

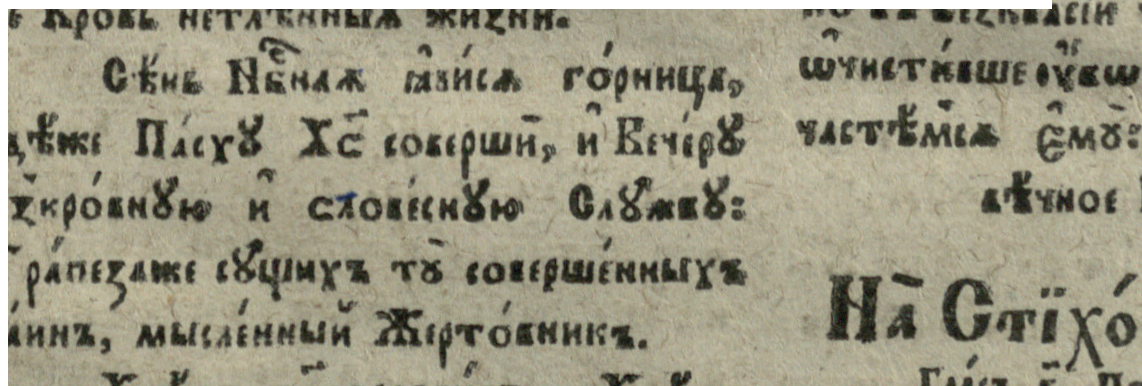
DISSERTATIONS IN

# EDUCATION, HUMANITIES, AND THEOLOGY

MARIA TAKALA-ROSZCZENKO

## *The 'Latin' within the 'Greek':*

*The Feast of the Holy Eucharist in the Context of  
Ruthenian Eastern Rite Liturgical Evolution in the  
16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Centuries*



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EASTERN FINLAND



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*To two Ruthenians of my own – Sasza and Wasia.*



Takala-Roszczenko, Maria

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## ABSTRACT

This doctoral thesis on Orthodox church music, *The 'Latin' within the 'Greek': The Feast of the Holy Eucharist in the Context of Ruthenian Eastern Rite Liturgical Evolution in the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, delves into the evolution of the Byzantine liturgical rite in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania in the early modern era. It focuses, in particular, on one phenomenon emerging from this evolution, the Eastern Rite feast of the Holy Eucharist. The feast was based on the Latin feast of *Corpus Christi* (The Body of Christ) and had no equivalent in the Byzantine Orthodox tradition. It was introduced in the Ruthenian Uniate Church, an Eastern Rite community that had entered into a union with the Roman Catholic Church in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. The earliest evidence of the feast dates to the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. It was officially included in the Uniate calendar at the Council of Zamość in 1720, after which it became fully established in the liturgical rite by the provision of its own Church Slavonic liturgical texts (hymnography).

The research concentrates on the earliest hymnography composed for the Uniate feast. It explores the hymnographical content in the light of liturgical evolution and analyses the influences of Latin and Byzantine liturgical-theological traditions that are discernible in the texts. The sources consist of a number of previously unexamined manuscripts and early printed books. Primary sources include two extensive hymnographical cycles in Church Slavonic: *Apograf* (s.a.) and *Voslědovanija* (1738). The historical development of the feast is traced to the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of other manuscript, archival and printed sources.

The feast of the Holy Eucharist is analysed in the context of liturgical evolution in the Eastern Rite tradition of the Polish-Lithuanian Ruthenians, Orthodox and Uniate, from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. This evolution was in many ways influenced by the Roman Catholic church culture which dominated Polish-Lithuanian society. Earlier studies have generally evaluated Ruthenian liturgical practices and theological views in terms of the *latinisation* of the Eastern Rite. This research examines the process by tracing the socio-cultural and church political factors behind liturgical evolution. Thus, providing a wider context for the exploration of loans from the Latin Rite liturgical tradition (feasts, divine services, and religious customs), it is proposed that the feast of the Holy Eucharist was a natural outcome of this evolution, rather than an artificial implant into the Eastern Rite.

Hymnographical analysis reveals that the feast of *Corpus Christi* with its Latin theological foundation was transformed into a fully "Greek" Rite feast in the Uniate practice by adjusting its content into Eastern hymnographic form and liturgical structure. New liturgical texts were created either by borrowing them directly from existing Byzantine sources (hymnography composed for Holy Week or the pre-communion prayers), or by composing entirely new hymns in a traditional Eastern Rite poetic style. Less numerous, although highly intriguing, evidence is found of the adaptation of Latin texts into Church Slavonic, most notably the treatise *De sacramentis* by Ambrose of Milan. The Ruthenian authors of the *Apograf* and *Voslědovanija* collections were familiar with the Italo-Byzantine *Corpus Christi* tradition. The musical organization of the new hymnography serves

as another indication of how the feast was accommodated to the Eastern Rite liturgy: the texts are prescribed to the traditional Byzantine-Slavic eight-tone (*oktoechos*) system.

This research also touches upon a key Eucharistic theological debate in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century: The question of Eucharistic consecration either by the Words of Institution (Latin theology) or by an *epiclesis* prayer (traditionally emphasized in Eastern Rite theology). The emphasis placed on the Words of Institution in the Ruthenian hymnography reflects, it is argued, not only the loyalty to the Latin origin of the feast but also the general Ruthenian theological line of thought in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and a stance against the expanding Muscovite Orthodox Church whose policy was to unify differing perceptions on Eucharistic theology.

The current thesis is the first monograph study dedicated to the Uniate feast of the Holy Eucharist. It introduces several manuscript and printed sources of related hymnography and provides an extensive set of appendices with transcripts of the two earliest collections of texts, composed for the newly sanctioned Ruthenian feast in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Keywords: Ruthenian, Eastern Rite, Uniate, liturgical evolution, Feast of the Holy Eucharist, Corpus Christi, Latinisation, hymnography

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## TIIVISTELMÄ

### **'LATINALAINEN' 'KREIKKALAISESSA': PYHÄN EUKARISTIAN JUHLA RUTEENIEN ITÄISEN RIITUKSEN LITURGISEN EVOLUUTION KONTEKSTISSA 1500–1700-LUVUILLA**

Tässä ortodoksisen kirkkomusiikin väitöskirjassa analysoidaan bysanttilaisen liturgisen riituksen evoluutiota Puola-Liettuassa varhaisella Uudella ajalla. Tutkimus keskittyy erityisesti evoluution myötä kehittyneeseen Pyhän Eukaristian juhlaan. Kyseisen juhlan perustana oli latinalainen Kristuksen Ruumiin (Corpus Christi) juhla, jolla ei ole vastinetta bysanttilaisessa ortodoksisessa perinteessä. Pyhän Eukaristian juhla kehittyi ns. uniaattikirkkoon kuuluvan ruteeniväestön parissa, joka oli solminut unionin roomalaiskatolisen kirkon kanssa 1500-luvun lopulla säilyttäen itäisen riituksensa. Varhaisimmat todisteet juhlaperinteen kehityksestä ilmaantuivat 1600-luvun puolivälissä. Juhla lisättiin virallisesti uniaattien kirkolliseen kalenteriin Zamošćin synodissa vuonna 1720, minkä jälkeen se vakiintui liturgiseen käytäntöön ja sille luotiin omat kirkkoslaavinkieliset liturgiset (hymnografiset) tekstinsä.

Tutkimus keskittyy varhaisimpaan juhlaa varten luotuun hymnografiaan ja sen sisältöön liturgisen evoluution valossa. Analyysi tuo esiin teksteissä ilmeneviä latinalaisen ja bysanttilaisen liturgisen ja teologisen perinteen vaikutteita. Lähteinä käytetään useita aiemmin tutkimattomia käsikirjoituksia ja varhaispainoksia. Primäärilähteinä on kaksi liturgisten tekstien kirkkoslaavinkielistä kokoelmaa, *Apograf* (s.a.) ja *Voslėdovanija* (1738). Juhlan kehityshistoriaa luodataan arkistolähteiden, käsikirjoitusten ja varhaispainosten avulla taaksepäin 1600-luvun puoliväliin.

Pyhän Eukaristian juhlan kontekstina tutkimuksessa on Puola-Liettuan ruteenien itäisen riituksen evoluutio 1500-luvulta 1700-luvulle. Liturgisen perinteen evoluution taustalla oli muun muassa Puola-Liettuan yhteiskunnassa voimakkaasti vaikuttanut roomalaiskatolinen kirkollinen kulttuuri. Aiempi tutkimus on yleisesti käsitellyt ruteenien liturgista perinnettä ja teologisia näkemyksiä itäisen riituksen latinalaistumisen näkökulmasta. Tässä väitöskirjassa liturgiseen evoluutioon paneudutaan käsittelemällä siihen vaikuttaneita yhteiskunnallisia ja kirkkopoliittisia tekijöitä. Tutkimus luo näin laajemman kontekstin latinalaisesta riituksesta omaksuttujen vaikutteiden (juhlat, jumalanpalvelukset, tapakulttuuri) tarkastelulle. Pyhän Eukaristian juhlan ehdotetaan olleen evoluution luonnollinen ilmentymä, sen sijaan että se nähtäisiin itäiseen riitukseen yhdistyneenä keinotekoisena lisäkkeenä.

Hymnografian analyysi osoittaa, että latinalaiseen perinteeseen pohjautuvasta Corpus Christi -juhlasta mukautui uniaattien parissa 'kreikkalaisen' riituksen juhla, kun sen sisältö sovitettiin itäiseen hymnografiseen muotoon ja liturgiseen rakenteeseen. Uudet liturgiset tekstit luotiin joko lainaamalla olemassa olevista bysanttilaisista lähteistä (pääsiäistä edeltävän Suuren viikon hymnografiasta tai ehtoollista edeltävistä rukouksista) tai sepittämällä uusia veisuja itäistä hymnografista perinnettä seuraten. Latinalaisten tekstien käännökset kirkkoslaaviin ovat lukumäärältään vähäisempiä mutta sitäkin kiinnostavampia, esimerkiksi Ambrosius Milanolaisen *De sacramentis* -teokseen pohjautuvat veisut. Analyysi osoittaa, että *Apograf*- ja

*Voslëdovanija* -tekstikokoelmien tekijät tunsivat Italian bysanttilaisen riituksen *Corpus Christi* -perinteen. Pyhän Eukaristian juhla sovitettiin itäiseen liturgiaan myös musiikilliselta rakenteeltaan: veisut merkittiin kuuluviksi perinteiseen bysanttilais-slaavilaiseen kahdeksansävelmistöjärjestelmään (*oktoekhos*).

Tutkimuksessa sivutaan myös eukaristiaa koskevaa teologista keskustelua 1600-luvun lopulla. Keskeisenä kysymyksenä oli eukaristisen konsekraation toteutuminen ns. asetussanojen (roomalaiskatolinen näkemys) tai epikleesi-rukouksen kautta (itäisessä perinteessä korostunut näkemys). Asetussanojen korostuminen ruteenien hymnografiassa nähdään tutkimuksessa heijastuksena paitsi Pyhän Eukaristian juhlan latinalaisesta alkuperästä, myös ruteenien teologisen ajattelun yleislinjasta 1600-luvulla sekä asettumisesta laajenevaa Moskovan ortodoksista kirkkoa ja sen yhtenäistämispolitiikkaa vastaan.

Tämä väitöskirja on ensimmäinen uniaattien Pyhän Eukaristian juhlaan keskittyvä monografiatutkimus. Siinä esitellään useita käsikirjoituslähteitä ja varhaispainoksia juhlan hymnografiasta. Kaksi varhaisinta, 1700-luvun ensimmäisinä vuosikymmeninä painettua juhlatekstien kokoelmaa on tutkimuksen liitteinä.

Avainsanat: ruteeni, itäinen riitus, uniaatti, liturginen evoluutio, Pyhän Eukaristian juhla, Corpus Christi, latinalaistuminen, hymnografia

# Foreword

This story began five years ago in Vilnius. Irina Gerasimova and I were walking in the warmth of the June evening after a day of browsing manuscripts in the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. I was feeling anxious about my research, because I had not yet found a specific topic that would bring together my scattered ideas about the Ruthenian chant tradition and provide my study with an inspiring aim. “Well, why don’t you look into the traces of Uniate practices in liturgical music, for example,” said Irina. And there it was; a topic that would continue to fascinate me through the years of writing my thesis and beyond.

Or perhaps the story began already in 1999, at a concert in the Lutheran Church of Ilomantsi, where the Orthodox Seminary Choir from Warsaw performed chants from the Suprasl’ Irmologion (1601), one of the oldest staff-notated manuscripts in the Ruthenian Orthodox tradition. That manuscript would later become my guide to Ruthenian liturgical tradition and the topic of my Master’s Thesis. One month later, I was an exchange student at the University of Marie Curie-Skłodowska in Lublin, Poland. I was also welcomed to sing in the historical Church of the Transfiguration of Christ. Nine months of university studies and Orthodox parish life in Poland were a deep plunge into Polish language and culture as well as into Church Slavonic liturgical tradition. One year later, I was married to Aleksander, one of the singing Warsaw seminarians. My new family opened the rich tradition of contemporary Ruthenian culture for me, for example, the wonderfully expressive dialect spoken in Eastern Poland. Without my personal contact with the country and culture central to my research, this thesis most certainly would not have been written.

At the beginning of my study, I had little knowledge about the Uniate or the Greek Catholic tradition, and no idea whatsoever about the Feast of the Holy Eucharist. Over the years, I have been fortunate to get acquainted with a number of people who have shared their knowledge and experience with me. I am most grateful to each of them.

I am greatly indebted to my supervisors, advisors and reviewers at home and abroad whose insightful comments and suggestions have helped me improve my thesis: Professor Hilkka Seppälä, Professor Matti Kotiranta, Docent Teuvo Laitila, and Rev. Dr hab. Przemysław Nowakowski, CM. I would particularly like to thank Dr hab. Sergejus Temčinas for his valuable comments and advice at different points in my research. I would also like to thank Rev. Dr Ivan Moody for his assistance with Latin and Italian texts and with choices concerning liturgical terminology.

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Among my advisors, I would particularly like to thank my good friends Dr Irina Gerasimova, my guide in all matters related to the Ruthenian chant tradition, and Dr Daniel Galadza who

has greatly contributed to this thesis by pointing out sources, copying research material, and answering my many questions.

Many people have kindly shared with me their wisdom in a variety of questions, or provided help in pointing out or obtaining books, articles and information in the course of my research. I would particularly like to thank Ms Magdalena Dobrowolska, Dr hab. Tomasz Kempa, Hieromonk Pavel Korotkih, Dr Albina Kruchinina, Dr Jurij Labynceev, Ms Marina Latschinoff, Dr Melitina Makarovskaja, Dr Šimon Marínčák, Dr Nadežda Morozova, Hieromonk Luka Mykhaylovych, Mr Gregory DiPippo, Dr Svetlana Poliakova, Dr Natalia Ramazanova, and Dr Serafim Seppälä.

I would also like to thank Mr Pavel Moshnikov, Mr Ilja Moshnikov, and Dr Irina Karvonen for correcting my Russian language in my conference papers, as well as Ms Mirja Vänskä for checking my Finnish abstract. Above all, I would like to express my heartfelt and sincerest gratitude to Dr Kate Sotejeff-Wilson for her highly professional, efficient, and friendly revision of this thesis.

My research has taken me to places I would not otherwise have seen, libraries and archives that are in themselves great historical monuments. Although my search was not always fruitful, the professional and helpful service provided there has left warm memories of my visits to Vilnius, Minsk, Lviv, Lublin, Warsaw, and St Petersburg. I would especially like to thank Ms Svitlana Zinchenko at the Lviv National Andrey Sheptytsky Museum, the personnel at the Manuscript Departments of the Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library of Ukraine and of the National Library of Belarus, the Manuscript and Rare Books Departments of the National Library of Russia, the St Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and most particularly, the Manuscript and Rare Books Department of the Wróblewskie Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences for providing digital copies of manuscript and early printed material for research and publication.

I would like to express my gratitude to the Niilo Helander Foundation, the Synodal Office of the Orthodox Church of Finland, the Fund of Brothers Ivan, Andrei, and Vladimir Kudrjavzew, and the Finnish Cultural Foundation for their financial support of my research, as well as to the Finnish Graduate School of Theology for doctoral training in the years 2007–2009.

Many useful contacts have been made at international conferences, for example, the International Conferences on Eastern Chant organized by the Iași Centre of Byzantine Studies in Iași and Sibiu, Romania, in 2006 and 2007, the *Bražnikov Readings* organized by St Petersburg State Conservatory, National Library of Russia, and the Museum of Music in St Petersburg, Russia in 2007 and 2008, the conference on *Church Monody and Hymnography: Theological and Historiographical Traditions* at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv and the Univ monastery in 2007, the conference on *Languages, Cultures and Writing Traditions of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, organized by the Institute of Lithuanian Language in Vilnius in 2008, the conference on *Theory and History of Monody* in Vienna, Austria in 2010, and the conferences organized by my “extended family”, the International Society for Orthodox Church Music (ISOCM), in Joensuu between years 2005–2013. I am very grateful to the organizers of these conferences for giving me the opportunity to participate.

I would also like to thank my fellow students at the School of Theology, the University of Eastern Finland, especially the postgraduates of church music and of church history. The goodwill of my friends and relatives in Finland and abroad has nourished me at the moments when the end of the road has seemed to be very far away. I owe special thanks to my colleague and dear friend, doctoral candidate Jaakko Olkinuora, who, apart from contributing to this thesis by transliterating and translating Greek hymnography, has been the best imaginable travel companion to several conferences. Dr Minna Rasku and Dr Katariina Husso have given me invaluable support and practical advice concerning the dissertation, as well as their friendship, and Ms Kaisu Kärkkäinen has been my good friend all through my university career, for which I am grateful.

Finally, it is to my family that I owe my deepest gratitude. My mother Tuula and father Vesa, aunt Maija and sister Johanna's family have participated in my research in a very practical way by feeding, clothing, providing shelter, transport, and lately, babysitting, during my writing phases and research tours in Finland and abroad. My parents-in-law, Bazyli and Zoja, have done the same during our holidays in Poland. Moreover, I am greatly indebted to my father-in-law for providing me with research literature from his own library and the Narew Orthodox Parish archives, as well as for tracing and purchasing books on my behalf in his inexhaustible generosity.

Lastly, I want to thank my husband Aleksander and son Vasili for the endurance and encouragement, love and support that they have expressed in many concrete ways in our daily life.

On the day of St Parascheva, 14<sup>th</sup> October 2013  
Maria Takala-Roszczenko

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## ABBREVIATIONS

АВАК	<i>Акты издаваемые Виленскою Археографическою Коммиссиею для разбора древних актовъ</i>
АЗР	<i>Акты относящиеся к истории Западной Россіи, собранные и изданные Археографическою Коммиссиею</i>
Архив ЮЗР	<i>Архивъ Юго-Западной Россіи, издаваемый Временною коммиссиею для разбора древних актовъ</i>
АСД	<i>Археографическій сборникъ документовъ, относящихся к исторіи съверозападной Руси</i>
АЮЗР	<i>Акты относящиеся к истории Южной и Западной Россіи</i>
БРАН	Библиотека Российской Академии Наук (Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences)
ИРЛИ	Институт русской литературы РАН (Institute of Russian Literature, Russian Academy of Sciences)
ЛНБ	Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України імені В. Стефаника (Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library of Ukraine)
МДА	Московская Духовная Академия (Moscow Spiritual Academy)
НББ	Национальная Библиотека Беларуси (National Library of Belarus)
НБУВ	Національна Бібліотека України ім. В.І. Вернадського (Vernads'kyj National Library of Ukraine)
РНБ	Российская Национальная Библиотека (National Library of Russia)
СПБИН РАН	Санкт-Петербургский институт истории Российской академии наук (St Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences)
АОSBM	<i>Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni</i>
BN	Biblioteka Narodowa (National Library of Poland)
LMAB	Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka (Wróblewskie Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences)
МУН	<i>Monumenta Ucrainae Historica</i>
NKJV	<i>New King James Version (The Holy Bible)</i>
ОСР	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>

**TRANSLITERATION**

SFS 4900

Suomen standardisoimisliitto 1983

CYRILLIC LETTER	TRANSLITERATION
А	A
Б	B
В	V
Г	G
Д	D
Е	E
Ё	Ё
Ж	Ž
З	Z
И	I
Й	J
К	K
Л	L
М	M
Н	N
О	O
П	P
Р	R
С	C
Т	T
У	U
Ф	F
Х	H
Ц	C
Ч	Č
Ш	Š
Щ	ŠČ
Ъ	'' (between letters)
Ы	Y
Ь	'
Э	È
Ю	JU
Я	JA
Ѣ	Ě

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 AIM OF THE RESEARCH

In 1720, the *Feast of the Holy Eucharist*<sup>1</sup> was officially established in the liturgical practice of the Eastern Rite Ruthenian Uniate Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>2</sup> Ratified by the Council of Zamość, the new feast constituted an Eastern Rite adaptation of the Roman Catholic Feast of *Corpus Christi* (The Body of Christ). The feast was to be celebrated on the Thursday following the Sunday of All Saints, i.e. the second Thursday after Pentecost. The ratification was a belated reaction to the celebration of the feast which had already begun in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Approximately between the 1690s and the 1730s, a full liturgical-textual repertoire was created for the new feast in the Church Slavonic language. The feast acquired the status of a major church holiday in the Ruthenian Uniate Church.

The Feast of *Corpus Christi* has no equivalent in the Eastern Rite tradition. It emerged from the evolving Eucharistic cult of the Roman Catholic Church in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century. Due to its “Latin” origin and theological foundation, it has been regarded as a foreign element that was artificially transplanted into the “Greek” (Eastern Rite) liturgical practice, or as an ultimate example of the *Latinisation* of the Ruthenian Uniate liturgy. Less attention has been given, however, to the cultural context in which the feast evolved in Ruthenian practice. Research on the Ruthenian Eastern Rite tradition has been burdened with different church political and national motivations which have, at their worst, narrowed the perspective. Moreover, evaluations of the feast have only rarely been based on familiarity with its actual liturgical content and hymnography. By basing its findings on original sources, early manuscripts and printed collections of liturgical texts, many of which have not been studied thoroughly until now, this research aims to open up new perspectives on the Feast of the Holy Eucharist and the evolution of the Ruthenian Eastern Rite liturgical tradition.

This research proceeds from the need to examine the Feast of the Holy Eucharist in the context of the Eastern Rite Ruthenian liturgical evolution in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. It seeks to question the traditional perception of the feast as a Latin implant by exploring the process through which it was adapted to the Uniate practice and by analysing several previously unexamined liturgical sources. The research brings forward a thesis that *the Feast of the Holy Eucharist was a natural, almost inevitable consequence of gradual evolution in the Uniate liturgy, especially in its Eucharistic cult*. It also argues that in terms of liturgical content, the treatment of the feast has needlessly been restricted

<sup>1</sup> The feast has had several names in the course of its history. In contemporary practice, it is known as “the Festive Adoration of the Mysteries of the Most Pure Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ” (“Торжественное поклонение пречистымъ тайнамъ Плоти и Крови Г(о)с(по)да нашего И(с)у(с)а Хр(и)ста»). See, for example, *ЛІТУРГІКОНЪ сієсть СЛУЖЕБНИКЪ*. Римъ: Въ типографіи криптоферратскія обители 1942, 301; *АРХІЕРАТІКОНЪ или СЛУЖЕБНИКЪ СВЯТИТЕЛЬСКІЙ*. Римъ: Въ типографіи криптоферратскія обители 1973, 118; *LITURGICAL PROPSERS OF THE EASTER-PENTECOST CYCLE*. Chicago: St Joseph's Institute 1979, 100. For the sake of clarity, however, a more concise form – “the Feast of the Holy Eucharist” – will be used throughout this research.

<sup>2</sup> The term *Ruthenian* is used in this research in reference to the Rus' population inhabiting the eastern and southeastern parts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland, which nowadays constitute parts of Lithuania, Belarus, Russia, Ukraine, and Poland. See chapter 2.

The term *Eastern Rite* is used in reference to the liturgical tradition of Eastern Orthodox Christianity of Byzantine origin, regardless of jurisdiction.

The term *Uniate* is used in reference to the Eastern Rite Orthodox Christians who entered into a union with the Roman Catholic Church by the decision of the Union of Brest in 1596. Today, alternative terms such as *Byzantine Catholic* or *Greek Catholic* are usually preferred. However, in this research the term *Uniate* is used simply due to its convenience in frequent use.

to the scope of “Latinisation”.<sup>3</sup> A more fruitful approach is suggested by *exploring the development of a new Eastern Rite festal tradition on the basis of the Latin Feast of Corpus Christi*. In this context, the research also looks into certain wider ecumenical questions such as the theological traditions concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist and the Ruthenian perceptions of the moment of Eucharistic consecration.

The Feast of the Holy Eucharist is approached through the earliest hymnographical evidence of the feast in liturgical manuscripts and printed collections dating from the 1690s–1730s. The analysis cannot, however, be restricted to hymnographical sources alone. As Thomas Pott remarks, “what we find in liturgical manuscripts was rooted in a socio-cultural context without which the liturgy cannot properly be understood in depth.”<sup>4</sup> It is clear that a liturgical-festal tradition does not evolve in a vacuum. Quite obviously, the development of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist in the 17<sup>th</sup> to early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries reflected the general cultural and political atmosphere surrounding the Ruthenian Eastern Rite Church at that time. Moreover, as a phenomenon of liturgical evolution, the feast also inevitably related to a wider 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century European liturgical-theological context, characterised by a general reorganisation and various confessionalisation processes within Christendom after the Protestant Reformation and its counter-movements.

The Eastern Rite Orthodox Church constituted one of the religious minorities in the multid denominational Polish-Lithuanian state from the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In this society, the Roman Catholic Church was undeniably dominant, mainly reflected in its cultural supremacy. Elements of the Roman Catholic tradition permeated through society via art, music, education, religious customs and ideas. Cultural interplay reached a new stage when, in 1595–96, part of the Ruthenian Orthodox hierarchy declared their subordination to the Roman Church in what came to be called the Union of Brest. Since the decision was not unanimously accepted, the Eastern Rite Church was divided into two jurisdictions under the Pope and the Patriarch of Constantinople. In the aftermath of the union, responsiveness to the Roman Catholic culture was clearly heightened in the Uniate Church in particular. It was during the century following the union that phenomena and concepts previously unfamiliar to the Ruthenian Eastern Rite liturgical tradition began to emerge.

The Feast of the Holy Eucharist, perhaps more than any other, testifies to the mingling between two cultural and theological spheres, because it brought together a quintessentially Roman Catholic feast, popular in Polish-Lithuanian society at the time, and the traditional Byzantine liturgy cultivated in the Uniate Church. The feast had, in fact, been adapted to Eastern Rite liturgical practice already prior to its appearance among the Ruthenians. It was celebrated in the Italo-Byzantine Eastern Rite and had established its own hymnographical tradition in the Greek

<sup>3</sup> The concept of “Latinisation” may, of course, be understood in many different ways. In his fascinating portrait of Metropolitan Andrei Šeptyckyj, Peter Galadza explains his understanding of the term as “the importation into or imposition onto Byzantine worship of practices, objects, and texts undeniably and uniquely rooted in Latin liturgy. The importation/imposition can occur in at least three ways: (i) Through direct, comprehensive imitation or translation, (ii) by an imitation of Latin *substance* in – either more or less – Byzantine *forms*, and (iii) through the neglect of indigenous Byzantine forms under the influence of Latin priorities.” Galadza, Peter. *The Theology and Liturgical Work of Andrei Sheptytsky (1865–1944)*. Orientalia Christiana Analecta 272. Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale & Ottawa: Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky Institute of Eastern Christian Studies 2004, 255. Galadza’s definition encompasses a wide range of liturgical phenomena. In its terms, the introduction of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist could undoubtedly be classified as a clear example of Latinisation – the Latin *substance* in a Greek *form*. However, as my purpose is to analyse the process rather than the result, i.e. the evolution behind the establishment of a new feast, I restrict my concept of Latinisation to the direct, unadapted importing (or implanting) of Latin Rite practices into an Eastern Rite culture and suggest a different perspective for examining the particular feast.

<sup>4</sup> Pott, Thomas. *Byzantine Liturgical Reform. A Study of Liturgical Change in the Byzantine Tradition*. Crestwood: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press 2010, 14–15.

language. In *Slavia Orthodoxa* however, the connection with the feast was predominantly through the Roman Catholic commemoration of *Corpus Christi*.

The fundamental task of this research is to analyse the extent and significance of the dichotomy suggested by the transformation of the feast from “Latin” into “Greek”. Not underestimating the complexity of the question, this thesis nevertheless proceeds from the traditional idea that there exists a dichotomy between these two major spheres of Christianity, despite their fundamentally common basis in Christian dogma. In the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where these spheres significantly overlapped, the dichotomy was mainly recognised on the grounds of differences in church culture, the *liturgical Rite* in the widest sense.<sup>5</sup> Ritual aspects, as Jurij Avvakumov notes, have traditionally played just as significant a role as dogmatic, ecclesiological or political questions in the discourse between Churches.<sup>6</sup> In other words, liturgical-cultural differences can be approached as a major element enabling the demarcation between the “Latin” and the “Greek”.

From a practical perspective, the concept of cultural dichotomy implies that these two liturgical rites were characterised by a number of liturgical customs that were not interchangeable, but needed to be modified in order to adapt from one liturgical tradition to another. In this sense, the dichotomy serves as a framework for exploring the mechanisms of adapting and transforming liturgical practices. Going beyond the practical perspective, the questions of transformation relate the research to a wider thematic field of *change* and *evolution* in Eastern Rite liturgical tradition in general. In the past few decades, scholars of Byzantine liturgical tradition have increasingly addressed questions of evolution, change and reform in liturgical practice.<sup>7</sup> This research proceeds from the understanding of liturgical tradition as being in constant, dynamic process of evolution, based on the idea that certain elements in the liturgy are bound to evolve in order to reflect the historical and cultural context in which the Church exists at different times. Apart from examining the liturgical rite in its cultural context, this research also seeks to analyse the relationship between the rite and the faith that it is traditionally perceived to embody.

The historical context grounds the development of the Ruthenian Feast of the Holy Eucharist in a highly complex period of church and state politics in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Many factors leading to the Union of Brest had a political or social, rather than a religious character. Questions of faith and rite, ethnic and linguistic heritage, social standing and political views intertwined in an intriguing way in 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century Ruthenian identity, which, in its turn, was bound to be reflected in the liturgical expression of the Eastern Rite Church. For this reason, this research pays considerable attention to the socio-cultural environment from which the liturgical phenomena arose: after all, liturgical culture is always part of a larger cultural whole.

<sup>5</sup> The *liturgical rite* is perceived here as the tradition that unites the members of a church with each other and with past generations in the observance of a common theological tradition, customs pertaining to communal and individual spiritual life, and religious-cultural heritage. In the Ruthenian context, the Eastern liturgical rite was also closely associated with the language used in ritual, Church Slavonic. Cultural differences have generally been recognised as reasons for the estrangement between these two church spheres. See Nichols, Aidan, O.P. *Rome and the Eastern Churches. A Study in Schism*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. San Francisco: Ignatius Press 2010, 150.

<sup>6</sup> Avvakumov mainly refers here to inter-confessional questions in the Middle Ages but points out that only in our contemporary religious understanding do questions of the rite take second place. Аввакумов, Юрій. *Витоки унійного богослов'я. Проблема церковної єдності в обрядових дискусіях між Римом і Константинополем в XI–XIII століттях*. Львів: Видавництво Українського Католицького Університету 2011, 5, 213.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, publications on evolution and reform in liturgical tradition: Meyendorff, Paul. *Russia, Ritual, and Reform. The Liturgical Reforms of Nikon In the 17<sup>th</sup> Century*. Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press 1991; Pott 2010; Taft, Robert F. *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. Vol. V: The Precommunion Rites*. Orientalia Christiana Analecta 261. Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale 2000; *Ibid.*, *The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. A History*, Vol. VI: *The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites*. Orientalia Christiana Analecta 281. Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale 2008.

This research aims at an extensive representation of a culturally fascinating period in the history of the Eastern Rite Ruthenian Church through the detailed examination of one phenomenon, the development of a new festal tradition around the cult of the Holy Eucharist. For various reasons, the indigenous Ruthenian Church culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth has only become an object of substantial multidisciplinary research in recent decades. This study thus seeks to fill the void that still exists in liturgical-musical analysis of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist. Since the feast evolved in the Uniate Eastern Rite circle only, this analysis concentrates on the century following the Union of Brest and the early decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, during which the feast became established in official church practice. The development of the feast is not followed much further after the creation of the liturgical-textual repertoire in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, because the focus is on the formation rather than the later cultivation of the feast in the Ruthenian context. Yet in order to better understand the conditions and environment from which the feast emerged, the historical exploration partly extends to development preceding the church union, from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The thesis consists of seven chapters. *The first chapter, Introduction*, apart from presenting the aim of the research, introduces the source material, the approaches and terminology used in the research, as well as surveying the treatment of the feast and Ruthenian liturgical tradition in earlier studies.

*The second chapter* explores the historical background of the Ruthenian population in order to place the liturgical evolution and, ultimately, the Feast of the Holy Eucharist in a wider context of social and cultural development. Instead of a chronological survey, Ruthenian history is explored thematically, concentrating on three aspects central to the Ruthenian identity: ethnic, linguistic and religious. The general purpose is to discuss to what extent the evolution of these identities in the course of history can be associated with the later evolution in church tradition. In other words, the chapter seeks to find out *the social, cultural and denominational factors that can be seen as shaping the conditions for the evolution of the Eastern Rite liturgical tradition*.

*The third chapter* concentrates on the evolution of the Ruthenian liturgical rite. *The general purpose of the chapter is to provide a thematic framework for analysing the Feast of the Holy Eucharist*. By exploring certain aspects of liturgical life in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the chapter discusses the understanding of faith and liturgy in Ruthenian context as well as the state of liturgical life as a factor leading to the Union of Brest. In its second part, the chapter seeks to depict the evolution of the Eastern Rite immediately after the union and during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It concentrates on the role of the liturgical rite in the struggle for legitimacy between the Uniate and the Orthodox communities. In the third part of the chapter, the evolving Uniate tradition is analysed from the perspective of confessionalisation. It explores the ways in which the Eastern Rite Catholics sought unity with their new Mother Church and demarcated their separateness from the Orthodox community. The chapter surveys the development of an independent “third” rite in the Uniate Church by presenting a variety of new liturgical customs, services and feasts as analogues to the development of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist. Although the main emphasis is on the liturgical life within the Uniate sphere, the discussion also touches upon certain phenomena in Orthodox practice.

The focus of *the fourth chapter* is on *the cult of the Eucharist and its reflections in the Latin Rite Feast of Corpus Christi and in the increase of Eucharistic awareness among Ruthenian Uniates in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries*. It seeks to place the Ruthenian Feast of the Holy Eucharist on the historical map of the universal *Corpus Christi* tradition. It depicts the development of the Latin Rite feast in 13<sup>th</sup> century Europe and in Italo-Byzantine and Polish-Lithuanian local practices. Secondly, the chapter discusses possible processes leading to the adoption of *Corpus Christi* in Ruthenian practice by exploring certain newly introduced Eucharist-related customs and devotions.

*The fifth chapter* concentrates on the hymnography composed for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist with an aim to reveal the actual degree of the festal hymnography's dependence on either the "Latin" or the "Greek" liturgical tradition. It seeks to identify the sources on which the Ruthenian authors relied when compiling the short Office (*служба*) and the more extensive cycle of hymnography in Church Slavonic. The festal hymnography is compared, for example, to the Latin liturgical texts for the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, the hymnography created in the Italo-Byzantine tradition, and the existing liturgical repertoire related to the Eucharist in the Byzantine Orthodox tradition. The chapter also concentrates on evidence of musical performance, the relationship between the new hymnography and the existing Eastern Rite chant tradition, and the extra-liturgical practices associated with the feast. The research culminates in the examination of the festal hymnography in the light of the controversial question of the Eucharistic consecration.

*The sixth chapter, Conclusion*, brings together and evaluates the results of the research. *The seventh chapter, Excursio*, looks beyond the scope of the actual thesis by surveying briefly the later development in the Uniate Church and the continuing evolution in the Eastern Rite, also from the perspective of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist.

## 1.2 SOURCES

Research on liturgical tradition commonly proceeds from the study of the ritual, the *liturgy* in its visible forms, i.e., the customs and ceremonies that constitute the *liturgical rite* in its elementary sense. To a great extent, research based on written sources, i.e. liturgical texts are examined in order to uncover the evolution of the rite. This thesis takes a similar approach. Much of the source material on Ruthenian liturgical tradition still remains unexplored, particularly in the field of church music and hymnography. The once flourishing culture now lies silent in manuscripts, early printed books and archival documents. A considerable part of the work involves investigation into these manuscripts and early prints, beginning from the basic task of establishing their number and current location. The liturgical text is in itself the clearest reflection of the developing festal rite. For this reason, the analysis of hymnography is central to this work.

Primary sources for this research comprise collections of hymnography, liturgical texts, rubrics and musical scores associated with the developing Ruthenian feast. Dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries, they include both manuscripts and early printed books. The manuscript material in this case mainly features two genres of liturgical books: missals (*Služebniki*)<sup>8</sup> for the clergy and anthologies of liturgical chant (*Irmologia*)<sup>9</sup>. The majority of these sources can be dated to the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries and thus precede the official adoption of the feast in Ruthenian practice

<sup>8</sup> The Ruthenian Missal was a manual for the clergy that consisted mainly of prayers and rubrics for the celebration of the Divine Liturgy (St John Chrysostom, St Basil the Great, Pre-sanctified Gifts). Towards the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Uniate missals evolved to resemble the Latin *missale plenum* type, including the Epistle and Gospel readings and short Offices (*служба*) for significant commemorations in an appendix to the book. See, for example, Хойнацкий, А. Ф., *Западнорусская церковная уния в ее богослужении и обрядахъ*. Киевъ 1871, 42–43; Ваврик, Михайло. "До історії службника в укр. католическій церкві в 2-ій половині 17-го ст." *Analecta OSBM* [further: *AOSBM*], *Series II, Sectio II, Vol. 10*, 1979; and Huculak, Laurence Daniel. *The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in the Kievian Metropolitan Province during the period of Union with Rome (1596-1839)*. Rome 1990.

<sup>9</sup> The Ruthenian *Irmologion* (or *Heirmologion*) was an anthology combining the liturgical chant repertoire of a number of hymnographical cycles. Apart from the content indicated in its title, the *irmosy* (*heirmoi*), it comprised chant material for the Sunday *Oktoechos*, the monthly Menaion cycle, the Lenten Triodion and Pentekostarion, as well as hymns for the Divine Liturgy, All-night Vigil and occasionally other types of divine services. The characteristic Ruthenian *Irmologion* type evolved towards the late 16<sup>th</sup> century and employed (unlike chant books produced in other Slavic cultures) linear staff notation instead of neumes. See, for example, Ясіновський, Юрій. *Візантійська гімнографія і церковна монодія в українській рецепції ранньомодерного часу*. Львів: Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича НАН України 2011, 111–364.

(1720). The printed material, in turn, comprises early publications of Uniate missals (the earliest in 1691) and two collections of the full hymnographical cycle for the new feast, published after the Council of Zamość.

Ruthenian liturgical books were available in print already in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, but their use did not diminish the role of manuscripts in liturgical practice. Both types of books were used, and both were characterised by a notable degree of inconsistency. Thus, it is common to find differences between two editions of the same printed book, not to mention between the copies of a single text in different manuscript sources. This necessitates the comparison of different redactions of texts, whether in manuscripts or printed publications.

Any research on the Ruthenian liturgical sources must also take into account the fact that in the course of history, a considerable number of manuscripts are likely to have been lost. The sources that now constitute the material for analysis should thus be regarded as *remnants* of the past that need to be analysed bearing in mind the sources that have *not* been preserved to our days.<sup>10</sup> The Ruthenian Uniate tradition has been particularly vulnerable in this respect. In 1839, after the annexing of a large part of the old Ruthenian lands into the Russian Empire, the Uniate Metropolitanate was abolished and the union annulled by the authorities. An intensive campaign led by Metropolitan Iosif Semaško in the 1840s–50s aimed at cleansing the liturgical practice by replacing a great number of Uniate liturgical books with Russian printed ones. It is also important to consider the effects of the two World Wars, sweeping across East Central Europe, on church collections and parochial libraries.

### 1.2.1 Liturgical texts and rubrics

The most extensive research material for this thesis consists of unnotated liturgical texts, mainly hymnography. The two official publications of full liturgical repertoire for the feast, realising the decree passed at the Council of 1720, obviously serve as the primary sources for analysis. For the first time since their appearance in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, these two cycles of liturgical texts are published in a modern edition as appendices to this research.<sup>11</sup>

The first of these comprises 14 sheets (28 pages) of printed text, titled as *Apograf ili Slog činnyj, večernyh i utrennih penij, na Praznik Prečistago Těla Gospoda našego Iisusa Hrista*.<sup>12</sup> The copy used in this research is an early printed book from the Wróblewskie Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences,<sup>13</sup> which is a collection of hymnography for the *Triodion* and *Pentekostarion* cycles, published by the Confraternity of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Lvov in 1688<sup>14</sup>. The *Apograf* is a later addition to the end of the book. Copies of the five first pages of the *Apograf* have also been obtained from the National Library of Belarus.<sup>15</sup> They seem to correspond with the Vilnius copy, suggesting that they represent the same (perhaps the only) edition.

<sup>10</sup> According to Jukka Korpela, existing sources thus form only the framework for research into the reality that once produced them. Korpela, Jukka. *Itä-Euroopan historia keskiajalta 1700-luvulle*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus 2004, 13.

<sup>11</sup> See appendices 1 and 2. The texts have been copied from the original publications and edited by the author. For the sake of convenience, they are featured here in modern Cyrillic writing – retaining, however, the vowel ѣ (ě), which in Ruthenian pronunciation differed from contemporary Russian pronunciation, as well as letters і and ѿ.

<sup>12</sup> *Апографъ или Слогъ чинный, вечернихъ и оутреннихъ пеней, на Празникъ Пр(е)ч(и)стаго Тѣла Г(о)с(по)да н(а)шего И(у)с(уса) Х(рист)а* [Apograf, or an Orderly Composition, of chanting the Vespers and Matins for the Feast of the Most Pure Body of our Lord Jesus Christ]. See appendix 1. I would like to thank Dr Sergejus Temčinas for the suggested translation of the title.

<sup>13</sup> Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka (further: LMAB). Rare Books Department. R-17/2-4.

<sup>14</sup> ТРИОДИОН. Братство при Храмъ Успения ... въ Львове 1688. (LMAB R-17/2-4).

<sup>15</sup> Национальная Библиотека Беларуси (further: НББ). 094/4091.

The *Apograf* constitutes the fullest possible liturgical repertoire for a feast in the Eastern Rite tradition. It provides hymnography and readings for one week's services, starting from the eve of the feast (Wednesday) and concluding with texts for the leave-taking of the feast on the following Thursday. More precisely, it consists of Small and Great Vespers with Litia, Matins, Divine Liturgy, and the Vespers and Matins for the following festal octave (except for Sunday morning), including a *triodion* for Compline for the first day of the afterfeast. The set is followed by liturgical texts for another Latin-inspired Uniate feast, that of the Compassion of the Mother of God, which commonly accompanies the Feast of the Holy Eucharist because, in early Uniate practice, it was celebrated on the Friday following the mentioned octave.<sup>16</sup> The collection contains no indication of the date and place of publication, but ornamentation on the pages and other typographical features point to the Monastery of Suprasl' as its place of origin. Moreover, based on the typographic equipment used at the time in the monastery, the paper and other features, it has been estimated that the *Apograf* was printed between the 1710s–1730s.<sup>17</sup> The year mentioned in the *Synaxarion* text in the *Apograf* itself, that of the Council of Zamość in 1720,<sup>18</sup> narrows down the time estimation within a decade at least. Aleksander Naumow suggests that the text was printed after 1737.<sup>19</sup> In any case, the *Apograf* can be considered as one of the earliest publications containing the full festal cycle.

The other full set of liturgical texts compiled for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist was printed in the Galician Monastery of Uněv in 1738. It is accompanied by two other feasts, those of the Compassion of the Mother of God and of the Blessed Hieromartyr Josafat, in *Voslědovanija prazdnikom Presvjatoj tajni Evharistii, Sostradanija presvjatija Bogorodica i Blažennago sojaščennomučenika Iosafata*.<sup>20</sup> The collection was later reprinted both in Uněv (1745) and in the Monastery of Počaev (1741, 1742, 1757, 1762).<sup>21</sup> In this research, I use the first edition (1738), available at the National Library of Russia, St Petersburg.<sup>22</sup> The hymnography for the feast of the "Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist" ranges from pages 3 to 24. It comprises liturgical texts for the festal week: the (Great) Vespers for Wednesday with Litia, the Matins and the Divine Liturgy for Thursday, and the Vespers and Matins for the following festal octave (except for Sunday morning).

In addition to the printed liturgical texts for the full festal octave, the research relies on a number of shorter Offices, the so-called *služba* (служба), which began to appear both in print and in manuscript in the last decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The *Office for the Most Holy Sacrament of Eucharist, or the Body and Blood of Christ* was commonly included in the Missal for clergy use, and

<sup>16</sup> In this source, the feast carries the name of Доксастиконъ сієсть Пѣснославникъ нарочитый по Пасцѣ Хр(и)стовой, въ пятюкъ десятоседмичный, о прегорестныхъ бользняхъ пресвятыя Б(о)городицѣа. It is more commonly known as *Сострадание Пресвятыя Богородицы*, a feast dedicated to the compassion of the Mother of God at the Cross.

<sup>17</sup> Галенчанка, Г.Я. *Кніга Беларусі 1517-1917. Зводны каталог*. Мінск: Выдавецтва «Беларуская Савецкая Энцыклапедыя ім. Пётруся Броўкі 1986, 140–141; Labyncew, Jurij. "Re: Финляндия." E-mail message to Maria Takala-Roszczenko. 5<sup>th</sup> November 2008. See also the table of Basilian printing in Suprasl', presented in Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, Zoja. "Supraskie druki cyrylickie." *Z dziejów monasteru Supraskiego*. Białystok: Oikonomos 2005, 144.

<sup>18</sup> *Апографъ* s.a., 11; appendix 1, p. 245. For an English translation, see pp. 173–174.

<sup>19</sup> Naumow, Aleksander. *Wiara i historia. Z dziejów literatury cerkiewnosłowiańskiej na ziemiach polsko-litewskich*. Krakowsko-wileńskie studia sławistyczne, tom 1. Kraków 1996, 113.

<sup>20</sup> *Вослѣдованія праздникомъ Пресвятой тайни Евхаристіи, Состраданія пресвятія Б(о)городицѣа и Бл(а)женнаго священномученика Иосафата святого Собора Замойскаго преподаваниемъ, Типомъ издашася въ манастирѣ уневскомъ чину святого василія великаго въ львѣ отъ воплощенія Слова а҃гли [1738]* [The Office of the Feast of the Most Holy Sacrament of Eucharist, the Compassion (the Dolours) of the Mother of God and the Blessed Hieromartyr Iosafat, as instituted by the holy Council of Zamość. Printed in the Monastery of Uněv, the Order of Holy Basil the Great, Uněv 1738]. See appendix 2.

<sup>21</sup> Naumow 1996, 113.

<sup>22</sup> Российская Национальная Библиотека (further: РНБ). Rare Books Department. VII.4.15.

it comprised the propers or chants and texts prescribed to the festal Divine Liturgy: the *troparion* and the *kontakion* hymns, the *prokeimenon*, the Epistle text, the Alleluia verses, the Gospel reading, the Communion hymn, occasionally also the Dismissal. One source even provides the three festal Antiphons for the Liturgy. The *služba* is examined on the basis of three printed<sup>23</sup> and eleven manuscript<sup>24</sup> copies.

While the Church Slavonic liturgical texts for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist constitute the primary sources of this research, it has also been necessary to become acquainted with the liturgical content dedicated to the feast in the Latin as well as Greek practice. As part of the analysis of sources for the Ruthenian festal hymnography, the research relies on valuable information published in *The Feast of Corpus Christi* (2006)<sup>25</sup>. The publication includes critical editions of seven Roman Catholic *Corpus Christi* liturgical manuscripts with their English translations. Apart from these 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century sources, information about the ceremonial processions that took place in the 17<sup>th</sup> century during the *Corpus Christi* festivities has been obtained from *Rituale Romanum* (1614)<sup>26</sup>.

The Italo-Byzantine *Corpus Christi* tradition is examined on the basis of four sources. The earliest of these features a manuscript *Typikon* (1299/1300) from the Grottaferrata Monastery. The rubrics for the feast embrace Vespers, Compline, Matins, the Hours and the Divine Liturgy.<sup>27</sup> The remaining sources are printed collections and provide fuller liturgical texts: the *Neon Anthologion* by Antonios Arkoudios (1598), which comprises festal Vespers and Matins;<sup>28</sup> *Horologion* (1677), which comprises festal Vespers, the Canon for Compline, Matins and the Divine Liturgy;<sup>29</sup> and the Basilian Missal (*Leitourgikon* 1683, also known for its initiator, Cardinal Nerli), providing rubrics and content for the Divine Liturgy.<sup>30</sup> Stefano Parenti's article on the Italo-Byzantine

<sup>23</sup> A Missal printed at the Holy Trinity Monastery of Vilna in 1691: *ЛИТУРГІА иже въ святыхъ отца нашего Иоанна Златоустаго архиепископа Константина Града*. Вилна: Обитель Живоначальныя Троицы 1691, 39r–39v [LMAB L-17/2-20]; another Missal printed in the Monastery of Suprasl' in 1727: *ЛИТУРГИКОН си есть Служебникъ ... в Супраслю. Первое типом издадеся въ общежителномъ монастыри Чину святого Василия Великаго* 1727, 384–386 [LMAB R-18/2-43]; a printed page included in a manuscript Missal from late 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> century, *СЛУЖЕБНИК*, Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України імені В. Стефаника, further: ЛНБ, МБ-128, f. 65r–65v].

