muscovite texts by Patriarch Nikon, to which the Old Believers objected.¹⁴ From there it made its way into the later Nikonian Ruthenian editions.

The original function of the Cherubic Hymn was to serve as a refrain for the Great Entrance psalmody which began with its triple repetition. Originally the hymn ended with only a single alleluia, but this likely became confused with the triple repetition of the entire hymn, and the alleluia was repeated thrice every time after the hymn. By the fifteenth century the celebrants were also reciting the Cherubic Hymn while the choir sang it. This too developed into a triple repetition by the celebrants, due probably to a misunderstanding of the Philothean rubric for them to bow three times while saying it to themselves.¹⁵

II. THE PROCESSION WITH THE GIFTS

1. *POL and OBS*

The rubrics and text for the procession given in POL are very simple. Preceded by candle bearers, the deacon and priest go out the north door and through the (nave of the) church, saying:

May the Lord God remember all you in his kingdom always, now, and forever and ever.¹⁶

OBS clarifies that the deacon also says this commemoration, and that Ruthenians add the phrase "orthodox christians", not found in BEN (XXXVII.3-4). The Ruthenians commemorated many persons during this procession, including the pope, the king, the local hierarch, and the monastic superiors. OBS quotes the Zamostja legislation, which we examined earlier, concerning the commemoration of the pope. Zamostja required all clergy to commemorate the pope during the Great Entrance in a loud voice. According to OBS, the priest turned and faced the people for the last part of the commemoration, "and all you orthodox christians" (XXXVII. 5-6).

2. *Early Služebnyky*

The procession in the 1519 *Venice* text is also quite simple; the priest and deacon say only "May the Lord God remember all you in his kingdom".

¹⁴ Cf. Subbotin, *Materialy*, p. 267.

¹⁵ Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 82-83, 97-98, 223.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 178-215 (on the history of the procession), p. 227-234 (on the commemorations).

In the *1583 Vilna služebnyk* the procession begins after the last part of the Cherubic Hymn, “to receive the king of all”, and not before it, as in most other texts (including today’s). The priest makes a series of commemorations, including the monastery, city, and all christians living in them; the archbishop (sic) and all priestly orders; the local monastic superior and all monastic brothers; and all the people present. Each of these groups is introduced with the phrase, “Remember Lord”.¹⁷

In the procession of the *1602* and *1646 Muscovite* texts, the deacon and priest say to themselves:

May the Lord God remember all you in his kingdom always, now, and forever and ever.

Then, standing opposite the west door (i.e., facing the people), they say — “glagoljut” — the same commemoration, and then turn to the south side and repeat it again. If the tsar, bishop, or monastic superior is present, he is also commemorated with a formula similar to the above.

The *1604 Balaban* gives only the simple commemoration formula found in POL and the *1519 Venice* texts, but in the *1617 Mamonyč služebnyk* we find for the first time the added phrase “orthodox christians”. According to the *1617 Mamonyč* text, the deacon goes through the church saying:

May the Lord God remember all you orthodox christians in his kingdom always, now, and forever and ever.

The priest then says:

May the Lord God remember in his kingdom our most faithful lord [hospodar] N.N., our most reverend archbishop, all the priestly and monastic orders, and all you orthodox christians always, now, and forever and ever.

It is significant that the *1617 Mamonyč služebnyk* — the first printed Catholic Ruthenian edition — is the first text to include the phrase “orthodox christians” in the Great Entrance commemorations. It continued to be used in Catholic Ruthenian editions and was also adopted in Orthodox editions. A controversy over the term “orthodox” among the Catholics arose only at the end of the nineteenth century.

The *1637 Lviv služebnyk* also gives only one set of commemorations for the priest to say. This includes the patriarch, archimandrite or ihumen, the priestly and monastic orders, all devout and Christ-loving princes, and founders of the church. At the end the priest says “May the Lord God remember”, then turns to the faithful and concludes, “all you orthodox christians”.¹⁸

¹⁷ Due to illegible print we cannot determine if this was said aloud, or in which direction the priest faced.

¹⁸ Cf. Rud’, “Liturgija”, p. 189.

3. *The Mohylan and Nikonian Traditions*

The Mohylan texts divide the commemorations according to place and need. Thus, the Stauropegia Brotherhood commemorated the patriarch, the monks their superiors, those under the metropolitan remembered him, and so on. If there were concelebrants, the civil leaders were also commemorated. All of these commemorations were made in one continuous formula, without any repetition of “da pomjanet – may he remember”, which was only taken at the end. The priest then turned to the people and said again, “and all you orthodox christians”, as given in the *1617 Mamonyč* text.

In the Nikonian Ruthenian texts the commemorations are made in individual phrases, each ending with “May the Lord God remember [...] forever and ever”. If only one priest is celebrating with no deacon, he makes three such commemorations: for the tsar and family, the Holy Synod, and for all the people present. If there are concelebrants, then the commemorations are further distributed among the deacon and up to six priests.¹⁹

4. *The Catholic Sources*

The Borgia ms follows the Mohylan manner for the commemorations; the pope is not included. The corrector of the ms crossed out the reference to the Eastern patriarchs (taken by the stauropegia), the monastic superiors, the civil leaders (commemorated by concelebrants), as well as the final rubric for the priest to turn to the people; the phrase “all you orthodox christians” was left untouched.

In the *1671 Ecphonemata*, the commemorations made by the priest and deacon are similar to those in the *1617 Mamonyč* text. The priest remembers the local archbishop, all the priests, deacons, and monastic orders, and all orthodox christians. No mention is made of the pope or civil leaders.

The commemoration of the pope was rare until the *1692 Žoxovs'kyj služebnyk*. The Sipovič pontifical does not include him during the procession, although he is commemorated elsewhere in the same liturgy. According to Odincov's description of the Vilna ms *služebnyky*, the pope was listed along with the king and metropolitan in two seventeenth century mss.²⁰

In the *Žoxovs'kyj* tradition the procession is entirely traditional. Preceded by candle bearers, the celebrants go out the north door; the deacon says “and all you orthodox christians, etc.” The priest's commemoration now includes

¹⁹ The Old Believers objected that in the Nikonian reformed texts the final phrase — “May the Lord God remember all you in his kingdom” — had been changed. They may have been objecting to all the persons listed in the commemorations or to the addition of the words “orthodox christians” added in the Nikonian versions. Cf. Subbotin, *Materialy*, p. 267.

²⁰ Cf. Odincov, “Uniatskoe bogosluženie”, p. 203 (mss n. 190 f. 20, n. 192 f. 234).

the pope, followed by the king, archbishop, superiors, all priestly and monastic orders, and all orthodox christians. In the service for the dead given at the end of the *Žoxovs'kyj služebnyk*, a note says that it is proper also to commemorate the deceased during the procession.²¹ This is not indicated in the 1639 *Kiev* edition, where Mohyla first gave this service for the dead.

According to the printed low mass rubrics, the priest makes no procession; he already has everything on the altar in front of him. The priest also does not turn to the people when saying the commemorations.

The 1759 *Lviv OSBM* curia copy gives some variants on the *Žoxovs'kyj* tradition. Similar to the Nikonian tradition format, the commemorations are immediately divided for distribution among five concelebrating priests. These are: the pope; the metropolitan; the bishop plus all priestly and monastic orders; the king and his army; the founders of the church and all orthodox christians. A note adds that if only one priest is celebrating, he makes all the commemorations himself. Of the fivefold commemorations, only the final has the full ending "and all you [...] forever and ever".

The commemoration formula given in the 1788 *Počajiv služebnyk* is closer in style to today's than is that in the usual *Žoxovs'kyj* texts. In this *Počajiv* text the following are listed: the pope, the archbishop metropolitan of all Rus', the bishop, the protoarchimandrite (for monks), the "nastojatel" and the ihumen (two separate superiors), all the priestly and monastic orders, the king and army, the founders of the monastery or church, and all orthodox christians.

We already noted the problem surrounding the commemoration of Catherine II in Catholic Ruthenian liturgies. She was to be commemorated at the Great Entrance as well as in the litanies. The Orthodox Ruthenian *služebnyky* included her name and the names of the royal family in the printed texts. Since in all probability the Catholics printed no *služebnyky* within the Russian domain, they were able to avoid this problem at least in the printed texts.

Although included in the printed commemorations since the 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj služebnyk*, the pope was never qualified in any Ruthenian texts with the pronoun "our"; this appeared only in the recent 1942 *Rome* edition.

III. THE ENTRY INTO THE SANCTUARY

1. *POL and OBS*

For the entry into the sanctuary in *POL*, the deacon first enters through

²¹ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, general service intentions p. 52.

the holy doors and stands on the right. When the priest enters the sanctuary the deacon says:

May the Lord God remember your priesthood in his kingdom.

The priest replies:

May the Lord God remember your deaconate in his kingdom always, now, and forever and ever.

The priest puts the chalice on the altar and takes the discos from the deacon's head and puts it on the altar saying the troparia "Noble Joseph", "In the tomb", and "As a life-giver" (only the incipits are given). The priest takes the small veils off the chalice and discos and puts them to one side of the altar; he takes the great veil from the deacon, incenses it and covers the gifts, saying again "Noble Joseph"; next he incenses the gifts three times saying the last verse of Ps. 50, "then they will offer calves upon your altar" (Ps. 50: 21).²²

According to OBS, when the priest entered the sanctuary, the celebrants made no commemorations of each other (XXXVIII.2). The troparion "In the tomb" was found neither in Ruthenian texts nor in Goar (XXXIX.2).

2. *Early Služebnyky*

Looking at other sources, we find that in the *1519 Venice* služebnyk the priest says the following verses when entering the sanctuary:

Lift up your gates, o princes, and be lifted up, o eternal doors, so the king of glory may enter. (Ps. 23: 7)

To this the deacon replies:

Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, the Lord is God and has revealed himself to us. (Ps. 117: 26a, 27a)

These verses are found at the Great Entrance in later Greek mss as well.²³ The priest puts the chalice and discos on the altar saying first "Noble Joseph". He takes the veils off the vessels; the deacon incenses the priest; the priest then incenses the gifts three times, saying the last two verses of Ps. 50: "Be bountiful, Lord, to Sion, etc."

On entering the sanctuary in the *1583 Vilna* text, the priest says the last two verses of Ps. 23:

Lift up your gates, o princes, and be lifted up, o eternal doors, so the king of glory may enter. Who is this king of glory? The Lord of hosts, he is the king of glory. (Ps. 23: 9-10)

²² For the various prayers and rubrics, see Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 234-250.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 105-118, 234-236.

Having gone through the holy doors, he says to himself “Blessed is he who comes” (Ps. 117: 26a, 27a). When placing the gifts on the altar, the priest says the troparion “Noble Joseph”, which in this edition has the added phrase “but on the third day you arose, O Lord, and bestowed great mercy on the world”. The priest removes the veils from the vessels, covers them all with the great veil, and incenses everything, saying the last two verses of Ps. 50.²⁴

In the 1602 and 1646 *Moscow* služebnyky, after making the final commemorations aloud, the celebrants come through the holy doors and quietly say to themselves “Blessed is he who comes, etc”. The priest puts the gifts on the altar in the usual manner, and the deacon closes the holy doors (he had not been instructed to open them before the Great Entrance). When covering the gifts, the priest says “Noble Joseph” with the resurrection ending, as given in the 1583 *Vilna* text. The final two verses of Ps. 50 are also given. As in the Venice and Vilna texts, no other troparia are given in these Muscovite texts.

The 1604 *Balaban* text retains the verses of Ps. 23: 9 and 117: 26a: “Lift up your gates [...] Blessed is he who comes [...]”. The greeting between the celebrants given in POL (“May the Lord God remember your priesthood, etc.”) is also given in *Balaban*.

The 1617 *Mamonyč* text gives none of these psalm verses or greetings. Once the priest puts the vessels on the altar, he removes the small veils and puts the great veil over the vessels. Only the troparion “Noble Joseph” (without the resurrection addition) is given; the priest incenses the gifts three times, saying the last two verses of Ps. 50.

3. *The Mohylan and Nikonian Traditions*

When the celebrants enter the sanctuary in the Mohylan texts, the order of the psalm verses is different from that seen so far. In the 1629 *Kiev* služebnyk the deacon first says “Blessed is he who comes”, and then the priest says “Lift up your gates” (only Ps. 23: 9). When the priest approaches the altar, the deacon awaiting him there exchanges the greeting with him mentioned in POL, “May the Lord God remember your priesthood”. According to the 1629 *Kiev* text the priest puts the chalice on the eiliton, but in the 1639 *Kiev* text, this is changed to the antimension. When he puts the chalice on the altar, the priest says the troparion “In the tomb”, while for the

²⁴ This addition to the “Noble Joseph” troparion is found in the pentecostarion in the second week after Easter and in the octoichos on Sunday of the second tone. The Philothean diataxis gives the version of the troparion from the triodion, which of course does not have the resurrection addition. The Greek and Slavonic textus receptus follow the Philothean diataxis, also taking the triodion version; cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 248-249.

discos he says “As a life-giver”. The deacon closes the holy doors (for the first time since the prothesis). When the priest removes the chalice veil, the 1639 *Kiev* text gives a new troparion, with an added note that this is not found in the Greek texts, but is taken from old Slav usage.

Then Simon Peter came and entered the tomb and he saw the cloths lying alone, but the cloth that had covered his head was not lying with the [other] cloths, but was rolled up in a place by itself. [John 20: 6-7]²⁵

This troparion is given by all subsequent Mohylan texts up to and including the 1712 *Lviv* edition. When taking the veil from the deacon, the priest covers the gifts saying “Noble Joseph”, he incenses the gifts three times, saying the last two verses of Ps. 50.

The Nikonian Ruthenian texts are almost identical to POL here, with only a few exceptions. The priest does not respond to the deacon’s greeting on entering the sanctuary. The priest says the last two verses of Ps. 50, but in POL only the last verse is indicated. The Nikonian texts include the three troparia: “Noble Joseph”, “In the tomb”, and “As a life-giver”, as in POL. The Old Believers had objected when Nikon introduced these troparia, claiming that only “Noble Joseph” was to be said when covering the gifts, and the last two verses of Ps. 50 when incensing the gifts. They also asserted that “Noble Joseph” should include the resurrection ending, which is what we find in the pre-Nikonian Muscovite *služebnyky*.²⁶

4. *The Catholic Sources*

The Borgia ms follows the Mohylan tradition here, but the corrector crossed out the troparia “In the tomb” and “As a life-giver”. The deacon’s rubrics to close the holy doors are crossed out, as are the priest’s rubrics to remove the chalice and discos veils. The troparion “Simon Peter” is not given at all, an indication again that the 1629 *Kiev* text was the basis for the Borgia ms.

Odinčov’s description of the Vilna ms *služebnyky* indicates that the Pilixov’skyj ms included the verses of Ps. 117: 26a, 27a, and Ps. 23: 9, while only the troparion “Noble Joseph” is given in another seventeenth century ms.²⁷

In the Žoxovs’kyj tradition the priest puts the discos and chalice on the eiliton — the chalice on the right, the discos with the asterisk standing on it on the left. He incenses the veil and puts it over the gifts, saying “Noble Joseph”

²⁵ Ibid., p. 247.

²⁶ Cf. Subbotin, *Materialy*, p. 267.

²⁷ Cf. Odincov, “Uniatskoe bogosluženie”, p. 203 (mss n. 192 f. 234, n. 190 f. 21).

²⁸ Ibid., (mss n. 192 f. 234, n. 195 f. 33v, n. 196 f. 34, n. 209 f. 65).

(the chalice and discos veils are not removed); he incenses the gifts three times, saying the last two verses of Ps. 50.

Although the priest makes no procession according to the printed low mass rubrics, he does say the corresponding prayers. After the commemorations the priest makes a sign of the cross over the altar with the chalice and puts it on the eiliton. He puts the discos on the left, and if there is an asterisk, he puts it on the discos; he covers the chalice with its veil (but nothing is said about covering the discos), and then covers the gifts with the great veil, saying "Noble Joseph". Joining his hands and putting them on the altar edge as in Latin usage, the priest says the last two verses of Ps. 50 three times; then he steps to the left and continues with the liturgy.

From the various Vilna mss of the eighteenth century, Odincov gives examples of some using "Blessed is he who comes" and "Lift up your gates" for the entry.²⁸ Many give only the troparion "Noble Joseph" and no others when the gifts are placed on the altar.²⁹ The last two verses of Ps. 50 are taken three times in some mss³⁰ and only once in others.³¹

IV. THE GREAT ENTRANCE IN PRACTICE

The solemnity of the Great Entrance is described in most liturgical texts. Only the low mass is devoid of any such solemnity, since the entire procession is eliminated. This drastic contrast reflects not only the differences between the low mass and the sung mass in general, but also involves the controversy over the Great Entrance in particular.

Already at the time of the introduction of the Cherubic Hymn into the liturgy under Emperor Justin II in 573-574, the solemnity and honour surrounding the simple transfer of unconsecrated bread and wine to the altar was criticized by Patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople (552-565, 577-582) in his "Sermon on Easter and the Eucharist". Later writers, such as Nicholas Cabasilas, Sacranus, and Peter Arcudius, also criticized the undue solemnity of the Great Entrance.³²

Probably under the influence of Arcudius, the Catholic Ruthenians forbade the faithful from making a full bow or prostration to the ground when the priest passed by with the gifts. This, Sakowicz writes, was easier to do than eliminating the whole procession.³³

²⁹ Ibid., (mss n. 194 f. 18, n. 197 f. 15, n. 196 f. 34, n. 199 f. 10, n. 209 f. 65, n. 224 f. 76).

³⁰ Ibid., (mss n. 194 f. 18, n. 197 f. 15).

³¹ Ibid., (mss n. 196 f. 34, n. 199 f. 10, n. 224 f. 77).

³² Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 84-85, 213-214; Arcudius, *De concordia*, p. 220ff; Krajcar, "A Report", p. 88-89.

³³ Cf. *Lithos*, p. 156 (this is the note Sakowicz added to his copy of *Lithos*).

The accusation was leveled that simple bread and wine were being worshipped. The 1640 Kiev council held by the Orthodox Ruthenians also forbade prostrations during the Great Entrance of CHR and BAS.

16 dnia septembra rano, doczytano kanonow, w ktorzyh to nalezli, aby na służbie Bożey Złatoustego y S. Bazylego, na perenosie, nie upadali na ziemię, iako przed Naswięszym Sakramentem.³⁴

Mohyla followed this up in his 1646 Kiev Trebnyk with a similar exhortation for priests to educate their faithful against making a prostration at this point in CHR and BAS.³⁵

At the Lublin Colloquium in 1680 Žoxovs'kyj criticized the Orthodox faithful who lay on the floor so that the priest would walk over them during the Great Entrance procession and bless them with the bread.³⁶

Sakowicz describes a similar practice in *Perspectiwa*:

In Rus' a dangerous and stupid ceremony occurs: small, newly baptised children are put along the transfer path when the priest goes with the chalice and discos from the [prothesis] altar throughout the church to the altar; he must step carefully through these children, and sometimes there are many; and when the priest has completed the procession without any harm to himself or the children, he is as happy as a cossack who has successfully maneuvered the rapids. And not only children, but also adults, men, girls, and married women, gather along the transferal path.³⁷

Praxis Indebita repeats Sakowicz's criticism in 1717, to which Trombetti replied that the custom was rather for the priest to put the chalice on the heads of the sick, young and adults, who through their faith and devotion hoped to be healed.³⁸

Leo Kyška criticized the newly united eparchies in 1715 for worshipping simple bread during the procession.³⁹ And the Synod of Zamostja forbade the faithful from falling to their knees or bowing their heads during the Great Entrance. The priests were to explain this to the faithful.⁴⁰ The Zamostja legislation was used by Benedict XIV in *Ex Quo Primum*, when he discussed

³⁴ Sakowicz, "Kievskij sobor", p. 39-40.

³⁵ 1646 Kiev trebnyk, 1: 269; cf. Praszko, *De ecclesia*, p. 293.

³⁶ Žoxovs'kyj, *Colloquium Lubelskie*, p. 28-29.

³⁷ Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, p. 42-43. A Ukrainian translation of this passage is found in M. Voznjak, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, 2 (Lviv 1921): 286.

³⁸ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1: 148. Trombetti's reply is in *APF*, SC: MPR, vol. 4 f. 107v. We have seen the same practice in a small Bukovynian Orthodox church in Ottawa, where the entire congregation of around twenty persons knelt around the solea so that the priest would touch the chalice to their heads; needless to say, the two of us outsiders were the only ones left standing in the back of the church. A similar practice is noted in medieval Greek usage by Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 213-215.

³⁹ *EM*, 4: 49.

⁴⁰ *SPZ*, Tit. 3, § 4: "De celebratione missarum", p. 73.

the Great Entrance and other points in his newly published 1754 euchology (BEN).⁴¹

Although the Great Entrance kept its solemnity among the Catholic Ruthenians in some areas, seen for example in the privilege granted by Metropolitan Volodkovyč in 1773 to the Smidyn' (Volyn') brotherhood to hold candles during the singing of the Cherubic Hymn,⁴² it was greatly reduced and even omitted by other Catholics. Peter Kamins'kyj wrote in 1685 that the Basilians in Žyrovyci no longer had the procession; he also added that the Catholics were not singing the proper tones for the Cherubic Hymn, of which there was one for every day.⁴³ In his visitation of the Vilna Basilians in 1711 John Oleševs'kyj told them not to omit the procession with the gifts from the prothesis to the altar, a sure sign they were in fact omitting it.⁴⁴

Porfiryj Važyns'kyj lists several monasteries in his Lithuanian Province where the procession was not being carried out.⁴⁵ Often these were the same places that did not practice the Little Entrance. Lisovs'kyj complained about the same thing, saying that many priests omitted the procession even during solemn liturgies.⁴⁶

The incompatibility of private recited mass with the eucharistic liturgy in the Byzantine Rite was very evident at the Great Entrance. Over the ages this rite had developed into a harmonious inter-action between the celebrants (bishop, priest, and deacon) and the faithful (choir, servers, and worshippers). The moment of the transfer of the bread and wine became an important expression of the communal aspect of the eucharistic celebration. When individual priests took to saying private masses, the ceremony stressing the communal element became redundant.

⁴¹ Cf. "Ex Quo Primum", p. 512.

⁴² Cf. *Arxiv JuZR*, 1, 4: 624.

⁴³ Cf. Ščurat, *V oboroni Uniji*, p. 90, 92.

⁴⁴ *LE*, 5: 35.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Visitationes*, f. 106v (Novhorodok), f. 123 (Sveržan Novyj – "defectum loci"), f. 162 (Novy Dvir).

⁴⁶ *EM*, 9: 170.

CHAPTER 11

THE "ACCESSUS AD ALTARE"

The second part of the eucharistic liturgy is the "accessus ad altare", or the preparatory rites for the forthcoming anaphora. This begins with the dialogue between the celebrants after the gifts have been placed on the altar, though this dialogue is often thought to be the conclusion of the Great Entrance rites.¹ The misunderstanding of the role of this dialogue has served to relegate it among the minor elements of the liturgy.

I. THE "ORATE FRATRES" DIALOGUE

In POL, once the priest has incensed the gifts on the altar, he gives back the thurible, lowers his phelonion, bows his head, and says the following with the deacon:

Priest: "Remember me, brother and concelebrant."

Deacon: "May the Lord God remember your priesthood in his kingdom."

Priest: "Pray for me, concelebrant."

Deacon: "May the Holy Spirit descend on you and the power of the most High enlighten you."

Priest: "May the same Spirit concelebrate with us all the days of our life."

Deacon: (bows and holds the orarion with three fingers of his right hand and says) "Remember me, holy master."

Priest: "May the Lord God remember you in his kingdom always, now, and forever and ever."

Deacon: "Amen."

The deacon kisses the priest's right hand, then goes to his usual place for the litany.²

In the 1519 *Venice* služebnyk the dialogue is preceded by three bows by the celebrants, saying:

Remember us, Lord, when you come into your kingdom.

Remember us, Master, when you come into your kingdom.

Remember us, Holy One, when you come into your kingdom.

¹ Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 279-283.

² POL, f. 263v-264r.

The priest then lowers the front of his phelonion, joins his hands and bows towards the altar. It is the deacon here who begins the dialogue. This switch in roles results in having the priest pray for the Holy Spirit to descend upon the deacon.

Deacon: "Remember me, master." (He bows to the priest.)

Priest: "May the Holy Spirit descend upon you and the power of the Most High enlighten you."

Deacon: "Remember me, holy master."

Priest: "May the Lord God remember you in his kingdom."

Deacon: "Amen." (He bows and returns to his usual place.)³

According to the 1583 *Vilna* služebnyk, the celebrants stand at the altar, bow three times, the priest lowers his phelonion, crosses his hands at the breast, bows his head before the altar and says:

Priest: "Bless, holy father."

Deacon: (bows) "May the Holy Spirit descend on you, etc."

Deacon: "Remember me, holy master."

Priest: "May the Lord God remember you in his kingdom."⁴

The 1602 and 1646 *Moscow* služebnyky first direct the celebrants to make three bows saying:

God, cleanse me a sinner and have mercy on me.

You have created me, Lord, have mercy on me.

I have sinned without number, Lord, forgive me.

Then, putting their hands crosswise on the breast, they bow and perform the *prošćenie* as above — "tvorjat prošćenie jako že vyšče pisano." Next the deacon incenses the priest saying:

Deacon: "May the Holy Spirit descend upon you, etc."

Deacon: "Remember me, holy master."

Priest: "May the Lord God remember you in his kingdom, etc."⁵

The deacon leaves via the north door for his usual place.

The following dialogue formula from the 1604 *Balaban* text became the standard one for the Ruthenian and Nikonian texts.

Priest: "Remember me, brother and concelebrant."

Deacon: "May the Lord God remember your priesthood in his kingdom."

Deacon: "Pray for me, holy master."

Priest: "May the Holy Spirit descend upon you, etc."

Deacon: "May the same Spirit celebrate with us all the days of our lives."

³ 1519 *Venice*, [f. 24].

⁴ 1583 *Vilna*, CHR f. 68.

⁵ 1646 *Moscow*, CHR f. 135v; also 1602 *Moscow*.

Deacon: "Remember me, holy master."

Priest: "May the Lord God remember you in his kingdom, etc."⁶

The deacon kisses the priest's right hand and goes to his usual place for the litany.

This same formulation is found in the 1617 *Mamonyč* text, the Mohylan and the Nikonian traditions, and the Žoxovs'kyj tradition. However, in Žoxovs'kyj there are no rubrics for bowing, and the deacon continues the litany, which the priest at the same time says silently to himself. According to the Sipovič pontifical, the deacon goes out the north door and stands before the holy doors to chant the litany.⁷ The variants found in POL and early Slavic sources belong to the historical evolution of this dialogue. In the 1942 *Rome služebnyk* the formulation found in BEN was adopted.⁸

OBS says nothing about the dialogue. Its only remark concerns the phelonion: among the Ruthenians, except in Ukraine, it did not need to be let down as POL instructs, and as the Greeks practiced; such a rubric was not given in Goar either (XL.2).

There is also no mention of the litany and prayer of the proscomidie in OBS. The format for these given in POL displays no differences from that given in the Žoxovs'kyj tradition and used today.

II. THE VEIL REMOVAL

1. *POL and OBS*

During the period we are studying, the removal of the veil from the gifts in preparation for the anaphora generally involved two steps. First, the veil was kissed by the celebrants and held over the gifts. Then, it was put aside, normally with the recitation of the trisagion.⁹

In POL, the rubrics for the veil are quite simple. After the deacon completes the litany of supplication (*aiteseis*), and the priest gives the blessing, the deacon says "Let us love one another so that with one mind we may profess." The choir replies "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Trinity consubstantial and undivided." The priest bows three times and kisses the covered gifts, saying silently to himself three times Ps. 17: 2-3a: "I shall love

⁶ 1604 *Balaban*, CHR p. 128-130.

⁷ 1617 *Mamonyč*, CHR p. 58-60; 1629 *Kiev*, CHR p. 45-46; 1639 *Kiev*, CHR p. 295-296; 1736 *Kiev*, CHR f. 80; 1762 *Kiev*, CHR f. 75; 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 90v; Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 77.

⁸ The history of the dialogue is treated in Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 285-307. On the 1942 *Rome služebnyk*, see Raes, "Première édition", p. 523.

⁹ For the history of this rite, see Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 374-425.

you, Lord, my strength; the Lord is my bastion and my refuge." (This verse is not given in BEN.) The deacon also bows at his place and kisses the cross on his orarion; then he says, "The doors, the doors, in wisdom, let us be attentive." Following the creed, the veil is only mentioned just before the priest's blessing before the pre-sanctus prayer, when the priest takes the veil off the gifts and immediately says "The blessing of the Lord, etc.", as we have now.¹⁰

Since POL says nothing about the veil during the creed, OBS points out that actually the Catholic Ruthenians held it over the gifts until the creed was completed. Among the Greeks, when a bishop celebrated, the assisting priests held it over his head (XLII.2). Note that OBS says this was the Greek practice; nothing is said about the Ruthenian pontifical. After the creed, according to OBS, the Ruthenians raised and lowered the veil three times, saying the trisagion, then kissed it and put it aside (XLII.5).

2. *Early Služebnyky*

There are variants in Ruthenian and other sources, not only for the veil rubrics, but for the formulae and rubrics immediately preceding the creed. In the *1519 Venice* editio princeps, we find the shorter choir response common also to many Ruthenian texts. When the priest says "Let us love one another so that with one mind we may profess", the choir replies only "Father and Son and Holy Spirit." The priest bows three times and says a slightly longer version of today's psalm verse, namely:

I love you, Lord, my strength; the Lord is my bastion and my refuge and my deliverer. (Ps. 17: 2-3a)

In most Ruthenian texts, as in POL, the last phrase, "my deliverer", is not given.¹¹ The Venice text instructs the priest to kiss the veil in the usual manner: over the discos, over the chalice, and over the edge of the altar in front of him. The deacon kisses the cross on his orarion. Similarly to POL and other *služebnyky*, only the incipit of the creed is given. The only action done with the veil is performed by the priest; when the deacon sings "Let us stand, etc.", saying the trisagion (how often is not specified), the priest slowly raises the veil and then kisses it. In BAS the trisagion is divided in the following way:

Deacon: "Let us stand with respect."

Priest: "Holy God"

Deacon: "Let us stand in awe."

Priest: "Holy Mighty One"

¹⁰ POL. f. 264v-265r; BEN, p. 49.

¹¹ Cf. Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 387.

Deacon: "Let us be attentive to offer the holy oblation etc."

Priest: "Holy Immortal One, have mercy on us."¹²

The 1583 *Vilna* služebnyk gives the longer reply for the choir used today (with the addition of a second "holy"):

Father and Son and Holy Spirit, Holy Trinity, consubstantial and undivided.

This same reply is given in POL, minus the "holy" before "Trinity". The priest bows three times, saying the longer version of Ps. 17: 2-3a, given above for the 1519 *Venice* text. A note then explains that some priests only kiss the altar once in front of them, while the redactors of this text suggest that celebrants should kiss the veil according to the custom of the "Great Church" (Hagia Sophia in Constantinople): over the discos, over the chalice, and then over the altar in front of them. The people (not the choir) are to say the creed. Only when the deacon intones "Let us stand, etc." does the priest remove the veil saying the trisagion (probably only once since the text is given only once in full). Then he kisses the veil and puts it aside.¹³

The 1602 and 1646 *Moscow* služebnyky give a prayer for the kiss of peace just before the priest kisses the veil.¹⁴ This prayer is also found in the Ruthenian pontificals. In the Muscovite texts, detailed instructions are given for the veil. The priest kisses the veil in the regular fashion, while concelebrants only kiss the altar in front of themselves. Concelebrants also kiss the superior on the mouth; the superior greets them saying "Christ is in our midst" and they reply with "He is and shall be". The concelebrants then kiss one another in order. The deacons also kiss one another, exchanging the same greeting. During the creed the priest raises the veil over his head and holds it over the gifts:

vozdvizet na glavu vozdux i deržit nad svjatymi darami.

While doing this the priest says the creed to himself. If there are concelebrating priests or deacons, they also help raise and hold the veil. The people recite the creed. After the creed, but before the deacon's command, "Let us stand, etc.", all the celebrants kiss the veil, saying the trisagion, for which the full text is given.¹⁵

In the 1604 *Balaban* and 1617 *Mamonyč* služebnyky to the priest's greeting, "Peace be to all", the choir replies, "And with your spirit". This choir response is given in CHR but not in BAS of these two texts; it is also not given

¹² 1519 *Venice*, [f. 25v-26r, 46r].

¹³ 1583 *Vilna*, CHR f. 71r-72v; cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 118; Rud, "Liturgija", p. 191.

¹⁴ The text and history of this prayer is given in Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 392-395.

¹⁵ 1646 *Moscow*, CHR f. 138r-139v; also 1602 *Moscow*.

in BAS of the above Venice, Vilna, and Muscovite editions. In Balaban and Mamonyč, the choir also takes the full response: "Father and Son and Holy Spirit, Trinity consubstantial and undivided" in reply to the priest's call to love one another; this longer version is given in CHR, but only the shorter version is given in BAS. The gifts and concelebrants are kissed as today. The priest does nothing with the veil during the creed; he removes it only after the creed, saying the trisagion, while the deacon says "Let us stand, etc."¹⁶

3. *The Mohylan and Nikonian Traditions*

The Mohylan tradition is consistent in giving the same responses in the various texts and even in BAS and CHR of individual texts. The greetings and replies given before the creed are like today's. The veil is kissed in the usual fashion and held over the gifts during the creed. The priest then kisses it, saying the trisagion, and lays it aside, while the deacon says "Let us stand, etc." For the kiss of peace, the concelebrating clergy kiss one another on the mouth.¹⁷

The Nikonian Ruthenian texts give the rites and prayers here very much like today's, more so than the Ruthenian editions. The concelebrants kiss one another on the shoulder and not on the mouth, a change the Old Believers objected to. During the creed the celebrants wave or shake the veil over the gifts — "i deržat nad svjatymi darimi potrasajušče." The priest kisses the veil and puts it aside during "Let us stand"; he does not say the trisagion. POL agrees with the Nikonian texts in omitting the trisagion, but POL, like all other Ruthenian texts, does not instruct that the veil be waved during the creed; this is a practice found only in Nikonian texts.¹⁸

4. *Catholic Služebnyky*

Among the Catholic služebnyky, we find that the Borgia ms follows the Mohylan tradition for the prayers and rubrics here, but the corrector crossed out the trisagion.¹⁹ This is surprising, since the trisagion is a very consistent element in Ruthenian texts. The 1671 *Ecphonemata* does not give any rubrics

¹⁶ 1604 *Balaban*, CHR p. 136-142; BAS p. 281-283; 1617 *Mamonyč*, CHR p. 65-72, BAS p. 191-192.

¹⁷ 1629 *Kiev*, CHR p. 50-53; 1639 *Kiev*, CHR p. 302-307; 1646 *Lviv*, CHR f. 135-137; 1653 *Kiev*, CHR f. 151v-153v; 1666 *Lviv*, CHR f. 145r-147; 1681 *Lviv*, CHR f. 147v-151v; 1691 *Lviv*, CHR f. 96v-98r; 1712 *Lviv*, CHR f. 96v-98r.

¹⁸ 1670 *Moscow*, CHR f. 113v-116r; 1736 *Kiev*, CHR f. 83r-85r; 1762 *Kiev*, CHR f. 77v-79v. For the Old Believers' objections, see Subbotin, *Materialy*, p. 267. According to Dmitrievskij, the priest put the veil on his head in some early mss, but Dmitrievskij says nothing about the veil being waved; cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluzhenie*, p. 119-120.

¹⁹ Borgia ms, f. 105r-107r; Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 135.

for the celebrants and the veil, but the choir's response is the same as that in the Borgia ms for the trinitarian response (the long version) before the creed.²⁰

In the Žoxovs'kyj tradition there is some similarity with the Mohylan tradition, the Borgia ms, and the 1671 *Ecphonemata*. However, the priest crosses himself when he kisses the veil before the creed; it is not specified how often he repeats the verse, "I love you, Lord"; he holds the veil over the gifts with both hands and says the creed silently, while the people say it aloud. At the end of the creed the priest raises the veil three times, saying the trisagion (three times?); then he kisses it and puts it aside; only then does the deacon say "Let us stand, etc." Žoxovs'kyj says nothing about concelebrants, nothing about the kiss of peace, and nothing on how the deacon kisses his orarion.²¹

The 1759 Lviv OSBM curia copy gives some of its editor's modifications of the Žoxovs'kyj tradition. The second "holy" is put in brackets in the choir's trinitarian reply before the creed:

Father and Son and Holy Spirit, (Holy) Trinity, consubstantial and undivided.

This second "holy" is not found in the Mohylan or Nikonian texts or in POL. Rubrics are added for concelebrating priests and deacons also to kiss the gifts and one another. Concelebrating priests help to hold and wave the veil over the gifts during the creed. The priest kisses the veil and puts it aside only after the choir's response, "A mercy of peace, etc."; he does not say the trisagion.²²

The 1788 *Počajiv* text follows exactly the Žoxovs'kyj tradition, but it also omits the second "holy" of the choir's trinitarian reply.²³

Among the Vilna ms *služebnyky* some give the triple repetition of the priest's verse, "I love you, Lord",²⁴ while others give only a single repetition and a single kiss of the gifts.²⁵ None of these mss indicate that the veil is held during the creed; it was removed only after.²⁶

The printed low mass rubrics clearly specify that every time the priest kisses the veil he repeats the verse "I love you, Lord". Žoxovs'kyj is not so explicit.²⁷

5. *The Pontificals*

Since the OBS refers to the Greek pontifical liturgy, we should look at our

²⁰ 1671 *Ecphonemata*, CHR [f. 12v-14r].

²¹ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 91r-92r.

²² 1759 Lviv OSBM curia copy, f. 114.

²³ 1788 *Počajiv*, CHR f. 10.

²⁴ Cf. Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 203 (mss n. 194 f. 20, n. 199 f. 11).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, (mss n. 196 f. 35v, n. 197 f. 15v).

²⁶ *Ibid.* The earliest mss say nothing about what the priest does during the creed, *ibid.*, (mss n. 190, 192).

²⁷ 1755 *Počajiv*, low mass rubrics [f. 2r].

available Ruthenian pontificals for this rite. In the Sipovič ms the first significant point is that the archdeacon closes the holy doors after the bishop gives the blessing before the creed. The prayer for the kiss of peace, found also in the pre-Nikonian Muscovite služebnyky, is given here:

Lord Jesus Christ, creator of love and giver of good, grant us your servants to love one another just as you have loved us, so that with faith and love, in one mind and one spirit, we may approach you, God, and partake of your holy Mysteries, and be worthy of your kingdom, and give glory to you, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, now and always and forever and ever.²⁸

After the prayer the concelebrants come to the bishop and kiss the altar, the bishop's right hand, and his right cheek, exchanging the customary greeting. Only then does the bishop say three times, "I love you, Lord, etc.", and only he kisses the veil, first over the altar, then over the discos, and finally over the chalice. The creed is read by a lector in a loud voice. During the creed the bishop and concelebrants hold the veil over the gifts and not over the bishop's head. After the creed they raise it a little three times, saying the trisagion.²⁹

The 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical also gives the prayer for the kiss of peace. The veil is kissed first on the left side, then over the discos, then on the right side. It is held over the bishop's head while he bows and recites the creed. The trisagion is said three times at the end; the bishop then kisses the veil and lays it aside.³⁰

One final comment concerns the execution of the creed. Sakowicz complimented the Catholic Bishop of Volodymyr (Joachim Morovs'kyj 1613-1631 or Joseph Bokovec'kyj 1632-1650) for having the creed sung at mass, which, Sakowicz says, was much better than having two boys or whoever read it through so fast that it was full of mistakes and unintelligible. The reply in *Lithos* by the Orthodox says that it does not make any difference if the creed is sung or recited, as long as it conforms to the church services. The Orthodox were not pleased with the new Catholic Ruthenian practice of singing the creed, and *Lithos* warned that if the Catholics kept making these changes, confusion would ensue.³¹

²⁸ Cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 182. The prayer is also discussed by Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 392-395.

²⁹ Cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 182, 184 (ms f. 36v-38r). Although Sipovič says the veil was waved, this is not clear in the ms, where only the Latin term "elevans" is used.

³⁰ 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical, f. 12v-13r. The 1886 *Lviv* Bačyns'kyj pontifical, p. 30-31, gives the same rite. The *B.A. Činovnik* has no information on this. See also Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 423, on this rite in the pontifical liturgy.

³¹ Cf. Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, p. 47; *Lithos*, p. 128. A note on the Ruthenian practice of singing the creed is given by J. von Gardner, "Les formes musicales du Credo dans la liturgie de l'église russe", *Eucharistie d'Orient et d'Occident: Semaine liturgique de l'Institut Saint Serge 11* (= *Lex Orandi* 47), ed. B. Botte et al. (Paris 1970), p. 275-291. See also Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. 416-418 where he discusses who said the creed.

III. THE CREED AND THE FILIOQUE

1. *Bowing and Genuflection*

POL does not give the full text of the creed, so two particulars of Catholic Ruthenians cannot be evaluated here: the bowing at the words “and was conceived by the Holy Spirit” and the addition of the filioque.

As we could expect, no such bow is indicated in the early Catholic texts of the creed, such as the 1617 *Mamonyč*, the Sipovič pontifical, the 1671 *Ecphonemata*, and the Borgia ms Surprisingly, the Borgia ms gives the bow during the “Only-Begotten Son”, but not for the creed. It is indicated in the Pilixovs’kyj ms, the Žoxovs’kyj text, and in all subsequent Catholic služebnyky.³²

This practice was an imitation of the Latin Rite and of the similar rubric given for “Only-Begotten Son”. Although none of our sources ever prescribe it, some celebrants must have been genuflecting here, following the Latin practice, since we find the 1760 Lviv manual telling priests not to do this.³³

2. *The Filioque and the Union of Brest*

A second problem arose over the use of the filioque — the addition of the words “and from the Son” into the portion of the creed concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit: “who proceeds from the Father and the Son, who together with the Father and the Son is glorified”. The theological problem was settled at the Council of Florence in 1458, reconciling the practice of the Greeks, who did not use this later addition, with that of the Latins, who did.³⁴

In the Ruthenian Church it became not a theological problem (the majority of the faithful undoubtedly did not and do not understand the difference), but a political one: its use implied true fidelity to the Roman Church while its omission made one suspect of accepting the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church.

Such an outlook did not arise at once. The first of the thirty-three articles presented by the Ruthenian hierarchy to Rome in 1595 concerned the filioque.

Since there is a controversy between people of the Roman Church and of the Greek faith concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, which greatly impedes the union, and that for almost no other reason than that we do not want to understand each other, we propose that we be not compelled to make a different profession of faith, but that we follow what has been handed down to us in the gospels and in the writings of the holy fathers of the Greek faith; which is that the

³² Cf. Odincov, “Uniatskoe bogosluženie”, p. 199 (ms n. 192 f. 236); 1692 *Žoxovs’kyj*, CHR f. 91v.

³³ Cf. *Bohoslovija npravoučitelnaja*, p. 80.

³⁴ For more information, see J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge 1959), p. 270-304.

Holy Spirit does not proceed from two principles nor by a double procession, but only from one principle, as from the source, from the Father through the Son.³⁵

In the original Latin and Polish texts this last verse reads:

ex Patre per Filium procedere
Od Ojca przez Syna pochodzi.

Halecki explains that, without quoting the Council of Florence, the Ruthenians:

wanted to make sure that they would not be forced to go beyond that decision which did not require the Greeks to add the filioque to the Apostolic creed, admitted their interpretation that the Holy Spirit proceeded from only one and not two principles, and were satisfied with the formula 'ex patre per filium' used by the Greek Fathers of the Church.³⁶

When Bishops Terlec'kyj and Potij read their profession of faith in the Vatican on 23 December 1595, they included the full text of the creed "as used by the Roman Church", which meant the filioque was included.³⁷

When Bishop Ipatij Potij wrote to Polish primate Stanislaus Karnkowski on 13 July 1596 from Rome, describing the events in Rome, he said that they were not required to change anything in their liturgy and sacraments, nor were they required to include the filioque into the creed. They were, however, to believe and teach their faithful that the Holy Spirit proceeded both from the Father and the Son.

Co się dotyczy spraw naszych, to z łaski bożej lepiej odprawione aniżeliśmy się sami spodziewali, bo nie tylko przy wszystkich ceremoniach i sakramentach, ale i *simbolum fidei* zostawiono, nie przydając onej partykuły, *filioque*, jedno abyśmy wierzyli i tak nauczali owieczek naszych, że Duch sty pochodzi tak od Syna jako i od Ojca.³⁸

3. Initial Use of the Filioque

At first the inclusion of the filioque implied the validity of the Latin usage, not the rejection of the Byzantine practice. It was included in the profession of faith made by the bishop-elect of Polock Gedeon Brofnyč'kyj in 1601.³⁹ In early polemical literature the Basilians stated that they did not include the filioque. In *Examen Obrony* (1622) the authors said that they recognized the origin of the Holy Spirit from the Father, like the Greeks at the

³⁵ *DUB*, p. 61 (Polish text), p. 68 (Latin text).

³⁶ Halecki, *From Florence to Brest*, p. 290.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

³⁸ "List od władcy ruskich z Rzymu do księcia prymasa", *Dzieje Panowania Zygmunta III, Króla Polskiego*, 1 (Cracow 1860): 275.

³⁹ Cf. *Opisanie dokumentov arxiva zapadnorusskix uniatskix mitropolitov*, 1 (St. Petersburg 1897): 111.

Council of Florence, and as it was written in the Constantinopolitan creed, which they thus read in private and public. The future Metropolitan Sjeljava wrote in *Antelenchus* in 1622 that the Vilna Basilians did not use the filioque in the creed, but, he added, the filioque did not change the meaning of the creed, it only made it clearer. The *1617 Mamonyč* služebnyk gives the full text of the creed in CHR without the filioque.⁴⁰

The filioque was still not used during Sakowicz's time, about which he complains in the dedication of *Perspectiwa* to the vojevoda of Cracow, Stanislaus Lubomirski.

Do tego, symbolum fidei wierzę w iednego Boga, po schizmatycku w cerkwi przy liturgiey, nieprzydawaiaąc pochodzenia Ducha Ś. y od Syna, recituią, w czym im y sami schizmatycy przymowiaią, a katolicy Rzymianie, ktorzy o tym wiedzą, bardzo się z tego gorszą.⁴¹

Here Sakowicz clearly implies that to omit the filioque was to reject the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son, a rejection of the Roman teaching and acceptance of the Orthodox teaching — in other words the Catholic Ruthenians were not true Catholics!

Like many of Sakowicz's criticisms, this one also seems to have had an effect on the Catholic Ruthenians, even if it was not immediate or universal. The Latin bishop and clergy of Xolm, perpetually seeking pretexts to accuse the Eastern Rite bishops of heresy, wrote in 1663 that the Ruthenians claimed to be Catholic and to believe in the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, but they did not profess this, and followed the errors of the Orthodox, namely:

that he proceeds only from the Father, in confirmation of which they make the sign of the cross not from the left, but from the right like the schismatic Ruthenians do.⁴²

In 1645 yet, this Latin complaint continued, the Ruthenians had asked that no one be forced to add the filioque, agreeing at the same time not to worsen the situation by accusing the Latins of heresy, directly or indirectly, for adding the filioque.⁴³

Metropolitan Sjeljava, who had written in 1622 that the filioque was not used, is thought to have been the first to begin using it on a regular basis. But

⁴⁰ *Examen Obrony, to jest odpis na script, Obrona Werificatij nazwany, w którym się zgromadzenie Wilenskie Zejścia Ducha iustificuie, że nie popadło w Sowitą Wine, sobie zadaną. Wydany od zakonnikow monastera Wilenskiego S. Troycy. Drukowano w Wilnie w druczarni Leona Mamonicza. Roku Panskiego 1621* (reprinted in *Arxiv JuZR*, I, 8: 593). *Antelenchus*, p. 710-711; Solovey, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, 2: 269, 293. *1617 Mamonyč*, CHR p. 70.

⁴¹ Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, introduction f. 5.

⁴² *LE*, 2: 265.

⁴³ *LE*, 2: 266.

Praszko explains that Sjeljava may have used it only in his profession of faith when he became metropolitan, similarly as Gedeon Broŭnyc'kyj did upon becoming bishop.⁴⁴

4. *Permanent Use of the Filioque*

The case is clear, however, for Metropolitan Kolenda, who instructed his vicar Jakiv Suša at the 17th Basilian chapter in 1667 to order the filioque added to the creed. The chapter accepted, and shortly after, in 1670, Kolenda included the filioque in his newly printed horologion.⁴⁵ We find it in the Borgia ms, the 1671 *Ecphonemata*, the Pilixovs'kyj služebnyk, and the 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj* text. From then on it became a permanent addition to Catholic Ruthenian editions.⁴⁶

The filioque became a sign of unity with Rome, as when the Peremyšl and Lviv eparchies entered the Union. Although they kept most of their traditional liturgical practices, they did introduce the filioque.⁴⁷

The Synod of Zamostja decreed that the filioque be added to the creed, both in private and in public. Anyone who omitted it was suspect of being Orthodox and was to be reported to the bishop.⁴⁸

OBS quotes this Zamostja decree and also warns that it should be included in POL with the complete text of the creed to avoid imitation of the Orthodox, who did not include the filioque (XLII.3-4).

The original 1712 Lviv služebnyk did not contain the filioque, for which both Fylypovyč and Šeptyc'kyj criticized it.⁴⁹ The FRAN copy of the 1712 Lviv text, corrected according to Šeptyc'kyj's letter, has a newer reprinted page with the filioque included.⁵⁰

Kyška complained in 1715 of the necessity to correct the služebnyky used in the recently united eparchies, since they did not have the filioque – "negatur Spiritus Sanctus procedere a Filio".⁵¹

The belief that the filioque was essential to the Catholic faith was largely

⁴⁴ Cf. Praszko, *De ecclesia*, p. 254; Bocian, "De modificationibus", p. 935.

⁴⁵ Cf. AS, 12: 96, 99; A. Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, 3 (Rome 1863): 598-599; EM, 2: 293; Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 110-111.

⁴⁶ Borgia ms, f. 106v; 1671 *Ecphonemata*, CHR [f. 13v-14r]; 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 91v; Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 203 (ms n. 192 f. 236).

⁴⁷ For the Peremyšl eparchy, see Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 21; LE, 4: 125. For the Lviv eparchy, see the profession of faith made by Bishop Šumljans'kyj: LE, 4: 220. Cf. Praszko, *De ecclesia*, p. 273.

⁴⁸ SPZ, Tit. 3: "De fide catholica", p. 55.

⁴⁹ The Fylypovyč criticism is in LE, 5: 271, 274. For Metropolitan Šeptyc'kyj, see Amvrosij, "Zamojskij sobor", p. 421.

⁵⁰ 1712 Lviv FRAN copy, f. 97.

⁵¹ EM, 4: 49.

the reason why Lisovs'kyj was willing to allow its insertion into the Ruthenian texts, which he felt would be an important sign of union with Rome.⁵²

Over the two hundred years since the Union of Brest, the liturgical life of the Ruthenians had been constantly evolving. Even the more learned church leaders lost sight of the early developments and based their decisions on an inadequate understanding of this liturgical history. This determined the attitude to the filioque in Lisovs'kyj's day and even in our own times. The *1942 Rome služebnyk* allows for the possible omission of the filioque in given circumstances, but this possibility for many people is difficult to understand and accept.

⁵² *EM*, 9: 192.

CHAPTER 12

THE ANAPHORA ¹

I. THE RUBRICS

1. *POL and OBS*

We shall examine first the rubrics of the anaphora in *POL*, important both for what they say and what they do not say. When the priest gives the blessing, “The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, etc.”, for which no rubrics are given, the deacon bows from the ambon and enters the sanctuary; he takes the fan and reverently fans the gifts. After the text of the sanctus, the deacon “again” takes the asterisk off the discos, makes a sign of the cross with it over the discos, kisses it, and puts it aside. When the priest says the Words of Institution, “Take eat, etc.”, the deacon points to the discos and chalice at each respective formula, holding his orarion in the three fingers of his right hand. No other actions are prescribed for the priest or deacon until the deacon comes beside the priest for the Holy Spirit troparion and verses before the epiclesis; for this he puts aside the fan and makes three bows before the altar. During the epiclesis the deacon points with his orarion to the discos and chalice while the priest, saying the formulae, makes the sign of the cross three times over the gifts. Following the epiclesis, the deacon bows to the priest and asks him to remember him; the priest gives no reply; the deacon returns to his place and fans the gifts.

OBS has a number of observations here. The fans are not used by

¹ To facilitate the references for the first three sections which deal with the same portions of the sources (rubrics, text, and theological concerns), we give these sources here together. *POL*, f. 264v-267r; *BEN*, p. 49-53, 79-80; 1519 *Venice*, CHR [f. 26v-30r], BAS [f. 46r-51v]; 1583 *Vilna*, CHR f. 72r-80r, BAS f. 119v-136r; 1602 *Moscow*; 1646 *Moscow*, CHR f. 140v-146; 1670 *Moscow*, CHR f. 116r-125v; 1604 *Balaban*, CHR p. 143-170, BAS p. 299-325; 1617 *Mamonyč*, CHR p. 71-89, BAS p. 192-220; 1629 *Kiev*, CHR p. 54-64; 1639 *Kiev*, CHR p. 306-329; 1646 *Lviv*, CHR f. 136v-145r; 1653 *Kiev*, CHR f. 153v-162r; 1666 *Lviv*, CHR f. 147v-158r; 1681 *Lviv*, CHR f. 151v-160v; 1691 *Lviv*, CHR f. 98r-103r; 1712 *Lviv*, CHR f. 98r-103r; 1736 *Kiev*, CHR f. 85r-89v; 1754 *Černihiv*, CHR f. 85r-89v; 1762 *Kiev*, CHR f. 79v-84v; Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 82-89 (ms f. 37v-41r); 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical, f. 13; Borgia ms, f. 107r-112r; 1671 *Ecphonemata*, CHR [f. 13v-15r]; 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 92r-94r, BAS f. 106r-109r; 1759 *Lviv OSBM curia copy*, f. 114v-116v; 1788 *Počajiv*, CHR f. 10v-12v; 1755 *Počajiv*, low mass rubrics [f. 2]; 1942 *Rome*, p. 243-252.

Catholic Ruthenians (XLIII.2). For the phrase “Let us lift up our hearts” said by the priest at the start of the anaphora, there are no rubrics in POL, yet the Ruthenian služebnyky give some (XLIV.2). OBS agrees that the deacon makes the sign of the cross over the discos with the asterisk at the sanctus, but questions why POL says this is done “again – hic denuo” (XLVI.2-3). Ruthenian priests make a sign of the cross over the bread and wine before the Words of Institution, which, OBS, says, should be added to POL, since the omission of this action would confirm the view of the Orthodox that the consecration takes place at the epiclesis (XLVII.2-3). During the Words of Institution the Ruthenian deacon does not point to the gifts (XLVIII.2), while for the exclamation, “Yours of your own”, the discos and chalice are raised, although OBS does not say by whom (XLIX.2). POL calls for the triple repetition of the Holy Spirit troparion, as in Ruthenian practice, although not indicated either in BEN or Goar (L.2).

2. Early Sources

To evaluate the objections in OBS, we must examine other sources, beginning with the Slavonic editio princeps. When the deacon comes to the altar in the 1519 *Venice* text, he bows three times, folds the great and small veils, and puts them aside. At the sanctus he takes the asterisk off the discos, wipes it on the antimension, kisses it and puts it aside with the veils.² He then fans the gifts, but if there are no fans he uses one of the veils from the vessels. At the Words of Institution the deacon points to the gifts, but the priest is given no actions to perform. The priest bows for the prayer, “Remembering this saving commandment”, said immediately after the Institution (he had not bowed for anything up to this point). After the exclamation, “Yours of your own”, for which no rubrics are given, a note says that the prosphora is to be turned right side up, if it is not already (i.e., if it has been left upside-down on the discos during the prothesis). The priest and deacon point to both gifts,³ after which the priest, with bowed head, continues the prayer. Another note indicates that the Holy Spirit troparion could be said here, but no text is given.⁴ The actions for the epiclesis are the same as in POL and today, but the

² A short discussion on the asterisk is found in A. Raes, “L’asterisque liturgique”, *Acta Philosophica et Theologica, Societas Academica Dacoromana*, 2 (Rome 1964): 405-408.

³ This is a rubric found in the Philothean diataxis; cf. N. Krasnoselcev, *Svedenija o nekotoryx liturgižeskix rukopisax Vatikanskoj biblioteki*, (Kazan 1885), p. 187; Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 121.

⁴ This troparion (and verses) is a later addition to CHR and interrupts the anaphora. During the 17th century it became a permanent part of CHR, regularly being included in the printed texts. It was omitted from the 1942 *Rome* služebnyk (recensio ruthena). Cf. Petrovskij, “Rédaction slave”, p. 868, 908; Raes, “Liturgicon”, p. 120; Raes, “Première édition”, p. 524.

deacon replies only with a single “amen” to each of the formulae, including the final one.

For the sanctus in the *1583 Vilna* služebnyk, the deacon takes the asterisk and touches it to the discos three times, wipes it on the eiliton and puts it with the veils.⁵ He uses either a fan or one of the veils to fan the gifts. The rubrics at the Institution are like those in POL (the deacon points, the priest does nothing). As in the *1519 Venice* text, both celebrants point to both of the gifts immediately after the exclamation, “Yours of your own”;

pokazujet že i rukoju ijerej i na oboja, djakon že so ourarem ko svjatym.

The Holy Spirit troparion is given before the epiclesis, but a note says it is at the discretion of the celebrant. As usual, just before this troparion, the deacon comes up to the altar and both he and the priest bow three times. The epiclesis is performed like today’s, but here too the deacon replies with a single “amen” to each of the three formulae.

In the *1602* and *1646 Moscow* služebnyky, when the deacon enters the sanctuary at the start of the anaphora, he makes three bows before the altar, as the Venice and Vilna texts prescribe, and stands on the right of the priest; the deacon also kisses the altar and performs the proščenie with the priest. If there are two deacons, after they enter the sanctuary they kiss each other, saying “Christ is in our midst etc.”⁶ The deacon puts the veils aside, and for the sanctus, as in the *1583 Vilna* služebnyk, the deacon hits or touches the discos with the asterisk three times. The deacon then stands on the left of the priest. After the sanctus the priest bows his head and prays, and the deacon says “Let us pray to the Lord” for each prayer.

Ijerej preklon’sja molitsja, dijakon že nakujuždu molitvu glagolet Gospodu pomolimsja.

For the first time in the *1602 Moscow* text (and then in the 1646 edition) we find that the priest is also to point to the gifts for the Words of Institution:

Ijerej glagolja sije, rukoju desnoju pokazujet ko svjatomu diskosu, dijakon pokazujet so ourarem svojim i glagolet amin.

This same rubric is given also for the chalice. Afterwards the priest continues the anaphora prayer with bowed head. Following “Yours of your own”, the deacon and priest point again to the gifts. (In the *1652 Moscow* služebnyk text of BAS, this rubric to point to both of the gifts is given before and not after the exclamation “Yours of your own”.⁷) The text of the Holy Spirit troparion

⁵ Other examples are found in Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 120.

⁶ Ibid., for other examples.

⁷ *1652 Moscow*, BAS f. 118r.

is given in full, but again it is at the discretion of the priest. Both priest and deacon bow three times at the altar before starting the troparion. The epiclesis actions are the usual; the deacon says only one “amen” to each of the formulae, including the last one. The priest continues the anaphora with bowed head.

3. *The Balaban and Mamonyč Služebnyky*

In the *1604 Balaban* služebnyk, the deacon also makes a sign of the cross over the discos with the asterisk at the sanctus (the first early text to agree with this same rubric in POL), hitting the discos three times. It is not indicated on which side of the priest the deacon stands before or after the sanctus. For the Institution the priest bows his head, raises his right hand, points to the discos (and chalice), and blesses them saying the formula. This action to raise the hands “as if to bless” and then “to bless” the gifts saying the Words of Institution is first given in the Greek editio princeps printed in Rome in 1526.⁸ It is also given in the *1602 Greek* euchology printed in Venice, from where it could have easily been taken by Balaban.⁹ We should not forget that the *1602 Moscow* text also instructs the priest to point to the gifts, although it does not say anything about using the blessing style.

At the elevation of the gifts in the *1604 Balaban* služebnyk, if two deacons are present, they do this together, each one raising one of the vessels, while standing on either side of the celebrant. Up to now most sources had said only that the priest and deacon pointed to the gifts at the words “Yours of your own”.

The *1604 Balaban* text also includes the note to turn the ahnec stamp side up if it is not so already. The actions for the epiclesis are the usual ones, but for the first time we find that the deacon replies to the final formula with a triple “amen”, which is also prescribed in today’s usage. After the epiclesis the deacon asks the priest to remember him and the priest blesses him with his hand.

When the deacon enters the sanctuary in the *1617 Mamonyč* služebnyk, he makes no bows, but just puts the veils aside; it is not stated on which side of the priest the deacon stands. The priest begins the pre-sanctus prayer with head bowed (the first time we find this posture prescribed here). When the deacon takes the asterisk off the discos at the sanctus, he makes the sign of the cross over the discos with the asterisk, wipes the asterisk on the eiliton, kisses it, and puts it with the veils; he does not hit the discos with the asterisk. After

⁸ *1526 Rome* Greek liturgicon, CHR [f. 13r]. See also C.A. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies Chiefly from Original Authorities* (Cambridge 1884), p. 129.

⁹ Cf. Dmitrievskij, “Otzyv”, p. 187.

the sanctus the deacon stands on the priest's right. The priest continues the anaphora with head bowed. For the Institution the priest points to and blesses the gifts, just as in Balaban, and the deacon points as usual. But contrary to Balaban, the Mamonyč text gives no rubrics for "Yours of your own". The Holy Spirit troparion is given in full with no indication that it might be optional. The epiclesis rite is like today's.

4. *The Mohylan and Nikonian Traditions*

In the Mohylan tradition we find the rubrics still more precise. In the *1639 Kiev služebnyk* for the phrase "Let us lift up our hearts" the priest raises his hands and eyes; for "Let us give thanks to the Lord" he folds his hands and bows to the gifts. Ruđ interprets this to mean that the priest was facing the people,¹⁰ but this does not follow from the text.

In the Mohylan tradition at the sanctus, the deacon takes the asterisk and makes a sign of the cross with it by hitting it to the four sides of the discos (a combination of the *1617 Mamonyč* rubrics with those of the Vilna, Balaban, and Muscovite texts); the deacon then wipes it on the antimension (eiliton in the *1629 Kiev* text) and places it with the veils. Before the sanctus the deacon stands on the left of the priest, while after he stands on the right. For the Words of Institution the priest holds the fingers of his right hand in the Byzantine monogram blessing style according to the *1629 Kiev* text and all subsequent Mohylan texts; but with the *1639 Kiev* text we find for the first time that the priest makes a low bow after each of the formulae of the Institution. All the Mohylan texts instruct the deacon to elevate the gifts at "Yours of your own" according to the Balaban style, including the procedure for two deacons. When the deacon approaches the gifts to raise them, he first bows; there is no rubric to bow after the elevation of the gifts. In the *1629 Kiev služebnyk* the note to turn the ahnec stamp side up is given before the Holy Spirit troparion; starting with the *1639 Kiev* text, this note is given in all subsequent Mohylan texts immediately after the sanctus. The Holy Spirit troparion is given in brackets in CHR, but without brackets in BAS. The epiclesis is like today's.

The Nikonian Ruthenian texts have rubrics very similar to POL; this includes the phrase "again – hic denuo" given for the removal of the asterisk in POL and BEN. The deacon makes a sign of the cross over the discos with the asterisk when he removes it, but no mention is made of hitting the discos with the asterisk (we saw this same combination in the *1617 Mamonyč* text). Nothing is said where the deacon stands before the sanctus, but after the sanctus he stands on the right of the priest. At the Words of Institution in the

¹⁰ Cf. Ruđ, "Liturgija", p. 193.

Nikonian Ruthenian texts the deacon points to the gifts, but the priest has no prescribed actions, nor does the priest bow when saying any of the anaphora prayers. The deacon raises the gifts crosswise in the Balaban manner for the elevation.

5. *Catholic Sources*

Many of the rubrics we have seen evolving in the Orthodox (and 1617 *Mamonyč*) texts also entered into the Catholic texts. The Sipovič pontifical has the archdeacon make a sign of the cross with the asterisk over the discos at the sanctus. But at the institution no mention is made of any deacon at all, and it is the bishop who raises the gifts for “Yours of your own”, even though a deacon is close by, since he is to put down the fan for the Holy Spirit troparion. The archdeacon recites the verses for the troparion, but for the epiclesis he does not reply “amen” to any of the formulae. For the Institution the bishop raises his hand, blessing the gifts: “tum pontifex elevans dextram suam benedicens”. He also bows after each of the Institution formulae.

The 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical does not give the full anaphora text, but only describes the blessings made by the bishop at the beginning and end of the anaphora, when he turns to the people and blesses them with his hand three times.

The Borgia ms follows the Mohylan tradition given in the 1629 *Kiev* edition, but in both the Latin and Slavonic texts three crosses are drawn near the end of the post-sanctus prayer: “gratias agens † et benedixit † sanctificavit † fregit”. A close similarity with the 1629 *Kiev* text remains in the priest’s actions at the Words of Institution: the priest blesses the gifts but he does not bow after each formula. Differently than in the 1629 *Kiev* rubrics, the priest and not the deacon is instructed to raise the gifts for the elevation; no mention is made of the deacon during the Institution and elevation, even though the deacon is included for the epiclesis.

The 1617 *Ecphonemata* also has the priest and not the deacon raise the gifts, even when a deacon is present.

Odincov’s description of seventeenth century Vilna ms služebnyky indicates that the priest said the pre- and post-sanctus prayers with his hands open, a gesture also prescribed for the prayers before and after the Marian commemoration.¹¹ In these mss at the words “he took the bread into his holy hands” before the Institution formula, the priest takes the bread in his hands; he then looks upwards for the words, “he gave thanks”; he blesses the bread three times with a sign of the cross, saying “he blessed, sanctified, broke”; he

¹¹ Cf. Odincov, “Uniatskoe bogosluženie”, p. 199 (mss n. 190 f. 22v f. 24-25, n. 192 f. 236-237).

bows, raises his right hand, and points to the bread and says the formula; afterwards he makes a low bow. For the chalice, the priest first uncovers it, blesses it, and says the formula; after the formula he bows low and continues the eucharistic prayer. Once he has elevated the gifts, the priest puts them back on the altar and covers the chalice.¹²

These rubrics given in the Borgia ms and in the Vilna mss appear also in the 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj služebnyk*; they are characteristic of the *Žoxovs'kyj* tradition, which was that known to the OBS author.

In the *Žoxovs'kyj* texts the deacon bows and enters the sanctuary at the start of the anaphora. No actions are indicated for the priest for the initial anaphora blessing, but for the exclamation "Let us lift up our hearts", the priest is instructed to raise his hands and eyes. (Note that neither here nor in any other source does the deacon raise his hands at "Let us lift up our hearts".) For "Let us give thanks", the priest joins his hands at his breast and bows. During the pre-sanctus prayer the priest extends or opens his hands — "taže rasproster ruci".

At the sanctus the deacon makes a sign of the cross with the asterisk over the discos, hitting the four sides of the discos. If there is no deacon, the priest does this himself. He kisses the asterisk and puts it aside (no mention is made of the veils). The priest then joins his hands at his breast, bows, and quietly says the sanctus, which the choir also says. Within the text of the sanctus a rubric instructs the priest to cross himself for the final phrase, "blessed is he who comes". This is also given in the 1683 *Rome* Greek euchology.¹³

For the post-sanctus prayer the priest extends his hands, raises his eyes, then slightly bows his head, and reverently reads the prayer. Near the end of the prayer the rubrics are similar to those seen above in the Vilna mss: he takes the discos, bows (the Vilna mss said to look upwards), blesses the bread three times, and says the formula of Institution.¹⁴ Since the chalice has remained covered up to now, the priest must uncover it just before its formula; he takes the chalice in both hands, then blesses it with his right hand at the words "In the same manner the chalice".

After each of the Institution formulae the priest bows low. For the elevation it is the priest who raises the gifts, after which he immediately covers the chalice and bows low. He continues the prayer with extended hands. Just before the Holy Spirit troparion, the priest and deacon bow three times before the altar, then they both say the troparion and its verses.¹⁵ But for the epiclesis, for which the chalice remains covered, the deacon is not mentioned at all, nor

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 203 (mss n. 190 f. 23, n. 192 f. 238, n. 194 f. 22).

¹³ 1683 *Rome* Greek euchology, p. 280.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, where the same rubrics are given.

¹⁵ This troparion and verses are not found in the 1683 *Rome* euchology.

are his interventions in the epiclesis prayer. The deacon also is not mentioned at all at the Institution. We should note in conclusion that at the Words of Institution the priest is not instructed to point to the gifts.

The printed low mass rubrics once again display their different origins from the Žoxovs'kyj texts. For the initial anaphora blessing the priest is specifically told not to turn to the people. His hand motions follow those prescribed in the regular Žoxovs'kyj version of CHR. For the sanctus he crosses himself with the asterisk, which has already been placed aside in the regular CHR version. Before the Institution formula for the bread, the priest holds the discos and blesses it three times (as in Žoxovs'kyj), but then he continues to hold the discos in his left hand while he recites the Institution formula (nothing is said about his right hand).

After he puts the discos back on the altar, he bows low, placing both hands on the altar, and genuflects on his right knee. He holds the chalice in both hands, blesses it, and, still holding it with both hands, he says the formula for the wine. After this he bows low (no genuflection mentioned). He performs the elevation in the customary manner, but when he places the gifts back on the altar, he puts the discos in front of the chalice as in the Latin usage. He bows low after the elevation, then continues with the Holy Spirit troparion, crossing himself and opening his hands for each of the verses. He blesses the gifts three times during the epiclesis and only then covers the chalice (Žoxovs'kyj has the chalice covered right after the elevation).

6. *Various Rubrics*

From the earliest sources, which give a minimal number of rubrics, we see their gradual increase, down to the detailed hand positions of the Žoxovs'kyj tradition, especially around the Institution. Xojnackij traced many of these hand motions, especially at the Institution, to the Latin mass.¹⁶ Whereas some motions and postures definitely are of direct Latin origin, such as the genuflection, others, such as the bowed head and pointing with the hands, have a long history in the Byzantine tradition as well. An important factor in shifting hand motions and creating new ones was the theological dispute over the form and moment of consecration.

One rubric that has varied is the raising of the chalice and discos after the Institution. Balaban clearly prescribes that the deacon perform this action. But we see that Catholic sources have the priest do it (the 1617 *Mamonyč* text says nothing about the elevation at all). Sakowicz objected to this practice, saying it was absurd that the deacon should raise the gifts; only the bishop or priest should touch them, he said, and here he referred to the Council of Nicea's ban

¹⁶ Cf. Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 87-88.

on the deacon making offerings (which we discussed in the prothesis).¹⁷ The reply in *Lithos* argues that it is correct for the deacon to raise the gifts, since there are no Greek or Slavic rubrics which limit this only to the priest.¹⁸ When the Latin Lviv clergy repeated Sakowicz's criticisms in the 1717 *Praxis Indebita*, Grimaldi and Trombetti replied that the deacon took these gifts out past the holy doors and in that manner blessed the people. This practice seems very unusual and one wonders how accurately it was reported.¹⁹ When Trombetti gave a separate reply later to Propaganda, he agreed that in some places the deacon raised the gifts, but that this was not being done any longer in Lithuania.²⁰

The Žoxovs'kyj tradition has the chalice uncovered only for the Words of Institution and the elevation, while the low mass rubrics leave it uncovered until after the epiclesis. Here too Sakowicz complained that the chalice was left uncovered after the anaphora up to the communion, with the danger that ash from the thurible and other things could fall into it. The Orthodox reply in *Lithos* implies that the chalice was covered, but when *Praxis Indebita* repeated Sakowicz's criticism, Grimaldi and Trombetti agreed that in practice the chalice was left uncovered.²¹

None of our sources, including POL, prescribe a bow to be made after the epiclesis. Some indicate that the deacon bow to the priest when asking him to remember him after the epiclesis. However, in none of our sources for this period nor in later Ruthenian texts until the twentieth century do we find that the priest makes a bow after completing the epiclesis. This is prescribed in the 1905 Lviv *služebnyk* printed by the Stauropugia, and in the 1917 *Žovkva služebnyk* printed by the Basilians. The Nikonian texts do not give the rubric, but in practice celebrants using the Nikonian (Synodal) texts make a profound bow to the ground. No bow of any kind is given after the epiclesis in the 1942 Rome Ruthenian *služebnyk*.²²

One custom for the laity during the anaphora was to hold candles. Metropolitan Volodkovyč granted this to the brotherhood in Smidyn' (Volyn') in 1773; they were to hold lit candles from the sanctus through to the Marian hymn.²³

¹⁷ Cf. Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, p. 47.

¹⁸ Cf. *Lithos*, p. 154.

¹⁹ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1: 148, 158.

²⁰ *APF, SC: MPR*, vol. 4, f. 107v.

²¹ Cf. Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, p. 48; *Lithos*, p. 133-134; "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1: 148, 158.

²² The following *služebnyky* from the 19th century give no rubrics for such a bow: 1840 *Peremyšl*, CHR p. 33; 1850 Lviv, CHR [f. 14v]; 1866 Lviv, CHR p. 33. The bow is prescribed in: 1905 Lviv, CHR p. 305; 1917 *Žovkva*, p. 42. Cf. Nikoľskij, *Posobie*, p. 446.

²³ Cf. *Arxiv JuZR*, I, 4: 624. The regulations for the St. Onuphrius Lviv Brotherhood in 1633 also include holding candles during the mass, although it is not stated specifically for which parts, *Arxiv JuZR*, I, 12: 76.

7. *Kneeling*

A more important and controversial issue for the worshippers was that of kneeling. The Orthodox council held in Kiev in 1640 ordered the faithful not to bow to the ground during the Great Entrance in CHR and BAS; they were to make a profound bow or kneel only for the communion rites at “Holy things for the holy” and “Approach with fear”:

16 dnia septembra rano, doczytano kanonow w ktorzych to nalezli aby na służbie Bożey Złatoustego y S. Bazylego na perenosie, nie upadali na ziemię, iako przed Naswiętzym Sakramentem, tylko żeby na ‘wonnim, Swiataia Swiatym’ y na ‘so strachom Bożym’, to iest, na elewatiey.²⁴

Sakowicz, who provides us with the only account of this council, added a note here that the Orthodox should have had the people kneel also at the consecration and the elevation (Yours of your own):

Miałeś dołożyć, schismatiku, że y gdy sie poświęca y podnosi sakrament, gdy pop mowi, “twoia od twoich”.²⁵

The *Lithos* reply suggests that Sakowicz’s proposal was accepted. According to *Lithos*, even though the holy doors were closed for the Institution and elevation, the people heard the priest’s voice and knew at which part of the mass they were at; thus they made a low bow in reverence both after the Institution formulae and at the elevation of the gifts – “nizko się kłaniaia”.²⁶

In the Sipovič pontifical the servers leave the sanctuary at the sanctus and kneel before the holy doors at the Words of Institution. After “Yours of your own” they come back into the sanctuary.²⁷

Žoxovs’kyj also derided the Orthodox for standing during the Words of Institution, like the pillar which Lot’s wife turned into: “Ale stoie wrytemi iako słup iaki żony Lotowey”,²⁸ whereas at the Great Entrance they prostrated themselves on the ground before ordinary bread.

Praxis Indebita found fault with the Ruthenians, since neither priest nor people venerated the eucharist: rarely did the priest kneel or make a bow — “adorationem vel inclinationem facere” — before the eucharist, and the people even less. Yet the Ruthenians laughed at the Latins for genuflecting, while the Ruthenians always stood for services. The only exception was Pentecost Sunday, when the Ruthenians knelt. Grimaldi and Trombetti replied that

²⁴ Sakowicz, “Kievskij sobor”, p. 40.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ *Lithos*, p. 113.

²⁷ Cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 84-87 (ms f. 38v-40r).

²⁸ Žoxovs’kyj, *Colloquium Lubelskie*, p. 28.

normally the Ruthenians prayed in church standing, making many bows with the head. However, at the elevation of the eucharist and when the priest blessed them, the people knelt; the Ruthenians also knelt when they attended a Latin church.²⁹

But even this kneeling was not a general practice. The Basilian John Oleševs'kyj during his visitation of the Suprasl' monastery in 1711 for Leo Kyška, told the monks to maintain all traditional practice, specifying that they should never kneel during the eucharistic liturgy, but always stand:

Dla tego nie maia bydz w cerkwi naszey podczas Służby Bożey ukłękania na kolana [...].³⁰

By the time the Basilian constitution was printed in 1791, the custom of kneeling for the anaphora seems well established. The Basilians were to kneel from the sanctus until the Marian hymn, and for the communion from "Holy things for the holy" until the final litany, "Arise, having received, etc."

Ut flectant genua [...] dum canitur "Sanctus" in Missae Sacrificio et reliqua, quae sequuntur usque ad "dignum est". Item pariter genibus innixi maneant a "Sancta sanctis" usque ad "Recti qui accepimus".³¹

We find an odd case of kneeling in Paul of Aleppo's account of Patriarch Macarius' stay in Kiev in 1654 at the Ascension women's monastery, where for the "Dostojno jest" the nuns came out into the middle of the church between the two choirs, knelt, and sang beautifully the hymn while the church bells rang.³²

8. *The Bells*

One final detail related to the theological question concerns the bells. When Sakowicz wrote that the Orthodox Ruthenians should have included a profound bow also at the anaphora, he added that when the chalice (and discos) were raised, bells should be rung. This was not permitted the Greeks by the Turks, who also forbade the Greeks to put a cross on their churches, but in Poland there was no such ban:

do tego miales dołozyc ze gdy się podnosi sakrament, żeby w dzwonki dzwoniło: bo że w Greciey niewolno dzwonić y krzyżow na cerkwiach miec, przeto rozumiesz, że y w Polsce niewolno.³³

²⁹ Cf. "Praxis indebita", *CP*, 1: 145, 151, 156, 160.

³⁰ *LE*, 5: 35.

³¹ *Codex Constitutionum*, p. 53.

³² Cf. "Putesestvie", *ČOISR*, 1897, 4: 59; Senyk, *Women's Monasteries*, p. 176.

³³ Sakowicz, "Kievskij sobor", p. 40.