<sup>24</sup> The majority of these manuscripts are in the Wróblewskie Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius (LMAB): a 17<sup>th</sup> century *Missal* (F 19-191), another *Missal* by Samuil Pilihovskij, dated to 1693 (F 19-192), an early 18<sup>th</sup>-century *Missal* (F 19-195), two 18<sup>th</sup>-century collections of missals with *Trebnik* i.e. *Euchologion* (F 19-196, -197), a shorter *Missal* from the 18<sup>th</sup> century (F 19-198), an early 18<sup>th</sup>-century *Euchologion* (F 19-209), and a *Časoslov* i.e. *Horologion* from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (F 19-224). Two copies of the Office have also been found in Lviv (ЛНБ): a *Missal* (named *Euchologion* in the library catalogue) from the Krasnopustinskij Monastery dated to 1739 (MB-355) and another from the Ulašovskij Monastery, dated to 1749 (MB-423). Details of an early version of the Office, in a manuscript *Missal* from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (Vatican Library, Borgia Ill. 13-14), have been obtained from Ваврик 1979.

<sup>25</sup> Walters, Barbara R., Corrigan, Vincent, Ricketts, Peter T. *The Feast of Corpus Christi*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press 2006.

<sup>26</sup> *Rituale Romanum*. Editio Princeps (1614). Monumenta Liturgica Concilii Tridentini 5. Edizione anastatica, Introduzione e Appendice a cura di Manlio Sodi – Juan Javier Flores Arcas. Città del Vaticano: Liveria Editrice Vaticana 2004.

<sup>27</sup> *Grottaferrata* Γ.α. I, ff. 103v–104v; the rubrics of the Feast of the Body of the Lord are presented in Parenti, Stefano. "Una *Diataxis* inedita del XIV secolo per la solennità del *Corpus Domini*." Parenti, Stefano, Velkovska, Elena. *Mille anni di "Rito Greco" alle porte di Roma*. ΑΝΑΛΕΚΤΑ ΚΡΥΠΤΟΦΕΡΡΗΣ 4. Grottaferrata: Monastero Esarchico 2004, 153–157. I am grateful to Dr Stefano Parenti for providing me with a copy of this publication.

<sup>28</sup> *NEON ANΘΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ ΠΛΗΡΕΣΤΑΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΚΡΙΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΤΑΣ ΝΥΧΘΗΜΕΡΟΥΣ κανονικὰς ὥρας τε καὶ διήσεις ἀναγιγνώσκειν*. Ρώμη: Εκ τῆς Βανκανῆς Τυπωγραφίας 1598, 371–380. I am grateful to Dr Daniel Galadza for help in obtaining an electronic copy of the Office.

<sup>29</sup> *ΩΡΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ ΣΥΝ ΘΕΩ ΑΓΙΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΚΠΑΛΑΙ ΤΑΞΙΝ ΟΥ ΜΗΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΥΠΙΚΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΚΡΥΠΤΟΦΕΡΡΗΣ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ*. ΕΝ ΡΩΜΗ. Παρὰ Μιχαήλ Ἑρκολε 1677, 615–629. I am grateful to Dr Stefano Parenti for a photocopy of the pages.

<sup>30</sup> *ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΚΟΝ ΣΥΝ ΘΕΩ ΑΓΙΩ, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ Τυπικοῦ τῆς πανσέπτου Μονῆς τῆς Κρυπτοφέρρης*. ΕΝ ΡΩΜΗ, Παρὰ Ἰωάννη Βαπτιστῇ τῷ Βουσσόττῳ 1683, 71–72. I am grateful to Dr Stefano

tradition of *Corpus Domini* has provided valuable information about these and the related liturgical sources.<sup>31</sup>

Further reference material has been obtained from other contemporary Ruthenian liturgical manuscripts and publications. The evolution of the Ruthenian Eastern Rite, analysed in the third chapter, is explored on the basis of a number of missals, *Euchologia* and other liturgical books.<sup>32</sup> Certain examples of the transformation of Latin liturgical texts into Ruthenian Church Slavonic services and hymnography have also been presented as appendices to this work.<sup>33</sup> For analysing the pre-Communion prayer tradition in Ruthenian practice, different prayer books and *Horologia* are also consulted.<sup>34</sup> The Orthodox pre-Communion tradition is also explored on the basis of a modern collection of prayers representing the textual redaction first printed by Patriarch Iosif from 1642–1652, which includes an English translation.<sup>35</sup> The “*iosifskij*” text more or less represents the redaction of Church Slavonic used in liturgy in Ruthenian practice. The *Trebnik* (*Euchologion*) by Metropolitan Mohyla (1646)<sup>36</sup> is also consulted in relation to the Ruthenian Orthodox Eucharistic practices.

Biblical readings referred to in the primary sources are checked against the earliest Church Slavonic printed Bible, the Ostrog Bible (1581).<sup>37</sup> For translations of biblical texts, the main source has been made available on the Internet, the translation of the Septuagint by Sir Lancelot C.L. Brenton (1851).<sup>38</sup> Similarly, some of the English translations of Eastern Rite liturgical texts are cited from an Internet source, by Archimandrite Ephrem (Lash)’s Anastasis.<sup>39</sup> While some translations of the hymnography for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist have been available in a contemporary liturgical source,<sup>40</sup> I have translated a number of texts myself.

In the analysis of connections between the Latin and Ruthenian liturgical texts, certain patristic writings from modern editions are also explored. The most significant source in this respect is the treatise *De sacramentis* by Ambrose of Milan and its English translation.<sup>41</sup>

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Parenti for a photocopy of the pages.

<sup>31</sup> Parenti 2004, 149–170.

<sup>32</sup> For example LMAB F 19-191; F 19-192; F 19-195; F 19-196; F 19-197; F 19-209.

<sup>33</sup> These texts feature the Little Office of the Immaculate Conception (appendix 3, copied from LMAB F 19-233, ff. 108r–111v and complemented from a critical edition of the manuscript, Stern, Dieter. *Die Liederhandschrift F 19-233 (15) der Bibliothek der Litauischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Bausteine zur Slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte. Reihe B: Editionen. Neue Folge Band 16. Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau 2000, 753–761); the Litany of the Saints (appendix 4, copied from LMAB F 19-190, ff. 169v–174v); the Litany of Loreto (appendix 5, text obtained from Герасимова, Ирина. “Жизнь и творчество белорусского композитора Фомы Шеверовского.” КАЛОФΩΝΙΑ. Науковий збірник з історії церковної музики та гімнографії. Число 5. Львів: Інститут Українознавства ім. І. Крип’якевича НАН України 2010, 55–66); *Dies irae* (appendix 6, copied from LMAB F 19-115, ff. 1r–1v); and a comparison of two textual redactions of *Te Deum laudamus* (appendix 7, copied from LMAB F 22-80, ff. 207r–207v and Lviv National Andrey Sheptytsky Museum, Pk-420, ff. 2r–2v).

<sup>34</sup> For example, *Horologion* LMAB F 19-224; *Daily Prayerbook* (Молитвы повседневные) of the Vilna Confraternity 1596, РНБ І.7.8.

<sup>35</sup> Древнерусский молитвенник / *Old Orthodox Prayer Book*. Erie, Pennsylvania: Russian Orthodox Church of the Nativity of Christ (Old Rite) 1986.

<sup>36</sup> *Требник митрополита Петра Могили*. Київ 1646. Київ: Інформаційно-видавничий центр Української Православної Церкви 1996.

<sup>37</sup> Библия сиречь Книги Ветхаго и Новаго Завета по языку словенску. Фототипическое переиздание текста с издания 1581 года. Москва-Ленинград: Слово-Арт 1988.

<sup>38</sup> [www.ecmarsh.com/lxx](http://www.ecmarsh.com/lxx)

<sup>39</sup> [www.anastasis.org.uk](http://www.anastasis.org.uk)

<sup>40</sup> *Liturgical Propers of the Easter-Pentecost Cycle* 1979.

<sup>41</sup> Ambrosius Mediolanensis. *De sacramentis* = *Über die Sakramente. De mysteriis* = *Über die Mysterien*. Fontes Christiani, Bd. 3. Übers. und eingeleitet von Josef Schmitz. Verlag Herder Freiburg im Breisgau 1990. English translation provided in *The Fathers of the Church. A New Translation. Vol. 44: Saint Ambrose: Theological and Dogmatic Works*. Transl. Roy J. Deferrari. Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press 1987.

### 1.2.2 Musical sources

Hymnography is nearly always chanted; thus it is reasonable to expect that musical sources provide material for analysis. 17<sup>th</sup>-century liturgical chant existed predominantly in manuscript form. This does not, however, indicate any scarcity of sources: production of *Irmologion* anthologies virtually boomed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, thanks to a new convenient type of musical staff notation. The abundance of these anthologies explains why so many have been preserved in spite of the recurrent wars that have swept over the lands that once constituted the Polish-Lithuanian state. In the course of its tumultuous history, manuscripts were scattered around and even beyond Eastern Europe. In the search for material for this research, a number of musical anthologies have been consulted at the National Library of Russia (РНБ), the Library of Russian Academy of Sciences (БРАН) and the Institute of Russian Literature (ИРЛИ) in St Petersburg, Russia, the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (LMAB) and the Vilnius University Library in Vilnius, Lithuania, the National Library of Belarus (НББ) in Minsk, Belarus, the Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library of Ukraine (ЛНБ) and the Lviv National Andrey Sheptytsky Museum in Lviv, Ukraine, and the National Library (BN) in Warsaw, Poland. One manuscript folio has been obtained as a digital copy from a collection of the Moscow Spiritual Academy (МДА). One manuscript from the Holy Trinity Lavra in Moscow, Russia, has been consulted online.<sup>42</sup> The extensive catalogue compiled by Jurij Jasynovs'kyj<sup>43</sup> has been a valuable aid in the process of locating the manuscripts.

Despite an extensive search, references to the Feast of the Holy Eucharist in the *Irmologion* manuscripts turn out to be quite insignificant in number. Most commonly, they feature inscriptions in the margins of the book, such as words or symbols indicating the use of a chant during the particular feast. Such markings have been found in three musical manuscripts only: one *Irmologion* from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century at the Institute of Russian Literature,<sup>44</sup> another, dated to the year 1659, at the Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scientific Library of Ukraine,<sup>45</sup> and another from the year 1746, at the National Library of Russia.<sup>46</sup> The inscriptions are highly likely to be later additions, which makes their use as evidence problematic. In the first two cases, at least, the inscriptions are by a hand that clearly differs from the original.

Among the findings is one *Irmologion* containing actual liturgical chants for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist.<sup>47</sup> The source is a manuscript currently located in the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences Library, F 19-116, an *Irmologion* produced at the monastery of Suprasl' in 1638–39.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> <http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/book.php?col=1&manuscript=450>

<sup>43</sup> Ясіновський, Юрій. *Українські та білоруські нотолінійні Ірмолії 16-18 століть*. Львів: Місіонер 1996; complementary publications *Ibid.* "Виправлення, уточнення і доповнення до каталогу нотолінійних ірмоліїв." *КАЛОФΩΝΙΑ* ч. 2. Львів: Видавництво Українського Католицького Університету 2004; *ibid.* "Виправлення, уточнення і доповнення до каталогу нотолінійних ірмоліїв (2)." *КАЛОФΩΝΙΑ* ч. 4. Львів: Видавництво Українського Католицького Університету 2008, 197–209.

<sup>44</sup> ИРЛИ Перетц 101, f. 227r. For a description of the manuscript, see Ясіновський 1996, 139.

<sup>45</sup> ЛНБ АСП (Петр.) 96, ff. 96v–114v. For a description of the manuscript, see Ясіновський 1996, 157.

<sup>46</sup> РНБ Кап. F.12, ff. 113v, 115v, 118v. Information acquired from Герасимова, И.В. "Знаменный распев в певческих книгах Великого княжества Литовского." (Master's thesis.) Санкт-Петербургская государственная консерватория им. А.Н. Римского-Корсакова 2003, 19. For a description of the manuscript, see Ясіновський 1996, 397–398.

<sup>47</sup> Liturgical chants presumably associated with the Feast of the Holy Eucharist have also been noted in another *Irmologion* dated to the 1760s–80s, currently in the National Library of Russia, the New Collection of Manuscripts: Findings of 1937, F.15/I. In his catalogue, Jasynovs'kyj refers to a number of different *stichera* in the manuscript, among which one or more *stichera* are prescribed for the carrying, i.e., procession with the Holy Eucharist ("на переносі євхаристії"). See Ясіновський 1996, 443–444. The manuscript has not been consulted for this study.

<sup>48</sup> The manuscript contains uncommonly detailed information about its production dates and the scribe. For a description of the manuscript, see Ясіновський 1996, 123–124. Yet Jasynovs'kyj does not list the folios 286v–289r, among which we find the reference to the Feast of the Holy Eucharist (f. 287r–287v).

The material dedicated to the feast examined here was, however, added to the anthology later. It consists of one folio featuring the score for three notated *stichera*, chanted at Psalms 148–150 during the festal Matins. The later origin of the folio is supported by the fact that it has been bound into the *Irmologion* reversely: the second page (287r) precedes the title page (287v). Moreover, the third *sticheron* is incomplete, which suggests that the folio was originally part of a set of scores, all of which were not – for some reason – included in the rebound anthology. On the basis of its palaeographic features, the folio can be attributed to a considerably later period than the 1630s, most likely to the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>49</sup>

The analysis also involves musical-textual sources indirectly associated with the hymnography for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist. A 17<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript featuring the musical score for the exposition of the Sacrament<sup>50</sup> provides valuable evidence of the evolution in the Eucharistic cult and, possibly, also a description of the extra-liturgical ceremony performed on the day of the actual feast. Information about the musical tradition evolving around the Feast of the Holy Eucharist has also been obtained from academic publications.<sup>51</sup>

Apart from manuscript material concerning the feast and customs related to the Holy Eucharist, a number of musical and hymnographical manuscripts have been consulted in order to analyse the Latin elements in the Eastern Rite liturgical tradition in general.

### 1.2.3 Historical and polemic sources

Historical documents and non-liturgical sources provide glimpses of the general cultural environment in which the liturgical evolution took place. Apart from archival material obtained at the St Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences (СПбИИ РАН) the research mainly relies on printed documents in original and later editions and translations.

A considerable quantity of documentation concerning Ruthenian history is available in a series of publications edited by the Vilna Archaeographical Committee in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, several of which can be accessed at the National Library in Helsinki, Finland. These publications provide, for example, documentation concerning the Monastery of Suprasl'<sup>52</sup> and the Basilian monastic order.<sup>53</sup> A number of polemic writings directly or indirectly describe the liturgical life in Ruthenian churches in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries: the letter by Archimandrite Sergij Kimbar (c. 1536/1556),<sup>54</sup> *Lithos* attributed to Metropolitan Mohyla and his circle,<sup>55</sup> and other polemical writings such as *Verificatia niewinności* (1621), *Sowita wina* (1621), *Obrona verificacy* (1621), *Rozmowa albo rellatia rozmowy dwoch*

<sup>49</sup> An estimation by Dr Jurij Labyncev, Labyncev 2008.

<sup>50</sup> Collection of the Moscow Spiritual Academy (further: МДА) № 231908, f. 515v.

<sup>51</sup> Valuable information on the tradition of paraliturgical Eucharistic songs, as well as their textual sources, can be found, for example, in Зосім, Ольга. *Західноєвропейська духовна пісня на східнослов'янських землях у століттях*. Київ: Державна академія керівних кадрів культури і мистецтв 2009; *Ibid.*, “Западноевропейские духовные песни предрождественской и евхаристической тематики в восточнославянском репертуаре XVII–XIX вв.» *Вестник Православного Свято-Тихоновского Гуманитарного Университета*. V: 3. Москва: Издательство Православного Свято-Тихоновского гуманитарного университета 2010<sup>a</sup>, 31–63. I am grateful to Dr Olga Zosim for the copy of the monograph and for electronic copies of several of her articles.

<sup>52</sup> *Археогрифіческій сборникъ документовъ, относящихся к исторіи сѣверо-западной Руси* (further: АСД) т. 9. Вильна 1870.

<sup>53</sup> АСД т. 12. Вильна 1900.

<sup>54</sup> Archimandrite Sergij's letter has been dated to the approximate year 1536 in the printed publication of archival material, *Архивъ Юго-Западной Россіи, издаваемый Временною комиссією для разбора древнихъ актовъ* (further: *Архивъ ЮЗР*) ч.1, т. VII. Київ 1887, 3. According to Antoni Mironowicz, 1556 is a more probable date, since it was in the following year that the archimandrite was called to a synod in Vilna to respond to the accusations presented against him by a certain Father Arsenij. Mironowicz, Antoni. “Re: vopros.” E-mail message to Maria Takala-Roszczenko. 24<sup>th</sup> September 2013.

<sup>55</sup> *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т. IX. Київ 1893.

*Rusinow schismatika z unitem* (1634),<sup>56</sup> *Examen Obrony* (1621) and *Exegesis* (1635).<sup>57</sup> Publications from the *Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni* (further: AOSBM) series provide information about the Ruthenian Basilian Order,<sup>58</sup> documentation on Ruthenian students at the Greek College in Rome,<sup>59</sup> as well as correspondence between Uniate bishops and other authorities, available in Latin and Italian translations.<sup>60</sup> Some polemic and historical publications have been consulted from original sources, for example, *Perspectiwa* (1642) by Kassian Sakovič<sup>61</sup> and *Colloquium Lubelskie* (1680) by Metropolitan Žohovskij.<sup>62</sup> One of the most informative polemic writings (despite its slightly doubtful identification<sup>63</sup>), the letter by the Basilian Father Petr Kaminskij from 1685, is available in print and has been consulted in a Ukrainian translation accompanying the monograph by Przemysław Nowakowski.<sup>64</sup>

### 1.3 THE FEAST OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST AND RUTHENIAN LITURGICAL EVOLUTION IN EARLIER LITERATURE

The Eastern Rite liturgical tradition of the Ruthenians has been an object of academic research for approximately two centuries. For most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, interest in Ruthenian liturgical heritage was limited to the exploration of the Kievan Church as the mother of all Russian Orthodox tradition. In the course of the political dissolution of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the

<sup>56</sup> *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т. VII 1887.

<sup>57</sup> *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т. VIII. Київ 1914.

<sup>58</sup> Балик, Б.І. "Катафальк чернечий" василіян XVII-XVIII ст." AOSBM, Series II, Sectio II. Vol. VIII, Fasc. 1–4. Romae 1973 (67–98). I am grateful to Fr Porfyrjy Pidruchnyj OSBM for copies of this issue.

<sup>59</sup> Blažejovskij, Dmytro. *Ukrainian and Belorussian students at the Pontifical Greek College of Rome (1576–1976)*. *Excerpta ex "Analecta OSBM"*, Vol. X. Romae 1979. I am grateful to Dr Daniel Galadza for electronic copies of this volume.

<sup>60</sup> *Epistolae Josephi Velamin Rutskyj Metropolitanis Kioviensis Catholici (1613–1637)*. Series II – AOSBM – Sectio III. Romae 1956; *Epistolae Metropolitanarum Kioviensium Catholicorum Cypriani Zochovskij, Leonis Slubicz Zalenskyj, Georgii Vynnyckyj (1674–1713)*. Series II – AOSBM – Sectio III. Romae 1958; *Epistolae Metropolitanarum Kioviensium Catholicorum Leonis Kiška, Athanasii Szeptyckyj, Floriani Hrebnyckyj (1714–1762)*. Series II – AOSBM – Sectio III. Romae 1959; *Litterae Basilianorum in terris Ucrainae et Bielarusiae, Vol. I: 1601–1730*. Ed. P. Athanasius G. Welykyj OSBM. Series II – AOSBM – Sectio III. Romae 1979.

<sup>61</sup> Sakowicz, Kassian. *ΕΠΑΝΟΡΘΩΣΙΣ albo PERSPECTIWA, Y OBIASNIENIE błędow, Herezyey, y Zabobonow, w Greko-ruskiey Cerkwi Disunitskiey tak w Artykułach Wiary, iako w Administrowaniu Sakramentow, y w inszych Obrządkach y Ceremoniach znajdui się. Zebrana y napisana Przez Wiel. X. Kassiana Sakowicza, przed tym Archimandrite Dubienskiego Unita, A teraz Kapłana Rzymskiego Kościoła, Per Dispensan Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae, Dla Wielkiego przesładowania od Rusi, że im te Błędy y zabobony y Herezye w ich Wierze pokazywał [...] W Krakowie w Drukarni Waleryana Piatkowskiego Roku 1642*. The book is found, for example, in the Rare Books department of LMAB, XVII/559.

<sup>62</sup> *COLLOQUIUM LUBELSKIE, Miedzy zgodną, y niezgodną Bracią, / Narodu ruskiego, vigore, constitucyey Warszawskiey, Na dzien, / 24 Stycznia, Anno, 1680, / Zlozone [...] W drukarni Collegium Societatis Iesu. Leopoli*. Available in the Rare Books Department of LMAB, L-17/2-158.

<sup>63</sup> A manuscript copy of the letter, attributed by the copyist to a late 17<sup>th</sup>-century official of the Uniate Church, Petr Kaminskij, was found in 1909 and published twenty years later. Kaminskij has generally been accepted as the author of the letter, although there is no certainty. The author reveals a peculiar feature in his identity by creating a clear contrast between "us" and "those Uniates" or "the lords Uniates" (possibly in reference to the hierarchy). Nevertheless, it seems clear that he himself is a representative of the Uniate Church; his disillusionment is most likely addressed to the Uniate hierarchs whom he sees as responsible for the degradation of the Eastern Rite. As vicar general of the Uniate Bishop of Przemyśl, Ivan Malahovskij (1669–1691), and later the auditor of the Metropolitanate of Kyprian Žohovskij (1674–1693), Kaminskij is supposed to have been aware of things that others did not know. The letter was most likely a report of the state of the Uniate Church to someone close to the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Щурат, Василь. *В Обороні Потієвої унії. Письмо о. Петра Камінського Ч.С.В.В. авдітора гр.-кат. митрополії 1685 р. Львів 1929 in Новаковський, Пшемислав. Літургійна проблематика в міжконфесійній полеміці після Берестейської унії (1596–1720)*. Львів: Свічадо 2005, 196–198.

<sup>64</sup> Щурат 1929 in Новаковський 2005, 195–240.

late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the majority of the Eastern Rite believers of the old Kievan Metropolitanate had been firmly embraced by the Russian Orthodox Church. Local Ruthenian Eastern Rite practices were generally viewed as tainted by their long coexistence with the Roman Catholic tradition.

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, interest in Russian and Ruthenian histories arose and was realised in the collection and publication of a variety of archival and historical documents. The Ruthenian Uniate tradition was analysed by two scholars whose contribution remains significant to this day. In his impressive *The West Russian Church Union in its Liturgical Services and Rites* (1871),<sup>65</sup> Andrej Fedorovič Hojnackij presented a detailed study of the development of Uniate liturgical practices on the basis of printed material which he grouped according to their content and use in divine services. Hojnackij's study reveals highly interesting changes, innovations and connections between Eastern and Western practices in the early 18<sup>th</sup>-century Uniate tradition. Apart from some comments on "Latin intrigue" and "Jesuit scheming," Hojnackij retains an objective approach: the liturgical books are treated as products of their time and their contents are compared with certain Orthodox and Roman Catholic sources (most frequently, the liturgical manuals by Metropolitan Mohyla). His familiarity with Ruthenian culture and history is reflected in the research. For example, he considers certain Latin-influenced phenomena in Uniate practice as understandable due to the general disorder in the Eastern Rite tradition among the Ruthenians, as well as to the fact that many Latin practices had long been present not only in the Uniate but also in the Orthodox liturgy.<sup>66</sup> Hojnackij was also the first to pay attention to the Feast of the Holy Eucharist and to the content of the festal service (including the octave), which he summarised as "nothing else but the Latin feast in solemnity *Corporis Christi*, transformed into Orthodox style."<sup>67</sup>

Another notable study on the Uniate liturgical tradition was written by Nikolaj Fedorovič Odincov, who used the Cyrillic manuscripts in the Public Library of Vilna as his source material. In his *The Uniate Liturgical Services in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (1886),<sup>68</sup> Odincov analysed changes in the *Typikon* (*Ustav*), in the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, sacraments and lesser rites, on the basis of rubrics in the manuscripts. He noted that the process by which the Uniate liturgical tradition evolved in a Roman Catholic direction was long – from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century to the Council of Zamość (1720). In other words, he argued that the Union of Brest did not bring about any radical changes, but the first signs of "Latinisation" began to appear only in late 17<sup>th</sup>-century manuscripts, to become finally cemented in printed liturgical books. One of his conclusions was that the manuscripts revealed a most notable evolution in the content of those services which clearly relate the dogmatic teaching of the Byzantine Church, while the majority of lesser rites, such as that for the consecration of a church, remained almost unchanged.<sup>69</sup>

Until the very last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, much of East European research on the Ruthenian liturgical tradition – as on any religious subject – was subdued, and studies on Ruthenians generally

<sup>65</sup> Хойнацкий 1871.

<sup>66</sup> Хойнацкий 1871, 8.

<sup>67</sup> Хойнацкий 1871, 400. Unfortunately, Hojnackij does not name the Uniate publication that he uses for his exploration of the festal service. He points out correspondences between the Latin *Corpus Christi* service and the Uniate source, for example, the *paremia* readings, the psalm verses for the *megalynarion* as well as the antiphons in the Liturgy, the *prokeimenon* for Matins and the Liturgy, the Epistle and Gospel readings and the Communion hymn. According to him, the Uniates either composed new liturgical texts or borrowed from existing Latin texts the hymnography for special *stichera*, *troparia*, *kathisma* and *megalynaria*. Хойнацкий 1871, 400–401.

<sup>68</sup> Одинцовъ, Н. Ф. *Униатское богослужение въ XVII и XVIII вѣкахъ по рукописямъ Виленской Публичной Библиотеки*. Вильна: Типографія Губернскаго Правленія 1886. Odincov refers to the Feast of the Holy Eucharist only once, among other commemorations borrowed from the Latin Church. See Одинцовъ 1886, 20.

<sup>69</sup> Одинцовъ 1886, 137.

concentrated on historical, codicological or musicological questions. Significant openings were made in the research of Ruthenian liturgical-musical manuscripts in the 1960s–1970s.<sup>70</sup> Since then the *Irmologion* manuscript type and the liturgical and paraliturgical chant traditions associated with it have become a notable genre of musicology and codicology.<sup>71</sup> Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Ruthenian religious history has become established as a multidisciplinary field in its own right in both Europe and North America. Research on the history of the Orthodox and Uniate Churches in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth provides the context for a closer analysis of liturgical tradition.<sup>72</sup> Occasionally, historical research itself touches upon different aspects of rite and liturgy, especially when exploring questions related to Ruthenian identity, as can be seen in the excellent study by Barbara Skinner, *The Western Front of the Eastern Church* (2009).<sup>73</sup>

In Ukraine, the publications of the Lviv Theological Academy and later, the Ukrainian Catholic University, have addressed many questions concerning the Uniate liturgy. The *Kovčeg* publication series<sup>74</sup> and the proceedings of the “Brest Lectures” (“Berestejs’ki čitannja”)<sup>75</sup> are particularly valuable in this respect. In his article in the fourth proceedings, “Liturgical questions and the development of divine services on the eve of the Union of Brest up to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century”

<sup>70</sup> The rediscovery and analysis of the staff-notated *Irmologion* compiled in the Monastery of Supraśl (1598–1601) by Gavriil Pichura (Picarda) and Anatolij Konotop attracted the attention of musicologists and music historians and served as a starting point for further research. See, for example, Конотоп, А.В. “Супрасльський ирмологион.” *Советская музыка* No. 2. 1972, 117–121; *ibid.*, “Структура супрасльського ирмологиона 1598–1601 гг. древнейшого пам’ятника українського нотолінійного письма.” *Musica Antiqua. Acta scientifica* IV. Bydgoszcz 1975<sup>2</sup>, 521–533; *ibid.*, “Древнейший памятник украинского нотолінійного письма – Супрасльський ирмологион 1598–1601 гг.” *Памятники культуры. Новые открытия* (1974). Москва 1975<sup>2</sup>, 285–293; Pichura, G. “Богдан Анісімовіч.” *Божьим Шляхам* п.о 97. 1966, 8–12; *ibid.*, “The Podobny Texts and Chants of the Supraśl Irmologion of 1601.” *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, Vol. II, No. 2. London 1970, 192–221. See also Гарднер, И.А. *Богослужбное тѣніе русской православной церкви. Сущность, система и история*. Томъ II. Holy Trinity Russian Orthodox Monastery. Jordanville, New York 1982, 15–17.

<sup>71</sup> Scholars such as Aleksandra Calaj-Jakymenko, Myroslaw Antonowycz, Larisa Kostjukovec, Olena Ševčuk, Natal’ja Syrontyns’ka, Irina Gerasimova, and especially Jurij Jasinovs’kyj, have contributed to opening up the rich musical heritage of Ruthenian liturgical monody, its cultural and historical context. The expertise on Ruthenian chant manuscript studies is nowadays concentrated in the Institute of Liturgical Studies at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, Ukraine, where the *Irmologion* tradition is researched, catalogued and reproduced into publications and digital form, under the leadership of Ju. Jasinovs’kyj. See, for example, Antonowycz, Myroslaw. *The Chants from Ukrainian Heirmologia*. Bithoven: A.B. Creighton 1974; Цалай-Якименко, Олександра. *Духовні співі давньої України*. Київ. Музична Україна 2000; *ibid.*, *Київська школа музики XVII століття*. Київ, Львів, Полтава. Наукове товариство ім. Шевченка 2002; Ясіновський, Юрій. “Нотолінійні ірмолії як пам’ятки української гимнографії: палеографічні та кодикологічні аспекти дослідження.” *Українські та білоруські нотолінійні Ірмолії 16-18 століть*. Львів: Місіонер 1996, 33–93. See also the publication series КАЛОФОНІА. *Науковий збірник статей і матеріалів з історії церковної монодії та гимнографії*, Львів 2002–.

<sup>72</sup> See, for example, Gudziak, Borys. *Crisis and Reform. The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest*. Harvard University Press 1998<sup>2</sup> (consulted here in the complemented Ukrainian edition, Гудзяк, Борис. *Криза і реформа. Київська митрополія, Царгородський патріархат і генеза Берестейської унії*. Львів: Інститут Історії Церкви Львівської Богословської Академії 2000); *ibid.*, “The Kievan Hierarchy, the Patriarchate of Constantinople and Union with Rome.” *Four Hundred Years Union of Brest (1596–1996)*. Peeters 1998<sup>2</sup>, 17–53; Mironowicz, Antoni. *Podlaskie ośrodki i organizacje prawosławne w XVI i XVII wieku*. Białystok: Orthdruk 1991; *ibid.*, *Kościół prawosławny w Polsce*. Białystok: Białoruskie Towarzystwo Historyczne 2006; Ševčenko, Ihor. *Ukraine between East and West*. Edmonton & Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press 1996; articles by different authors in *Брестская уния 1596 г. и общественно-политическая борьба на Украине и в Белоруссии в конце XVI – первой половине XVII в.* Отв. ред. Б. Н. Флоря. Часть 2. Брестская уния 1596 г.: Исторические последствия события. М., Издательство «Индрик» 1996.

<sup>73</sup> Skinner, Barbara. *The Western Front of the Eastern Church. Uniate and Orthodox Conflict in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press 2009.

<sup>74</sup> *Ковчег*. *Науковий збірник із церковної історії*, Львів 1993–.

<sup>75</sup> A series of twenty mini-symposia dedicated to the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Union of Brest, held in Kiev, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Luck, Ternopil, Drohobych, Užgorod, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk and Przemyśl in 1994–1997.

(1997),<sup>76</sup> Peter Galadza discusses several points of liturgical evolution that are also central to this research. The Ruthenian liturgical tradition has also been analysed from many angles by Sophia Senyk whose work relates directly to the interests of the current thesis.<sup>77</sup>

Research conducted and published in Rome as the *Analecta OSBM* since 1924 has produced several notable articles and monographs on Ruthenian church history and liturgical tradition. The articles on Ruthenian Uniate missals by Myhailo Vavryk<sup>78</sup> are particularly valuable for the analysis of the early Office for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist. He is one of the few scholars to provide detailed information about the textual forms of the Office.

One of the most prominent studies on Ruthenian liturgical tradition in the past decades, *The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in the Kievan Metropolitan Province during the period of Union with Rome (1596–1839)* by Laurence D. Huculak,<sup>79</sup> analyses the evolving content of the Ruthenian Divine Liturgy on the basis of a great number of sources: Ruthenian, Muscovite and Latin missals, and an extensive collection of historical documents. The most valuable contribution of this study for the current one is its analysis of the development in the Eucharistic cult, resulting in the Feast of the Holy Eucharist. Huculak views the evolution in Eucharistic practices as a natural process of development in which the Eastern Rite Ruthenians gradually adopted Latin customs, such as the processions with the Holy Gifts, in their liturgical life.

Another highly insightful monograph we find in *Problematyka liturgiczna w międzywyznaniowej polemice po Unii Brzeskiej (1596–1720)* [*The Liturgical Problematics in Interconfessional Polemics after the Union of Brest (1596–1720)*] by Przemysław Nowakowski.<sup>80</sup> The study provides an extensive analysis of the evolution of the Eastern Rite among the Ruthenian Uniates. It approaches the ritual evolution as a natural reflection of the culture in which the new Uniate Church existed, the heavily polonised and Latin oriented Polish-Lithuanian society. As a notable contribution to contemporary researchers, Nowakowski included the transcript of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century letter by Petr Kaminskij<sup>81</sup> in his publication.

Several articles by Aleksander Naumow address the questions of liturgical evolution. Some of these have been published in his *Wiara i historia* [*Faith and History*]<sup>82</sup> and *Domus Divisa*.<sup>83</sup> Apart from providing valuable information about Uniate liturgical literature, Naumow's analysis of the

<sup>76</sup> Галадза, Петро. "Літургічне питання і розвиток богослужень напередодні Берестейської унії аж до кінця XVII століття." *Берестейська унія та внутрішнє життя Церкви в XVII столітті. Матеріали Четвертих "Берестейських читань"*. Львів, Луцьк, Київ, 2-6 жовтня 1995 р. ред. Борис Гудзяк. Львів: Інститут Історії Церкви Львівської Богословської Академії 1997, 1–53.

<sup>77</sup> Senyk, Sophia. "The Eucharistic Liturgy in Ruthenian Church Practice". *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* [further: *OCP*] 51. 1985, 123–155; *ibid.* "The Education of the secular Clergy in the Ruthenian Church before the Nineteenth Century." *OCP* 53. 1987, 387–416; *ibid.* "The Ukrainian Church and Latinization." *OCP* 56. 1990, 165–187; *ibid.* "Interritual Participation in the Sacraments: An Example from Ruthenian Lands." *OCP* 60. 1994, 563–585; *ibid.* "The Union of Brest: An Evaluation." *Four Hundred Years Union of Brest (1596–1996)*. Peeters 1998, 1–16.

<sup>78</sup> Ваврик 1979, 98–142; *ibid.* "Службник Митрополита Кипріяна Жоховського 1692 р. Генеза й аналіз." *Analecta OSBM, Series II, Sectio II, Vol. 18*. Romae 1985 (311–341). I am grateful to Dr Daniel Galadza for providing me with copies of these articles.

<sup>79</sup> Huculak 1990. This publication has also been consulted in its Ukrainian translation, Гуцуляк, Лаврентій Данило. *Божественна Літургія Йоана Золотоустого в Київській митрополії після унії з Римом (період 1596–1839 рр.)*. Львів: Свічадо 2004.

<sup>80</sup> Nowakowski, Przemysław. *Problematyka liturgiczna w międzywyznaniowej polemice po Unii Brzeskiej (1596–1720)*. Kraków 2004. This publication has been consulted in its Ukrainian translation, Новаковський, Пшемислав. *Літургічна проблематика в міжконфесійній полеміці після Берестейської унії (1596–1720)*. Львів: Свічадо 2005.

<sup>81</sup> See chapter 1.2.3.

<sup>82</sup> Naumow 1996.

<sup>83</sup> Naumow, Aleksander. *Domus Divisa. Studia nad literaturą ruską w I. Rzeczypospolitej*. Kraków: Collegium Columbinum 2002. I am grateful to Dr Aleksander Naumow for a copy of the monograph.

Ruthenian Eastern Rite culture in general opens a view into an indigenous tradition that is truly worth exploring. This approach has been a source of inspiration for the current study especially because it clearly departs from evaluations of Ruthenian liturgical tradition in a number of earlier theological-historical studies, the most famous of which is undoubtedly the concept of the “pseudomorphosis” of Russian Orthodox thought, introduced by Georges Florovsky in his *Ways of Russian Theology*.<sup>84</sup> While Florovsky sees the 17<sup>th</sup>-century development in West Russia (as he called it) as distorting the Eastern tradition by surrendering the “ancient ideal of Orthodox culture” to Western influence<sup>85</sup> leading to the “entrenchment of ‘crypto-Romanism’” in the life of the church,<sup>86</sup> contemporary research tends to approach this more moderately as a natural process of evolution conditioned by the coexistence of Eastern Rite Ruthenians in Polish-Lithuanian society. With their balanced treatment of the much debated, long neglected church tradition, the scholars mentioned here, along with a number of others, have created an inspiring atmosphere for the current research to delve into liturgical evolution and the Feast of the Holy Eucharist as a phenomenon emerging from it.

## **1.4 THEORETICAL APPROACHES AND METHODS**

The purpose of this research is to describe, explain and interpret the phenomena emerging from Ruthenian liturgical evolution. In exploring the phenomena of the past, their reasons, consequences and significance, the study is firmly rooted in a historiographical framework. As historical research, it finds inspiration in the constant movement and evolution in societies – the dynamic essence of history. The past needs to be interpreted in order to understand the currents underlying human action. Interpretation, on the other hand, risks imposing ideas and values of later origin on phenomena that were perceived very differently by their contemporaries. The inclination toward reading national or denominational meanings into the past has burdened research on Ruthenian history, sometimes to a distorting degree. Different jurisdictional, ethnic or political emphases have often predefined the mode in which certain questions are analysed. In order to avoid the pitfalls of “motivated” research, special criticism and objectivity are vital.

Ruthenian liturgical evolution and the Feast of the Holy Eucharist as one of its consequences are approached in this research as reflections of different social, political and cultural processes that took place in Polish-Lithuanian society and the Eastern Rite Church within it. For this reason, analysis of the evolving liturgical practices is accompanied by the exploration of such processes. Special attention is paid to factors shaping the identity of members of the Eastern Rite Ruthenian community. Contemporary theories on ethnic identity and cross-cultural adaptation provide tools for reading the past, while the analysis of hymnography mainly relies on comparisons of form and content between different texts.

### **1.4.1. Identity: ethno-symbolist and cross-cultural approaches**

This study analyses Ruthenian identity from three perspectives in order to provide the foundation for further research of liturgical evolution. The analysis first traces the social and political development of an ethnic Rus’ community as a source of a characteristically Polish-Lithuanian Ruthenian identity. Secondly, it turns to cultural-linguistic factors contributing to the image of the Ruthenians in their own eyes and in the eyes of others. Finally, it discusses religious and church political processes as decisive factors behind the evolution of the Eastern Rite. The tools for analysing these questions of identity have been found among theoretical approaches dealing with ethnic identity and the adaptation of individuals to conditions of cultural change.

<sup>84</sup> Florovsky, Georges. *Ways of Russian Theology*. Vol. V, part 1. Belmont, Mass.: Nordland 1979, 85.

<sup>85</sup> Florovsky 1979, 50.

<sup>86</sup> Florovsky 1979, 74.

The *ethno-symbolist* approach, formulated by Anthony D. Smith as a method for studying nation formation and nationalism,<sup>87</sup> provides the study of Ruthenian history with fruitful perspectives on collective identity formation and preservation. Although the Ruthenians have never constituted a national entity as such, it is possible to argue that there once existed a cultural, linguistic and religious kinship between members of the ethnically Eastern Slavic population inhabiting the Rus' lands under Lithuanian and Polish rule, which had its roots in the Kievan period and thus also related them to the Muscovite Eastern Slavs. Such kinship, involving traditions, memories, values, myths and symbols, has been seen as contributing to a sense of shared identity.<sup>88</sup> By applying the ethno-symbolist approach in the analysis of the Ruthenian community, the research thus concentrates on cultural heritage as foundation for collective identity.

The method for a more detailed analysis is derived from Anthony Smith's definition of an ethnic community or an *ethnie* as a "named and self-defined human community whose members possess a myth of common ancestry, shared memories, one or more elements of common culture, including a link with a territory, and a measure of solidarity, at least among the upper strata."<sup>89</sup> Each of these attributes is tested out in the Ruthenian context in order to examine the makings and development of the Ruthenian collective identity.<sup>90</sup> By approaching Ruthenian history through thematic questions rather than purely chronological description, it is possible to concentrate on aspects that are in close relation to the main subject here, the evolution of liturgical rite.

Another theoretical approach that proves useful in this research is applied from social sciences. *Cross-cultural adaptation theory* deals with processes that have their origin in the encounters between different cultural groups. Different phenomena of acculturation, assimilation, adaptation and integration are easily detectable in liturgical evolution which, as a cultural process, reflects the changing perceptions and ideas of the community that upholds the particular church tradition. Evolution is often – and, in the case of the Eastern Rite of the Ruthenian community, significantly – stimulated by contacts and encounters with other cultures or individuals.

In his *Becoming Intercultural – An Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-Cultural Adaptation* (2001), Young Yun Kim points out that cross-cultural adaptation theory has traditionally primarily concerned immigrants and their adaptation to a new culture; nevertheless, the "same issues also apply to individuals who relocate across subcultures within a given society and face significant adaptive pressures from the new subcultural milieu, as well as to those who find themselves confronted with similar adaptive pressures as their own 'home' milieus undergo cultural shifts."<sup>91</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Rather than calling ethno-symbolism a scientific theory, Anthony Smith prefers to define it as "a perspective on, and research programme for, the study of nations and nationalism." Smith, Anthony D. *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism. A Cultural Approach*. London & New York: Routledge 2009, 1. The ethno-symbolist approach was initially formulated as a critique of the prevailing theories of nations and nationalism. Smith approached the central question, whether nations are a solely modern phenomenon or whether elements of national consciousness can be traced back to pre-modern times, from cultural, ethnic and symbolic perspectives. Criticising modernist views of the nation as an invented, imagined or recent phenomenon, Smith sees nations as rooted in ethnic ties and cultural continuities that may antedate the actual nation formation. Smith 2009, 38. While acknowledging that nations and nationalism are qualitatively modern, i.e. the concept dates to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Smith has argued that they draw much of their content and strength from pre-existing ethnic communities. Guibernau, Montserrat & Hutchinson, John. "History and National Destiny." *History and National Destiny: Ethnosymbolism and its Critics*. Ed. Guibernau, Montserrat & Hutchinson, John. Oxford, Malden, Melbourne: Blackwell Publishing Ltd 2004, 2.

<sup>88</sup> Smith 2009, 16.

<sup>89</sup> Smith 2009, 27.

<sup>90</sup> Of course, it must be admitted that development inevitably includes processes of disintegration. Correspondingly, Ruthenian awareness of common identity and heritage has fluctuated through the centuries. It is as impossible to claim anything permanent in the development of the Ruthenian *ethnie* as it is to argue an awareness of the Ruthenian identity among all members of the fragmented community.

<sup>91</sup> Kim, Young Yun. *Becoming Intercultural – An Integrative Theory of Communication and Cross-Cultural Adaptation*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, Inc. 2001, 10.

The evolution of the Ruthenian culture under the influence of the Polish majority culture, inevitably reflected in the Ruthenian identity, locates easily in this theoretical framework.

In this approach, the individuals are seen as transforming themselves over time as a result of encounters with a previously unknown culture or environment. They are “confronted with situations in which their mental and behavioral habits are called into question, and they are forced to suspend or even to abandon their identification with the cultural patterns that have symbolised who they are and what they are.”<sup>92</sup> The process involves both *acculturation* (acquiring new aspects of the new host culture) and *deculturation* (abandoning old cultural patterns) and results in assimilation, which is here perceived as a positive outcome of the stress-adaptation-growth dynamic. As a result, intercultural transformation potentially increases the individual’s functional fitness, psychological health and intercultural identity.<sup>93</sup> Functional fitness is manifested, for instance, in acquired proficiency in the language of the new environment, which is also a key to power.<sup>94</sup> These ideas seem to find direct analogues in Ruthenian history, especially with reference to linguistic acculturation.<sup>95</sup>

The cross-cultural theoretical approach is also extended to the discussion about the general adaptiveness reflected, for example, in Ruthenian liturgical evolution. An extremely interesting idea, suggested by Giovanni Brogi Bercoff, of the Ruthenian cultural space as characteristically “polymorphic”, *elastic, susceptible to external assimilative influences and the synthesising of different traditions*,<sup>96</sup> is here associated with processes shaping the Ruthenian identity and community in general.

Cross-cultural adaptation theory provides a potentially productive framework for examining Ruthenian identity and culture because of its integrative nature. The processes that take place as an ethnic community gradually becomes integrated into a majority culture can well be approached as examples of group acculturation, while individual accounts and histories give valuable insight into the identity of individual Ruthenians undergoing micro-level cultural adaptation.

#### 1.4.2. Analysing liturgical and musical sources

Investigation into Ruthenian liturgical and musical sources, most of which are in the form of manuscripts or early printed books, consists both of a general exploration and a close examination of the content. The almost complete absence of research on the hymnography of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist necessitates a thorough inspection of different written sources in search of material that can be associated with the feast. Through external and internal criticism, the research enquires into the date, place of origin and author of the source, seeking to define the existing material on which the manuscript or the printed book is based, the reliability and value of its content.

The method of analysis is predominantly comparative. Liturgical books of this period are characterised by a great individual creativity which, together with the cultivation of local traditions, can be seen in the variation of content, structure and orthography between different sources. In order to establish the predominant textual redaction of a given hymn, divine service or

<sup>92</sup> Kim 2001, 50.

<sup>93</sup> Kim 2001, 68–69.

<sup>94</sup> Kim 2001, 100.

<sup>95</sup> It may, of course, be questioned whether all transformation can be regarded as positive growth increasing functionality. Deculturation, after all, inevitably indicates the loss of something in one’s heritage, which may not always be beneficial to identity.

<sup>96</sup> Brogi Bercoff, Giovanna. “Rus’, Ukraina, Ruthenia, Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie, Rzeczpospolita, Moskwa, Rosja, Europa środkowo-wschodnia: o wielowarstwowości i polifunkcjonalizmie kulturowym.” *Contributi italiani al XIII congresso internazionale degli slavisti*. Eds. Alberto Alberti et al. Pisa 2003, 325–387 via Yakovenko, Natalia. “Choice of Name versus Choice of Path. The Names of Ukrainian Territories from the Late Sixteenth to the Late Seventeenth Century.” *A Laboratory of Transnational History. Ukraine and Recent Ukrainian Historiography*. Ed. Georgiy Kasianov and Philipp Ther. Budapest & New York: CEU Press 2009, 118.

liturgical practice, or to detect its development, a comparison of textual content, form or rubrics – in all its simplicity – is here regarded as the most efficient technique.

Comparison also provides the tool for exploring the central aim of this research, the relationship of the new festal hymnography to existing liturgical traditions, both textual and musical. Regardless of the language, the comparison of texts in the Latin, Italo-Byzantine and Ruthenian sources seeks to reveal correspondences that serve as evidence of the cultural contacts and influences between different liturgical traditions. This method is also considered applicable to musical material. By placing melodic lines – written in staff or neumatic notation – next to each other and examining the corresponding musical movements, the research seeks to point out coinciding features and, consequently, contacts between different local chant traditions.

The analysis of hymnographical content, an important part of the exploration of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, employs approaches familiar from the study of literature and poetry. Influences from existing traditions are regarded as examples of *intertextuality*, a technique of composing new hymnography on existing models, themes and expressions, which has characterised liturgical texts for centuries. By indirect references, *allusions* to existing pieces of hymnography, or direct loans from them, the author is suggested to root the new text intentionally into the ancient tradition. Hymnographical analysis of the liturgical texts composed for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist also aims at discerning reflections of theological topics or practices that characterised the new feast. This method involves extracting individual words or references to particular topics, for example, to the moment of Eucharistic consecration, in order to discuss their connotations and implications in both the text and its wider theological context.