In *Perspectiwa* he elaborates on the bells still further, saying that hand bells — “małe dzwonki” — should be rung during the consecration and elevation, so that those outside the church would know that these acts were taking place and give honour to God. This, he said, was already being done by the Catholic Ruthenians, and even by the Orthodox in some places like Vilna.³⁴

Hand bells were listed in the inventory for the Sts. Sergius and Bacchus church in Rome in 2 October 1656.³⁵ Propaganda’s visitator also mentioned them again on 18 May 1661, although he adds that Latin Rite mass was also celebrated there, which likely explains the origin of the bells.³⁶

When the Latin Lviv clergy complained in *Praxis Indebita* in 1717 that the Ruthenians used no bells and the people could not tell when to adore the eucharist, Grimaldi and Trombetti confirmed in their reply that bells were not heard nor seen in Ruthenian churches.³⁷

Yet shortly after this the Synod of Zamostja instructed visitators to check how many bells were in the church belfry and whether there were hand bells in the church.³⁸

The printed low mass rubrics do not call for the ringing of hand bells, but a brochure on serving low mass printed by the Počajiv Basilians for children required the hand bells to be rung for the sanctus (three times) and once each for the two Institution formulae.³⁹

A distinction must be made here between this use of hand bells inside the church, rung for the consecration, and the older custom of ringing the large bells outside the church for the Marian hymn after the epiclesis. To this day some Ukrainian Catholic churches still keep the older custom of ringing the large church bells for the Marian hymn, “It is right indeed – Dostojno jest”, just as Paul Aleppo described above in the Kiev Ascension women’s monastery. The ringing of the hand bells for the consecration and communion has generally died out today in Ukrainian churches.

Up to the time of Patriarch Joachim (1674-1690) it was also a custom in Muscovite churches to ring for the Marian hymn. Afterwards this was moved to the “It is right and just” sung by the choir at the beginning of the anaphora.⁴⁰

³⁴ Cf. Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, p. 42; Praszko, *De ecclesia*, p. 251. Sakowicz seems to have confused the hand bells with the large church bells, which would have done a better job informing those outside the church.

³⁵ *LB*, 1: 82.

³⁶ *MUH*, 3: 113. The following sentence in *APF*, Fondo di Vienna, vol. 18, f. 17v, is not included in *MUH*, 3: 119: “La chiesa detta ha tre altari; nel maggiore ogni di si celebra due messe alla Rutena, ne gli altri due altari si dicono alla Latina le feste della chiesa, et in altri giorni, se alcuno capitasse.”

³⁷ Cf. “Praxis indebita”, *CP*, 1: 148, 158.

³⁸ *SPZ*, “Quaestiones in visitationibus indagandae”, p. 131.

³⁹ This is referred to by Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 115-116. This brochure is not given in Tylawskij’s list of Počajiv publications; cf. Tylawskij, “Monastero di Počaiv”.

⁴⁰ Cf. Nikofskij, *Posobie*, p. 36-37. A more recent mention of this practice is given by V.

II. THE TEXTS

1. *POL and OBS*

The text of the Slavonic version of the anaphora in POL is very similar to today's. One exception is the inclusion of the Holy Spirit troparion in the former, as found also in other Ruthenian služebnyky, but which was omitted from the 1942 Rome edition. The request made by the deacon to the priest to remember him after the epiclesis in POL is also not found in today's text.

OBS mentions several faults with the Latin text of POL. It notes that the Latin version of the pre-sanctus prayer, "It is right and just", is better in Goar (XLV.2). A more serious error in the text is the lack of the intention formula, which Ruthenian priests used to recite immediately after the sanctus (XLVII.2). There is a lacuna in the Latin text of the post-sanctus prayer where the words "pro mundi vita" are missing, even though they are given in the Slavonic version; the complete prayer is also rendered better in Goar (XLVII.5). Another omission in the Latin version occurs in the commemorations listed before Mary, namely for the forefathers, patriarchs, prophets, etc., which are missing, yet they are in the Slavonic text (LII.2). Once again, the Latin text is better in Goar (LV.5). These omissions are not that important to us, since the Slavonic text was the one intended for actual use in services.

2. *The Venice Edition*

In the 1519 Venice služebnyk the command "Let us stand" ends with: "*sv. voznošenije myrom prynosyty*", while POL, like today's text gives: "*sv. voznošenije v myri prynosyty*". In the Venice text the choir replies: "*Mylost' myr žertva pinija*", while in POL, like today, we find: "*Mylost' myra, žertvu xvalenija*". In the Venice text the choir replies just before the pre-sanctus prayer with: "It is right and just". This was the original form of this response and is found in most of our other sources (as opposed to today's longer version).⁴¹ The text of the sanctus is not given in the Venice edition. In the text of the Words of Institution we find the forms: "se jest tilo moje [...] se jest krov' moja". These versions are also given in the early Ruthenian sources.

Following the epiclesis, the prayer is interrupted by the deacon, who asks

Vojnakov and V. Rigin, "Božestvennaja liturgija", *Žurnal Moskovskoj patriarxii*, 1979, 10: 80; they cite Arximandrit Kiprian, *Evxaristija*, Paris 1947, p. 212.

⁴¹ See the following studies on the diaconal admonition and dialogue before the anaphora: R. Taft, "Textual Problems in the Diaconal Admonition before the Anaphora in the Byzantine Tradition", *OCP*, 49 (1983): 340-365; id., "The Dialogue before the Anaphora in the Byzantine Eucharistic Liturgy", *OCP*, 52 (1986): 299-324.

the priest: “Remember, holy master, a sinner”; the priest replies: “May the Lord God remember you in his kingdom, etc.”

3. *Other Early Versions*

The command “Let us stand” in the 1583 *Vilna* služebnyk has still another ending: “*sv. voznošenije vo smyrenii prynosity*”. The other variants found in the 1519 *Venice* text for the anaphora mentioned above are also given in the 1583 *Vilna* text.

The 1602 and 1646 *Moscow* služebnyky follow the 1583 *Vilna* text, with the same variants.

In the 1604 *Balaban* služebnyk we find more complete replies for the choir. Thus, the pre-sanctus response is:

It is right and just to worship the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the Trinity consubstantial and undivided.

This is the same response given in POL and used today. In the sanctus the text in *Balaban* reads “slavy jeho” and not “slavy tvojeja” found in later služebnyky. The Institution formulae still give the “se jest” mentioned above.

The text of the 1617 *Mamonyč* služebnyk is more similar to POL than the other texts mentioned. But, unlike POL, *Mamonyč* still gives: “*sv. voznošenije so myrom prynosity*” and “*Mylost' myr, žertva xvalenija*”. In CHR *Mamonyč* gives the short choir response, “It is right and just”, while in BAS the choir says the longer response used today. The sanctus text contains “slavy jeho”, and the Institution formulae use “se jest”. The priest and deacon make the remembrance of each other after the epiclesis. The choir’s text for the Marian hymn is given in full.

4. *The Mohylan and Nikonian Texts*

Beginning with the 1629 *Kiev* text we find the following in the Mohylan služebnyky: “*sv. vosnošenije so myrom prynosity*” and “*Mylost' myra žertvu xvalenija*”. Like the *Mamonyč* text, the Mohylan editions give the short “It is right and just” in CHR, but the longer version in BAS. The sanctus contains “slavy jeho”. But now a change begins in the Institution formulae. The 1629 *Kiev* text uses the form for the bread: “se jest”, but for the wine it gives: “sija jest”. With the 1639 *Kiev* edition we find today’s version used: “sije jest [...] sija jest”. This is given in all subsequent Mohylan editions, as is the “amen” repeated three times by the deacon at the end of the epiclesis and the remembrance made by the priest and deacon of each other after the epiclesis. The full text of the Mariam hymn is found plus a note following it to take the irmos of the ninth ode (of matins) for feast days in place of the regular hymn.

The texts of the prayers in the Nikonian Ruthenian služebnyky are basically the same as those in POL and used today; this includes the

commands and responses before the sanctus, the sanctus itself and the Institution formulae. Whereas in POL the priest makes no reply to the deacon's remembrance request after the epiclesis, in the Nikonian texts the priest replies with the phrase we have seen in other sources: "May the Lord God remember you in his kingdom, etc." In his liturgical reform Patriarch Nikon included in CHR the long form for the pre-sanctus "It is right and just". This is not found in earlier Muscovite or Athonite euchologies brought to Moscow for Nikon's reform. Nikon took this longer version either from the Ruthenian texts or the 1602 Venice Greek euchology.⁴²

5. The Catholic Sources

The Sipovič pontifical gives some of the textual variants seen earlier, like "*so myrom prynosyty*". For the pre-sanctus choir reply, "It is right and just", the Latin text in this ms gives the longer version in brackets, and a note explains that this derives from the Greeks, who recited it and did not sing it like the Ruthenians. The sanctus has the "slavy jeho", and the Institution formulae use "se jest [...] sija jest" like the 1629 Kiev služebnyk.

Whereas the Borgia ms has followed the 1629 Kiev text quite closely up to now, for the sanctus it gives "slavy tvojeja". But for the Institution it gives the 1629 Kiev versions of "se jest [...] sija jest". There is no remembrance made by the priest and deacon after the epiclesis, neither is the text given for the Marian hymn.

The 1671 *Ecphonemata* also contains the variants: "*so myrom prinositi [...]* slavy ieho [...] se iest [...] si iest". The Institution formulae here are surprising, since the 17th Basilian chapter in Vilna in 1667 had called for the use only of the older "se jest", which we saw in the earlier texts, and not "sija jest", introduced with the Mohylan sources.⁴³

We still find some peculiarities in the 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj* text, but by this time the liturgical texts are gradually conforming to what we find in POL and used today. In BAS we still find "*sv. voznošenije so myrom prynosyty*", while in CHR it is "*sv. prynošenije*". The choir has the short version of "It is right and just" before the pre-sanctus prayer in CHR, while in BAS it has the longer version. The sanctus in CHR has "slavy tvojeja", while in BAS it still has "slavy jeho". The Institution formulae are like today's with "sije jest [...] sija jest".

Variations on the *Žoxovs'kyj* tradition are found in the 1759 Lviv OSBM curia copy and the 1788 *Počajiv* text. For CHR these give the longer version of the choir's reply before the pre-sanctus prayer, but the word "holy" is put in brackets, thus:

⁴² Cf. Uspenskij, "Kollizija", p. 152.

⁴³ Cf. AS, 12: 96; Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 108, 126, 135.

It is right and just to worship the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the (holy) Trinity consubstantial and undivided.

III. THEOLOGICAL CONCERNS

The theological issue which most affected the rubrics concerned the consecration. OBS does not doubt that the consecration occurs during the Words of Institution and not during the epiclesis (XLVII. 2-3).⁴⁴ OBS also refers to the "intention" and the question of the consecration of all particles on the discos and not just the ahnec (XLVII. 7-8). POL indicates nothing specific on what is consecrated and when.

In traditional Byzantine practice only the ahnec was consecrated and not the particles placed with it on the discos in commemoration of the saints, the living, and the dead. This meant that the ahnec had to be large enough to suffice for the celebrants and worshippers for communion. The distinction between the ahnec and the other particles was debated between the Latins and the Byzantines. With the acceptance of the Union, the Ruthenians found themselves involved in the controversy. Peter Arcudius in 1626 gave an example of one Polish priest who convinced a noble Ruthenian woman to stop receiving the eucharist in the Ruthenian church, since, this priest told her, they distributed not the body of Christ but the body of the saints.⁴⁵

1. *The 1617 Mamonyč Nauka*

Such ignorance and misunderstanding was especially due to the lack of education on the part of all clergy. One attempt to instruct the Ruthenian clergy was made in the *1617 Mamonyč Nauka*, which followed Latin theological manuals not only in approach, but in theology as well.

It is necessary that the priest celebrating have the intention to consecrate the body of Christ in order to perform that which the Church performs. And if he only has the intention to consecrate one particle and not to consecrate the others, then that one particle will become the body of Christ and the others will not; for that reason let every priest have the intention to consecrate not only the ahnec, but all the particles on the discos and to put them all into the chalice, as was the ancient custom of the holy fathers in our old Greek and Slavonic služebnyky.⁴⁶

The *Nauka* clarifies that the form of the consecration is the formula of Institution:

because the form with which are consecrated the body and blood of Christ are the

⁴⁴ Some other dogmatic question is referred to in OBS; it was to be found at the end of the OBS ms. No such addition is found in the ms today (XLVII.4).

⁴⁵ Cf. Arcudius, *De concordia*, p. 180; Krajcar, "A Report", p. 88.

⁴⁶ *1617 Mamonyč, Nauka* [f. 9v].

said words, “this is my body” and “this is my blood” [...] For this reason it is the written custom in the *služebnyky* that, pronouncing the words “Take and eat”, we should point with our hand to the bread first, and then to the chalice, saying “Drink” etc.⁴⁷

But if the *Nauka* clearly presents contemporary Latin theology for the Words of Institution, it tries at the same time to retain the traditional Byzantine understanding of the epiclesis. After giving a lengthy explanation in favour of the Words of Institution, the *Nauka* adds:

However, these words, “make this bread the precious body of your Christ”, are also the form. But it must be understood that with this prayer of the epiclesis we ask the Lord God to make that which is in itself the body of Christ, to be also the body of Christ for the communicants; that is, so that this spiritual nourishment would not be venom, but would fill and nourish those who partake of it.⁴⁸

The *Nauka* explanation cites BAS as found in old Greek and Slavonic *služebnyky*, in which the priest already refers to the bread and wine as Christ’s body and blood, understanding the bread not as material nourishment for the body, but spiritual nourishment for the soul. In BAS the prayer after the epiclesis also stresses this idea, saying “so that we who eat from this one bread and chalice would unite with one another”.⁴⁹

The compromise attempted by the *Nauka* did not meet much success, and the epiclesis became a problem for the Catholic Ruthenians. In 1626 the Ruthenian procurator in Rome, Nicholas Novak, related to Propaganda that the Catholic Ruthenians were having difficulties in understanding the epiclesis:

The said Father Nicholas also informs us that in the Greek Rite and in his own Ruthenian Rite there is considerable difficulty, namely that after the consecration the priest prays again that the bread become the body and the wine become the blood of Christ even though they have already by virtue of the preceding consecration.⁵⁰

2. *Change in Rubrics*

We saw above the slow development in the rubrics around the Words of Institution. In the earliest texts the deacon always pointed to the gifts during the formulae, but the priest had no prescribed actions. The priest did point to the gifts for the exclamation “Yours of your own”; this we find in the *1583 Vilna* text. In the *1602 Moscow* edition the priest points to the discs and

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, [f. 12].

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, [f. 13v-14]. A similar explanation is also found in modern times in E. Schillebeeckx, *De Sacramentali Heilseconomie*, Antwerp 1952, p. 348-354; cf. J. McKenna, “The Eucharist Epiclesis in 20th Century Theology”, *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 90 (1976): 317.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, [f. 14v].

⁵⁰ *LB*, 1: 12.

chalice for each of the Institution formulae, following the practice given in earlier Greek sources. Starting with the 1604 *Balaban* edition the priest bows, raises his right hand, and blesses the gifts at the Institution. In the 1639 *Kiev* edition the priest makes a bow after each of the Institution formulae.

Like other *služebnyky* before it, the 1629 *Kiev* text gives the note to turn the *ahneć* stamp side up (if it is not already) just before the epiclesis, so that the priest can “make the invocation of the Holy Spirit on the holy gifts”. In the 1639 *Kiev* text, edited like the 1629 text by Peter Mohyla, the above-mentioned phrase given before the epiclesis — “make the invocation, etc.” — is omitted, and the note to turn over the *ahneć* is given right after the *sanctus*. Also in the 1639 edition, before saying the Words of Institution, the priest bows and with reverence and humility recalls his intention to consecrate the gifts; then he raises his hand and fingers as if to bless, and he blesses the gifts, saying the formula of Institution. After the first formula he bows low to “the divine body of Christ”. In other words, Mohyla also accepted that the consecration takes place at the Words of Institution.⁵¹

3. *The Perspectiwa-Lithos Controversy*

Shortly after this period the controversy over the consecration appears in *Perspectiwa* and *Lithos*. Sakowicz writes that some Orthodox thought that the consecration occurred during the prothesis (with the resulting bow made during the Great Entrance); some thought it occurred at the epiclesis; and some thought it occurred at the Institution. If the Institution is accepted as the moment of consecration, Sakowicz says, the Orthodox should make a bow at that point, just as the Catholic Ruthenian bishops had said to do at a past synod. These Catholic bishops had also suggested that the epiclesis be put before the Institution, but since the Catholics had no printed *služebnyky* of their own and used Orthodox texts, the plan was not carried out.⁵² We do not have any further information on this plan.

In *Lithos* the Orthodox deny that they considered that the consecration occurred at the prothesis; the recently published (1639 *Kiev*) *služebnyk* affirms that the form for the consecration is the formula of Institution, this explanation goes on, and the 1640 *Kiev* council had forbidden the worshippers to bow to the ground during the Great Entrance.⁵³ Still later in *Lithos*, the Orthodox confirm this when discussing the holy doors, as we saw earlier. Even though the holy doors are closed, the people still know that the consecration is taking place, since they can hear the priest’s words, to which they reply

⁵¹ This is discussed using parallel texts by Uspenskij, “Kollizija”, p. 153-154.

⁵² Cf. Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, p. 13-15.

⁵³ Cf. *Lithos*, p. 59.

“Amen” and make a low bow; they bow also for the exclamation “Yours of your own”:

a u nas, choć drzwi zamknięte bywają, każdy wiedzieć może, bo głośno kapłan słowa Zbawicielowe wymawia, a ludzie za każdym wymowieniem, tak nad chlebem, iako y nad kielichem, formy, mówiąc amen, nizko się kłaniają. Także gdy, podnosząc kielich y patynę, mowi “Twoja od Twoich, etc.”, ludzi, mówiąc “Tobie śpiewamy, ...” nizko się kłaniają.⁵⁴

At one point in *Perspectiwa* Sakowicz praises the practice in the Latin Rite of the priest making his intention before vesting for mass, then the sacristan asks him what the intention is so he can put out the right colour of vestment.⁵⁵

This provoked ridicule in *Lithos*. It replied that the Byzantine mass had many places at which the priest recalls his intention, and *Lithos* lists these: in the prothesis at the cutting of the particles; in the Litany of Peace and ektené from the numerous services given at the end of the służebnyk; immediately after the consecration, during the commemorations. Thus, every priest knows both the general and specific intentions:

Widzisz tedy, że koždy świazszczennik intencyą, y generalną y specjalną, iak idąc do służenia, tak y odprawując służbę Bożą ma.⁵⁶

Sakowicz retorted that it was not enough just to read the intention during the mass in the places called for in the służebnyk. These were only material intentions. What was important was the formal intention of the priest that he intended to consecrate the bread and wine; without this formal intention other sacraments like baptism and confession were invalid. What the Orthodox should do, Sakowicz said, was to translate the prayers from the Latin missal into their own texts.

A na to mi tak odpowiada, gdy ia radze, aby do swoich mszałow Ruskich też modlitwy z Lacińskich mszałow na rozmaite potrzeby napisane masz.⁵⁷

Sakowicz does not say specifically which prayers should be translated. What we do find in the 1646 *Kiev* trebnyk prepared by Mohyla are full explanations of the form and matter of the sacraments, including the eucharist, with stress placed on the intention required of the celebrant.⁵⁸ The 1646 *Lviv* służebnyk also has this formal intention before the Words of

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 113.

⁵⁵ Cf. Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, p. 45.

⁵⁶ *Lithos*, p. 124-125.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 120-121.

⁵⁸ 1646 *Kiev* trebnyk, 1: 238-239. Cf. A. Raes, “La concélébration eucharistique dans les rites orientaux”, *La Maison-Dieu*, 35 (1953): 40; Uspenskij, “Kollizija”, p. 153-154, 163-164.

Institution, but it gives them in brackets, while later Mohylan služebnyky give the intention note without brackets.

In his *trebnyk* Mohyla makes a further clarification or warning for concelebrated liturgies, including those with a bishop. In such celebrations no priest is to say the Words of Institution before any of the other celebrants; either the concelebrants should all say the words together, or only the main celebrant should say them. If one of the celebrants should say the words before the main celebrant, then the gifts would already be consecrated before the main celebrant said the formula, and thus he would be accomplishing nothing!⁵⁹

Both rubrics and theology from the Mohylan and pre-Mohylan texts found their way into the Nikonian liturgical texts in Muscovy, including the *činovnik*, creating problems for the Muscovites from the seventeenth century on, with effects even today.⁶⁰ Some authors, like Raes, traced Mohyla's rubric for concelebrants back through Arcudius and the Greek Catholics in Rome, under the influence of scholastic theology. However, Brakmann's research, while not denying the compatibility of Mohyla's position with Latin theology, has shown that the origins go back to Byzantium and the Greek pontifical liturgies which always called for concelebrants and regulated the execution of the prayers among the celebrants.⁶¹

4. *The Catholic Position*

The Catholic Ruthenians quickly followed the Latin doctrine on the consecration, with some borrowing from the Orthodox Ruthenian texts as well. In the Sipovič pontifical, just before the Institution formulae, the bishop is instructed to raise his right hand as if to bless; he is also to consecrate the *ahnac* along with the particles of the *discos*. Only the bishop is to say the Words of Institution aloud, while all the other concelebrants say them silently.⁶² No other mention is made of the celebrant's intention.

The Borgia ms also gives no indication of the priest's intention, following here the 1629 *Kiev* text and not the 1639 *Kiev* edition:

Post inclinato capite cum devotione et elevans (componens digitos quasi ad benedicendum) dexteram suam, ait voce alta.

⁵⁹ 1646 *Kiev* *trebnyk*, 1: 244. See also the above works just cited by Raes and Uspenskij.

⁶⁰ This is the main topic in Dmitrievskij, "Otzv", and especially in Uspenskij, "Kollizija". See also Nikolskij, *Posobie*, p. 444.

⁶¹ For more information on Byzantine verbal concelebration and the Words of Institution, see Heinzgerd Brakmann, "Zum gemeinschaftlichen Eucharistiegebet byzantinischer Konzelebranten", *OCP*, 42 (1976): 320-367. For the early history, see R. Taft, "Ex Oriente lux? Some Reflections on Eucharistic Concelebration", *Worship*, 54 (1980): 308-325.

⁶² Cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 184.

[...]

Iterum elevans dexteram suam, super sanctum calicem compositis digitis ait alta voce [...].⁶³

In two of the Vilna ms služebnyky from the seventeenth century, one of which is the Pilixovs'kyj ms, we find a Slavonic translation of the prayer of intention taken from the Latin missal:

I wish to celebrate mass and consecrate [soveršyty] the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ according to the rite of the holy Catholic Church and for the better state [blahopospišestvij] of the holy universal [sobornoj] apostolic Roman Church, amen.⁶⁴

One other seventeenth-century Vilna ms instructs the priest to make his intention to celebrate right after the sanctus.⁶⁵

The 1671 *Ecphonemata* gives the Words of Institution in large print, which other sources up to this point had not done. In his 1692 theological manual Leo Kyška states quite clearly that the intention to consecrate everything on the discos is essential, and the form of the consecration is the formula of Institution.⁶⁶

The 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj* služebnyk combines several of these practices to give the basic structure for subsequent Catholic služebnyky. Right after the sanctus the priest recalls his desire, "which is usually called the intention", made during the prothesis to consecrate at the Words of Institution said by Christ. The priest also recalls for whom he is saying the mass. Just before the Words of Institution the priest bows and with reverence says the formulae consecrating Christ's body and blood. The Words of Institution are printed in large type, and most later služebnyky also give a large picture of either the Last Supper or the crucifixion on the facing page.⁶⁷

The 1740 Peremyšl' eparchial synod called for the main celebrant alone to say the Words of Institution out loud at concelebrated liturgies; other concelebrants were instructed to say them silently.⁶⁸

⁶³ Borgia ms, f. 109v-110r.

⁶⁴ Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 197 (mss n. 191 f. 18 — which does not have the word 'Roman' — n. 192 f. 16). Cf. Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 138.

⁶⁵ Cf. Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 203 (ms n. 190 f. 22v).

⁶⁶ Cf. Kyška, *Mów różnych przypadków*, p. 52-53.

⁶⁷ Cf. Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 101-104.

⁶⁸ Cf. Lakota, *Try synody*, p. 48.

IV. THE ANAPHORA COMMEMORATIONS

1. *POL and OBS*

Just before the priest intones the Marian commemoration in *POL*, the deacon is instructed to incense the altar crosswise and to commemorate whomever he wishes of the living and the dead. The priest makes the Marian commemoration, “Especially for the most holy (...) ever virgin Mary”, and the full text is given of the choir’s response, “It is indeed right to bless you, Mother of God”. After this hymn the deacon again makes commemorations, this time from “the diptychs, or the pomjanyk of the dead”. The priest continues with his commemorations as today. He includes the dead after the saint of the day, but no clear indication is made that he could include any specific names of the deceased; he proclaims aloud the exclamation “Among the first”, during which he mentions only the archbishop. The choir responds to this with the customary “I vsix i vsja – and everyone and everything”. The deacon stands in the holy doors and is instructed to continue the diptychs initiated by the priest, saying “N., the patriarch, or the bishop, and the rest”; he then commemorates the living from the pomjanyk. Meanwhile the priest continues silently, praying for the city and other intentions which we have today, concluding with the ephonesis, “and grant that we may with one voice and one mind, etc.”, to which the choir replies “Amen”; the priest then says the blessing found today, but no rubrics are given for it.⁶⁹

OBS gives much attention to the commemorations in *POL*. It was not the practice for the Ruthenian deacons to commemorate the names from the diptychs (LIII.2). *OBS* agrees with the placement of the priest’s commemoration of the dead, but adds that the Ruthenians commemorate the living after the exclamation, “Among the first”; this possibility for the priest to commemorate the living is not indicated in *POL* (LIV.2). For the audible commemorations made during “Among the first”, *POL* only lists the local archbishop, while *OBS* says that the Catholic Ruthenians listed first the pope. None of the commemorations made by the deacon in *POL* are found in Ruthenian texts, nor did the deacon read the diptychs of the living, which Goar also does not include. The dead were all commemorated by the Ruthenians at the same place mentioned above (LV.2-4).

2. *Early Služebnyky*

Our various sources show much variety in both when and by whom the commemorations of the living and of the dead are made. In the *1519 Venice*

⁶⁹ *POL*, f. 266v-268r; *BEN*, p. 53-55.

služebnyk, right after the priest makes the Marian invocation (for which no choir response is given, nor is the deacon instructed to incense), the deacon commemorates himself, the founders of the church, and others of the deceased as he wishes. The priest recalls the dead exactly as we do today, including any specific intentions:

And remember all the deceased [who died] in the hope of the resurrection to eternal life, [rubric to name whom he wants] and grant them rest where the light of your face shines.⁷⁰

In the priest's audible commemoration, "Among the first", he names only the local archbishop; no choir response is indicated for this. The deacon immediately commemorates the monastic superior and brethren and whomever else he wants of the living; he may have said this to himself, since it is only printed as a rubric, in red. The priest next prays for himself with a phrase borrowed from BAS:

Remember, Lord, in your abundant mercy, my unworthiness, and forgive all my transgressions, willing and unwilling, and for this reason do not hold back the grace of your Holy Spirit from the gifts lying here.⁷¹

This prayer for the celebrant is also given in BAS of the *1519 Venice* edition,⁷² and is found in several Greek mss of CHR, as Winkler has shown in her definitive study on the anaphoral intercessions in Greek CHR.⁷³ Similar commemorations by the celebrants for themselves are found in other early Slavic sources.⁷⁴ The anaphora commemorations continue in this Venice edition like today's, but no choir response or rubrics are indicated.

In the *1583 Vilna* CHR the deacon does not incense for the Marian hymn, but only after the priest has commemorated John the Baptist, the saint of the day, and the deceased; at this point the deacon is instructed to incense the altar crosswise and the whole sanctuary, commemorating the deceased founders and whomever else of the dead he wishes. Following the exclamation in CHR, "Among the first", the priest prays for specific intentions with a prayer similar to the Venice prayer for the celebrant from BAS, which we saw above:

Remember, Lord, your devout servants, N.N., their health and forgiveness of sins, and forgive them all their transgressions willing and unwilling, and give them a peaceful life and protect them from all enemies, preserve them in safety and in health for many years, and grant them eternal life with all your saints.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ *1519 Venice*, [f. 30v].

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, [f. 31r].

⁷² *1519 Venice*, BAS [f. 54r].

⁷³ Cf. Winkler, "Interzessionen", *OCP*, 36 (1970): 301-336; 37 (1971): 333-383.

⁷⁴ Cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 121.

⁷⁵ *1583 Vilna*, CHR f. 82v; the entire section is on f. 80r-84r.

Following this intention, the usual commemoration continues, “Remember, Lord, this city”. The priest commemorates himself just before the final ecphonesis, using a formula very similar to the one mentioned above in the *1519 Venice* text. No choir response is given at any place during this entire portion of the anaphora, including the end.

The *1602* and *1646 Moscow* služebnyky give the deacon instructions to incense the altar just before the priest’s Marian invocation; after the invocation the rubrics continue, saying that the deacon incenses the entire sanctuary and the priest. The *1646* text further explains that if no deacon is present, the priest only incenses three times in front of the altar. While he incenses, the deacon commemorates the dead. After the saint of the day, the priest also prays for the deceased, and may recall specific names; this prayer and rubric are like those we gave above for the dead from the *1519 Venice* edition. After the priest has commemorated the patriarch in the prayer, “among the first”, the deacon prays for the founders (if they are still living), the superiors, monks, and others, but no indication is made if he says this silently or out loud. Just before the final ecphonesis the priest prays for himself with the formula seen above in the Venice text. In the *1602 Moscow* text the choir’s pre-sanctus reply, “It is right and just”, is given; after this no other responses for the choir are given in the rest of the anaphora. The *1646 Moscow* text gives all the choir’s responses throughout the anaphora, including the final “Amen” at the end; but the response “I vsix i vsja” is not given anywhere.⁷⁶

After the epiclesis in the *1604 Balaban* služebnyk one deacon is to fan the gifts while the second is to incense the gifts. The full text for the Marian hymn is given, followed by the rubrics for the deacon to commemorate both the living and the dead. The priest also prays for the living and the dead together, where today we only include the dead. In *Balaban* the text reads:

For the salvation, visitation, and forgiveness of sins of the servant of God, N. [for the living]

[...]

For the peace and forgiveness of the souls of your servants N.N., give them rest, Lord, in a place of light, where there is no worry or suffering, and give them rest where the light of your face shines.⁷⁷

Just prior to the priest’s exclamation, “Among the first”, in *CHR* and *BAS* the deacon turns to the holy doors, holds his orarion, and says “I vsix i vsja”, which the choir repeats. The priest then says aloud “Among the first”, listing

⁷⁶ *1646 Moscow*, CHR f. 147r-150r.

⁷⁷ *1604 Balaban*, CHR p. 164; the complete commemorations and conclusion of the anaphora are on p. 161-170.

only the bishop; after this the deacon immediately commemorates the bishop, priest, and civil leaders, ending again with the phrase “I vsix i vsja”, which the choir also repeats. This is the first time in Ruthenian sources that the deacon makes such a commemoration aloud before and after the exclamation “Among the first”; previous to Balaban we find this in the *1602 Venice* Greek euchology, from where this practice made its way into the Muscovite texts.⁷⁸

After the final “I vsix i vsja” in Balaban the deacon prays for those of the living he wishes, while the priest continues with the commemorations we find today. The choir responds to the ecphonesis with “Amen”, and to the priest’s final blessing with “And with your spirit”.

The *1617 Mamonyč* služebnyk also instructs the deacon to commemorate from “the diptychs or the memorial list of the living and the dead” while he incenses the altar. The priest prays for the dead at the same place as today, but no indication is given that he could recall specific intentions. In CHR the deacon makes no commemorations aloud before or after “Among the first”, nor does the choir say “I vsix i vsja” at any time in CHR. However, in BAS the deacon and choir each say “I vsix i vsja” before “Among the first”; and immediately after “Among the first” the deacon commemorates the local archbishop, the celebrating priest, the king, and the local lord, ending with “I vsix i vsja”, which the choir also repeats. In both CHR and BAS the priest only names the local hierarch in “Among the first”. For the final blessing in BAS (though nothing is said about this in CHR), the priest turns to the holy doors and blesses the people:

ijerej obraščsja ko dverem i blahoslovlja hlaholet vozhlavno [...].⁷⁹

In both CHR and BAS the choir responds “Amen” to the final ecphonesis, but says nothing in reply to the final blessing.

3. *The Mohylan and Nikonian Tradition*

According to the placement of the rubric, in the Mohylan texts the deacon prays for the deceased right after the Marian hymn, but most likely he did this while incensing.⁸⁰ Beginning with the *1629 Kiev* služebnyk, we find the following formulation for the priest’s commemorations of the dead:

And remember all those previously departed in the hope of the resurrection to eternal life; [rubric] here the priest commemorates whomever he wishes of the dead, saying: remember, Lord, the souls of your departed servants, N.N., and give them rest where the light of your face shines.⁸¹

⁷⁸ *1604 Balaban*, CHR p. 166-167, BAS p. 323-324. A portion of the rare *1602 Venice* Greek euchology is reprinted in Dmitrievskij, “Otzyv”, p. 195.

⁷⁹ *1617 Mamonyč*, CHR p. 89-95, BAS p. 220-238; the ecphonesis of BAS is on p. 238.

⁸⁰ Cf. Rud’, “Liturgija”, p. 195.

⁸¹ *1629 Kiev*, CHR p. 66.

In the Mohylan BAS the deacon and choir exclaim “I vsix i vsja” before and after “Among the first”. In CHR the deacon and choir exclaim it before “Among the first”, but this initial “I vsix i vsja” is put in brackets, suggesting uncertainty or irregularity in its use. In CHR, after the priest says “Among the first”, the deacon immediately reads the pomjanyk, naming the various living church dignitaries and the celebrating priest; this was probably done aloud, since it is given in bold print. The deacon’s text does not end with “I vsix i vsja”, but the choir replies with this phrase once the deacon has finished.

The priest names either the patriarch (of Constantinople) or the bishop in the prayer “Among the first” in the Mohylan texts. Just before the final ecphonesis in CHR the celebrant prays for himself, using a formula like that from BAS seen above in the 1519 *Venice* text. Like the 1617 *Mamonyč* text, the 1629 *Kiev* edition also instructs the priest in BAS to give the final blessing of the anaphora facing the people, while the 1639 *Kiev* text and all subsequent Mohylan editions instruct the priest to turn to the people for the blessing in both CHR and BAS.⁸²

According to the Nikonian Ruthenian texts, the deacon also commemorates the dead from the diptychs during the Marian hymn, but neither the deacon nor the choir say the “I vsix i vsja” before “Among the first”, and only the choir says it after “Among the first”. At this point the deacon commemorates the names of the living, but not out loud, nor from the holy doors. The priest does not include any specific names of the dead, nor does he pray for himself.⁸³

The Nikonian Ruthenian texts are not identical here with the earlier Muscovite Nikonian editions, which underwent some change after Nikon’s time. Thus, the 1670 *Moscow* edition gives the “I vsix i vsja” for both deacon and choir before “Among the first”, while after the later exclamation the deacon immediately commemorates aloud by name the four Eastern patriarchs, the Moscow patriarch, the celebrating bishop, and the royal family; to this the choir responds “I vsix i vsja”.⁸⁴

4. *The Catholic Sources*

After the Marian commemoration the Sipovič pontifical lists the holy cross and the angels before John the Baptist, a combination which Winkler points out also in Greek sources.⁸⁵ After the saint of the day a priest

⁸² 1629 *Kiev*, CHR p. 65-70, BAS p. 195-198; 1639 *Kiev*, CHR p. 329-331, BAS p. 536-542; 1646 *Lviv*, CHR f. 145v-149v, BAS f. 234r-236r; 1653 *Kiev*, CHR f. 162v-167r, BAS f. 268v-271v; 1666 *Lviv*, CHR f. 158r-162r, BAS f. 251r-253v; 1681 *Lviv*, CHR f. 161r-165v, BAS f. 256v-259v; 1691 *Lviv*, CHR f. 103r-106r, BAS f. 167r-173r.

⁸³ 1736 *Kiev*, CHR f. 90r-92r; 1754 *Černihiv*, CHR f. 90r-92r; 1762 *Kiev*, CHR f. 84v-86v.

⁸⁴ 1670 *Moscow*, CHR f. 123v.

⁸⁵ Cf. Winkler, “Interzessionen”, p. 334-336.

commemorates the living and the dead according to the Mohylan style:

et memento omnium defunctorum in spe resurrectionis vitae aeternae. Pro salute, protectione, remissione peccatorum servi Dei N.N. Pro requie et remissione peccatorum animae famuli tui N.N., in loco luminoso, ubi non est dolor, gemitus, colloces ipsam Deus noster, et requiescere facias ipsam ubi vigilat lumen vultus tui.⁸⁶

The deacon makes no commemorations in the Sipovič ms. If the celebrating hierarch is the metropolitan, he commemorates the pope in “Among the first”, while the first among the priests immediately commemorates the celebrating metropolitan with a similar formula; if the celebrating hierarch is a bishop other than the metropolitan, then he commemorates the metropolitan, and the first among the priests commemorates the celebrating bishop. The choir responds with “Amen”, plus “and with your spirit” at the end of the anaphora, but in no place does the choir say the “I vsix i vsja”. No actions are prescribed for the final blessing. For any particular solemnities the bishop sits on his throne after the final blessing, and the series of acclamations (polychronion) are sung; these are the same that the 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical gives just before the trisagion.⁸⁷

The Borgia ms also gives the Mohylan formulation of the priest’s commemoration of the specific intentions for the living and the dead. In the prayer, “Among the first”, the pope is named; this is noteworthy, since this is a presbyteral liturgy. The choir replies “I vsix i vsja” to the priest’s “Among the first”, while no commemorations of any kind are listed for the deacon. The priest prays for himself just before the final ecphonesis.⁸⁸

In the 1671 *Ecphonemata* the pope is still not named in “Among the first” (only the archbishop), nor does the choir respond “I vsix i vsja” in any place.⁸⁹

The commemorations made in the Žoxovs’kyj texts are the closest in format to today’s. The priest first incenses the gifts on the altar, intoning the Marian hymn; the deacon then takes the thurible and incenses the altar crosswise; the choir sings the Marian hymn (for which the full text is given) or the proper ninth ode irmos for festive days. The priest continues the commemorations with open hands, but for the intention for the dead he joins his hands and says the specific name(s) with the phrase:

Remember, Lord, the soul of your departed servants N.N., and give them rest where the light of your face shines.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 91 (ms f. 42r).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 90-95 (ms f. 41v-44r), 166, 184-185. These acclamations are also given after the anaphora in the early 19th century pontifical, *B.A. Činovnik*, p. 75-76.

⁸⁸ Borgia ms, f. 112r-113v.

⁸⁹ 1671 *Ecphonemata*, CHR [f. 14v-16r].

⁹⁰ 1692 *Žoxovs’kyj*, CHR f. 94r. Similar examples of keeping the hands open after the Marian hymn in early mss are given in Petrovskij, “Rédaction slave”, p. 908.

This is the same verse found in the Mohylan texts. For the prayer, “Among the first”, the priest joins his hands and first commemorates the pope, then the local bishop. The pope is given the title: “svjatijšaho vselenskaho arxijereja N., papu rymškaho”. (The word “our – našaho” is not included.) Later editions after the 1692 *Žoxovs’kyj* služebnyk clarify this by distinguishing the metropolitan, who is always commemorated, and the local bishop if there is one. In CHR the choir replies “I vsix i vsja”, but no such reply is indicated in BAS. After “Among the first” the priest commemorates whomever he wants of the living — this is a rubric printed in red — and then continues praying for the city and other intentions found in today’s texts. The choir’s responses are given for the concluding ephonesis and blessing, but no rubrics are given on how the priest is to execute the blessing.⁹¹

The deacon is only mentioned for the incensing in the *Žoxovs’kyj* tradition; nothing is indicated about the deacon making any sort of commemorations.