## 1.5 NOMENCLATURE

The choice of names and transliteration techniques is generally acknowledged as one of the most frustrating tasks facing a researcher of Ruthenian history. Practically all academic works written in recent years have had to include an explanatory note on nomenclature in the introduction. The question is not simply technical: on account of various historical, political and, lately, national reasons, a name (proper or geographical) or even its transliteration can be seen as loaded with meanings. As Constantin Simon points out in his review of a collection of articles on Ruthenian topics,

No two Ruthenian scholars can agree on the interpretation of historical events, let alone on their basic scholarly tools – the transliteration of proper names is a case in point. They are likely to appear in a myriad of avatars depending on the author and his political persuasion or lack of one.<sup>97</sup>

The nomenclatural challenge is a contemporary problem as historical research strives for clearer objectivity and sensitivity with respect to identity, nationality, or ethnicity. Yet the people and period under investigation were never characterised by any ethnic, national or confessional uniformity. The 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century Ruthenians had elusive identities<sup>98</sup> that mirrored the multilingualism of their society, shifting political borders and other factors of transformation.<sup>99</sup>

In this study, the East Slavic population inhabiting the western and southwestern lands of old Kievan Rus', later incorporated into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, are invariably

<sup>97</sup> Simon, C., S.J. "Recensiones. Bert Groen, Wil van den Bercken, *Four Hundred Years Union of Brest (1596–1996). A Critical Evaluation: Acta of the Congress Held At Hermen Castle, the Netherlands in Mračh 1996*. Volume I of Series *Eastern Christian Studies* (Adelbert Davids, Bert Groen, Herman teule, editors) – A Series of the Institute of Eastern Christian Studies: Nijmegen, The Netherlands, Peeters, Leuven 1998, pp. x + 270." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 2/2000, Vol. 66. Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum. Roma 2000, 530.

<sup>98</sup> Charipova, Liudmila V. *Latin books and the Eastern Orthodox clerical elite in Kiev, 1632–1780*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press 2006, 12.

<sup>99</sup> Skinner 2009, xi.

referred to as *Ruthenians*. This seems to be the predominant choice for contemporary scholars writing in English because of its neutrality.<sup>100</sup> The concepts of *Ruthenian* and the *Rus'* are explored in more detail in the second chapter.

Convenience is also the motivation behind other terminological choices. With reference to jurisdictional differences, the *Eastern Rite* or *Greek Rite* Church (here referring to the whole Byzantine-Slavic cultural sphere and liturgical tradition) is perceived as divided into an *Orthodox* and a *Uniate* church, regardless of the general identification of both as representatives of the first, or of the often negative connotations of the latter attribute. In the case of liturgical terminology, such as liturgical book genres, forms derived from Church Slavonic, Greek and Latin are all used in hope of better comprehensibility. The names for hymnographical genres generally appear as transliterations of Greek terms.

Geographical names present a major challenge for the researcher because of their multilingual treatment throughout centuries. Cities and territories have had several names depending on the language or cultural background of the person referring to them. For the sake of convenience, geographical names are used, where possible, in their generally accepted English versions which, for historical reasons, are often derived from Russian. Although their accuracy may in many ways be questioned, it seems more convenient to refer to "Kiev", "Vilna" and "Lvov", rather than their various other national-based and often anachronistic forms (for example, "Kyiv", "Wilno", "Vilnius", "Lwów" or "L'viv").<sup>101</sup> It must be emphasised that these choices do not imply any ideological or political inclination whatsoever; the aim is simply to avoid using names that are exclusively identified with a specific national sphere. When referring to cities in contemporary states, however, national forms are used ("Vilnius", "Lviv"). More challenges arise when there is no general English version available for a location with multiple names. In these cases, the choice usually falls on the form closest to local Ruthenian practice: thus, "Volodymyr" instead of "Vladimir", "Suprasl'" instead of "Supraśl", and so on. However, locations that are most commonly known in their Polish form, such as "Chełm", "Przemyśl", or "Zamość", are rendered accordingly.

For proper names, the choices are equally multiple. The general aim is to render the names of persons representing Ruthenian Eastern Rite society in a transliterated Cyrillic form ("Ostrožskij" instead of the Polish "Ostrogski"), while ethnic Poles are referred to with their Polish names (for example, "King Władysław"). It is, of course, another challenge to define the original form of a

<sup>100</sup> The term is originally derived from Latin and does not exist as such in Eastern Slavic languages. It is thus not a historical (contemporary) definition, nor is it based on any specific territory referred to as *Ruthenia*. Moreover, it does not indicate any relation to another existing territory or nationality, unlike in Russian practice, where the population or lands in question have traditionally been referred to as "West Russian" (западнорусский) or "South Russian" (южнорусский). The benefit of using the term *Ruthenian* lies mainly in the fact that it successfully escapes later national constructions which other possible names, including *Rusyn*, increasingly reflect. Himka, John-Paul. *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1867–1900*. Montreal & Kingston, London, Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press 1999, 8–9. *Ruthenian* is often used as a collective name for the (later) Ukrainians and Belarusians featuring a single cultural entity in the multinational state such as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. See Charipova 2006, 12. Some have criticised such straightforward association between modern national definitions and the term that has also been used as a common name for all Eastern Slavs. Simon 2000, 531. For most researchers, however, it is a convenient term for differentiating between the Polish-Lithuanian *Rus'* and the Muscovite *Rus'*

<sup>101</sup> In his most interesting book, Timothy Snyder has attempted a system of naming more loyal to the contemporary practice: all cities between Warsaw and Moscow are named according to the usage of the people in question at the relevant moment. Thus, the nomenclature ranges between Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, even Yiddish forms of each city. Although Snyder sees this as minimising anachronism and emphasising that the disposition of cities is never final, it is a challenging technique both for the researcher and for the reader and has not been attempted here. See Snyder, Timothy. *The Reconstruction of Nations. Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569–1999*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press 2003, ix.

Cyrillic name. In contemporary Ukrainian practice, these names often acquire a notably modern transliteration, for example, “Mykhailo” or “Hedeon”. More neutral ways of transliteration are preferred in this study, choosing forms such as “Mihail” or “Gedeon”. An exception is made with the name of Metropolitan Peter Mohyla whose anglicised first name and Ukrainian-based surname have gradually become widespread in research conducted in English.

The transliteration in this study is based on the Finnish SFS 4900 international system of transliterating ancient and modern Russian alphabets.<sup>102</sup> Although perhaps more complicated to read at first glance, it is here regarded as a more convenient way of transliterating the Cyrillic alphabet than other systems commonly used in English where certain letters (ж, ч, ц) need to be transliterated with the help of additional ones (zh, ch, ts). Thus, we use Žyrovičy instead of Zhyrovichy (Жыровичы), Žohovskij instead of Zhokhovskiy (Жоховский), Kiška instead of Kishka (Кишка), Sakovič instead of Sakovich (Сакович), Polock instead of Polotsk (Полоцк). This system of transliterating is retained also in bibliographical references of Cyrillic origin, with the exception of contemporary names that have become established in publications in English, such as Yakovenko (instead of Jakovenko) or Charipova (instead of Čaripova).

When original Church Slavonic hymnographical texts are cited, they are transcribed into the contemporary Russian alphabet. Diacritical marks have been omitted, abbreviations expanded<sup>103</sup> and rare letters (other than ѿ, ѣ and ѥ) have been replaced by their close equivalents in contemporary alphabet.

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<sup>102</sup> A list of transliterations (SFS 4900) is presented before the first chapter.

<sup>103</sup> The system of marking original abbreviations follows the style used in the publication series of the Litovskaja Metrika, i.e., the letters fully omitted from the original are transcribed in parentheses, while the letters originally written above the row are written in the text in italics. For example, “пр(е)с(вя)тое.”

## 2 Polish-Lithuanian Ruthenian Society as the Context for Liturgical Evolution

The liturgical evolution of the Eastern Rite Ruthenian tradition coincided with general social and church political changes in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The role of Ruthenian society in providing impulses, responding to new ideas and creating the conditions for liturgical evolution was significant, perhaps more than in any other case in the history of the Eastern Church. This chapter focuses on the Ruthenians by exploring different processes that shaped their perception of their own heritage – ethnic, linguistic, religious – and the ways in which their identities evolved over centuries.

These identities are seen as essential factors in the consequent development of church tradition. The arising consciousness of constituting a community of their own, however fragmented, and its manifestation by self-definition and naming, indicate the formation of a characteristically Polish-Lithuanian Ruthenian identity, which became reflected in political as well as church political actions. In many ways, this signified demarcation from the other half of the Rus' community, the Muscovites. At the same time, the cultural conditions in which the Ruthenians lived called for openness and flexibility with respect to the surrounding society. Linguistic adaptiveness and religious "polymorphism" became important factors in the further formation of Ruthenian identity. Cultural adaptation was clearly a condition of survival. By opening Ruthenian Eastern Rite society to influences from the multicultural and multilingual Commonwealth, adaptive forces cultivated fruitful ground for evolution in the Eastern Rite liturgy of the Ruthenians.

### 2.1 THE MAKINGS OF A POLISH-LITHUANIAN RUTHENIAN IDENTITY

In premodern and early modern East Central Europe, the population inhabiting the eastern and southeastern territories of Poland and Lithuania was generally defined as the Rus'. The concept usually relates to three factors: the ethno-cultural background (descending from the Rus'), the language (East Slavic vernacular and Church Slavonic liturgical language) and the Eastern Rite (Byzantine Orthodox) religion. Although the Rus' did not form a close-knit, homogeneous community recognisable in later terms of nation formation as a national entity, their heritage distinguished them from the surrounding peoples and cultures.

In analysing the Rus' identity, the factors that contributed to a sense of community among them or enhanced a sense of distinction between them and the "other" are highly significant. While there is a risk of generalisation, the idea exists that at various points of their history the Rus' were aware of sharing a heritage that persisted despite fundamental social, political and denominational changes. The existence of one Rus' cultural entity in the Polish and Lithuanian lands finds support in the majority of studies on this period, which is also reflected in the use of the term *Ruthenian* as a common designation for the Eastern Rite population in Poland and Lithuania.<sup>104</sup> While it is obvious that different regional cultural features characterised local Ruthenian communities, the eastern and southeastern territories of Poland and Lithuania are usually seen as constituting "a shared social, intellectual, and religious milieu"<sup>105</sup> with Vilna, Lvov and Kiev as three centres of

<sup>104</sup> See, for instance, Charipova 2006, 12; Gudziak 1998<sup>b</sup>, 17; Skinner 2009, 6; Stradomski, Jan. *Spory o "wiarę grecką" w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. Kraków: Scriptum 2003, 16; Wilson, Andrew. *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2000.

<sup>105</sup> Koropecy, Roman, Dana R. Miller, William R. Veder. "Editorial Statement." *Leo Krevza's A Defense of*

one cultural sphere.<sup>106</sup> Some see the Ruthenians first and foremost as a cultural entity,<sup>107</sup> while others extend the concept also to ethnicity.<sup>108</sup> A sense of collective identity existed side by side with a sense of identity relating to local centres and regions, such as Polock or Volhynia.<sup>109</sup>

Collective identity can be seen as based on ethnic and cultural kinship. According to the ethno-symbolists, the essential factor in the formation of an independent ethnic identity is the recognition of being different from other ethnic groups and nations. Consciousness is the key – whether it concerns only a part of the community or its wider ranges,<sup>110</sup> regardless of the possible economic or cultural differences between the various strata within the community.<sup>111</sup> While not disregarding other, economic, social or political factors, the ethno-symbolists recognise certain key processes in the genesis of the *ethnies*, including, for instance, naming and self-definition, demarcation of boundaries with respect to outsiders, creating myths of origin and cultivating specific symbols.<sup>112</sup> These ideas can well be applied to the analysis of the Ruthenian collective identity.

Recognition of being different is always both inclusive and exclusive: people who become conscious of constituting something collective almost automatically separate the circle of “us” from those who are “other”. The community sentiment, or cultural intimacy, is largely the result of interpersonal networks, encounters and acts of reciprocity, which include the insiders and exclude the outsiders from the community.<sup>113</sup> It is a process of demarcation, of drawing a line between what is perceived as one’s “own” and what is left outside. Establishing a name, for example, is one important step in demarcating the boundary,<sup>114</sup> claiming the possession of one’s own territory, community, culture, tradition, and so on. Collective actions, such as liturgy and religious rituals, may also serve as demarcating factors.

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*Church Unity and Zaxarija Kopystens'ky's Palinodia*. Part 1. Harvard University Press 1995, viii.

<sup>106</sup> Sysyn, Frank. *Between Poland and Ukraine: The Dilemma of Adam Kysil, 1600–1653*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1985, 28. Of course it must be remembered that for the majority of the population, the idea of constituting a shared Ruthenian sphere was very vague, if it existed at all. Throughout the Middle Ages and well into the early modern period, outside the elite the perception of geographical or cultural entities was highly limited. From the common people’s perspective, “homeland” was likely to be restricted to their village or town with its surroundings. Geographical distances, lack of roads, mountains, marshland, forests, and the changing climate conditions were obstacles to the exchange of information and ideas, and also to the cultivation of a sense of homeland extending beyond the immediate environment. See Korpela 2004, 14, 16. The consciousness of constituting something on a larger scale was restricted to the privileged elite – the aristocracy, the literati, and the church – who also produced the sources through which the past has later been examined. Thus, any arguments on the Rus’ identity and sense of territorial attachment inevitably rely on the elite’s perception.

<sup>107</sup> For example, Charipova 2006, 12.

<sup>108</sup> For example, Gudziak refers to the Ruthenians as “the early modern Ukrainian-Belorussian *ethnic* community and society, its territories, language, culture, ecclesial life, and identity before the distinction between Ukrainian and Belorussian identities was fully developed.” Gudziak 1998<sup>b</sup>, 17, footnote 1 (italics mine). Halecki, in turn, makes an ethnic distinction even between the Eastern Slavic “Great Russians” (Muscovites) and the Ruthenians. Halecki, Oscar. *From Florence to Brest (1439-1596)*. Rome: Sacrum Poloniae Millennium 1958, 92.

<sup>109</sup> Skinner 2009, 6.

<sup>110</sup> Smith, Anthony D. *National Identity*. London: Penguin Books 1991, 21.

<sup>111</sup> Remy, Johannes. “Onko modernisaatio vai etnisyys kansakuntien perusta?” Pakkasvirta, Jussi & Saukkonen, Pasi (toim.) *Nationalismit*. Helsinki: WSOY 2005, 56.

<sup>112</sup> Smith 2009, 46.

<sup>113</sup> Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. “Place, kinship and the case for non-ethnic nations.” *History and National Destiny: Ethnosymbolism and its Critics*. Ed. Guibernau, Montserrat & Hutchinson, John. Oxford, Malden, Melbourne: Blackwell Publishing Ltd 2004, 56.

<sup>114</sup> Yakovenko, Natalia. “Choice of Name versus Choice of Path. The Names of Ukrainian Territories from the Late Sixteenth to the Late Seventeenth Century.” *A Laboratory of Transnational History. Ukraine and Recent Ukrainian Historiography*. Ed. Georgiy Kasianov and Philipp Ther. Budapest & New York: CEU Press 2009, 117.

Different processes of demarcation are reflected in the formation of an ethnic community such as the Ruthenians. Whether it is a case of shared myths and memories, common culture, solidarity within the community, or territorial association, the recognition of these necessitates the drawing of boundaries between the community in question and the others. The Ruthenians, situated between two major cultural spheres, inevitably faced the need to define who they were, also by defining who they were not.

### 2.1.1 Rus' – the population and the territory

The history of naming often reveals the use of the name as a tool in creating myths of the past and for the future. The name may serve as an element of demarcating and excluding the "other". It may also sustain the bond between a population and their indigenous heritage, their native territory and culture. The aspects of community formation analysed here mainly involve the processes of naming, but also the community's relation to a territory and its myths of common ancestry, each considered a factor in the development of an independent collective identity.

The naming of the Rus' population has been inextricably connected with their perception of their identity. Social and political changes produced new names that opened up new futures and wrote new pasts for the community or its selected members. Changes in church political conditions led to the division of the Rus' community and to a need to distinguish one Rus' from another by using additional definitions. The naming of the Rus' has, throughout its history, been a weighty matter.

From the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the name *Rus'* – originally attributed to the Scandinavian Varangians – became the general name for the realm dynastically related to the city of Kiev, *Kievan Rus'*.<sup>115</sup> However, it was not until the late 13<sup>th</sup> century that the name Rus' began to be applied to territories other than the middle Dnieper basin around Kiev.<sup>116</sup> The name, variably in reference to the Varangians or the Slavs, entered the Greek and Latin nomenclature in several different forms as a designation for both the territory and its population.

The Kievan realm encompassed large areas of the East Slavic lands. It was divided between members of the ruling dynasty whose territories gradually turned into hereditary principalities.<sup>117</sup> By the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, the principalities of Kiev, Galicia, Volhynia, Turov, Polock, Černigov, Perejaslav, Novgorod-Seversk, Smolensk, Rjazan', Vladimir-Suzdal' and Novgorod had evolved into independent centres which were nevertheless bound together by dynastic allegiance, the Eastern Orthodox faith and common legal norms.<sup>118</sup> The 13<sup>th</sup> century brought about a change in the Rus' realm and ended the Kievan period. The division into principalities had enabled the rise of new centres of power, foreshadowing the later territorial development of Muscovite Russia and the Ruthenian territory of Poland-Lithuania.<sup>119</sup> However, it was the Mongol invasion that tore the Kievan lands apart by sweeping over the Rus' from the late 1230s onward. At the same time, Lithuania and Poland participated in the dissolution of Kievan Rus' by expanding rapidly in the northwest and southwest. By the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had acquired the territories of Polock, Turov-Pinsk, Volhynia, Černigov, Novgorod-Seversk, Kiev, Perejaslav and Podolia, while Poland put Galicia under its control.<sup>120</sup> The division between the southwestern and

<sup>115</sup> Ševčenko 1996, 47.

<sup>116</sup> For example, Novgorod or Suzdal'. Ševčenko 1996, 59.

<sup>117</sup> Martin, Janet. *Medieval Russia 980-1584*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995, 90.

<sup>118</sup> Martin 1995, 94. Several correspondences in church architecture and literary sources point to active contacts between the principalities, for example, Vladimir-Suzdal' and Kiev. These have been seen to indicate that Kievan Rus' was perceived as a single whole. Ševčenko 1996, 66.

<sup>119</sup> For example, the southwestern principalities of Galicia and Volhynia had independently taken part in different internal and international political manoeuvres. Martin 1995, 127.

<sup>120</sup> Magocsi, Paul Robert. *A History of Ukraine*. Seattle: University of Washington Press 1996, 129–131. Over the centuries, control of the borderlands was a frequent course of warfare between Poland-Lithuania and the

northeastern Rus' principalities, which had been discernible already before the Mongol invasion, was thus reinforced in the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> century as the two Rus' spheres split apart.<sup>121</sup>

Thus, the lands that have later been identified as "Ruthenian" did not actually constitute a united territory at any point of their early history. These Rus' principalities were now regions in two different states, Poland and Lithuania. The Lithuanian Grand Duchy encompassed the majority of the Rus' lands and for some time, it indeed seemed to be the main successor of the Kievan state.<sup>122</sup> Its rulers styled themselves as "King of the Lithuanians and the Ruthenians".<sup>123</sup> Polish rule in the Rus' lands was mainly restricted to the Galician territory. A new unifying factor for Rus' emerged as early as the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, when Poland and Lithuania entered a union at Kreva in 1385, in which the two countries were united by the person of their ruler, the King of Poland.<sup>124</sup> This initiated a centuries-long coexistence of the Grand Duchy and the *Korona* (the Polish Crown), which was finally sealed by a real union in Lublin in 1569. From the Ruthenian perspective, the co-operation between the two states was highly significant. Although increasingly centralised government gradually eroded the Rus' princes' autonomy, the union brought the northwestern and southwestern Ruthenian lands back together into one political sphere. In the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, the consciousness of belonging to a common sphere was reinforced by the establishment of an independent Metropolitanate of Kiev (1458) under the Patriarch of Constantinople, whose jurisdiction encompassed the Orthodox parishes and dioceses in both Poland and Lithuania.

It was thus political evolution that gave birth to the Ruthenian community as a separate entity within the future Commonwealth. Yet nomenclature did not reflect the new territorial division. The name *Rus'* or *Rosia* was preserved and used both in reference to the Rus' under Polish-Lithuanian rule and the Rus' under the rising power of the State of Muscovy. These political changes often caused understandable confusion in external perceptions of the Rus' lands.<sup>125</sup> In the Latin documents issued by the Polish administration and the Lithuanian grand ducal chancery, the terms *Russia* and *Rutheni* became fixed from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onward. Apart from referring to the territory or the people, there were a number of *Ruthenus*-derived concepts, for example, *lingua Ruthenica*, *ecclesia Ruthenicalis*, *ritus Ruthenicus*, etc.<sup>126</sup>

Within the Ruthenian community, the self-designation as *Rusyn* and the *Rus'* remained uncontested well into the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. The absence of changes in nomenclature, despite the great political and territorial changes of the period, implies that there was generally no need to demarcate the population of the Ruthenian lands from their Kievan predecessors, or from the Rus' under Muscovite rule. On the contrary, the continuity in the use of the traditional name may have

Muscovite state, and the political situation was further complicated by the continuous Tartar raids from the southeast, occasionally assisted by the frontier Cossacks.

<sup>121</sup> Martin 1995, 164–165.

<sup>122</sup> The Ruthenian lands were a significant part of the rapidly expanding Lithuanian state, which can also be seen in its title: Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Rus' and Samogitia. Wilson 2000, 46.

<sup>123</sup> "Lethewinorum et Ruthenorum rex". Magocsi 1996, 129.

<sup>124</sup> The union between Poland and Lithuania was necessitated by the political situation in both states. Lithuania faced pressure from the Order of Teutonic Knights, while in Poland the dynasty of the Piasts had died out without an heir. The successor to the throne, King Louis of Hungary, wanted to rule Poland through his daughter, Jadwiga. The act of union was based on the marriage between Jadwiga and Lithuania's ruler, Jogaila (Jagiello). In return for the Polish crown, Jogaila was to adopt the Roman Catholic faith and join Lithuania with Poland. Opposition to the incorporation of Lithuania into Poland led to the preservation of the Grand Duchy's administrative autonomy with a grand duke at the head of the state, as a vassal of the Polish king. The struggle for the return of complete Lithuanian independence continued; after 1446 however, the Polish king and the Grand Duke of Lithuania were usually the same person and the interests of these two states came to coincide. Ševčenko 1996, 113–115.

<sup>125</sup> For example, in the 1350s, the Byzantine historian Nicephorus Gregoras divided the whole territory not into two but into four different *Rosias*, which can be identified as Muscovy, Tver', possibly Kiev, and a pagan Rus' – Lithuania. Ševčenko 1996, 78.

<sup>126</sup> Yakovenko 2009, 120.

fostered a sense of community, reaching far into the past, while individual identities evolved in the political reality of the day.

### 2.1.2 Ruthenians and the Polish-Lithuanian homeland

The political development of the 14<sup>th</sup> century created two Rus' spheres that evolved in relative independence up to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Ruthenians became part of a growing state union which, in spite of its decidedly Western orientation, was characterised by a notable cultural pluralism. The Eastern sphere, on the other hand, the Muscovite-ruled Rus', evolved towards more pronounced cultural homogeneity and state integrity. The Ruthenians of Poland and Lithuania integrated slowly but inevitably into their new society. This process may be interpreted in different ways. Many features of the Ruthenians' integration point to the weakening of their indigenous heritage and to the Polonisation of the Ruthenian elite, in particular. Yet the process may be defined as the evolution of a characteristically *Polish-Lithuanian* Rus' identity, a synthesis of cultural features in which the old Rus' tradition was modified through influences from the surrounding society. Raised consciousness of this Ruthenian identity can be seen in the growing attachment of the Ruthenian elite to their political homeland and in the sense of distinction that they had toward their eastern Rus' neighbour.

Even after the Union of Kreva in 1385, Poland and Lithuania continued as self-governing states, each with their own internal administration, legal system and culture. The two countries represented different stages of political development,<sup>127</sup> which, combined with the Lithuanian resistance to closer co-operation with Poland, kept them at a distance from each other. Correspondingly, the Ruthenian communities in the two countries evolved at a different pace. The Polish rule in Galician Rus' brought about more rapid changes than in Lithuania.<sup>128</sup> Polish authorities took over administration of Galicia, and the Roman Catholic Church was established in traditional centres of Orthodoxy such as Lvov. The old Ruthenian social elite were infiltrated by the Polish aristocracy who were given land properties in the territory.<sup>129</sup> The Polish influence on society and culture continued to advance Ruthenian integration, which occasionally also meant conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. By the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Ruthenian nobility had generally become so assimilated into Polish society that they had "little awareness of a past predating their annexation to the Kingdom of Poland or of distinct rights and privileges that might differentiate their lands from the ethnically Polish palatinates."<sup>130</sup>

In the Lithuanian Grand Duchy, the position of the Ruthenians evolved in a more subtle way. The Rus' constituted the majority of the population of Lithuania. Zamoyski estimates that in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, the population of Lithuania proper constituted no more than half a million people, while in the southern and eastern steppes, there lived some two million Ruthenians.<sup>131</sup> As descendants of the Kievan civilisation, the Rus' came to have a significant influence on society and culture. According to Magocsi, the Lithuanian rulers' success in extending their control over such vast areas of the Rus' lands can be explained by the patient policy they followed, summarised in the phrase "we do not introduce anything new and we do not disturb what is old."<sup>132</sup> The Lithuanians succeeded in establishing their control during the 14<sup>th</sup> century by allowing the Rus' to

<sup>127</sup> Zamoyski, Adam. *The Polish Way: A Thousand-Year History of the Poles and Their Culture*. London: John Murray Ltd 1987, 49.

<sup>128</sup> In Polish eyes, after the incorporation of the "Red" Rus' into the Crown, the territory and its predominantly Orthodox population were no longer seen as "Eastern" but included in the imagined "bulwark of Western civilisation" that Poland constituted. Stradomski 2003, 9.

<sup>129</sup> Magocsi 1996, 134. According to Sysyn, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Galicia surpassed their Orthodox counterparts in wealth and prestige, if not in number. Sysyn 1985, 21.

<sup>130</sup> Sysyn 1985, 20–21.

<sup>131</sup> Zamoyski 1987, 70.

<sup>132</sup> "Мы новин не уводим, а старин не рухаем." Magocsi 1996, 130.

rule in their principalities, practice their Orthodox faith, and speak their own language. Moreover, the Ruthenian influence on the new rulers became visible in the baptism of several members of the Gediminas and other Lithuanian noble families into the Eastern Rite faith.<sup>133</sup>

After the Union of Kreva, the legal status of the Ruthenians gradually began to change. Denominational factors became key issues as the privileges granted to Lithuanians at the union were restricted to members of the Catholic Church alone. The Rus' principalities were dismantled and smaller territorial units were introduced in their stead, to be ruled by Roman Catholic *boyars* pledging loyalty to the Lithuanian grand duke. In 1413, the terms of the union between Poland and Lithuania were readjusted in the Treaty of Horodlo. The two states were defined as equal, and the unity was sealed by the "adoption" of fifty Lithuanian Catholic *boyar* families by the Polish nobility.<sup>134</sup> In the aftermath of the union, the Orthodox elite thus found itself at a clear disadvantage compared to their Catholic counterpart.

The reaction of the Orthodox Ruthenians followed in the 1430s, when they supported Grand Duke Svidrigailo in his quest for an independent Lithuanian Rus' kingdom. Although defeated, the Orthodox succeeded in acquiring the same privileges, immunities and property rights as the Catholic nobility in 1434, with the exception of high offices that were reserved only for Catholics.<sup>135</sup> In this way, many descendants of the old Rus' princes continued as influential and wealthy nobility in the Lithuanian state, particularly in Volhynia. Although some saw it more beneficial to convert to the Roman Catholic faith, the majority still remained in Orthodoxy. Towards the 16<sup>th</sup> century this elite reflected an interesting combination of the Rus' heritage and the Western influences that were emerging into Lithuania through the coexistence with Poland.

The Eastern Rite faith was a formal obstacle to the Ruthenians' advancement in the highest political and social circles. The restrictions, it must be noted, did not imply a wish to eliminate the Eastern Church from Lithuania, but their purpose was to promote the Lithuanians who had adopted the Catholic faith.<sup>136</sup> The faith was thus used as a tool for "othering" and the Orthodox – of Ruthenian as well as Lithuanian origin – were considered a foreign element, but they were by no means isolated from the rest of society. In times of crisis, denominational differences often lost their significance and it was common for many Lithuanian noblemen to search for military support and political alliances with Orthodox princes in internal struggles for power.<sup>137</sup> Inter marriages between members of different denominations were typical among the elite, and it is likely that for the majority of Catholic Lithuanians and Poles, the Greek faith appeared as something vaguely similar to their own, although its liturgical rites were different.<sup>138</sup>

In political terms, the Ruthenians of the Grand Duchy increasingly identified themselves with Lithuanians. As Liedke points out, the more the Ruthenians were allowed to participate in the political life of their society, the stronger this association became.<sup>139</sup> The idea of joining one Lithuanian political "nation" seems to have been a conscious choice. Instead of emphasising their separate ethnic identity in a different cultural environment, the Ruthenian elite have been seen as extending the boundaries of their political community far beyond the traditional Rus'.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>133</sup> Kempa, Tomasz. *Dzieje rodu Ostrogskich*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek 2003, 45.

<sup>134</sup> Ševčenko 1996, 114; Magocsi 1996, 133–134.

<sup>135</sup> Ševčenko 1996, 114.

<sup>136</sup> Kempa 2003, 45.

<sup>137</sup> Kempa 2003, 11.

<sup>138</sup> The secretary of King Zygmunt the Old, J.L. Decjusz, described the Ruthenians as "not too different from us [Catholics] in faith, and although they have completely different rites, they are to be tolerated, because they agree with us in the same dogmas of faith almost completely." Kempa 2003, 46.

<sup>139</sup> Liedke, Marzena. "Świadomość narodowa i udział szlachty oraz możnych ruskich Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w kształtowaniu się narodu szlacheckiego Rzeczypospolitej w drugiej połowie XVI wieku." *Europa Orientalis*. Toruń 1996, 139.

<sup>140</sup> Suchocki, J. "Formowanie się i skład narodu politycznego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim późnego

The more integrated into the Polish-Lithuanian political structure the Ruthenian elite became, the more clearly they perceived their difference from the Muscovite Rus'. Although they must have been conscious of their common faith and cultural roots, the political conditions – the struggle for control over the borderlands between Lithuania and Muscovy – undoubtedly shaped their perception. The growing sense of allegiance to the Polish-Lithuanian political homeland among the Ruthenian *szlachta* and magnates, combining cultural, economic and political aspects, became particularly evident at times of war against Muscovy. Contrary to the widespread suspicion among the Roman Catholic Lithuanians and Poles that the religious bonds between the Muscovites and the Ruthenians would make the latter unreliable in war, the Ruthenians generally showed no inclination to side with the Orthodox-ruled neighbour. It seems that at times of war, the Ruthenians saw the common faith as of minor importance, causing no collision with their loyalty to the Catholic king.<sup>141</sup> This loyalty was largely based on the privileges and freedom that the nobility in the Polish-Lithuanian lands enjoyed. Regardless of their cultural and religious ties with the Muscovite Rus', the Ruthenian magnates and *szlachta* recognised the benefits of their political homeland as opposed to Muscovy, where the aristocracy, often under a despotic ruler, lacked similar freedoms.<sup>142</sup>

An early example of the new Ruthenian political identity can be seen in the person of Prince Konstantin Ivanovič Ostrožskij (c. 1460-1530), one of the leading Lithuanian Rus' magnates of the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. In the war of 1500 between Muscovy and Lithuania, he was taken captive along with many other Lithuanian magnates. As a valuable prisoner, Ostrožskij enjoyed special privileges and was placed under house arrest in Moscow. After refusing to give an oath of allegiance to the Muscovite monarch, Ivan III, for nearly six years, he finally submitted to his son, Vasilij III in 1506. In return, Ostrožskij was given land, the command of a part of the Muscovite army, and a place in the council of the monarch.<sup>143</sup> It is likely that Prince Ostrožskij was considered trustworthy especially because he shared his religion and Rus' heritage with the Muscovites. Yet the real aim of Ostrožskij's oath seems to have been to be released and to escape back to Lithuania, in which he succeeded in 1507. For his loyalty, he received great honours from the Polish king. He was appointed as the Hetman of Lithuania and endowed with titles and properties to the extent that it caused discontent among the less distinguished Lithuanian magnates.<sup>144</sup> Yet it seems that Ostrožskij's close ties with the Polish king and his central role in society did not diminish his attachment to his heritage, especially his Eastern Rite faith.<sup>145</sup>

It is difficult to determine how far Ruthenian political loyalty was motivated by sheer ambition and survival instinct. The Rus' nobility understood the risks of their position between Poland and Muscovy and were careful not to give cause to accusations of unreliability, easily interpreted as treason. In this light the affection that some professed for their "dear fatherland", or "a wonderful

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średniowiecza." *Zeszyty Historyczne*, t. 48, 1983, z. 1/2 via Liedke 1996, 139–140.

<sup>141</sup> Hodana, Tomasz. *Między królem a carem. Moskwa w oczach prawosławnych Rusinów – obywateli Rzeczypospolitej (na podstawie piśmiennictwa końca XVI-połowy XVII stulecia)*. *Studia Ruthenica Cracoviensia* 4. Kraków 2008. 2008, 195.

<sup>142</sup> Halecki 1953, 162.

<sup>143</sup> Kempa 2003, 21.

<sup>144</sup> Kempa 2003, 21–22. Ostrožskij continued to prosper in the service of the king. In 1513, he received another high Lithuanian title, that of Castellan of Vilna, which formally was restricted to members of the Roman Catholic Church, and in 1522, the title of Palatine of Trock. After the latter nomination, the king was pressured to issue a decree confirming that the appointment of a *schismatic* to this position was an exception and would not occur again in the future. Kempa 2003, 27, 37.

<sup>145</sup> A complaint of the Pope's envoy has been recorded describing Ostrožskij as "fervent in his faith", which made it impossible to convert him to Roman Catholicism. He seems to have been highly respected for his religiosity among the Ruthenians. The doctor of Queen Bona Sforza described him as "so pious in his Greek faith that the Ruthenians considered him a saint." Kempa 2003, 46.

and almost sacred country”<sup>146</sup> can be seen as politically motivated. Yet this hardly meant that the Ruthenians were insincere in their loyalty to their political homeland. The nobility’s choice to become active participants in Polish-Lithuanian society reflected a new, evolving sense of political identity. The Polish governmental system was clearly a more beneficial option than Muscovite rule for the privileged part of the population and the Ruthenian elite proclaimed their preference in many ways. Apart from participating in military action against Muscovy, they opposed the election of Czar Ivan IV as a candidate to the Polish throne in 1572, even to the point of calling those Lithuanian magnates who supported the idea “traitors of the fatherland”.<sup>147</sup> This reluctance to be associated with Muscovy became visible also outside the nobility, particularly in times of war.<sup>148</sup>

The formation of a new political identity among the Ruthenians was a natural consequence of the geopolitical changes in the Rus’ lands. It affected the Ruthenian elite first, and through the political identification with Poland and Lithuania, the elite increasingly adopted other influences from the majority culture, which gradually led to the total Polonisation of some members. For others, however, the political changes initiated the development of a characteristically Polish-Lithuanian ethnic and cultural identity in which loyalties to the homeland and the king were combined with recognition of their old Rus’ heritage. The Volhynian Ostrožskij family can be seen almost as an epitome of this “double identity”, displaying an uncompromised attachment to their Eastern culture and faith, yet playing a notable role in the political life of the state. As significant as their services to Poland and Lithuania were, the treatment of the Ostrožskij princes reflects the political restrictions that even the most loyal Ruthenians could not overcome. The evaluation of Prince Konstantin Vasilij Ostrožskij (c. 1524/1525–1608) and his chances as a candidate to the Polish throne in 1587 by Nuncio Spanocchi summarises the reservation with which the Ruthenians and the members of the Eastern Rite Church were recognised in their Polish-Lithuanian homeland:

Concerning Konstantin, Prince Ostrožskij, there are two things that speak for him: first, that he is considered as the richest and wealthiest lord in the whole kingdom, and second, that he is generally known as a sensible, honest, open, generous and good man in the highest degree, however, *two other things work against him: first, that he is Ruthenian* and for this reason it is unlikely that he will be favoured by Poles or Lithuanians who also aspire to the throne, *and second, that he confesses the Greek faith and is the main leader of the schismatics*.<sup>149</sup>

### 2.1.3 The quest for a name

#### 2.1.3.1 The noble Rus’ and Sarmatian Roxolani

The 16<sup>th</sup> century was generally a period of cultural and intellectual evolution in Poland. From the Ruthenian point of view, it also entailed a general rise in awareness of their heritage. In questions of identity, such raised awareness is often stimulated by encounters with the “other”. Although

<sup>146</sup> From the letter of Prince Roman Sanguszko to the Polish King in 1568 (*Archiwum XX. Sanguszków*, VII, Lwów 1910, no. 262) via Halecki 1953, 162.

<sup>147</sup> Mironowicz 2006, 234.

<sup>148</sup> For example, during the battle over Smolensk in 1514, all Ruthenians of the city defended it against the Muscovites, being encouraged to do so by their Orthodox bishop. When Smolensk was eventually lost and the whole territory was annexed to Muscovy, its Ruthenian *boyars* preferred to emigrate to other Lithuanian palatinates than to submit to Muscovite rule. Halecki 1958, 130; Mironowicz 2006, 234.

<sup>149</sup> “Co się tyczy Konstantego księcia Ostrožskiego, dwie rzeczy zdają się mówić za nim będą, jedna, że uważany za najbogatszego i najzamożniejszego pana w całym królestwie, druga, że jest powszechnie miany za człowieka rozumnego, szczerzego, otwartego, hojnego i dobrego w najwyższym stopniu, lecz *dwie inne będą na przeszkodzie: jedna, że jest Rusinem* i dlatego sądzić można, że go nie bardzo życzyć będą Polacy równie jak Litwini, którzy także piąć się będą do tronu, *druga, że wyznaje religię grecką i jest głównym hersztem schizmatyków*.” Kempa 2003, 112 (emphasis mine).

the Ruthenians had by no means been an isolated group in their past, the most consequential encounters between them and the West took place in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This was a period of great intellectual upheaval that set in motion several political and religious processes, as a result of which the old triangle – the Eastern faith, language and heritage – began to crumble. Stimulated by the changes, the Ruthenians awakened to the need for a more precise self-definition, as well as territorial designation.<sup>150</sup> The second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a general Ruthenian “name contest”, in which new names were employed or existing names were endowed with new, ideologically loaded and often exclusivist meanings.

The quest for a name involved the Ruthenian nobility, in particular. The 16<sup>th</sup>-century Polish “Golden Age” and its currents in the culture of Lithuania had a great influence on the nobility’s customs, tastes and preferences. On the denominational level, the Protestant Reformation shook the intellectual and religious circles with its questioning, critical attitude toward the established system. It especially appealed to the *szlachta*, who wished to free themselves from the Catholic monarch’s control,<sup>151</sup> as well as from the authority of the Roman Church with its social and material ambitions.<sup>152</sup> Predominantly for political reasons, the Reformed movements such as Calvinism rapidly gained ground among the nobility in Lithuania and many descendants of the old Rus’ families converted. Although the fervour of the Reformation waned somewhat in time, there was no rebound movement to Orthodoxy, because many noblemen preferred to convert further to Roman Catholicism which was notably strengthened after the Council of Trent in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century.

The movement from the Eastern to the Western Church can be seen as part of a larger process of Westernisation or Polonisation that distanced the Rus’ nobility from the commoners and brought the Ruthenian elite closer to their Polish and Lithuanian counterparts. This resulted in the birth of a “noble nation”, a phenomenon that had a major impact on Polish-Lithuanian society in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The union of Poland and Lithuania at Lublin in 1569, in which the Kievan and Volhynian lands, until then part of Lithuania, were incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland, sealed the brotherhood of the nobility.<sup>153</sup> The nation of this Commonwealth consisted of nobles of Polish, Lithuanian and Rus’ origin, Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant, who were united by common political and civil rights.<sup>154</sup> The evolution of this noble nation, whose membership was endowed by blood rather than by personal success, also had an influence on naming.

The concept of *Roxolania* emerged among the Ruthenian *szlachta* and magnates as a designation for the Ruthenian land (*Roxolani* for the population).<sup>155</sup> However, the name conveyed a highly exclusivist meaning, as it referred to the “noble nation” alone. It was based on the conviction that the nobility and the commoners were divided by tribal or racial factors – different blood flowed in

<sup>150</sup> Yakovenko 2009, 140.

<sup>151</sup> Stradomski 2003, 27.

<sup>152</sup> Petkūnas, Darius. “Holy Communion Rites in the Polish and Lithuanian Reformed Agendas of the 16<sup>th</sup> and Early 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries.” Diss. Helsinki: University of Helsinki 2004, 20.

<sup>153</sup> Levickij relates how the Union of Lublin (1569) dissolved old social groups and divided the population into two strictly defined groups: the commoners (“люди посполитые”) and the *szlachta* which began to identify with its Polish counterpart. The old dichotomy between the Rus’ and the Poles, he argues, was replaced with the social division between the aristocracy and the peasants. This also influenced the relations within the Orthodox Church, since the hierarchy, elected from the *szlachta*, became increasingly distanced from the lower clergy. Левицкий, Орестъ. “Предисловіе.” *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч. 1, т. 6. Кіевъ 1883, 46–47.

<sup>154</sup> Snyder 2003, 1.

<sup>155</sup> The concept of *Roxolania* was most successfully publicised by one of the leading thinkers of the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, the Polish nobleman Stanisław Orzechowski, whose mother was Ruthenian. By using the terms *Roxolanus* (*Roxolani*) and *Ruthenus* (*Ruthenian*) as interchangeable, Orzechowski codified the concept of *Roxolania* as denoting the Rus’. Yakovenko 2009, 121. Orzechowski’s view on the “double identity” of the Ruthenian *szlachta* is best reflected in his famous self-designation “gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus” which highlights his loyalty to Poland while emphasising his Ruthenian origin. Halecki 1953, 144.

their veins.<sup>156</sup> The phenomenon was ideologically justified by the myth of the “Sarmatian” origin of the nobility, widespread in 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century Polish-Lithuanian society. According to the ancient legend, popular among medieval writers, the Sarmatians, or the Slavs, descended from Noah’s son Japheth.<sup>157</sup> They were a warrior nation that had spread from the Black Sea to northeastern Europe. In early 16<sup>th</sup> century Poland, Sarmatia was defined in geographical terms – it consisted of a European part (Roxolani, Lithuanians, Muscovites and their neighbours) and an Asian part.<sup>158</sup> In time, the concept was narrowed down to exclude the Muscovites, mainly locating European Sarmatia in the territory of Poland.<sup>159</sup> In 1569, when Poland and Lithuania united to form the multi-ethnic and multi-religious Commonwealth, Sarmatian ideology became an integrating factor that held the *szlachta* together.<sup>160</sup> In the absence of a common language, system of customs, or faith, Sarmatism became the means of common cultural identification.<sup>161</sup> The myth reinforced the feeling that in spite of their ethnic and religious diversity, the *szlachta* were united by a common ancestry that distinguished them from the rest of the population, the peasantry, in particular.<sup>162</sup>

The Ruthenian nobility was keen not to be excluded from the Sarmatian family. In their view, the Roxolani were Ruthenians, i.e. Slavs.<sup>163</sup> In a sense, the Ruthenian nobility’s emphasis on their common ancestry with the Polish nobility meant a radical detachment from their Rus’ heritage. It encompassed the whole process of disintegration within the Ruthenian community, as the elite and the commoners drifted apart. Yet the Ruthenian *szlachta* did not see common origin only as a guarantee of gaining political privileges, but also as the acknowledgment of the legitimacy of their culture and Greek faith.<sup>164</sup> They expected to be regarded as equals to their Polish blood brothers. This can be seen in the speech delivered by Adam Kisel’, a leading Ruthenian Orthodox politician of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, to the Commonwealth’s Diet in 1641 in defence of the Ruthenian palatinates under Poland:

I shall remind you of the following three points concerning the relationship between the Ruthenian principalities and the Crown. First, that our ancestors, the Ruthenian Sarmatians, freely joined you, the Polish Sarmatians; with their spiritual and material possessions they brought the provinces and their ancestral faith that prevailed in them [...].<sup>165</sup>

Sarmatianism prevailed as an ideology in the Ruthenian mind from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, for example, in Orthodox and Uniate polemic writings.<sup>166</sup> The *Roxolani* name was particularly popular among the Kiev literary and church *intelligentsia* of the 1620s–1640s (for example, Metropolitan Peter Mohyla), who, as members of the *szlachta*, were personally motivated by the idea of brotherhood with the Polish noble nation.<sup>167</sup>

Yet the association of Ruthenians with Sarmatians was also problematic to those members of the elite who rather identified themselves with ancient Kievan Rus’. They were just as creative in their ancestral designations as those who identified themselves with the Sarmatian tribe. The process of writing meanings into the old name, *Rus’*, is a good example of how the past

<sup>156</sup> Yakovenko 2009, 120.

<sup>157</sup> Stradomski 2003, 69.

<sup>158</sup> *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis, Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis* (1517) by Maciej of Miechow, professor of the Cracow Academy, was a fundamental representation of this view. Stradomski 2003, 66, 70.

<sup>159</sup> *Kronika to jest historyja świata* (1551, 1554, 1564) by Marcin Bielski. Stradomski 2003, 71.

<sup>160</sup> Wandycz, Piotr. *The Price of Freedom. A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present*. London & New York: Routledge 1993, 89.

<sup>161</sup> Stradomski 2003, 66–67.

<sup>162</sup> Prażmowska, Anita J. *A History of Poland*. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2004, 109.

<sup>163</sup> This was underlined by Zaharij Kopystenskij in his *Palinodia: "Sarmaci to jest Rosi czyli Słowianie" ("Sarmatians i.e. Rus' or Slavs")*. Stradomski 2003, 72.

<sup>164</sup> Stradomski 2003, 72.

<sup>165</sup> Sysyn 1985, 106.

<sup>166</sup> Stradomski 2003, 68.

<sup>167</sup> Yakovenko 2009, 124.

could be manipulated in order to endow both a family with an ancient descent and the whole Rus' population with the worth it was seen to deserve.<sup>168</sup> The name was understood as a key to legitimacy via the (mythical) past it could convey. The Ostrožskij family, the leading magnates in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, followed the aristocratic model of the time<sup>169</sup> by creating a genealogy in which their old Kievan princely descent was mythologised. Apart from extending their family lineage back to the monarchs of the past, up to Prince Vladimir of Kiev, the Ostrožskij descent was linked with a mythological figure, "the primal forebear, Rus",<sup>170</sup> one of the three brothers that according to a legend founded three Slavic nations.<sup>171</sup> This genealogical legend gave the Ostrožskijs the legitimacy as heirs of the land of Rus and manifested the unbroken continuity of the Rus' community, "yielding nothing to the land of Lech (Poland) in historical dignity."<sup>172</sup>

### 2.1.3.2 Names in defence of "true Orthodoxy"

An identity based on the Roxolani-Sarmatian ideology was less popular among those Ruthenians who had a critical attitude towards the Polish and Latin influence on Ruthenian society. The late 16<sup>th</sup> century saw the rise of an active lay movement in Ruthenian Orthodoxy, resulting in the establishment of several confraternities (*bractvo*) in major cities. These confraternities promoted contacts with the rest of the Orthodox world in general and the Byzantine Mother Church in particular. The recognition of the Greek origin of the Eastern faith had characterised the Eastern Rite Ruthenian tradition throughout its existence, which can be seen in the continuing use of the term *Greek* with reference to the Orthodox,<sup>173</sup> but it was in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries that the Byzantine Greek heritage became particularly valued.<sup>174</sup> The feeling of affinity between the anti-Latin Ruthenians and the universal Orthodox Church was further strengthened by the visits of Eastern patriarchs to Lvov: Patriarch Joachim I of Antioch (1586), and Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople (1589). In the spirit of returning to the "truly Orthodox" tradition, the restitution of the "true" name for the Rus' – *Rosiia* (from the Greek Ρωσία) – was promoted especially by the Lvov Confraternity at the head of the conscious Orthodox elite. Quite understandably, the

<sup>168</sup> It must be remembered that the quest for mythical ancestors, and also the naming and the cultivation of an attachment to a particular homeland, were luxuries restricted to a privileged portion of the Ruthenian community.

<sup>169</sup> Creative genealogies were popular among the ruling classes not only in Polish-Lithuanian society. A good example can be found in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Muscovite *Book of Generations* (*Книга Степенная царского родословия*), in which Czar Ivan IV was presented as a descendant of Roman Emperor Augustus along with the past generations of Kievan, Vladimir and Muscovite princes. Рамазанова, Наталия. "Идеи Московской государственности в церковном пении XVI века." In *Church, State and Nation in Orthodox Church Music. Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Orthodox Church Music*. red. Moody, Ivan and Maria Takala-Roszczenko. Jyväskylä: Kopijyvä 2010, 61.

<sup>170</sup> Yakovenko 2009, 122.

<sup>171</sup> Lech (Poland), Čech (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia), Rus (Ruthenian lands).

<sup>172</sup> Moreover, by conceptualising the "land of Rus", the Ostrožskij genealogy gathered the post-1569 Ruthenian territories of Poland, namely, Ruthenia (Galician Rus'), Volhynia, the Kiev region and Podilia, into a common space of historical memory, which provided a basis for cultivating a Ruthenian identity equal to the Polish counterpart. Yakovenko 2009, 123.

<sup>173</sup> An explanation of the use of the term *Greek* was included in *Apokrisis* (1597), a polemical work written in the defence of the Orthodox by Marcin Broniewski: "[...] our faith is not called Greek because all we belonging to it are Greek (because we are not all Greek, but some are from the Lithuanian, and Ruthenian people). It is because our ancestors adopted this faith from the patriarchs living in Greece [...]" Stradomski 2003, 17.

<sup>174</sup> During this period, Greek visitors participated in the development of education in different centres of Ruthenian Orthodoxy. For example a Greek archbishop, Arsenios of Ellassona, worked as the first rector of the Lvov Confraternity School. It has also been suggested that the future Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lukaris, taught at the Ostrog Collegium in 1594, as did another Greek, Emmanuel Achilleos, in 1595. The Greek language became part of the curriculum in many confraternity schools. The first Greek grammar was printed in the Lvov Confraternity in 1591. Yakovenko 2009, 125.

name was absent from the Catholic Ruthenian usage.<sup>175</sup> In the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, *Rosiia* and *Roxolania* coexisted as alternative sources of Ruthenian identity and both names appeared in publications of the learned circles of Kiev.<sup>176</sup>

The political upheavals of the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century brought about changes in the preferred nomenclature. Following the Cossack uprising of 1648, for which one motive was the defence of Orthodoxy against the Uniate Church, the Cossacks first submitted to Muscovy in 1654, and then concluded an agreement with Poland in 1658. The agreement with Poland was based on the plan to create a third principality into the Commonwealth: *the Rus'*. This state would recognise the Orthodox Church as the only legal Eastern Rite church, and the Orthodox would also gain privileges in the Polish-Lithuanian government. However, the agreement came to nothing and, in 1667, the Armistice of Andrusovo between Poland and Muscovy sealed the annexing of the Left Bank of Dnieper to Muscovy and the creation of a Muscovite protectorate over both this area and Kiev.<sup>177</sup>

In the Cossack Hetmanate, the concept of *Rosiia* was complemented by another neo-Byzantine term, *Little Rosiia*.<sup>178</sup> Earlier mainly used by the Eastern patriarchs as reference to the Kievan Orthodox Metropolitanate of the late 16<sup>th</sup> to early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the term emphasised the connection between and common faith of the Muscovites and Ruthenians, the "Great" and the "Little" *Rosiias*.<sup>179</sup> During the wars in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, the term acquired popularity among the Cossacks who identified themselves as defenders of the Orthodox faith and were in close relations with Orthodox Muscovy. In these relations, *Little Rosiia* constituted the "politically correct" and "high-style" name, while internally, the Cossacks perceived the Hetmanate land as *Ukraina*.<sup>180</sup>

The use of *Ukraina* (Ukraine) was not restricted to the Cossack Hetmanate. The ancient term was used more or less amorphously throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries as reference to eastern borderlands of the Polish Crown. The definition of what was understood as Ukraine often depended on the eye of the beholder: the farther away the lands were, the more likely they were to be perceived as "Ukraine".<sup>181</sup> Apart from generally referring to borderlands, *Ukraina* was also used as a self-designation for the Kievan territory and its inhabitants, later also for the other southeastern palatinates, Braclav and Černigov. Thus, towards the 18<sup>th</sup> century, two Ukraines came about: the three Rus' palatinates remaining in the Commonwealth, and the Cossack Hetmanate under the Muscovite protectorate.<sup>182</sup>

Interestingly, the name contest between *Rosiia*, *Little Rosiia*, *Ukraina* as well as *Roxolania* excluded the northeastern part of the traditional Rus' lands, separately referred to as "Lithuanian", "Belarusian" or "White Rus'".<sup>183</sup> The Ruthenian perception of the Commonwealth thus relied on the political structures of the time by making a distinction between the Polish Crown and the Lithuanian Grand Duchy. For some reason, the naming was most active in the Polish part of the Commonwealth, which after the Union of Lublin (1569) incorporated the earlier Lithuanian

<sup>175</sup> Yakovenko 2009, 128.

<sup>176</sup> Yakovenko 2009, 126.

<sup>177</sup> Ševčenko 1996, 116.

<sup>178</sup> In ecclesiastical use, the concept of "Little *Rosiia*" re-emerged when the Muscovite patriarchate in "Great *Rosiia*" was recognised by Constantinople in 1589. Yakovenko 2009, 129.

<sup>179</sup> It has been noted that, initially, the Ruthenian use of the term was exclusively "export-oriented", i.e. featured in letters to Muscovy, whereas in internal use, the attribute "Little" was omitted. Yakovenko 2009, 130.

<sup>180</sup> Yakovenko 2009, 131–132.

<sup>181</sup> The concept was also employed by the Polish authorities after the Union of Lublin. For example, Yakovenko cites a proclamation of 1580 by the Polish King Stefan Batory, addressed to the lords and knights residing in "Rusian, Kievan, Volhynian, Podilian and Braclavian Ukraine," thus combining the Ruthenian palatinates into one common "Ukraine". Yakovenko 2009, 135–136.

<sup>182</sup> Yakovenko 2009, 138–140.

<sup>183</sup> Yakovenko 2009, 124, 127, 132.

regions of Kiev, Volhynia and Podlachia (Podlasie). The impact of the naming on the sense of community among the Ruthenians was generally more disintegrative than consolidating, due to the exclusivist character of some names (*Roxolania*, *Rosiia*) and the geographical restrictions of others (*Ukraina*). Nevertheless, the name contest signified an increasing need to define who they, as Ruthenians, were, and as Yakovenko points out, the process turned the previously amorphous Rus' into a "territory with history" which fixed the attention of different groups on the same topic – their land and their common past.<sup>184</sup> In this sense, the naming also strengthened their shared sense of community distinctiveness and, correspondingly, their identity as Ruthenians.

### 2.1.3.3 Persistence of the Rus' after the Union of Brest (1596)

Throughout the name contest, the old designations *Rus'* and *Rusin* or *Rusyn* continued to be used as references to the Ruthenian community. The persistence of these names in times of great denominational and cultural change reflects how the traditional concept of the threefold Rus' identity – ethnically Ruthenian, linguistically East Slavic and denominationally Orthodox – allowed certain variation. The ethnic identity appeared to have been quite persistent: many Ruthenians continued to identify themselves as "of the Rus'" even after being assimilated to the Polish-speaking population and converting to a Western faith.

The Union of Brest (1596) began a new phase in the evolution of the Rus' identity. It has been argued that the union made denominational factors more decisive than the ethnic or territorial, as both the Orthodox and the Uniate Church tried to weld their respective flocks in Lithuania and Poland together into one religious community.<sup>185</sup> Yet the gradual development of two separate Ruthenian Eastern Rite traditions did not weaken the attachment to the Rus' heritage in either church. The question was, instead, which of the communities was entitled to the name of the "true" Rus'. In the perception of Adam Kisel', the Rus' community was divided into "old Rus'" (the Orthodox) and "new Rus'" (the Uniates), who, despite the division, still retained the components of the Rus' identity.<sup>186</sup> In order to claim their right the name, each Rus' community needed to define their heritage as clearly as possible, which brought about various polemic studies of the origin and history of the Rus' Church. The same motivation can be seen in the careful self-definition, for example, of the Holy Spirit Confraternity of Vilna in 1634: "[...] being people of the Christian nation, ancient Rus', Greek, non-Uniates."<sup>187</sup> In polemic writings, the two Rus' communities were demarcated from each other with attributes such as the *schismatic Rus'* ("*Rus' schizmatyczna*"),<sup>188</sup> and the *apostate Rus'* ("*Ruś odstępną*").<sup>189</sup>

Despite disagreeing on the question of legitimacy, the two Rus' communities did not deny their common heritage. They were conscious of sharing an Eastern ethnic identity, regardless of the church cultural differences that gradually grew between them. For some decades after the Union of Brest, the idea of a re-union between the Eastern Rite churches, the Rus' with the Rus', received support in both communities. In a speech by Adam Kisel', persuading the Orthodox to dialogue with the Uniates in 1629, the old ties of the Rus' were emphasised imploringly: "[...] but we of one

<sup>184</sup> Yakovenko 2009, 141.

<sup>185</sup> Hodana 2008, 8.

<sup>186</sup> Sysyn 1985, 108.

<sup>187</sup> "[...] будущих людей народу христианского, старожитного Руского, Греческого, Неунитов". АСД т. 6. Вильна 1869, 284.

<sup>188</sup> "Schismatic" was a term used to refer to the Byzantine Eastern Rite believers in Roman Catholic discourse well before the Union of Brest. The reference to the "schismatic Rus'" appears, for example, in the title of a pro-Uniate polemic work by Kacper Tomasz Skupieński, entitled *Rusin albo rellatia rozmowy dwóch Rusinów schizmatyka z unitem* [*Rusin or the relation of a conversation between two Rusins, schismatic and Uniate*], Warsaw 1634; Stradomski 2003, 49.

<sup>189</sup> *Elenchus* (1622). *Архивъ ЮЗР*, ч.1, т.VIII. 1914, 597. The Orthodox perceived the act of union as leaving the old Eastern faith, thus turning the Uniates into apostates.

nation, of one people, of one religion, of one worship, of one rite, are not one. Thus we are torn asunder and so decline.”<sup>190</sup>

## 2.2 CULTURAL ADAPTATION THROUGH LANGUAGES

The development of Polish-Lithuanian Ruthenian identity was to a great extent determined by geopolitical position. Situated in the borderland between powerful states, between major religious spheres, at the crossroads of several trade routes, the Rus' were naturally exposed to influences from surrounding cultures, especially the dominating Polish culture. The gradual Polonisation that the Ruthenians underwent has traditionally been seen as a process of deculturation and the adoption of elements from the mainstream culture as an irretrievable loss of their indigenous heritage. It is also possible to view their cultural evolution as a process of *cross-cultural adaptation*, which embraces processes of assimilation, acculturation, adjustment and integration through which an individual establishes stable and functional relationships with new or changed cultural environments.<sup>191</sup>

Ruthenian culture was characterised by openness rather than isolation. Members of the Ruthenian community inevitably needed to enhance their competence in society by acquiring new skills and broadening their perspectives. This process ultimately aimed at improved chances of survival, i.e. an increased functional fitness, which could only be attained by certain degrees of assimilation. Language was a natural factor in the adaptation process, because it is generally through communication that adaptation occurs.<sup>192</sup> Successful functioning in society very much depends on the competence to communicate, which for 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup>-century Ruthenians increasingly meant the ability to speak the languages of the politically dominant culture. These communication skills turned out to be central in all aspects of the Ruthenians' life, particularly in education.

The mother tongue is generally regarded as an essential part of the foundation on which individual or collective identities are based. The Polish-Lithuanian Rus' used Ruthenian as the language of daily communication, while Church Slavonic was the language of the liturgy. Both Ruthenian and Church Slavonic can be seen as sustaining a bond between members of the community. This bond could also be used for demarcating what was perceived as “theirs”.

The role of languages in the evolution of Ruthenian identity can be examined from two perspectives. On one hand, languages can be perceived as a means of demarcation that contributed to a sense of community and continuity with the past and present generations, and held the community together in spite of its fragmented character and increasing assimilation into the surrounding culture. On the other hand, languages can be seen as mechanisms of the same assimilation, because it was the need to communicate that opened the Ruthenian community to the new languages.

### 2.2.1 Bonding languages: Church Slavonic and Ruthenian

Ruthenian linguistic identity was based on two languages, Church Slavonic and Ruthenian (*руська мова*). The latter evolved from the Old Russian vernacular of Kievan Rus' into a literary language and was established in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as the official administrative and

<sup>190</sup> “A my z iedney nacyey, iednego narodu, iedney Religiey, iednego nabożeństwa, iednych obrzędów nie iedno iesteśmy.” Sysyn, Frank E. “Ukrainian-Polish Relations in the Seventeenth Century: The Role of National Consciousness and National Conflict in the Khmelnytsky Movement.” *Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present*. Ed. Peter J. Potichnyj. Edmonton, Toronto: The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies 1980, 75.

<sup>191</sup> Kim 2001, 31.

<sup>192</sup> Kim 2001, 35.

non-liturgical ecclesiastical language.<sup>193</sup> In the Polish-ruled Rus' lands, it remained a language of communication while Latin and Polish were already instituted as languages of administration.<sup>194</sup>

Although both languages were used for literary purposes, Church Slavonic enjoyed the highest status as the language of the liturgy, the sacred language in which God was addressed.<sup>195</sup> It was also the language uniting the whole *Slavia Orthodoxa* as well as parts of *Slavia Romana*: the Ruthenians, the Muscovites, and large areas of the Balkans, including Croatia, and Bohemia.<sup>196</sup> The knowledge of Church Slavonic provided access to the whole tradition of the Eastern Rite Church translated from Greek or developed indigenously, including biblical texts, hymnography, and hagiographies. This tradition knew no state boundaries, which can be seen in the active exchange of manuscripts and the transmission of narratives between the Orthodox in different areas. Church Slavonic writings produced in one scriptorium were reproduced in centres all across Eastern Europe, and Cyrillic printing presses served the needs of churches in several countries.

The role of Church Slavonic in shaping a collective Ruthenian identity was significant. While it united the Ruthenians with the wider Slavic Orthodox world, it also provided them with a sphere of their own in the confines of the Polish-Lithuanian society. The liturgical language connoted a whole world of liturgical tradition that created a bond between the members of the community. The legacy of the Eastern Rite Church could be accessed only with knowledge of Church Slavonic. Thus, knowledge or the lack of it formed a significant boundary between the Rus' and the rest within the Polish-Lithuanian realm. In polemic writings, the language barrier was recognised as a source of potential misunderstanding between the Ruthenians and the Poles. Church Slavonic appeared as a language of the barbaric East in the eyes of several Catholic polemicists. In his famous accusation, the Jesuit polemicist Peter Skarga argued that the use of Church Slavonic was an obstacle to intellectual development, saying,

The Greeks fooled you, O Ruthenian people, for in giving you the Holy Faith, they did not give you the Greek language, forcing you to use the Slavonic tongue so that you could never attain true understanding and learning [...] for one can never attain learning by means of the Slavonic language.<sup>197</sup>

The negative consequences of the language barrier were acutely felt by those Ruthenians who wished Eastern Rite Church to be seen as equal to the Roman Catholic Church. In his polemic *Lithos*,<sup>198</sup> for example, the Orthodox Metropolitan Mohyla dedicated a considerable number of pages to the translation and explanation of Church Slavonic texts in Polish, quite likely trying to dissolve prejudices that the unfamiliar language generated in the minds of outsiders.

Despite the criticism to which Church Slavonic was subjected in polemic debates, its position as the language of liturgy was never questioned in the Eastern Rite Ruthenian Church, whether Orthodox or Uniate. In the articles of the Union of Brest, formulated by the Ruthenian hierarchs in

<sup>193</sup> Темчин, С.Ю. "Функционирование русской мовы и иерархия церковных текстов." *Studia Russica XXIII*. Budapest 2009, 226.

<sup>194</sup> Sysyn 1985, 21.

<sup>195</sup> Темчин 2009, 226–227.

<sup>196</sup> Based on a South Slavonic dialect used in the Macedonian region, Church Slavonic constituted the liturgical language of Christianised Slavs. In the early modern period, it existed in different local variations, which reflect the local cultural spheres within *Slavia Orthodoxa* including the Muscovite, the Western Rus' (i.e., the Ruthenian), which encompassed not only the Polish-Lithuanian lands but also Moldavia, and the Middle Bulgarian, constituting the literary language also in Wallachia. See, for example, Cojocar, Tatiana. "Szkolnictwo prawosławne w księstwach rumuńskich w XIV-XVII wieku." *Szkolnictwo prawosławne w Rzeczypospolitej*. red. Mironowicz, Antoni, Pawluczuk, Urszula, and Piotr Chomik. Białystok 2002, 93. Church Slavonic remained in both liturgical and administrative use in the Romanian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia up to the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. Gheorghită, Nicolae. *Byzantine Chant between Constantinople and the Danubian Principalities. Studies in Byzantine Musicology*. București: Editura Sophia 2010, 2.

<sup>197</sup> From Peter (Piotr) Skarga's *O jedności Kościoła Bożego* (1577) quoted in Subtelny, Orest. *Ukraine: A History*. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press 2000, 95 (emphasis mine).

<sup>198</sup> *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч. 1, т. IX. 1893.

1595 as conditions of their subordination to the Roman Church, the preservation of the liturgical language was specifically highlighted: "That the divine worship and all prayers of Orthros, Vespers, and the night services shall remain intact (without any change at all) for us according to the ancient custom of the Eastern Church [...], and that these services should be *in our own language*." (Article 2).<sup>199</sup> This also preserved the linguistic bond between the two Eastern churches, Uniate and Orthodox.

The identification of the Ruthenians with the Church Slavonic tradition did not, however, indicate their fluency in it. The liturgical language was based on South Slavic linguistic tradition, and its vocabulary and Greek-influenced syntax required effort to be understood by the East Slavic Ruthenians. It has been argued that by the 17<sup>th</sup> century, knowledge of Church Slavonic both as a liturgical language and as the language of Eastern Rite culture in general had declined.<sup>200</sup> Understanding the language of the liturgy required studying, for which purpose the Ruthenian language was also commonly used. Children, whether at parish or monastery schools or children of the elite receiving private tuition, began their elementary training by familiarising themselves with the Holy Scriptures through learning Church Slavonic and Ruthenian.<sup>201</sup> For example the Castellan of Bracław, Vasil Zahorovskij, (1577) ordered in his will that his children be given basic education in the Rus' learning, in Holy Scriptures ("ихъ Руской науки въ писме светомъ дати учити"), from the age of seven. The education was to be conducted by a *diak* either at Zahorovskij's home or in the church of St Elijah in Volodymyr. Once they had acquired excellent knowledge of the Rus' language<sup>202</sup> and of the Holy Scriptures ("коли имъ Богъ милосердный дастъ въ своемъ языку Рускомъ, въ писме светом, науку досконалую"), they were to be taught Latin, and later to be sent to the Jesuit College of Vilna to be educated further.<sup>203</sup> The linguistic tradition was to serve as a foundation for the Ruthenian youth's Eastern Rite identity:

Also, that they would not disregard their Rus' writing and speech with Rus' words and the virtuous and humble Rus' customs, and above all their faith, to which God called them and in which He created them for this world, and that they would never, until their death, neglect the divine services in our Greek Rite churches [...].<sup>204</sup>

<sup>199</sup> 33 Articles Concerning Union with the Roman Church (emphasis mine). [www.archeparchy.ca/documents/history/Union%20of%20Brest.pdf]

<sup>200</sup> Німчук, Василь. "Конфесійне питання і українська мова кінця XVI – початку XVII століть." *Ін Берестейська унія і українська культура століття. Матеріали Третіх "Берестейських читань", Львів, Київ, Харків, 20-23 червня 1995 р.* ред. Гудзяк, Борис, Олег Турій. Львів: Інститут Історії Церкви Львівської Богословської Академії 1996, 26; Турилов, А.А. & Флоря, Б.Н. "К вопросу об исторической альтернативе Брестской унии." *Брестская уния 1596 г. и общественно-политическая борьба на Украине и в Белоруссии в конце XVI – первой половине XVII в. Часть II. Брестская уния 1596 г. Исторические последствия события.* Москва: Индрик 1996, 22.

<sup>201</sup> According to Mironowicz, the parish schools aimed at teaching a small number of young people to read, write, and to get acquainted with the basics of the faith and the divine services. The Holy Scriptures were memorised and explained as a method of teaching. In contrast the curriculum of schools organised in urban monasteries consisted of reading, singing, Church Slavonic, Ruthenian, sometimes Greek, and later also the Polish language. Elementary education remained more or less on this level throughout the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Mironowicz, Antoni. "Szkolnictwo prawosławne w Rzeczypospolitej." *Szkolnictwo prawosławne w Rzeczypospolitej* 2002, 20–21.

<sup>202</sup> Whether the language mentioned is Church Slavonic or Ruthenian is somewhat unclear. It would seem probable that elementary learning denoted the learning of the alphabet and basic skills in reading and writing in Cyrillic letters, which was also a prerequisite for reading the Church Slavonic Bible and prayers. Frank Sysyn refers to the concept of "Руской науки" as the study of "Ruthenian letters". Sysyn 1985, 47.

<sup>203</sup> *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.І. Київ 1859, 74.

<sup>204</sup> "Также, абы писма своего Руского и мовенья Рускими словы и обычаевъ цнотливыхъ и покорныхъ Рускихъ не забачали, а наибольшей веры своею, до которое ихъ Богъ везвалъ и въ ней на сесь свѣтъ створилъ, и набоженства въ церквахъ нашихъ, Греческому закону належного [...] николи, ажъ до смерти своею, не опускали [...]." *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.І. 1859, 74–75. See also Sysyn 1985, 47.

In order to ensure that the Church Slavonic content of liturgical services became better understandable to the Eastern Rite faithful, it became customary in the 17<sup>th</sup> century to occasionally use the profane<sup>205</sup> language alongside the sacred one for homiletic purposes. A Ruthenian translation of a biblical text could be used within the divine service as an explanation of the Church Slavonic text recited before it.<sup>206</sup> In a very practical way, the two languages thus functioned together in the cultivation of the Eastern Rite identity.

### 2.2.2 The “poor Ruthenian” and the challenge of Polish and Latin

With the expansion of the Polish culture to the old Rus’ lands, the Ruthenians experienced changes in their cultural environment. These changes most notably concerned the languages that were used in society. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Polish challenged the use of Ruthenian as a chancery language from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. Apart from administration, Polish also began to be used as a means of daily communication and correspondence. From the perspective of cross-cultural adaptation theory, the situation can be viewed as an initial stage in an assimilation process that was necessitated by the changed cultural environment. At least some measures of adaptation were inevitable in order for the Ruthenian-speaking population to establish a better relationship with the Polish-dominated culture. The ultimate goal of this process, whether conscious or not, was an intercultural identity that would allow them to function more successfully in Polish-Lithuanian society.

The pressure to conform to the Polish culture was felt especially by the Ruthenian elite. As the role and influence of the *szlachta* and the magnates increased, the cultural variety and religious toleration that had characterised Polish-Lithuanian society for most of the 16<sup>th</sup> century began to give way to the unification of the nobility into a culturally and denominationally homogeneous class. This development was particularly manifested at the Union of Lublin (1569) that gave birth to a “Polish nation” consisting of the Polish, Lithuanian and Ruthenian elites. This noble society functioned, to a large extent, in Polish. As a consequence, the Ruthenian elite faced the inevitable need to extend their language skills. However, when the nobility increasingly began to employ the Polish language in their communication, they gradually became estranged from the Ruthenian-speaking population, thus widening the gap between different social classes within the Ruthenian community.

The language question was not simply a matter of understanding or being understood. Lack of linguistic competence could also mean the lack of authority. “A person speaks not only to be understood but also to be empowered – believed, obeyed, respected, and distinguished.”<sup>207</sup> The significance of language as a source of power was most notably manifested in situations when a Ruthenian overstepped the bounds of his local environment and found himself at a loss with authorities whose language he did not understand. The famous quote from Sylvestr Kossov’s *Exegesis* (1635) describes one unfortunate example: “Look at a poor Ruthenian who goes into the court of justice, to the diet or the dietine: [...] without [the knowledge of] Latin he pays the fines!”<sup>208</sup>

<sup>205</sup> “Profane” here points to a categorisation of languages according to their origin (divine inspiration/human creation) and audience (God/people). See Темчин 2009, 227.

<sup>206</sup> Темчин 2009, 229. The guidance by Josafat Kuncevič, a Uniate bishop, reflects this practice: “When reading the Gospel or some prayer aloud, or a litany, they should not explain the Slavonic words in Ruthenian, but read [the words] as they are written. After the Gospel or a hagiography has been read for the people, they may explain.” [“Кгды тежъ читают евангеліе, або якую молитву в голос, або екѣнїи, не маючъ выкладат словенскихъ словъ по руску, але такъ читати яко написано. Учитанное зас евангеліе або житіе с(вя) тыхъ читаючи людем, могуць выкладати.”] Карский, Е.Ф. *Белорусы*, т. 3. *Очерки словесности белорусского племени*, вып. 2, *Старая западнорусская письменность*. Петроград 1921, 143 via Темчин 2009, 230.

<sup>207</sup> Kim 2001, 101.

<sup>208</sup> “Poiedzie nieborak rusin na trybunał, na seym, na seymik, [...]: bez łaciny, płaci winy.” *Exegesis Sylwestra Kossowa* 1635. *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч. 1, т. VIII. 1914, 444. Translation from Charipova 2006, 25.

Lack of linguistic competence could thus seriously hinder the ability to function in society and even lead to discrimination.<sup>209</sup>

The growing need for linguistic competence was best reflected in education. The state of education and learning in general was beginning to be a cause of concern for the more enlightened members of the Ruthenian community. Apart from the basic skills provided by church-supported schools – which concerned only a limited number of pupils, trained mostly for the needs of the church itself – and private tuition for the elite's children, there was a continuing lack of educational facilities up to the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. In the absence of schools of their own which could provide education of middle or higher standard, the Orthodox Ruthenians turned to the Protestant or Roman Catholic establishments. The Jesuit colleges set the educational standard in Poland and Lithuania. From 1565 to the end of the century, the Jesuits had founded thirty-six schools in the whole of the Commonwealth, twenty-three of which were located in the Rus' lands. Teaching was conducted only in Latin.<sup>210</sup> As in the case of Castellan Zahorovskij's children, many descendants of the old Rus' families were sent to the Jesuit colleges to complement the elementary teaching provided by a Ruthenian *diak*, or even to Protestant and Roman Catholic universities abroad. The learning they acquired in these establishments was, of course, based on Western tradition, values and theology. In Jesuit schools, moreover, all pupils attended Roman Catholic services. As a consequence, many young educated Ruthenians converted to Catholicism. In this way, the 16<sup>th</sup>-century educational crisis in the Ruthenian community led to the loss of a number of potential future patrons of the Orthodox Church.<sup>211</sup>

A reaction to the state of education arose in the 1580s with the development of a school system by Orthodox lay confraternities (*bractvo*) in major Ruthenian cities. The main emphasis in the curriculum of these schools was on the study of languages: with some exceptions, they included Greek and Church Slavonic, and possibly also Ruthenian, Latin and Polish.<sup>212</sup> The study of Greek was invigorated in late 16<sup>th</sup> century by the visits of the Eastern patriarchs and consequent activity of Greek teachers in the confraternity schools. By turning to elements of the Byzantine Greek culture, the Ruthenians sought to strengthen their Eastern identity. In many cases, however, the educated Greeks available as teachers in the 16<sup>th</sup> century were graduates of Catholic or Protestant universities.<sup>213</sup> In other words, they were already somewhat Westernised.

Apart from the languages used in the Orthodox Church, the schools increasingly provided teaching of Ruthenian and Polish, and the traditional language of Polish learning, law and administration, Latin. Different attitudes toward teaching Latin recurrently appeared in discussions about education in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century. For some members of the Orthodox community, Latin appeared as a threat since it could bring the student too close to the

<sup>209</sup> Kim 2001, 101.

<sup>210</sup> Charipova 2006, 22–23.

<sup>211</sup> Kempa, Thomas. "Akademia Ostrogska." *Szkolnictwo prawosławne w Rzeczypospolitej*. Białystok: Drukarnia Monasteru Supraskiego 2002, 56.

<sup>212</sup> Senyk 1987, 394. According to Mironowicz, the curricula in the earliest confraternity schools was founded on the study of languages, although they also came to include subjects such as grammar, poetry, rhetoric, dialectic, and philosophy, and in some schools logic, arithmetic, music, geography and astronomy. In Vilna, the privilege of 1585 by King Stefan Batory allowed the teaching of Ruthenian, Greek, Latin and Polish, whereas in Lvov, the *bractvo* school was designed for promoting the Eastern faith: it was to teach Church Slavonic and Greek; no Latin was included in the curriculum. In Brest (1590), the curriculum consisted of the practice of divine services and liturgical singing and languages: Church Slavonic, Ruthenian, Greek, Polish, and Latin. These languages were also taught in Mogilev with the King's privilege of 1597. In Minsk (1592) and Luck (1617), the languages included Greek and Church Slavonic, and in Kiev (school founded in 1588, rebuilt after fire in 1615 and given a privilege by the Patriarch of Antioch in 1620), Polish and Latin were added to the curriculum when Peter Mohyla became the archimandrite of the Kievan *Lavra*. Mironowicz 2002, 21–27.

<sup>213</sup> Charipova 2006, 25.

danger of “apostasy”.<sup>214</sup> Others, however, saw the practical need for knowing Latin. Metropolitan Mohyla, writing in the 1640s, summarised the situation:

While it is suitable for the Rus' to learn Greek and Slavonic for the sake of the liturgy, for politics this is not enough, but being in Poland, they have to know Latin as well. In the Kingdom of Poland, you see, the Latin language is used almost as a native tongue, [...] in all political matters. Thus, it is suitable for the Ruthenian, being a subject of the Crown, to know this language without which it is not possible to manage in this country. It would not be suitable, or proper, if he would speak Greek or Slavonic before the lords in the Senate, or in the House of the Deputies, and would always need to bring with him a translator, and be regarded as a foreigner, or as stupid.<sup>215</sup>

In spite of the atmosphere of suspicion, some schools already took up teaching Latin in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. Yet the provision of Latin in Orthodox schools did not put an end to the flood of Ruthenian pupils to Catholic schools. Charipova points out that the youth who found the confraternity school education too limited usually continued studying in Jesuit colleges. The schools that tried to find a compromise between the Eastern tradition and Western educational models remained on an inevitably mediocre level: their choice was to “learn Greek and the very basics of Latin, to try and develop the Church Slavonic into a scholarly language, to study subjects such as dialectic mainly in translations of Orthodox authors like John Damascene from Greek, without plunging into dangerous depths, and so on.”<sup>216</sup>

There were also establishments that chose an openly Western educational model. The Collegium at Ostrog, whose foundation was confirmed by the king in 1585, was modelled after the 16<sup>th</sup> century West European trilingual colleges, and it was the first Slavonic-Greek-Latin middle school in Orthodox circles.<sup>217</sup> Founded by Prince Konstantin Ostrožskij, the “Academy” reflected the tolerant attitudes and multi-confessional atmosphere of Ostrog by employing staff not only from the Orthodox community, but also a Catholic teacher from the Cracow Academy and possibly some Protestant lecturers.<sup>218</sup> Apart from the languages however, very little is known about the curriculum of the Collegium or the functioning of the school in general.<sup>219</sup> In the early 1630s, it ceased to exist as a result of its transformation into a Jesuit school by the militantly Catholic granddaughter of Prince Ostrožskij.<sup>220</sup> The Ostrog Collegium broke the ground for the Collegium in Kiev, which Peter Mohyla created by merging the Kievan Confraternity School and the Kievan Caves Monastery School in 1632. The Kievan Collegium was modelled on the Jesuit colleges in its administrative structure, curriculum and discipline, and particularly in its strong emphasis on Latin, which was its main language of instruction.<sup>221</sup> The predominance of Latin, as explained by Mohyla, was necessitated by the fact that a citizen of the Commonwealth could not manage

<sup>214</sup> Charipova 2006, 25.

<sup>215</sup> “Із Руси слuszna rzecz dla nabożeństwa po Graecku y po Słowiensku uczyc się, ale dla politiki nie dosyć im na tym, ale trzeba im do Polaszczyny y po Łacynie umiec: w Koronie bowiem Polskiej Łacinskiego ięzyka niemal iako przyrodzonego zażywaią, [...] we wszystkich politicznych sprawach, – zaczyn sluszna Rusinowi, koronnym obywatelom będącemu, ięzyk ten, bez ktorego się w tym państwie obyć nie może, umiec; nie sluszna bowiem rzecz by była y nie przystoyna, gdyby przed panem w senacie, albo w poselskiej izbie, po Graecku albo po Słowiensku mowił, gdyżby mu tłumacza zawsze z sobą wozic potrzeba, y albo y za cudzoziemca albo za głupiego rozumiany był.” *Архив ЮЗР* ч. 1, т. IX. 1893, 375–376.

<sup>216</sup> Charipova 2006, 26.

<sup>217</sup> Kempa 2002, 64–66.

<sup>218</sup> Kempa 2002, 71.

<sup>219</sup> It has generally been assumed that the curriculum was based on the Western system of *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic) and *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy), but no sources have been preserved. Kempa 2002, 66; Mironowicz 2002, 28.

<sup>220</sup> Kempa 2002, 77.

<sup>221</sup> Charipova 2006, 50–51. For a detailed description of the curriculum, based on the “seven liberal arts” and the organisation into five grades, see Charipova 2006, 51–53.

without it. It was a conscious choice, put into words by Sylvestr Kossov: "We shall have Greek *ad chorum* [for church use], and Latin *ad forum* [for political use]." <sup>222</sup>

The evolution in the educational system in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries clearly reflects the changes in the Ruthenian cultural atmosphere. The fact itself that curricula included "foreign" languages, Polish and Latin, in schools which aimed at strengthening the Orthodox Church points to the pressing need to provide tools for interaction with the surrounding world. These developments in the schooling system offer an interesting perspective on the contemporary culture in general. The late 16<sup>th</sup> century educational evolution can indeed be seen as a radical departure from the tradition of the parish and monastic schools whose main aim was to train church personnel. It could be argued that the new mode of education was considerably more outward-looking and aware of contemporary society. Many of the confraternity schools, and especially the colleges, based their curriculum on the classical model that included lessons in rhetoric, logic and even debate. <sup>223</sup> It is difficult to know whether this was simple imitation of the Jesuit schooling system. In any case, it reflects the challenges posed by the age of interdenominational conflicts and ideological wrestling which in Polish-Lithuanian society was mainly conducted on the level of polemics. Developing logical argumentation in the Western classical style was in the interest of the enlightened Ruthenian Orthodox, because it was a key to successful polemical disputation, without which their Church was practically defenceless. The Athonite voice of Ivan Višenskij was a lone and unheard voice for a Ruthenian Church that would restrict its pedagogical enterprises to the reading of liturgical (*Horologion*, *Oktoechos*) and patristic texts. <sup>224</sup>

Ruthenian production of polemical writings increased notably towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, especially after the Union of Brest. A whole range of publications appeared containing correspondence between the Orthodox and the Uniates (partly also the Roman Catholics), mostly written by leading ecclesiastical figures under pseudonyms, or produced in specific intellectual circles, such as Ostrog, Vilna, or Kiev. Besides responding to different accusations, the participants in this prolific debate contributed to the reorganisation of the Eastern Rite Church, within or outside the Union. The choice of languages used in the polemical publications is particularly interesting. It appears that already in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century the Ruthenian polemicists increasingly used Polish, <sup>225</sup> or provided the Ruthenian version with a Polish translation. <sup>226</sup> Obviously, when published in Polish, the Eastern Rite polemical works were able to reach the Polish-speaking audience beyond the Ruthenian community.

Contrary to popular conceptions, the choice of language did not depend on the denominational stance of the authors. It needs to be emphasised that both the Orthodox and the Uniates continued to identify the Rus' heritage as their own and Ruthenian and Church Slavonic as their traditional languages. There is no evidence of the use of Ruthenian being confined to the Orthodox sphere (as the "more conservative" church), or of the use of Polish as characteristic of Uniate writings. As discussed above, members of both groups faced the same need to integrate into society and

<sup>222</sup> *Exegesis Sylwestra Kossowa* 1635. *Архив ЮЗР* ч. 1, т. VIII. 1914, 444; Charipova 2006, 51.

<sup>223</sup> According to Charipova, one characteristic feature of education in the Kievan Collegium was the organisation of disputations and public recitations, which were also popular in the Jesuit education system. These disputations aimed at developing the pupils' fluency in Latin, but also their ability to build up formal logical structures for their arguments. Charipova 2006, 52.

<sup>224</sup> Ševčenko 1996, 157. Višenskij suggested an education with study material such as the Greek or Slavonic Grammar, the Psalter (instead of studying dialectics and syllogism), the *Oktoechos* (instead of philosophy), and the Gospel and the Epistles, correctly interpreted. Турилов & Флоря 1996, 24.

<sup>225</sup> Ševčenko 1996, 159–160.

<sup>226</sup> For example, *Apokrisis* by Hristofor Filalet (pseudonym) was published in both Polish and Ruthenian, and the response to it, *Antirresis protiv Hristofora Filaleta* by the Uniate bishop Potij, printed in 1599 in Ruthenian and in 1600 in Polish translation. Німчук 1996, 12.

achieve an equal standing with representatives of the majority culture. The choice of language was clearly part of this process.

Did the adoption of Polish and Latin for Ruthenian usage indicate a loss of their indigenous culture, i.e. deculturation? In cross-cultural adaptation, each assimilation process inevitably involves both deculturation and acculturation.<sup>227</sup> Acquiring the competence in the languages of the majority culture imperative for successful functioning in society may have weakened some aspects of the Ruthenians' traditional linguistic identity. For some, Polish replaced Ruthenian as a daily language of communication. Linguistic preference was an individual matter that depended on several factors, such as education or family relations, which at the time of numerous intermarriages between noble families of different heritages had an understandable influence on the choice of language.

It is likely that for many Ruthenians, the choice of a language depended on each particular situation. It is commonly recognised that people may have multiple identities that operate at different levels.<sup>228</sup> Ruthenian could be used in communication with fellow Ruthenians, whereas the Polish and Latin skills were activated when moving in political, commercial or educational circles, for example. Through increasing language competence, the previously mono-cultural identity was likely to achieve more flexibility.<sup>229</sup>

## 2.3 THE RUTHENIANS AND THE "GREEK" FAITH

The Eastern Rite or the "Greek" faith was one of the main components of Ruthenian identity. From a liturgical perspective, it was obviously the most important factor influencing church tradition, as evolving religious identity became reflected in the evolution of liturgical customs. Debates on Ruthenian religious identity have usually carried the weight of political conditions of the day and evaluators tend to compare it to what is perceived as "ideal" Orthodoxy. Purity in religion is, however, a highly relative concept. Hence, the analysis of a religious identity cannot be based on tracing deviations from the "true" foundation of faith, but it has to arise from the general cultural, social and political context.

The Eastern Rite religion was a key factor distinguishing the Ruthenians from the rest of Polish-Lithuanian society and thus it functioned as a boundary mechanism, demarcating the "Greek" religious community. The formation of a specific Eastern Rite religious identity can be explored as a process of "othering", in which the Ruthenian community acted as an agent as well as an object. A change in church political conditions brought about an interesting twist in this process. The Union of Brest (1596) challenged the existing boundaries, as the division of the Ruthenian Church brought about two Eastern Rite communities, the Uniate and the Orthodox. This jurisdictional separation gradually led to the development of separate religious identities, which, in spite of sharing much of the "Greek" tradition, were characterised by a notable degree of exclusivism. This process is particularly interesting with respect to the further analysis of liturgical tradition uniting and distinguishing the two communities.

Ruthenian religious identity was more than a process of demarcation; it had its own specific character. Most scholars agree that the Eastern Rite tradition of the Ruthenians departed from the Muscovite tradition, for example, by being more open to different cultural influences. This view is further complemented by the idea brought forward by Giovanna Brogi Bercoff, characterising the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century Ruthenian (Ukrainian) cultural space as generally "polymorphic" or culturally

<sup>227</sup> Kim 2001, 68.

<sup>228</sup> Guibernau, Montserrat. "Anthony D. Smith on nations and national identity: a critical assessment." *History and National Destiny: Ethnosymbolism and its Critics*. Ed. Guibernau, Montserrat & Hutchinson, John. Oxford, Malden, Melbourne: Blackwell Publishing Ltd 2004, 140.

<sup>229</sup> Kim 2001, 66.

elastic, susceptible to external assimilative influences and the synthesising of different traditions.<sup>230</sup> The perception of Ruthenian religiosity as more liberal than “traditional” Orthodoxy is common to both critical and apologetic interpretations. Since it was this liberalism that opened the Ruthenian Church to evolution in liturgical tradition, it is important to understand the processes behind it.

### 2.3.1 The Eastern Rite Church in a Roman Catholic state

The Eastern Rite faith was rooted in the Ruthenian lands during the Kievan period. Its liturgical practice was transmitted from the Byzantine tradition, and the Byzantine heritage remained acknowledged among the Ruthenians throughout centuries. On a practical level, this was reflected in the widespread use of the term “Greek” as an attribute of nearly everything associated with the Orthodox faith, rite, even the population. It was used both as a self-designation by the Greek Rite Orthodox, later also by the Uniates, and as a collective name used by others to refer to the Ruthenians. The identification of the Rus’ with the Greek sprang in many ways from the church political situation in Europe in the early second millennium of Christianity. Being “Greek” came to imply opposition to the “Latin”. In the course of centuries, relations between the Byzantines and the Romans in southern Europe were echoed in relations between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches of East Central Europe.<sup>231</sup>

As typical of a borderland culture, the Rus’ and Polish coexistence was characterised by cultural plurality and daily interaction. From the earliest Kievan period onward, there had been marriages between the Eastern Rite Rus’ and the Western Rite Polish elites, and this continued as a natural feature of dynastic networking.<sup>232</sup> The Byzantine-Roman schism of the early 11<sup>th</sup> century (generally not recognised until the 13<sup>th</sup> century) gradually impacted on Ruthenian-Polish relations: for example, the Greek and the Latin hierarchy began to frown upon interdenominational marriages.<sup>233</sup> On a daily level, nevertheless, the contacts and cultural exchange between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholics are suggested to have continued in a spirit of mutual respect.<sup>234</sup>

The political development following the disintegration of the Kievan state had a notable influence on the polarisation of the church sphere. The rivalry between the Rus’ principalities and their neighbours weakened the Orthodox Church by turning it into a political weapon. The early 14<sup>th</sup> century saw the division of the Kievan jurisdiction into three separate metropolitanates under Constantinople, the Muscovite, the Galician (Halyč) and the Lithuanian, whose precarious existence depended on the support of the Byzantine emperor, the patriarchs of Constantinople,

<sup>230</sup> Brogi Bercoff 2003, 325–387 via Yakovenko 2009, 118.

<sup>231</sup> In the Kievan realm, Byzantine influence was felt in a very concrete way through the presence of Greek hierarchs appointed as bishops. Many of these hierarchs participated actively in Greek-Latin polemics already in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Аввакумов 2011, 74–75.

<sup>232</sup> Mironowicz points out the great number of marriages between the Rus’ and the Polish aristocratic families, including the ruling Piast dynasty. In his opinion, the presence of Orthodox members in the Polish courts guaranteed the rights of the Orthodox population in general. The Rus’ princesses who married into Polish families had complete freedom of faith and rite and were usually accompanied by Orthodox clergy. Mironowicz 2006, 74, 102.

<sup>233</sup> For example, the late 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century Kievan Metropolitans, John II and Nicephorus I (both of Greek extraction), counselled the Rus’ princes to avoid marrying their daughters to Catholic rulers and generally to refrain from any contact with the Latins who had “abandoned the Apostolic Church”. Correspondingly, in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, Pope Gregory IX forbade Polish women to marry into Rus’ families for fear of conversion. In some ecclesiastical circles, the distinction between the Greek and the Latin was manifested in more uncompromising terms. Theodosius the Greek of the 11<sup>th</sup> century Kievian Caves Monastery saw the Roman Catholic faith as “worse than Judaism” and urged his readers to avoid the Latins even to the extent of refusing to eat or drink with them. Mironowicz 2006, 83–84. Correspondingly, Mateusz, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cracow, accused the Rus’ of serving the sacraments incorrectly and called them heretics and their rite “ungodly” (bezbożny) in his letter to Bernard of Clairvaux, written between 1146–48. Mironowicz 2006, 80, 103.

<sup>234</sup> Mironowicz 2006, 103.

and the local kings and princes. As Ševčenko notes, this development was mainly determined by the struggle between different political centres.<sup>235</sup> In the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, Constantinople favoured Muscovy, justifying the choice with the traditional idea that the Orthodox people could only be protected by a monarch of the same faith.<sup>236</sup> This put the Orthodox population of the expanding Lithuanian and Polish states in a difficult position. The situation was exploited in the 1370s both by the Polish king and the Lithuanian grand duke, demanding the reactivation of separate metropolitanates under their rule; King Casimir even threatening to rebaptise his Orthodox subjects into the Catholic faith.<sup>237</sup> A temporary solution was found in the gradual restoration of church unity under metropolitan Kyprian, who faced the difficult task of governing the Orthodox residing in conflicting states. Yet as political control over the old Kievan Rus' lands fell largely into the hands of Muscovy and the united Poland-Lithuania, the church sphere became increasingly polarised towards East and West. The polarisation was particularly reinforced by the conversion of the Lithuanian grand duke to Catholicism as a condition for the Union of Kreva. Around 90 percent of his subjects are estimated to have been Eastern Rite believers.<sup>238</sup> The late 14<sup>th</sup> century development thus marked the birth of a new type of Orthodoxy, previously unknown in the Rus' lands – the Eastern Rite Church under Roman Catholic rule.

From the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the political conditions in Poland and Lithuania had a major influence on the Eastern Rite Church and its members. All in all, the Ruthenian Orthodox were in an interesting position. Loyalty to the monarch in traditional Orthodox societies was based on the conviction that the secular ruler was a God-given, anointed leader, and as such, the protector of faith. How were the Ruthenians to act when the monarch, for whom the Church customarily prayed in the divine services, did not share their faith and was occasionally even involved in measures that discriminated against them?

After the Union of Kreva and especially the Treaty of Horodlo (1413), the Ruthenians faced serious legal, economic and social restrictions. As Mironowicz notes, Orthodoxy now turned from a dominating faith into a tolerated one.<sup>239</sup> The Roman Catholic Church acquired the status of official denomination in the Lithuanian state, which it already was in the Polish-ruled regions. Correspondingly, the Orthodox Church was lowered to the status of other non-Catholic denominations, and, despite being tolerated, certain restrictions were applied to the rights of the Orthodox population.<sup>240</sup> The restrictions were not aimed at discriminating against the Orthodox as such, but Catholic citizens were favoured with privileges conditional on their denomination. This encouraged conversions and Polonisation of the highest Ruthenian elite, the magnates, who were otherwise excluded from the top state offices. In contrast the Orthodox *szlachta* managed to regain many of its rights during the 15<sup>th</sup>-century political struggles. It must be noted that for a considerable time, the restrictions mainly concerned those regions where the Orthodox were not

<sup>235</sup> Ševčenko 1996, 74. For a description of this confusing process of metropolitanate formation, see Chodyncki, Kazimierz. *Kościół prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska. Zarys historyczny 1370–1632*. Warszawa – Pałac Staszica: Kasa imienia Mianowskiego – Instytut Popierania Nauki 1934. Reprint: Orthdruk 2005, 11–34; Ševčenko 1996, 74–77; Mironowicz 2006, 85–130.

<sup>236</sup> Mironowicz 2006, 121.

<sup>237</sup> For an English translation of the letter by King Casimir (1370), see Meyendorff, John. *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1981, 287. The question of rebaptism also appeared in relation to the Ruthenians in the later centuries. After 1620, it was a legally approved custom in Muscovy to rebaptise the Ruthenians who settled in the country, Orthodox and Uniate alike.

<sup>238</sup> These included both Ruthenians and Ruthenianised Lithuanians. Mironowicz 2006, 134.

<sup>239</sup> Mironowicz 2006, 154.

<sup>240</sup> Mironowicz 2006, 158–159. These restrictions were mainly of economic and legal nature. For example, by the Vilna privilege of 1387, the right to own land independently was granted to the Catholic Church alone, while the lands of the Orthodox Church belonged to the respective landowners. The property of the Orthodox Church was exploited by the court, and the building of new Orthodox churches became restricted. Mironowicz 2006, 139, 145, 156.

in majority.<sup>241</sup> A notable change from the 14<sup>th</sup> century was the gradual establishment of a Catholic ecclesiastical jurisdiction parallel to the Orthodox in certain Ruthenian cities. Towards the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in cities like Vilna or Lvov, for instance, growing tension between the denominations threatened coexistence, as the Orthodox burghers were forced to participate in Catholic services as part of trade activities, or were forbidden to organise processions of their own, or to sit on the city council.<sup>242</sup>

From the perspective of state politics, the Orthodox constituted a potential loyalty problem whose solution lay in their integration into Polish-Lithuanian society. Although the role of the Orthodox Church in the consolidation of the union between Lithuania and Poland was significant,<sup>243</sup> greater unity was aspired to in the conversion of all Ruthenians into Catholicism. It was not dogmatic uniformity but the political strengthening of the state, particularly against the Muscovite threat, that motivated the secular rulers. Apart from proselytism, the Polish Crown often turned to plans of church reunion as a solution. Especially after the Union of Florence (1439) and the separation of the Ruthenian and the Muscovite Churches (1458),<sup>244</sup> the integrity of the Kievan Metropolitanate<sup>245</sup> was increasingly in the interest of the Polish-Lithuanian state. The question of the Ruthenians' loyalty became important during conflicts with Muscovy, because transgressions against the Orthodox population's rights easily served as pretext for Muscovy to claim legitimacy over the Rus' lands, as a protector of the Eastern Rite Church.<sup>246</sup>

The 16<sup>th</sup> century was a period of general evolution in Greek-Latin relations in the Polish-Lithuanian lands. In the first decades of the century, certain restrictions concerning the Orthodox were lifted<sup>247</sup> and finally abolished by King Zygmunt August between 1563 and 1568. Although mainly motivated by the wish to persuade the Orthodox to support the real union between Poland and Lithuania (concluded at Union of Lublin in 1569), these decisions were made in the spirit of general toleration that characterised Polish-Lithuanian society at that time. The intellectual atmosphere of the time promoted the cultural assimilation of the Orthodox Rus' elite, in particular, which occasionally resulted in conversion into the Latin faith, often via Protestantism.