The folia for the prayer “Among the first”, have been reprinted in the 1712 *Lviv* FRAN copy to include the commemoration of the pope, but the Mohylan style commemorations made by the deacon before and after “Among the first” were kept in the reprinted folia.⁹² Once again, although this 1712 *Lviv* copy had certain sections reprinted to conform to the decisions of the Zamostja synod and to the criticisms of Fylypovyč and Athanasius Šeptyc’kyj, this did not mean that it therefore conformed fully to the *Žoxovs’kyj* liturgical tradition.

One small variant in the *Žoxovs’kyj* rubrics is given in the 1759 *Lviv* OSBM curia copy. For the incensation during the Marian hymn the deacon also incenses the Marian icon on the iconostasis — a detail not mentioned in other sources, which have the deacon incense only the sanctuary. In addition, this text refers not only to the festal ninth ode irmos, which could be taken in place of the ordinary Marian hymn, but also to its introductory verse or “prypiv”, which other texts fail to mention.⁹³

5. A Summary on the Commemorations

When Leo Kyška made a visitation of the Suprasl’ monastery, his diary under 26 April 1711 records that among other corrections he warned the monks not to omit the reading of the “pominnik”, or list of the living and the dead, during the pontifical liturgy.⁹⁴ His comment reflects the unstable practice of making these commemorations not only during the pontifical liturgies, but

⁹¹ 1692 *Žoxovs’kyj*, CHR f. 94r-95r, BAS f. 109r-111r.

⁹² 1712 *Lviv* FRAN copy, CHR f. 103r-106r; f. 104 was reprinted.

⁹³ 1759 *Lviv* OSBM curia copy, f. 116v.

⁹⁴ *LE*, 5: 66 (“ut legatur Pominnik sub tempus Missae Regalis”).

in presbyteral liturgies as well. In our sources we find much variation as to when the priest makes these commemorations; when, if, and how the deacon makes them; and whether the choir gives any response to these. The priest's commemorations are the most stable. The fluctuation in the deacon's commemorations probably reflects the infrequency of a deacon's participation in the mass, and perhaps the desire to save time; these commemorations, which could cover the time needed by the priest to read the lengthy BAS anaphora, would be unnecessarily long for the parallel prayer in CHR.

Earlier we referred to Gabriele Winkler's definitive study of these commemorations and diptychs.⁹⁵ Her important work is based mainly on the original Greek ms sources, but the Slavic texts are translations from the Greek, and we have seen several times (and precisely in POL) the continuous influence the Greek sources have had even on the later Slavic texts.

Winkler shows that the exclamation "I vsix i vsja" said by the deacon (and choir) before "Among the first" was meant as the conclusion or summary of the commemorations made of the deceased, which we have also seen in our sources. Both the priest and the deacon made these after the Marian commemoration. Gradually the deacon's "I vsix i vsja" dropped out of use from the presbyteral liturgy. In our case it is not found in the Žoxovs'kyj or Nikonian traditions, but remains as late as the 1712 *Lviv* text in the Mohylan tradition.

After "Among the first" the deacon's audible commemoration of the living, ending in "I vsix i vsja", also dropped out of the Žoxovs'kyj and Nikonian presbyteral liturgies, but it has remained in the pontificals for use on solemn occasions. One element that has remained is the deacon's silent commemoration (which POL gives but OBS rejects), and the choir's reply "I vsix i vsja" following "Among the first".

We should note in conclusion that the deacon's exclamation "I vsix i vsja" first appears in the 1604 *Balaban* služebnyk. This, plus other elements in *Balaban*, points to the influence of Greek sources in the preparation of this key Ruthenian služebnyk.

6. *The Blessings*

The anaphora begins and ends with the text of a blessing which the priest imparts today by making a sign of the cross with his right hand over the worshippers. Once again we recall Josaphat Kuncevyč's admonition to his clergy that such a blessing with the hand, facing the worshippers, was to be made only twice during the mass — both times after the communion.⁹⁶ We

⁹⁵ Cf. Winkler, "Interzessionen", p. 365-383.

⁹⁶ Cf. *SJH*, 1: 240.

find more numerous complaints in Ruthenian sources over the blessing and turn to the people made before the trisagion and Cherubic Hymn than we do for these anaphora blessings. But the anaphora blessing rubrics were a greater innovation than the others. The majority of služebnyky give no rubrics for the anaphora blessings, which could mean that these were presupposed, or that no actions were performed. We find that the latter explanation is the correct one.

The Pilixovs'kyj († 1693) ms služebnyk specifically states that the priest puts both hands on the altar while he says the text of the first blessing. Thus, not only did he not make the sign of the cross with his hand, he also did not face the people.⁹⁷

The 1740 *Univ* služebnyk, which gives diagrams throughout the mass on how the priest is to hold his hands, gives no diagrams at all for either of the anaphora blessings.⁹⁸

The printed low mass rubrics specifically state that the priest is not to turn to the people for either of these blessings.⁹⁹

And we saw in the 1617 *Mamonyč* BAS text and in the Mohylan texts that the priest turns to the people (i.e., he faces the closed holy doors) and blesses them — “blahoslovljaja”.

The only text to give explicit rubrics for a blessing with the hand both at the beginning and at the end of the anaphora is the 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical. Here the text specifically indicates that the bishop uses his hand: “blahoslovljaja rukoju”. The Sipovič pontifical gives no rubrics for these blessings, while in the 1798 *Moscow* činovnik the bishop blesses with the dikerion and trikerion at this point.¹⁰⁰

Lisovs'kyj had objected to the trisagion and pre-Cherubic Hymn blessing and turn to the people made by the priest. He said that the traditional place for the priest to turn to the people and to bless them with his right hand were for “Peace be to all” and “The grace of your Lord, etc.” (at the beginning of the anaphora).¹⁰¹ Porfirius Važyns'kyj responded to this in *Observatio Brevis*, arguing that the blessings listed by Lisovs'kyj were only given by Catholic

⁹⁷ Cf. Odincov, “Uniatskoe bogosluženie”, p. 203 (ms n. 192 f. 236v).

⁹⁸ 1740 *Univ*, CHR p. 24, 30.

⁹⁹ 1755 *Počajiv*, low mass rubrics [f. 2].

¹⁰⁰ 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical, f. 13; 1798 *Moscow* činovnik, f. 41r, 51r. The description of a pontifical liturgy from the 1667 Moscow council says that the bishop makes the blessing at the beginning of the anaphora with the dikerion and trikerion, but for the blessing at the end of the anaphora it just says that he does it in the “usual way”, *Dejanija*, part II, f. 56r, 58r.

¹⁰¹ “In Sacrificio Missae eadem ritualia praescribunt multas insulas et affectatas novas caeremonias, uti conversionem sacerdotis cum expansione manuum ad haec verba: ‘Nunc et semper et per omnia saecula saeculorum’, loco antiqui moris convertendi se ad eundem populum cum benedictione, manu dextra eidem populo impertienda, sub haec vera: ‘Pax omnibus’, et ‘Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi et charitas Dei et Patris et communicatio Sancti Spiritus sit cum omnibus vobis’ et his similia.” *EM*, 9: 170.

Ruthenian bishops and archimandrites when celebrating mass for the people. The priests as a rule were not observing this practice in Važyns'kyj's time, although some had started to give these blessings with the hand. Važyns'kyj doubted the legitimacy of this on the part of the priests, and he noted that no such rubric could be found in any printed služebnyk or euchology, including BEN.¹⁰²

According to the Polock Basilian Justin Krupic'kyj, Lisovs'kyj put his theory into practice by requiring all priests newly ordained by him always to turn to the people for "Peace be to all". Krupic'kyj did not say anything about the hands or about any other blessings.

In *Sacrificio Missae ritum et caeremonias usitatas multum immutavit et recens a se consecratis talem observantiam ordinavit, ut semper quoties dicunt "Pax omnibus", ad populum convertantur, iam vero ad trisagion et Hymnum Cherubicum sese convertendi usum antiquo more inhibuit.*¹⁰³

In his 1885 pastoral manual Julian Pelesz does not mention either of the two anaphora blessings when he lists those points during the mass when the priest turns to the worshippers.¹⁰⁴ Later Ruthenian služebnyky from the nineteenth century also give no rubrics for these blessings, but in the 1905 *Lviv* služebnyk we find today's practice clearly given.¹⁰⁵

7. Eucharistic Reverence and Genuflection

At the end of CHR in the 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj* služebnyk we find a set of instructions for the celebrant on how he is to conduct himself if the eucharist is found on the altar, either after the consecration during mass, or if it is reserved in the tabernacle.¹⁰⁶ These instructions are also found in many other Catholic texts.

The priest is never to turn his back on the eucharist; when the rubrics call

¹⁰² "Tam quod innuere videatur idem Archiepiscopus Polocensis, ut sacerdotes se potius convertant ad populum cum dicunt 'Pax omnibus' aut cum praecantur dicendo. Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi et charitas...' dicimus id servari etiam ab Unitis episcopis et archimandritis pontificaliter celebrantibus et populum dum ita praecantur benedicientibus, non idem a sacerdotibus qui apud Graecos solent quidem idem praestare, an tamen legitime tali consuetudine inducta et non abusive usurpata et ab episcoporum usu translata iudicare non audeo. Missalia enim non minus Graecorum quam Ruthenorum silent omnino, neque talem sacerdotis actionem praescribunt, secuti neque euchologium Romanae correctionis et editionis." Važyns'kyj, "Observatio brevis", f. 58 (Italian summary in *ASCPF*, 5: 167).

¹⁰³ *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars., vol. 149, f. 533r.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Pelesz, *Pastyskoe bohoslavie*, p. 515.

¹⁰⁵ No rubrics for either blessing are given in the following 19th century služebnyky: 1840 *Peremyšl*, CHR p. 28, 36; 1850 *Lviv*, CHR [f. 12v, 15]; 1866 *Lviv*, CHR p. 28, 36. The priest turns to the people and imparts the blessing with his hand in 1905 *Lviv*, CHR p. 301, 308; 1917 *Žovka*, p. 37 (the priest blesses "once" for this initial anaphora blessing), p. 45.

¹⁰⁶ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 99v.

for him to face the people, he is to make a deep bow, move slightly to the left, and only then turn to the people. When he turns back to the altar, he again bows to the eucharist. He is never to turn full circle from the altar, so that he would never turn his back completely to the eucharist: “ne sotvorjajet ijerej v obraščenij kruha ispolnenna”. The specific places when the priest is to watch out for this is the blessing after the Our Father and the final blessing at the dismissal of the liturgy.

Note, however, two places Žoxovs'kyj does not list. He says nothing about the blessing after the anaphora — a clear indication that the priest did not turn to the people for this blessing in Žoxovs'kyj's tradition. He also does not mention the times when the priest turns to the people for the communion rite, but here the priest is holding the chalice, so there is no need for this warning.

If the priest for some reason must open the tabernacle to take out or put in the eucharist, he always genuflects first, putting his hands on the altar, and bows his head to the altar. During this time no one should pass from one side of the altar to the other; this a reference especially to servers and sacristans.

Lisovs'kyj complained that the Ruthenian clergy were genuflecting, but he says this was before the anaphora:

Item sub hymnos et orationes etiam ante canonem crebras manuum expansiones et genuflexiones.¹⁰⁷

He may have been referring to the creed, or in a confused way to the Words of Institution. Again Justin Krupic'kyj says that Lisovs'kyj followed this up with concrete action:

Genua flectere item interdixit, sed loco genuflexionis adorationem seu metaniam facere demandavit.¹⁰⁸

The issue here was not a lack of reverence for the consecrated gifts and the divine cult in general, but rather the correct manner in which this respect was to be shown by Ruthenian clergy.

¹⁰⁷ *EM*, 9: 170.

¹⁰⁸ *ASV*, Arch. Nunz. Vars. vol. 149, f. 533r.

CHAPTER 13

THE COMMUNION RITES AND DISMISSAL

The OBS author continues to point out difficulties with POL from the communion rites through to the final troparia after the dismissal. Today many of these issues seem trivial or irrelevant, but others are still problematic.

I. THE PREPARATION FOR COMMUNION

1. *POL*

From the litany following the anaphora until the elevation of the gifts at Sancta Sanctis — “Holy things for the holy” — POL gives a few rubrics. Only three bows are to be made by the priest and deacon, just before the Sancta Sanctis; at the Sancta Sanctis the priest raises the ahnec.¹ The text of the prayers up to this point agree with those given in today’s books, but only the incipit of the Our Father is given in POL. After the Sancta Sanctis the deacon ties his orarion crosswise, enters the sanctuary, and stands to the right of the priest. The deacon asks the priest to break the ahnec, which the priest does into four parts, saying today’s formula, but with a slight variation. In POL, the text for the fraction reads:

Broken and divided is the lamb of God, the Son of the Father, broken but not divided, always eaten but never consumed, and sanctifying those who partake of it.

The deacon points to the chalice with his orarion, saying: “Fill, master, the holy chalice”; the priest takes the upper particle of the ahnec, makes a sign of the cross with it over the chalice, saying “The fullness of the faith of the Holy Spirit”, and puts the particle into the chalice. The deacon replies “Amen”. Then he takes the teplota and asks the priest to bless it; the priest blesses it saying today’s formula. The deacon pours the water crosswise into the chalice, as much as needed, saying today’s formula.²

¹ For the early history of the Sancta Sanctis, see the article by M. Arranz, “Le ‘Sancta Sanctis’ dans la tradition liturgique des églises”, *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 15 (1973): 31-67.

² *POL*, f. 267v-269r; *BEN*, p. 55-58; 1942 *Rome*, p. 258-268.

2. *Early Služebnyky*

In comparison to POL, the *1519 Venice* služebnyk adds that for the prayer of inclination after the Our Father the deacon also bows his head, while the priest bows his head for the prayer just before the Sancta Sanctis. For the fraction the priest places the four pieces of the ahnec on the discos crosswise (a clarification not given in POL), while the prayer of the fraction is the same as in POL. When pouring the teplota, the deacon holds the chalice steady with his left hand. The celebrants then bow three times, and only at this point does the deacon tie his orarion crosswise for communion.³

The *1583 Vilna* služebnyk agrees with POL and the *1519 Venice* texts up to the fraction.⁴ Following the customary fraction prayer, the Vilna text gives a second prayer:

The precious and holy and most pure body of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ is broken and laid down for the life and salvation of men.⁵

The formula said by the priest for blessing the teplota is also different in the Vilna text:

Blessed is God who blesses all things, by the grace of him, now, always, and forever and ever.⁶

Still another formula is said by the priest for the actual pouring of the teplota into the chalice: "The bath of the divine regeneration of the Word, etc.". This prayer is found in other early sources, as Dmitrievskij and Petrovskij point out.⁷

For the elevation in the *1602* and *1646 Moscow* služebnyky the priest holds the ahnec with three fingers of both hands; when he says the Sancta Sanctis he makes a sign of the cross over the discos with the ahnec. The choir's response to the Sancta Sanctis, "One is holy, etc.", is printed in full, with instructions to take the communion verse of the day. The fraction is like today's, but for the consignation the priest takes the upper particle of the ahnec from the discos, again holding it with three fingers of both hands; he makes a sign of the cross with it over the chalice and drops it in, saying "the fullness of the Holy Spirit". The celebrants make three bows before the altar, saying to themselves:

God, cleanse me a sinner and have mercy on me;

³ *1519 Venice*, [f. 32r-34v].

⁴ *1583 Vilna*, CHR f. 84v-91r (for the entire communion preparation).

⁵ *1583 Vilna*, CHR f. 89v. Examples in other sources are found in Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 123; Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 921.

⁶ *1583 Vilna*, CHR f. 90v; see also Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 910.

⁷ *1583 Vilna*, CHR f. 90v-91. Examples are found in Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 124; Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 922.

You created me, Lord, have mercy on me;
I have sinned without number, Lord, forgive me.

Then both priest and deacon bow, asking forgiveness: “Forgive me, holy father – (all to the end).” The deacon then ties his orarion crosswise. After the communion rites the *1646 Moscow* služebnyk gives more detailed instructions on how to divide the ahnec.⁸

For the *Sancta Sanctis* in the *1604 Balaban* text the priest first kisses the altar. More exact instructions are also given for the fraction; the people are to be given communion from the two parts of the ahnec marked with the Greek letters “conquers” — that is, from the two bottom quarters of the ahnec. The particles on the discos for the saints are specifically not to be given the communicants, and enough pieces for the communicants are to be cut from the above-mentioned portion of the ahnec. For the *teplota*, the deacon pours in only as much water as is needed.⁹

The *1617 Mamonyč* služebnyk gives a minimal amount of rubrics for the preparation rites, since it already gave more detailed information in the *Nauka*.¹⁰

3. *The Mohylan Tradition*

The Mohylan texts, however, are more precise for the communion rites, just as they are at other points in the liturgy. In the *1629 Kiev* edition, the priest kisses the altar before the *Sancta Sanctis*, but with the *1646 Lviv* text this rubric is dropped from Mohylan služebnyky. According to the *1629 Kiev* edition, if two deacons are assisting at the liturgy, after the anaphora one chants the litanies, while the other remains in the sanctuary and fans the gifts; if subdeacons are present, they are to stand on either side of the sanctuary. The Mohylan texts describe the fraction as it is done today: the quarter of the ahnec marked with the name “Jesus” is put into the chalice for the consignation; the quarter marked with the name “Christ” is consumed by the celebrants for their communion; the last two quarters marked with the Greek word “conquers” are divided into sufficient numbers for the communicants from the faithful. Here, as in *Balaban*, the other particles from the discos are not to be given to the communicants. All Mohylan texts give the *teplota*, but starting with the *1639 Kiev* edition all texts specify that only a few drops of water are to be poured into the chalice.¹¹

⁸ *1646 Moscow*, CHR f. 153r-155v, 161; also *1602 Moscow*

⁹ *1604 Balaban*, CHR p. 180-188.

¹⁰ *1617 Mamonyč*, CHR p. 102-110.

¹¹ *1629 Kiev*, CHR p. 77-81; *1639 Kiev*, CHR p. 341-348; *1646 Lviv*, CHR f. 153v-156v; *1653 Kiev*, CHR f. 171r-174v; *1666 Lviv*, CHR f. 167v-170v; *1681 Lviv*, CHR f. 170r-173v; *1691 Lviv*, CHR f. 110r-112r.

4. *The Catholic Usage*

The Sipovič pontifical instructs the bishop to wash his hands just after the prayer of inclination following the Our Father. The other priests and deacons also wash their hands, but they do this while the bishop is communicating. For the fraction, the bishop says a different prayer:

Your disciples, Lord, have known you in the breaking of the bread. Grant that we may also come to know you in eternal life.¹²

This prayer is found in earlier Slavic sources as well as in the 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical.¹³ The Sipovič pontifical also contains the celebrant's prayer for the pouring of the teplota noted above in the 1583 *Vilna* text: "The bath of the divine regeneration of the Word".¹⁴

Subsequent Catholic služebnyky include the lavabo of the celebrants, but at various places. The Borgia ms and Vilna ms n. 190, like the Sipovič pontifical, give it after the inclination prayer; the Pilixovs'kyj ms gives it just before the Sancta Sanctis.¹⁵ The fraction in the Pilixovs'kyj ms is made by breaking the ahnec in half; one half is put on the right side of the discos, while the priest breaks the other half in his left hand into two smaller pieces, one of which is put into the chalice, while the third piece is also put on the discos.¹⁶ Neither the Borgia ms nor the Pilixovs'kyj give the teplota rite.

The 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj* služebnyk also has the lavabo after the inclination prayer. Just before the Sancta Sanctis, when he says the phrase "God, be merciful to me a sinner", the priest strikes his breast three times instead of bowing as in the rubrics given in all texts up to now. The priest uncovers the chalice, bows low, and holds the ahnec with his fingers while he says the Sancta Sanctis. The ahnec is broken into four pieces with the same formula said today; the priest puts one piece into the chalice and covers the chalice. The fingers used to touch the ahnec are to be kept joined together until the ablution when they are washed. There is no teplota.¹⁷

The clash between the Mohylan and *Žoxovs'kyj* traditions, plus the decisions of the Synod of Zamostja, are evident in the 1712 *Lviv* služebnyk. Up to and including the Sancta Sanctis, the FRAN copy of this edition shows no change from the regular Mohylan tradition. But for the fraction a new folio

¹² Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 185.

¹³ 1716 *Suprasl*, pontifical, f. 14r; cf. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 123.

¹⁴ Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 98-101 (ms f. 45v-47r).

¹⁵ Borgia ms, f. 115; Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 204 (mss n. 190 f. 28v, n. 192 f. 141); cf. Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 136.

¹⁶ Cf. Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 204 (ms n. 192 f. 241v-242); other mss prescribe that the ahnec be broken into four pieces.

¹⁷ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 96r-97v.

was printed and different rubrics are given: the *ahneć* is to be broken into four, like before, but now one piece is put into the chalice (which piece is not specified), while the other three pieces are consumed by the celebrant(s). The faithful are to be communicated with the particles for the saints on the discs, and the priest is obliged under pain of mortal sin to consecrate everything on the discs. The *teplota* is also eliminated from the reprint of this 1712 *Lviv služebnyk*.¹⁸

5. OBS

The objections given in OBS serve to conclude this section on the rites preparatory to communion. It points out that the Ruthenian priests said the Our Father quietly while the choir was singing it (LVI.2). *Žoxovs'kyj*, in fact, often prescribes that the priest say silently the various litanies and prayers sung by the deacon and choir.

The inconsistencies and diverse rubrics for the holy doors and curtain are noted by OBS. If they are all closed, it asks, how can the deacon see the priest touch the *ahneć* for the elevation (LVII.2)? The problem here is that the deacon is to say "Let us be attentive" when he sees the priest take the *ahneć*. However, OBS must have had *Lisovs'kyj*'s actual practice in mind, since POL never mentions the curtain anywhere.

OBS also notes that the Catholic Ruthenian deacons no longer crossed their *oraria* (LVIII.2). This was probably due to the way in which they received communion, as we shall see shortly. OBS also notes that POL has no *lavabo* before the *Sancta Sanctis*, which we find in the *Žoxovs'kyj* texts. Wawryk maintains that the *lavabo* before the *Sancta Sanctis* is an old Kievan custom found among the Orthodox as well. He refers not only to Bulgakov (who notes that this was a custom not given in printed *služebnyky*, but practiced just the same), but also to recent Ukrainian Orthodox *služebnyky*, which still give the *lavabo* at this point.¹⁹

One final criticism made here by OBS concerns the *teplota* rite given in POL. OBS points out that the Synod of Zamostja had banned the practice (LIX.2).²⁰ Sakowicz had criticized the *teplota* in *Perspectiwa*, but the Catholic Ruthenians continued to use it.²¹ It is given in the 1617 *Mamonyč služebnyk*, and the Orthodox *Lithos* said that the Catholics were still using it, even in the

¹⁸ 1712 *Lviv FRAN* copy, CHR f. 111.

¹⁹ Cf. S.V. Bulgakov, *Nastolnaja kniga dlja svjaščenko-cerkovno-služitelej*, Kharkiv 1900, p. 721. Wawryk "Služebnyk Zoxovs'koho", p. 324, cites the 1963 *Bound Brook Služebnyk*, p. 99 and the 1972 *Winnipeg služebnyk*, p. 149.

²⁰ SPZ Tit. 3 § 4: "De celebratione missarum", p. 71-72.

²¹ Cf. Sakowicz, *Perspectiwa*, p. 15-16.

Greek college in Rome.²² But by the second half of the 17th century it was being omitted; it is not found in the 1671 *Ecphonemata*, and Kamins'kyj wrote in 1685 that it was not used in Žyrovyci.²³ Leo Kyška wrote in his 1692 manual that it should not be used, but he did not say why, just as Zamostja never explained why.²⁴ The problem was perhaps twofold: too much water was being added in some cases; and the Latins were scandalized that something was being added to the consecrated wine.

II. THE COMMUNION OF THE CELEBRANTS

1. POL

Once the deacon completes the *teplota* rite, the priest calls him to receive the eucharistic bread. The deacon comes forward, bows, and asks forgiveness. The priest gives him the eucharist and the deacon kisses his hand upon receiving it. The deacon and priest say today's reception formula, after which the deacon goes behind the altar, bows, and says the communion prayers like the priest. The priest takes "one particle of the holy bread", saying today's reception verse. After this he bows and recites a series of communion prayers that, like today's, begins with:

I believe, Lord, and confess [...]
 Accept me today as a partaker of your mystical supper [...]
 Remember me, Lord, in your kingdom [...].²⁵

Then follow other prayers, not taken today in the Ruthenian/Ukrainian tradition, but found in Greek and Melchite texts:

Lord, I am not worthy [...].
 O our God, remit, forgive, excuse my transgressions (...).²⁶

The priest consumes the eucharist he holds in his hands.

The priest then takes the chalice in both hands, holding the veil as well, and drinks three times; still holding the chalice he wipes it and his lips with the veil. He calls the deacon, who approaches, bows, and according to the text repeats the communion prayers:

Behold I come to the immortal king; (and,)
 I believe, Lord, and confess; (all).

²² Cf. *Lithos*, p. 65.

²³ Cf. Ščurat, *V oboroni Uniji*, p. 90.

²⁴ Cf. Kyška, *Mów różnych przypadków*, p. 50-51.

²⁵ *1942 Rome služebnyk*, p. 269-271.

²⁶ *La Divina Liturgia del Santo Nostro Padre Giovanni Crisostomo*, Rome 1967, p. 130-133 (Greek and Italian texts); *Byzantine Daily Worship*, ed. J. Raya and J. de Vinck, Allendale New Jersey 1969, p. 292 (English text).

The priest says the formula for communicating the deacon from the chalice, although nothing is said on how or by whom the chalice is held. After the deacon drinks, the priest says the phrase, “This has touched my lips”, which is used today.

To fill the chalice with the eucharistic bread, the deacon holds the discos over the chalice and carefully wipes it into the chalice with the sponge. However, there is no indication of exactly what is wiped into the chalice — all the particles or just the ahnec particles. The deacon covers the chalice with its veil, and puts the other small and large veils with the asterisk on the discos. During this the priest says the thanksgiving prayer found today near the end of the postcommunion litany.²⁷

2. *The 1519 Venice Edition*

Before the celebrants’ communion in the *1519 Venice* služebnyk the priest and deacon also perform the forgiveness rite, which may have consisted just in a bow, since no text is given. The priest takes “one of the particles of the holy bread” and divides it in half, putting one piece in the palm of his own right hand, while he takes the other piece with his three fingers and calls the deacon. The deacon bows and asks forgiveness; the priest gives him the portion of the eucharist, saying the regular reception formula; the deacon kisses the priest’s hand and goes to one side of the altar. The communion prayer series is shorter than that in *POL*, and shorter than that said today. We find the following prayers:

I believe, Lord, and confess [...].
 Accept me today as a partaker [...].
 Remember me, Lord, in your kingdom [...].
 Let this not be held to my judgement [...].

Unlike today’s version, this set of communion prayers does not end with any variation of “God, be merciful to me a sinner”. This series of communion prayers in the *1519 Venice* text is the basic set given in most Ruthenian služebnyky during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

According to the *Venice* text, the celebrants eat the eucharist from their hands, wiping them afterwards on the antimension. The priest drinks from the chalice three times, wipes the chalice and his lips with the veil, and kisses the chalice. The deacon also drinks three times, after which he kisses the priest on the face, exchanging the greeting “Christ is in our midst, etc”. When filling the chalice with the particles, the deacon wipes everything from the discos into the chalice; the priest says the customary thanksgiving prayer. Note that the priest

²⁷ *POL*, f. 268v-270r; *BEN*, p. 58-60.

does not say the reception formula given today just before he partakes of either of the gifts:

The precious and most holy body of our Lord [...].

The precious and most holy blood of our Lord [...].

In the Venice text these formulae are said by the priest only when he is giving the communion to the deacon.²⁸

3. *Other Early Texts*

In the 1583 *Vilna* služebnyk the priest divides and gives the particle from the ahnec to the deacon the same way as is prescribed in the Venice text, although this time the deacon goes behind the altar after receiving it. The following communion prayer incipit are given:

I believe, Lord, and confess:

Accept me as a partaker:

Let this not be held to my judgement:

Holding the eucharist in his hand the priest blesses himself with it and continues saying another series of communion prayers for which only the incipits are given.²⁹ The deacon wipes everything from the discos into the chalice.³⁰

In the 1602 and 1646 *Moscow* služebnyky the priest says a variation of today's reception prayer; the formula is very long and includes not only the priest's name, but the name of the church, the saint of the day or feast. The priest takes the ahnec particle from the lower side of the discos with the three fingers of his right hand and holds it in his palm. He takes another unspecified portion of the ahnec with three fingers and gives it to the deacon. When receiving the eucharist, the deacon kisses the priest's hand and his mouth, exchanging the greeting, "Christ is in our midst", or the corresponding Easter greeting if need be. The series of communion prayers is basically the same as those said today in Russian usage.³¹ After eating the eucharist from their hands, they wipe their hands on the eiliton.

In these pre-Nikonian Muscovite texts, before they drink from the chalice both priest and deacon say the prayer found in other early sources: "In contemplating the divine blood, etc. — Bogotvorjaščuju krov".³² The formula

²⁸ 1519 *Venice*, [f. 34v-37r].

²⁹ These additional communion prayers are also found in Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 123, 125; Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 909.

³⁰ 1583 *Vilna*, CHR f. 91r-96v.

³¹ 1940 *Rome* služebnyk (recensio vulgata), p. 89-90.

³² Found also in Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie*, p. 126; Petrovskij, "Rédaction slave", p. 928.

for drinking from the chalice is very similar to the reception formula for the holy bread, with the name of the participant, church, and saint of the day. The actual drinking and wiping of chalice and lips is as in the above sources. The deacon wipes all the particles into the chalice, and the priest says the single thanksgiving prayer said today and found in the other texts mentioned above. At the end of the 1646 *Moscow* text two folia are added with formulae for the reception of the holy bread on all major feast days; these formulae include the name of the feast, very similar to the various dismissal formulae used today at the end of CHR.³³

The 1604 *Balaban* služebnyk gives a large series of communion prayers, which include those given in POL. The communion of the celebrants is like that prescribed in the Venice and Vilna editions cited above, including the priest's single thanksgiving prayer. If there are communicants from among the worshippers, only the respective portions of the ahnec are to be put into the chalice to be distributed to them.³⁴

4. The 1617 *Mamonyč Nauka*

The communion rite in the 1617 *Mamonyč* služebnyk is very similar to today's. It is not said how many times the celebrants drink from the chalice, nor is it indicated what the deacon wipes into the chalice.³⁵ However, in the 1617 *Mamonyč Nauka*, we find an important discussion on this communion rite. The *Nauka* allows for the use of the teplota, but says that only very little water — and it should be warm — is to be poured into the chalice. For the celebrants' communion, the priest is not to take the eucharistic bread into his hands and press it to his forehead, rather the holy bread should only be taken into the palm of the hand at concelebrated liturgies when the bishop distributes it to the concelebrants. In such cases it is to be consumed after the communion prayers ("I believe, Lord, etc."). But if a priest is celebrating mass with no deacon or other concelebrants, then the *Nauka* advises him to take the eucharistic bread with two fingers after he has said the communion prayers and consume it; the priest should not hold the eucharist in his palm. The *Nauka* also says that the ahnec should not be broken at the fraction using all the fingers; rather, the priest should use only two fingers to break it, keeping the other fingers held to the palm of the hand. All the particles are to be wiped into the chalice with the sponge (it had previously said to consecrate all the particles), and then the fingers used to touch the holy bread should be washed in a small container of water — "v čarci" — which is to be poured in with the

³³ 1646 *Moscow*, CHR f. 155v-160r, 168(bis); also 1602 *Moscow*.

³⁴ 1604 *Balaban*, CHR p. 189-205.

³⁵ 1617 *Mamonyč*, CHR p. 110-116.

other holy water after (this holy water is not explained). We find in these *Nauka* instructions characteristics of later Catholic Ruthenian communion rites, including: the use of two fingers for the fraction, which are then held together until they are washed; holding the holy bread with only the fingers and not in the palm of the hand; the use of the finger bowl (on the altar) to wash the fingers.³⁶

5. *The Mohylan Tradition*

The reception of the eucharist in the Mohylan texts follows the traditional rites, similar to today's. The noteworthy element in this tradition concerns the communion prayers. Beginning with the 1629 *Kiev služebnyk*, the priest is told that if he cannot say the pre-communion prayers (these are not stipulated), then he is to say at least the following:

Množestva rady hrixov mojix [...] On account of my sins [...].
 Hospody nism dostojn [...] Lord, I am not worthy [...].
 Bože naš, oslaby [...] O our God, remit, forgive [...].

The latter two prayers are also given in POL (and present day Greek and Melchite texts). If the priest does say the pre-communion prayers, then in the Mohylan tradition he only says the communion prayers seen above in the Venice text:

I believe, Lord, and confess [...].
 Accept me today as a partaker [...].
 Remember me, Lord, in your kingdom [...].
 Let this be not held to my judgement [...].

One more prayer is added at the end of this series, found also in early sources:

Mni bo prylipljatsysja tebi Bohovy mojemu blaho jest' [...].
 It is good that I cling to you, my God [...].

Before the priest says this set of communion prayers in the Mohylan tradition, he recites a short reception formula for the holy bread, while after these communion prayers he says another similar reception formula. After drinking from the chalice the deacon kisses the priest on the right cheek, exchanging the greeting "Christ is in our midst". The chalice is put back on the altar; the celebrants bow three times before it and say the customary thanksgiving prayer. If there are communicants from the faithful, the priest cuts up the two portions of the *ahneq*, as much as is needed, and it is probably he who puts them into the chalice. If there are no communicants, the deacon immediately wipes everything from the discs into the chalice. Beginning with

³⁶ 1617 *Mamonyč, Nauka* [f. 21].

the 1639 *Kiev* text, the Mohylan editions prescribe the priest to wash his hands after filling the chalice; if there is no deacon assisting, the priest washes his hands after the ablution.³⁷

6. *The Catholic Sources*

In the Sipovič pontifical the bishop distributes the eucharistic bread to the priests, who, on receiving it, kiss the bishop's hand and cheek. The bishop first says the communion prayer, "I believe, Lord, and confess", and then consumes the holy bread, saying the reception formula, "The precious and most holy body of our Lord, etc." A note in the ms says that the Ruthenians have other communion prayers, but these are devotional and not essential. After the bishop drinks from the chalice, he washes his fingers and says the usual thanksgiving prayer. Since all the particles on the discos have been consecrated, the archdeacon puts them all into the chalice for distribution. During the communion rites, the servers kneel outside the sanctuary.³⁸

In the Borgia ms, another pre-*Žoxovs'kyj* Catholic source, the priest strikes his breast when reciting the communion prayers. The communion prayers here follow the Venice pattern, but in the *Pilixovs'kyj* ms the Mohylan series is given (*Množestva rady*, etc.), besides the usual set (I believe, Lord). For the celebrant's communion in the *Pilixovs'kyj* ms, the priest consumes all the portions of the *ahnec* remaining on the discos. In the *Pilixovs'kyj* ms the priest recites the prayer of thanksgiving after the transfer of the gifts to the prothesis. Neither the Borgia nor *Pilixovs'kyj* mss prescribe the use of the sponge for wiping the particles into the chalice.³⁹

By the time we get to the 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj* *služebnyk*, we find that the celebrants' communion rites are quite different from those in POL and the early sources. The priest recites the following communion prayers:

I believe, Lord, and confess [...].
 Accept me today as a partaker [...].
 Remember me, Lord, when you come into your kingdom [...].
 Remember me, Master, when you come [...].
 Remember me, Holy One, when you come [...].
 Let this not be held to my judgement [...].

For the "Remember me" phrases, the priest strikes his breast for each one. Today's variants of the phrase, "God, be merciful to me a sinner" at the end of these communion prayers have not yet appeared.

³⁷ 1629 *Kiev*, CHR p. 81-91; 1639 *Kiev*, CHR p. 349-365; 1646 *Lviv*, CHR f. 156v-164r; 1653 *Kiev*, CHR f. 175r-183r; 1666 *Lviv*, CHR f. 170v-179r; 1681 *Lviv*, CHR f. 173v-182r; 1691 *Lviv*, CHR f. 112r-118v.

³⁸ Cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 185 (ms f. 48r-49v).

³⁹ Borgia ms, f. 116; Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 204-205 (ms n. 192 f. 242-245); cf. Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 136.

After the communion prayers the priest consumes all the remaining portions of the *ah nec*, saying the reception formula, "The precious and most holy body of our Lord, etc." Following this he wipes all the particles from the *discos* into the chalice and then drinks from the chalice only once. He folds his hands and says "This has touched my lips, etc." It is at this point that he communicates the "deacons, monks, and clerics" from the chalice with the spoon, in the same way as the eucharist is distributed to the laity. He recites the thanksgiving prayer later, near the end of the litany.⁴⁰

The FRAN copy of the 1712 *Lviv* text has had this part of the communion rite reprinted to conform to Catholic Ruthenian practice. The Mohylan rubrics for the reception of the holy bread in the palm of the hand were eliminated from the reprinted copy, being replaced by the rubrics to hold the eucharist with the two fingers of the right hand. The rubrics for drinking from the chalice were not changed, but the subsequent instructions to wipe the chalice with the sponge lying on the antimimension were scratched out in the PIO copy of the 1712 *Lviv* *služebnyk*, and omitted in the FRAN reprint; the FRAN copy only has the priest wipe his lips and not the chalice, without indicating what he uses for this. Surprisingly, the deacon's communion rite was not altered in the reprint; he still receives the gifts separately and not together from the spoon. For filling the chalice, the rubrics were modified to have the deacon wipe everything into the chalice with the fingers of his right hand, while the original 1712 *Lviv* text distinguished the *ah nec* particles from the particles for the saints. Oddly enough, the 1712 reprint makes no mention of washing the fingers here, while the original text gave the Mohylan rubrics that the priest washed his hands after cutting up the *ah nec* portions for the faithful and wiping them into the chalice.⁴¹

7. OBS

OBS notes that the Ruthenian deacons did not receive communion in the traditional manner as given in POL and practiced today (LX.2). The practice given in the *Žoxovs'kyj* texts of communicating the deacons, monks, and clerics with a spoon paralleled the Latin Rite usage, where the deacon received only the host from the priest, just before the priest distributed communion to the faithful. However, it was also the practice in the Catholic and Orthodox Ruthenian Churches for the celebrant to give non-celebrating clergy communion with the spoon. Leo Krevza said that St. Josaphat received

⁴⁰ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 96v-97r.

⁴¹ 1712 *Lviv* FRAN copy, CHR f. 111v-117r. The extra Mohylan prayers from the original 1712 copy were reprinted, but to have the newly printed f. 114 agree with the subsequent original f. 115, the numeration f. 113 was eliminated, since there is no corresponding sheet; thus the printed foliation reads: f. 111, 112, 114, 115.

communion from the hand of the celebrant on those occasions when he did not celebrate.⁴² In the polemical work *Antelechus* written by Anthony Sjeljava in 1622 we read that the Basilians went to mass every day during their chapters and received the eucharist from the hand of the celebrant — “z ręki iednego służącego liturgiã”.⁴³

A good example of this is seen in a woodcut in the 1646 *Kiev* trebnyk, where a priest is distributing communion with a spoon to another priest who is wearing the mantija (monastic mantle) and epitrachelion. Behind him are the laity and the scene is set on the solea, in front of the holy doors. The same scene was altered in the 1682 *Lviv* trebnyk, where it is now a bishop, wearing an omophorion over his phelonion, who is distributing communion with a spoon to another bishop, also wearing an omophorion; behind him stand other monks instead of the laity in the Kiev edition.⁴⁴

Žoxovs'kyj's rubrics to give the deacon communion in this manner, therefore, were not unusual, all the more since the deacon does not play an important role in the Žoxovs'kyj služebnyk.⁴⁵

OBS also notes problems with the fraction of the ahnec, as well as the other particles. Goar explains this much better than POL (LXI.2). If one quarter of the ahnec goes into the chalice, the priest takes another one, and the deacon the third portion, OBS asks what happened to the fourth part (LXI.3). What happened to the other particles if they are not consecrated (LXII.4)? How can the unconsecrated particles be mixed with the consecrated (LXI.5)? What does the Orthodox priest do when more people come to communion and he cannot satisfy them with the two ahnec portions (LXI.6-7)? OBS answers here its earlier question of what happens to the fourth portion of the ahnec. OBS is pointing out that these issues were not clarified well in POL.