In spite of the gradual improvement in the Orthodox status, the state of the Greek Rite Church proved unappealing to those who had tasted the fruits of the flourishing Western culture. The

<sup>241</sup> Mironowicz 2006, 157.

<sup>242</sup> Mironowicz 2006, 170.

<sup>243</sup> Naumow 1996, 12.

<sup>244</sup> The division of the Kievan Metropolitanate was the outcome of a long church political development in which the Polish-Lithuanian and Muscovite states also played important roles. The separation was finally triggered by the Union of Florence (1439), which revealed the Kievan Metropolitan, Isidore, as a supporter of the reunion of the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches, although the union was widely repudiated by the local Orthodox Churches. The Muscovites interpreted the Act of Union and, particularly, the fall of Constantinople, as proof that the Greek Church had fallen from grace. In 1448, they chose their own metropolitan without patriarchal consent. Ten years later, the Muscovite hierarchs declared that the election of a Kievan Metropolitan could only be lawful if confirmed by the Muscovite grand duke. This was understood both as an intentional breach between the Muscovite Orthodox and Constantinople, as well as between the Muscovite Rus' and the Orthodox Ruthenians. The border between the two new metropolitanates followed the state borders. Mironowicz 2006, 170–174.

<sup>245</sup> From 1458 to 1596, the Metropolitanate of Kiev, Galicia and all Rus' consisted of ten dioceses: seven in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Kiev, Polock-Vitebsk, Smolensk, Černigov-Brjansk, Turov-Pinsk, Luck-Ostrog, and Volodymyr-Brest) and three in Poland (Chełm-Belz, Przemyśl-Sambor, Halyč-Lvov). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the expansion of Muscovy resulted in the loss of Smolensk, Černigov and, temporarily, Polock. Mironowicz 2006, 201–202.

<sup>246</sup> Discrimination against the Orthodox provided a motivation for the Muscovite prince Ivan III to claim control over the Orthodox Ruthenians, especially after his sister had married the future King of Poland, Aleksander Jagiellończyk. Mironowicz 2006, 188. The same pretext was used in the Muscovite-Polish conflicts well into the 18<sup>th</sup> century, particularly during the Cossack wars.

<sup>247</sup> In 1511, King Zygmunt the Old granted a privilege concerning the freedom of cult and general justice that was to be followed with respect to the Orthodox hierarchs and church property. Mironowicz 2006, 208.

low level of knowledge and education was one indicator of this weakness, against which the confraternities began to fight by founding schools and printing presses. Another symptom was the lack of independence and freedom – valued above all among the *szlachta* – that characterised the government of the Church. From the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the right of granting “spiritual goods”, of nominating and appointing candidates for Orthodox hierarchy had been exercised by the Polish king.<sup>248</sup> In practice, this meant that the leaders of the Church were appointed by the secular ruler, usually as a reward for loyal service to the monarchy. The competition over the diocese as a source of income led to notable corruption of the spiritual position: in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, each diocese had two bishops appointed – one governing, another waiting for his turn.<sup>249</sup> Towards the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, the hierarchs were generally chosen from the Ruthenian elite. For these men, accustomed to the freedoms of their estate, the inequality between the Orthodox and the Catholic hierarchs, most notably their lack of seats in the Senate, seemed unjust. Moreover, the position of the lay confraternities,<sup>250</sup> infringing on the hierarchs’ authority, reinforced the division within the Orthodox Church. These factors, accompanied by the energetic reorganisation of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church, finally led to the highly consequential rift within the Ruthenian Church, known as the Union of Brest.

At the Council of Brest in 1596, part of the Eastern Rite Ruthenian Church, supported by the Polish king and Catholic clergy, declared its subordination to the Pope. The initiators of the union included leading Ruthenian hierarchs who were received to the Roman Catholic Church by the papal bull *Magnus Dominus* in 1595. The opposing party which gathered in an anti-union council consisted of two Ruthenian bishops (Lvov and Przemyśl), representatives of Eastern patriarchs, clergy, monastics, and laity, for example, Prince Ostrožskij and the Orthodox confraternities. The real consequence of the union was acutely understood: by declaring the Uniate Church as the only legitimate Eastern Rite church, the Polish king excluded the remaining Orthodox from the rights that they had previously enjoyed. For this reason, the first decades of the union witnessed repeated attempts from both sides to claim their rights, particularly with respect to church property and establishments such as monasteries. For political reasons, it was necessary for the Polish-Lithuanian state to make some concessions to the Orthodox, which prolonged the general confusion and wrangling between the two churches. Especially after the death of the most influential opponent of the union, Prince Ostrožskij, the Orthodox were gradually losing support among the magnates and the *szlachta*, which weakened their legal status considerably. The Uniate party received few of the promised privileges – the hierarchs continued to be excluded from the Senate – and they continued to be discriminated against and even humiliated by the Latin Rite Catholics.

These relations were further complicated by international interest in the Orthodox problem. In 1620, Theophanes, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, returned from a visit in Muscovy through Ukraine and called for the election of bishops for the Ruthenian Orthodox Church. The following year, seven new hierarchs were consecrated, ending the period without a hierarchy. The rest of Polish-Lithuanian society interpreted this as an act of disloyalty towards the state, because the king was not asked for his consent. Moreover, the restoration of Orthodox hierarchy was clearly in the interest of both Muscovy and Constantinople.<sup>251</sup> The new hierarchs turned to the East in search of

<sup>248</sup> Mironowicz 2006, 147.

<sup>249</sup> Mironowicz 2006, 212, 214.

<sup>250</sup> The most prominent confraternities, Lvov and Vilna, had been granted *stauropegial* status by the Eastern patriarchs visiting them in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, which meant the exclusion of local bishops, or even the Metropolitan, from their decision-making processes. Ruled by laity, the confraternities were interesting examples of democratic church organisations, which, for example, had the right to appoint and dismiss their priests and publish liturgical material without episcopal consent.

<sup>251</sup> According to Mironowicz, it seems that the plan of restoration came up during Theophanes’ visit in

material and spiritual assistance, particularly after the rise of anti-Orthodox reactions in the state following the murder of the Uniate archbishop Josafat Kuncevič in Vitebsk in 1623.

Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century, projects for the reunion of the Ruthenian Churches appeared. Some planned the creation of a Ruthenian patriarchate that would recognise both the Pope and the Patriarch of Constantinople. However, the Cossacks, who were gradually assuming the role of defenders of Orthodoxy, refused to acknowledge any kind of union, and every plan was ultimately rejected by the Pope who saw union as possible only with the subordination of the Orthodox to the Catholic Church. Growing political instability in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and beyond its borders encouraged the state to seek domestic peace. The fact that the pro-Orthodox Cossacks constituted half of the Commonwealth's army could hardly be ignored. In 1632, during the election of a new king, the *Points for the pacification of citizens of the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, of the Rus' people, Greek religion* were presented to the *Sejm*. These points signified the restoration of the Orthodox Church by making it equal to the Uniate Church and returning its rights to the Kievan Metropolitanate and to the property that was to be divided between them and the Uniates.<sup>252</sup> It was openly acknowledged that the restoration was politically motivated, aiming to end conflicts between the churches. However, the realisation of these points – the distribution of property and parishes – caused considerable unrest in the Commonwealth. Another cause of discontent was the election of new hierarchs for the Orthodox Church, this time with the king's support. The residing Orthodox metropolitan was replaced with Peter Mohyla who spent the last decade of his life in energetic reorganisation of the Orthodox Church.

In the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, the position of the Eastern Rite churches reflected the international political situation more closely than ever. The rebelling Cossacks, motivated in part by the weak status of the Orthodox Church, eventually allied with Muscovy in the Treaty of Perejaslav (1654). Their leader, Bohdan Hmelnickij, openly acknowledged that only the Czar, "of the same blessed Greek Rite as we", could guarantee the rights of the Orthodox.<sup>253</sup> Barbara Skinner sees this as a turning point in the political character of the confessional division of the Eastern Rite Ruthenians. Until the Cossack rebellion, the Orthodox had not sought external assistance in anything but financial and ecclesiastical matters; now the rebellion came to involve the Russians and thus placed the confessional struggle between the Orthodox and the Catholics (Uniates included) on a political agenda.<sup>254</sup>

The Cossacks presented the idea of creating a separate Rus' state within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This state would be favourable to the Orthodox population and would outlaw the Union in its territory. This view appealed to the lower strata of Ruthenian society but was opposed by the Orthodox hierarchs who faced the division of the Kievan Metropolitanate: Muscovite rule was extending already to Kiev and Černigov. During the following Russo-Polish war, much destruction affected the Uniate Church, especially in the Belarusian lands occupied by the Muscovites. During the decade between 1655 and 1665, moreover, the Uniates were deprived of a leader as no metropolitan could be elected.<sup>255</sup> The war ended in 1667 and the Left-Bank Ukraine, Zaporoz'ja, Kiev, Smolensk were annexed to Muscovy for good, thus finalising the division of the Orthodox Metropolitanate of Kiev and aligning the Orthodox-Uniate confessional border with the Polish-Russian political border.<sup>256</sup> With Constantinople's consent, the Kievan Metropolitanate

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Muscovy and that it was accepted by the Cossack delegation, visiting Moscow. Moreover, it is difficult to ignore the political implications of the patriarch's departure letter to the Cossacks, advising to refrain from fighting against Muscovy. Mironowicz 2006, 268–270.

<sup>252</sup> Mironowicz 2006, 286, 288.

<sup>253</sup> Mironowicz 2006, 337–338.

<sup>254</sup> Skinner 2009, 89.

<sup>255</sup> Huculak 1990, 53.

<sup>256</sup> Skinner 2009, 91.

became canonically integrated into the Patriarchate of Moscow in 1686. Consequently, the Orthodox remaining in the Commonwealth became objects of pressure from the state and the Roman Catholic Church,<sup>257</sup> and their position gave the Russians a reason to intervene in Polish-Lithuanian politics; this was successfully used by Czar Peter I and later also by Catherine II.<sup>258</sup>

The last major centres of Orthodoxy in the Commonwealth gradually joined the Union: the dioceses of Przemyśl (1691), Lvov (1700) and Luck (1702), and the confraternity of Lvov (1709).<sup>259</sup> The gradual weakening of the other Eastern Rite Church within the Commonwealth did not considerably improve the position of the Uniate Church. Towards the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it became obvious that the Greek Rite remained an obstacle for the full acceptance of the Uniates in the Roman Catholic state. In 1717, for example, a clandestine project aiming at the complete abolition of the Greek Rite (here concerning both the Orthodox and the Uniate Church) and its replacement with the Latin Rite became known in Senate circles.<sup>260</sup> The Uniates continued to be regarded as second-class citizens, for example in their exclusion from central government office. This became reflected in their efforts to demarcate themselves from the Orthodox ("pro-Russians") and to underline their allegiance to the Commonwealth.<sup>261</sup>

The Uniates also faced increasingly disintegrative tensions within their own Church. In the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the union had become fully established in the northern (Lithuanian) part of the Commonwealth, and close contact with the Latin Church had shaped the Uniate practices significantly. The Basilian monastic order founded in 1617 had become the *primus motor* in the church; it had recovered Uniate monasticism from its disorganised state.<sup>262</sup> However, when the southern dioceses joined the union at the turn of the century, it became clear that the north and the south were separated by fundamental differences in both church culture and organisation.<sup>263</sup> For this and a number of other reasons discussed in chapter three, the Uniate Council of Zamość was convened in 1720. It discussed various aspects of religious practices, seeking to unify and strengthen the divided Church. The process of unification lasted throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, up

<sup>257</sup> The attempts to completely liquidate the Orthodox Church were explained by the fact that after 1667, the Uniate Church constituted the majority of Eastern Rite believers in the Commonwealth. According to Mironowicz, by forbidding contacts with Constantinople, the Senate tried to persuade the Orthodox into the Union via isolation. Mironowicz 2006, 395, 400.

<sup>258</sup> Skinner 2009, 93, 95, 98.

<sup>259</sup> The hierarchs of Przemyśl and Lvov actually entered the union already in 1681 but kept the fact secret until the official acceptance of their dioceses. Naumow 2002, 151; see also Балик 1978, 134-164. Separate Orthodox parishes remained in these dioceses even after their hierarchs had joined the Union. The number of Orthodox dioceses was reduced to one: the Belarusian diocese in the outskirts of Polock. Out of a great number of Orthodox monasteries in the Przemyśl, Lvov and Luck dioceses, only one did not join the Union: the Great Skete of Maniava. Mironowicz 2006, 423.

<sup>260</sup> The authors of the "Project for the Abolition of the Orthodox and Uniate Faiths in the Ruthenian Provinces of the Kingdom of Poland" argued that the surest way to state integrity and security was through confessional unification. Skinner 2009, 100.

<sup>261</sup> Skinner 2009, 100-101.

<sup>262</sup> Сковчиляс, Ігор. *Релігія та культура західної Волині на початку ст. За матеріалами Володимирського собору 1715 р.* Львів: Національна академія наук України, Інститут української археографії та джерелознавства ім. М.С. Грушевського, Львівське відділення & Український католицький університет, Інститут історії Церкви 2008, 6. The Basilian Order was created by the Uniate Metropolitan Iosif Veljamine Rutskij in 1617 as the only Eastern Rite order within the Roman Catholic Church. The order quickly created a network of monasteries following the same rules. The Metropolitan was recognised as the head of the order, but the charge of inner matters belonged to the Protoarchimandrite, elected by the regularly organised Basilian Chapters. For more details, see, for example, Крачковський, Ю.Ф. "Предисловіе." *АСД* т. 12. 1900, V-XLVII; Підручний, Порфирій В. "Початки Василянського чину і Берестейська унія." *Берестейська унія та внутрішнє життя Церкви в XVII столітті. Матеріали Четвертих "Берестейських читань."* Львів, Луцьк, Київ, 2-6 жовтня 1995 р. Ред. Борис Гудзяк. Львів: Інститут Історії Церкви Львівської Богословської Академії 1997, 79-124.

<sup>263</sup> Huculak 1990, 60, 62.

to the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and with it, of the entire Uniate Kievan Metropolitanate.

### 2.3.2 The “polymorphism” of Ruthenian religious identity

Political and social conditions in the Polish-Lithuanian state were highly consequential to the development of the Ruthenian religious identity. In Kievan Rus', the Eastern faith had been an element binding together conflicting principalities. In the Polish-Lithuanian state it was a force that, on one hand, created a sense of community among the Ruthenians, but on the other, allowed them to be treated as foreigners. The “othering” of the Orthodox was typical even in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Commonwealth, which was generally characterised by ethnic pluralism and religious tolerance. Political discrimination did not however result in the isolation or closure of the Eastern Rite community. The Ruthenians revealed a tendency to adapt to outside influences in order to maintain their social position.

The highly stratified social structure of the Ruthenian community explains, at least in part, the “polymorphic” character of Ruthenian religious culture. The Ruthenian high elite, the magnates, were among the leading men in Polish-Lithuanian society in spite of their exclusion from the highest governmental posts. Due to their wealth, landed property and military strength, the Catholic aristocracy sought their support particularly in times of political crisis. Their faith was a tool for “othering”, but it did not exclude them from influence in society, as can be seen in the person of Prince Konstantin Ivanovič Ostrožskij who was even suggested as a candidate to the Polish throne. Despite being aware of their Eastern Rite heritage, many magnates could also afford to be ecumenical. The Ostrožskij family, for example, openly supported the coexistence of the Orthodox, Catholic, Jewish and Muslim communities on their lands.

Inter-denominational relations also promoted religious assimilation. The most significant indicator was the increasing number of marriages between members of different churches, mainly among the elite. The family of Konstantin Vasilij Ostrožskij provides a vivid example of denominational variety: the Prince himself was Orthodox, and his wife Roman Catholic. Their children were baptised, according to the custom, to follow the faith of their parents: the three sons became Orthodox and the two daughters Catholic. One of the daughters married an Arian (Polish Brethren), another, a Calvinist. Educated in the Austrian court of the Habsburgs, two of the sons later converted to Catholicism.<sup>264</sup> In the daily coexistence of different denominations, the perception of distinctive religious identities could become blurred.

The *szlachta* enjoyed many freedoms in the Polish-Lithuanian state, and for some of them, the integrity of their religion could seem of secondary importance in comparison with their status among the fellow aristocrats. Especially following the Union of Lublin (1569), assimilation to the Catholic and Protestant nobility could prove more tempting than upholding their Eastern Rite identity. Open religious identity was also a question of survival. It has already been noted that the *szlachta* needed to learn the language of the political world, to be educated in similar institutions and acquire knowledge of Western culture in order to defend their rights. For many, survival also included the conversion to the faith that had become familiar and appealing to them during their education.

The development of Ruthenian religious identity in cities reflected the interconfessional struggle, yet at the same time, the evolving urban culture encompassed members of all denominations. Much of urban society was structured on the basis of trades and the guilds that controlled them. Initially, religious differences were not seen as disintegrative factors in the

<sup>264</sup> Kempa 2003, 81, 123, 125. Davies sees intermarriages as a sign of the fragmentation of the Orthodox Church: “the elite ceased to hold any fixed religious loyalty.” Davies, Norman. *God's Playground. A History of Poland*. vol. I. Clarendon Press Oxford 1981, 177.

guilds.<sup>265</sup> Yet all members were expected to attend various Roman Catholic ceremonies, which was one motivation for the Orthodox to found their own confraternities.<sup>266</sup> Confraternities such as the Vilna *bractvo* became centres of Orthodox intellectual elite and innovation. Correspondingly, after the Union of Brest, the Uniates founded their own brotherhoods. In Vilna, for instance, the two neighbouring confraternities struggled over the possession of church buildings and property. The Eastern Rite religious identity cultivated in these centres was, understandably, very much based on the defence of their respective churches and thus highly polarised. Regardless of the religious antagonism, there was considerable interaction between the two Eastern Rite Churches, indicating that they constituted one, common cultural sphere.<sup>267</sup> Daily interaction with members of different denominations inevitably shaped the identity, customs and perceptions of all citizens. City life with its interdenominational holidays, feasts, and processions, promoted a culture shared by Catholics, Orthodox, Uniates and Protestants alike.<sup>268</sup>

In the course of centuries, Ruthenian society had evolved into a characteristically “polymorphic” space that allowed for confessional, linguistic, and cultural pluralism.<sup>269</sup> This became particularly evident in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries: “[...] this elasticity of ‘cultural code’ may be explained both by an ‘immanent’ tendency – dating from the times of Kyivan [Kievan] Rus’ – to synthesise divergent traditions and, in functional terms, as a response to the threat of disintegration facing a cultural community that was not yet fully formed.”<sup>270</sup> As members of a multicultural society such as Kievan Rus’ or the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Eastern Rite Ruthenians grew to be naturally receptive and responsive to different influences. Yet as members of a politically subordinated ethnic and religious community, their flexibility was inevitably dictated by their wish to survive by adapting and assimilating to the dominating culture.

It was the atmosphere of “polymorphism” that allowed the evolution of a new type of Eastern Rite tradition in the Polish-Lithuanian lands. “It was no longer possible,” Naumow points out, “to hide one’s head in the sand and argue arrogantly that we alone are correct and that the arguments of others do not concern us at all. Instead, it was now necessary to try to learn to speak in the same language, to adapt to the situation, to resign from part of the apophatic-mystical basis of Eastern theology and turn to discursive, Scholastic theology.”<sup>271</sup> This was the cultural and ideological environment that produced church leaders such as Peter Mohyla (1596–1646), Meletij Smotryckij (c. 1577–1633), Sylvestr Kossov (d. 1657), and Kyprian Žohovskij (c. 1635–1693). It was also the environment that enabled evolution and innovation in church culture and liturgical rite.

<sup>265</sup> Котлярчук, А.С. *Праздничная культура в городах России и Белоруссии XVII века: официальные церемонии и крестьянская обрядность*. Санкт-Петербург: Российская академия наук 2001, 45.

<sup>266</sup> Kempa, Tomasz. “Stauropagic Brotherhood of Vilno and Brotherhood Monastery as the Most Important Orthodox Centre in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the End of the 16<sup>th</sup> and in the 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries.” *On the Border of the Worlds. Essays about the Orthodox and Uniate Churches in Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages and the Modern Period*. Ed. Andrzej Gil, Witold Bobryk. Siedlce-Lublin: Akademia Podlaska, Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej 2010, 85–86.

<sup>267</sup> Герасимова, И. В. “Профессиональная церковно-певческая среда Вильны XVII века и творчество композитора Николая Дилецкого.” *Вестник РАМ имени Гнесиных* № 2. 2008<sup>a</sup>, 32. [vestnikram.ru/file/gerasimova.pdf]

<sup>268</sup> Котлярчук 2001, 57.

<sup>269</sup> Yakovenko 2009, 141.

<sup>270</sup> Yakovenko 2009, 118; on the basis of Brogi Bercoff 2003, 325–387.

<sup>271</sup> Naumow 1996, 28.

# 3 Evolution of Eastern Rite Ruthenian Liturgical Tradition in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Centuries

The Ruthenian Feast of the Holy Eucharist, a Uniate adaptation of the Roman Catholic Feast of *Corpus Christi*, emerged from a society in which the Eastern Rite population had for centuries existed under the influence of the Roman Catholic culture. This long coexistence had contributed to the development of a typically Polish-Lithuanian Ruthenian identity with its ethnic, linguistic and religious characteristics. This development was also reflected in liturgical tradition which evolved significantly especially after the Union of Brest (1596). While the main focus of this chapter is on the development of the Uniate liturgy towards the Council of Zamość (1720), the analysis partly extends to the century preceding the division of the Ruthenian Eastern Rite Church. By exploring the ways in which perceptions of liturgical rite evolved in the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the chapter depicts the lack of consensus and confidence in the Ruthenian Church, which made it sensitive to pressure from outside, especially from the restored Roman Catholic Church. This sense of inferiority is seen as one of the factors leading to the Union of Brest and to consequent changes in the Ruthenian Eastern Rite. The chapter culminates in an analysis of the concrete reflections of the liturgical evolution in the late 17<sup>th</sup>-century Uniate Church, the “third rite” combining elements of the Greek and the Latin traditions, which provided the immediate context for the development of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist.

## 3.1 “CHANGING NOTHING”: RUTHENIAN PERCEPTIONS OF LITURGICAL RITE

Concerning the praise of God, and church singing, they are to be kept, performed and preserved in all matters according to the *typikon* and according to the old custom [...], and are not to be obstructed or changed in any way, for all times to come.<sup>272</sup>

This rule, given by the Hodkevič *ktitor*<sup>273</sup> family to the Monastery of Suprasl’ in 1568, summarises the general attitude toward liturgical evolution in the Eastern Rite tradition. Reluctance to change, understood as loyalty to tradition, has been a characteristic feature of Eastern religiosity since early Byzantine Christianity. In the Ruthenian Greek Rite culture, it was an ideal shared by the Uniates and the Orthodox alike. Throughout the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries, majority of documents concerning liturgical tradition, including the articles leading to the Union of Brest, underlined loyalty to the ancient Eastern tradition that was based on the idea of “changing nothing.”<sup>274</sup>

Yet, the period from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries witnessed a number of changes previously unheard of in the Eastern Rite liturgical tradition. These changes featured innovations that arose from the cultural environment of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: new practices, materials and ideas born out of the coexistence of the Eastern and the Western church traditions. Contrary to

<sup>272</sup> “[...] што ся дотычеть хвалы Божое, а справы и пѣнія церковного, тоє во всѣхъ речахъ по уставу церковному и подлугъ давного обычая [...] держано, справовано и ховано быти мает, ни въ чемъ не нарушаючи и не одмѣняючи, на всѣ потомные часы.” АСД т. 9. 1870, 59.

<sup>273</sup> A *ktitor* was an - often lay - founder-benefactor of a monastery who had notable influence on the life and order of their foundation without necessarily being ordained themselves.

<sup>274</sup> Pott 2010, 242.

the popular perception, this was not a phenomenon solely associated with the birth of the Uniate Church. Several elements of Western origin entered Ruthenian practice already during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, particularly as technical innovations.<sup>275</sup> Yet the shift of allegiance from East to West at the Union of Brest marked a radical change in circumstances that reinforced the impetus for liturgical evolution. The Latin theological tradition now formed the general frame of reference for the Uniate Church, which, in spite of its expressed desire to preserve the integrity of the Eastern Rite, was drawn into a process of change that seemed to be heading for the opposite. This evolution inevitably also involved the Orthodox Ruthenians, because they shared the same liturgical rite that was increasingly being confronted by the Latin culture.<sup>276</sup> In this sense, it can be argued that the Eastern Rite culture as a whole underwent a certain Latinisation.

The apparent inconsistency between the idea of “changing nothing” and the reality of changing considerably raises a question of the actual *concept of change* that characterised the Eastern Rite Ruthenian understanding. Was the emphasis on liturgical conservatism simply a rhetorical convention, or was the perception of change such that no contradiction was perceived to exist between the traditional ideal and the evolving practice?

Scholars of liturgy have delineated paradigms of evolution in the history of Christianity. There is a common understanding that liturgical tradition undergoes continuous change. The character of change depends on the level of intentionality: “liturgical reform” involves deliberate, planned actions, while “spontaneous evolution” is understood as imperceptible growth, in the course of which liturgical tradition is gradually modified as the expression of the particular community in the particular historical period.<sup>277</sup> The mechanism of liturgical evolution is understood as a process of adaptation, “assimilating useful elements from the modern world, after decanting, and, if necessary, purifying them,”<sup>278</sup> in order to make liturgy function in the contemporary world while always preserving what is regarded as essential.<sup>279</sup> The fluctuation of periods of active reform and gradual adaptation has been seen as a natural, organic process of liturgical renewal, provided that it operates within the tradition of the church, i.e. balancing changes against the existing practices and remaining loyal to the essence of the liturgy as the “incarnation of faith within the Christian community.”<sup>280</sup>

The concept of an organic unity between liturgy and faith lies at the core of the liturgical conservatism in the Eastern Rite tradition. Liturgical services have traditionally occupied the central place in all Eastern religious life, because they have been seen as inseparably linked with the essence of faith. As Braniște puts it, “[t]he liturgy, which is identical for all the Orthodox Churches, presents itself as the manifest and lived expression of their faith, their dogma and their doctrines, as well as their unity in one single Church. It is not possible here to distinguish between the inner essence and the external forms of the liturgy, because one is expressed by the other.”<sup>281</sup> From this perspective, the general reluctance to change liturgical practices can be seen

<sup>275</sup> The major technical innovations in Ruthenian Church culture in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century included the introduction of book printing and the adoption of staff notation in liturgical-musical practice.

<sup>276</sup> Pott 2010, 235.

<sup>277</sup> Pott 2010, 26, 80.

<sup>278</sup> Congar, Yves. “Vraie et fausse réforme dans l’Église.” *Unam Sanctam* 72. Paris 1968, 312 in Pott, Thomas. *Byzantine Liturgical Reform. A Study of Liturgical Change in the Byzantine Tradition*. Crestwood: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press 2010, 34.

<sup>279</sup> Timiadis, Emilianos. “The Renewal of Orthodox Worship.” *Studia Liturgica* 6. 1969, 103 in Pott, Thomas. *Byzantine Liturgical Reform. A Study of Liturgical Change in the Byzantine Tradition*. Crestwood: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press 2010, 65.

<sup>280</sup> Pott 2010, 79.

<sup>281</sup> Braniște, Ene. “Le culte orthodoxe devant le monde contemporain. Opinions d’un théologien orthodoxe romain.” *Societas Liturgica. Documents for Liturgical Research and Renewal* 18. 1970, 3 in Pott, Thomas. *Byzantine Liturgical Reform. A Study of Liturgical Change in the Byzantine Tradition*. Crestwood: St Vladimir’s Seminary

as motivated by more than a simple commitment to certain rituals and ceremonies: alteration in traditional liturgical expression may potentially effect changes in the dogmatic foundation of the faith.<sup>282</sup>

In contrast the Roman Catholic Church has never been characterised by a principle of uniformity in rites. The tradition encompasses different local customs, which are permitted as long as they express the fundamental truths and doctrine of the church.<sup>283</sup> Consequently, as Nowakowski points out, at the time of the Union of Brest, the Ruthenian perception of liturgical tradition represented a whole different mentality from the Roman one.<sup>284</sup> Documents from this period generally seem to indicate that the organic unity between rite and faith was well understood among the Eastern Rite Ruthenians, but that there were different views of how to best guarantee the preservation of the whole Eastern Rite tradition.

The Union of Brest marked a watershed in the liturgical tradition of the Eastern Rite Church. Liturgical uniformity was highlighted, because it was in the liturgy that opponents of the union expected most visible changes to take place. Yet the Eastern Rite tradition could hardly be characterised as uniform even prior to the union. Liturgical diversity turns out to have been a cause of concern for certain enlightened members of the Ruthenian Church in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, such as Archimandrite Sergij of the Suprasl' Monastery, who in his letter of 1536/1556 criticised the general state of the liturgical rite. Ignorance and negligence posed, in his view, a serious threat to order within the Church. Lack of uniformity in divine services was related to the absence proper clerical training, as well as to the 16<sup>th</sup> century Orthodox hierarchs' failure to oversee the general order in the Church. Towards the end of the century, the church elite's authority was increasingly questioned by lay confraternities who partly took the initiative and responsibility for the liturgical rite by publishing manuals and material for divine services. Yet lack of coordination and trust between the hierarchs and the confraternities created more confusion. Interestingly, the diversity of liturgical customs was no longer a cause for concern only because of its effect on the internal order of the Church. The changing dynamics in church relations were now reflected in a new concern for the reputation and image of the Eastern Rite Church in the eyes of others. It was with this sense of inferiority that the Ruthenians approached the union with the Roman Church.

### 3.1.1 Archimandrite Sergij's call for liturgical uniformity (1536/1556)

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Ruthenian liturgical tradition encompassed a variety of local customs and practices that had evolved around different diocesan and parochial centres. This was, in fact, a perfectly normal state of affairs in the Eastern Rite Church. The rite, in spite of being perceived as unified, has never been totally uniform. This has to do with the immense geographical distances and differences between the cultures whose liturgy is formed on the basis of the Byzantine Rite: the expression of the common faith, the divine services, had been adapted to the local culture and often also to the local language. Diversity appears in this sense as a positive sign of dynamism and creativity in the church, provided that it is rooted in the generally monolithic structure system

Press 2010, 67.

<sup>282</sup> This view of liturgical tradition reached its culmination in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Muscovite Church where, according to Tatiana Oparina, even the slightest changes in liturgical services were perceived as deviations from the true faith. This was a kind of *obrzadoverie*, faith in the rite, philosophy of the cult that found its reflection also in Ruthenian religiosity. Опаріна, Тетяна. "Сприйняття унії в Росії XVII століття." *Держава, суспільство і Церква у Україні у XVII столітті. Матеріали Других "Берестейських читань"* Львів, Дніпропетровськ, Київ, 1-6 лютого 1995 р. Ред. Борис Гудзяк, Олег Турій. Львів: Інститут Історії Церкви Львівської Богословської Академії 1996, 137; Новаковський 2005, 45.

<sup>283</sup> Griffin, P.J. "Rites". *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1913), Vol. 13. [en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic\_Encyclopedia\_(1913)/Rites]

<sup>284</sup> Новаковський 2005, 44. This can be seen, for example, in the emphasis on liturgical rite in the articles formulated by the Eastern Rite bishops as conditions to the Union in 1595. See 3.2 for a list of these articles.

of the Eastern Rite divine services. The “harmony of ceremonies and rites” under the diversity of local practices thus served as a source of unity for the church.<sup>285</sup>

Within a local Church, the Eastern Rite is practiced on the basis of an established set of rules for liturgical life that are collected into a *Typikon* (in Slavonic *Ustav*), usually a written source providing the framework for the liturgical services. The so-called neo-Sabbaites (Jerusalem) *Typikon* had been established in the Kievan Church during the 15<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>286</sup> replacing earlier practices, but it is unclear whether the uniformity of liturgical life was controlled in any centralised way. Spontaneous evolution in liturgical practices, despite being considered a natural part of renewal in church tradition, carries with it the problem of potential deviation from the course. Such processes have shaped liturgical culture throughout history. First an intentional or unintentional departure from the established tradition becomes an occasional habit, then a custom, and consequently it is defended as rooted in the tradition. It is likely that some Ruthenian local practices, passing from generation to generation, gathered around them layers of new features and meanings, which increased the diversity in liturgical ceremonies.

Certain enlightened members of the Church saw such customs as threatening the integrity of the rite. One of them was Archimandrite Sergij, *igumen* of the Suprasl' Monastery (1532–1565).<sup>287</sup> In his letter to the Kievan Metropolitan Makarij around 1536/1556,<sup>288</sup> Kimbar defended himself against accusations of changing certain liturgical practices. In his defence, he also reviewed the contemporary state of liturgical life, thus indirectly sharing his own perception of the liturgical tradition in general.

A general disorder and ignorance in Ruthenian liturgical life were recurrent points that the archimandrite raised. Liturgical diversity was, in his view, based on ignorance rather than the conscious cultivation of a local tradition. The evaluation of the liturgical knowledge of his peers was very critical: “Whereas here in Lithuania and in Rus', whatever practices they have written in the *Typika*, they do not perform them, and if they do, they do not do it as it is written but according to their own custom.”<sup>289</sup> The criticism ranged from customs of liturgical character to extra-liturgical practices,<sup>290</sup> reflecting the significance Kimbar ascribes to each detail in the service.

<sup>285</sup> Metropolitan Mohyla explained the unity in liturgy among different Eastern Rite churches in *Lithos* (1644): “Now, however, by God's mercy, the Eastern Church everywhere in the world, or among different peoples, in one faith and in a similar harmony of ceremonies and rites, praises the Lord God by celebrating the divine services.” [“Teraz jednak za łaską Bożą cerkiew Wschodnia, iako po wszystkich świecie, lubo w roznych narodach, w wierze iedney, tak w iednakiej zgodzie ceremoniami y obrządkami, swoje nabożeństwo odprawuując, Pana Boga chwali.”] *Архивъ ЮЗР* т. 1, ч. IX. 1893, 299.

<sup>286</sup> One example of the *Typikon* “of the Holy Jerusalem Lavra, of our holy Father Sabbas” has been preserved in a manuscript from the Suprasl' Monastery, dated to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. LMAB F 19-204, ff. 1–325.

<sup>287</sup> For documentation concerning Archimandrite Sergij, see *АСД* т. 9. 1870, 38, 57. Under Kimbar's guidance the Suprasl' Monastery doubled its library collection, had it fully catalogued, developed its scribal activities, and extended its buildings. Шавинская, Л.Л. *Литературная культура белорусов Подляшья XV–XIX вв.: Книжные собрания Супрасльського Благовещенского монастыря*. Минск: Институт славяноведения и балканистики РАН, Центр белорусоведческих исследований, Национальная библиотека Беларуси 1998, 34–36.

<sup>288</sup> The letter is included in *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1. т.VII. 1887, 3–15. For an introduction to the letter, see Шавинская 1998, 33–37. Concerning the question of the letter's date, see chapter 1.2.3.

<sup>289</sup> “Чого жь тутъ въ Литве и на Руси, яко колекъ нѣкая и въ типикахъ написана имуть, а ведже сътворяти техъ не сътворяють; естлижъ нѣкая изъ тѣхъ и сътворяють, но не (по) писанию, але по своему обычаю.” *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1. т.VII. 1887, 9.

<sup>290</sup> For example, “They do not know how to read the Hours or the Compline, according to the custom here, not only in the rural churches but also in the cathedrals, throughout the year as the *Typikon* prescribes, apart from the Lent. And at the *Moleben*, before ‘God is the Lord’, they conduct the Great Litany not according to the *Typikon*, but according to their own custom. [...] And they bless meat and bread in the churches, and some of them carry into the holy altar meat [...] and sometimes let cattle inside the consecrated church. And this is strictly denied and forbidden in the holy canons, not only concerning the holy altar, but that no such things are to be carried into the church, or cattle let in; [...] but according to the custom here, they do not follow this, they do not know this or even want to know. [...] And if I were to write further about all the other strange

Liturgical “choreography” is not merely a set of external practices, of secondary importance, but essential and to be performed correctly. The emphasis on liturgical customs throughout the letter implies that the neglect of the correct, organised expression of faith in the liturgy was detrimental to the church.

Archimandrite Sergij’s comments convey the frustration of an enlightened clergyman in a situation where the mainstream church tradition had in many ways grown negligent and ignorant of the rich variety that their own liturgical rite had to offer and, moreover, where people like the archimandrite himself, who relied on the written tradition of the Church, were criticised for introducing “changes” to the commonly accepted customs. He saw the need for reform in the Ruthenian liturgical tradition, not in the sense of introducing something new but of restoring the liturgy to its “original” fullness. Thus, the attitude implied in the letter was also that of a reformer: the Eastern Rite had to be preserved unblemished, but in order for this to take place, the current tradition had to be reorganised and rebuilt on the basis of the “true” tradition, regulated by the *Typikon*.

In the 1550s, when the letter was presumably written, the lack of unity within liturgical tradition did not yet raise concern for the status of the Orthodox Church among the other denominations, as would happen later in that century. Nevertheless, Archimandrite Sergij maintained that the carelessness that characterised Ruthenian liturgical customs had a dangerously disintegrative effect on the Eastern Rite. For this reason, he called for unity and new vitality that could be reached by “returning to the sources”, thus echoing a number of other reformers in the history of the Christian Church. Characteristically, he found the solution “not from Lithuania, not from Moscow”, but from the cradle of Ruthenian Orthodoxy – the Byzantine tradition:

[...] so that the common rule of the Holy Church was not fragmented, but monolithic, as it was established and canonically confirmed in those lands and monastic councils, [which came] not from Lithuania, not from Moscow, but from there, where baptism has enlightened us, and the faith in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost has grown, and devoutness is rooted, and from where the holy books have come, translated into our Slavonic language from Greek and Hellenic, and would still come, [though now] we do not have them, if care had been taken of them.<sup>291</sup>

### 3.1.2 The clergy and the hierarchs in charge of liturgical life

Liturgical diversity in Ruthenian parishes was in many ways a reflection of the level of enlightenment among their clergy. The role of the priest in a parish was predominantly that of a celebrant,<sup>292</sup>

and awful local customs in the territory of Your ecclesiastical province, Your Grace, it would take me, as the apostle, years to write.”

“Ни часовъ и павечерницъ по тутошнему обычаю не токмо въ окрестныхъ, но и въ съборныхъ церквахъ въ все годище водле повинности, яко типикъ повелеваетъ, кромъ четьредесятиницы, чести не знаютъ. И на молебнехъ предъ ‘Богъ и Господь’ великую октенью не водле типика, але по своему обычаю сътворяють. [...] И мяса и хлѣбы у церквахъ посвещаютъ, и внутрь святого олтаря нѣции и мясо [...] вносятъ, и животная скотъ во освященныя храмы нѣкогда пушаютъ. А то крѣпко въ святыхъ правилехъ отречено и запрещено не токмо у святыи олтарь таковая, но и въ церковь никако же не вносити, а ни животныхъ скотинъ упущати; [...] а по тутошему обычаю о томъ не радятъ, а ни того знаютъ, а ни хотятъ знати. [...] И далей есть ли быхъ еще къ тому странныи и вжасныи и прочии вся обычаи здѣшнии вашей милости митрополіи предѣла писати мѣлъ, постигло бы мя, по апостолу, пишуща лѣто.” *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1. т.VII. 1887, 13.

<sup>291</sup> “[...] абы съборное правило святое церкви было не пестро, але однолично, водле оныхъ странъ законного въ мнишескихъ соборехъ положеніе и утверждєніа, не отъ Литвы, а ни отъ Москвы, но оттоль, отколь намъ крещеніе процвете и вѣра, яже въ Отца и Сына и святого Духа, израсте, и благочестіе насади, и святыя книги на нашъ словєньскый языкъ изъ грѣческого и еллинскаго выложеніа изыйдоша, и еще бы и теперъ исходили, ихъ же не имама, естль бы о нихъ попечєніе было.” *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1. т.VII. 1887, 14.

<sup>292</sup> Гудзяк 2000, 87.

but the education for this task (or the lack of it) marked one of the weaknesses of the Ruthenian Church. Apart from elementary religious education in parish, monastery or confraternity schools, knowledge concerning liturgical services was transmitted from one generation to the next through practical guidance, in a kind of apprenticeship,<sup>293</sup> which naturally promoted the development of independent local traditions. Moreover, most candidates came from clerical families in which the father provided the training for his son at home.<sup>294</sup> In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, priesthood came to be regarded almost as a hereditary position, especially with the general decline of church discipline and the widespread exploitation of the clerical status: it was more beneficial to turn a parish over to a son than to leave it to another priest.<sup>295</sup>

Ruthenian priestly training had been based on practical transmission since the Middle Ages. It was a convenient system, but it provided only elementary education – most likely restricted to reading (or memorising) liturgical prayers and performing the church rites<sup>296</sup> according to the tradition that had been transmitted from the earlier generation. By the late 16<sup>th</sup> century however, the old system was clearly starting to be at a disadvantage particularly in the face of the energetic organisation of the Roman Catholic educational system. It became clear that domestic training was not sufficient for the new standards of the time.<sup>297</sup> The low level of enlightenment among the Ruthenian clergy became a standard cause for criticism by representatives of both the Orthodox Church and other churches, because, especially when compared with their often academically educated counterparts in the Roman Church, the Greek Rite priests did not seem to fulfil their pastoral responsibilities. As Prince Ostrožskij put it in 1593,

It is not for any other reason, that such laziness, drowsiness, and apostasy has increased among the people, but for the fact that the teachers have stopped, as have the preachers of the Word of God, learning and preaching have ceased; and the destruction and belittling of God's praise and His Church have begun, attentiveness to God's Word has become scarce, and through it the time of abandonment of the faith and the rite has come.<sup>298</sup>

In the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it became obvious that the Eastern Rite tradition, as well as the whole church organisation, was in need of a reform of some kind. From the perspective of liturgical practices, the inability of the clergy to improve their pastoral, catechetical and generally intellectual level was connected to another aspect of parish life. There was a dire need for liturgical material, especially for corrected, standardised resources, accompanied with the necessary rubrics for the services.

<sup>293</sup> Senyk 1987, 387.

<sup>294</sup> Senyk 1987, 388.

<sup>295</sup> Гудзяк 2000, 87. The synod of 1591 addressed this problem by declaring that priesthood should not be entered into for the sake of family tradition or heritage, and that bishops should be careful to choose only appropriate candidates and to reject any attempts at purchasing an ordination. See Жуковичъ, Т.Н. *Брестский собор 1591 года*. Санкт-Петербург 1907, 7–8.

<sup>296</sup> Senyk 1987, 389.

<sup>297</sup> The lack of adequate clerical training was a constant problem throughout the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the 1640s, the need to organise theological education, starting from the lowest orders leading to priesthood, was highlighted by the polemicist Kassian Sakovič with an exaggerated yet possibly very realistic example: "Without such schools, the bishop, when at ordination, has to say: 'This servant of God is ordained a reader or a chanter' – while the ordained cannot read, or write, or chant, but only drink..." Голубевъ, С. "Предисловіе." *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1. т.IX. 1893, 61.

<sup>298</sup> "А не отъ чого иншого розмножилося межы людьми такое лѣнивство, оспалство и отступленіе отъ вѣры, яко наболшей отъ того, ижъ устали учителя, устали проповѣдаци слова Божого, устали науки, устали казанья; а за тымъ наступило знищеніе и уменьшеніе хвалы Божое въ церквѣ его, наступилъ голодъ слуханья слова Божого, наступило за тымъ отступленіе отъ вѣры и закону." *Акты относящиеся к истории Западной Россіи, собранные и изданные Археографическою Коммиссією* [further: *АЗР*] т. 2. Санкт-Петербургъ 1851, 65.

The Eastern Rite liturgical tradition relied on written sources, biblical texts, different types of manuals, collections of prayers and hymnography, whose use was regulated by the *Typikon*. Although the established repertoire allowed minimal variation within the genre, the fact that all liturgical material was mainly available in manuscript form rather than in print throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century contributed to the diversity in liturgical practices. Liturgical manuscript tradition was characterised by a notable lack of uniformity.<sup>299</sup> Local practices in liturgical services increasingly diverged due to the absence of necessary or accurate rubrics. This was particularly problematic for the clergy who mainly relied on two manuals – *Služebnik* (Missal) and *Trebnik* (*Euchologion*), which provided the rubrics and the prayers for the Divine Liturgy, the sacraments and other offices. According to Nowakowski, up to the reformed publications by Metropolitan Mohyla in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, both manuscripts and printed editions of these manuals were characterised by numerous inconsistencies, paraliturgical and apocryphal material, and most importantly, the lack of certain necessary rituals and prayers, explanations and rubrics for practical performance.<sup>300</sup> As a result, as Golubev points out, in unclear cases the priest had to act on his own initiative, which led to an almost unlimited range of liturgical diversity.<sup>301</sup>

The 16<sup>th</sup>-century Ruthenian priest thus lacked sufficient education and guidance and could rely only on the teaching of his predecessors. Most importantly, he usually also lacked the guidance of the person who, in the eyes of the church, was in charge of him: the bishop. Liturgical discipline was in the hands of the hierarchs, who were also, according to the canonical tradition of the Eastern Church, expected to be the guardians of the purity of faith, one expression of which was the liturgical rite. In practice, especially in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, widespread corruption among the highest church elite undermined the authority of the metropolitan and bishops. Preoccupied with material things, the hierarchs often overlooked their canonical duties, allowing notable secular influence on the Church and occasionally subjecting its matters to secular courts of law.<sup>302</sup> Church leaders were predominantly appointed from the aristocracy, with or without theological education. Misuses of canonical status were numerous. The custom of appointing two holders for the same position, a bishop and a pretender, turned the church elite into a network of intrigue, bribery and abuse; there could even be warfare between different candidates. It is obvious that liturgical questions were of minor importance in these circumstances.

Due to the neglect of their duties towards their flock, the Ruthenian hierarchs saw the gradual but inevitable deterioration of the moral and spiritual state of the Kievan Metropolitanate, which made it very vulnerable against the revival movements of the West, both Reformation and Counter-Reformation. The hierarchs seemed to have remained untouched by the general restoration of the Roman Catholic Church at the Council of Trent (1545–1563), although its effects were perceived without delay in Polish-Lithuanian society. They seem not to have marked the reorganisational attempts in the Muscovite Orthodox Church, either, although the Stoglav Council (1551) addressed

<sup>299</sup> According to Charipova, the characteristics of Ruthenian manuscript tradition before the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century included “[...] first, the absence of uniformity even between two copies of the same text produced at the same time and in the same scriptorium; second, a limited set of textual elements in a manuscript codex in comparison with the printed book; and third, a restricted repertoire of genres and actual titles, which tended to be constantly reproduced.” Charipova 2006, 4.

<sup>300</sup> Новаковський 2005, 27. The customs that had become rooted in Ruthenian practice included, for example, the “communion” with blessed water during Epiphany, the prayer for the midwife as part of the pre-baptismal practices, special rubrics for the funeral of a woman, etc. Melnyk, Marek & Pilipowicz, Włodzimierz. “Teksty Piotra Mohyły” in Naumow 2002, 322.

<sup>301</sup> Голубевъ 1893, 30.

<sup>302</sup> Гудзяк 2000, 93.

many problems – including quite a number of liturgical questions – that were felt also in Ruthenian Orthodoxy.<sup>303</sup> There is no surviving record of synodal gatherings between 1509 and 1589.<sup>304</sup>

The hierarchs awoke to their canonical responsibilities only in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, mainly in reaction to the increase of lay activism in the Church. The visit of Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople served as an impulse for change. Although much can be criticised in the patriarch's manner of solving Ruthenian problems without the participation of the local bishops,<sup>305</sup> the visit nevertheless drew attention to canonical and liturgical questions. For example, the patriarch addressed the need for good order in the Church and appointed an exarch, Kirill (Terleckij) of Luck, to see that the Church allowed no more laziness among its clergy.<sup>306</sup> Moreover, he emphasised the need for high quality spiritual guidance and warned the bishops not to allow unskilled priests to hear confessions.<sup>307</sup> After the patriarch's visit, the Ruthenian hierarchs agreed to meet in annual synods with reorganisational aims. The first of these took place in 1590 in Brest and addressed certain questions of church discipline, recognising the chaotic state of the church administration and other institutions, including education.<sup>308</sup> Gudziak notes that the first synod signified the awakening of the hierarchs from a slumber that had lasted for almost a century. Apart from the bishops, the synods were to gather together representatives of monastic and parochial clergy: the archimandrites, *igumens*, and *protopresbyters* who were in charge of local priests.<sup>309</sup> Synodal decisions would thus potentially have a direct effect on liturgical life in local communities.

The second synod, held in Brest in 1591, was the most prominent among the late 16<sup>th</sup>-century councils in its readiness to take action to address issues such as liturgical practices, popular religious customs, education and publishing.<sup>310</sup> In fact, no synods which broadly represented the Church as a whole took place after it until the union and anti-union councils in Brest in 1596.<sup>311</sup> Instead

<sup>303</sup> Емченко, Е.Б. *Стоглав. Исследование и текст*. Москва: Индрик 2000. Despite the clear parallelism of their situations, the Ruthenians seem to have had no notion of the measures taken in the Muscovite Church. Лукашова, С.С. *Мирыне и церковь: религиозные братства Киевской митрополии в конце XVI века*. Москва 2006, 223 via Tymoshenko, Leonid. "Prince Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski and the "Single-Faith" Muscovy." *On the Border of the Worlds. Essays about the Orthodox and Uniate Churches in Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages and the Modern Period*. Eds. Andrzej Gil & Witold Bobryk. Siedlce-Lublin: Akademia Podlaska & Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej 2010, 141.

<sup>304</sup> The Council of 1509 concentrated on disciplinary questions concerning, for instance, the candidates for clerical office. The bishops also promised to fulfil their duties including gathering regularly in councils. No documentation of further councils has been preserved, although Gudziak notes that synodal activity may have been taken place in 1514, 1540, 1546 and 1558. Гудзяк 2000, 92–93.

<sup>305</sup> Gudziak, for example, discusses the pastoral perspective on the Patriarch's actions in the Kievian Church: in a canonical sense, the Patriarch had the right to depose Metropolitan Onisifor (due to his two earlier marriages), but by doing so without paying attention to the local bishops, or to the fact that in the Ruthenian tradition, the marriage question was not as emphasised as in Greek circles, Jeremiah brought about even more confusion in the church. Гудзяк 2000, 258–259.

<sup>306</sup> Гудзяк 2000, 261.

<sup>307</sup> Гудзяк 2000, 265.

<sup>308</sup> Interestingly, it was after this first synod that four of the hierarchs – representing Lvov, Luck, Pinsk and Chełm – approached the king for the first time with an announcement that they were ready to recognise the supremacy of the Pope in order to guarantee the integrity of the Ruthenian Church. However, the subject seems to have remained untouched in the following synod. The king reacted to the letter only in 1592. See Гудзяк 2000, 277–278.

<sup>309</sup> Гудзяк 2000, 276–277.

<sup>310</sup> Senyk 1998, 29. For a full description of the council, see Жуковичъ 1907; decrees of the council also available in *Грамота, содержащая деяния брестскаго собора 1591 года*. СПбИИ coll. 52, item 10, f. 23. Unlike in 1590, there were representatives of the laity in the second council, for example, the Castellan of Brest, Adam Potej, who in 1593 became the Bishop of Volodymyr-Brest, under the name of Ipatij. Гудзяк 2000, 279.

<sup>311</sup> A synod was planned for year 1593, but it could not be called together due to the absence of King Zygmunt III. The bishops continued to gather in smaller meetings during which, from 1593 onward, the union with Rome was discussed. Гудзяк 2000, 279, 284.

of general statements, the synod of 1591 planned concrete reforms, called together committees to oversee them, and began to look for resources in order to realise the plans. The decisions concerned church administration, elections and candidates to the priesthood and hierarchy, the rights of the lay confraternities and their schools, as well as the printing of liturgical books. In all its decisions, the synod attempted to regain the control over the Church and restore its canonical order especially with respect to the lay activism that characterised the Ruthenian Church in the last decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. However, during the hierarchs' slumber, the initiative in liturgical questions had in certain aspects been passed on to the laity.

### 3.1.3 Laity and liturgical democratisation

In the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, the Ruthenian Orthodox Church found itself in the middle of intense reformational movements that posed an immediate threat to the Eastern Rite tradition, as the position of the Ruthenian Church weakened with the exodus of elite members to the Protestant or Roman Catholic ranks. The loss of the secular patrons on whom the Church so greatly relied was a serious challenge to the existence of the Eastern Rite. However, those loyal members of the elite who remained in the old faith assumed a defender's role and participated in the revival of the Church. The most notable of them was, undoubtedly, Prince Ostrožskij who significantly contributed to the organisation of education and the publication of the Ostrog Bible (1581). Apart from founding schools, hospitals, churches and monasteries, some Ruthenian aristocrats also funded printing presses and publications of biblical books.<sup>312</sup> From the perspective of liturgical diversity, the increase in printing improved the chance of a more unified tradition. After all, although one edition of a publication could include features not found in another, the copies of one edition were nevertheless identical. A number of townspeople also participated in the common cause, and it was the confraternities that in the last years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century increasingly participated in the publication of liturgical books. Considering the general lack of uniformity that characterised liturgical manuscripts, the printing of manuals for the divine services had a potentially positive effect on liturgical uniformity.

The technical innovation which had enabled the sweeping success of the Protestant Reformation was now actively exploited in the defence and restoration of the Orthodox tradition. The introduction of book printing may generally be seen as a reflection of the reformation in the Eastern Rite Ruthenian Church, not only because the Protestants also used the technique, but because it was initiated and supported by the laity rather than the church hierarchy. This process marks an interesting change in the perception of liturgical tradition: *the increased participation of laity in the production and modification of liturgical content*. Traditionally, the responsibility for liturgical books and their reproduction had belonged to the representatives of the clergy or monastics, under the control of the bishops. Towards the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, many tasks that had previously been restricted to clerical authorities were undertaken by the Ruthenian urban population and secular elite.

The activated role of the laity in liturgical life was also reflected in the content of certain publications. In 1596, for example, the Vilna Confraternity published a collection of daily prayers (*Molitvy povesednevnye*) with traditional Eastern Rite prayers for individual use, complemented with a set of prayers to be read during the Divine Liturgy. These prayers, apparently aiming at the conscious, active participation of the laity in the service, prescribe an individual order to be followed – and pronounced – from the book, almost as a separate service performed by the

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<sup>312</sup> For example, the magnate Grigorij Hodkevič established a printing press on his estate in Zabłudov, where the Muscovite emigrant Ivan Fedorov, together with Petr Mstislavec, printed a *Homiliary Gospel* (*Евангелие учительное*) in 1569. The magnate himself wrote the preface to the following publication, *Psalter with Horologion* (*Псалтирь с Часословом* 1570). Гудзяк 2000, 141–142.

lay participant.<sup>313</sup> From the liturgical-congregational perspective, this more or less detached the faithful from the actual course of the Liturgy; but from the individual perspective, the effect was likely to be encouraging. The confraternities continued to produce material specifically aimed at the laity in the decades to come, for example, the *Poluustav* (1622) that was also titled as “the *Trebnik* for the laity.”<sup>314</sup>

Although lay publishing activity usually relied on the work of learned theologians or on translations of existing Eastern Rite texts, it was not without risk. In the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, especially in polemic discussions with the Catholics, the Ruthenians often turned to Protestant scholars for assistance, which was usually readily provided. The problem was that Protestant views on liturgical tradition, especially on the sacramental life of the Church, radically differed from those of both the Orthodox and the Catholics. An example of clear Protestant influence appeared in a letter by Prince Ostrožskij to Bishop Ipatij Potej in 1593, in which he commented on the need to “correct some things in our churches, especially regarding the Holy Sacraments and *other human inventions*,”<sup>315</sup> although in the Eastern Rite Church, the Mysteries were not regarded as products of the inconsistent human mind but as channels of the Holy Spirit. Gudziak argues that despite his role as the defender of the Eastern faith, Ostrožskij thus either unconsciously relied on Reformation rhetoric, or revealed a true wish to introduce changes in the holy Sacraments.<sup>316</sup>

The Ruthenian hierarchs eventually reacted to the active role of the laity in the printing of liturgical material in the 1590s. Whether concerned about the purity of the faith or the democratising endeavours of the confraternities which undermined the authority of the hierarchs, they tried to regain their role as the supervisors of liturgical book production. At the synod held in Brest in 1591, they granted the Vilna and Lvov confraternities permission to print books for the needs of the Church. Yet the production, funding, content and necessary corrections were to be closely controlled by the bishops and their appointees. No books were to be published without the approval of the metropolitan.<sup>317</sup> The confraternities were forbidden to print any “inventions of their own.”<sup>318</sup>

<sup>313</sup> *Молитвы повседневные* 1596. The book contains prayers for the Divine Liturgy, to be read during chants and prayers performed by the choir or the clergy. Considering their length, it is likely that the prayers kept the participant preoccupied for most of the service. These prayers were also included in several later publications, such as the *Poluustav* published by the Holy Spirit Monastery in Vilna (1695). Vavryk describes such private prayers as an example of the indigenous Ruthenian (Kievan) liturgical tradition that was later viewed with suspicion by the Muscovite Church. Ваврик, М. “А. Надсон, Беларускі релігійны твор канца XVII стог. ‘Малітвы пры святой літургіі’ 1695 г.: ‘Божым Шляхам’ 1970, ч. 5, 5-10, ч. 6, 5-9; 1971, ч. 1, 6-9, ч. 2, 5-7.» *Analecta OSBM, Series II, Sectio II, Vol. VIII, Fasc. 1-4*. Romae 1973, 464. Interestingly, they were preserved in the use of those Eastern Rite (Uniate) Ruthenians that lived under the Austrian rule after the partitions of Poland in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. See, for example, a prayerbook published in 1900 in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, *Молитвенникъ или собраніе найбілье нужныхъ молитвъ и пьсенъ церковныхъ ...* Сост. Евгений Фенцикъ. Въ Оунгварѣ: Изданіе М. Лейвая 1900, 94–134.

<sup>314</sup> “Требникомъ мирскихъ людей тытулемъ, и всим, яко всимъ обще и каждому з особна потребнымъ, залячаемъ.” (“We call it a *Trebnik* for the lay people, and recommend to all, as to all in general and to each individually necessary.”) *Полуустав или Требник*. Вильно: Братская типография 1622, 3.

<sup>315</sup> “Potrzeba też poprawić niektóre rzeczy w cerkwiach naszych, a zwłaszcza około Sakramentów i innych wymysłów ludzkich.” *Documenta Unionis Berestensis eiusque auctorum (1590-1600)*. Ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj. Romae 1970, 24 via Гудзяк 2000, 283 (italics mine). As Gudziak notes, the reference to the sacraments as human inventions appears only in the Polish version of the letter, while the Ruthenian text does not mention the sacraments. *Ibid.* For the Ruthenian text, see also *A3P* т.2. 1851, 66.

<sup>316</sup> Гудзяк 2000, 283-284. Galadza, however, associates the comment with the low level of enlightenment in Ruthenian liturgical life in general, characterised by “human inventions” in its customs. Галадза 1997, 9.

<sup>317</sup> The commission established for the correction of liturgical texts for printing consisted of Bishop Kirill (Terleckij), the provisor of the Kievan Caves Monastery, Nikifor (Tur), and the *Protopresbyter* of Grodno, Nestor. Жуковичь 1907, 11–13.

<sup>318</sup> Жуковичь 1907, 10.

By controlling liturgical publications, the hierarchs also wished to control liturgical life in general in the confraternity churches. On the practical level however, the diversity in liturgical customs continued to evolve. For example, Father Ioann Parfenovič, the metropolitan's representative, complained that two priests of the Vilna Confraternity had introduced some changes to the baptism and marriage ceremonies in 1592. "We have reminded these confraternity priests," he writes,

that they should not introduce new unc customary ceremonies to the Church of God [...], so that the good Christian people, as well as those of another faith, who have been invited to the wedding, would not get new topics to talk about, so that our spiritual matters would not be subjected to ridicule and slander, and that there would be no disagreement in church matters between us, and that there would be no differences in the wedding ceremony [...] according to the church, day, or service [...].<sup>319</sup>

The letter reflects the concern over the lack of liturgical uniformity in different churches. What is worth noting is the new perspective on the state of liturgical life: unlike Archimandrite Sergij, for instance, who was concerned about the disintegrative effect of liturgical diversity *within* the Church, Parfenovič condemns changes in the rite because they would undermine the authority of the Eastern Church *in the eyes of the others*. The lack of discipline and uniformity in liturgical practices was thus understood as harmful not only to the Church itself, but to the general image of the Eastern Rite in society.

The evolution of perspectives on liturgical tradition obviously reflects the gradual change in the position of the Eastern Rite Church in Polish-Lithuanian society. In the early decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, characterised by relative peace and tolerance in church relations, liturgical diversity and ignorance were matters mainly concerning the Church itself. The situation changed when the Reformation challenged established church traditions. The Eastern Rite Church had to become more organised, its liturgical tradition needed to be more unified, in order to survive the challenge and preserve its authority. The lack of consensus about the means and leaders of the reorganisation, however, resulted in its further division, while at the same time, the Roman Catholic Church appeared as revitalised and authoritative, superior in its organisation, enlightenment and external brilliance.

### 3.2 LITURGICAL REFLECTIONS OF THE UNION OF BREST (1596)

The Union of Brest was entered into with the conviction that the Eastern Rite would remain unchanged for all times to come. In their negotiations prior to the union, the Ruthenian bishops had emphasised the priority of this question: no changes were to be introduced to the ceremonies and divine services of the Greek Rite Church.<sup>320</sup> The articles formulated by the hierarchs in 1595 as conditions to the union highlighted the importance of the preservation of the rite – ten articles out of thirty-three dealt with liturgical practices:

2) That the divine worship and all prayers and services of Orthros, Vespers, and the night services shall remain intact (without any change at all) for us according to the ancient custom of the Eastern Church, namely: the Holy Liturgies of which there are three, that of Saint Basil, that of Saint Chrysostom, and

<sup>319</sup> "[...] наминаль есми тыхъ священниковъ братскихъ, абы они новыхъ незвычайныхъ церемоний до церкви Божьей не вносили [...] жебы тымъ зацнымъ добрымъ людемъ хрестиянскимъ, такъ тежъ и иноврцомъ на тое веселье прошенымъ абы ся то не здало на рѣчь новую: за чимъ абы посмѣвиско и уруганье справамъ нашимъ духовнымъ не росло, и незгода въ справахъ церковныхъ абы намъ не была причитана, а розность въ отправанью вѣнчанья [...] въ одной церкви, одного дня, и одного набоженства людемъ абы не была [...]" § 41, АЗР т. 4. Санкт-Петербург 1851, 60.

<sup>320</sup> Галадза 1997, 2. There seems to have been a general consensus over this question. Prince Ostrožskij wrote in his letter to Ipatij Potej in 1593: "Firstly, that we should remain complete in all rites of our own, as the Eastern Church has them" ["Напервѣй, абыхмо при всихъ обрядахъ своихъ, яко церковь Восточная держить, въ-цалѣ zostали." ] АЗР т. 2. 1851, 65.

that of Epiphanius [*sic*] which is served during Great Lent with Pre-sanctified Gifts, and all other ceremonies and services of our Church, as we have had them until now, for in Rome these same services are kept within the obedience of the Supreme Pontiff, and that these services should be in our own language.

3) That the Mysteries of the Most Holy Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ should be retained entirely as we have been accustomed until now, under the species of bread and wine; that this should remain among us eternally the same and unchangeable.

4) That the Mystery of Holy Baptism and its form should remain among us unchanged as we have served it until now, without any addition.

6) We will accept the new calendar, if the old one cannot be, but without any violation of the Paschalia and our other feasts as they were in the time of unity, because we have some special feasts which the Romans do not have; on the sixth of January we celebrate the memory of the Baptism of the Lord Christ and the first revelation of the One God in Trinity. We call this feast *Theophany*, and on this day we have a special service of the Blessing of Waters.

7) That we should not be compelled to take part in processions on the day of Corpus Christi – that we should not have to make such processions with our Mysteries inasmuch as our use of the Mysteries is different.

8) Likewise that we should not be compelled to have the blessing of fire, the use of wooden clappers, and similar ceremonies before Easter, for we have not had such ceremonies in our Church until now, but that we should maintain our ceremonies according to the rubrics and the Typicon of our Church.

22) That the Romans should not forbid us to ring bells in our churches on Good Friday, both in the cities and everywhere else.

23) That we should not be forbidden to visit the sick with the Most Holy Mysteries, publicly, with lights and vestments, according to our rubrics.

24) That without any interference we might be free to hold processions, as many as required, on holy days, according to our custom.

31) And when the Lord God by His will and holy grace shall permit the rest of our brothers of the Eastern Church of the Greek tradition to come to the holy unity with the Western Church, and later in this common union and by the permission of the Universal Church there should be any change in the ceremonies and Typicon of the Greek Church, we shall share all this as people of the same region.<sup>321</sup>

For those in favour of the union with Rome, it was a vision of protection provided by the better-disciplined Catholic Church that motivated them: by obtaining the guarantee from the Pope that the Eastern Rite would remain unchanged, the rite would be spared the Latinisation that was increasingly influencing the Ruthenian culture through cultural Polonisation.<sup>322</sup> However, the receiving party, the Roman Catholic Church, viewed the Eastern Rite from a different perspective. Restored and revitalised by the Council of Trent (1545–1563), the Catholic Church approached other denominations as missionary objects, in order to bring them within the one, true Church outside which there was no salvation.<sup>323</sup> In the post-Tridentine atmosphere, the Latin Rite became accordingly highlighted as superior to other rites.<sup>324</sup>

<sup>321</sup> 33 Articles Concerning Union With the Roman Church. [[www.archeparchy.ca/documents/history/Union%20of%20Brest.pdf](http://www.archeparchy.ca/documents/history/Union%20of%20Brest.pdf)]

<sup>322</sup> Новаковський 2005, 30.

<sup>323</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup>-century formulation “*Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*” was used in reference to the Roman Catholic Church already before the 16<sup>th</sup> century, for example, in the profession of faith of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). At the Council of Florence (1442), it was applied to the Coptic Christians: “All those who are outside the Catholic Church, not only pagans but also Jews or heretics and schismatics, cannot share in eternal life and will go into the everlasting fire.” *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, I, ed. Norman P. Tanner. London 1990, 578 via Senyk 1998, 1–2.

<sup>324</sup> The principle of the superiority of the Latin Rite, *praestantia ritus latini*, formulated the Roman policy toward other rites. This policy called for the centralisation and unification of other traditions according to the Latin

According to Nowakowski, both the Kievan and the Roman authorities seemed to miss the fundamental contradiction that existed in the idea of preserving the Eastern liturgical rite while turning to the Western spiritual tradition and Roman theology.<sup>325</sup> Subordination to the Roman Church, he argues, *gradually but inevitably signified conforming to the Roman Catholic doctrine*.<sup>326</sup> This argument is of central importance in the analysis of the liturgical evolution. If we look at it from the perspective of “liturgical equilibrium,”<sup>327</sup> which seeks to maintain the balance between faith and its forms of expression, we might suggest that once the Ruthenian Uniates recognised the supremacy of the Roman Church and began to move closer theologically to the Latin doctrinal tradition, liturgical expression was also bound to lean toward the Latin Rite. In contrast it could be suggested that familiarisation with the liturgical customs of the Latin Church also paved the way for gradual conformity with their theological tradition.

In their support for the church union, the Ruthenian Uniates sought to protect their own liturgical tradition. However, as Huculak points out, the union consequently “opened the door to the Western world, a world of Protestant reform and Catholic restoration.”<sup>328</sup> In post-Tridentine ecclesiology, the idea that the Latin tradition was superior gradually permeated the Ruthenian religious identity, Uniate as well as Orthodox, and became reflected in liturgical rite. This can indeed be seen as an inevitable process, since it was the Latin Church that set the cultural standards of the society. In order to survive, the Eastern Rite had to evolve. The reforms introduced by the Orthodox Metropolitan Mohyla serve as good examples of the inevitability of change. At the same time, however, both Eastern Rite churches struggled to convince each other that they preserved what was considered quintessential to the Eastern tradition – the integrity of the liturgical rite.

### 3.2.1 The supposed inferiority of the Greek Rite

Already on the eve of the union, doubts arose about the actual consequences of subordinating to Rome. The idea of “liturgical equilibrium” was reflected in several anti-union arguments: it was feared that the recognition of the Roman supremacy would eventually lead to the Latinisation of the Eastern Rite. The image of the threat was not only fuelled by the ideal of “changing nothing”, but it was likely to be perceived as quite realistic in view of the treatment of the Eastern Rite in Catholic polemic works in the past century. In their polemic works, Roman Catholic authors such as Jan Sacranus,<sup>329</sup> Benedykt Herbest,<sup>330</sup>

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model. Новаковський 2005, 46, 48.

<sup>325</sup> Новаковський 2005, 46.

<sup>326</sup> Новаковський 2005, 48. This is also noted by Senyk: “[The Ruthenian hierarchs] did not grasp how different was the structure and the underlying theology of the Latin Church and that, once submitted to it, their own Church would be drawn into that structure and would be bound to conform to that ecclesiology.” Senyk 1998, 9.

<sup>327</sup> Braniște 1970, 3 in Pott 2010, 68.

<sup>328</sup> Huculak 1990, 31.

<sup>329</sup> Sacranus, “Jan of Oświęcim,” presented his reflections on the Eastern Rite in a polemic pamphlet “*Elucidarius errorum ritus Ruthenici*” (1501–1502). His arguments arose from the situation following the 15<sup>th</sup>-century Union of Florence which had suggested the equality between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches and threatened the privileged position of the Catholic hierarchs in the Ruthenian lands. Sacranus reacted against certain Ruthenians who dared to claim that the Eastern Rite and its sacraments were correct and valid; in his opinion, the Ruthenians should be subjected to conversion to the Catholic faith through rebaptism. He counted 40 points of difference between the Orthodox and Catholic faiths, some of which were fictional, for example, the claim that the Orthodox had formulated theological grounds for killing Catholics. Гудзяк 2000, 78–80.

<sup>330</sup> Benedykt Herbest (1531–1593), a Jesuit of Ruthenian origin, saw the union between the Rus’ and Rome as possible only through the conversion of the Ruthenians and the unification of the rites, i.e., the adoption of the Latin Rite. In his polemic work *Wiary Kościoła rzymskiego wywody i greckiego niewolstwa historyja* (1586), he wrote: “God took everything away from the Greeks and, at the same time, from the Rus’ as well. They do not have the memory to learn the Lord’s Prayer and the Creed; they do not have understanding to see salutary matters; they do not have sufficient good will to live in a proper manner. They kill the souls of infants when

Antonio Possevino<sup>331</sup> and Peter Skarga<sup>332</sup> had questioned the validity of the Eastern Rite and envisaged the future union quite unanimously as the conversion of the Ruthenians to the Latin tradition in all aspects – faith, rite and liturgical language.

Polemics that claimed the invalidity of the Eastern Rite sacraments obviously undermined confidence that the future union would protect the integrity of the Greek Rite. Even the head of the Ruthenian Church, Metropolitan Rogoza, seemed to initially consider Latinisation as inevitable. In his letter to the *voivode* of Novogrudok in 1595, Rogoza explained that he was not inclined to join the union because he was too old to learn the “new ceremonies and practices of the Roman Church” and since he knew no Latin, he would not be able to celebrate with Roman Catholic priests.<sup>333</sup> Similar pessimism characterised the opponents of the union who saw that the Eastern Rite was compromised almost immediately after Bishops Potej and Terleckij gave their subordination to the Pope in December 1595. Prince Ostrožskij, protesting against the union at the *Sejm* in May 1596 mentioned that the two bishops had already “brought unduly some new things that did not exist in our religion, to our liturgy.”<sup>334</sup> Unfortunately, he did not specify which changes were in question. According to Galadza, there is little evidence that any liturgical innovations took place during that period.<sup>335</sup> It is, however, possible that opponents of the union reacted to the public declarations of amity between the two bishops and the Roman Church. For example, Bishop Terleckij was reported to have sung the hymn of thanksgiving *Te Deum laudamus* in a Catholic Church right after his return to Luck, to thank God for the successful visit to Rome.<sup>336</sup> The place chosen for the thanksgiving was likely to be perceived as unc customary.

The act of union was finalised in October 1596 at a council in Brest, and the celebration of its conclusion featured joint ceremonies, including a procession with the Holy Gifts from the Orthodox to the Roman Catholic Church as a sign of the newly sealed unity.<sup>337</sup> Were the differences and past antagonisms truly annulled by the union? Some seemed to hope this was possible. Yet full equality between the two rites, which had once been proclaimed at the Council of Florence (1431–1449), was no longer realistic in the post-Tridentine Roman Catholic context. The Roman understanding of the union differed profoundly from that of the Ruthenians. By formulating conditions for their submission, the Ruthenian bishops had assumed that they could negotiate with Rome for the

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it comes to sacraments. They do not have episcopal anointment. They do not know the meaning of an orderly absolution. They fall into idolatry when it comes to the body of Christ. They fall into obvious adultery when it comes to the sacrament of marriage.” *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.VII. 1887, 237. Translation from Ševčenko 1996, 138. See also Гудзяк 2000, 112; Stradomski 2003, 26.

<sup>331</sup> Antonio Possevino (1534–1611), the chief Jesuit missionary to Muscovy, pictured the eventual church union in a manuscript version of his book (1587), mentioning that initially, the Ruthenians were to be allowed to serve in Church Slavonic or in Greek, but that gradually they should be encouraged to abandon their rite and move closer to the Latin Rite, which they could do by first conforming to the ancient and lawful customs of the Greek. Галадза 1997, 5.

<sup>332</sup> Peter Skarga (1536–1612), whose *O jedności Kościoła Bożego* (*On the Unity of God's Church* 1577) initiated the first substantial wave of union-related polemics, distinguished 19 mistakes in the rite of the Rus' and pointed out three reasons for the lack of perspective on salvation in the Orthodox Church, namely, clerical marriage, the significant role of the laity, and the Church Slavonic language. Stradomski 2003, 34, 122.

<sup>333</sup> *Documenta Unionis Berestensis eiusque auctorum* (1590–1600) 1970, 127 via Галадза 1997, 2.

<sup>334</sup> “[...] із двай Владыковие, Пociey Влодзимierski y Cyryl Terlecki Lucki [...] iachawszy do obcego państwa... poddali, y za starszego sobie inszą osobę przyznali, y niektore nowe rzeczy, w religiey naszey niebywale, do naszego nabożeństwa nienależnie ztamtąd przynieśli.” *Supplementum Synopsis z Manifestatią y Revelatią* by the Confraternity of Vilna in 1632. *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.VII. 1887, 586.

<sup>335</sup> Галадза 1997, 3.

<sup>336</sup> The event was reported in a complaint by the nephew of the Bishop of Lvov, Grigorij Balaban, on 17 March 1596: “... бискупъ Луцкій въ костеле Римскомъ спевалъ те Деумъ ляддамусъ, по нашему молебень, фалечи Господа Бога, ижъ владыкове Луцкій и Володимерскій приехали въ добромъ здоровью и шпaсливе, съ потехами зъ Риму.” *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.I. 1859, 480.

<sup>337</sup> Halecki 1958, 381.

preservation of the Eastern Rite. From the Roman perspective, salvation (which was possible only within and through the rites of the Catholic Church) was hardly a matter of bargaining. Rome officially neither rejected nor affirmed the conditions. In his bull *Magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis* (23 December, 1595), Pope Clement VIII agreed on the preservation of Ruthenian practices and ceremonies *as long as* they did not collide with the truth and knowledge of the Catholic faith.<sup>338</sup> As Galadza points out, the Ruthenian bishops were very naïve in interpreting this promise as a guarantee for the preservation of their own rite “for ever”.<sup>339</sup> The Eastern Rite was now permitted, and the variety of church rites that the Eastern tradition brought to the union was to be tolerated – consequently, the Greek Rite owed its legitimacy to the confirmation of Rome, which, at least in theory, could also be annulled.

Thus, contrary to expectation, the union did not pave the way for equality between the two rites but placed the Eastern Rite faithful in a clearly inferior position. In Roman eyes, this inferiority was a simple fact and the adoption of the Latin Rite was thus inevitable. This can be noted, for example, in the investigation that the Catholic theologian and member of the Roman Inquisition, Juan Zaragoza de Heredia, conducted on the Ruthenian hierarchs’ *Articles of the Union*. He argued that adherence to the Catholic Church had to be unconditional, because it provided the exclusive means for salvation.<sup>340</sup> Zaragoza saw it as essential for the Ruthenians to adopt certain Latin customs without delay, for example, processions with the Holy Gifts, in order to denounce the Protestant influence that in his view characterised Ruthenian Orthodoxy. Moreover, he declared it imperative that the Ruthenians pronounce *Filioque* in the Creed, because it was a dogmatic matter and not simply an external expression of faith.<sup>341</sup>

These opinions were not articulated openly in public. On the contrary, Rome remained notably passive in questions of Ruthenian liturgical practices. The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, founded in 1622), which was in charge of the establishment and defence of the Catholic faith among Ruthenians, was involved as the authority granting permissions to some innovations but most commonly rejecting the Latin-inspired initiatives in Ruthenian liturgical life. Thus, contrary to the popular belief, there were no direct measures taken by Rome in order to “Latinise” the Ruthenian Uniate tradition. Instead, Rome seemed to officially support the maintenance of the Eastern Rite, because it did not wish to repel the Orthodox Ruthenians (and, potentially, the Muscovites) further from the idea of the union.<sup>342</sup>

From the very beginning however, the inequality between the Eastern and the Western Rite created a strong underlying pressure for the Uniates to conform to the Latin tradition.

<sup>338</sup> This aspect was recurrently emphasised in official documents from Rome to representatives of the Ruthenian Church. In 1615, for example, Pope Paul V wrote to Metropolitan Ruts’kij: “In effecting the union there was and is no plan, intention, or will on the part of the Roman Church [...] to abolish or destroy all holy rites and ceremonies which the Ruthenian bishops and clergy use in divine services, in the most holy Eucharist, in the performance of other sacraments, and in other holy rituals, according to the decision of the holy Greek fathers, that is, *as long as they are not opposed to the truth and teaching of the Catholic faith and do not break unity with the Roman church.*” *Leo Krevza’s A Defense of Church Unity and Zaxarija Kopystensk’ky’s Palinodia. Texts*. Transl. Bohdan Strumiński. Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature English Translations, Vol. III. Part 1. Harvard University Press 1995, 132–133 (emphasis mine).

<sup>339</sup> Галадза 1997, 3–4.

<sup>340</sup> Huculak 1990, 29; Senyk 1998, 44.

<sup>341</sup> *Documenta Unionis Berestensis eiusque auctorum (1590–1600)* 1970, 194–195 via Галадза 1997, 6. The use of *Filioque* was indeed a question of great doctrinal importance. Since the Schism of 1054, the word had functioned as a kind of “password” opening and closing doors between the Eastern and the Western churches. By recognising the supremacy of the Roman Church and the Pope, the Ruthenians were generally expected to comply with the Roman Catholic Creed. However, until the 1660s, the *Filioque* seems to have been used in the Creed only by some individuals, such as Bishop Gedeon Brolnickij in 1601 and Metropolitan Antoni Seljava (1641–1655) some decades later. See Гуцуляк 2004, 299–300.

<sup>342</sup> Pott 2010, 241–242.

This pressure extended to the Orthodox Ruthenians, because it challenged the Eastern Rite in general, not simply on the level of liturgical customs, but also on the level of religious identity. For centuries, as discussed in the previous chapter, the Greek Rite had evolved in the embrace of the Roman Catholic culture and managed to preserve its integrity, while adapting to certain features of the Western culture. Towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the position of the Eastern Rite in society became increasingly challenged and with it, Ruthenian confidence in their own tradition weakened. The ridicule with which the Greek Rite was treated in polemic writings, daily interaction, or in the course of education provided at the Jesuit institutions, had a seriously destructive influence on the Eastern Rite identity.<sup>343</sup> As Pott notes, the situation was bound to have repercussions in the liturgy, although this was exactly what the supporters of the union had hoped to prevent.<sup>344</sup>

Consciously or unconsciously, many Ruthenians conformed to the Latin ecclesiological view of the Eastern Rite as indeed inferior. The sense of inferiority involved even certain Ruthenian hierarchs who came to view Latin practices as exemplary, as opposed to their own tradition.<sup>345</sup> The old liturgical tradition was eagerly defended against any changes, yet at the same time it was argued to lack the prospect of salvation. For example, one of the main propagators of the union, Bishop Potej, declared in 1595 that under the Roman Church, the Eastern Rite would survive unchanged and, moreover, would *become a channel for salvation, for there was no salvation outside the Catholic Church*.<sup>346</sup> In the same spirit, Iosif Veljaminev Ruts'kij later noted that only the submission

<sup>343</sup> See, for example, the complaint by the Basilian Father Petr Kaminskij in 1685 about the attitude of the Latin Rite Catholics towards Eastern Rite Ruthenians: "[...] they want to eradicate everything that the Rus' has, its rite and ceremonies. Just listen, at schools, how they incite the Latin youth against Ruthenian people, what sort of mockery there is of the Uniates themselves. When they laugh, they laugh at a Rusyn [...]. Others conceal the fact that they are Ruthenians and, having changed their name, move to foreign countries. And what kind of blasphemy they spread in the divine services! They do not refer to [Eastern Rite] churches with other names than *božnica*; if possible, they make fun of church objects in their comedies; they shout "Gospodi pomiluj" at the clergy in the street, and call them peasants, and throw stones at them. And all this is the fruit of good school education. And although they do not publically, for the fear of scandal rather than out of some pretended respect, censure the Liturgy, nevertheless they do not let the Ruthenian students attend the [Eastern Rite] Liturgy, but tell them to attend their own services; and if they do not, they give them a beating, so that later one wishes to change his rite. And the priests come to the [Eastern Rite] church and during the major services and feasts build themselves altars there, causing great disturbance to the Greek Rite service, so that occasionally the Greek clergy cease to chant out of despair. And the Lords Uniates [presumably meaning the bishops] are completely under the Roman clergy. Just try to disagree with them in a minor detail, and they call you a schismatic. To conclude, in order for the Rus' to become Polish, they turn [Eastern Rite] churches into Latin. There is no other reason, but perhaps [the fact] that the unity is holy. If one says something, he is turned into a rebel, a Cossack, and his life becomes uncertain..." ("[...] все, що Русь має, обряд і церемонії, все бажають викоренити. Прислухати ся в школах, як латинську молодіж против руського народа юдять, яке там глузованє з самих же унійтів. Коли посьміяти ся, то над Русином. Інші криють ся з тим, що вони Русини, і забирають ся в чужі краї, позмінювавши прізвища. А що за богохульства висипують на богослуженє! Церкви инакше, як божницею, не називають; як можна, то і з опаратів на комедиях сьміхи творять; по улицях за духовними "Господи помилуй" кричать, і хлопами називаючи їх, камінем за ними кидають. І все воно - овоч гарної шкільної науки. А хоч публично, не з обави скандалу, як радше задля якоїсь удаваної пошани, не ганять Літургії, то все таки студентів Русинів на Літургії не пускають, але кажуть їм бувати на своїх богослуженях; коли не буде, то йому різками дадуть, так що й волить потім змінити обряд. А ксьондзи до церков заходять, та підчас найбільших богослужень і празників вівтарі там собі фундують з великим замішанєм грецького богослуження, так що часом грецькі духовні з одчаю опускають свої співаня. Так то панове унійти зовсім у неволи римських ксьондзів. І нехай би тільки в найменшій їм не догоджено, зараз охрестять схизматиком. Вкінці, щоб Русь ставала ся Поляками, церкви и них на костели відбирають. Іншої рації нема, хиба та, що єдність сьвята. Коли сказав хто що-не-будь, то зроблять його бунтівником, козаком, та що й життя буде непевний [...]") Шурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 204.

<sup>344</sup> Pott 2010, 234.

<sup>345</sup> Senyk 1994, 581.

<sup>346</sup> Новаковський 2005, 77.

to the Roman Church could guarantee both the preservation of the liturgical rite *and* salvation.<sup>347</sup> Gradually some came to see the Eastern Rite as leading to an entirely opposite direction. An *igumen* of an Orthodox monastery in Kiev, Teodor Skuminovič, “shook off the dust of disunity” by joining the Latin Rite in 1643 because he doubted that salvation could be reached through the Eastern Rite, even to the extent that he doubted the validity of his priesthood and thus felt committing sin every time he celebrated an Eastern Rite Liturgy or other office.<sup>348</sup> Reflections of such ideas can be found throughout the decades following the union.

It goes without saying that conformity to the idea of Eastern Rite inferiority constituted a profound change in the understanding of the connection between rite and faith: *the liturgy risked becoming something external, preserved only for the sake of tradition, while true faith existed only in the Catholic Church*. As an external expression, many things traditionally associated with the rite could be seen as changeable as far as they did not constitute an article of faith. The Eastern Rite calendar was one of the most widely discussed questions. Bishop Potej justified the possible adoption of the Gregorian calendar in the Eastern Rite practice by explaining in 1595 that “it is not an article of faith but such a ceremony that the Church of God can change without troubling her conscience.”<sup>349</sup> Correspondingly, opponents of the union emphasised strict adherence to the traditional customs of the Greek Rite. In reference to the increased sensitivity around liturgical customs, the Uniate Metropolitan Iosif Rutskij later remarked in his *Sowita wina* (1621) that “some people are so attached to the church rites that they rely on them for their entire salvation.”<sup>350</sup>

### 3.2.2 Liturgical integrity in the struggle for legitimacy

In the aftermath of 1596, the opponents of the union awaited changes in the Uniate liturgical life to justify their opposition: visible signs of the new Roman allegiance would have “clarified” the highly confusing situation by clearly polarising the Eastern Rite cultural sphere. There was no lack of accusations concerning Latinising measures, directed especially at Ipatij Potej, who became the Metropolitan of the Uniate Kievan Church in 1600. Signs of Latinisation in the Eastern Rite customs were reported and refuted especially during struggles over church property or authority. In the Holy Trinity Monastery of Vilna, for example, Metropolitan Potej and his choice for the archimandrite, Iosif Rutskij, wrestled with the existing archimandrite, Samuil Senčillo. In 1608, the metropolitan’s side was accused of wanting to alter the Orthodox faith and its rites to a “Roman form”, for example, by welcoming Jesuits and Carmelites to the Holy Trinity Monastery<sup>351</sup> and publishing books that aimed at the full Latinisation of the Eastern Church,<sup>352</sup> while the opponents

<sup>347</sup> Новаковський 2005, 77.

<sup>348</sup> Skuminowicz, Teodor. *Przyczyny porzucenia disuniej...* Wilno 1643 via *The Pontifical Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom*. Ed. Ceslaus Sipovič. London: The Francis Skaryna Byelorussian Library and Museum 1978, 129–131.

<sup>349</sup> “[...] тотъ не есть артыкулъ вѣры але церемонія такая, которую безъ нарушенія сумнѣнія церковь божая отмѣнити можетъ.” *Documenta Unionis Berestensis eiusque auctorum* (1590–1600). Ed. Athanasius G. Welykyj. Romae 1970, 77 via Галадза 1997, 2. In spite of the heated polemic discussions over the calendar, the Uniates continued to use the Julian calendar in their liturgical practice.

<sup>350</sup> “Niektorzy do obrządkow cerkiewnych tak są przywiązani, że w tych samych wszystko swoje zbawienie pokładają.” *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.VII. 1887, 507.

<sup>351</sup> “[...] они вѣру Православную Церкви Светое Восточное и вси обрядки ее въ нивошто обернути а на рымский кшталтъ превратити умыслили, хотечы до манастира езуитовъ впровадити [...]” *АСД* т.6. 1869, 113; “А хотечи тую звирхность папешскую досконале впровадити [...] езуитовъ и кармелитовъ до того монастыря Святое Троицы впровадилъ.” *АСД* т.6. 1869, 126.

<sup>352</sup> Archimandrite Senčillo names *Harmonia* (1608) by Potej as one example of the published books that promoted the Roman Church among the Ruthenians, and as another, a book of 12 articles to be adopted by the Eastern Rite Church. The articles include points such as *Filioque*, the decrees of Florentine and Tridentine Councils, the use of leavened or unleavened bread, in one or two species, at the Eucharist, purgatory, papal primacy, the Roman redaction of the Bible, the Latin sacramental teaching, the equality between the Eastern Rite Divine Liturgy and the Latin Mass, the indulgences of Holy Years, and salvation as possible only within

were blamed by Senčillo's side for mingling with "heretics and schismatics" and wanting to hand the monastery over to the Orthodox.<sup>353</sup> Yet it appears that few, if any, concrete changes actually took place in liturgical life at that time.<sup>354</sup> In a polemic from the same year, the Orthodox hierodeacon Leontij interprets the *absence* of immediate Latinisation as another proof of the deceitful way that the "kryvoveryni" ("of the twisted faith") were trying to lure the "pravovernyi" ("of the right faith")<sup>355</sup> into the union:

everything, [they] say, is celebrated in the old way at us: we ring the bells, read, chant, speak, incense, serve, bury just like you do, changing nothing nor adding any heresies, as we have been told by the patriarchs. Thus, in a subtle way, they prey upon the Orthodox [here: "those of the right faith"] who are uncertain in their faith.<sup>356</sup>

Nevertheless, it seems that during the first decade after the union, the Uniates were energetically trying to grasp the extent of their new religious "space". Whether motivated by a lack of confidence in their own tradition, or by a feeling of fraternal unity with Rome, they manifested the union by participating in the life of the Roman Catholic Church, its feasts, processions and other popular events in the Lithuanian cities. Hierodeacon Leontij reported the "heresies" that these explorations constituted: according to him, for example, the Uniates had begun to celebrate the Latin feasts in Roman Catholic churches, to participate in processions and the so-called Holy Years, they also venerated St Casimir,<sup>357</sup> used *azymes* (unleavened bread) in the Eucharist,<sup>358</sup> buried members of the Latin Rite, and allowed children (most likely, pupils at the Jesuit schools) to go to Catholic Confession.<sup>359</sup> As Galađza points out, the picture drawn here of the liturgical life of the new Uniate Church reveals little actual changes in the Eastern Rite liturgical practices but mainly points the fact that besides maintaining their own tradition, the Uniates had also begun to participate in the Roman Catholic liturgical life.<sup>360</sup> This, of course, can be seen as a foundation for further inter-ritual participation.

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the Roman Catholic Church. АСД т.6. 1869, 126.

<sup>353</sup> "[...] явне зъ геретиками и схизматыками общуючи [...] многие знаки зъ себе подавалъ, же церковь Светое Троицы до рукъ схизматыкомъ подати хотѣлъ." АСД т.6. 1869, 123.

<sup>354</sup> Дмитриев, М.В. "Уния и порожденные ею конфликты в осмыслении лидеров униатского лагеря." *Брестская уния 1596 г. и общественно-политическая борьба на Украине и в Белоруссии в конце XVI – первой половине XVII в. Часть II. Брестская уния 1596 г. Исторические последствия события.* Москва: Индрик 1996, 87.

<sup>355</sup> *Акты относящиеся к истории Южной и Западной России* [further: *Акты ЮЗР*] т. 2. Санкт-Петербург 1865, 273 via Galađza 1997, 7.

<sup>356</sup> "[...] все, мовлять, по старому въ церкви въ нас отпраується: якоже и у васъ, звонимъ, читаемъ, поемъ, кажемъ, кадимъ, служимъ, погребаемъ, ни въ чомъ не ничего не отмѣняючи, ани жадное ереси не придаючи, якъ насъ помовляють патріаршане. Так ловять правовѣрныхъ у вѣрѣ неутвержденныхъ суптелие." *Сочинение іеродіакона печерскаго монастыря Леонтія о ересяхъ въ Юго-Западной Руси и въ Православіи, по поводу явлення Уніи* [...] 1608. *Акты ЮЗР* т. 2. 1865, 273 via Galađza 1997, 7.

<sup>357</sup> St Casimir (1458–1484), a member of the Jagiellonian dynasty, was canonised in 1522 by Pope Adrian VI and became the patron saint of Lithuania. The veneration of St Casimir was established in the Uniate Church in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which can be seen in the inclusion of hymnography dedicated to him in Uniate liturgical books. See, for example, the *troparion* and *kontakion* to St Casimir in the early 18<sup>th</sup>-century *Missal* (LMAB F 19-195, f. 268v).

<sup>358</sup> The accusation against the Uniates of using Latin Rite *azymes* in the celebration of Eastern Rite Eucharist was one of the earliest topics in anti-Union polemics. Already in 1595, Bishop Potej complained to Prince Ostrožskij that people spread rumours about celebrating Liturgy with *azymes*. Galađza 1997, 3. As for the possibility of the Uniate use of unleavened Latin Rite bread in the Eucharist, Leontij's accusation seems to have been a polemic exaggeration. However, if he actually refers to the Uniate participation in the Latin Rite Communion, the remark seems more likely, because it was possible for the Eastern Rite Catholics to participate in the Latin Rite Eucharist. See chapter 3.3.2 for discussion about the inter-ritual participation.

<sup>359</sup> *Акты ЮЗР* т. 2. 1865, 271–278 via Galađza 1997, 8.

<sup>360</sup> Galađza 1997, 8.

The two decades following the union were characterised by intense polemic struggle over legitimacy between the two Eastern Rite churches, with the assistance of both Catholic and Protestant authors. Argumentation flavoured with ridicule hyperbolised the differences between the Orthodox and the Uniates, making further dialogue difficult.<sup>361</sup> Questions of dogmatic content and liturgical integrity began to appear in polemics during this period.<sup>362</sup> The state of liturgical life in the Ruthenian Orthodox Church, which had lost its juridical status and most of its hierarchs to the union, was hardly any better organised than that in the Uniate Church; nevertheless, the Orthodox argumentation relied on the conviction that the Uniates were deviating from the one, true tradition, and that there were certain erroneous practices in the Latin Rite, which made the prospects of Latinisation threatening.<sup>363</sup> As suspicion of Latin influence on Uniate practices increased, the Orthodox arguments centred on the mixed religious identity: the Uniates, left between the Latin and the Greek Rites, were described as being “neither this nor that”, “neither fish nor fowl,” or even, with respect to their rite, as “hermaphrodites.”<sup>364</sup> Were it not for them, it was argued with polemic idealism, the Eastern Rite would not be falling as a “divided house” (*domus divisa*), there would be “no such discord among the one and the same Rus’ people, the liturgical services would remain identical, the praise of God in the Ruthenian churches would increase, the schools would flourish, the liturgical books would be corrected, the content of the *Irmologia* would be brought *ad concinnitatem textus simul et vocis* [into harmony between text and voice, i.e., would be pronounced properly],”<sup>365</sup> and so forth.

Liturgical integrity played a central role in the legitimacy struggle. As the Orthodox accused the Uniates of deviations from the Eastern Rite, the Uniates defended the uniformity of their customs with similar zeal. For example, in his *Examen Obrony* (1621), Iosif Rutszkij, as a representative of the Uniate Holy Trinity Brethren, refuted claims of changes such as adopting *Filioque* in the Creed or making changes in the administration of baptism and chrismation.<sup>366</sup> In *Sowita wina* (1621), he

<sup>361</sup> Stradomski 2003, 42.

<sup>362</sup> Новаковський 2005, 58.

<sup>363</sup> In *Kniga o věřě* (Книга о вѣрѣ 1619), Zaharij Kopystenskij criticised, for example, the Roman dogmatic teaching concerning the origin of the Holy Spirit, purgatory and certain liturgical customs related to the Sacrament of the Eucharist. In *Elenchus pism uszczypliwych* (1622), Meletij Smotrickij pointed out also other practices that were regarded as mistakes of the Latin Rite, for instance, the use of the organ and other instruments in the liturgy, the transfer of the weekly fast day from Wednesday to Saturday, and the ignoring of the yearly fasts of the Apostles, Virgin Mary and the Nativity. See Новаковський 2005, 79–80, 84.

<sup>364</sup> “[...] nie chcąc swej Hermaphroditckiej sromoty widzieć, że to y owo są, albo ni to ni owo: ni ptak ni zwierze iest, to iest, ni Graeckiej Religiey ludzie, ni Rzymskiej.” (“[...] in their hermaphroditic shame they do not want to see that they are both this and that, or neither this nor that, neither fish nor fowl, i.e., neither people of the Greek Rite, nor of the Roman.”) *Verificatia niewinności* (1621) in *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.VII. 1887, 325. The abusive use of the term “hermaphrodite” had a particularly long-lasting sting, which can be seen in the fact that it was still mentioned, nearly sixty years later, in *Colloquium* by Metropolitan Žohovskij: “Wiec y tym nas ohydzacie u ludzi / Jakoby Unia / Uniacy / było coś dzikiego / albo Monstrum / hyrkocervus / Nietoperz / Hermaphroditus, Hydra o wielu głowach. Sęp / Smok [...]” (“Thus, with these you distort us among people, as if the Union or Uniates were something wild, or a monster, a hircocervus [goat-stag], a bat, a *hermaphroditus*, a hydra with multiple heads, a vulture, a dragon [...]”) *Colloquium Lubelskie* 1680, 73 (italics mine).

<sup>365</sup> “nie byłoby w iednym y tymże narodzie Ruskim takowych niesnasek, nabożeństwa zostawałyby iednakie, chwala Boża w cerkwiach naszych Ruskich mnożyłaby się, szkołyby kwitnęły, xiegi cerkiewne zostałyby sprawione, Hirmologia ad concinnitatem textus simul et vocis byłyby przywiedzione...” *Obrona verificaciey* (1621), *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.VII. 1887, 441–442. The remark on the “*Hirmologia*” probably refers to the anachronistic pronunciation style known as *homonia* (the full vocalisation of semivowels in Church Slavonic liturgical texts that distorted the meaning but was favoured in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century liturgical practice both in the Ruthenian and the Muscovite practice) that was difficult to root out. Two decades later, the polemicist Kassian Sakovič described the attempts to correct the liturgical chant texts to match the read pronunciation, see *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.IX. 1893, 117.