OBS does not object to the contents of the extra communion prayers given in POL for the celebrants, but only points out that these prayers are not found in the Žoxovs'kyj tradition (LXII.2).

The use of the veil to wipe the chalice and the celebrant's lips is not acceptable for the OBS author, especially if the veil is made of silk, like those the Greeks used. If a purificator is intended, then this would meet OBS's approval; but although the Latins and the Catholic Ruthenians used

⁴² Cf. Ja. Levyc'kyj, “Sv. Josafat Kuncevyč v svitli propovidyj XVII i XVIII st.”, *Sv. svščm. Josafat Kuncevyč: Materijaly i rozvidky z nahody iuvyleju*, ed. J. Slipyj, Lviv 1925, p. 88.

⁴³ *Antelenchus*, p. 710-711. Cf. Solovey, *Meletij Smotryc'kyj*, 2: 296.

⁴⁴ 1646 *Kiev* trebnyk, 1: 217; 1682 *Lviv* trebnyk, f. 49r. A reproduction of the latter illustration is given in Ja. Zapasko, *Mystectvo knyhy na Ukrajinì v XVI-XVIII st.*, Lviv 1971, p. 190.

⁴⁵ See also the discussion on communion reception in R. Taft, “Receiving Communion – A Forgotten Symbol?”, *Worship*, 57 (1983): 412-418.

purificators, OBS did not know if the Greeks also used them (LXIII.2). The difference would be that linen is more absorbent than silk.

POL gives the priest's thanksgiving prayer right after the celebrant's communion, like many other texts we saw. OBS notes that it is to be said after the second time that the priest turns to the faithful with the chalice, namely near the end of the post-communion litany, where it is given today (LXIV.2).

III. THE COMMUNION OF THE FAITHFUL

One of the few references to the holy doors in POL is found just before the communion of the faithful, when the deacon is to open them, bow, take the chalice, stand in the holy doors and raise the chalice saying the invitation, "Approach with the fear of God, with faith and love." The priest immediately blesses the people (no indication on how he blesses), saying "Save, God, your people and bless your inheritance." No mention is made of the communion of the faithful.⁴⁶

No holy doors are mentioned in the *1519 Venice* služebnyk, and the deacon calls the people while holding the chalice, saying "Prystupite – approach". The choir replies, "With the fear of God and with faith." If there are communicants, the priest takes the chalice from the deacon (the spoon has already been put into the chalice before the call to approach) and distributes communion. After the distribution, the priest blesses the people and turns back to the altar. If there are no communicants the deacon holds on to the chalice while the priest blesses the people saying, "Save, God, your people"; then the deacon puts the chalice back onto the altar.⁴⁷

The *1583 Vilna* služebnyk, like the *1519 Venice* text, instructs the priest to take the chalice from the deacon to distribute communion if there are communicants, after which the priest blesses the people (no indication how), saying "Save, God, your people". If there are no communicants, the priest still blesses the people, but the deacon holds onto the chalice.⁴⁸

For the invitation to communion in the *1602* and *1646 Moscow* služebnyky, the priest takes the thurible (the rubric says nothing more about the thurible after this) while the deacon opens the holy doors, takes the chalice, turns to the people, raises the chalice and says, "Approach with the fear of God and with faith." The people reply, "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, the Lord is God and has revealed himself to us." This is the first time we find this, the full choir response taken today. The deacon turns

⁴⁶ POL, f. 269v-270r; BEN, p. 61.

⁴⁷ *1519 Venice*, [f. 37].

⁴⁸ *1538 Vilna*, CHR f. 97.

back to the altar and puts down the chalice. The priest gives the blessing “Save, God, your people”, but no direction or actions are indicated. If there are communicants, the priest takes the chalice (with the spoon) from the deacon; he distributes communion saying the formula “written above”, presumably the long reception formula said by the celebrants we saw previously in these early Muscovite editions. During the communion of the faithful the choir sings the refrain: “Receive the body of Christ and partake of the source of immortality, alleluia.” Once finished, the priest goes back to the altar, puts down the chalice, then says “Save, God, your people.”⁴⁹

In the 1604 *Balaban* služebnyk the deacon invites the faithful saying, “Approach with the fear of God and with faith”; the priest recites the communion prayers (I believe, Lord, and confess [...], Accept me today as a partaker [...]). The faithful approach one by one, bow to the ground, and kiss the cross. The priest communicates them saying today’s reception formula; they wipe their lips with the veil, kiss the chalice, bow, and leave. Only in BAS is the choir’s response to the invitation given: “Blessed is he who comes, etc.” Following the communion, the priest says, “Save, God, your people”, but no rubric says how this was done in CHR. In BAS, however, the priest clearly accompanies this with a hand blessing. In CHR the choir gave no response to this blessing, but in BAS it replies “For many years” in Greek or Slavonic.⁵⁰

The 1617 *Mamonyč* služebnyk follows *Balaban* in giving no choir response in CHR for “Save, God, your people”, but in BAS, the priest makes this blessing with his hand and the choir replies “For many years”.⁵¹

The Mohylan texts are explicit in not permitting the unconsecrated particles to be distributed to the faithful for communion. These are added to the chalice only after “Save, God, your people”. In the 1629 *Kiev* služebnyk the priest gives the chalice to the deacon just before the deacon calls the faithful to communion; the deacon does not take the chalice off the altar himself. The 1629 *Kiev* text follows the *Balaban* style of distributing communion to the faithful: the priest leads them in the communion prayer, and they come forward with hands folded on the breast, bow to the ground, and kiss the cross; after receiving they wipe their lips, kiss the chalice, bow, and leave. In the 1639 *Kiev* edition, when the priest recites the communion prayer (which is the Mohylan version we saw at the celebrants’ communion), he strikes his breast three times for the triple “Remember me, Lord, when you come into your kingdom.” This 1639 text also adds that when the communicant is receiving, the clerics are to hold a cloth under the communicant’s mouth, then use it to wipe the communicant’s mouth and the

⁴⁹ 1646 *Moscow*, CHR f. 160r-163r; also 1602 *Moscow*.

⁵⁰ 1604 *Balaban*, CHR p. 205-206, BAS p. 339-340.

⁵¹ 1617 *Mamonyč*, CHR p. 117-118, BAS p. 249-250.

chalice. In all the Mohylan texts the choir responds with “Blessed is he who comes, etc.” to the deacon’s invitation to communion, while for the blessing, “Save, God, your people”, the choir replies only with “For many years” in Greek and Slavonic in both CHR and BAS. In the 1639 Kiev text, after the priest has distributed communion, he carefully holds the chalice in his left hand and blesses the people with his right, but if there have been no communicants, then the deacon holds onto the chalice and the priest blesses with his right hand.⁵²

In the Sipovič pontifical, the holy doors are opened just before the archdeacon makes the call to communion, for which the choir gives today’s reply, “Blessed is he who comes, etc.” In response to the celebrant’s blessing, “Save, God, your people”, we find for the first time in our sources the hymn given today, “We have seen the true light”.⁵³

Even though a deacon is called for elsewhere in the Borgia ms, it is the priest who holds the chalice and makes the call for communion. For the blessing, “Save, God, your people”, the priest blesses the people, but the ms does not say how, although Wawryk interprets this to mean he blesses with his hand. No choir responses are given in the Borgia ms for the call to communion and the blessing after.⁵⁴

In the Pilixovs’kyj ms the blessing after communion is made by the priest with the chalice; to this blessing the choir only replies, “The Lord is God and has revealed himself to us.”⁵⁵

Just before the call to communion in the 1692 *Žoxovs’kyj služebnyk*, the priest and deacon bow low to the gifts. The deacon receives the chalice from the priest and makes the invitation: “Approach with the fear of God and with faith.” The choir only replies with the short verse, “Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.” The priest immediately takes the chalice from the deacon (no mention at this point of the faithful receiving communion) and blesses the people with the chalice, saying “Save, God, your people and bless your inheritance”. To this the choir replies, “The Lord is God and has revealed himself to us”; this is followed immediately by the hymn “We have seen the true light”, which is to be sung in the second tone.

At the end of CHR in the 1692 *Žoxovs’kyj* text, an explanation is given on how the priest is to distribute communion to the faithful. He leads them in the recitation of the communion prayers, for which only the incipits are given; here

⁵² 1629 Kiev, CHR p. 92-94; 1639 Kiev, CHR p. 365-374; 1646 Lviv, CHR f. 164r-168v; 1653 Kiev, CHR f. 183r-188r; 1666 Lviv, CHR f. 179r-183v; 1681 Lviv, CHR f. 182r-187v; 1691 Lviv, CHR f. 119r-121r.

⁵³ Cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 104-107 (ms f. 49v-50r).

⁵⁴ Borgia ms, f. 117r; Wawryk, “Do istoriji”, p. 137.

⁵⁵ Odincov, “Uniatskoe bogosluženie”, p. 205 (ms n. 192 f. 244).

too the priest and people probably struck their breasts for the verse "Remember me, Lord", as is clearly indicated in the earlier priest's communion rite. If no deacon is present, the priest also holds the discos with the chalice (as is done today) and distributes communion with the spoon. During the distribution the choir sings the following verse as many times as needed: "Receive the body of Christ and partake of the source of immortality." When the priest has finished, the choir concludes this communion verse with alleluia sung three times.⁵⁶

The only comment OBS makes for the communion of the faithful is that the Ruthenian deacon did not take the chalice himself from the altar, but was given it by the priest (LXV.2).

IV. "WE HAVE SEEN THE TRUE LIGHT" AND OTHER HYMNS

We have seen a development throughout the various sources of the choir's response to the blessing, "Save, God, your people and bless your inheritance." By Lisovs'kyj's time the format was similar — but not identical — to today's. This matter has been studied by Dmitrievskij and we shall use his results in the following discussion.

In the early Greek sources "Save, God, your people" is not found in the eucharistic liturgy. In the thirteenth century it was said silently by the priest while the choir made no response. By the fifteenth century the priest was saying it aloud, and in the sixteenth century the choir was responding with "For many years, master".⁵⁷

In all the služebnyky we have examined, we find "Save, God, your people", but at first the choir gave no response. In BAS of the 1604 *Balaban* and 1617 *Mamonyč* služebnyky for the first time we find "For many years, master" given in Greek and Slavonic. This greeting remained in the Mohylan editions as the sole response of the choir at this point.

The greeting "For many years, master" in the Sipovič pontifical is written in Greek in the margin of the Slavonic folio; immediately after it follows the full text of "We have seen the true light".

No choir responses are given at this point in the Borgia ms, but in the 1671 *Ecphonemata* only "We have seen the true light" is given, without "For many years, master".⁵⁸ The Pilixovs'kyj ms gives only "The Lord is God and has revealed himself to us" as a response to "Save, God, your people".

The 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj* služebnyk gives still another combination, namely

⁵⁶ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 97r-99.

⁵⁷ Cf. Dmitrievskij, "Videxom svet", p. 267-269.

⁵⁸ 1671 *Ecphonemata*, CHR [f. 19v-20r].

after "Save, God, your people" the choir replies with "The Lord is God, etc.", followed immediately by "We have seen the true light". We should recall that the choir says only "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord" in response to the deacon's call to communion, "Approach with fear, etc." But the *Žoxovs'kyj* format for these responses is not found in all Catholic texts of the eighteenth century. It is given in such texts as the *1755 Počajiv*, *1763 Suprasl*, *1773 Vilna* editions.⁵⁹

The *1740 Univ* služebnyk gives still another combination. The choir replies to the communion invitation with:

Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord;
The Lord is God and has revealed himself to us.

For "Save, God, your people" the choir replies in the 1740 text with, "For many years, master. We have seen the true light, etc." This combination is found in other Catholic služebnyky, such as the *1765 Počajiv* and *1788 Počajiv* editions.⁶⁰

According to the 1863 liturgical manual written by Marcel Popel and the 1899 *DoInyc'kyj* typicon the hymn "We have seen" is replaced by the Easter troparion "Christ is risen from the dead" from Easter Sunday until the Ascension. For the feast of the Ascension and its octave "We have seen" is replaced again — by the Ascension troparion according to Popel, or by the verse:

Be exalted above the heavens, God, and your glory above the earth. [Ps. 56: 6]

said by the priest according to *DoInyc'kyj*. (Ps. 56: 6 is similar to the beginning of the Ascension troparion.)⁶¹ In indicating when the Easter troparion should be taken during mass, the *Žoxovs'kyj* služebnyk says nothing about taking it in place of "We have seen", even though the Easter troparion is to replace "Blessed is he who comes" and "Let our lips be filled" (the choir's responses just before and after "We have seen"). But for the feast of the Ascension, *Žoxovs'kyj* instructs that "We have seen" be replaced by the verse "Be exalted" (Ps. 56: 6).⁶²

Similarly, on Holy Thursday the hymn "Accept me as a partaker of your mystical supper" replaces the Cherubic Hymn and "Let our lips be filled". This change for Holy Thursday is given in both *Žoxovs'kyj* and *DoInyc'kyj*

⁵⁹ *1692 Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 97r; *1755 Počajiv*, CHR p. 32; *1763 Suprasl*, CHR p. 24; *1773 Vilna*, CHR p. 25.

⁶⁰ *1740 Univ*, CHR p. 34; *1765 Počajiv*, CHR f. 100v; *1788 Počajiv*, CHR f. 15r.

⁶¹ Cf. M. Popel, *Lyturhyka yly nauka o bohosluzhen'ju cerkvy hrečesko-katolyčeskoj*, Lviv 1863, p. 219; I. DoInyc'kyj, *Typik cerkve rusko-katolyčeskija*, Lviv 1899, p. 469, 495.

⁶² *1692 Žoxovs'kyj*, triodion and pentecostarion sections, f. 31r, 50v.

and is still practiced today. But note that it does not replace “We have seen”.⁶³

Dmitrievskij points out that the Greek typicon prescribes that for the twelve major dominical feasts and on the leave-taking of the feast the troparion of the feast is to be taken after “Save, God, your people”.⁶⁴ This is similar to the changes required in *Žoxovs’kyj* for the hymn “We have seen”, which is taken from the vespers of Pentecost, suitable especially after communion reception. Since “We have seen” is a more recent permanent addition to the mass, at least to the printed texts, older rubrics would say nothing about variants for it.

In Muscovy the hymn “We have seen” appears for the first time in the 1655 *Nikonian* služebnyk, together with “For many years, master”.⁶⁵ The 1666/67 Moscow council made both a fixed part of the pontifical liturgy.⁶⁶ We find both given together in the 1670 *Moscow* služebnyk,⁶⁷ but by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the greeting “For many years, master” was not printed in the presbyteral liturgical texts in the Nikonian tradition. In the list of complaints about Ruthenian liturgical practices (especially concerning the Orthodox in Kiev and Černihiv), sent by the hierodeacon Macarius to the Russian Synod in 1726, he objected that the Ruthenians were singing “For many years, master” for a simple priest during the mass, after “Save, God, your people”. Macarius’ objection meant that the Mohylan tradition was still being followed in Kiev, since the Mohylan texts gave only this response.⁶⁸ But a few years later, with the introduction of the Nikonian tradition into the Orthodox Ruthenian liturgical books, only “We have seen” was given, and “For many years, master” was omitted. This is the case with the 1736 *Kiev* text.⁶⁹

Catholic služebnyky into the twentieth century continued to give both “For many years, master” and “We have seen” in presbyteral liturgies. The 1942 *Rome* služebnyk dropped “For many years, master”, bringing the format of the text into agreement with the Nikonian tradition.⁷⁰

⁶³ Ibid., f. 22r; DoInyc’kyj, *Typik*, p. 436. One further example occurs at Christmas and Epiphany, when in place of “Let our lips be filled” and “Blessed be the name of the Lord”, the refrain found after Ps. 50 in matins of the respective feast is taken: on Christmas, “All things are filled with joy today, Christ was born of a virgin”; on Epiphany, “All things are filled with joy today, Christ was baptised in the Jordan”. Neither of these two changes are indicated in *Žoxovs’kyj* or *DoInyc’kyj* or any other major služebnyk or trebnyk; they are given in small prayerbooks of this century meant for popular use, such as the *Molytvenyk Xrystijans’koji Rodyny*, 7th ed., Žovkva 1927, p. 587, 660.

⁶⁴ Cf. Dmitrievskij, “Videxom svet”, p. 269-270.

⁶⁵ Cf. Dmitrievskij, “Otzyv”, p. 277; Uspenskij, “Kollizija”, p. 152.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Dejanija*, part II, f. 61r.

⁶⁷ 1670 *Moscow*, CHR f. 138.

⁶⁸ Barsov, “Ierodiakon Makarij”, p. 678.

⁶⁹ 1736 *Kiev*, CHR f. 102v; 1754 *Černihiv*, CHR f. 102v; 1762 *Kiev*, CHR f. 96v.

⁷⁰ “For many years, master” is found in: 1905 *Lviv*, CHR p. 314; 1917 *Žovkva*, p. 52; 1929 *Lviv*, CHR f. 51r. See also 1942 *Rome*, p. 275.

Although the Sipovič pontifical gives both “For many years, master” and “We have seen”, the 1716 *Suprasl* and 1886 *Lviv Bačyns’kyj* pontificals do not give anything here, referring to the regular CHR liturgy instead.⁷¹ Today in Ukrainian Catholic usage the greeting “For many years, master” is taken before “We have seen” only when a bishop is celebrating.

V. THE POSTCOMMUNION AND DISMISSAL

1. POL

After the priest has “blessed” the people in POL with “Save, God, your people”, he and the deacon turn back to the altar; the priest incenses the gifts three times, saying “Be exalted above the heavens” (Ps. 56: 6); the priest puts the discos on the deacon’s head; the deacon, saying nothing, turns to the holy doors and goes to the prothesis, where he leaves the discos; the priest bows, takes the chalice, turns to the people and silently says, “Blessed is our God”, and continues aloud, “always, now, and forever and ever”. The choir replies only “Amen”; this is the first response given for the choir in POL since the “Amen” preceding the Sancta Sanctis.

The deacon returns to his regular place and says the postcommunion litany. After the priest completes the ephonesis of this litany, it is not indicated who exactly says the next phrase, “Let us go in peace”. Following the “prayer behind the ambon”, the choir responds “Blessed be the name of the Lord” three times and the incipit of Ps. 33 is given. The priest enters through the holy doors, goes to the prothesis, and says the prayer, “Fulfilment of the law and prophets, etc.” The deacon enters the sanctuary via the north door and performs the ablution, making sure that nothing remains in the chalice; he then washes his hands at the customary place.

The priest concludes the liturgy in POL by distributing the antidoron to the worshippers. When the choir sings the “Glory: and now” at the end of Ps. 33, the priest says the blessing “The blessing of the Lord be upon you” and the dismissal (text not given). He goes to the altar and removes his vestments, saying *Nunc Dimittis* (*Nyni otpuščaješy*), the trisagion, the troparion and kontakion of the day, the troparion of John Chrysostom, “Lord have mercy” twelve times, “Glory: and now (...) More honourable than the cherubim”, and the dismissal. The priest bows, gives thanks to God for everything, and leaves.⁷²

⁷¹ 1716 *Suprasl*, pontifical, f. 15r.

⁷² POL, f. 269v-270v; BEN, p. 61-63; 1942 *Rome*, p. 275-286.

2. *Early Služebnyky*

The gifts are taken to the prothesis in the *1519 Venice* služebnyk the same way as prescribed in POL, but the deacon also incenses the gifts at the prothesis, since the priest gives him the thurible together with the discos. The full text of the choir's response "Let our lips be filled" is given, with several textual variants from today's version. Just before the ecphonesis of the postcommunion litany the priest folds the antimimension. The phrase "Let us go in peace" is said by the deacon. During the ambon prayer the deacon stands to the right, holding his orarion and bowing his head. For the ablution the deacon pours water and wine into the chalice three times and sucks the sponge dry of any moisture once he is finished. The deacon washes his hands and says the concluding prayers given at the end of POL for the priest. The priest gives the final blessing, "The blessing of the Lord be upon us", followed by "By the prayers of our holy fathers, Lord Jesus Christ our God, have mercy on us." He goes to the prothesis, washes his hands, removes his vestments, and says the concluding troparia and prayers given POL.⁷³

The transfer of the gifts in the *1583 Vilna* text follows the Venice style, including the incensing at the prothesis by the deacon. When the priest takes the chalice, he first quietly says to himself: "Blessed is our God who enlightens and sanctifies us by his grace and love of mankind"; he completes this saying "now, always, and forever and ever" aloud. The choir replies "Amen" and sings the hymn "Let our lips be filled", for which only the incipit is given. After the litany the deacon says "Let us go in peace". During the ambon prayer the deacon stands to one side of the holy doors, holding his orarion and with head bowed. For the ablution prayer the deacon follows the priest to the prothesis. When the priest finishes the ablution prayer, the deacon performs the ablution, cleaning the chalice twice with wine and once with water, sucking the sponge dry at the end. For "The blessing of the Lord be upon you all" the priest blesses the people together — "blagoslovljajet vkup i ljudi". The dismissal is like the simple one given in the Venice text, "By the prayers of your most holy mother and all your saints, Lord Jesus Christ our God, have mercy on us." The choir replies "Amen". Instructions are given on cleaning the vessels, putting them in order, washing the hands and mouth, and taking the concluding troparia and prayers, which include the troparion of John Chrysostom and the saint of the day. The celebrants go out, kiss the icons, bow, and leave the church.⁷⁴

The transfer of the gifts in the *1602* and *1646 Moscow* služebnyky follows the above pattern. Before the transfer of the gifts the deacon says, "Bless,

⁷³ *1519 Venice*, f. 37v-40v.

⁷⁴ *1583 Vilna*, CHR f. 97v-106v.

master”, the priest, “Blessed is our God” and turns to the people, stands in the holy doors and completes this aloud, “always, now, and forever and ever”. The choir replies with “Let our lips be filled”. After Ps. 33 the priest says the usual blessing, “The blessing of the Lord be upon us, etc.” and blesses the people “together” (like the 1583 *Vilna* text). Then follows this lengthy dismissal:

Priest: By the prayers of your most holy mother [...].

Choir: Amen. It is right [only incipit given]

Deacon: Wisdom

Priest: Most holy Mother of God save us.

Choir: More honourable than the cherubim [...].

Priest: Glory to you our God, our hope, glory to you.

Choir: Glory: and now: Lord have mercy [12 times], Lord, bless.

Priest: Christ our true God, by the prayers of his holy mother [...].

Choir: Amen. Grant many years, Lord, and have mercy.

Deacon: Wisdom.

Only now does the deacon perform the abluion. The usual concluding troparia and prayers are also given.⁷⁵

The 1604 *Balaban* služebnyk mentions no incenses at the transfer of the gifts to the prothesis. The instructions for the abluion are not as precise as others seen above. After “The blessing of the Lord be upon us”, the choir replies, “Amen. Glory: and now: Lord have mercy (3 times), bless.” Once the priest completes the dismissal, the people sing the polychronion for the king and bishop, but no text is given for this. The postcommunion rites in the 1617 *Mamonyč* text are the same as those in *Balaban*.⁷⁶

During the ambon prayer in the Mohylan texts the deacon stands before the icon of Christ, facing north, i.e., he faces the priest.⁷⁷

3. Catholic Texts

When the gifts are taken to the prothesis in the Sipovič pontifical, the abluion is immediately made by one of the priests. This is similar to what we find in the Borgia and Pilixovs’kyj mss, where it is the priest who does the abluion, not the deacon. The Borgia ms does not say where it is performed, but according to the Pilixovs’kyj ms it is on the main altar.⁷⁸

For the transfer in the Žoxovs’kyj tradition the priest bows low to the gifts of the altar, picks up the chalice with both hands, and says quietly, “Blessed is our God”, turns to the people and blesses them with the chalice,

⁷⁵ 1646 *Moscow*, CHR f. 163r-168v.

⁷⁶ 1604 *Balaban*, CHR p. 206-219; 1617 *Mamonyč*, CHR p. 119-130.

⁷⁷ 1629 *Kiev*, CHR p. 94-103; 1639 *Kiev*, CHR p. 373-386.

⁷⁸ Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 106-109 (ms f. 49v-51r); Borgia ms, f. 117; Odincov, “Uniatskoe bogosluženie”, p. 205 (ms n. 192 f. 244); cf. Wawryk, “Do istoriji”, p. 137.

saying “always, now, and forever and ever”. The choir replies with the hymn, “Let our lips be filled”.

A detailed set of instructions is given at this point for the ablution. The priest does not take the gifts to the prothesis, but puts the chalice back onto the altar. He bows low, holds the discos under the chalice, and consumes what is left in the chalice. The deacon or a server then pours wine for him into the chalice, repeating this a second time, pouring the water or wine over his fingers into the chalice. The priest wipes his fingers with a cloth, plus the chalice, the discos, and his mouth. He folds the eiliton and puts the vessels on top of it, saying to himself “Let our lips be filled”.

The deacon chants the postcommunion litany, where, just before the ephphesis, the priest’s thanksgiving prayer is inserted. The deacon says “Let us go in peace” and “Let us pray to the Lord”, then goes to the altar, while the priest comes out before the holy doors and says the ambon prayers.

The choir responds with “Blessed be the name of the Lord”, and the incipit of Ps. 33 is given. The priest goes to the altar and says the ablution prayer. He kisses the altar, stands in the holy doors, bows to the bishop if one is present, and gives the blessing with his right hand. The following sequence is chanted:

Priest: The blessing of the Lord be upon you [...].

Choir: Amen

Deacon: Wisdom.

Choir: More honourable than the cherubim [...].

Priest: [turns to altar] Glory to you Christ God, our hope, glory to you.

Choir: Glory: and now: Lord have mercy [twice], Lord, bless.

Priest: Christ our true God [...dismissal formula]

Choir: Amen: [then this polychronion] Through their prayers confirm, God, the christian faith. Grant many years to the holy ecumenical pontiff [arxijereju vselenskomu] N., the pope of Rome, our Lord the great king N., all the priestly and monastic orders, all our fathers and brothers and all orthodox christians. Lord have mercy, Lord have mercy, Lord save. Most holy Mother of God have mercy on all orthodox christians and save us.

The priest removes his vestments, saying the following:

Nunc Dimittis

trisagion... Our Father

troparion of John Chrysostom

Glory: kontakion of John Chrysostom

and now: “Confident intercessor of christians” [a common theotokion]

Lord have mercy [12 times]

Glory: and now: More honourable than the cherubim [...].

final dismissal.

The priest washes his hands, gives thanks to God for everything, and leaves.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj*, CHR f. 97r-98r.

A word should be said about the polychronion (mnoholitstvija). Most služebnyky indicate that the choir sings this at the end of the mass, but the Balaban, Mamonyč, Mohylan, and Nikonian Ruthenian editions do not give the full text of the polychronion.

We find the following text in the Sipovič ms.

Confirma Deus orthodoxam christianorum fidem. Conserva Domine in orthodoxa christiana fide magnum regem nostrum N., salvum fac Domine metropolitam vel archiepiscopum, vel episcopum nostrum Dominum N., et omnes orthodoxos christianos Domine salva.⁸⁰

The 1671 *Ecphonemata* also gives the full text, which now includes the pope:

Ich Swiatymi molitwami utwerdi Bože wiru Christiánskuui, mnoha litá Swiatyszemu Archiereiu Wselenskomu N., Hospodarú nášzemu welikomu korolu N.; spasi Hospodi preoswiásczenaho archiepiskopa nášzeho N., wes czyn swiaszenczeskiy, dyakońskiy, inoczeskiy, wsich otec y bratiu naszú, y wsia prawosławnyia Chrystiány. Hospodi pomiluy. Hospodi pomiluy. Hospodi spasi. Preswiatáia Bohorodice pomahay wsim prawosławnym Christianom, y spasi nas.⁸¹

The version given in the 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj* služebnyk is printed in all Catholic Ruthenian služebnyky up to and including the 1929 *Lviv* edition. However, in the 1905 *Lviv*, 1917 *Žovkva*, and the 1929 *Lviv* editions this polychronion is to be recited by the priest silently, facing the altar; for solemn occasions these three služebnyky prescribe that the priest turn to the people and intone a series of short, separate acclamations for the various dignitaries and groups, beginning with the pope. The choir responds with "Mnohaja lita!" only to these festive acclamations.⁸²

These short acclamations for solemn occasions are undoubtedly a remnant of the more developed polychronia given in the 1716 *Suprasl* pontifical just before the trisagion, and in the Sipovič and Burčak-Abramovič pontificals just after the anaphora. The 1886 *Lviv* Bačyns'kyj pontifical gives no such polychronion in CHR and only refers to the polychronion in general in a passing reference at the end of CHR, a sign it was assumed to be part of the regular presbyteral liturgy.⁸³

The 1942 *Rome* služebnyk omits the (*Žoxovs'kyj*) polychronion text found in the Catholic služebnyky up to that time and gives only the text for a

⁸⁰ Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 113 (ms f. 53r).

⁸¹ 1671 *Ecphonemata*, CHR [f. 21v-23r].

⁸² The following služebnyky from the 19th century contain the *Žoxovs'kyj* text and rubric for the polychronion: 1840 *Peremyšl*, CHR p. 45; 1850 *Lviv*, CHR f. 18r; 1866 *Lviv*, CHR p. 45. Texts in this century which give the two polychronia, both said by the priest, are: 1905 *Lviv*, CHR p. 318; 1917 *Žovkva*, p. 56; 1929 *Lviv*, CHR f. 53v.

⁸³ 1886 *Lviv* Bačyns'kyj pontifical, p. 32.

series of individual acclamations, which can be taken at a presbyteral liturgy on solemn occasions.⁸⁴

4. *OBS*

OBS concludes with a series of observations, based mainly on the differences between *POL* and the Žoxovs'kyj tradition. Since the Catholic Ruthenians did the ablution on the main altar, several elements in *POL* could not be accepted. In its sparse rubrics *POL* does not state clearly that the chalice is taken to the prothesis (LXVI.2). The author of *OBS* was aware that the Greeks took the chalice with the gifts to the prothesis, and points out that the Catholic Ruthenians did not do this (LXVI.3).

POL does not list Ps. 33 for recitation after the ambon prayer. *OBS* says that Ps. 33 is indicated both in Ruthenian texts and in *Goar* (LXVII.2). However, most texts, like Žoxovs'kyj's, give only the incipit. This leaves us wondering if the choir actually took the psalm during this period.

The prayer for the ablution is said by the celebrant in *POL* in front of the prothesis. *OBS* says that neither the Greeks nor the Ruthenians said it there, but rather before the altar (LXVIII.2). The Catholics had reason on their side here, since they had already abluited the gifts. If the gifts were on the prothesis, then it was logical to say the prayer facing the prothesis, as the title of the prayer given in *POL* and *BEN* suggests: "Prayer said for consuming the gifts".

POL is not explicit about who consumed the gifts for the ablution, but again the *OBS* author knew that among the Greeks it was the deacon, while among the Catholic Ruthenians it was the priest (LXIX.2).

The antidoron was not distributed in Bielorrussia, but only in Ukraine (LX.2).

OBS ends with an erroneous observation. It states that the Roman euchology (*BEN*) indicates only that the troparion and kontakion of the day are to be said by the celebrant at the very end of the liturgy while unvesting, whereas *POL*, *Goar*, and the Ruthenian služebnyky include those for John Chrysostom (LXXI.2). In fact, *BEN* also indicates that these be taken, although it does not give their texts.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ 1942 *Rome*, p. 282-283.

⁸⁵ *BEN*, p. 65.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

SUMMARY

Archbishop Herclius Lisovs'kyj of Polock began his attempted reform of liturgical practices in the Catholic Ruthenian metropolia by having the Greek euchology printed by Pope Benedict XIV in 1754 (BEN) translated into Church Slavonic. The first step was completed by 1790 with the translation of the Divine Liturgy of John Chrysostom (CHR) into parallel Slavonic and Latin versions, called the "Missa Polocensis" (POL). POL, like the rest of Lisovs'kyj's planned reform, was not readily accepted by many Catholic Ruthenians.

A detailed analysis and criticism of POL was made by an anonymous author in a document entitled "Observationes in Missam Polocensem" (OBS). Now that the misplaced POL has been located, we have been able to study both documents together. POL is the more idealistic of the two mss, being an almost verbatim translation of BEN. OBS is the more informative, since it describes the liturgical practice and thinking of its time.

To evaluate the two documents, we have examined texts of CHR used in the Ruthenian Church roughly from the time of the Union of Brest (1596) until Lisovs'kyj's period, which coincides with the beginning of the destruction of the Catholic Kievan metropolia within the Russian empire. We have complemented this study with references to other sources, including the first printed Slavonic služebnyk (1519 *Venice*), the pre-Nikonian Muscovite služebnyky (mainly 1602 and 1646 *Moscow*), parallel rubrics and texts in the liturgy of St. Basil (BAS), plus commentaries, correspondence, and other sources of information on the liturgical practices during this period. We have also looked at early Greek and Slavic sources, as well as later texts from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

A constant concern among Ruthenian Church leaders and reformers was for uniformity in celebration. Our study has shown that there never existed any sort of unified liturgical celebration in the Ruthenian Church along the strict, well-defined lines prescribed for today. This is not at all unusual for a period involving the use of ms texts for celebration. The notion of uniformity spread with the printing press, which reproduced a single text in great numbers. Backed by church and civil authority, certain liturgical texts became dominant and perforce provided the desired uniformity.

Before evaluating POL and OBS, we shall summarize what we have found concerning CHR and služebnyk in general in the Ruthenian Church.

LITURGICAL TEXTS AND TRADITIONS

1. *Early Slavic Tradition*

The studies of Petrovskij and Dmitrievskij demonstrate the variety found in early Slavic mss. The first printed služebnyky reflect this variety. The *1583 Vilna* text (the first služebnyk printed in Slavic lands) and the pre-Nikonian Muscovite editions give a large number of prayers for the celebrant's preparation, which is characteristic of this early Slav tradition. In addition, the Muscovite texts give detailed rubrical instructions not found in the *1583 Vilna* edition, nor even in many later služebnyky. Other additional or alternative prayers are given throughout the liturgy, such as for vesting, before the gospel, before the creed, during the ektené, and at communion.

2. *The Balaban and Mamonyč Texts*

A notable change occurs in the *1604 Balaban* and *1617 Mamonyč* služebnyky. As in the case of many liturgical texts, we do not know exactly on which models these two editions are based, but it is likely that available printed Greek euchologies were used.

In the *1604 Balaban* text this is evident at the Words of Institution, where the rubrics for the priest to point to and bless the gifts are the same as those found in the *1602 Venice* Greek euchology. The Balaban text is more similar to today's edition than are the *1583 Vilna* and early Muscovite služebnyky. It does not contain the long preparatory prayers before the gospel and the creed characteristic of the early Slavic tradition. In Balaban we find some rubrics for the first time, such as the raising of the gifts by the deacon after the Words of Institution and the deacon's "I vsix i vsja" during the anaphora commemorations.

The *1617 Mamonyč* služebnyk also does not include these prayers of the early Slavic tradition. What is noteworthy is the close similarity of the *1617 Mamonyč* edition with POL. The only other sources so similar to POL are those of the Nikonian tradition.

This is significant for several reasons. Since we know that POL is almost a verbatim translation of BEN, and that BEN is based mainly on the *1727 Venice* Greek euchology, the Venice and Mamonyč texts must in turn be based on an earlier common Greek source, perhaps the same source used for the *1604 Balaban* služebnyk. The close similarity of the Nikonian texts to POL and Mamonyč also points to a similar common Greek source. This close similarity is not found in other Ruthenian služebnyky.

The *1617 Mamonyč* text is the first printed Catholic Ruthenian služebnyk. It contains no explicit approval by any bishop, but its introductory *Nauka* and the references made to it in later Catholic sources, especially the Basilian chapters, demonstrate its importance for the Catholic Ruthenians.

Even though the Balaban and Mamonyč texts are based on similar or identical Greek sources, they must be considered more as separate texts. They differ too often from each other to warrant classification as part of a single tradition. The Balaban and Mamonyč texts, compared to many later služebnyky, are quite limited in their rubrical explanations.

3. *The Mohylan Tradition*

The first of three traditions among printed Ruthenian texts is the Mohylan. Its formation began with the *1629 Kiev* edition, printed by Peter Mohyla when archimandrite of the Kiev Pečers'ka Lavra. This Mohylan tradition took on its more complete form in the *1639 Kiev* text printed by Mohyla, then metropolitan. Other Orthodox služebnyky up to the *1639 Kiev* edition (*1620 Kiev*, *1624 Vilna*, *1637 Lviv*, *1638 Jevje*), cannot readily be included as part of the Mohylan tradition, since they do not show the close similarity that subsequent editions do (e.g. *1646 Lviv*, *1653 Kiev*, *1666 Lviv*, *1681 Lviv*, *1712 Lviv*).

Mohyla indicates both in the text of CHR and in the preface of the *1639* edition that he based his reform on Greek and Muscovite editions, as well as early Ruthenian sources. We see examples of the latter in the forgiveness rite before vesting, the vesting prayers based on New Testament passages, and the communion prayers.

We also see an interesting internal development in the *1629 Kiev*, *1639 Kiev* (with which most subsequent texts are practically identical), and the *1691 Lviv* text (with the identical *1712 Lviv* text). Often rubrics given in the *1629 Kiev* BAS — but not in CHR — are repeated in the *1639 Kiev* CHR, while the editors of the *1691 Lviv* edition seemed to have compared the *1629 Kiev* CHR with the *1639 Kiev* CHR and either followed the former or formulated their own rubrics. As examples, we can cite the deacon's rubrics at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word, the position of the deacon during the antiphons, the entry into the sanctuary after the Little Entrance, the trisagion, the procession to the throne, and the final anaphora blessing.

We also saw that an important factor in change in the Mohylan texts was the theological discussion concerning the point of consecration.

Due to the lack of available information, we know little about the sources used by Mohyla in editing his liturgical texts. Although many authors have been quick to point out Latin influences in his works, Brakmann's study on concelebration shows the need for caution and further research. Brakmann traced the concelebration rubrics back to Constantinople. We noted briefly Mohyla's mention of the ambon steps and references to the same in Greek sources. Another examples are the three bows made by the celebrant when entering the sanctuary at the Little Entrance, found as well in the Arab ms edited by Bacha. These examples suggest the influence of Greek and perhaps

Arabic sources from the Near East. The proximity of the Ruthenian lands to Constantinople and even Jerusalem made pilgrimages possible, and prominent travellers from these areas often came to Kiev and Muscovy. One thinks of the patriarchs Joachim of Antioch, Jeremiah II of Constantinople, Theophanes of Jerusalem, and especially Macarius of Antioch, as well as lesser hierarchs and simple monks, who visited Ruthenian lands just in the period 1550-1660. While not denying Western theological, philosophical, and even liturgical influences on Mohyla's works, the direct eastern liturgical influence should not be ignored, even with the present dearth of source material for the study of Mohyla's works. Moreover, many of such direct Eastern influences were not fixed in writing and elude research, but are no less real for that.

4. *The Nikonian Tradition*

As part of Patriarch Nikon's reform of the Muscovite Church, he printed a *služebnyk* in 1655, which became the initial edition for the Nikonian tradition. Nikon claimed to have based his reform on Greek sources, many of which had been collected from Mount Athos. But the studies of Dmitrievskij, Nikoľskij, and Uspenskij show the influence of the 1602 *Venice* Greek euchology, plus the 1604 *Balaban* and 1639 *Kiev* texts on Nikon's reform.

Nikon overlapped the Muscovite and Ruthenian usages by borrowing from the Ruthenian *služebnyky*, for example, the position of the deacon during the antiphons, the action of the priest and bishop during the Words of Institution, the elevation of the gifts by the deacon. But other elements that the Muscovites had shared with the Ruthenians up to that time were eliminated, for example, the turning of the priest to the people for the final ecphonesis before the Great Entrance and the use of only one thanksgiving prayer after the communion of the celebrants.

Nikon looked to Greek and Ruthenian sources to ensure the correctness of his reform, and this was costly. Many elements of the early Slavic and pre-Nikonian Muscovite traditions were rejected. The adherants to the old ways, the Old Believers, created a schism in the Russian Church that survives to this day.

After the initial 1655 *Moscow* text, the Nikonian Muscovite *služebnyky* continued to undergo some changes until the 1723 *Moscow* *služebnyk* printed under the Holy Synod. This became the standard Nikonian or Synodal edition used up to the present in the Russian Church.

Backed by civil authority, the Nikonian tradition became the only one allowed — at least in the printed texts — for the Orthodox Ruthenian Church, which by the beginning of the eighteenth century was politically and ecclesiastically subject to Moscow. Thus we find that the 1736 *Kiev* *služebnyk* follows the Nikonian tradition, with no trace of the Mohylan.

5. *The Pre-Žoxovs'kyj Catholic Sources*

An important group of liturgical texts of which we have few examples and little information is made up of Catholic Ruthenian ms služebnyky of the seventeenth century. In the sources we have from this period we see the gradual development of a particular Catholic Ruthenian liturgical usage, based on, or at least similar to, the instructions given in the 1617 *Mamonyč Nauka*. The Catholic Ruthenian usage culminated in the 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj služebnyk*.

The most important document that we possess from this group is the Borgia ms: a Catholic version of the Mohylan 1629 *Kiev* edition, with additions, omissions, and later corrections made to the original ms, written around the 1680's.

Although it is a printed text, we can include here the 1671 *Ecphonemata*, which contains CHR with explanations meant for the use of worshippers and not celebrants.

We have descriptions of a number of seventeenth (and eighteenth) century ms služebnyky from the Vilna library. Of these n. 192 is of special importance, since we have information about its redactor, the Basilian Samuel Pilixovs'kyj.

These few sources indicate the variety in the mss which, besides the printed Mohylan and Muscovite služebnyky, were all used by Catholic Ruthenian clergy.

6. *The Žoxovs'kyj Tradition*

The 1692 *Vilna* služebnyk printed by Metropolitan Cyprian Žoxovs'kyj forms the basis for the Žoxovs'kyj tradition, dominant in Catholic printed služebnyky up to the 1942 *Rome* edition.

The služebnyky of the Žoxovs'kyj tradition are characterized by large format and the amount of material contained, by scarce rubrics for the deacon, by minute hand rubrics for the priest, and by changes in the liturgy not found in contemporary Orthodox texts. Due to these easily noticeable characteristics, this tradition is often said to be latinized. Some latinization here cannot be denied, but this term cannot be used to label every variant not found in the Mohylan or Nikonian traditions. And the latinizations that are found must be considered in the context of how and why they developed.

Similar to Mohyla, Nikon, and other redactors before him, Žoxovs'kyj explained his method. He looked to the Greek texts as a model — in this case the 1683 *Rome* Greek euchology printed for the Basilians of Grottaferrata by their protector Cardinal Nerli.

But Žoxovs'kyj's služebnyk is not merely a translation of the Nerli liturgicon. It gives in print the style of liturgy already practiced in the Catholic Ruthenian Church. We should recall that during the seventeenth century it

was the more northern areas of the Kievan metropolia that had accepted the Union, the area of today's Bielorussia and Lithuania.

In a period when mss were chiefly used, liturgical variants would be determined by geographical proximity as well as by ecclesiastical and political boundaries. When a *služebnyk* was printed in an area where ms copies were widely being used, to a certain extent it froze the liturgical tradition of the given region; the Mohylan texts reflect the usage around Kiev, the pre-Nikonian and Nikonian texts — that around Muscovy, the *Žoxovs'kyj* text — that of the Bielorussian and Lithuanian region.

The clash between the Mohylan and *Žoxovs'kyj* tradition is seen in the 1712 *Lviv služebnyk*, printed by the Lviv Stauropigia Brotherhood after it had accepted the Union. The changes called for by Polycarp Fylypovyč and Metropolitan Athanasius Šeptyc'kyj resulted in an odd mixture of these two traditions, which we find in the corrected FRAN copy of the 1712 *Lviv* text.

The Nikonian tradition had an influence on the *Žoxovs'kyj*, seen for example in the 1778 and 1788 *Počajiv služebnyky* and in the 1759 *Lviv OSBM curia* copy. In these texts we find the Nikonian version of the Cherubic Hymn, of the hymn "Let our lips be filled", and other texts translated into Slavonic from the Greek for the Nikonian reform. The *Žoxovs'kyj* (and Mohylan) texts, meanwhile, continued to give the older Slavonic versions of these hymns and prayers. Nikonian rubrics, and those of BEN agreeing with the Nikonian tradition, also appeared in the above-mentioned post-*Žoxovs'kyj* texts: the time of putting on the phelonion and the commemorations made during the Great Entrance are two good examples.

By the second half of the seventeenth century private recited masses were common. Instructions for such low masses were included in some pre-*Žoxovs'kyj* mss, and a printed version appears in many *služebnyky* of the *Žoxovs'kyj* tradition, such as the 1733 *Univ*, 1755 *Počajiv*, and 1759 *Lviv* texts. This printed version of the low mass rubrics probably reflects practices appearing already before the 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj* edition. Indications of this are seen in several small details not found in the regular CHR given in the same *služebnyk* with the printed low mass rubrics. For example, in the low mass rubrics, the reader (or server) replies "And with your spirit" just before the prokeimenon, the prokeimenon and alleluia execution are described more precisely, and the chalice is left uncovered until after the epiclesis (whereas in the regular *Žoxovs'kyj* CHR it is covered immediately after the Words of Institution).

Although never formally approved by a provincial synod, the *Žoxovs'kyj* tradition became that generally used by the Catholic Ruthenian Church. The Synod of Zamostja did not mention the *Žoxovs'kyj služebnyk*, although it confirmed four liturgical changes practiced and found in the 1692 edition: omission of the sponge and of the teplota, commemoration of the pope, and consecration of all the particles on the discos.

7. *The Pontificals*

The pontificals or “svjatyteľski služebnyky” make up an important liturgical source that straddle individual služebnyky and even the larger traditions. Because they were so seldom printed, the pontificals retain older elements of liturgical usage that were gradually changed or eliminated from regular presbyteral texts and practice. The introductory prayers said by the bishop in these pontificals are an example; they are similar to those found in the presbyteral *1583 Vilna* and pre-Nikonian Muscovite texts. Another example are the vesting prayers for the bishop based on the New Testament passages, just like those given as alternatives in the Mohylan služebnyky.

The Muscovite pontifical was reformed and standardised by the 1667 Moscow council. The Ruthenian pontificals had no such single reform and their development has been more gradual. We have been able to consult several Ruthenian pontificals from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, but others listed in our appendix would still have to be examined to determine more accurately any traditions or groupings among them.

CONCLUSION

The Ruthenian Church has always shown an open approach in ecclesiastical matters, seldom closing in on itself. It has striven for autonomy, while at the same time accepting the jurisdiction of Constantinople, Rome, or even both. One part of the Ruthenian Church renewed its openness to the West with the Union of Brest, which brought with it new ideas, not always arising out of traditional Byzantine liturgical rite and theology, but which were worthy of consideration just the same. Many elements entered not only the Catholic Ruthenian liturgical life, but even the Orthodox, and from there the Muscovite Church.

Even though the Ruthenian and Muscovite Churches had their own complex traditions and history, they have often looked to the Greeks as the source of correct liturgical practices. This we see in the Balaban and Mamonyč služebnyky, and in the Mohylan, Nikonian, and Žoxovs’kyj reforms. This is exactly what Lisovs’kyj did also, using a Greek source approved and closely supervised by the pope. Lisovs’kyj was aware that BEN and the Nikonian tradition were based on similar sources. How ironic that the first Catholic služebnyk also had a similar basis! History proved still more ironic when the *1942 Rome* edition paralleled the above three types.

A liturgical reform requires two important elements. First, it must be technically correct: the theological purpose of the liturgy must be clear, the translation of the texts must be accurate, and the rubrics and explanations must be precise. In addition, the particular liturgical history of the given Church must be known.

The second important element in any liturgical reform is pastoral concern in the implementation of the reform. The people for whom the reform and the liturgy are primarily meant must be prepared for it. If the time and circumstances are not opportune, a reform which otherwise may be correct may need to be put off.

Lisovs'kyj was convinced that the time was ripe for his reform of CHR; he used a text with papal approval, a text carefully prepared, and his translation was submitted to competent specialists. But we see that he had a very poor understanding of the liturgical history of the Ruthenian Church, while his pastoral concern and interest favoured the Orthodox Ruthenians just as much, if not more, than his Catholic Ruthenian faithful.

Lisovs'kyj was too prone to assume (as many do today) that whatever the Russian Orthodox did liturgically was correct, while the Catholic Ruthenian Church was imbued with latinization. It is true that the Russian Church has been more conservative in its liturgical tradition, especially since the eighteenth century. But this is always in reference to one specific tradition — the Nikonian or Synodal — which was acquired at a heavy cost.

Lisovs'kyj was too much of an idealist, thinking that a new text and ritual could be simply imposed on the Church. About this he was cautioned by Rome. Besides pointing out the technical differences, OBS likewise notes the importance of a well-planned reform. Lisovs'kyj could not wait for a bishops' commission to decide, not even for Rome's approval of POL; rather, he began implementing new liturgical practices in his eparchy, as we see in the correspondence of Czaday and Krupic'kyj.

The OBS author, like many Catholic hierarchs and church leaders, felt a reform was needed. But OBS rightly points out that POL often contrasted with contemporary Ruthenian practice. Any liturgical reform had to be done prudently and carefully to safeguard the Catholic identity of the Ruthenian Church. This concern was well founded, for the eventual destruction of the Union in the nineteenth century Russian empire was done primarily through liturgical reform, by which the Catholic Ruthenian Church was identified outwardly with the Russian Orthodox Church.

However, some clergy and hierarchy have used the excuse of pastoral concern, with cries of "prudence", "restraint", and "the people are not ready", to mask their own stubborn resistance to change and reluctance to lose a sense of security, all due to an imperfect knowledge of liturgical matters. Well-informed pastoral prudence is essential in executing successfully a properly prepared reform.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

OBSERVATIONES IN MISSAM POLOCENSEM¹

Author's Introduction

I. I. Varias fuisse consuetudines et ritus, quos in variis regnis et provinciis constitutae Christianae Ecclesiae observarunt, nemo est ex scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, qui dubitet: ² cum id constet ex Tertuliano lib. de velandis Virginibus,³ Augustino Epistola 118,⁴ Socrate lib. sec. cap. 21,⁵ Sozomeno lib. 7, cap. 19.⁶ 2. Joanne Baptista Casalio, aliisque a Cardinali Bona adductis,⁷ qui et triplicem huius discrepantiae causam assignat,⁸ scilicet primam: quod a Christo Domino nulli ritus in specie sint instituti, nec apostoli lege aliqua, ritus et ceremonias a Christianis Ecclesiis servanda praescripserant, sed quemadmodum ipsis liberum fuit, ita eandem libertatem successoribus suis relinquerunt statuendi id, quod absque fidei discrimine statuere pro temporum et locorum varietate oportuit. 3. Unde et Augustino Anglorum Apostolo quaerenti a S. Gregorio

¹ The text itself is quite clear and presents few problems. We shall not note changes in punctuation. Various uses occur for the letters "i" and "j"; we use "j" for personal names, and "i" in all other places. The forms "liturgia" and "euchologion" are given even when the text has "lithurgia" and "euphologion". We give some portions of the Latin text of POL in the following notes to clarify the objections made in OBS; the majority of objections in OBS are discussed in detail in Part II of our work. English titles are added to OBS for better orientation. A numeration system according to paragraph and sentence is used to facilitate references to the text.

² As is mentioned more fully in chapter 4, OBS has taken the following references from the work of G. Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo cum notis et observationibus R. Sala*, 3 vols., (Augustae Taurinorum 1747). We give both the reference in Bona as well as other relevant sources.

³ Cf. Tertullian, "De virginibus velandis", *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Opera: pars quarta*, ed. V. Bulhart, (= *CSEL* 76; Vienna 1957), p. 79-103; Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo*, 1: 91. The title is given as "de velamine Puellarum" in the original text of OBS.

⁴ Cf. Augustine, "Epistola CXVIII", *S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponiensis Episcopi Epistulae*, ed. A. Goldbacher, (= *CSEL* 33), 1 (Vienna 1885): 665-698; Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo*, 1: 90.

⁵ Cf. Socrates Scholasticus, "Historia ecclesiastica" (lib. II, cap. 21), *PG*, 67: 239A-244C; Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo*, 1: 91.

⁶ Cf. Sozomenus, *Sozomenus Kirchengeschichte*, ed. J. Bidez and G.H. Hansen, (= *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte* 50); Berlin 1960), p. 330-332; Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo*, 1: 91, 93.

⁷ Giovanni Bona (1609-1674); theology professor, Cistercian abbot general, cardinal; researched and worked on liturgical and ascetical matters; among his works is *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo*, a study on the origins of the mass; for more information see L. Loevenbruck, "Bona Jean", *DACL*, 2-1: 952-953.

⁸ Cf. Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo*, 1: 95-96.

M. quam aliae sint consuetudines in Missis Gallicanae Ecclesiae, aliae in Ecclesia Romana? 4. Idem S. Gregorius M. respondit, quidquid in Ecclesia Romana vel Gallicanis, aut aliis Ecclesiis invenisti, quod putas Omnipotenti Deo acceptum fore, id omne secernere potes, et novellae Ecclesiae Anglorum commendare.⁹

II. 1. Secundam causam affirmat esse diversitatem morum, opinionum et consuetudinum, quae fuit in diversis gentibus: hinc enim, ait ille, quemadmodum in politicis, ita et in ecclesiasticis, diversi populorum enati sunt ritus, et caeremoniae, quia quod alii conveniens existimarunt, id ab aliis non convenire iudicatum fuit.

III. 1. Pro tertia causa Christianorum frequentes persecutiones assignat, propter quas priorum saeculorum episcopi synodos celebrare nequiverant, et in his de rituum uniformitate introducenda cogitare et statuere.

IV. 1. Diversitas haec rituum cum per Ecclesias Occidentis observata fuit, et ita pertinaciter ab iisdem defensa, ut Sanctae Sedi Apostolicae volenti introducere consuetudines Romanas, quemadmodum scribit Cardinalis Bona lib. 1 cap. 1, opus fuit auxilio, et autoritate regum ut addictos suis antiquis ritibus ad Romanas consuetudines flecteret, et adduceret, hisque etiam conatibus adhibitis Mediolanenses suos retinuerunt ritus, quibus S. Ambrosius usus est, et in Hispania aliquae ecclesiae suos, qui Mesorabici dicuntur.¹⁰

V. 1. Si inquam uniformitas haec in Occidentis Ecclesiis desiderata fuit, sustineri non potest, Graecorum Ecclesias in conformitate secum et cohaerentia quoad ritus permansisse, quae quatuor patriarchatibus a se longe dissitis, et invicem independentibus continentur, contrarium enim deducitur ex S. Basilio, Epistola, ad Clerum Neocesariensem,¹¹ ex Firmiliano in Epistola ad S. Cyprianum 75,¹² ex Gregorio Protosincello apud Allatium de Synodo Fociana contra Marcum Ephesinum scribente, quod Constantinopolitana maior ecclesia alias habeat consuetudines, alias maiora monasteria, alias minora, alias saecularium presbyterorum ecclesiae.¹³ 2. Denum ex ipso Allatio, de Ecclesiae Orientalis et Occidentalis perpetua consensione lib. 3 cap. 13, testimonium perhibente, Graecos non semper eosdem ritus adhibuisse, neque nunc ubique servare, eorumque libros, quae ritus praescribunt, in multis mutatos fuisse, multa

⁹ Cf. PL, 80: 43A-94B; Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo*, 1: 95.

¹⁰ Cf. Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo*, 1: 1-10.

¹¹ Cf. Basil, "Lettre CCIV: Aux habitants de Néocésarée". *Saint Basile: Lettres*, ed. V. Courtonne, 2 (Paris 1961): 172-180; Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo*, 1: 96.

¹² Cf. "Epistula LXXV, Firmilianus Cypriano Fratri in Domino S.", *S. Thasci Caelici Cypriani: Opera Omnia*, ed. G. Hartel, (= CSEL 3), 2 (Vienna 1871): 810-827; Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo*, 1: 94, 96.

¹³ Cf. L. Allatius, *De octava synodo Photiana* (Rome 1662); Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo*, 1: 91-93.

enim in eisdem inveniuntur adiecta, et multa etiam detracta observantur.¹⁴ 3. Simila habet Jacobus Goarius de re liturgica Graecorum scriptor bene meritus f. 108 in notis ad Missam S. Chrysostomi scribens: "Graecorum posterius nova quaedam dicenda, faciendave a Diacono vel Sacerdote, hic et illic pro suo nutu respergere et praecipere frequentius, quam par esset, pro amittis minus ab ipsis antiquitatis ubique servatae gloriae, sunt ausi. 4. Inde tanta non ineditorum solum, sed et manuscriptorum antiquorum varietas, ut nos, qui octo sola ex illis tibi lector renovandae vel agnoscendae antiquitatis studiose, ob oculos ponimus, cuncta illa simul tantae dissimilitudinis aspectus territi, inter sese conferre, vitandae nimiae confusionis gratis non potuerimus."¹⁵

VI. 1. Si autem in Latinas et Graecas Ecclesias, varietas temporum et locorum varias induxerat discrepantias, quoad ritus in Sacro Sanctae Missae Sacrificio adhiberi solitos, non est cur carpant nonnulli Ruthenam unitam Ecclesiam, per duo ferme integra saecula, aliquid etiam varietatis admisisse. 2. Parva illa admodum est, si iuxta Missale, quod Metropolita Zochovius primo typis Vilmensibus ediderat, consideratur, exceptis enim iis, quae Diaconus ut moneat de agendis Sacerdotem, praescribuntur, exceptisque paucis non nullis, quae in praeparatione ad Missam, a Graecis observatur, aut quae a Synodo Zamosciana tandem sunt prohibita, vix aliqua differentia intercedit, iuxta praescriptum eiusdem Missalis inter Missam Ruthenorum et Graecorum prout in Ecclesiis cani debet. 3. Neque id, quod in suis Ecclesiis prohibuerunt Rutheni Pastores ad Synodum Zamoscianam congregati, gravibus et par est credere, rationibus permoti. 4. Iisdem vitio verti potest, quia novum non est. 5. Episcopos ad Synodum Provinciam congregatos aliqua pro opportunitate temporum et circumstantiarum in suis Ecclesiis prohibuisse, aliqua vero servanda constituisse. 6. S. Basilius Missam S. Jacobi Apostoli, ut credebatur, qua primum Orientales uti sunt, nimis prolixam brevior reddidit, ut populus devotioni et quaerimoniis de nimia illius prolixitate consuleret, quemadmodum scribit S. Proclus in opusculo de traditione Divinae Missae.¹⁶ 7. Et S. Chrysostomus ob eandem causam Missam S. Basilii adhuc brevior fecit, ut idem S. Proclus et in eodem opusculo affirmat. 8. Reprehendendi itaque non sunt Uniti Pastores ad praedictam Synodum congregati, quod aliqua pauca, quae vel audientes Missam offendebant, vel incommodo celebrantibus fuerant, in sua Unita Ecclesia prohibuerunt.

VII. 1. Plura in ecclesiis nostris fabricata altaria, et Missas privatas introductas, quae apud Graecos usque nunc in usu non sunt, idque post annum

¹⁴ Cf. L. Allatius, *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis atque Orientalis perpetua consensione: Libri Tres*, (lib. III, cap. XIII) (Coloniae Agrippinae 1648), p. 1128-1162; Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo*, I: 100.

¹⁵ Cf. Goar, p. 95 (in the second edition); Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum: Libri Duo*, I: 95. OBS refers to the first edition of Goar, Paris 1647.

¹⁶ Cf. Proclus of Constantinople, "Tractatus de traditione missae", *PG*, 65: 849B-852B.

1595, quo obedientia a Nostris Summo Pontifici, non modo ut Capiti Ecclesiae, sed etiam ut Patriarchae Occidentis solemniter exhibita fuit, non nego occasionem dedisse aliquarum in celebrandis Missis, etiam cani solitis, diversitatum assueti enim presbyteri vestiti solo stychario cum stola et manipularibus, praeparationem ad Missam in sacello facere, cum privatam dicturi essent, et impotentes in privata Missa, quae a solo Sacerdote ad quodcunque altare dicitur, eas omnes ceremonias observare, quae pro cantanda praescribuntur. 2. Sensim et in Missis cantatis easdem ceremonias negligere: pluribus in locis, incoeperunt, maxime in ecclesiis saecularibus, in quibus praesertim in Lithuania ob librorum et cantorum penuriam, vix quando Missa et caetera officia canuntur. 3. Sed hos abusus tollere, iam a multo tempore Pastores nostri cogitarunt, et in hunc finem synodum convocare constituerant, atque deliberationes antesyndodales iam absolverant, quos conatus irritos fecit et bellum intestinum, quo Polonia vexata fuit, et secuta tandem Provinciarum a corpore Reipublicae avulsio.¹⁷

VIII. 1. Abusus hos, qui non sunt omnibus unitis Ecclesiis communes, sed iam in his, iam in aliis inveniuntur, in aliquibus minores, in aliis maiores sunt, sensim et circumspecte emendari debere; a nostris existimatum fuit ne eiusmodi emendatio, aut scandalum aliquibus pareret, aut difficultates offenderet, quia ut scribit Mabillonius commentario in ordinem Romanum XXI., ubi regnant antiqui ritus, hos conservare oportet, ubi novi praevaluerunt, antiquos laudare necesse est, et novos non respuere, quia vix contingere potest, ut id, quod in usu habetur, sine tumultu aliquo possit immutari, sicuti enim rituum diversitatem induxit diversitas locorum, ita in his locis suavitatis mutationem, temporum mutatio.¹⁸

IX. 1. Ex quibus ita praemissis facile est concludere, Illustrissimum Archiepiscopum Polocensem intempestive velle reformationem rituum in suam diocesim introducere, eosque etiam ritus revocare, quae a Synodo Zamosciana prohibiti sunt, nihilque advertere, omnibus Graecorum etiam minimis revocatis, populum qui ignorat, quid intercedit Unitos inter et non Unitos, facile induci posse ad credendum hos et illos unius dogmatis esse.

X. 1. Versio, quam hic Varsaviam misit, ex Graeco in Sclavonicum literale idioma, et ex Sclavonico in Latinum respondet textui Graeco, in Euchologio expresso, quod typis Sacrae Congregationis editum fuit, quamvis aliquibus in locis non per omnia bene textus Graecus in Sclavonicum conversus est, in aliquibus aliis verbis, quam apud nos, sed idem significantibus, in aliquibus melius Graeca verba Sclavonice sunt reddita. 2. Pariter Latina versio non ubique

¹⁷ This is in reference to the planned Synod of Brest, 1765; see chapter 2, p. 64-65.

¹⁸ Cf. J. Mabillon, *Musei Italici: Tomus II, Complectens antiquos Libros Rituales Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae cum Commentario praevio in Ordinem Romanum*, (lib. II, cap. XXI) (Paris 1724), p. 141-147.

textui Graeco et Sclavonico respondet. 3. Sed his omissis ad expositionem, in quibus ritus in Missa Polocensi expressi, a nostris diversi sunt, gradum facere debemus.

Spiritual Preparation

XI. 1. ad 1^{mum}

2. *Vigilare* si idem est, ac se exercere in oratione, sive mentali, sive vocali, est menti Ecclesiae consonum; si autem significat, se continere a somno, contrariatur praxi et consuetudini Ecclesiae.¹⁹

Introductory Prayers and Rubrics before the Inconostasis

XII. 1. ad 2^{dum}

2. *Inclinationes* solita veneratio praemittitur etiam apud Ruthenos, episcopo, aut alio praesidi, quemadmodum et imaginibus sacris, postquam Presbyter et Diaconus pervenerint in ecclesiam, et cum troparia consueta ante iconem Salvatoris aut Beatissimae absolvunt. 3. Non tamen ubique haec ceremonia a Ruthenis Unitis observatur, quando ad canendam Missam se parant, sed aliquibus in locis privatim omnes has orationes dicunt, quae ante portam sanctam dicendae praescribuntur, prout et a lectas Missas procedentes, facere solent.²⁰

On Entering the Sanctuary

XIII. 1. ad 3^{tium}

2. *Nec inclinant* se Uniti conversi ad choros unaqueque versus, nec recitant psalmum *introibo* cum intrant in sanctuarium quia hic psalmus nec a Graecis recitatur iuxta Euchologium Goarii, sed praemittunt iaculatoriam orationem, "Deus propitius esto etc."²¹

¹⁹ "Peracturus sacerdos divini mysterii sacrificium praemittere debet confessionem, et cum omnibus reconciliari, nihilque habere contra quempiam, ac quantum potest a malis cogitationibus cor custodire, continerique a vespera et vigilare usque ad sacrificeationis tempus." *POL*, f. 252r.

²⁰ "Tempore autem instante postquam Praesidi solitam exhibuerit venerationem, ingreditur templum, ac junctus diacono faciunt simul orientem versus venerabundas inclinationes, vulgo reverentia, tres ante sanctas portas." *POL*, f. 252r.

²¹ "Dehinc ad choros sese inclinant, una quemque versus inclinatione, et ita abeunt in sacrarium dicentes: *introibo* in domum tuam: et reliqua. Ingressi autem sanctuarium ter se se inclinant coram sancta mensa, et osculantur sanctum Evangelium et sanctam mensam, tum accipiunt propriis quisque manibus tunicam suam." *POL*, f. 252r.

*The Vesting Rite**XIV. 1. ad 4^{um}*

2. Quod concernit ritum vestitus tam respectu Diaconi, quam respectu Sacerdotis, non omni plene ab Unitis observantur, non enim Diaconi benedictionem accipiunt a Sacerdotibus, cum vestiuntur, nec faciunt inclinationes orientem versus. 3. Nec unigue etiam Diaconi et Sacerdotes vestiuntur in saccrario, sed ut plurimum sacras vestes sumunt in sacristia, proinde ceremoniae illae benedictionum omittuntur, recitantur tamen omnia et fiunt, quaecunque praescribuntur. 4. Humerale a Graecis non solet adhiberi, apud Ruthenos vero Unitos ab immemorabili adhibetur, quemadmodum et a Graecis, qui sacra faciunt Romae in Collegio Graeco. 5. Stychario quoque Graeci utuntur ex aliqua materia sericea cuiuscunque coloris, Rutheni vero non modo Uniti, verum etiam non Uniti Inferioris Russiae adhibent stycharia ex tela linea confecta, propterea Diaconi vestiuntur etiam dalmatica, quae dalmaticae Latinorum per omnia respondet, cum Graeci Diaconi solo stychario vestiantur.

*The Lavabo**XV. 1. ad 5^{um}*

2. Rutheni Uniti antequam se sacris vestibus induant, lavant manus et dicunt orationem, "lavabo inter innocentes manus meas". 3. Graeci vero postquam se vestiverint, et ita habet Missa Polocensis, quae transpositio parvi admodum momenti est.

*Prothesis: the Prosphora**XVI. 1. ad 6^{um}*

2. Prosphora utuntur etiam nostri Rutheni, ex qua extrahunt hostias et particulas, sed rarius, et quibusdam duntaxat in locis, plerumque enim, quemadmodum ad privatas Missas utuntur hostiis iam aliunde paratis, ita ad Missam cantatam easdem adhibere solent, dicentes tamen ea omnia, quae in sectionibus prosphorae dici a Graecis solet. 3. Ubi vero apud Ruthenos cum lancea extrahitur hostia, ex eadem prosphora extrahuntur et particulae, Graeci plures prosphoras adhibent, quia multo pane indigent ad distribuendum populo antidoron seu particulas panis, ex quo excita fuit hostia, et ex quibus aliae extrahuntur particulae, quod iam in nostra Russia vix observatur.

*Prothesis: Commemoration of the Saints - Particles**XVII. 1. ad 7^{um}*

2. Post commemorationem Beatissimae Virginis Mariae in Missalibus nostris fit mentio Sanctissimae et Vivificae Crucis, atque Sanctorum Angelorum

quae mentio in Missa Polocensi omittitur. 3. Commemoratio vero Sanctorum in specie Prophetarum Moysis, Aaron, Aeliae, Aelisei, Davidis, etc., neque in nostra ad Missam praeparatione neque apud Goarium invenitur, sed post commemorationem S. Joannis Baptistae fit commemoratio omnium in genere Prophetarum. 4. Inferius autem inter Sanctos Patres fit apud nos commemoratio Beati Josaphat Martyris, quae in Missa Polocensi omittitur, licet Beatus Josaphat Martyr, Archiepiscopus Polocensis fuerat, et nostrae Unitae Ecclesiae singulare decus. 5. Et adhuc inferius inter Sanctos Confessores memorat Missa Polocensis Athanasium Montis Athos, qui in nostris Missalibus non commemoratur.

6. De particulis iuxta ritum tot apponuntur etiam apud Ruthenos, quando sunt plures communicandi, cum autem nullus speratur communicandus, vix particulae adhiberi solent. 7. Particulas has, quae hostiae adiunguntur, non Uniti consecrare non solent, in sententia existentes, illas consecrari non oportere. 8. Synodus autem Zamosciana tit. III, § III., statuit, ut sequitur: "Quamquam particulae panis, quae ponuntur, et offeruntur circa hostiam Sacerdotis in honorem Deiparae, aliorumque Sanctorum, pro consecratis haberi non possint, si desit in Sacerdote intentio eas consecrandi, quia tamen Schismatici, alique non nulli putant eas consecrari non oportere, idque in pluribus Missalibus notatum est, Sancta Synodus statuit, ac decernit, ut in posterum omnino consecrari debeant, ac in ipsius populi communionem distribui."

Prothesis: Commemoration of the Living

XVIII. 1. ad 8^{um}

2. In preparatione Missae apud Ruthenos Unitos, cum ventum fuerit ad commemorationem vivorum, commemoratio fit imprimis Summi Pontificis, tandem episcopi etc. 3. Post verba autem, "quod vocati in tuam communionem per tuam misericordiam Optime Domine", nostri Rutheni incipiunt commemorationem vivorum ab eo, pro quo specialiter Sacrum offerunt his verbis, "Domine Jesu Christe suscipe Sacrificium hoc in remissionem peccatorum Servi Tui N."

Prothesis: the Deacon's Commemorations

XIX. 1. ad 9^{um}

2. Apud nos Diacono non conceditur cum sancta lancea eximere distinctas particulas, et pro se, atque pro vivis et mortuis offerre, quia Sacerdos est, qui offert, et qui consecrat, non autem Diaconus. 3. Usus hic admittendi Diaconi ad eximendas cum lancea particulas, quamvis in Goario inter varias lec-

tiones adnotatur, tamen non ita se rem habere, in Magna Ecclesia ab eodem scriptore advertitur.²²

Prothesis: the Sponge

XX. 1. ad 10^{mum}

2. Usus spongiae revocat Missa Polocensis, dum huius mentionem facit circa finem Proscomediae, iubens, ut Diaconus cum ea componat in disco particulas.²³ 3. Synodus autem Zamosciana tit. III, § IV, de celebratione Missae, usum spongiae prohibet in haec verba: "Quamquam usus spongiarum ad abstergendam patenam antiquus sit in nostri ritus Ecclesia, illum tamen omnino abrogandum censuit Sancta Synodus, digitoque prout in Latina Ecclesia patenam abstergi iubet, ne spongiis in his regionibus non bene, ut alibi solet, praeparatis, aliquid adhaereat ex pane consecrato, ac Sanctissimum Christi Corpus periculo irreverentiae exponatur."

Prothesis: the Offertory Prayer

XXI. 1. ad 11^{mum}

2. Oratio Prothesis cur hic duntaxat indicetur, et in principio Missae ponatur, non facile intelligere est, quia haec et a Graecis et a Ruthenis in fine Proscomediae dicitur, spectatque non ad Missam, sed ad praeparationem, quam Proscomediam appellamus, videatur et Goario liturgia S. Joannis Chrysostomi.²⁴

Prothesis: the Dimissal

XXII. 1. ad 12^{dum}

2. Cum advertitur in Missa Polocensi, in dimissione commemorandum esse Sanctum Basilium, si liturgia eius perficiatur, dubium alicui oboriri potest, num non sit eandem Missa S. Patris Chrysostomi, et S. Patris Basilii, quae tamen Missae diversae sunt. 3. Exponens ergo Missam S. Joannis Chrysostomi, unius huius Sancti in dimissione mentionem facere debuit.

²² "Diaconus vero accipiens et ipse signaculum et sacram lanciam commemorat quos vult mortuos ac tandem sic dicit: Memento Domine etiam meae indignitatis, ac condona mihi omne delictum voluntarium sicut et involuntarium. Deinde commemorat etiam quos vult vivos in altero signaculo, simili modo, et ponit particula in inferiori parte sancti panis sicuti et sacerdos." *POL*, f. 255r.

²³ "Acprehendens spongiam componit in disco particulas sub ter sanctum panem, ut in tuto sint, ac nihil quidpiam excidat." *POL*, f. 255r.

²⁴ "Sacerdos vero orationem prothesis: Deus, Deus noster: quare in principio Liturgiae. Post hac autem facit dimissionem." *POL*, f. 255r.

*Liturgy of the Word: Initial Incensation**XXIII. 1. ad 13^{tum}*

2. Oratiuncula incipiens, "in sepulchro corpore", a nostris dici non solet, neque in Missalibus invenitur, quamvis in Euchologio Graecorum apud Goarium adnotetur, sed Diaconus suffumigans mensam, sacrarium et sacras imagines recitat psalmum 50.

*Kissing of Hand Cross and Altar**XXIV. 1. ad 14^{tum}*

2. Apud nos post "Rex caelestis" et post "Gloria in excelsis etc." antequam Diaconus dicat "tempus faciendi Domine etc.", Diaconus non osculatur sacram Mensam, sed post preces inter Diaconum et Presbyterum, quae incipiunt "tempus faciendi Domine" completas, Sacerdos praebet Diacono osculandam crucem, et ipse eandem deosculatur, et tandem sacram Mensam.

*Litany of Peace: Petition for Rulers**XXV. 1. ad 15^{tum}*

2. In Slavonico, in hac prece, non vox piissimus, sed magis vox orthodoxus videtur exprimi. 3. Bene autem in numero plurali pro regibus fit oratio, quia hac comprehenduntur omnes reges, qui orthodoxi sunt.²⁵

*Deacon during the Antiphons**XXVI. 1 ad 16^{tum}*

2. Apud nos Diaconi post expletas preces revertuntur ad gradus altaris, aut in eodem loco consistunt, quousque antiphonarum cantus finitus non fuerit, et apud Graecos, quomodo Diaconus ante imagine Christi Domini stare poterit, cum episcopus iuxta morem Missae assistet, quia thronus episcopi ante hanc imaginem constitui solet.

*Deacon at the Trisagion**XXVII. 1 ad 17^{tum}*

2. Post absoluta troparia, quae praescribitur ceremonia a Diacono facienda, accedendi ad sanctas ianuas, et ostendendi orarium ad imaginem Christi, et

²⁵ In this petition there is also an error, probably of transcription. The Latin version, like BEN, includes the palace — "Regibus nostris, toto palatio et exercitu" — but this is omitted from the Slavonic text — "carix našyx y vojnstvi yx", POL, f. 257v-258r.

dicendi etc., quae ordine in Missa Polocensi ponuntur, non est usitata apud nos, et neque apud Graecos, ut videre est in Goario.²⁶

The Trisagion

XXVIII. 1. ad 18^{vum}

2. Apud nos ante cantum trisagii dicitur oratio, et post exclamationem canitur trisagium neque moris est, ut cantores seorsim trisagium canant, et seorsim Sacerdos cum Diacono, nisi Episcopus celebret, tunc enim seorsim canit chorus trisagium et seorsim Episcopus cum suis assistentibus Graeco idiomate. 3. Cum autem Sacerdos celebrat, canente choro tersanctum, Sacerdos cum Diacono ea secreto dicunt, quae chorus canit.

Procession to the Throne

XXIV. 1. ad 19^{num}

2. Oratio superioris suggestus “*Dominator Domine* etc.” non invenitur in nostris Missalibus, sed neque etiam in Goario.²⁷

Blessing before the Prokeimenon

XXX. 1. ad 20^{mum}

2. Post “*Attendamus*” apud nos Sacerdos canit “*Pax omnibus*”, quod et in Goario praescribitur, in Missa vero Polocensi omittitur.

Priest during the Gospel

XXXI. 1. ad 21^{mum}

2. Et apud nos ita servatur, quod Sacerdos tempore Evangelii stat circa Sanctam Mensam, conversus ad occidentem, sed Romae in Collegio Graecorum, ubi ritus Graeci exacte observantur, Sacerdos tempore Evangelii stat in portis Sanctis, conversus facie ad populum, et dimissam penulam tenens.

Ektené: Petition for the Pope and Rulers

XXXII. 1. ad 22^{dum}

2. Apud Ruthenos Unitos in hac precatione pro Regibus, primo fit pro

²⁶ “Atque absoluto Tropario venit Diaconus prope sanctas ianuas et ostendens orarium primum quidem ad imaginem Christi dicit: Domine, salva pios et exaudi nos. Post haec dirigit ad extra stans dicens alta voce: Et in saecula saeculorum.” *POL*, f. 260r.

²⁷ “Dominator Domine Deus virtutum, salva populum tuum et pacifica eum virtute sancti tui spiritus persignum spiritus, persignum pretiosae tuae crucis unigeniti filii tui, cum quo benedictus es in saecula saeculorum amen.” *POL*, f. 260r-261r.

Summo Pontifice, tandem pro Regibus, ita, ut memoria Summi Pontificis et memoria Regum una precatione contineantur, in Graeco autem Romano Euchologio precatio eiusmodi non invenitur.²⁸

Ektené: Petition for the Archbishop

XXXIII. 1. ad 23^{tum}

2. In hac precatione mentio fit "*Diaconatus et Cleri atque populi*", quod tamen in Euchologio Romano non invenitur, neque reperitur in Goario.²⁹

Ektené: Other Petitions

XXXIV. 1. ad 24^{tum}

2. Precationes hae ambae, quae annotantur, nec in Missalibus nostris nec in Goario inveniuntur.³⁰

Ektené: Other Petitions

XXXV. 1. ad 25^{tum}

2. Similiter duae aliae precationes, quae sequuntur, neque in nostro Missali, neque in Goario reperiuntur, sed duntaxat pro circumstante populo etc., quod in fine precationis ultimae adnotatur.³¹

Ecphonesis Preceding the Cherubic Hymn

XXXVI. 1. ad 26^{tum}

2. Uniti Rutheni terminando hanc exclamationem, solent se convertere ad populum, et manus decenter expandere, quemadmodum et cum exclamatio canitur post orationem trisagii.