<sup>366</sup> *Examen Obrony, to jest odpis na script, Obrona Werificatij nazwany...* in *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.VIII. 1914, 594–594; Новаковський 2005, 82.

continued by stating that “we, the Uniates, are of the Greek religion, we use the same language, the same vestments and books in the celebration of the praise of God in our churches, as you do: we have not thrown away anything of the old, or added anything new: [...] if you visited our churches, you would speak differently, for we chant and read the same as you do.”<sup>367</sup> According to *Antelenchus* (1622) by Antoni Seljava, the Uniate *igumen* of the same monastery, liturgical differences between the Greek and the Latin Rites did not constitute a problem, since the Uniates had remained fully in the Eastern tradition.<sup>368</sup> Assurances like this reflect how the loyalty to the Eastern Rite continued to be recognised as an ideal in the Uniate Church in the 1620s. Yet the ideal seemed to allow for certain degrees of variation both in thought and in practice. Seljava argued that with regard to faith, liturgical differences were not essential, and that there were certain dogmatic aspects of the Latin tradition that could be accepted by the Eastern Rite Church in the future, such as the *Filioque* and purgatory.<sup>369</sup> As Nowakowski notes, a certain relaxation had thus already taken place in Seljava’s perception of the rite with respect to the faith.<sup>370</sup>

Disorder in the form of uncoordinated innovations constituted the most notable problem in the Uniate liturgical life throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The first concrete attempts at controlling the individualistic evolution were made in the 1620s. The recently established (1617) Basilian Order, which in itself manifested the need for reorganisation in the Uniate Church, addressed the lack of uniformity in the liturgical rite in its second Chapter in Lavryšev in 1621. It was decreed that a special commission was to prepare a unified description of monastic liturgical services; moreover, the monks of Suprasl’ Monastery were instructed not to make their own omissions from the established rite.<sup>371</sup> The regulations of the Basilian Order, formulated between 1617 and 1636 by Metropolitan Rutskij, generally emphasised the importance of remaining loyal to the Eastern Rite: the priests were to “observe the same rites and ceremonies of the liturgy as others do, adding nothing of their own invention, nor removing anything, nor changing anything.”<sup>372</sup> A similar aim was pronounced at the first Uniate council after Brest, at Kobryn in 1626. Proper education of candidates for the priesthood was discussed as a way of ensuring liturgical uniformity. No ordinations were to take place until the candidate had spent some time learning the correct ways of celebrating the divine services under the guidance of a bishop.<sup>373</sup>

These intentions were generally challenged by the fact that most Latin-inspired innovations were actually introduced into Uniate practice by the authorities of the Church themselves – the hierarchs and the Basilian monks, many of whom were thoroughly familiar with the Latin Rite tradition, thanks to their education in Roman Catholic institutions. Despite highlighting the need to preserve the old liturgical rite, the Basilians were active in extending the boundaries of rite and dogma, for example, by turning to the Congregation already in 1624 with a request for a Privileged Altar, a practice previously unknown to the Eastern Rite tradition, with the aim of promoting the Roman Catholic teaching about purgatory.<sup>374</sup>

<sup>367</sup> “[...] my unitowie iesteśmy mere religiey Greckiey, tegoż ięzyka, tychże ubiorow y tychże ksiąg w odprawowaniu chwały Bożej w cerkwiach naszych używamy, iako y wy: niceśmy starego nie wyrzucili, nowego nie przyczynili: [...] byście w cerkwiach naszych bywali, inaczej byście mówili: to śpiewamy y czytamy, co y wy.” *Sowita wina* (1621). *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.VII. 1887, 494, 499.

<sup>368</sup> Новаковський 2005, 85.

<sup>369</sup> In his view, the addition of the *Filioque* would not have changed the Creed but only complemented it. Seljava is considered to have been the first to consistently use the *Filioque* in the Creed. Гуцуляк 2004, 300.

<sup>370</sup> Новаковський 2005, 86.

<sup>371</sup> *АСД* т.12. 1900, 20; Галадза 1997, 13. No record of the description of services has been preserved, if any was ever written. Гуцуляк 2004, 38.

<sup>372</sup> Гуцуляк 2004, 40.

<sup>373</sup> Гуцуляк 2004, 43.

<sup>374</sup> The matter was discussed at the 4<sup>th</sup> Basilian Chapter in Lavryšev in 1626. *АСД* т.12. 1900, 30. A Privileged Altar was a special altar for which the Pope granted a plenary indulgence, so that when a Mass for the dead was celebrated on given days on that altar, their souls would be freed from purgatory. Крачковский, Ю.Ф.

### 3.2.3 The Latin element in liturgical reform: Sakovič and Mohyla

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Roman Catholic Church set the standards of church culture in the Polish-Lithuanian society. This meant that the Latin influence on liturgical life in general was all-pervasive. As Petrovyč points out, it was not a question of whether to adopt Latin influences, but of which influences to accept and on what basis.<sup>375</sup> Ironically, the inevitability of Latinisation was best seen in the attempts to strengthen the Eastern Rite tradition, particularly in the contribution of the Orthodox Metropolitan Mohyla to the restoration of the Ruthenian Orthodox Church from the 1620s to the 1640s. During this period, voices in favour of the full Latinisation of the Eastern Rite were also heard, the loudest of which belonged to Kassian Sakovič (1578–1647), the most prolific critic of the Eastern Rite tradition in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. He presented several Eastern Rite practices that, in his opinion, both the Uniates and the Orthodox ought to have denounced in order to move closer to the Latin Church culture.

Writing as a convert first from the Orthodox, then from the Uniate Church to Latin Rite Catholicism, Sakovič had an intentionally scandalising approach to the Eastern Rite. In his opinion, it was not a question of whether the liturgy could be modified – the rite *had to* change. For Sakovič's, the Latin Rite was fully superior to the Greek Rite, which to him appeared as lacking order, style and prestige. By imitating the Latin customs, the Eastern Rite liturgy could potentially be raised to the level of Latin divine services. In his *Perspectywa* (1642) and his comments to Metropolitan Mohyla's *Lithos*,<sup>376</sup> Sakovič envisaged a liturgical tradition that could be reformed according to the needs of the day.

For Sakovič, the liturgy had an essentially aesthetic function. This was reflected in his comments on the contemporary state of the liturgical rite in the Eastern Rite Church, for example, in his obsession with the style of performance. Chanting, which was pleasant to hear, should replace the long, monotonous readings of the Eastern Rite divine services. "Everyone in his senses admits that a chanted service is more handsome and reverent than a recited one,"<sup>377</sup> he argued. Correspondingly, the content of the services should have been shortened in order to enable their performance in chant, without making them too lengthy. The old tradition of using a *canonarch* for intoning the verses for the choir to chant caused, in his opinion, more confusion than praise in the church.<sup>378</sup> In other words, the rite had to be changed, because it lacked the splendour of the Latin Church culture.

Sakovič's arguments reflect the total transformation that his views and his identity had undergone in the course of his conversion. In spite of his background as a cantor and a hieromonk in the Eastern Rite Church, Sakovič seems to have quite successfully liberated himself from the restraints of the *typikon* and the Eastern Rite tradition in general. He praised his personal "achievements" in redacting the Eastern Rite liturgy while still the head of a Uniate monastery:

It is true that while I was the Archimandrite of the Dubno Monastery, I shortened certain things, especially with respect to tautology, the repetition of the *sedalny* [*Kathisma Troparia*], *heirmoi*, and the

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"Предисловіе." АСД т. 12. 1900, viii; Гуцуляк 2004, 38. The fact that the request was justified by the need to highlight the teaching about purgatory, which was rejected by the Orthodox, is interesting in the light of the rather passive stance taken by the negotiators of the union: "We shall not debate about purgatory, but we entrust ourselves to the teaching of the Holy Church." 33 *Articles Concerning the Union With The Roman Church*, Article 5. See also Галадза 1997, 13.

<sup>375</sup> Петрович, Михайло. "Дискусія" in Галадза 1997, 32.

<sup>376</sup> *Oskard albo młot na skruszenie kamienia schizmatyckiego, rzuconego z Ławry Kijowskiej Pieczerskiej od niejakiegoś Euzebia Pimina przeciw Perspectiwie*. W.O. K. Sakowicza wykonany od tegoż autora *Perspectivy*, i.e., Sakovič's answer to *Lithos*, was preserved in a manuscript copy (Kraków 1646) and later published as a complement (in footnotes) to *Lithos* in *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.IX. 1893.

<sup>377</sup> "Každy uważny to przyzna, że przystoyniejsze y poważniejsze iest nabożeństwo śpiewane [...] niżli czytane." *Архивъ ЮЗР* т.1, ч.IX. 1893, 299.

<sup>378</sup> *Архивъ ЮЗР* т.1, ч.IX. 1893, 307.

reading of all *kathismata* in full voice, to one word only, and the Canon, however, I did not allow this to be done without reading these parts silently, otherwise I would have sinned; however, I rewarded that by reading something else, which would provide a greater praise of God by strengthening the faithful. Because it is quite habitual in the Rus' land that quite a few people attend Matins, in order for them to leave the church with some spiritual benefit, I either preached or read the lives of the saints from Skarga's book in the Ruthenian language to them, to which they listened pleasantly and in reverence.<sup>379</sup>

Sakovič thus admitted to changing and replacing established parts of the Eastern Rite liturgy with other texts that, in his view, gave more "spiritual benefit" to the faithful. Moreover, he criticised the traditionally recited parts of a service as futile for those who were only attending, because they had nothing to do, since it was impossible for them even to meditate or examine their conscience when someone was reading aloud.<sup>380</sup> The perception of attendance as useless, unless one could take active part in the service or concentrate on a private prayer in meditative silence, was indeed a novelty to the Eastern Rite understanding in which the reader has traditionally been perceived as representing and giving a voice to all participants. Sakovič also claimed to have been the first to celebrate a *recited Liturgy*, an adaptation of the Latin "Low Mass"<sup>381</sup> to Church Slavonic practice, which as a practice radically deviated from the communal nature of the Byzantine Eucharistic liturgy.<sup>382</sup> With his untraditional views, he scandalised even some of the Uniates who demanded Rome to ban his *Perspektiva*.<sup>383</sup> Despite the changes he introduced while still belonging to the Eastern Rite, Sakovič relied on the old Eastern Rite rhetoric of "changing nothing" when he defined his legacy to the next archimandrite of Dubno:

I gave him the following conditions: [...] that he would preserve the order of celebrating the church services as it was in my time, unchanged in all aspects, in other words, the order of celebrating the Divine Liturgy, recited as well as chanted; during my time the recited Liturgy was always celebrated first and the chanted at the end; and that the Hours and the Vespers are recited in the choir, etc.<sup>384</sup>

In his reformatory approach to the liturgical rite, Sakovič's counterpart in the polemic battle of the 1640s, Metropolitan Mohyla, resembled him in many ways. Firstly, both recognised the superiority of Latin Church culture at the time – Sakovič as an idealist, Mohyla as a realist. Educated as a member of the aristocracy in Catholic institutions, Mohyla was fully aware of the ignorance of the Eastern Rite Ruthenians.<sup>385</sup> Neither was he a passive follower of the liturgical rite. Nowakowski notes that despite his great care for detail and order in liturgical life, Mohyla was not a supporter of the Muscovite-type categorical conservatism, the "rite-faith", but he perceived the

<sup>379</sup> "Prawda, żem ia niektore rzeczy, będąc archimandrytą Dubieńskim, skracał, zwłaszcza owe tautologie, powtarzania siedalen, irmosow, y kafism w głos wszystkich czytanie, tylko po jednym słowie, y kanonu, iednak nie opuszczałem tego bez odprawowania w cichym czytaniu, alias grzeszył bym; lecz nagradzałem to czytanie czym inszym, zkądby większa chwała Bogu w zbudowaniu ludzi być mogło. Bo u Rusi zwykło byważ nie mało ludzi na iutrzni aby z jakim pożytkiem duchownym z cerkwi odchodzili, tędym albo kazanie im powiadał, albo żywoty świętych xiędza Skargi w Ruskim iezyku czytałem im, czego oni mile y nabożnie słuchali." *Архивъ ЮЗР* т.1, ч.IX. 1893, 302.

<sup>380</sup> "[...] ieśliby tylko ieden miał nabożeństwo odprawować, a drudzy by próżno stać mieli, tedy by próżne ich wchodzenie było do cerkwi. [...] Że nie mogą na ten czas, gdy się czytanie głośno odprawuie, medytacye odprawować, albo *examen conscientiae* czynić, bo te rzeczy wielkiego silentium potrzebuia." *Архивъ ЮЗР* т.1, ч.IX. 1893, 300.

<sup>381</sup> The private celebration of the Mass as opposed to the communal and more festive High Mass. For more details about the recited Liturgy, see chapter 4.2.2.

<sup>382</sup> Галадза 1997, 14.

<sup>383</sup> Галадза 1997, 15.

<sup>384</sup> "[...] takiem conditionem ia dawałem mu: [...] żeby ten porządek, iako za mnie był w odprawowaniu cerkiewnego nabożeństwa nie odmiennie we wszystkim zachował, to iest, w odprawowaniu służeb Bożych, tak czytanych, iak śpiewanych; a za mnie zawsze pierwey czytane służby bywały, potem śpiewano na końcu; żeby godziny y nieszpory na chory czytane, et c." *Архивъ ЮЗР* т.1, ч.IX. 1893, 303.

<sup>385</sup> Pott 2010, 248; Новаковський 2005, 116.

liturgical tradition as dynamic and changing.<sup>386</sup> Mohyla's perception of the relationship between the rite and the faith featured a third aspect: contemporary society with its demands, which had to be taken into account in the evolution of the liturgy. Instead of modifying liturgical customs according to his own preferences, however, he wanted to raise the standard of the Eastern Rite liturgical tradition by reorganising it and explaining it to people both within and outside the Orthodox community.

The publications of Mohyla or his circle, the *Služebnik* (Missal 1639), the catechism (*Orthodox Confession of Faith* 1640), the polemic *Lithos*, and the *Trebnik* (*Euchologion* 1646), were characterised by a number of very practical clarifications of Eastern Rite customs.<sup>387</sup> Most notably in *Lithos*, Mohyla dedicated large sections to his translations of Church Slavonic hymnography into Polish and to explaining the order and content of Eastern Rite services – things that were obviously familiar to Sakovič but not to the wider Polish-speaking audience. In doing this, he consciously fought against ignorance that often serves as a basis for prejudice and hostility: the mysteries of the Church Slavonic tradition were likely to become less suspicious when their content was explained.

Moreover, and most importantly, Mohyla's work revealed a liturgically rich tradition that was no second to the Latin tradition. He did not see the two rites as opposing each other but recognised the value of both, respecting the Catholic tradition but never compromising his dedication to the Eastern Rite: the services and the books were, in his opinion, perfect.<sup>388</sup> In *Lithos*, certain customs of the Eastern Church were meticulously examined as phenomena whose history reached back to apostolic times. The work of Mohyla and his circle in general aimed at restoring the image of and faith in the Eastern Rite tradition whose inferiority had been argued so many times that many of its members had begun to believe it.<sup>389</sup>

The ambitious task of reorganising the Eastern Rite liturgical tradition to which Mohyla dedicated his life arose from the contemporary situation: the state of confusion and lack of discipline in liturgical customs, as well as the criticism and ridicule of the Eastern Rite by polemicists like Sakovič. The surrounding culture also dictated the tools to be used to accomplish the liturgical reform. Mohyla made use of the Western theological tradition by formulating his representation of the Orthodox faith according to the Roman Catholic catechismal practice,<sup>390</sup> and elaborating a new kind of theological approach to the Greek Rite liturgy that had an undeniable flavour of Scholasticism.<sup>391</sup> It is interesting to note that his work partly drew on attempts at liturgical reorganisation in the Uniate Church, for example, the publication of liturgical instruction for

<sup>386</sup> Новаковський 2005, 115–116.

<sup>387</sup> "Another novelty with respect to previous Orthodox liturgical books was the detailed explanation preceding each sacrament or important rite [...]. Pastoral instructions also offered explanation to be given to parishioners, as well as ways to avoid erroneous understandings. In addition, the liturgical texts were accompanied by a great number of rubrics intended to remove any possible question regarding the proper celebration of the rite." Pott 2010, 247.

<sup>388</sup> For example, when Sakovič criticised the unchanging content in the Eastern Rite liturgy during various feasts, Mohyla answered: "It is true that we have only one perfect Divine Liturgy (''iedną tylko doskonałą liturgią świętą''); that, which the holy apostle Jacob learned from the Saviour, celebrated and preserved in writing for the Church, and which Mark, the holy Evangelist, and the first Clemens, Roman Pope, having learned it from St Peter, also celebrated and transmitted to the Church in writing; and from whom also St Basil and Chrysostom learned it, celebrated and preserved in writing." *Архивъ ЮЗР* т.1, ч.IX. 1893, 121. Mohyla also defended the Eastern Rite *Služebnik* and *Trebnik* tradition by saying that they were whole and perfect ("całe y doskonałe") and needed no additions, because the same divine service that the Ruthenian priests celebrated was once celebrated by the holy apostles. *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>389</sup> Pott 2010, 245.

<sup>390</sup> Skinner 2009, 29. *Catechismus Romanus* (1566) by Pope Pius V served as a source for Mohyla and his circle. See Melnyk and Pilipowicz 2002, 326.

<sup>391</sup> Pott 2010, 246–7; Новаковський 2005, 117.

priests, *Nauka* as an appendix of the Missal compiled by Lev Krevza and Josafat Kuncevič in 1617.<sup>392</sup> Both Mohyla and the Uniate authors freely used Latin liturgical and theological books<sup>393</sup> for their reformative goals, which is a clear example of the dominance of the Western theological and philosophical tradition in Polish-Lithuanian society. None of the authors can be seen as intentionally promoting a Latin mode of thinking, but only as using the language that was best understandable to their audience.

Much has been argued about Mohyla's Latinising spirit; however, the transformation that he initiated must be perceived in context. As Skinner notes, in Mohyla's work, "the mixture of Western constructs with Eastern theology was a natural reflection of his world that combined the varied cultures of the Commonwealth into a coherent whole."<sup>394</sup> By combining elements from the Latin, Greek and Slavic traditions, Mohyla not only reorganised the Eastern Rite liturgy but also restored to it a theological dynamism through which it corresponded to the living faith of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ruthenian Orthodox.<sup>395</sup> Although many of his innovations inevitably brought the Ruthenian Orthodox tradition closer to the Latin culture, Mohyla was careful to follow the Eastern synodal procedure in introducing the new publications. In *Lithos*, he underlined the importance of following an established order in the introduction of novelties, expressing his wonder at certain innovative Uniate bishops who had not asked for permission from their metropolitan or the Pope: the undisciplined manner of reforms that were not presented to a synod for inspection and approval would only lead to chaos.<sup>396</sup> Mohyla's approach to liturgical revival thus remained within the Eastern Rite tradition, although he used previously unfamiliar methods of reform.

### 3.3 THE 'THIRD' RITE: QUESTIONS OF CONFESSIONALISATION

After the Union of Brest, the new Eastern Rite Catholics found themselves in an intermediate position between the two major church traditions. Being "Greek" within the "Latin" Church, yet representing the Roman Church in the eyes of the Orthodox community, the Uniates faced the challenge of establishing themselves also in confessional terms. For most of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Greek Rite Catholics explored the scope of their new religious identity by testing their relation to both the Greek and the Latin Rite. Demarcation from the old tradition served as a way of establishing what was their own, as did the attempts to find real unity with the Roman tradition. A significant stage in the psychological estrangement between the two Eastern Rite churches was reached when the Uniate Archbishop Josafat Kuncevič died at the hands of an Orthodox mob in 1623 and was soon established as the first Uniate saint in local Ruthenian practice. Political circumstances, such as the decidedly anti-Union Cossack movement in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, increased the sense of separateness that developed in the Uniate religious identity. Demarcation from the Orthodox community also became manifest in attempts to integrate into the Latin Rite Catholic Church. In the light of the superiority of the Latin Rite, however, the Uniates found that there were obstacles to inter-ritual participation in sacraments such as the Eucharist and Confession. The unity did not take flesh in an equal treatment of the rites, but the validity of the Eastern Rite as well as the rights of the Uniate Church continued to be questioned in many ways. This placed the Uniates in

<sup>392</sup> This appendix had no earlier analogues in the Greek Rite tradition but was based on Latin examples only. Галадза 1997, 9–10.

<sup>393</sup> Apart from *Catechismus Romanus*, Melnyk and Pilipowicz point out the following Latin sources used by Mohyla and his circle: *Summa doctrinae Christianae* by Peter Canisius, and the post-Tridentine liturgical publications, *Breviarum Romanum* (1568), *Missale Romanum* (1570), *Pontificale* (1596), *Ceremoniale* (1600) and *Rituale Romanum* (1614). Melnyk and Pilipowicz 2002, 326.

<sup>394</sup> Skinner 2009, 30.

<sup>395</sup> Pott 2010, 248.

<sup>396</sup> *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.IX. 1893, 127–128. Sakovič, instead, argued that the metropolitan's consent was not needed as long as the innovations were in line with the Roman Church tradition. *Ibid.*

an intermediate position in which their liturgical tradition began to evolve into a “third” rite, an interesting amalgam of Greek and Latin practices.

The “third” rite evolved through the modification of existing Eastern Rite customs in a Latin spirit, or through the adaptation of Latin practices to an Eastern Rite style and expression especially through the translation of liturgical texts into Church Slavonic. The amalgam rite featured previously unfamiliar feasts and commemorations, new types of services (*godzinki*, litanies), the introduction of instrumental music in Uniate liturgical life, as well as adaptations of originally Latin hymns and paraliturgical songs into Eastern Rite practice. While the late 17<sup>th</sup> century saw a number of Latin-inspired innovations, it is difficult to argue that this kind of liturgical independence was consciously sought – the process was far from being coordinated.

The development of the “third” rite has generally been interpreted as Latinisation of the Eastern Rite. Another way of observing the change is to look at it in terms of *confessionalisation*.<sup>397</sup> Barbara Skinner has argued that both Eastern Rite Ruthenian Churches evolved toward confessional maturity in the aftermath of the upheavals of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; however, they reached it at different stages. The Orthodox managed to reorganise and restore their indigenous tradition through the contributions of Metropolitan Mohyla in the 1640s. In contrast the Uniate Church was building on the double foundation of the Eastern Rite and Western dogma and reached confessional independence only at the time of the Council of Zamość, in 1720.<sup>398</sup> This periodisation applies well to liturgical evolution. After Mohyla, no reforms of a similar scale took place during the 17<sup>th</sup> century in the Orthodox community, which, following the annexing of Ukrainian lands to Muscovy, gradually lost control over decisions on its liturgical life. In the Uniate tradition, on the other hand, it was exactly the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries that saw the height of liturgical changes, adaptations and innovations. The evolution of the liturgical rite thus coincided with the development of confessional maturity in the Uniate Church.<sup>399</sup>

### 3.3.1 Demarcation from the Orthodox

Although the Union of Brest in 1596 had divided the “Greek” community, the full effect of the division was realised only when the Orthodox hierarchy was restored by Patriarch Theophanes in 1620.<sup>400</sup> The new Orthodox metropolitan and the seven other hierarchs were not juridically recognised by the Polish-Lithuanian state. Nevertheless, the Eastern Rite now featured two competing hierarchies and administrative structures,<sup>401</sup> which sought ways of establishing themselves in Polish-Lithuanian society. For the Ruthenian Uniate hierarchy, the first decades of the union with Rome had concluded with a feeling of disillusionment: against expectation, they had not reached equality with their Roman Catholic counterparts, and the Greek Rite continued to be treated as inferior to the Latin tradition. At the same time, the struggle over legitimacy

<sup>397</sup> Discussing *confessionalisation* in the context of the Kievan Metropolitanate, Ihor Skočyljas defines the concept as processes leading towards “mutual estrangement between Eastern Christians in different ecclesiastical jurisdictions, the codification of the experience of faith, the establishment of their own theological institutions and publishing centres, the disciplining of religious practices, the strengthening exclusivism of the Orthodox and Uniate [communities], and the expression of a specific confessional self-awareness.” Скочиляс 2008, 7. For more discussion about confessionalisation in Polish-Lithuanian society, see, for example, Зема, Валерій. “Причинок до православної полеміки доби контрреформації.” *Ковчег. Науковий збірник із церковної історії*, ч. 5. Ред. о. Борис Гудзяк, Ігорь Скочиляс, Олег Турій. Львів: Місіонер 2007, 73–99.

<sup>398</sup> Skinner 2009, 14–15.

<sup>399</sup> Interestingly, the new practices adopted in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century became such an integral component of the Uniate identity that when the Russian Empire annexed the Eastern Polish-Lithuanian lands during the partitions in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the population generally refused to renounce the “faith (and practices) of their fathers”. Skinner 2009, 216.

<sup>400</sup> Дмитриев 1996, 104.

<sup>401</sup> Skinner 2009, 29.

raged between the Greek Rite Churches. The tension mounted with the official restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy by the king in 1632.

The 1620s saw the beginning of a gradual process of demarcation between the two Eastern Rite Ruthenian Churches, which also came to be reflected in liturgical tradition. The arising realisation of constituting a religious community independent of the Orthodox Church received a considerable boost when the Archbishop of Polock, Josafat Kuncevič was murdered in a confrontation with the Orthodox in 1623.<sup>402</sup> This shocking event strengthened unity within the Uniate Church as well as turning public opinion in the Commonwealth increasingly against the Orthodox. It also initiated the independent Uniate tradition of liturgical creativity, as we shall see later in this chapter. As the prospects of a re-union between the two Eastern Rite Churches waned, they gradually turned to reinforcing their separate religious identities. Political factors, such as the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century Cossack uprising with its anti-Uniate motivation, the Muscovite occupation of Vilna and parts of old Ruthenian lands during the Russo-Polish war (1654–1667), and the consequent Muscovite takeover of Ukrainian lands, further estranged the two communities.

A growing sense of separateness between the Uniate and Orthodox Churches was reflected in opinions that paved the way for later liturgical change. For example, Rafail Korsak, the future Uniate Metropolitan (1637–1640), complained to Rome as early as 1626 that the Eastern Rite liturgical texts, more precisely the Sunday *Oktoechos* and the *Triodion* hymnographical cycles up to Pentecost, included several mistakes because they had been composed by “Palamites”, “Ephesians”, and “other schismatics”.<sup>403</sup> Twenty years later, Pahomij Vojna-Oranskij (Bishop of Pinsk 1637–1653) expressed similar opinions in his polemic answer to Kassian Sakovič in *Zwierciadło* (1645). Filled with indignation for Sakovič’s treatment of the Uniate Church, Vojna-Oranskij argued that the Uniate liturgical rite differed notably from that of the Orthodox, because it had been confirmed by the Holy See which could never have accepted the mistakes of the “disuniates”.<sup>404</sup> Little evidence of the alleged differences can, in fact, be found in the liturgical sources from that period, but the argument itself manifests the need to draw the line between the Uniate and the Orthodox Eastern Rites.

The process involved a considerable degree of defamiliarisation, on a psychological level at least. The Uniate confessional-liturgical identity was reinforced by the rejection of what was regarded as “schismatic”. The schism, with reference to Orthodoxy, was denounced as heresy even by a special Office composed by a Uniate hymnographer in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>405</sup> During

<sup>402</sup> Gil, Andrzej. “The First Images and the Beginning of the Cult of the Archbishop of Połock Josafat Kuncewicz in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth till the mid-17<sup>th</sup> Century.” *On the Border of the Worlds. Essays about the Orthodox and Uniate Churches in Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages and the Modern Period*. Ed. Andrzej Gil, Witold Bobryk. Sielc-Lublin: Akademia Podlaska, Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej 2010, 147.

<sup>403</sup> Huculak 1990, 54; Галадза 1997, 21. “Palamites” refers to the followers of St Gregory Palamas, the 14<sup>th</sup>-century theologian and Archbishop of Thessaloniki whose participation in the defense of the Hesychastic movement against the attacks of Scholastic theology earned him a central place among the Fathers of the Eastern Rite Church. The Council of Zamość (1720) decreed that the veneration and even mention of the name of St Gregory be prohibited in the Uniate Church. See *Провінційний Синод у Замості 1720 р.Б.* // *Постанови*. Переклад з латини о. д-ра Івана Козовина. Івано-Франківськ: Нова Зоря 2006, 265. Accordingly, the commemoration of St Gregory was removed in the course of correcting liturgical books in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. See Хойнацкий 1871, 23; Naumow 1996, 138. “Ephesians,” in turn, refer to the followers of Mark Eugenikos, metropolitan of Ephesus, one of the most resistant opponents of the Council of Florence. See Гуцуляк 2004, 59; Zheltov, Michael. “The Moment of Eucharistic Consecration in Byzantine Thought.” *Issues in Eucharistic Praying in East and West*. Ed. Maxwell E. Johnson. Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press 2010, 279–280.

<sup>404</sup> Vojna-Oranskij explained that the Uniates used books that were printed by Leon Mamonič in Vilna, as well as old manuscripts which, in his opinion, fully corresponded with the Catholic dogmatic teaching, including *Filioque*, purgatory, the representation of St Peter as the head of the Church, and of the Pope as his representative. Новаковський 2005, 138–140.

<sup>405</sup> “Служба на викореніє схизми ієреси” (“Office for uprooting the heresy of the schism”), LMAB F 19-195,

the correction of Uniate liturgical books in the 1730s, the demarcation was also reflected in the removal of the term “Orthodox” (“pravoslavnyi”) in various *stichera* and *troparia*.<sup>406</sup> In liturgical practice, the evaluation of what was “schismatic” and what not was highly arbitrary, and the further detached the Uniate community became from the Orthodox, the more likely “schismatic” features were to be detected in traditional Eastern Rite customs. For example, new preferences were highlighted in church behaviour<sup>407</sup> and in ways of addressing monastic brethren as opposed to the old “schismatic” ones<sup>408</sup>. The extreme aversion to “schismatic” customs even led later in some places to the removal of certain fundamental parts of the liturgy.<sup>409</sup> It has to be remembered, though, that such aversions were not in line with official church policy but were mainly restricted to certain Basilian monasteries and most likely to certain individuals within them.

Detachment from the Orthodox community became most visibly realised in the cult of Archbishop Josafat Kuncevič which began to take form immediately after his murder in Vitebsk in 1623.<sup>410</sup> As characteristic of the Eastern Rite tradition, the commemoration of the new saint-to-be was initiated locally and, to prepare for the canonisation, the details of his person and martyrdom were composed into hymnography<sup>411</sup> and a picture of him was painted

ff. 273r–273v. In a sense, this Office was analogous to the Canon and the Moleben for the Pacification of the Church, composed by Metropolitan Mohyla for the enthronement of King Władysław IV. See *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.VII, 1887, 146–151; 167–170. These texts were also distributed in musical manuscripts in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Jasnovs’kyj lists fourteen *Irmologion* manuscripts with the Canon “на умирение церкви”. Ясіновський 1996, 558.

<sup>406</sup> The removal was suggested by Metropolitan Afanasij Šeptyckij who was in charge of the correction of books. Galadza 2004, 294.

<sup>407</sup> In 1667, the 17<sup>th</sup> Basilian Chapter underlined the necessity of proper conduct in church, specifying the way in which the brethren should fold their hands “with all modesty, not spreading them *in a schismatic way*.” (“Ręce złożone ze wszelką skromnością, ani siać onemi *po schyzmatycku*.”) *АСД* т.12. 1900, 98 (italics mine). The Latin Church tradition generally paid more attention to the external preciseness in church behaviour than it was customary in the Eastern Rite tradition. This punctiliousness had an appeal to the Ruthenians whose own tradition had long been ridiculed for the lack of it. The Basilians, in particular, translated guidebooks from Polish and Italian to provide instructions for monastic life, including detailed guidelines for church behaviour. See, for example, *Nauka dla dobrego wychodowania nowicjuszw u profesow zakonu S. Bazylego Wielkiego*, a manuscript copy from the Žyrovichy Monastery, СПБИБИ РАН к. 52, е.д.х. 280, f. 35.

<sup>408</sup> Petr Kaminskij noted in 1685 that the old custom of addressing Eastern Rite monks was considered “schismatic” by the new type of Uniate monks who preferred to call each other with the Latin-inspired title “Don” – “Don Pietro”, “Don Simeone”, etc. Щурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 231.

<sup>409</sup> Kaminskij reported in 1685 how the monks of the Žyrovichy Monastery had ceased to perform the Small Entrance with the Gospel during the chanted Liturgy, calling it a “schismatic invention”. Similarly, they had omitted the Great Entrance during the Cherubic Hymn (“перенос”), i.e., the procession with the Eucharistic Gifts to the altar table. Щурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 235. The omission of both entrances seems to have spread also outside Žyrovichy. In 1711, during a visitation to the Basilian Holy Trinity Monastery in Vilna, *igumen* Ivan Oleševskij had to remind the local monks not to leave out the entrance with the Gospel or with the Gifts. Гуцуляк 2004, 229, 288. Skočyljas, instead, relates this remark to the practice of recited Liturgies. Скочилас 2008, 28.

<sup>410</sup> The official canonisation process was initiated without delay in the same year. Two years later, Kuncevič’s successor as the Archbishop of Polock, Antoni Seljava, informed Rome about the developing cult and asked for a permission to build an altar over his grave. The request was then denied. Archbishop Josafat was beatified in 1643. Naumow 1996, 97–98. The Council of Zamość established his commemoration on 16<sup>th</sup> September. *Провінційний Синод у Замості 1720 р.Б.* 2006, 261. Josafat’s canonisation took place only in 1867.

<sup>411</sup> Naumow suggests that new hymnography for Martyr Josafat was composed from 1623 onward, especially after the synod of Kobryn in 1626. Its earliest examples feature the *troparion* and the *kontakion*. As a proof of the range of independent hymnographical activity, these hymns exist as several different versions. The Missal printed by the Basilians of the Holy Trinity Monastery in Vilna in 1691 included the Office (the propers for the Divine Liturgy) of Archbishop Josafat, and Metropolitan Žohovskij contributed to the establishment of the commemoration by printing the Office in his Missal of 1692. Texts for the festal Matins appeared in the late 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the earliest full hymnographical cycle was printed in 1738 in Unév, accompanying the Feast of the Holy Eucharist in that publication. See Naumow 1996, 98–104, 113; Naumow 2002, 145; Скочилас 2008, 31.

as a model for an icon.<sup>412</sup> By the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, the cult of Josafat flourished in the Uniate Church, particularly in centres such as Polock, Vilna and Žyrovichy. In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the three remaining Orthodox dioceses joined the union, adopting the commemoration of Blessed Josafat became a key question<sup>413</sup> and his cult was seen as central to the strengthening of Uniate religious identity.<sup>414</sup>

There could hardly be any clearer indication of estrangement between the two Eastern Rite communities than the death of a hierarch of one at the hands of another, who until recently belonged to the same Church.<sup>415</sup> The developing martyr's cult contributed to the Uniates' sense of separateness most effectively through the treatment of the Orthodox community in the newly composed hymnography. As Naumow notes, the hymnographical depiction of the Orthodox involves a rich repertoire of offensive and disparaging terms and in many instances relies on the traditional description of the Jews during the Passion of Christ.<sup>416</sup> The choice for particularly aggressive language was understandable in the light of the historical event, yet even more as a reflection of the ongoing process in the Uniate consciousness: detachment from the Orthodox – even in hymnography – was in certain ways essential. What makes the cult of Josafat particularly interesting is the fact that its hymnographical expression is so deeply rooted in the Eastern Rite liturgical tradition<sup>417</sup> while in its content it rejects the origin of the rite, the Orthodox Church, as heretical, false and even godless.<sup>418</sup> Although relying on old Orthodox hymnographical conventions, the cult of Josafat bears witness to increasing consciousness of an independent Uniate identity.

### 3.3.2 Testing the boundaries of unity

Demarcation from the Orthodox community was also marked with open attempts to integrate into the Roman Catholic sphere. For this reason, the process of confessionalisation has often been defined in terms of Latinisation. During the first decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in particular, the new unity was demonstrated at different public events, such as joint celebrations of liturgical

<sup>412</sup> Gil notes that the first painting of the archbishop was prepared in 1624 and sent to Rome to support the beatification process. Similar portraits were painted for local use and even printed as an illustration to a published sermon on his martyrdom. There is evidence of the presence of paintings of Josafat in Uniate churches in the Diocese of Chełm in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. The paintings played a significant role in the formation of the cult, especially as some of them were deemed to be miraculous. Apart from iconographic depictions, there were also sculptures of the blessed martyr, one of which was carried in a procession in Vilna at the presence of King Władysław in 1642. According to Gil, the flourishing cult was in many ways subdued during the Muscovite occupation in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. The icons of Kuncevič, for instance, were destroyed or modified by repainting: at least one example of Josafat transformed into St John the Theologian has been identified from this period. Gil 2010, 149, 160–166. See also Janocha, Michał. "Niektóre aspekty ikonografii unickiej na terenie Rzeczypospolitej." *Śladami unii brzeskiej*. Acta Collegii Suprasliensis. Tom X. Lublin-Supraśl: Wydawnictwo KUL 2010, 531–536.

<sup>413</sup> Балик, Борис І. ЧСВВ. Інокентій Іван Винницький, єпископ Перемиський, Самбірський, Сяніцький (1680–1700). Рим: Видавництво ОО. Василян 1978, 258; Bobryk, Witold. "Rite Changes in the Uniate Diocese of Chełm in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century. *On the Border of the Worlds. Essays about the Orthodox and Uniate Churches in Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages and the Modern Period*. Ed. Andrzej Gil, Witold Bobryk. Siedlce-Lublin: Akademia Podlaska, Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej 2010, 182.

<sup>414</sup> Скоцилас 2008, 31.

<sup>415</sup> A reflection of the shock caused by this brutal act can be noted in the ways Archbishop Josafat's fate is depicted, for example, in commemorations marked in Uniate liturgical books. A short Office dedicated to Priest Martyr Josafat in an early 18<sup>th</sup>-century Uniate Missal describes him as one "who suffered [at the hands] of his own sheep [flock]". LMAB F 19-195, f. 115.

<sup>416</sup> The mob that killed Archbishop Josafat is described, for example, as "infamous enemies [who] like beasts unmercifully attacked [you]" ("злочестиві врази яко зв'єріє немилостивіи нашедше"). Naumow 1996, 134–135.

<sup>417</sup> Naumow 1996, 136.

<sup>418</sup> Naumow 1996, 135.

services and processions. Another indication was the sharing of the church as a venue for the other rite, which was initially supported by Rome.<sup>419</sup> Such co-operation took place, for example, in the diocese of Luck in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>420</sup> On certain special occasions, the Ruthenian hierarchs were even allowed to celebrate in major centres of the Roman Church, such as the Cathedral of Cracow, where Metropolitan Gavriil Kolenda, together with bishops Jakov Suša and Martin Bialozor, commemorated Blessed Josafat Kuncevič at a Holy Mass in 1669.<sup>421</sup> Such fraternal benevolence was not, however, common everywhere and the right of the Uniate clergy to serve in Latin Rite churches was also questioned.<sup>422</sup>

Frequent interaction with the Latin Rite Catholics gave rise to questions concerning the actual extent of church unity in terms of inter-ritual participation in the sacraments: if the Church was one, was it possible for the Uniates to participate in the sacraments (mainly the Eucharist and Confession) that were administered according to the Latin Rite, and vice versa? This turned out to be an acute problem which highlighted fundamental differences between the two rites. In the course of the centuries, Eucharistic practices of the Eastern and Western churches had grown apart<sup>423</sup> and, ironically, it was exactly through this “sacrament of unity” that the dividing line between the Latin Rite and Greek Rite Catholics was drawn in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>424</sup> Both sides were concerned about the confusion of rites, but the attitude of the Roman authorities revealed another aspect of the problem: in the light of the superiority of the Roman Catholic Church, the Latin Rite faithful were generally forbidden to partake of the Greek Rite sacraments, but no such restrictions were made with respect to the Uniate participation in Roman Catholic mysteries. As Senyk puts it, “It was [...] always beneficial for the faithful of an inferior rite to participate in the sacraments and all other devotions of the Latins, but it was not proper for Latin faithful to take part in inferior

<sup>419</sup> In 1602, the Pope instructed the Roman Catholic Bishop of Vilna, Benedykt Woyna, to permit all Catholic priests, whether Latin or Greek Rite, to celebrate in each others’ churches, as long as they were observing their own rite. *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica* [MUH] 1. Romae 1964, 230–231 via Senyk 1994, 564.

<sup>420</sup> According to a report by Jesuits in 1604, the Latin Rite bishop Martin Szyszkowski both celebrated in Greek Rite churches and invited the Ruthenian hierarchs to celebrate in churches under his authority. *MUH* 1. 1964, 244 via Senyk 1994, 578.

<sup>421</sup> Rudomicz, B. *Efemeros czyli Diariusz prywatny pisany w Zamościu w latach 1656–1672*. Vol. 2 (1665–1672). Lublin 2002, 268 via Gil, Andrzej. “The First Images and the Beginning of the Cult of the Archbishop of Połock Josafat Kuncewicz in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth till the mid-17<sup>th</sup> Century.” *On the Border of the Worlds. Essays about the Orthodox and Uniate Churches in Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages and the Modern Period*. Ed. Andrzej Gil, Witold Bobryk. Siedlce-Lublin: Akademia Podlaska, Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej 2010, 152.

<sup>422</sup> In 1631, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Vilna, Abraham Woyna, enquired from Rome about the rights of the Uniates in such matters. The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith stated that any priest, especially the Uniate clergy, must have a special permission from the bishop to serve in the Latin Rite churches. There was a practical aspect to the use of churches, as well: it was not clear whether the Latin clergy could celebrate in a Ruthenian church without the use of a portable altar stone, i.e., by using the Greek Rite *antimensia*. According to Senyk, the general opinion seems to have necessitated the use of an altar stone. In 1643, the Uniate metropolitan asked for such stone for the needs of the Latin clergy who occasionally celebrated in the Greek Rite Cathedral of Chełm. *Litterae Episcoporum historiam Ucrainae illustrantes*, Vol. 2. Romae 1973, 38 via Senyk 1994, 579.

<sup>423</sup> In Eastern practice, the Eucharist was delivered in two species, the Body and Blood of Christ, whereas in the Western practice, the laity had become excluded from the chalice. Also the type of bread, leavened in the Eastern tradition and unleavened in the Western, separated the two rites. The difficulty in allowing inter-ritual participation in the Eucharist consisted of the inconsistency that the Latin Rite laity would have experienced, had they been allowed to partake in the Blood through the Greek Rite Communion, although this was not customary in their own rite. This was realised by Rome in the early years of the Union of Brest and in 1603, a decree was issued stating that the participation in the sacraments of the other rite was prohibited, except for situations of extreme necessity. *MUH* 1. 1964, 230–231 via Senyk 1994, 564.

<sup>424</sup> Senyk 1994, 570.

usages.”<sup>425</sup> There is evidence that the Uniate faithful occasionally turned to the Latin Rite clergy for Confession and also for Communion.<sup>426</sup>

From the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, thus, the question of inter-ritual sacramental participation concentrated on the treatment of Latin Rite faithful in situations where there was only Eastern Rite clergy available.<sup>427</sup> The problem was particularly acute in monasteries and centres with miraculous shrines that attracted great numbers of pilgrims from both rites. In one of the major centres, the Monastery of Žyrovichy, Metropolitan Ruts'kij had obtained a disputed permission for the hieromonks to hear the confessions of Latin Rite pilgrims.<sup>428</sup> Yet in the case of Communion, only a visiting Latin Rite priest could serve the Latins, provided that he had unleavened *azymes* at his disposal.<sup>429</sup>

Aware of their pastoral responsibility, the Uniates recurrently turned to the Roman authorities for solution. In 1631, Bishop Korsak asked the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith for permission for the Basilians of this monastery to celebrate a Latin Rite Liturgy for the Roman Catholic pilgrims, but the request was rejected. Instead, Rome provided the monastery with a Latin altar for the needs of the Latin Rite pilgrims.<sup>430</sup> In 1662, bishop Suša informed Rome about the number of Latins gathering in Žyrovichy to receive the sacraments and asked for permission to select Basilians to hear their confessions and to consecrate unleavened hosts for the Latin use at the Eastern Rite Divine Liturgy.<sup>431</sup> Such requests were answered in 1666 when Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith declared that the theologians of the *Sanctus Officium* did not regard it as necessary to allow the Basilians to consecrate *azyme* hosts, because it would cause confusion in the rites.<sup>432</sup> Similar problems appeared in parish churches with miraculous icons, for instance, in Chełm. Bishop Suša described the solution found there in 1665: the Latin Rite pilgrims were served either by Latin priests, or by Greek Rite hieromonks who were permitted by a Roman Catholic bishop to hear confessions and distribute the *azymes* in case the Latin priests were not available. “It also happens sometimes that Latin laity, who are not able to receive Latin Communion, desire to receive the Greek, but this we always refuse,” he clarified.<sup>433</sup>

The denial of sacramental exchange revealed the undeniable inequality between the two rites within the Catholic Church, and the suspicion towards the Eastern Rite Catholics continued to be demonstrated throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>434</sup> Many Latin Rite authorities perceived

<sup>425</sup> Senyk 1994, 581.

<sup>426</sup> According to a report written to Rome by Bishop Suša in 1662, Ruthenian pilgrims sometimes asked the visiting Latin Rite priests to hear their confession and to celebrate the Eucharist for their needs in the Monastery of Žyrovichy. *Litterae Episcoporum*, Vol. 2. 1973, 248 via Гуцуляк 2004, 53.

<sup>427</sup> The question arose from the realities of the day: in the Ruthenian lands where the Eastern Rite dominated, the Roman Catholic population was often in need of sacraments but had no Latin Rite priest to administer them. The disadvantage of the Latin Rite population had led to their frequent participation in the Eastern Rite sacraments already prior to the Union of Brest. Such activity, despite its practical reasons, had been officially prohibited by King Stefan Batory in 1579 who decreed that the bishops of Luck and Volodymyr were to refrain from interfering with the Latin jurisdiction. *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.1. 1859, 117–119; Senyk 1994, 567.

<sup>428</sup> Senyk 1994, 573. The Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith had decreed in 1626 that the rite of the priest made no difference in the right to hear confessions. Senyk 1994, 577.

<sup>429</sup> In certain places, such as Žyrovichy (already in 1629), it was customary to preserve Latin hosts for the Communion of the Roman Catholic faithful. These had been consecrated by a visiting Latin Rite priest and the Basilian monks were reluctant to distribute them. АСД т.12. 1900, 33–34; Senyk 1994, 568.

<sup>430</sup> Korsak's idea had been to use the Slavonic translations of the Latin Rite liturgical books, printed in Cyrillic letters for the use among Croats, and thus to highlight the brotherhood between the Greek Rite and the Latin Rite Catholics. Гуцуляк 2004, 52.

<sup>431</sup> *Litterae episcoporum*, Vol. 2. 1973, 248 via Гуцуляк 2004, 53.

<sup>432</sup> *Supplicationes Ecclesiae Unitae Ucrainae et Bielarussiae*, Vol. 1, 227 via Гуцуляк 2004, 53. According to Senyk, however, the matter here concerned communicating the Latins with *leavened* hosts. See Senyk 1994, 568.

<sup>433</sup> *Litterae episcoporum*, Vol. 3. Romae 1974, 44–45 via Senyk 1994, 575. (Translation by Senyk.)

<sup>434</sup> In 1742, Pope Benedict XIV decreed that the Latin Rite prevail in all matters over the Greek Rite; thus, the

the Uniates more as a threat than as brethren. Their influence reached from synodal decrees to concrete actions for the benefit of the Latin Rite over the Greek. For example, the validity of the Eastern Rite sacraments continued to be questioned,<sup>435</sup> as did the Uniates' right to church property. Competition between the two rites most commonly resulted in the loss of the Greek Rite community. Petr Kaminskij, a Basilian monk, described in his letter in 1685 how the Latin Rite Catholics took over Uniate churches and forcibly removed the signs of Eastern tradition, such as icons. "The matter is finally decided with a horned syllogism," he concludes his relation of the takeover of the church in Tylyč, "whether the parishioners [...] are Uniates or not: if they are Uniates, let them come to the [Roman] Church, for the sake of the holy unity; but if they are not Uniates, but schismatics, their church can freely be taken from them."<sup>436</sup> Occasionally, the competition between the rites exceeded all limits, for example, in 1686 when a Latin priest was reported to have set fire to a local Uniate church in order to increase the number of faithful in his own parish.<sup>437</sup>

### 3.3.3 The "third rite" evolves in liturgical practice

The intermediate position of the Uniate Church between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic traditions was inevitably felt in liturgical life. Although the union had initially been perceived as a safeguard to preserve the Eastern Rite, the integration of the Uniates into the Latin cultural sphere eventually brought about changes in their liturgical practices.

It has to be remembered that both the Orthodox and the Uniate Church inherited the problems that had burdened the Eastern Rite Ruthenians in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, for example, the lack of order and inadequate clerical training. Concern for order was one of the major causes in the young Uniate Church,<sup>438</sup> and certain foreign-based innovations initially aimed at the improvement of the state of liturgical life. For example, the Uniate authors Josafat Kuncevič and Lev Krevza prepared guidebooks for the clergy (*Nauka iercom* 1617 and *Nauka o sedmi tajnah* 1618) that were in many ways adapted from Latin teaching.<sup>439</sup> The Latin model was adopted in order to enhance the practice of the Eastern Rite. In fact, the Latin influence only seemed to constitute a problem when it was accompanied with the relaxation of liturgical discipline in the Uniate Church. Instead of striving for the general reorganisation of the rite, liturgical innovations were often introduced on the basis of personal preference. The social and political circumstances in which the Ruthenians lived seem to have had a significant impact on the development – the most drastic changes in liturgical rite emerged in and after the 1660s, following the Muscovite occupation and the period during which the Uniate Church had been without a metropolitan.