²⁸ "Adhuc rogamus pro piissimis et a Deo servatis regibus nostris pro potentia, victoria, stabilitate, pace, bona valetudine, et salute ipsorum, utque Dominus Deus noster amplius adjuvet et fortunet eos in omni ac subiiciat pedibus eorum omnem inimicum et adversarium." *POL*, f. 262r.

²⁹ "Adhuc rogamus pro Archiepiscopo nostro N., honorabili Presbiteratu in Christo Diaconatu universo clero et populo." *POL*, f. 262r.

³⁰ "Adhuc rogamus pro fratribus nostris sacerdotibus, Ieromonachis et omni in Christo fraternitate nostra.

Adhuc rogamus pro commiseratione, vita, pace, sanitate, salute, visitatione ac remissione peccatorum servorum Dei fratrum sanctae huius mansionis." *POL*, f. 262r.

³¹ "Adhuc rogamus pro beatis semper memorandis Dominis sanctae huius mansionis et pro omnibus ante defunctis Patribus et fratribus nostris hic pie iacentibus et ubique orthodoxis.

Adhuc rogamus pro fructum-ferentibus et beneficientibus in hoc sancto et multum venerabili templo, laborantibus, psallentibus et circumstante populo expectante a te magnam et abundantem misericordiam." *POL*, f. 262r.

*The Great Entrance**XXXVII. 1. ad 27^{num}*

2. Apud nos Sacerdos discum sanctum non imponit super caput Diaconi, sed illi ad manus tradit. 3. Diaconus vero supra oculos elevatum habens, dum exit per portam consuetam canit: "Omnium vestrum orthodoxorum Christianorum recordetur etc." 4. In Euchologio vero Romano uti inferius hae voces "orthodoxorum Christianorum" omittuntur.

5. Circa translationem ex Prothesi in altare donorum, post precationem Diaconi, ut supra, Sacerdos omnis Unitus Ruthenus, iuxta formam a Missali praescriptam, commemorat primo elevata voce Summi Pontificis nomen, dein Regnantis, mox Archiepiscopi vel Episcopi sui, et Religiosi Sacerdotes suorum Superiorum, complendo talem commemorationem verbis superius pro Diacono praescriptis, scilicet, "et omnium vestrum orthodoxorum Christianorum recordetur etc." 6. Notandum hunc usum ordinatione Synodi Zamoscianaе demandatum fuisse tit. I, de Fide Catholica, in haec verba: "Eadem de causa ad demonstrandam sinceram membrorum cum capite coniunctionem, censuit etiam ac praecepit, sub paenis arbitrio Ordinarii infligendis ut ubicunque in sacris dipthychis commemoratio Romani Pontificis facienda erit, praesertim vero tempore Sacrificii Missae in translatione oblatorum, fiat claris et expressis verbis, quibus alter, quam Romanus universalis Episcopus designari non possit."

*At the Deposition of the Gifts**XXXVIII. 1. ad 28^{num}*

2. Commemoratio haec a Diacono intrantis Sacerdotis, nec in nostra Missa, nec in Goario invenitur.³²

*At the Deposition of the Gifts**XXXIX. 1. ad 29^{num}*

2. Oratiuncula "*in sepulchro*" desideratur in Missalibus nostris, sed neque habetur apud Goar in Missa Graecorum.³³

³² "Diaconus vero intus sanctas ianuas intrans stat a dextris et parato Sacerdote ingredi, Diaconus ipsi dicit: Recordetur Dominus Deus sacerdotii tui in regno suo; tum sacerdos illi: Recordetur Dominus sacridiaconatus tui in regno suo in perpetuum nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum." *POL*, f. 264r.

³³ "Ac Sacerdos quidem ponit sanctum calicem in sancta mensa, sancto autem disco accepto ex capite Diaconi deponit etiam illum in sancta mensa dicens: Decorus Iosephus ex ligno deponens: usque ad finem. In sepulchro more corporum: sicut vitae lator, sicut paradiso venustior." *POL*, f. 264r.

*At the "Accessus ad altare" Dialogue**XL. 1. ad 30^{mum}*

2. Cum penulae forma aliquanto se aliter habeat apud Graecos, ac apud nos, imo ut perhibetur etiam apud Sacerdotes minoris Russiae, illa hoc loco non exigit demissionem sui, nec talis demissio requiritur a Goario.

*The Proscomide Prayer**XLI. 1. ad 31^{mum}*

2. Oratio oblationis melius in Latinum conversa habetur apud Goar, quam in Missa Polocensi convertitur.³⁴

*The Creed and Veil Removal**XLII. 1. ad 32^{dum}*

2. Missalia nostra Ruthena Unitorum praescribunt velum, quo tegebantur dona, extendendum supra eadem, donec Symboli recitatio compleatur, apud Graecos autem cum celebrat Episcopus, velum extenditur a Sacerdotibus assistentibus super caput eiusdem. 3. Id etiam notandum est, quod Synodus Zamosciana praescripserit Unitis, ut ubicunque Symbolum legitur, aut imprimitur, semper particula "Filioque" addatur. 4. Quod Symbolum, cum in corpore huius Missae Polocensis non habetur, verendum est, ne mutuatis non nullis ex Missalibus non Unitorum ceremoniis, in Symbolo canendo talis particula omittatur.

5. Iidem Uniti terminata recitatione Symboli, iuxta instructionem suorum Missalium, ter elevant, et demittunt aerem, sive velum, ter repetentes trisagium, sive Sancte Deus, etc., et osculato velo idem deponunt.

*The Fans**XLIII. 1. ad 33^{tium}*

2. Flabello non amplius utuntur Rutheni Uniti.

³⁴ "Domine Deus omnipotens, solus sancte, qui suscipis sacrificium laudis ab invocantibus te in toto corde, admitte et nostri peccatorum postulationem, et defer illam ad sanctum tuum altare, nosque redde idoneos offerre tibi dona atque sacrificia spiritualia pro nostris peccatis et populi ignorantibus, ac dignare nos invenire gratiam coram te, ut fiat acceptum tibi sacrificium nobis, et in propositis donis his atque in universo populo tuo." *POL*, f. 264r-265v; cf. Goar, p. 74.

*The "Sursum Corda" Actions**XLIV. 1. ad 34^{um}*

2. Ante pronuntiandum "Sursum habeamus corda", non est annotatus affectus per actionem externam manifestatus, cum quo Missale nostrum praescribit verba illa pronuntiari debere.

*The Pre-Sanctus Prayer**XLVI. ad 35^{um}*

2. Versio precationis "Dignum et iustum etc.", in Latinum melius expressa habetur apud Goarium.³⁵

*The Removal of the Asterisk from the Discos**XLVI. 1. ad 36^{um}*

2. Semel Diaconus accipiens stellam ex sancto disco, facit signum crucis supra illum apud nos, et apud Graecos, cum scilicet Sacerdos facit exclamationem "Victorialem hymnum etc." 3. Cum autem in Missa Polocensi scribatur "hic denuo", actio Diaconi cum stella videtur duplex praescribi, quod apud Graecos fieri non solet.

*Preparation for the Consecration - Text Omission**XLVII. 1. ad 37^{um}*

2. In Missalibus nostris Ruthenis Unitis, antequam recitetur oratio "Cum his et nos beatis etc.", monentur Sacerdotes, ut attentis et cum intentione consecrandi, proferant verba consecratoria, signato prius pane et vino ante respectiva consecrationis verba. 3. Quae admonitio in Missa quoque Polocensi adiungenda esset, ne per omissionem confirmetur opinio non Unitorum, non his verbis, sed inferius positus deprecatoriis "et fac quidem panem hunc etc., quod autem in calice isto pretiosum sanguinem etc." peragi consecrationem. 4. Quam opinionem pro dogmate habent non Uniti, quia Episcopi circa suam consecra-

³⁵ "Dignum et iustum te praedicare, te benedicere, te laudare, tibi gratias agere, te adorare in omni loco dominationis tuae; tu enim es Deus ineffabilis, imperceptibilis, invisibilis, incomprehensibilis, qui semper es, ita ut es; tu et unigenitus tuus Filius, et Spiritus tuus sanctus, tu ex non ente ad esse nos perduxisti, et lapsos erexisti denuo, neque destitisti omnia facere, — donec nos in caelum deduxeris, et regnum tuum futurum muneraveris; pro his omnibus agimus tibi gratias, et unigenito tuo Filio, ac Spiritui tuo Sancto pro omnibus, quae scimus, et quae nescimus, manifestis, et occultis factis in nos beneficis; gratias agimus tibi etiam pro hoc ministerio quod de manibus nostris suscipere dignatus es, quamvis tibi adstant mille archangelorum, et decem millia angelorum, cherubim ac seraphim senisalis, pleni oculis, elevantes se pennati." *POL*, f. 265r-266r; cf. Goar, p. 75.

tionem id profitentur, ut videre est in annexis a Deputatione Comitali editis f. 126.

5. In Latina traductione omissa sunt verba, post verba “nocte qua tradebatur imo potius seipsum tradebat”, “*pro mundi vita*”, quae in textu Rutheno inveniuntur, et tota expositio Latina secundum Goarium esset corrigenda.³⁶

The Deacon during the Consecration

XLVIII. 1. ad 38^{vum}

2. Designatio patenae et calicis per Diaconum, dum Sacerdos profert consecratoria verba, apud Ruthenos nunc fieri non solet.

“Yours of Your Own”

XLIX. 1. ad 39^{mum}

2. “*Tua ex tuis* etc.” dum canunt Sacerdotes Uniti, elevant aliquanto calicem et patenam.

Troparion of the Holy Spirit

L. 1. ad 40^{mum}

2. “*Domine qui summe sanctus* etc.” oratio ter in Missa Polocensi repetitur, quemadmodum et apud nos fit, repetitio tamen haec, nec in Euchologio Romano impresso, nec apud Goar adnotatur.

The Deacon during the Epiclesis

LII. 1. ad 41^{mum}

2. Admonitiones Diaconi, quid Sacerdos agere debeat, quemadmodum hic, ita etiam et in aliis locis, a Sacerdotibus Unitis non observantur.

The Commemorations

LII. 1. ad 42^{dum}

2. Post verba “*in fide quieverunt*” in textu Rutheno habetur pro “Maiores, Patribus, Patriarchis, Prophetis, Apostolis, Praedicatoribus, Evangelistis etc.”, et in textu Graeco. 3. Latina autem versio Polocensis id non habet.

³⁶ “Imo potius se ipsum tradebat, accipiens panem”, *POL*, 266r. The phrase is given in *BEN*, p. 51.

*The Commemorations**LIII. 1. ad 43^{tium}*

2. Commemoratio a Diacono mortuorum ex diptychis, seu tabellis, apud nos non est in usu, sed Sacerdos, quos vult, suo loco mente commemorat.

*The Commemorations**LIV. 1. ad 44^{tum}*

2. Commemoratio mortuorum duntaxat hic fit a Sacerdotibus nostris Unitis, commemoratio autem vivorum fit inferius, scilicet post "Imprimis memento Domine etc."

*The Commemorations**LV. 1. ad 45^{tum}*

2. Apud Unitos hoc loco ante Archiepiscopum fit commemoratio Summi Pontificis a Sacerdote.³⁷ 3. Diaconus vero nullam commemorationem facit, neque diptycha vivorum recitat, sed ipse Sacerdos, quos vult, aut debet, commemorat. 4. Neque diptycha vivorum recitari praescribuntur in Goar hoc loco, sed superius, ubi fit commemoratio mortuorum. 5. Expositio quoque orationum Latina in Goario melior et elegantior videtur esse.

*The "Our Father"**LVI. 1. ad 46^{tum}*

2. Oratio Dominica apud nos, dum a populo canitur, a Sacerdote secreto recitatur.

*Preparation to Communion**LVII. 1. ad 47^{mum}*

2. Si portae sint clausae, et velo, ut plurimum obductae, quomodo Diaconus videre potest Sacerdotem tangentem panem, et aliquanto elevantem?

³⁷ At this point in the commemorations, when the priest says aloud "Imprimis memento, Domine, Archiepiscopi nostri, etc.", a note in POL adds, "Si in communione Ecclesiae veteris Romae, observa dictum in principio Missalis." There is no such information at the beginning of POL. However, this same note is given in BEN, referring to the preface concerning the pope. Whether or not POL had such a preface, this does show how closely BEN was being followed in the translation. Since it was common practice among the Ruthenians by this time to commemorate the pope, it would have been just as easy for the POL redactors to have given the full commemoration in the text. Cf. POL, f. 267r.

*The Deacon's Orarion*LVIII. 1. ad 48^{rum}

2. Apud nos Unitos iam moris non est, ut Diaconi orario se praecingat in formam crucis, Sacerdos autem ante "*attendamus*" lavare manus solet.

*The Teplota*LIX. 1. ad 49^{num}

2. Synodus Zamosciana tit. III, § IV, inhibuit, et abrogavit toleratam in Orientali Ecclesia consuetudinem ad consecratas calicis species, aquam tepidam infundendi post consecrationem ante communionem.

*The Deacon's Communion*LX. 1. ad 50^{mum}

2. Neque nunc est moris apud nos, ut in qualibet Missa Diaconus participes fiat Corporis et Sanguinis Christi Domini, aut particulam Corporis Christi accipiat de manu Sacerdotis, proinde ceremoniae respicientes talem communionem omittuntur.

*The Priest's Communion*LXI. 1. ad 51^{mum}

2. In Goario non exprimitur Sacerdotem accipere unam particulam Sancti Panis, sed scribitur Sacerdotem accipere Sanctum Panem. 3. Si una duntaxat particula accipietur a Sacerdote, altera immittetur in sanctum calicem, tertia impertietur Diacono, quare et ubi quarta relinquetur? 4. Nec annotatur, quid cum particulis in praepositione extractis, et cum hostia consecranda coniunctis fieri debeat? 5. Si ut opinantur non Uniti consecrari non debent, quomodo misceri possint cum Sanguine Christi? 6. Quid Sacerdotes non Uniti distribuent populo, maxime si frequens ad communionem fuerit? 7. Cum duae partes hostiae numero communicando populo satis esse non possunt.

*Additional Communion Prayers*LXII. 1. ad 52^{dum}

2. Haec oratio quamvis pia, desideratur in Missalibus nostris.

*The Veil and Purificator*LXIII. 1. ad 53^{tium}

2. Non est aequum et conveniens, ut velamine sive os Sacerdotis, sive sa-

cer calix abstergatur, si per velamen intelligitur tegumentum ex materia sericea factum, quo Graeci cooperiunt sanctum calicem, si vero intelligitur purificatorium, bene procedit, sed nescio, num Graeci in Oriente tale purificatorium adhibeant, quali utuntur Latini et nostri Rutheni.

Prayer of Thanksgiving

LXIV. 1. ad 54^{tum}

2. Haec oratio gratiarum actoria apud nos, et apud Goarium solet recitari post conversionem unam, et alteram, cum sancto calice Sacerdotis ad populum.

The Deacon's Chalice Reception

LXV. 1. ad 55^{tum}

2. Apud nos Diaconus accipit calicem non ex mensa, sed de manu Sacerdotis.

The Chalice after Communion

LXVI. 1. ad 56^{tum}

2. Non adnotatur quo in loco Sacerdos calicem reponere debet post illius secundariam populo ostensionem. 3. Apud Graecos reportare solet ad prothesim, et in illius altari collocare; apud nos vero cum mos referendi ad altare prothesis sublatus sit, reponitur in eodem altari, in quo Missa celebrata fuit a Sacerdote, et ab eodem non quemadmodum apud Graecos fit, reliquum Corporis et Sanguinis Christi consumitur.

Psalm 33

LXVII. 1. ad 57^{mum}

2. Psalmus hic 33 in Euchologio Romano non commendatur recitandus, in Goar et apud nos commendatur.

Prayer before the Ablution

LXVIII. 1. ad 58^{vum}

2. Haec oratio nec apud Graecos, nec apud nos circa Prothesim dicitur, sed circa altare, in quo Sacrificium fuit celebratum.

The Ablution

LXIX. 1. ad 59^{num}

2. Quamvis Graecos ritus exprimere voluit Missa Polocensis, tamen iuxta

Latinam expositionem non docet, quid cum reliquo Corporis et Sanguinis Christi fieri debeat, apud Graecos consumit Diaconus, apud nos Sacerdos; Goarius adnotavit, si abfuerit Diaconus, ipsum Sacerdotem consumere debere.

Antidoron Distribution

LXX. 1. ad 60^{mum}

2. Eulogiae non in omnibus locis apud nos distribuuntur, distribuuntur tamen in Ukraina.

Concluding Troparion

LXXI. 1. ad 61^{mum}

2. In Euchologio Romano post “Nunc dimittis” praescribitur troparium et condacium diei; in Missa autem Polocensi, in Goar, et apud nos S. Joannis Chrysostomi, se Missa eiusdem Sancti canitur.³⁸

³⁸ *BEN*, p. 63. “Dimissorium et breviculum diei. Tum troparium Chrysostomi: Oris tui veluti...” *POL*, f. 271v.

APPENDIX II

PRINTED RUTHENIAN SLUŽEBNYKY

(and other texts with CHR)

The following is a list of full služebnyky, CHR excerpts, and other texts containing CHR, printed in and for the Ruthenian Church up to the nineteenth century. We include the Orthodox Ruthenian editions which follow the Nikonian tradition. We also include editions listed in various catalogues of old prints whose existence is doubtful. Some editions had several simultaneous printings with minor changes, e.g., one 1759 *Lviv* printing is dedicated to Bishop A. Šeptyc'kyj, while another is dedicated to Bishop Volodkovyč. Other editions were reprinted in successive years, but the date on the title page remained unaltered; this is the case of Kyška's reprint of the 1692 *Žoxovs'kyj* edition mentioned in chapter 2.

Since our primary concern is the history of CHR in the Ruthenian Church and not that of the liturgical texts as such, our descriptions are not exhaustive, but are intended to give sufficient information on the sources used. In referring to liturgical texts, we always cite printed folia and page numbers when found, generally indicating the specific service; e.g., 1691 *Lviv CHR* f. 72v, is the foliation on the sheet with the opening doxology of Chrysostom's liturgy. For major sections of a text with unnumbered folia, e.g. 1617 *Mamonyč Nauka* and *prothesis*, the folia are counted only from the beginning of the particular section, and not from the beginning of the text, since initial folia are often missing in available copies and catalogue descriptions vary in listing these folia. Here again we generally indicate the specific section. Printing errors in foliation and pagination will be noted only where they affect sheets we are concerned with. In the following listings numbers in square brackets indicate unnumbered folia.

Catalogue Sources

- BYČ = A. Byčkov, A. Viktorov, "Dopolnenie k očerku bibliografii V. Undoľskogo", *UND* (2) col. 333-388.
- GOLEN = G. Golenčenko, *Bibliografičeskij spisok belarusskix staropečatnyx izdanij XVI-XVIII vv.*, Minsk 1961.
- GOLOV = Ja. Golovackij, "Dopolnenie k očerku slavjanorusskoj bibliografii V.M. Undoľskogo", *Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti imperatorskoj Akademii nauk*, 11 (1874), no. 5: 1-96.

- GOR = A. Gorfunkel, *Katalog knig kirillovskej pečati 16-17 vekov*, Leningrad 1970.
- KAR(1) = I. Karataev, *Xronologičeskaja rospis' slavjanskix knig napečatannyx kirillovskimi bukvami 1491-1730*, St. Petersburg 1861.
- KAR(3) = I. Karataev, *Opisanie slavjano-russkix knig napečatannyx kirillovskimi bukvami: tom pervyj, s 1491 po 1652 g.*, St. Petersburg 1883.
- LUK = V. Lukjanenko, *Katalog belorusskix izdanij kirillovskogo šrifta XVI-XVII vv.*, 2 vols., Leningrad 1973-75.
- MAKS = F. Maksymenko, *Kyrylyčni starodruky ukrajins'kyx drukaren', ščo zberihajuťsja u L'vivs'kyx zbirkax (1574-1800)*, Lviv 1975.
- MIL = A. Milovidov, *Opisanie slavjano-russkix staropečatnyx knig Vilenskoj publičnoj biblioteki (1491-1800)*, Vilna 1908.
- PETR = S. Petrov, et al., *Slavjanskije knigi kirillovskej pečati XV-XVII vv.*, Kiev 1958.
- POZ = I. Pozdeeva, et al., *Katalog knig kirilličeskoj pečati XV-XVII vv. Naučnoj biblioteki Moskovskogo universiteta*, Moscow 1980.
- ROD(1) = A. Rodosskij, *Opisanie staropečatnyx i cerkovno-slavjanskix knig xranjaščixsja v biblioteke S. Petersburgskoj duxovnoj akademii: vypusk pervyj 1491-1700*, St. Petersburg 1891.
- ROD(2) = A. Rodosskij, *Opisanie knig graždanskoj pečati XVIII stoletija xranjaščixsja v biblioteke S. Petersburgskoj duxovnoj akademii*, St. Petersburg 1896.
- SEC = E. Secinskij, *Opis' staropečatnyx knig*, Kamjanec'-Podil's'kyj 1904.
- SOP = V. Sopikov, *Opyt rossijskoj bibliografii*, ed. V.N. Rogožin, St. Petersburg 1904.
- STROEV(1) = P. Stroev, *Opisanie staropečatnyx knig slavjanskix naxodjaščixsja v biblioteke... I.N. Carskogo*, Moscow 1836.
- STROEV(2) = P. Stroev, *Opisanie staropečatnyx knig slavjanskix, služušče dopolnieniem k opisanijam bibliotek grafa F.A. Tolstova i kupca I.N. Carskogo*, Moscow 1841.
- STROEV(3) = P. Stroev, *Obstojatelnoe opisanie staropečatnyx knig slavjanskix i rossijskix xranjaščixsja v biblioteke... grafa F.A. Tolstova*, Moscow 1829.
- SVJEN(1) = I. Svjencyc'kyj, *Kataloh knyh cerkovno-slavjanskoji pečaty*, Žovkva 1908.
- SVJEN(2) = I. Svjencyc'kyj, *Opys' muzeja Stavropihijskoho Instytutu vo L'vovi*, Lviv 1908.
- UND(1) = V. Undol'skij, *Katalog slavjano-russkix knig cerkovnoj pečati, biblioteki A.N. Kasterina*, Moscow 1848.
- UND(2) = V. Undol'skij, *Xronologičeskij ukazatel slavjano-russkix knig cerkovnoj pečati s 1491-go po 1864-i g: Vypusk pervyj, Očerki slavjano-russkoj bibliografii*, Moscow 1871.

ZAP = Ja. Zapasko, Ja. Isajevyč, *Pam'jatky knyžkovoho mystectva. Kataloh starodrukiv vydanyx na Ukrajinu: knyha perša (1574-1700)*, vol. 1, Lviv 1981. The second volume of this work, covering the years 1701-1764, printed in 1984, was not accessible in time to be included in detail in this study.

ZERN = A. Zernova, *Knigi kirillovskoj pečati izdanye v Moskve v XVI-XVII vekax*, Moscow 1958.

Table

1583 Vilna (Mamonyč)

4°; [4] + 297f.

KAR(3) 106, ROD(1) 21, PETR 25, LUK 1:12; see also STROEV(2) 7, STROEV(3) 24, UND(1) 34, UND(2) 92, SOP 1331, GOLEN 14, MAKS 754.

Photo-reproduction found at FRAN

Cf. Bocian, "De modificationibus", p. 944, 961; Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluzhenie*, p. 57-74; Ruđ, "Liturgija", p. 171; Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 6, 155.

Produced by the Mamonyč press, this was the first služebnyk printed in Slavic lands, and was preceded only by the editio princeps from Venice of 1519 (also 1527, 1554, and 1570). The first Muscovite služebnyk was printed in 1602.

For information on the Mamonyč press, which produced other important early liturgical texts, see: Teodor Iljaszewicz, *Drukarnia Domu Mamoniczów w Wilnie 1575-1623*, Vilna 1938 (this has been updated by the following two articles): M.I. Praškovič, "Kulturna-asvetnickaja rolja drukarni Mamoničau", *450 God belaruskaha kniha-drukavannja*, Minsk 1968, p. 155-169; A. Zernova, "Tipografija Mamoničej v Viľne (XVII vek)", *Kniga: issledovanija i materialy*, 1 (Moscow 1959): 167-223. See also Ohijenko, *Istorija drukarstva*, p. 173; Wawryk, "Cerkovni drukarni", p. 112; also the review of Zernova's article by Wawryk in *AOSBM*, 13 (1971): 382-383.

1598 Vilna (Mamonyč)

4°; 244 unnumbered folia

KAR(3) 156, ROD(1) 57, LUK 1:44; see also KAR(1) 196, PETR 39, GOLEN 43, POZ 63.

Microfilm found at FRAN.

Cf. Arximandrit Leonid, *Bibliografičeskaja zametka o služebnykax Vilenskoj pečati XVI veka*, St. Petersburg 1882; Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 155; Zernova, "Tipografija Mamoničej", p. 208-209.

This text is almost identical to the 1583 Vilna edition, the main difference being the addition of some Muscovite saints to the prothesis rite and calendar, an indication that this was meant especially for Muscovy. The short 26-page work by Archmandrite Leonid is the best study on this edition.

ROD(1) 57 erroneously identified this edition as the 1617 Vilna text.

1604 Strjatyn' (Balaban)

4°; [1] + 11f. + 570p.

KAR(3) 175, SVJEN(1) 184; see also STROEV(3) 46, UND(2) 155, SOP 1333, KAR(1) 144, ROD(1) 41, SVJEN(2) 101-102, MIL 17, PETR 43, MAKS 204, ZAP 65.

Copies found at PIO and FRAN.

Cf. Bocian, "De modificationibus", p. 944; Lotoc'kyj, *Ukrajins'ki džerala*, p. 40; I. Ohijenko, "Ukrajins'kyj naholos na počatku XVII-ho viku i Strjatyns'kyj služebnyk 1604 r. i značinnja joho naholosiv", *AOSBM*, 2 (1926): 1-19; Ruđ, "Liturgija", p. 169.

This edition was printed by Orthodox Bishop Gedeon Balaban of Lviv, and was one of the texts used by Patriarch Nikon in his reform of the Muscovite služebnyk printed in 1655; cf. Uspenskij, "Kollizija", p. 152ff.

1607 Vilna (doubtful)

4°; 112f. + 464p.

STROEV(3) 53, UND(2) 167, SOP 1334, KAR(1) 157, KAR(3) 189.

Cf. Bocian, "De modificationibus", p. 944; A. Milovidov, "Staropečatnyja slavjano-russkija izdanija iz zapadno-russkix tipografij XVI-XVIII vv.", *ČOJDR*, 1908, 1:1-27; Ruđ, "Liturgija", p. 169 (which dates this as 1606, probably a typographical error).

None of the above sources give even a minimal description, but tend to rely on other sources, including UND(2), who gives page and folio numbers. Ruđ lists this as one of the texts available at the National Museum in Lviv, but he never cites it though he repeatedly cites other služebnyky.

1612 Ostrih (doubtful)

Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 96, notes that Bocian, "De modificationibus", p. 961, is the only one to mention this work. He suggests that Bocian confused it with the 1616 *Mohyliv* edition. In discussing the Ostrih press, Ohijenko mentions no služebnyk or this date, but does mention a časoslov printed there in 1612; cf. Ohijenko, *Istorija drugarstva*, p. 160-180.

1616 Mohyliv (doubtful)

UND(2) 204, SOP 1337, KAR(1) 188, KAR(3) 227, GOLEN 263.

None of these sources give a sufficient description. Raes notes that no exemplars are known; cf. Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 96.

1617 Mohyliv (doubtful)

KAR(3) 236 and GOLEN 264 are the only sources to mention this edition, but without any description.

1617 Vilna (Mamonyč - Catholic)

4°; [3] + [26] + [26] + 473p.

KAR(3) 237, ROD(1) 56, LUK 2:58; see also STROEV(2) 19, UND(1)

92, UND(2) 210, KAR(1) 193, SOP 1339, SVJEN(1) 185, MIL 23, GOLEN 58.

Microfilm copy found at FRAN.

Cf. Petrovskij, "Učitel'noe izvestie", (a study of the *Nauka* or instructions for the priest from this text); Solovey, "Latinization", p. 21; Wawryk, "Cerkovni drukarni", p. 111, 117, 123; Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 112.

This was the first služebnyk produced specifically for the Catholic Ruthenians, although it does not contain ecclesiastical approval. It was printed in the secular Mamonyč press with the help of the newly reformed Basilians, Josaphat Kuncevyč and Leo Krevza; cf. M. Wawryk, "De s. hieromartyre Josaphat", *OCP*, 33 (1967): 591-603. In reply to Cassian Sakowicz's criticism in *Perspectywa* that the Catholic Ruthenians were using Orthodox liturgical texts, Bishop P. Vojna-Orans'kyj of Pinsk (1647-1653) replied that the Catholics were using this 1617 Mamonyč edition, which contained the correct faith and followed tradition; cf. Wawryk, "Cerkovni drukarni", p. 117. The text of CHR does not differ from traditional Ruthenian celebration, but the *Nauka* or instructions to the priests at the beginning of the text contains a combination of traditional Eastern usage and theology and Latin practices and theology.

This was the only printed Catholic služebnyk until the Žoxovs'kyj edition of 1692. Up to that time, and even after 1692, there were several attempts to make this 1617 Mamonyč text the standard edition for Catholic use.

1617 Vilna (Holy Spirit Brotherhood - Orthodox)

4°; [28] + 461p.

KAR(3) 233, LUK 2:60; see also UND(1) 93, UND(2) 211, KAR(1) 193, PETR 64, GOLEN 81.

Defective copy found at PIO.

Microilm copy found at FRAN.

The main differences between this and the Catholic edition printed that same year in Vilna are in the introductory rubrics and information; this edition does not have the *Nauka*, but begins with rubrics for the consecration and reservation on Holy Thursday of the yearly eucharist for the sick. Not all authors have been aware of the distinction of these two editions, e.g. Bocian, "De modificationibus", p. 944.

ROD(1) 57 erroneously identified a 1598 *Vilna* text for the 1617 *Vilna* edition.

1620 Kiev (Pletenec'kyj)

4°; [16] + 56p. + 521p.

KAR(3) 256, MIL 28; see also STROEV(2) 22, UND(1) 110, UND(2) 231, SOP 1340, KAR(1) 213, PETR 72, MAKS 213, ZAP 134.

Cf. Rud', "Liturgija", p. 169; Titov, *Priloženija*, p. 29-31; Titov, *Ti-*

pografija, p. 109-112; Uspenskij, “Kollizija”, p. 152ff.

This, the first of many Kievan editions, was printed under Archimandrite Jelysej Pletenec’kyj.

1624 Vilna (Holy Spirit Brotherhood)

8°; [4] + 156f.

KAR(3) 286, LUK 2:70; see also UND(2) 272, SOP 1343, KAR(1) 244, GOLEN 93.

Cf. *Lithos*, p. 85; Nikoľskij, *Ob antiminsax*, p. 124; Petrovskij, “Učiteľnoe izvestie”, p. 1220.

This should not be confused with the work printed in Polish that same year in Vilna entitled: *Wyklad Liturgiey świętey, y Modlitwy z Doctorow SS. Według s. Wschodniey y Apostolskiey Cerkwie zebrane [...]*, which contains a Polish translation of CHR plus other liturgical texts; cf. Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska*, 33 (Cracow 1939): 427-428.

1629 Kiev (Mohyla)

2°; [28] + 144p. + 300p. + [4]

KAR(3) 336, ZAP 193; see also UND(1) 160, UND(2) 326-327, KAR(1) 294, SOP 1345, SVJEN(1) 186, SVJEN(2) 103, MIL 35, PETR 104, MAKS 227, POZ 186.

Copy found at PIO.

Cf. Bocian, “De modificationibus”, p. 945; Golubev, *Petr Mogila*, 1: 368-385, 394; Lotoc’kyj, *Ukrajins’ki džerela*, p. 40-41; Raes, “Liturgicon”, p. 96-97; Rud’, “Liturgija”, p. 169; Titov, *Priloženija*, p. 195-213; Titov, *Ti-pografija*, p. 177-182; Uspenskij, “Kollizija”, p. 152ff; Wawryk, “Do istoriji”, p. 126.

Edited by Peter Mohyla when he was archimandrite of the Kiev Pečerska Lavra, this text has some differences from his 1639 služebnyk, which became the standard Mohylan edition.

1634 Vilna (doubtful)

UND(2) 380, KAR(1) 353, KAR(3) 411, SOP 1349, GOLEN 150.

None of these sources give a substantial description.

1637 Lviv (Stauropedia)

4°; [8] + 241f.

KAR(3) 452, ZAP 258; see also UND(2) 431, KAR(1) 398, SVJEN(1) 187, SVJEN(2) 104-105, PETR 126, MAKS 16, GOR 87.

Cf. Nikoľskij, *Ob antiminsax*, p. 125; Sakowicz, “Kievskij sobor”, p. 32. Our main source of information is Rud’s article “Liturgija”, in which he makes numerous references to this edition.

This was the first služebnyk printed by the Lviv Stauropedia Brotherhood. Its later editions followed the *1639 Mohylan* text, thus differ from this 1637 edition.

1638 Jevje (Holy Spirit Brotherhood)

8°; [4] + 166f.

KAR(3) 472, LUK 2:90; see also UND(2) 441, KAR(1) 417, GOLEN 200.

Cf. Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 366; *Lithos*, p. 60.

This press was near Vilna and used by the Holy Spirit Orthodox Brotherhood when they could not print in Vilna. The text follows closely the 1624 Vilna edition.

1638 Vilna (doubtful)

UND(2) 439, KAR(1) 421, SOP 1352, GOLEN 102.

None of these sources give any substantial description. This may be confused with the 1638 Jevje text.

1638 Kiev (doubtful)

UND(2) 459, KAR(1) 418, KAR(3) 477, SOP 1353.

No adequate descriptions are given by any of these sources; this may be confused with the 1639 Kiev edition.

1639 Kiev (standard Mohylan edition)

4°; [16] + 720p. + 8p. + 128p.

KAR(3) 489, ROD(1) 155, ZAP 273; see also UND(1) 226, UND(2) 471, KAR(1) 433, SVJEN(1) 226, SVJEN(2) 106, PETR 133, MAKS 237, POZ 293.

Copy found at PIO.

Cf. Bocian, "De modificationibus", p. 931-932, 944-946, 961, 965; Lotoc'kyj, *Ukrajins'ki dzerela*, p. 41; Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 98; Ruđ, "Liturgija", p. 169; Titov, *Priloženija*, p. 213-219; Titov, *Tipografija*, p. 240-242; Uspenskij, "Kollizija", p. 152ff.

This is the standard Mohylan služebnyk, which subsequent Orthodox Ruthenian editions followed until taking either the Žoxovs'kyj tradition (as in the case of the Lviv editions) or the Nikonian tradition (for the remaining Orthodox Ruthenian editions). A notable characteristic of this 1639 Mohylan edition is the addition at the end of the služebnyk of litanies and prayers for twenty-five various intentions for which the liturgy might be requested; see the list in ROD(1) 155. For more information on Mohyla's eucharistic theology, see his 1646 *Trebnyk*.

1640 Vilna (doubtful)

UND(2) 488(388), KAR(1) 455, KAR(3) 510, PETR 139, GOLEN 152.

No substantial description is given by these sources, other than PETR, who is unsure of the date; see 1641 Vilna.

1641 Jevje (Holy Spirit Brotherhood)

8°; [4] + 143f.

KAR(3) 512, LUK 2:94, GOLEN 202.

Microfilm copy found at FRAN.

Cf. Nikoľskij, *Ob antiminsax*, p. 122; Petrovskij, "Učitel'noe izvestie", p. 1220.

LUK 2:94 gives Jevje as the place of publishing, then adds Vilna in parentheses. Thus the following 1641 *Vilna* edition is probably the same one, but more complete.

1641 Vilna

8°; [8] + 264f. + [12]

UND(2) 506, KAR(1), KAR(3) 525, SOP 1357, PETR 139, GOLEN 105.

None of these sources give a substantial description, other than PETR, who is unsure in dating it 1640 or 1641. This is likely a variation of the 1641 *Jevje* edition.

1646 Lviv

4°; [6] + 308f. + [2]

ZAP 352; see also UND(1) 290, UND(2) 596, KAR(1) 535, KAR(3) 597, SVJEN(1) 190, MIL 49, PETR 165, MAKS 158, POZ 390.

Copy found at PIO and VAT.

Cf. Ruď, "Liturgija", p. 170.

Printed by the press of Michael Slozka for Orthodox Bishop Arsenius Želybors'kyj of Lviv, this follows the Mohylan tradition, but does not contain the various mass intention propers found in the 1639 *Kiev* edition.

1646 Kiev (doubtful)

GOLOV 31 is the only source to mention this text, but without any description.

1653 Kiev

4°; [4] + 360f. + 64f. + [2]

SVJEN(1) 191, ZAP 383; see also STROEV(2) 87, STROEV(3) 116, UND(1) 345, UND(2) 694, KAR(1) 640, SOP 1363, PETR 199, MAKS 242.

Copies found at PIO and FRAN.

Cf. Titov, *Priloženija*, p. 219-221; Titov, *Tipografija*, p. 321-322.

This follows the Mohylan tradition.

1666 Lviv (Stauropagia)

4°; [4] + 335f. + 57f.

SVJEN(1) 192, ZAP 432; see also UND(2) 816, KAR(1) 742, SVJEN(2) 107-108, PETR 239, MAKS 31.

Copies found at PIO and VAT.

Cf. Ruď, "Liturgija", p. 170.

This follows the Mohylan tradition and includes the propers for the mass intentions from Mohyla.

1671 *Ecphonemata Liturgiey Greckiey*

ECPHONEMATA LITURGIEY GRECKIEY, To iest: To co przy Liturgiey Kaplan (Dyakon) y Chór wgłos tylko śpiewają: ze Mszey S. Bazylego Wielkiego, y S. Jana Chryzostoma wyjęte: y językiem Słowieńskim, a charakterem Polskim, z nowym wykładem na język Polski na przeciwnych Painach położonym: do tego z Sumą Rubryk teyże Liturgiey sporządzone y do Druka podane – Tudziesz HARMONIA albo Krótkie Pogodzenie Różnic w Obrzędach między Mszą S. Rzymską a Liturgią Grecką z objaśnieniem Obrzędów y Dolożeniem Sposobu Nabożnego a pożytecznego Słuchania Mszy S. tak Rzymskiej iako y Greckiey napisane y do druka także podane..., Vilna 1671.

In chapter 1 we refer briefly to this work. The parallel Slavonic and Polish text of CHR, printed entirely in Polish script, was meant for use by the faithful, especially Latins, and those who could not read the Cyrillic script. Although the complete text of the CHR is not given, the majority of the prayers said silently by the priest being omitted, this text is of value to us for the rubrics given, and the Slavonic text of certain prayers.

The text was written by Pachomius Ohilevyč, who later became the first Basilian not a bishop elected protoarchimandrite (1675-1679). The *Ecphonemata* has 9 unnumbered folia of preamble and 21 unnumbered folia with CHR.

The *Ecphonemata* is followed by the second part of the work entitled *Harmonia*: an explanation of the mass with comparison to the Latin Rite. This consists of 62 unnumbered folia. For his explanation Ohilevyč made use of the works by Goar, Arcudius, Allatius, and Mohyla, plus Greek and Slavonic liturgical texts.

A good description and analysis is found in Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 103-112.

Photoreproduction found at OSBM curia.

1680 *Lviv (doubtful)*

UND(2) 958, KAR(1) 878, SVJEN(2) 109.

No substantial descriptions are given. The copy examined by SVJEN(2) 109 had no title page, and he dates it for 1680, while his following entry is for 1681.

1681 *Lviv (Stauropedia)*

4°; 4f. + 350f. + 60f. + 3f.

SVJEN(1) 193, ZAP 598; see also UND(2) 979, KAR(1) 893, SVJEN(2) 110, MIL 75, PETR 283, MAKS 38.

Copy found at PIO.

Cf. Ruđ, "Liturgija", p. 170.

This follows the Mohylan tradition and gives the propers of the various Mohylan mass intentions.

1691 Lviv (Stauropedia)

2°; [4] + 228f. + 44f.

SVJEN(1) 194, ZAP 668; see also UND(2) 115, KAR(1) 1013, SEC 34, SOP 1372, SVJEN(2) 111-112, PETR 320, MAKS 47.

Copies found at PIO and FRAN.

Cf. Rud, "Liturgija", p. 170.

This follows the Mohylian tradition and has the various Mohylian mass intention propers at the end; it has a combination of *1629 Kiev* and *1639 Kiev* rubrics.

1692 Kiev

12°; [12] + 120f.

ZAP 679; see also UND(1) 533, UND(2) 1121, KAR(1) 1022, SOP 1373, SVJEN(1) 195, PETR 326, MAKS 285.

Cf. Titov, *Priloženija*, p. 221-222; Titov, *Tipografija*, p. 393.

1692 Vilna (Žoxovs'kyj)

2°; [15] + 259f. + 64p.

SVJEN(1) 196; see also UND(2) 1120, KAR(1) 1018, SOP 1374, MIL 82, SVJEN(2) 113-115, PETR 336, GOLEN 119.

Cf. Bocian, "De modificationibus", p. 948ff; Nedelskij, *Lev Kiška*, p. 312; Praszko, *De ecclesia*, p. 271-280; Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 100; Wawryk, "Cerkovni drukarni", p. 120; Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 99-121; Wawryk, "Služebnyk Žoxovs'koho".

There is often confusion between this edition and the 1695 edition printed in Suprasl' under Archimandrite Cyprianovyč, which has more material added at the end of the 1692 edition. Thus MIL and PETR confuse the two texts. We deal with this in chapter 2, note 202. The majority of Catholic služebnyky closely follow this Žoxovs'kyj tradition.

1695 Suprasl' (Cyprianovyč addition)

2°; [15] + 259f. + 64p. + 21f. (n. 65-86).

SVJEN(1) 197; see also UND(2) 1184, KAR(1) 1070, MIL 85, PETR 336, GOLEN 328.

See the *1692 Vilna (Žoxovs'kyj)* edition above.

Copies found at PIO.

1697 Černihiv

8°; [2] + 137f. + [35]

PETR 349, ZAP 718; see also UND(1) 568, UND(2) 1228, KAR(1) 1099, SOP 1375.

Cf. Kameneva, "Černigovskaja tipografija", p. 277.

The brief description of the Černihiv služebnyky found in the complaints of hierodeacon Macarius to the Russian Holy Synod in 1726 on Ruthenian liturgical practices indicates that this and the *1704 Černihiv* editions were still

untouched by the Nikonian tradition. Cf. Barsov, “Ierodiakon Makarij”, p. 676-677.

1702 Lviv (Stauropedia)

4°; [4] + 350f. + 60f. + [3]

SEC 47; see also UND(2) 1322, KAR(1) 1205, SVJEN(1) 200, SVJEN(2) 116-118, PETR 375, MAKS 63.

Cf. Raes, “Liturgicon”, p. 102.

Although most of the Lviv eparchy had accepted the Union by this date, the Stauropedia still had not. This edition still follows the Mohylan tradition.

1704 Černihiv

8°; [1] + 207f.

SVJEN(1) 201; see also STROEV(1) 239, UND(2) 1367, KAR(1) 1228, SOP 1376, PETR 391, MAKS 673-674.

Cf. Barsov, “Ierodiakon Makarij”, p. 676-677; Kameneva, “Černigovskaja tipografija”, p. 281.

1708 Kiev

2°; [8] + 218f.

SVJEN(1) 202; see also UND(2) 1432, KAR(1) 1297, SOP 1380, PETR 403, MAKS 320.

Cf. Titov, *Priloženija*, p. 222-224; Titov, *Tipografija*, p. 413-414; Raes, “Liturgicon”, p. 102.

This follows the Mohylan tradition.

1712 Lviv (Stauropedia)

2°; [4] + 288f. + [40]

SVJEN(1) 203; see also UND(2) 1500, KAR(1) 1344, SEC 51, SVJEN(2) 119, PETR 427, MAKS 72.

Copies found at FRAN, PIO and VAT.

Cf. Bocian, “De modificationibus”, p. 958; Nedel'skyj, *Lev Kiška*, p. 311; Raes, “Liturgicon”, p. 102.

Two variations of this text exist. One, found in the PIO library, follows the Mohylan tradition very closely but according to the *1691 Lviv* combination of rubrics from both the *1629 Kiev* and *1639 Kiev* editions. A second copy, of which the Francis Skaryna Byelorussian Library, London (FRAN) has a partial photocopy, is identical to the first, but some changes have been made according to the letter of A. Šeptyc'kyj of 4 May 1738 (see chapter 2), e.g., water and wine are poured into the chalice during the prothesis according to the Žoxovs'kyj style. These changes resulted in incorrect but intentional folia numeration on some of the reprinted pages so that they would agree with the numeration of the subsequent folio from the original edition. Šeptyc'kyj himself was aware that making such corrections to the služebnyky would be easier and cheaper than printing new editions. This also indicates that the

Mohylian tradition was still used by the Catholics, combined with elements of the Žoxovs'kyj tradition.

1716 Suprasl Pontifical

2°; [1] + 42f. PETR 451

Photoreproduction found at FRAN.

Cf. Petruševyč, "O sposobi izbranija", p. 159; Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 131-212.

Prepared by Metropolitan Kyška, this was the first Catholic Ruthenian printed pontifical.

1720 Lviv (doubtful)

The only mention of this is found in BYČ 16, and that is without any substantial description.

1727/1732/1733 Suprasl (Kyška edition)

2°; [8] + 19f. (n. 39-59) + 419p. (n. 59-478)

PETR 516, 533; see also UND(2) 1758, KAR(1) 1548, ROD(2) 116, MIL 111, GOLEN 336, 338.

Microfilm copy found at FRAN.

Cf. Bocian, "De modificationibus", p. 949; Nedel'skyj, *Lev Kyška*, p. 314; Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 104; Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 13, 44-45.

Metropolitan Kyška prepared this edition in 1727, but it was only printed in 1732 or 1733 after his death (1728). The Synod of Zamostja had decided that the Metropolitan was to prepare an edition, which was to receive Rome's approval before publishing. This edition has no such approval. It follows the Žoxovs'kyj tradition. Most sources say it was printed in 1733, but PETR cites the colophon on p. 478 giving the completion date as 14 January 1732.

1733 Univ

2°; [9] + 255f. + 64p. + 20f. (n. 65-86) + [3]

SVJEN(1) 204, PETR 537; see also UND(2) 1819, SEC 73, SVJEN(2) 121, MIL 113, MAKS 649.

Cf. Bocian, "De modificationibus", p. 948-949, 967-968; Rudovyč, "Epyskopy Šeptyc'ki", p. 290-291; Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 44-45; Gavriil Xruscevič, *Istorija Zamojskogo sobora*, Vilna 1880, p. 290-291.

The first of several Univ editions, this follows the Žoxovs'kyj tradition including the changes made at Zamostja. It is the first printed služebnyk to include a set of rubrics for the low recited mass, which many subsequent Catholic služebnyky also printed, normally at the end of the book. Rubrics for low mass, however, are already found in ms služebnyky of the seventeenth century.

1733 Černihiv (doubtful)

This is listed only in UND(1) 787 and UND(2) 1818. It is mentioned only

as a work listed by other sources in Kameneva, “Černigovskaja tipografija”, p. 377.

1734 Počajiv

2°; [4] + 170p. + 48p.

SVJEN(1) 205, PETR 544; see also GOLOV 57, MAKS 449.

This is an excerpt from the complete liturgicon printed in Počajiv in 1735. Tylawskyj, “Monastero di Počajiv”, p. 292, does not accept this as a text separate from the 1735 edition. I. Svjencyc’kyj, *Počatky knyhopečatanja na zemljax Ukrajiny*, Žovkva 1924, n. 101, gives a photoreproduction of the front page of the text with the 1734 date and table of contents clearly visible; see also n. 104 in this same work.

1735 Počajiv

2°; [5] + 190p. + 92p.

SEC 76, SVJEN(1) 205, PETR 548; see also GOLOV 59, MIL 115, MAKS 450.

Cf. Ohijenko, *Počajivs’ka Lavra*, p. 313-314; Raes, “Liturgicon”, p. 104; Tylawskyj, “Monastero di Počajiv”, p. 249, 264; Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 33, 44-45.

Like other Počajiv editions, this one does not have Rome’s approval.

1735 Kiev

2°; [2] + 6f. + 282f. + [5]

SVJEN(1) 206; see also UND(2) 1833, PETR 550, MAKS 350.

Following the ukaz of Peter I on 5 October 1720, all Orthodox Ruthenian liturgical texts had to conform to the Muscovite Nikonian editions. This is the first služebnyk printed in Kiev after the ukaz, but the descriptions available are too scanty to indicate if it follows the Nikonian tradition. It probably does, since the 1736 *Kiev* edition follows the Nikonian tradition very closely.

1736 Kiev

8°; [3] + 12f. + 315f. + [4] + 7f.

UND(1) 796, UND(2) 1835, SOP 1383, PETR 553.

Copy found at PIO.

This, along with the subsequent Kiev and Černihiv editions, follows the Nikonian tradition.

1737 Kiev

4°; [3] + 10f. + 302f.

Given by UND(2) 1847 and PETR 562; the latter notes eight copies.

1740 Univ

2°; [5] + 473p.

SEC 83, SVJEN(1) 207; see also UND(2) 1883, ROD(2) 135, SVJEN(2) 122, MIL 120, PETR 574, MAKS 653.

Copy found at PIO.

Cf. Bocian, "De modificationibus", p. 949; Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 104.

This second Univ služebnyk printed under Metropolitan A. Šeptyc'kyj follows the Žoxovs'kyj tradition and the preceding Univ style.

1740 Univ Pontifical

2°; [3] + 300p. + [2]

SVJEN(1) 228, PETR 576, MAKS 653.

Cf. Petruševyč, "O sposobi izbranija", p. 158-159; Petruševyč, "Kratkoe izvestie", p. 53-54; Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 131-212.

This was printed under Metropolitan A. Šeptyc'kyj. SVJEN(1) 228 refers to 300 folia, while the other sources refer to 300 pages.

1740 Kiev

Mention of this text is found in UND(1) 815, and UND(2) 1880.

1743 Univ

BYČ 32 is the only source to mention this edition.

1744 Počajiv (doubtful)

2°; [8] + 266p. + [10]

SVJEN(1) 208, PETR 614; see also GOLOV 69, MAKS 458.

Copy found at PIO.

Cf. Ohijenko, *Počajivs'ka Lavra*, p. 327; Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 105; Tylawskyj, "Monastero di Počaiv", p. 265.

1746 Kiev

2°; [2] + 288f. + [5]

UND(2) 2040, SOP 1384, PETR 638.

The descriptions are poor. PETR lists 20 copies.

1747 Univ

2°; [4] + 293f. + [3]

SEC 90, SVJEN(1) 209; see also UND(1) 852, UND(2) 2070, SVJEN(2) 123-124, MIL 125, PETR 641.

The third Univ edition, it follows the Žoxovs'kyj and Univ tradition.

1747 Černihiv

4°; [1] + 12f. + 326f.

SVJEN(1) 212; see also UND(2) 2073, PETR 645.

Cf. Kameneva, "Černigovskaja tipografija", p. 306.

1754 Černihiv

8°; [3] + 12f. + 319f. + 43f.

UND(2) 2216, MIL 137, PETR 597.

Copy found at PIO.

Cf. Kameneva, "Černigovskaja tipografija", p. 313.

1755 Počajiv

2°; [4] + 354p. + [5]

SEC 96, SVJEN(1) 213; see also UND(2) 2229, SVJEN(2) 125, MIL 138, PETR 704, MAKS 468.

Copy found at PIO.

Cf. Ohijenko, *Počajivs'ka Lavra*, p. 327; Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 105; Tylawskij, "Monastero di Počaiv", p. 267.

This služebnyk contains the rubrics for low mass at the end. It follows the regular Žoxovs'kyj tradition.

1757 Lviv

UND(2) 2266 describes a copy without its title page, while MIL 142 describes a copy very similar to the *1759 Lviv* text including size: 4f. + 238f. + 44f.

1758 Suprasl'

2°; [1] + 173p. + 1f.

SVJEN(1) 210; see also UND(1) 883, UND(2) 2268, ROD(2) 195, MIL 144, PETR 740, GOLEN 346.

Cf. Rudovyč, "Epyskopy Šeptyc'ki", p. 298; Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 49; Gavriil Xruscevič, *Istorija Zamojskogo sobora*, Vilna 1880, p. 296.

1759 Lviv (including OSBM curia copy)

2°; [6] + 238f. + 44f.

SVJEN(1) 211; see also UND(2) 2291, ROD(2) 200, SEC 109, SOP 1385, SVJEN(2) 126, PETR 752, MAKS 1759.

There were at least two printings, one with a dedication to Bishop Leo Šeptyc'kyj and the other with a dedication to Bishop Philip Volodkovyč. The copy in the PIO library has the Šeptyc'kyj dedication, while a copy at the Basilian Fathers Curia, Rome (OSBM curia) has the Volodkovyč dedication.

The OSBM curia copy is regular up to the end of the prothesis (f. 86v), and the set of instructions for the priest following the prothesis is similar to that of the *1617 Mamonyč Nauka* as adapted by the Mohylan and Nikonian traditions. However, a different text of CHR has been inserted in place of the original. This inserted version is numbered from f. 106, while the original would have been f. 90. It continues through to f. 119 (the communion of the celebrants), while the final two folia have been written by hand to complete the text of CHR. These two handwritten sheets have no numeration. Then the original text continues with f. 103 (instruction on communicating the faithful). The printed portion of this inserted CHR text has interesting variations not found up to this point in any Ruthenian služebnyky. We note these variants throughout our study. Some elements are similar to the Mohylan tradition, while other rubrics are similar to what is practiced today. We have been unable to determine the date or origin of this CHR insertion.

1762 Kiev

8°; [3] + 12f. + 308f. + 7f. + 4f.

UND(2) 2350, PETR 790-791.

Partial photoreproduction found at FRAN.

PETR lists two editions, the second without BAS and containing 218f. instead of 308f.

1763 Černihiv

4°; [1] + 12f. + 326.

UND(1) 901, UND(2) 2392, SEC 118, SOP 1386, PETR 808, MAKS 704.

Cf. Kameneva, "Černigovskaja tipografija", p. 322.

1763 Suprasl

2°; [9] + 196p. + 72p. + 319 (n. 189-508) + 112p.

SVJEN(1) 216; see also GOLOV 99, ROD(2) 209, MIL 159, PETR 799, GOLEN 350.

Copy found at OSBM Curia; microfilm copy at FRAN.

Although it follows the Žoxovs'kyj tradition, it does not have the rubrics for the low private mass.

1764 Počajiv Diakonikon

8°; [1] + 39f.

SVJEN(2) 127, GOLOV 102, MAKS 503.

Cf. Ohijenko, *Počajivs'ka Lavra*, p. 327; Tylawskyj, "Monastero di Počajiv", p. 270.

There is little information on this text.

1765 Počajiv (full liturgicon)

2°; [3] + 296f.

SVJEN(1) 217, PETR 839; see also UND(2) 2448, SEC 121, MIL 160, MAKS 504-505.

Cf. Ohijenko, *Počajivs'ka Lavra*, p. 327; Tylawsky, "Monastero di Počajiv", p. 270; Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 334.

1765 Počajiv (CHR excerpt)

2°; [4] + 23f. (n. 88-101) + [4]

SVJEN(1) 218, PETR 838; see also GOLOV 103, SEC 122, MIL 161, MAKS 504-505.

This is an excerpt from the 1765 liturgicon, containing the prothesis, CHR, and the propers for several feasts and for the dead.

Copies found at PIO and OSBM curia.

1767 Kiev (doubtful)

BYČ 60 is the only source to list this text.

1768 Kiev (doubtful)

UND(2) 2527 is the only source to list this text.

1773 Vilna (Volodkovyč)

2°; [6] + 38p.

GOLOV 123, MIL 169, GOLEN 124.

FRAN has an incomplete copy; also a copy on film.

1775 Kiev

2°; [1] + 6f. + 226f. + 23f.

UND(2) 2618, PETR 996.

1778 Počajiv

2°; [4] + 307f. + [4]

SEC 142, PETR 1023; see also BYČ 62, ROD(2) 247, MIL 179, MAKS 557.

Cf. Ohijenko, *Počajivs'ka Lavra*, p. 327; Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 105; Tylawskyj, "Monastero di Počaiv", p. 277.*1780 Lviv*

2°; [3] + 147f. + 177f.

SVJEN(1) 220, SVJEN(2) 128; see also GOLOV 150, MAKS 132.

Approved by Metropolitan Leo Šeptyc'kyj, this is likely the text referred to by Likowski, *Dzieje Kościoła*, 1:49.*1780 Počajiv (doubtful)*

The only source to list this edition is Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 104.

1785 Počajiv (doubtful)

ROD(2) 214 is the only source to list this text.

1785 Kiev (doubtful)

UND(2) 2810 is the only source to list this text.

1788 Počajiv

2°; [3] + 114f. + 14. + [2]

PETR 1138; see also BYČ 95, SEC 161, MIL 191, MAKS 583.

Copy found at PIO.

Cf. Tylawskyj, "Monastero di Počaiv", p. 280.

This edition follows the Žoxovs'kyj tradition, but also contains some rubrics similar to those in BEN.

1788 Počajiv Diakonikon

GOLOV 164.

Cf. Ohijenko, *Počajivs'ka Lavra*, p. 327; Tylawskyj, "Monastero di Počaiv", p. 281; Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 61.

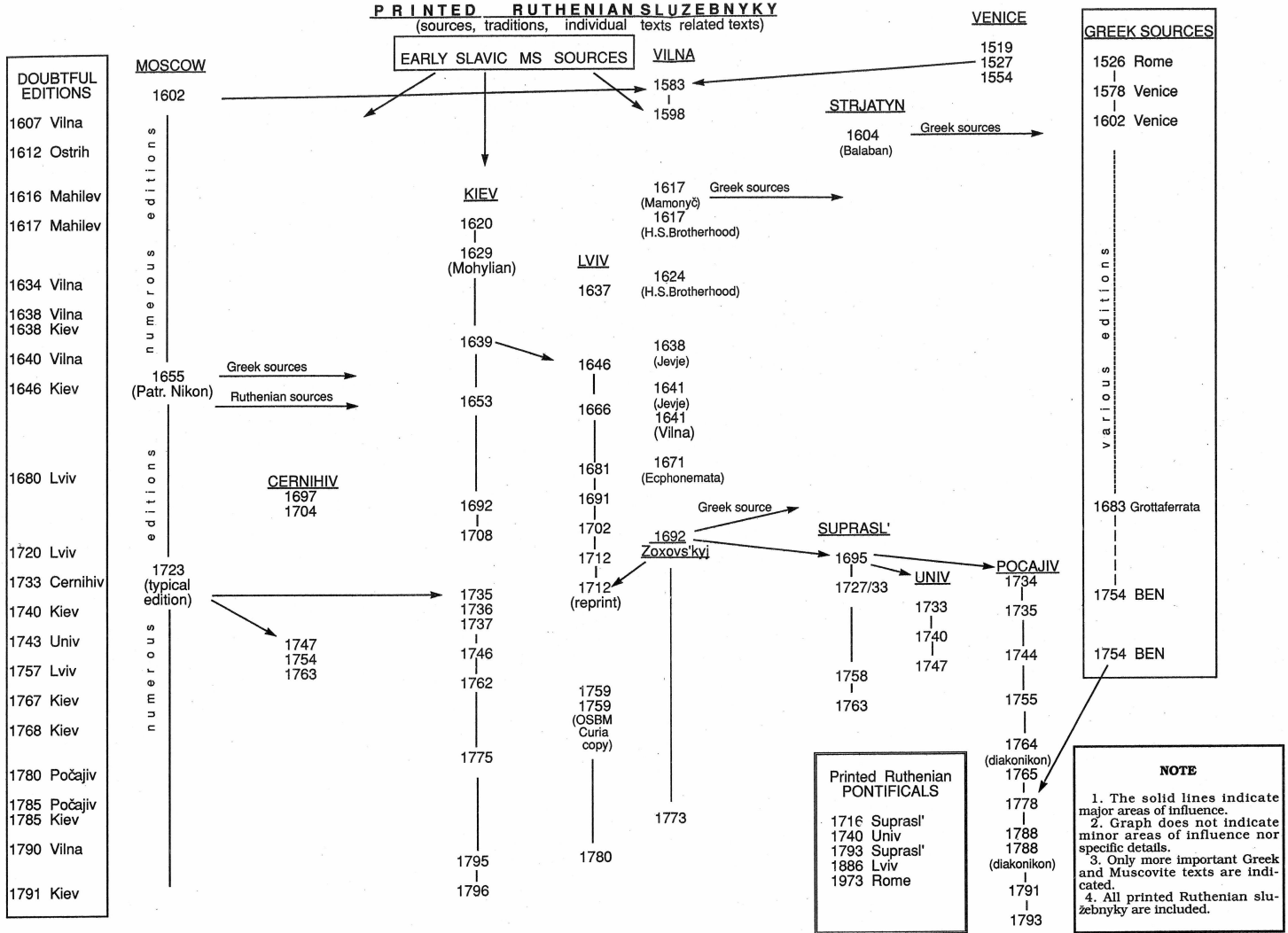
There is little information on this deacon's manual for serving the divine office and mass. Xojnackij gives the full title of this work.

1790 Vilna (doubtful)

A reference to an edition printed in 1790 by Josaphat Bulhak (bishop of

PRINTED RUTHENIAN SLUZEBNYKY

(sources, traditions, individual texts related texts)



Pinsk 1787-1798, bishop of Volodymyr 1798-1833, metropolitan 1833-1838) is found in Likowski, *Dzieje Kościoła*, 1:49, where it is said to have been based on the 1727 *Suprasł* edition.

1791 Počajiv

2°; [3] + 347f.

SVJEN(1) 221, PETR 1166; see also UND(2) 2973, MIL 194, MAKS 589.

Cf. Bocian, "De modificationibus", p. 955; Ohijenko, *Počajivs'ka Lavra*, p. 327; Raes, "Liturgicon", p. 105; Tylawskyj, "Monastero di Počajiv", p. 282; Xojnackij, *Cerkovnaja unija*, p. 334.

1791 Kiev (doubtful)

MAKS 437 is the only source to list this text.

1793 Počajiv (CHR)

2°; PETR 1192 = [4] + 22f. (n. 149-171) + [4]

MIL 201 = [3] + 55f. (n. 156-211) + [4]

PETR 1192; see also GOLOV 186 and 188, SVJEN(2) 129, MIL 201, MAKS 598.

Cf. Ohijenko, *Počajivs'ka Lavra*, p. 327; Tylawskyj, "Monastero di Počajiv", p. 284.

The difference between the foliation of PETR and MIL suggest that this was an excerpt made from different editions or printings of the same edition. MAKS agrees with PETR.

1793 Suprasł Pontifical

2°; 31 unnumbered folia

SVJEN(1) 229; see also BYČ 117, MIL 199, PETR 1187.

Cf. Petruševyč, "O sposobi izbranija", p. 158-159.

1795 Kiev

2°; [2] + 7f. + 229f. + 23f.

This is listed only by PETR 1234, who notes 5 copies.

1796 Kiev

8°; [1] + 2f. + 13f. + 301f.

This is listed by PETR 1245 and MAKS 640, but with no description.

APPENDIX III

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Few Ruthenian mss of CHR are accessible from the period we are studying, and descriptions of others are often poor. The following are all of Catholic origin.

17th Century Sipovič Pontifical (circa 1652)

This is a text for a pontifical celebration of CHR containing a Slavonic and parallel Latin translation, with explanatory notes written in the margins. Bishop Ceslaus Sipovič published a photoreproduction and commentary of this ms, which he dates between 1624 and 1652, more likely 1652; cf. Sipovič, *Pontifical Liturgy*, p. 136-141. This text provides us with general information on CHR, not all aspects of which were pointed out by Sipovič.

17th Century Borgia Služebnyk (1680s)

The exact location of this ms is in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Fondo Borgiano Illyrico*, n. 13-14.

This is a large two-volume služebnyk containing parallel Slavonic and Latin texts for vespers, matins, the prothesis, CHR, BAS, PRES, epistle and gospel readings for movable and immovable feasts, propers for Sundays, propers from the triodion and pentecostarion, epistle and gospel readings for general service categories, and various dismissals (apolyseis). A good description and study is found in Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 112-142.

Contrary to other authors who date this work from the eighteenth century, Wawryk dates it from the 1680s, basing his reasons on the internal structure (e.g., rubrics for low mass, the 11 November date for the feast of St. Josaphat), as well as on the attempts made during this period to print Catholic Ruthenian liturgical texts. The parallel Latin translation indicates its use for study purposes, probably as a project for eventual printing.

It follows the Venice Slavonic služebnyky in its order of contents. Many of the rubrics and formulae of the 1629 Kiev Mohylan edition are found in CHR up to and including the Words of Institution, but most of these Mohylan elements were subsequently crossed out by an unknown redactor. Following the Institution, the ms follows the Žoxovs'kyj tradition quite closely.

17th and 18th Century Služebnyky of the Vilna Library

Brief descriptions of 10 mss are found in F. Dobrjanskij, *Opisanie rukopisej Vilenskoj publičnoj biblioteki cerkovno-slavjanskix i russkix*, Vilna 1882, p. 299-308.

These mss are the basis for Odincov's valuable study on the Catholic Ruthenian liturgical services during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; cf. Odincov, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 186-187, 197-199, 203-205, 232.

The following are the 10 mss listed by Dobrjanskij: n. 190, 191, 192, all from the seventeenth century; n. 193 with the exact year of 1759; n. 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, all from the eighteenth century; n. 198 is dated no later than 1733. Dobrjanskij's descriptions give little information in CHR in these mss.

Odincov places n. 190 and n. 191 in the early seventeenth century, "Uniatskoe bogosluženie", p. 356.

Wawryk provides information on the redactor of n. 192, the Basilian Samuel Pilixovs'kyj, and discusses what little information we have on the ms. Pilixovs'kyj was a member of the commission established by the 1683 Warsaw meeting which was to prepare needed liturgical texts for the Catholic Ruthenians. He also helped Žoxovs'kyj prepare his 1692 služebnyk; cf. Wawryk, "Do istoriji", p. 101-102, 122-141. From the descriptions given of all the Vilna ms služebnyky, the Pilixovs'kyj ms is the most latinized.

Early 19th Century (Burčak-Abramovič) Pontifical

A partial description of an early nineteenth-century pontifical is found in: "420: Činovnik archierejskij", *Kratkoe opisanie pamjatnikov drevnosti postupivšix v Volynskoe eparxialnoe drevlexranilišče ot 1 avgusta 1894 goda po 1 nojabrja 1898*, eds. O.A. Fotinskij and N.M. Burčak-Abramovič, 3 (Počajiv 1899): 66-80. The ms contained 167 sheets with prayers and rubrics for an episcopal celebration of the divine office, CHR, BAS, and PRES, various blessings and ordinations. The description is signed by B.A., presumably N.M. Burčak-Abramovič. Some portions of the ms that differ from the printed pontifical familiar to Burčak-Abramovič are given in more detail. Even though CHR is not described fully, it is still useful to us.

The ms is dated only in general as belonging to the eighteenth century. At the conclusion of the anaphora a description is given of the polychronion sung at this point. A separate commemoration is first made for the pope. Then grouped together are the metropolitan of "Kiev, Halyč, and all Rus'", the archbishop of Polock, Vitebsk, and Mstyslav, and the bishop of Suprasl [who is also] the archimandrite of Berezvec'. The third group consists of the ordained (osvjaščenny) bishops of Volodymyr and Brest and of Xolm and Belz. Other bishops are then mentioned only in general. Following the hierarchs, the civil authorities are given, beginning with the King (Korol'). The significant point here is the reference to the bishop of Suprasl. This short-lived see was created in the Kingdom of Prussia and was held only by one bishop, from 1800 to his death in 1801. This information, however, does not help to determine the date. There is no recorded gathering of the above hierarchs in either the Prussian or the Austrian Kingdom at a time when the metropolitan and archbishop of

Polock were under Russian rule for an episcopal ordination for the Volodymyr see (under Russian rule) and the Xolm see (under Austrian rule).

The more probable explanation is that one or more of these names were added later to the manuscript. The copyist may have had a specific episcopal ordination in mind, but was not sure exactly who attended the function and simply listed all the hierarchs he knew. To complicate matters further, this ms shows more similarities to the Sipovič pontifical (circa 1652) than to the later printed 1716 *Suprasl* and 1886 *Bačyns'kyj* (Lviv) pontificals. The description of this ms, then, does not permit a more accurate dating as might be desired.

The Peremyšl Greek Catholic Cathedral Chapter Collection

From the first half of the nineteenth century a large collection of mss and printed books was accumulated at the Peremyšl Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral. This collection, known as the Peremyšl Greek Catholic Cathedral Chapter Archives and Library, was maintained up to World War II. At least part of this collection is now found in Warsaw, National Library, Manuscript Section. A list of over 700 mss has been printed in *AOSBM*, 15 (1974): 235-264; and in *Bohoslovia*, 37 (Rome 1973): 193-213, 38 (1974): 237-243. Several služebnyky and other texts containing CHR are listed, but there is no description other than the title, estimated date, and the Warsaw Library number. Since there is an unexplainable variation in the order of the mss given in *AOSBM* and *Bohoslovia*, we give first the Warsaw code (*AKC*), the ms title (using the Warsaw transliteration), then the *Bohoslovia* number (whose list is more complete), and the *AOSBM* number.

AKC 2586: *Lytourhia sviataho Joanna Zlataoustaho*, 1735 r., k. 13 - n. 275 (in both sources).

AKC 2629: *Oustav litourhisaniia episkopskaho XVIII w.*, k. 75 - n. 319 (in both sources).

AKC 2764: *Služebnyk Sviatitel'skii...*, XVIII w., k. 95 - n. 454, n. 452.

AKC 2922: *Služebnyk i čast trebnyka. Pocz XVIII w.*, k. 218 - n. 610, n. 609.

AKC 2978: *Liturhiia sv. Joanna Zlatoustaho XVII w.*, k. 46 - n. 666, n. 665.

AKC 2997: *Služebnyk XVII w.*, k. 176 - n. 684, n. 682.

AKC 3005: *Liturhikon i trebnyk XVI w.*, k. 190 - n. 692, n. 691.

AKC 3008: *Božestvenayia lytourhiia iže v sviatych otec nasich Joanna Zlatoustaho, Vasiliia Velikaho i prežde sviaščennaia XVII w.*, k. 275 - n. 695, n. 694.

APPENDIX IV

OTHER LITURGICAL TEXTS

Venetian Služebnyky

Four služebnyky were printed in Venice prior to any printed in Slavic lands. The editio princeps of 1519 even preceded the first printed Greek euchology, Rome 1526. The editions printed in 1519, 1554, and 1570 are virtually identical, while the 1527 edition is smaller, due to the omission of the epistle and gospel readings found in the other editions.

1519 Venice Služebnyk

4°; 240 unnumbered folia

KAR(3) 15, POZ 5; see also UND(2) 15, KAR(1) 12, PETR 4, MAKS 735.

Microfilm copy found at FRAN.

1527 Venice Služebnyk

4°; 101 unnumbered folia

KAR(3) 22; see also UND(2) 21, KAR(1) 18.

1554 Venice Služebnyk

4°; 240 unnumbered folia

KAR(3) 42; see also STROEV(2) 4, UND(1) 10, UND(2) 41-43, KAR(1) 33, ROD(1) 8, SVJEN(1) 182, PETR 12, MAKS 741.

Copy found at PIO.

Cf. Krajcar, "Early Printed Books", p. 108.

1570 Venice Služebnyk

4°; 240 unnumbered folia

KAR(3) 79; see also UND(2) 70-71, SVJEN(1) 183, GOR 6, PETR 20, MAKS 747.

Muscovite Služebnyky and the Nikonian Reform

The liturgical reform undertaken by Patriarch Nikon of Moscow (1652-1666) affected not only the liturgical life of the Muscovite Church, but the Kievan as well. In an attempt to return the Muscovite liturgical practices and texts to what were considered the correct original Greek forms, new liturgical books were planned, based on the Greek sources collected from Mount Athos by Arsenius Suxanov at the order of Patriarch Nikon. Arsenius Suxanov left for Athos in October 1653 and returned on 22 February 1655 with 498 mss, only three of which were euchologies. At the end of March 1655

a služebnyk was already prepared and given to the Moscow church council for approval. It was impossible to have prepared a služebnyk in such a short time based on the Greek mss collected, and, in fact, the 1655 služebnyk differs in various places from the Greek euchologies. The 1655 edition, of which there were several printings, also indicates a change in liturgical theology from previous Muscovite editions. Nikon's reform has been examined by Uspenskij in his article, "Kollizija", which is the most important work to date on the subject.

The Nikonian texts are based on a 1602 Venice Greek euchology, the 1604 Balaban služebnyk, the 1620, 1629, and 1639 Kiev editions. These were texts familiar to Epiphanius Slavynec'kyj and others from Kiev brought to Moscow to edit and print Nikon's texts. Nikon's adviser Arsenius "the Greek", a former student of the Greek College in Rome, would also have known the Venice text.

Though the 1666/67 Moscow Council, attended by some Eastern patriarchs, deposed Nikon, it approved his liturgical changes, which gave the Muscovite liturgy its basic form up to the present. For the acts of the 1666/67 council see *Dejanija Moskovskix soborov 1666-1667 godov*, Moscow 1905; see especially part II "Kniga sobornyx dejanij 1667 goda", f. 15 for the council's prohibition of any change.

With the gradual political control that Muscovy gained over Ukraine and the Orthodox Ruthenian Church, the Nikonian tradition was forced onto the Orthodox Kievan Church. Only the Catholic Ruthenians remained free — but not entirely — of the Nikonian tradition.

Thus, within both the Ruthenian and Muscovite Churches liturgical history is made up of many strata, in which both the diversity and the similarity of their respective liturgical traditions are seen. One example, the use of the eiliton and the antimension, is examined in our study.

For sources and information on Nikon's reform see also: E. Herman, *De fontibus iuris ecclesiastici Russorum*, (= *S. Congregazione per la Chiesa Orientale. Codificazione Canonica Orientale. Fonti. Serie II. Fascicolo VI*), Vatican City 1936, p. 41, 59-65; Lotoc'kyj, *Ukrajins'ki džerela*, p. 41-42; P. Šarov, *Bolšoj Moskovskij sobor 1666-1667 gg.*, Kiev 1895; Schweigl, "Revisio librorum", p. 373-76.

The following are several Muscovite služebnyky we were able to consult.

1602 Moscow Služebnyk

4°; 452 unnumbered folia

POZ 72; see also STROEV(1) 38, STROEV(2) 14, STROEV(3) 44, UND(1) 63, UND(2) 152, SOP 32, KAR(1) 140, KAR(3) 171, PETR 42, ZER 18.

Copy found et FRAN.

A good description of this, the first služebnyk printed in Muscovy, is

found in “Opisanie naxodjaščixsja v imperatorskoj Publichnoj biblioteke staropečatnyx bogoslužebnyx knig (1564-1640)”, *XČ*, 1857, II: 118-119. On the rubrics and text of the Great Entrance in this edition, see S. Muretov, *K materialam dlja istorii činoposledovanija liturgii*, Moscow 1895, p. 91-92; Muretov, “Posledovanie proskomidii”, p. 34-35.

1646 Moscow Služebnyk

4°; 651f.

ZER 189; see also STROEV(1) 149, UND(2) 578, KAR(3) 610.

Copy found at PIO.

Cf. Krajcar, “Early Printed Books”, p. 119.

1670 Moscow Služebnyk

8°; 4f. + 320f. + 4f.

ZER 331, POZ 571; see also UND(Z) 885, KAR(1) 776, RUD(1) 308, PETR 250.

Copy found at PIO.

Cf. Krajcar, “Early Printed Books”, p. 124.

1646 Kiev Trebnyk (Mohylan)

4°; part I: [20] + 890p. + 46p. (n. 900-946)

part II: [4] + 263p.

part III: [2] + 430p.

KAR(3) 595, POZ 396, ZAP 353; see also SVJEN(1) 249, PETR 164.

Copy found at PIO.

Cf. H. Brakmann, “Zum gemeinschaftlichen Eucharistiegebet byzantischer Konzelebranten”, *OCP*, 42 (1976): 320-367; Krajcar, “Early Printed Books”, p. 119; M. Leszczyński, *De trebnyko Petri Moghilaie*, Rome 1935 (an excerpt from his doctoral dissertation at PIO); Petrovskij, “Učitel'noe izvestie”, p. 561-563; A. Wenger, “Les influences du rituel de Paul V sur le trebnyk de Pierre Moghila”, *Mélanges en l'honneur de Msgr. Michel Andrieu* (= *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, volume hors série), Strasbourg 1956, p. 477-499 (see p. 486-489 on the eucharist).

Of special interest to us in this trebnyk is Part I, p. 217-270: “On the most holy and wondrous sacrament of the body and blood of Our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ”. This is divided in the following manner (Mohyla struggles to make the scholastic terms understandable to his readers): “On the proper or lawful minister of the divine mystery of the Lord’s body and blood, and on how he should prepare himself worthily to serve the divine liturgy and communicate Christ’s divine mysteries” (p. 219-228); “On the time of the service” (p. 228); “On what the priest should observe when preparing to celebrate and during the service itself” (p. 229-234); “On the matter, that is, the physical object [vešč] of the sacrament of Christ’s body and blood” (p. 235-238); “On the form, that is the image [obraz] or bringing to fulfilment of Christ’s

body and blood” (p. 238-239); “On the incidents which might occur while celebrating the divine liturgy, whether concerning the matter — that is, the object, as also the form — that is, the image or fulfillment, as well as the minister — that is, the priest” (p. 239-251); “On what the priest should do after celebrating the divine liturgy” (p. 251-252); “On some corrections in celebrating PRES” (p. 253); “On distributing, receiving, reserving, and the due honour and reverence as befitting the Lord’s divine body and blood” (p. 254-270).

These explanations on the eucharist are not found in Mohyla’s earlier *služebnyky*. In this, his most complete elaboration on the eucharist, Mohyla follows closely the 1617 *Mamonyč Nauka*. He was also reacting to the criticisms of Cassian Sakowicz in his work, *Perspectiwa*, published in 1642, i.e., after Mohyla had printed his *služebnyky*.

1942 Rome Liturgicon sijest’ Služebnyk

18°; [4] + 678p.

Cf. Raes, “Liturgicon”, p. 135-143; Solovey, “Latinization”, p. 39-42.

We include references in our study to this edition approved by the Oriental Congregation, since it is now the official standard text for the Catholic Ukrainian and Ruthenian Churches, serving as the basis for translations. Although it is not followed everywhere exactly in the same manner, it does provide a basic reference point for the reader when we discuss various rubrics and prayers. The similarity of the Roman edition and POL should be noted, since the former is also based to a great extent on BEN. This Roman edition is the “*recensio Ruthena*”, meant for the Ukrainian and Ruthenian Churches. It should not be confused with the “*recensio vulgata*” (1940), also approved by the Oriental Congregation, meant for the Russians, Bulgars, and Serbs.

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