The changes gradually contributed to the formation of a blended liturgical tradition that was occasionally referred to as the "third rite". As early as the 1640s, Adam Kisel' pointed out the risk of such development, reminding that both the Greek and the Latin Rite should preserve their integrity. Warnings against the *tertium quid* were recorded in polemic debates, reports and other

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Greek Rite faithful could receive Communion in the Latin Rite, but the reverse was forbidden. Skinner 2009, 50.

<sup>435</sup> Senyk notes how the absolution granted by a Greek Rite priest at Confession for a Latin Rite believer was declared null by a synod in Chełm in 1644, and how the right to hear confessions even in largest centres of pilgrimages was finally denied in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, except for situations of emergency. In 1727, this was prohibited completely. Only in the 1750s did the Congregation come to favour the freedom to choose a confessor of any rite. Senyk 1994, 576–578.

<sup>436</sup> "Вкінці справу порішено при помочи рогатого силлогізму; або Тиличани є уніїти, або вони не є уніїти; коли вони уніїти, то нехай ходять до костела, бо єдність сьвята; коли вони не є уніїти, то їм схизматикам вільно відібрати церкву." Шурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 205.

<sup>437</sup> *Supplicationes Ecclesiae Unitae Ucrainae et Bielarussiae*, Vol. 1. 1960, 281–282 via Гуцуляк 2004, 57.

<sup>438</sup> Pott 2010, 236.

<sup>439</sup> Галадза 1997, 9–10.

documents throughout the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>440</sup> The mixing of customs was generally seen as negative but little could be done to prevent it. Up to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, interventions took place mainly as reactions to the changes that had already occurred.<sup>441</sup> The Basilian Order, in spite of placing great emphasis on doctrinal and ritual unification, did not manage to set standards for their reforms.<sup>442</sup> Abuses of the Eastern Rite customs were noted regularly in the acts of the Basilian chapters,<sup>443</sup> yet a significant number of innovations were introduced in the Basilians' own monasteries.

Two different techniques can be recognised in the process of evolution. Firstly, it gradually became acceptable to *modify existing Eastern Rite customs* to better correspond with the Latin tradition. Such modification included, for example, changes in the interior of the church and in the content of liturgical services. Understandably, such changes were particularly likely to "scandalise" both the Orthodox and some of the conservative members of the Uniate Church. Secondly, it was possible to *adapt new practices*, most commonly of Latin origin, to the Greek Rite liturgical context. New types of divine services, commemorations, liturgical customs and ideas were clothed into Eastern Rite attire, and they were eventually transformed into something characteristically Uniate. The Feast of the Holy Eucharist was a good example of this process.

The development of a mixed tradition was largely a spontaneous process in which liturgical changes emerged as individual innovations and were initially restricted to a specific church, parish or monastery. Forty years after the Union of Brest, the Uniate Metropolitan Rutskij was still inclined to conclude that the Eastern Rite had remained unchanged, apart from some individuals who had attempted at its Latinisation.<sup>444</sup>

The evidence recorded in the debate between Kassian Sakovič and Peter Mohyla in the 1640s points to moderate changes that sprang from the influence of the surrounding Latin culture: the use of bells in the altar, which appears to have been customary also in certain Orthodox churches,<sup>445</sup> and the adoption of Roman monastic habits by some Uniate monks.<sup>446</sup> Sakovič praised the Bishop of Volodymyr for introducing the custom of carrying the Holy Sacrament in a procession around the church and of chanting the Creed in the Divine Liturgy instead of reciting it.<sup>447</sup> Apart from

<sup>440</sup> The concept of *tertium quid* was used, for example, by Jakov Suša, the Uniate bishop of Chełm, in 1683 in reference to the emerging tradition that was neither Greek nor Latin. Галядза 1997, 19.

<sup>441</sup> Pott 2010, 242.

<sup>442</sup> Skinner 2009, 32.

<sup>443</sup> For example, Bishop Suša, who strongly supported the loyalty to the Eastern Rite customs in the Uniate Church, advised the participants of the 16<sup>th</sup> Basilian Chapter in 1666 to fully observe the holy Greek ceremonies, noting that some monks had "included and invented many things" in the Divine Liturgy, so that instead of the Greek or Latin ceremonies, they followed their own: "A najpierwey zaraz o świętych ceremoniach greckich, aby były zupełnie obserwowane, wiele proponował, osobliwie przy Boskiey ofierze, w której zakonnicy prywatną swoją powagą wiele rzeczy uieli y wymyslili, tak że ani świętych ceremonij greckich, ani łacińskich mieć nie zdarza się, lecz swoje własne." АСД т.12. 1900, 88. A few years earlier, in 1662, he had referred to the arbitrariness of changes: hoping to accommodate the Greek customs to the Roman Rite, certain Uniates had changed ceremonies which needed no change, while neglecting, rejecting or distorting others. Suša urged the Roman Church to reprimand such innovators. *Litterae Episcoporum*, Vol. 2. 1973, 248 via Гуцуляк 2004, 54.

<sup>444</sup> *Epistolae Metropolitae Kioviensis Catholicorum* (1613–1838), Vol. 1. Romae 1959, 380 via Гуцуляк 2004, 43.

<sup>445</sup> In *Perspectiva* (1642), Sakovič had called for the use of bells at the consecration and elevation of the Holy Sacrament in Eastern Rite churches. Mohyla answered that even without his advice bells had long been in use, without restriction, wherever wanted: both in the altar and during the processions with the Holy Gifts to the sick. ("Y bez ciebie to, gdzie chcą, bez zabronienia już dawno zażywaią: tak przy ołtarzu, iako y do chorego z Naświętzym Sakramentem idąc.") *Архивъ ЮЗР* т.1, ч.IX. 1893, 114. On the basis of church inventories, it is possible to see that altar bells became standard, especially in Uniate churches in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. See, for example, the inventory of the Žyrovichy Church (1687), included in the Dobrohotov collection at Russian Academy of Sciences Library (БРАН, к. П. Доброхотова, № 47, f. 14).

<sup>446</sup> *Архивъ ЮЗР* т.1, ч.IX. 1893, 343.

<sup>447</sup> *Архивъ ЮЗР* т.1, ч.IX. 1893, 127. The carrying of the Holy Sacrament will be analysed in more detail in Chapter 4.

these individual examples, both polemicists noted that it was becoming increasingly acceptable to modify the divine services by abbreviating them. Sakovič saw this as a positive feature, since it removed unnecessary “tautology” and allowed more parts of the service to be performed in chant, and he praised the Uniates against the Orthodox in the pursuit of a more dignified style of celebration, as in the Roman Catholic Church: “You could have the same, if you were willing to put your services into order, abandoning that Muscovite hoarseness from your singing and shortening the *Polyeleos* from several dozens of verses to 12 or 10, like the Uniate fathers do.”<sup>448</sup> Mohyla, instead, criticised the abbreviations:

Matins, Vespers and other services they [the Uniates] have shortened and disfigured in such manner that hardly anything ancient is left, and this for the sake of nothing else but, firstly, of subtlety and Italian politics, and even more, of mischief and self-endearment, which means they do not want to stand for a long time in prayers in the church.<sup>449</sup>

The relaxation of discipline with respect to liturgical order, of which Sakovič gave a personal account (see chapter 3.2.3), subjected the Eastern Rite to changes that distanced it from the old Byzantine tradition. A notable number of innovations concerned the Divine Liturgy and the Sacrament of the Eucharist. While Eucharistic development will be considered more closely in the next chapter, it can be noted here that these changes were manifested, for example, in the development of the recited Divine Liturgy, the daily celebration of the Eucharist during the Great Lent, the reduction of the *proskomedia*, the building of side altars and removal of the iconostasis, not to mention the new customs involving the exposition of the Sacrament.<sup>450</sup>

The development of the “third” rite was a practical reflection of the evolving confessional identity. As the Uniate community grew apart from the Orthodox and entered deeper into the Roman Catholic sphere, the customs that had initially been evaded now became widely accepted. The *Filioque* (“и Сына”), which in the 1640s had still been excluded from the Creed,<sup>451</sup> was officially recommended at the 17<sup>th</sup> Basilian Chapter in Vilna (1667).<sup>452</sup> It soon became fully established in new liturgical books and in Uniate practice.<sup>453</sup> Another similar process took place with the commemoration of the Pope during the Divine Liturgy. The recognition of the Pope as the head of the Uniate Church was not initially reflected in liturgical practice, except for the Divine Liturgy celebrated by the Metropolitan who, according to the Eastern Rite practice, had to commemorate his superior at a certain point of the service.<sup>454</sup> In 1661, at the 14<sup>th</sup> Basilian Chapter in Žyroviczy, Bishop Suša suggested that the Pope be remembered in the Liturgy during the great

<sup>448</sup> “Тоżby u was być mogło, gdybyście chcieli swoje nabożeństwo sporządzić, wyrzuciwszy owe Moskiewskie hakania z śpiewania y *polielos* skrociwszy z kilkudziesiąt toczek, na 12 albo 10, iako oycowie unici czynią.” *Lithos* in *Архивъ ЮЗР* т.1, ч.IX. 1893, 301.

<sup>449</sup> “[...] iutrznia, wieczernia y insze nabożeństwa tak skrocili y deformowali, że ledwie co starożytności zostawili, nie dla czego inszego, iedno dla subtelności y Włoskiej politiki, a raczey dla swawoli y własney pieszczoty, że się im długo na modlitwach w cerkwi stać nie chce.” *Lithos* in *Архивъ ЮЗР* т.1, ч.IX. 1893, 307–308.

<sup>450</sup> See chapter 4.2.

<sup>451</sup> Kassian Sakovič pointed out in his *Perspectiwa* that the Uniates continued to use the same text of the Creed as the schismatics, which greatly distressed the Roman Catholics. According to Huculak, Sakovič implied that the exclusion of the *Filioque* from the Creed actually denoted the rejection of the Catholic faith. Sakovič, *Perspectiwa* 1642, 4v–5r via Гуцуляк 2004, 300.

<sup>452</sup> “[...] żeby wszyscy im *Credo* przydawali y *od Syna per omnes dioeceses*.” (“That all would add ‘and from the Son’ in the Creed in all dioceses.”) *АСД* т.12. 1900, 96.

<sup>453</sup> Huculak notes that Metropolitan Kolenda, at whose request the Chapter had discussed the use of the *Filioque*, added it in his printed *Horologion* (1670), after which it was also used in *Ecphonemata* (1671) by Ohilevyč, and several manuscript and printed Uniate missals in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. The use of the *Filioque* became a symbol of the Uniate tradition especially when the last Orthodox dioceses joined the union in the early 1700s. Гуцуляк 2004, 301.

<sup>454</sup> Sakovič criticised the Ruthenian clergy and hierarchy for not commemorating the Pope. According to *Perspectiwa*, it was only the Metropolitan who mentioned his name during celebration. Гуцуляк 2004, 189.

entrance (Cherubic Hymn).<sup>455</sup> The custom gradually spread to liturgical manuals, but there was no uniformity regarding the place of commemoration in the Liturgy. For example, the Missal of 1692 by Metropolitan Žohovskij prescribes it to the *proskomedie*, the litany of fervent supplication, the great entrance, the Anaphora and the *mnogoletie* at the end of the Liturgy, while the practice continued to vary considerably (occasionally the commemoration was altogether omitted) in the manuscript tradition of the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>456</sup>

The gradual transformation of the Uniate tradition reflected in many ways the problems that both Eastern Rite churches faced in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The inferior status and the lack of discipline within the church continued to encourage changes of rite from Greek to Latin, which, despite prohibitions of various kinds, became particularly frequent during the 1660s–1680s.<sup>457</sup> At the same time, the Basilian monastic order received members from other orders of the Roman Catholic Church,<sup>458</sup> who, were understandably unfamiliar with the Eastern Rite liturgy and the Church Slavonic language. Petr Kaminskij mentioned in 1685 that there were Basilians, even of the highest rank, who did not know how to read Cyrillic letters but needed transliterations of Eastern Rite liturgical texts.<sup>459</sup> In his opinion, there were changes in liturgical practice that were based on pure ignorance, for example, the omission of the all-night vigil “because they do not know this service” and the confusion concerning the performance of the Canon at Matins (“[they] probably chant every 10<sup>th</sup> *heirmos*”).<sup>460</sup>

Defamiliarisation with the Eastern Rite could also arise among the native Ruthenian Basilians, especially through their education in European academies.<sup>461</sup> According to a contemporary eyewitness, many of those who returned to Ruthenian monasteries brought the fashions and customs of their *Alma Mater* with them.<sup>462</sup> The majority of Uniate Church leaders were chosen from

<sup>455</sup> Suša called for clarity in liturgical practices: commemorating the Pope openly would remove any questions concerning the position of the Uniate Church. The suggestion was accepted and the Pope was mentioned in the Liturgies and other services that were celebrated during the Chapter. The custom was further recommended to all monasteries. АСД т.12. 1900, 70–72.

<sup>456</sup> Гуцуляк 2004, 190.

<sup>457</sup> Галадза 1997, 15. The change from the Greek to the Latin Rite had been prohibited already in 1624 by Pope Urban VIII. Initially, the prohibition concerned both monastics and the laity, but due to the objection of King Zygmunt III, it was corrected by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to concern only the monastics. Гуцуляк 2004, 56. Yet the Greek Rite Church continued to haemorrhage. There was no consensus even in Rome about the question. Galadza points out that the introduction of the Latin Rite among the Ruthenian Uniates was openly suggested to the Congregation by an Italian abbot. Галадза 1997, 16. Petr Kaminskij saw the cause of the problem in the low level of education and corruption in the monasteries, in particular. When the disillusioned monks turned away from the church, he noted, the monasteries had to take in Germans, Lithuanians, Poles and other people without proper teaching or discipline, which was detrimental to the church. Шурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 231.

<sup>458</sup> According to Galadza, these were mostly tempted by the benefits available in the new order. Галадза 1997, 18.

<sup>459</sup> “Бо й такі є між ними, що по руськи читати не вміють; іменно їх генерал чи провінціал, небіщик Терлецький – цілий Службеник мав писаний польськими буквами, дарма що був римський теолог.” (“For there are such [people] among them that cannot read in Russian; namely their General or Provincial, the late Terleckij, [who] had a whole Missal written in Polish letters, despite being a Roman theologian.” Kaminskij mentioned that the wise Uniates who did not know Slavonic (“Russian”) well enough preferred to stay in their cells, out of embarrassment, and celebrate recited Liturgies. Шурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 236.

<sup>460</sup> “Всеночного (т.є. бдінія) [...] нема, бо того богослуження не вміють. Ірмос хіба десятій заспіває.” Шурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 236.

<sup>461</sup> The tradition had been established already in 1615 when Pope Paul V sponsored the studies for twenty-two Basilians in cities such as Rome, Prague, and Vienna. Шурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 247.

<sup>462</sup> Kaminskij criticised these monks who, having got used to the “comforts of the lords”, pursued a fashionable life in Lithuanian monasteries. He mentioned how they dressed according to the French fashion, enjoyed conversations in Italian, conducted all kinds of intrigue, gossip and parties in their cells, and how their health had become so delicate that they could not take the simple Lithuanian food or even mead; instead, they asked for wine from the Prince, under the pretext of needing it for the Divine Liturgy. Шурат 1929 via Новаковський

among these graduates, especially those who had studied at the Greek College of St Athanasius in Rome.<sup>463</sup> Kaminskij saw the church elite as responsible for the degradation of the Eastern Rite and pointed out even a peculiar hostility towards the old tradition among some of them:

In 1681, His Excellency Fr Malahovskij [the Uniate bishop of Przemyśl in 1670–1692] was walking with his vicar [most likely Kaminskij himself] from the city of Jaroslav to the suburb, conversing on the way about the Greek Rite and the need to preserve it unaltered. The vicar, who was strongly in favour of the old tradition, had solid arguments for its maintenance and preservation. [...] Malahovskij, having no arguments or solid causes available for answer, was filled with anger and made an effort [by saying], “Why! To the health of the Greek Rite!” Having said this, he went on and – pardon me – *urinam misit* [urinated] near the fence of his own house. Just try and expect something good and promotive for the preservation of the Greek Rite from the Uniate lords, when their bishops piss like dogs about the walls for its health.<sup>464</sup>

Such examples of disregard for the integrity of the Eastern Rite, as well as the enchantment with the Latin culture, understandably contributed to the development of a mixed rite.

### 3.3.3.1 New commemorations

The adoption of feasts and commemorations previously unfamiliar to the Eastern Rite was one reflection of the evolution of the “third” rite. The second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century brought about a variety of new devotions dedicated to Virgin Mary, for example. Although a strong attachment to the cult of the *Theotokos* had characterised the Ruthenian Eastern Rite spirituality already well before the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it is possible to argue that certain Marian feasts and services, as they were cultivated in the Roman Catholic Church, had a considerable influence on the Uniates to whom the Virgin now appeared as a special protectress of unity with the Roman Church.

In 1661, to express due gratitude to the Most Holy Virgin for protection against the schismatics, Bishop Suša suggested that the Feast of the Conception<sup>465</sup> be extended from a traditional one-day feast to eight days, in other words, to be endowed with an octave.<sup>466</sup> The concept of an octave was analogous to the Eastern Rite custom of *afterfeast* and thus constituted no real deviation from tradition; however, by accepting the suggestion, the Chapter changed the status of the feast. In the Eastern Rite tradition, the Conception did not belong to the major Marian feasts with an afterfeast.<sup>467</sup>

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2005, 231–233.

<sup>463</sup> See, for example, Blažejovskyj 1979.

<sup>464</sup> “В 1681 р. Його Милість о. Малаховський зі своїм намісником, ідучи з міста Ярослав на передмістє, розмавляли по дорозі про грецький обряд, що не належить змінювати його; потребу задержання й заховання його виказував солідними архументами намісник, що сильно придержував ся старини. [...] Малаховський, не маючи для відповіді під рукою аргументів і солідних рацій, запінивши ся гнівом, здовув ся на таке: “Е-е! за здоровлє грецького набоженства!” Се сказавши, пійшов і вже близько плота своєї палати – вибачте – *urinam misit*. Сподівай ся-ж тут добра і промоції або задержання грецького набоженства від панів уніятів, коли єпископи їх за його здоровлє мочать, як пси по стінах.” Щурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 238.

<sup>465</sup> The Conception by St Anne of the Holy Mother of God is a feast celebrated in the Orthodox Church worldwide on 9<sup>th</sup> December.

<sup>466</sup> The suggestion was accepted unanimously. Furthermore, the Chapter agreed that in all monasteries, every week after the early Liturgy, on the same weekday that the Feast of Conception had fallen that year, the brethren were to gather in front of the great altar (thus indicating that there were side altars, as well) and chant the final part of the *akathistos* hymn, *O wsepitaia Mati* (*O all-praised mother*). See 14<sup>th</sup> Basilian Chapter in Žyrovičy (1661), АСД т.12. 1900, 71.

<sup>467</sup> According to Galadza, the Ruthenian hierarchs raised the feast celebrated on 9<sup>th</sup> December to the status of other great Marian feasts only after the presentation of the dogma on the Immaculate Conception by Pope Pius IX in 1854. Galadza 2004, 266. The Basilian Chapter of 1661 was thus a precedent to a considerably later official decision. There is also evidence that ordinary commemorations could also be celebrated with an octave. Kaminskij reports that in Žyrovičy in 1684, the festivities of St Basil’s Day continued for a week after the actual commemoration and that during this octave, the divine services were celebrated on the side altar dedicated to

While that particular feast was most likely selected by Bishop Suša because it coincided with the 14<sup>th</sup> Basilian Chapter, it could also be suggested that the importance assigned to the feast was a reflection of the popularity of the corresponding Latin feast: that of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.<sup>468</sup> The connection between the two can be noted in the language used in the proceedings of the Chapter: the Eastern Rite Feast of the Conception is consistently referred to as “Niepokalane Poczęcie”, the Polish term for Immaculate Conception.<sup>469</sup>

Ten years later, at the 18<sup>th</sup> Basilian Chapter in Novogradok, a new feast was added to the list of traditional Eastern Rite feasts of the *Theotokos*: the Visitation.<sup>470</sup> Senyk points out another similar list from the year 1684. A gift to the Basilian Monastery in Brest was accompanied by a request to serve the *akathistos* at Marian feasts, including the Visitation.<sup>471</sup> In the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century Uniate manuscripts, a short Office (*služba*) for the feast appears under the name of “Pośeščenje”.<sup>472</sup> It was included in the Missal of 1691 with a remark on its voluntary observation, “аще кто изволить”.<sup>473</sup> Another feast with Latin implications evolved around the sorrows of the Mother of God. The Council of Zamość established it as *Festum Dolorosae Beatissimae Mariae Virginis*.<sup>474</sup> In Ruthenian practice, it was generally known as “Sostradanie”,<sup>475</sup> the Compassion (Dolours) of the Mother of God, and it was initially celebrated on the Friday following the octave of the Holy Eucharist. Hymnographical evidence of the feast dates to the second quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>476</sup>

Apart from feasts of Virgin Mary, a number of other commemorations were adopted from Roman Catholic tradition in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>477</sup> for example, that of St Anthony the saint. Шупат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 235; Гуцуляк 2004, 212.

<sup>468</sup> Although the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was confirmed only in 1854, the actual feast spread in liturgical practice much earlier and was decreed in the whole Catholic Church in 1708 by Pope Clement IX. Stern 2000, 24. In 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ruthenian Eastern Rite theological thought, the concept of the Immaculate Conception seems to have been quite widespread. See editor’s note 60 in *Epistolae Metropolitae Kioviensium Catholicorum*: *Cypriani Zochovskij, Leonis Slubicz Zalenskyj, Georgii Vynnyckij* 1958, 47.

<sup>469</sup> АСД т.12. 1900, 71 (italics mine). On the other hand, since the proceedings of the Basilian Chapters were written exclusively in Polish, it is understandable that the only available Polish term was used, even if the understanding of the feast was slightly different. The decrees of the Council of Zamość render the name without the attribute “Immaculate,” see *Провінційний Синод у Замості 1720 р.Б.* 2006, 260.

<sup>470</sup> “[...] aby w każde święto Najsświętszej Panny, to iest: Poczęcia, Ofiarowania, Zwiastowania, Gromnic, Nawiedzenia, w Niebowzięcia u Pokrowy [...]” (“[...] so that at every Feast of the Most Holy Virgin, that is, Conception, Presentation of Mary, Annunciation, Presentation of Jesus, Visitation, Assumption, and Intercession [...]”). АСД т.12. 1900, 107 (emphasis mine). This medieval Roman Catholic feast commemorating the meeting between Virgin Mary and Elizabeth was celebrated on 2<sup>nd</sup> July. The feast was introduced in some Orthodox jurisdictions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and celebrated on 30<sup>th</sup> March.

<sup>471</sup> *Акты издаваемые Виленскою Археологическою Коммиссиею для разбора древнихъ актовъ* [further: АВАК] т. 11. Вильна 1880, 242 via Senyk 1990, 178.

<sup>472</sup> Поśeščenje Пр(е)с(вя)той Б(огороди)ци. See the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Uniate Missal, LMAB F 19-191, f. 119v; and an early 18<sup>th</sup>-century *Euchologion*, LMAB F 19-209, f. 118r. The latter manuscript features only the title of the feast, the content has been torn out.

<sup>473</sup> Naumow 2002, 157.

<sup>474</sup> *Провінційний Синод у Замості 1720 р.Б.* 2006, 260. Bobryk calls it the Feast of Holy Mary of Sorrows, while Naumow identifies it as equivalent to the Immaculate Heart of Mary. Bobryk 2010, 181; Naumow 1996, 113.

<sup>475</sup> *Сострадание Пресвятыя Богородицы*. See, for example, *Восльдованія* 1738.

<sup>476</sup> Apart from *Восльдованія* (1738), the feast was included *Апографъ* (s.a.) under the name of “Доксастиконъ сїестъ Пѣснославникъ нарочитый по Пасцѣ Хр(и)стовой, въ пятокъ десятоседмичный, о прегорестныхъ болѣзняхъ пресвятыя Б(огороди)ца.” The hymnography is the fullest possible one-day feast with Small and Great Vespers with a Litija, Matins with a full Canon, second Vespers (a Uniate speciality, see below) and Compline. Naumow notes that the status of the feast diminished with the introduction of another feast, the Sacred Heart of Jesus, on that same day, which resulted in the postponement of the Virgin Mary’s feast to the following Saturday. Naumow 1996, 114.

<sup>477</sup> Одинцовъ 1886, 20. Hojnackij attributes the process mainly to the 18<sup>th</sup> century and to Metropolitan Šeptyckij’s circle. He mentions that Catholic saints such as Ignatius of Loyola were adopted in the Uniate calendar during this period. Хойнацкий 1871, 23–24.

of Padua<sup>478</sup>, St Francis of Assisi,<sup>479</sup> St Casimir,<sup>480</sup> St Augustine of Hippo,<sup>481</sup> the Sweetest Name of Jesus,<sup>482</sup> St Martin of Tours and St Stanislaw, Bishop of Cracow<sup>483</sup>. They were endowed with necessary liturgical texts that were either loans from the existing Eastern Rite tradition or original compositions in Church Slavonic.<sup>484</sup> Their images also began to appear in parish churches.<sup>485</sup> While new commemorations were added to the Uniate church calendar, the veneration of certain old Eastern Rite saints was re-evaluated. As early as around the year 1670, Metropolitan Kolenda (1665–1674) is known to have printed an *Horologion* (*Časoslov*) from which the saints unknown to the Latin Church were excluded.<sup>486</sup> According to Petr Kaminskij's letter from 1685, there was disagreement among the Basilians concerning saints such as Anthony and Theodosy of the Kievan Caves Monastery – those with a Latin Rite background tended to reject these monastic fathers as “Cossacks”.<sup>487</sup> The censorial approach can be noted in the Missal of 1692 by Metropolitan Žohovskij, from which the saints of the Rus' were excluded.<sup>488</sup> The disregard for traditional Orthodox saints such as Gregory Palamas, Simeon the Serb, Sergius of Radonež, and John of Rila, can be seen particularly in the aftermath of the Council of Zamość (1720), when under the instructions of Metropolitan Afanasij Šeptyckij (1686–1746), old manuscripts were corrected

<sup>478</sup> Senyk attributes the increase in the devotions to St Anthony to the general popularity of the saint in Poland. Even the Basilians in Chełm wanted to observe his feast in 1732, she notes. Senyk 1990, 183. In liturgical texts, the “hieromonk of Padua” is venerated as the “pillar of Orthodoxy” (*Православие наставниче*, the *troparion*). See, for instance, LMAB F 19-191, f. 113; F 19-192, ff. 216v–217v; F 19-195, ff. 196r–196v; F 19-196, 101v; F 19-197, f. 155v; F 19-209, ff. 117v–118. Naumow notes that both the *troparion* and the *kontakion* for St Anthony are loans from the traditional Eastern Rite Propers, common for all Confessors. Naumow 1996, 137. An interesting reference to the Latin origin of the feast is found in the manuscript Missal by Samuil Pilihovskij (1693). The Gospel reading, Matt. 10:1–8 (зач. і), is followed by a remark leading to another Gospel pericope, Luke 12:32–42: “Знай ѿ Іерею, яко въ Лит(у)ргіаріи Римском сему с(вя)тому послѣдующее г(лаго)лется Ев(ан)г(е)ліе. И ты оубо аще хоцещи, г(лаго)ли сіе.” (“Know this, O priest, how in the Roman *Leitourgia* for this saint the following Gospel is read. Thus you also, if willing, read this.”) LMAB F 19-192, f. 217v.

<sup>479</sup> The commemoration on 4<sup>th</sup> October in an early 18<sup>th</sup>-century Missal features “our holy, monastic father Francis the patriarch” (“С(вя)т(а)го преподобнаго отца нашего Франциска патриархи” [sic]). A possible explanation is found in the popular attribute to St Francis as “the patriarch of the poor”. The Polish influence behind the Ruthenian feast is evident in the spelling of the name in the *troparion* for the saint, “Францишекъ” (Franciszek). See LMAB F 19-195, ff. 267r–267v.

<sup>480</sup> See footnote 357.

<sup>481</sup> See “Augustine the Theologian” (“Августына Б(о)г(о)слова”), LMAB F 19-195, f. 269r.

<sup>482</sup> See LMAB F 19-198, f. 82r. The service was also included in the 1691 Missal printed by the Holy Trinity Monastery in Vilna. Naumow 2002, 157.

<sup>483</sup> Ваврик 1979, 140; Naumow 1996, 137.

<sup>484</sup> The newly composed hymnography was very loyal to the old Byzantine-Slavic tradition. Naumow 1996, 137. Some signs of the relaxation in liturgical order were visible, however: for example, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it became possible to prescribe Old Testament texts for Epistle readings, which was unknown in the Eastern Rite but characteristic of the Latin Rite liturgy. Хойнацкий 1871, 44. Moreover, certain commemorations came to be extended beyond the liturgical day in the sense that the festal hymnography continued with “Second Vespers” after the actual feast. In the Eastern Rite tradition, festal Vespers precede, not follow, the commemoration. This has been noted in the case of Blessed Josafat, for instance. Naumow notes that a similar case can be seen in the hymnography for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, too. Naumow 1996, 113. However, in the case of feasts with a post-feast, or an octave, it is only normal that the Vespers of the festal day continue the theme of the feast.

<sup>485</sup> Considerably later, in the last years of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, many churches in the Novogrudok region had images of Ignatius of Loyola, Anthony of Padua, and Casimir, for example. Skinner 2009, 57.

<sup>486</sup> Huculak 1990, 57.

<sup>487</sup> “[...] ті, що вийшли з римського обряду, сьв. Антонія й Теодосія Печерських не мають за Сьвятих, але говорять про них, що то козаки посущені.” Щурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 236.

<sup>488</sup> According to Vavryk, Metropolitan Žohovskij asked for advice from Cardinal Nerli in Rome about the omission of the Rus' saints in his Missal (1692). He was instructed to omit them; in their stead, the calendar and liturgical texts featured only the commemoration of Blessed Josafat. Ваврик 1985, 319.

and edited with marginal inscriptions. The characteristically Orthodox commemorations were consciously removed from liturgical practice; however, this process was highly uncoordinated.<sup>489</sup>

Apart from commemorations, adaptations of Roman Catholic divine services and liturgical customs began to emerge in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Loans from the Latin tradition became particularly characteristic at sanctuaries which received a notable number of Roman Catholic pilgrims every year and also provided services for them, such as the Monastery of Žyrovīcy.<sup>490</sup>

### 3.3.3.2 *Godzinki* (Hours)

In 1685, Petr Kaminskij complained that instead of reading traditional Eastern Rite Canons, people “now rush to the Hours [*godzinki*], which they chant beautifully in Polish every day for the sake of foundation,”<sup>491</sup> i.e. for the benefactors of monasteries and churches. Rather than referring to the Divine Office or the Hours of the Eastern Rite daily cycle, Kaminskij more likely commented here on the popularity of a Latin Rite prayer service based on the canonical hours, performed in a chanted dialogue. Ruthenians seem to have become particularly fond of one particular type of the *godzinki*, the *Little Office of the Immaculate Conception of Virgin Mary*.<sup>492</sup> This was a highly popular devotion in Poland that had been translated into Polish in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century.

A Church Slavonic translation of the *Hours of the Virgin* can be found in a mid-18<sup>th</sup> century collection of paraliturgical chant material from the Monastery of Suprasl'.<sup>493</sup> In his research on the manuscript, Stern characterises the Church Slavonic Office as a free adaptation of the original Latin text with a syncretistic touch: it also reveals loans from the Byzantine *Akathistos* service.<sup>494</sup> It has not been possible to determine the Latin source indicated in the title of the Office.<sup>495</sup> There is likely to have been a number of different Latin versions in circulation.<sup>496</sup> On 17<sup>th</sup> February 1678, the Holy See had issued a prohibition of one version of the Office, which was noted also among the Ruthenians. Metropolitan Žohovskij complained in his letter from the same year that it

<sup>489</sup> Naumow 1996, 138–139.

<sup>490</sup> In the case of Žyrovīcy, the familiarity with Latin Rite liturgical repertoire became later portrayed in the monastic library collection which in 1772 included eleven different compositions for the Latin Mass, three for (*Nieszpory*), and several separate hymns. Ліхач, Тамара. “Музычнае мастацтва уніяцкай царквы.” *Віцебскі сшытак. Гістарычны навукова-папулярны часопіс* № 2. Віцебск: Віцебскі абласны краязнаўчы музей, Віцебскае абласное краязнаўчае аб’яднанне 1996, 13. It is, of course, difficult to determine whether these materials were used in Uniate practice itself or whether they were intended for services provided for the Latin Rite pilgrims.

<sup>491</sup> “[...] канонів не читають; всі кинули ся до годзінок, що їх по польски гарно співають що дня ради фундацій.” Щурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 236.

<sup>492</sup> *Officium parvum Conceptionis Immaculae*. The service consists of prayers to Virgin Mary for the canonical Hours of the day: Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline. For a contemporary Latin-English text, see, for example, [www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/BVM/OPConlmm.html](http://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/BVM/OPConlmm.html).

<sup>493</sup> “Годинки ѿ Зачатїи Прес(вя)тѣя Д(ѣ)вы Б(огороди)ця” in *Богослaсник (Кнѣга Пѣснопѣнїй сирѣчь Ирмологїон [sic])*, LMAV F 19-233, ff. 108r–111v. See also Stern 2000, 753–761; Зосім, Ольга. “Officium parvum Conceptionis Immaculae Beatae Mariae Virginis Супрасльського богослaсника у контексті західної та східної богослужбових традицій.” *Діалог культур Україна – Греція: Зб. матеріалів міжн. наук.-практич. конф., Київ, 20-21 вересня 2012 р.* – К.: НАККіМ 2013, 274–278. For the sake of interest, the text of the Church Slavonic Office is presented with a cursory comparison with a contemporary Latin text in appendix 3.

<sup>494</sup> The loans mainly constitute rhyming paraphrases from the first and the last *oikos* of the *Akathistos* to Virgin Mary. Stern 2000, 252.

<sup>495</sup> “ѿт Римска(го) Дїалектра на Росскїй преведенный”, “translated from the Roman dialect to Russian”, LMAV F 19-233, f. 108r. Stern notes that although it is likely that the loans from the *Akathistos* were written into the translation by the Ruthenian author of the Office, it is also possible that the author used an existing Byzantine-influenced Latin source. Stern 2000, 252.

<sup>496</sup> DiPippo. “Re: Question about Litanies etc.” E-mail message. 9<sup>th</sup> January 2013.

had proven difficult to enforce the prohibition in his Church.<sup>497</sup> As for the author of the Office, Stern suggests that the *godzinki* as well as certain other Latin based texts in the manuscript may have been written by Spiridion Jahimovič,<sup>498</sup> who is identified as the rector of a diocesan school in Volodymyr.<sup>499</sup>

Although the Church Slavonic source dates to the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, there are also earlier references to the Little Office in the Ruthenian context. The *godzinki* quickly acquired the place of the *akathist* as a devotion with which the deceased benefactors of monasteries were commemorated. A testament made for the Žyrovičy Monastery (1666) ordered the Office of the Immaculate Conception to be chanted daily in front of the miraculous icon of Virgin Mary in memory of Brother Franciszek Bielecki.<sup>500</sup> We find evidence that the Office was indeed a daily obligation at Žyrovičy in Metropolitan Žohovskij's letter (1687), in which he mentioned that he was not inclined to prohibit the reciting of the Office of the Immaculate Conception because it drew several thousands of visitors (*legati*) to the monastery.<sup>501</sup> Furthermore, the 18<sup>th</sup> Basilian Chapter (1671) noted in its proceedings that in return of the 300 zlotys provided by Lady Łankowska, the brethren of the Byten' Monastery were to serve at every feast of Virgin Mary "a recited Liturgy, and with it, the *Officium* of the Immaculate Conception with the hymn 'Before such a great Sacrament' during the elevation [of the Sacrament], and the usual prayer for the soul of the departed."<sup>502</sup> Another request was included in the testament (1697) of Jerzy Pawłowicz, the Mayor of Vilna, who was praised for his exemplary perseverance as a Greek Rite Uniate. Pawłowicz left the [Vilna] monastery 1,000 zlotys for the celebration of the Divine Liturgy and 500 zlotys for chanting the *godzinki* of Virgin Mary on every Sunday and at every notable feast.<sup>503</sup>

Do these examples point to the existence of a Church Slavonic Little Office already in the 17<sup>th</sup> century? It seems unlikely. According to Kaminskij, the *godzinki* became popular exactly in their Polish form. Copies of Latin texts seem to have been generally available, for example, in the library of Suprasl' Monastery where the book had been donated in 1646.<sup>504</sup> It is likely that Latin or Polish were used especially in those cases where the service was requested by a non-Uniate. For example, the request made in 1666 concerned a monk who, as the manuscript later reveals, belonged not to the Basilian but to the Franciscan Order.<sup>505</sup> In centres that were visited by large numbers of Roman

<sup>497</sup> *Epistolae Metropolitaram Kioviensium Catholicorum* 1958, 46–47.

<sup>498</sup> Stern bases this suggestion the style of handwriting which coincides between the Office, the Latin hymns on ff. 98r–107v which are accompanied by Jahimovič's name as the author, as well as the first part of the collection of spiritual songs on ff. 2r–87r. It is equally possible that these three parts were written by someone unknown to us. Stern 2000, 28.

<sup>499</sup> The Chronicle of the Suprasl' Monastery mentions the visit of Jahimovič in 1728. Stern 2000, 29. It is possible that he was also the rector of the Volodymyr clerical Seminary from 1727–1728. Скочиляс 2008, 37.

<sup>500</sup> "[...] aby Godzinki O niepokalanym Poczęciu NP codzien przed Obrazem cudownym *in assystentiam* kapłana albo Dyakona spiewane wiecznemy czasy." *Collectanea Historyca o klasztorze Żyrowickim z spraw, y Relacji Ludzi wiadomych starych* [...] not[o]wane przez X Antoniego Żawalzkiego *Superyora Zyrowickiego* (1713). СПбИИ РАН coll. 52, item 164, f. 5v.

<sup>501</sup> *Epistolae Metropolitaram Kioviensium Catholicorum* 1958, 47.

<sup>502</sup> "Trzysta złotych od ieymości panny Łankowskiej na ręce wielbnego oycy Martyszkiewiczza, konsultora zakonu y starszego Byteńskiego, dane, aby w każde święto Nayswiętszej Panny [...] służba Boża czytana, a przy niej officium nipokalanemu poczęciu z himnem pod czas elewacyey przed tak wielkim sakramentem y modlitwa zwyczajna za duszę zmarłej [...]." АСД т.12. 1900, 107. For details of the practice of the elevation of the Sacrament, see chapter 4.2.3.

<sup>503</sup> "[...] tysiąc zł. klasztorowi na wieczne iedny służby odprowowanie zapisał, a zas pięć set zł. fundując godzinki Nasw. Panny w cerkwi, aby były co niedzieli i każdego uroczystego święta spiewane tymże testamentem legował." АСД т.10. Вильна 1874, 81–82.

<sup>504</sup> *Officium Beata M.V. immembrana cum imaginibus, dono datum 1646 a.a magnifico domino Ioanne Cazimiro Chodkievicio, venerabili archimandritae Suprasliensi Alexio Dubowicz*. Inventory of the monastery library 1645–1650 in Щавинская 1998, 136.

<sup>505</sup> *Collectanea Historyca o klasztorze Żyrowickim*. СПбИИ РАН coll. 52, item 164, f. 20v.

Catholic pilgrims, such as Žyrovichy, it seems very likely that services were offered in several languages. Especially prior to the emergence of an independent Church Slavonic version of the Office, the *godzinki* belonged to a liturgical repertoire shared by both rites within the Catholic Church and thus, in a way, contributed to the sense of unity.

### 3.3.3.3 Litanies

Another type of service adopted from the Roman Catholic tradition was the Litany.<sup>506</sup> As opposed to the Eastern Rite practice, where every divine service includes several litanies, or *ektenias*, the Latin Rite Litany is an independent service containing recited and chanted petitions dedicated to a particular commemoration. By its function, the Litany resembles the Eastern Rite *moleben* service. Two of the essential Litanies in the Roman tradition, the Litany of the Saints (*Litaniae Sanctorum*)<sup>507</sup> and of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Litany of Loreto, *Litaniae lauretanae*)<sup>508</sup>, were adapted to Ruthenian practice in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It is difficult to know whether the translations into Church Slavonic were made directly from Latin or with the help of a Polish text. While new Church Slavonic texts were composed according to a Latin model, some Uniates also continued to perform the services in Polish. According to Kaminskij, Metropolitan Žohovskij recited the Litanies in Polish while visiting Torokany.<sup>509</sup>

One of the discovered sources, a Uniate Missal (*Služebnik*) from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, includes the “*ektenias* for *moleben* [...] during processions and when walking with the Cross.”<sup>510</sup> A closer look on the text reveals it a translation of the Litany of the Saints into a heavily Ruthenian-influenced Church Slavonic.<sup>511</sup> The list of saints, following the standard Latin content, includes saints such as Benedict, Bernard, Dominic and Francis, but is also complemented with the local saint, Blessed Josafat.<sup>512</sup> Interestingly, Petr Kaminskij makes a note of the Litany of Saints in his letter of 1685. He describes how, acting according to the papal wish to celebrate the jubilee of 1684 with Litanies dedicated all saints, Father Kul’čickij had composed a Litany in Ruthenian (or Church Slavonic). This Litany was recited in a church in Vilna, kneeling in front of the iconostasis. However, as Kaminskij notes, the Litany caused great confusion among the Greek Rite faithful; firstly, because it was an unknown service to them, and secondly, because until then the Uniates of Vilna had not publicly commemorated saints of Rus’ origin. The Litany composed by Father Kul’čickij did this by including old Eastern Rite saints, such as Prince

<sup>506</sup> The origin of the Litanies is associated with the public devotions (petitions with the repetition of “Kyrie eleison”) held in Christian communities from the earliest centuries AD onward, after the persecutions had ceased. Particularly in Rome, litanies were often recited during processions that moved from church to church (“stations”). See Mersham, Francis. “Litany”. *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1913). Vol. 9. [[http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic\\_Encyclopedia\\_\(1913\)/Litany](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_(1913)/Litany)]

<sup>507</sup> There is no knowledge of the time of origin of the Litany of the Saints, except that it dates back to early Christianity. Mersham, Francis. “Litany of the Saints.” *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1913), Vol. 9. [[http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic\\_Encyclopedia\\_\(1913\)/Litany\\_of\\_the\\_Saints](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_(1913)/Litany_of_the_Saints)]

<sup>508</sup> The Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary most likely originated in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but it received its official approval from Pope Sixtus V in 1587. Composed on the basis of several Marian litanies of earlier origin, the text became identified with a famous shrine in the Italian town of Loreto, which has given the Litany its name. De Santi, Angelo. “Litany of Loreto.” *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1913), Vol. 9. [[http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic\\_Encyclopedia\\_\(1913\)/Litany\\_of\\_Loreto](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_(1913)/Litany_of_Loreto)] The Latin Litany text has been revised by different Popes several times in history. DiPippo 2013.

<sup>509</sup> Щурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 236.

<sup>510</sup> “Ектении на молебнах ... в процесиях и гды со кресты ходят.” LMAB F 19-190, 169v–174v. See appendix 4 for a comparison of parts of the Litany with a Latin text. In the absence of a 17<sup>th</sup>-century text, the comparison relies on a contemporary version published at [www.breviary.net/misc/litanysaints.htm](http://www.breviary.net/misc/litanysaints.htm).

<sup>511</sup> The influence of the vernacular becomes evident in phrases such as “Абысь намъ грѣхи отпустити и оульжити рачиль”. See appendix 4.

<sup>512</sup> LMAB F 19-190, 172v–173r.

Vladimir, Boris and Gleb, and Anthony and Theodosy of the Kievan Caves Monastery, in the invocations.<sup>513</sup>

The Litany of Loreto, in turn, was translated into Church Slavonic by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. During her research on the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ruthenian composer, Tomasz Szewerowski,<sup>514</sup> Irina Gerasimova revealed a musical setting of the Litany: a Motet for six parts, composed by Szewerowski, is based on the Litany text.<sup>515</sup> Apart from numerous repetitions of words and some changes in the order of the petitions, most likely dictated by the musical expression, the translation is very faithful to the Latin text. Moreover, the composition provides undeniable evidence of the existence of this Litany in Church Slavonic language in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, since the composer died in 1699.<sup>516</sup> The earliest reference to the Litany as a liturgical service found in historical documents is from the year 1704.<sup>517</sup>

### 3.3.3.4 The rosary

The use of bead-strings as an accompaniment to prayer, as well as the repetition of prayers or invocations (such as the "Hail Mary", "Our Father" or the Jesus Prayer), was characteristic of both Eastern and Western religiosity. However, the Roman Catholic devotion known as the rosary<sup>518</sup> (in Polish *rózaniec*, also *koronka*) began to gain ground among the Eastern Rite Ruthenians in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. As early as in 1668, the inventory of the Suprasl' Monastery listed *Koronka Bytenska* (*Rosary of Byten'*) in their library collection.<sup>519</sup> The 18<sup>th</sup> Basilian Chapter in Novogradok (1671) decreed that in case of the death of a monk, all brethren were to commemorate the deceased by celebrating Liturgies (three per hieromonk) and reciting *koronki* (three per monk).<sup>520</sup> As a service that could be performed by laymen as well as by the clergy, the rosary was also requested in return for funding by the benefactors of monasteries, as happened in 1684 in Brest.<sup>521</sup>

### 3.3.3.5 Angelus bell

The 18<sup>th</sup> Basilian Chapter (1671) introduced a number of Latin-inspired practices into the Uniate Church. One of these was the custom of ringing the bell thrice a day in honour of the Incarnation, or

<sup>513</sup> "В 1684 р., тому що на ювілей оголошений теперішнім папою були між иншим назначені й літанії до всіх Святих, о. Кульчицький, по мисли Риму, скомпонував літанії по руськи, в яких поклав руських Святих: Володимира, Бориса і Гліба, Антонія й Теодосія Печерських і инших Святих руських. Читано ті літанії в Вильні посеред церкви, на вколішках, перед царськими вратами. Люди руської віри дуже дивували ся з двох причин, раз, що читано літанії, чого не бувало, бо замість того бувало яке инше богослуженє, звичайне в греків; тай тому, що публично взивано названих Святих руського народа, чого ранше не робив ніхто з уніятів." Щурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 236.

<sup>514</sup> Герасимова 2010, 56–66.

<sup>515</sup> A cursory comparison with the Latin text is presented in appendix 5. In the absence of a 17<sup>th</sup>-century Latin source, the text is presented in its 21<sup>st</sup> century form.

<sup>516</sup> Герасимова 2010, 59. Stern mentions another translation of the Loreto Litany into Church Slavonic in a manuscript in the National Museum of Prague (IX G 16, f. 53r–60v); however, no more information about the date or origin of this manuscript is provided. Stern 2000, 253.

<sup>517</sup> The Litany of the Most Holy Virgin is requested in remembrance of Andrzej Nowicki, to be chanted every Saturday in the stone chapel of the Żyrowiły Monastery. *Collectanea Historica o klasztorze Żyrowickim*. СПбИИ РАН coll. 52, item 164, f. 6r.

<sup>518</sup> For more, see Shipman, Andrew Jackson. "The Rosary." *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1913), Vol. 13. [[http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic\\_Encyclopedia\\_\(1913\)/The\\_Rosary](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_(1913)/The_Rosary)]

<sup>519</sup> Щавинская 1998, 145.

<sup>520</sup> "[...] aby o śmierci każdego oycy y bracy wszystkie klasztory certiorare nie omieszkiwali, aby się za nich zwykle suffragia po trzy mszy od każdego kapłana, a od bracy po trzy *koronki* odprawowały [...]." АСД т.12. 1900, 105 (emphasis mine).

<sup>521</sup> In return of a gift, the benefactors of the Basilian Monastery in Brest requested the recitation of the rosary by the monks who were not priests. АВАК т.11. 1880, 242 via Senyk 1990, 178.

the message of the angel to Virgin Mary, of which the custom derived its name ("Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariae"). This custom had been recommended and indulged in the Roman Church by Pope John XXII during the early 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>522</sup> It was unknown to Eastern Rite tradition. The Basilians admitted the Western origin of the custom by concluding that they saw it "a proper thing to agree with the Western Church in the ringing of bells in salutation of the Most Holy Virgin in the morning, in the afternoon and in the evening."<sup>523</sup> Familiarisation with the ringing of the Angelus had, however, begun earlier. The already cited testament by the Franciscan Brother Bielecki ordered in 1666 that the great bell in the Żyrowiły Monastery be rung thrice every day in remembrance of the Annunciation and the Incarnation of the Son of God.<sup>524</sup> The prayers that were recited during this devotion have been preserved in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century paraliturgical chant collection from the Supraśl Monastery, where they constitute the last part of the *Little Office of the Immaculate Conception of Virgin Mary (Godzinki)* that was discussed earlier in this chapter.<sup>525</sup>

### 3.3.3.6 Chant performance and use of instruments

The performance of liturgical music evolved notably throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century among the Eastern Rite Ruthenians. The Polish Baroque culture had a significant influence on musical preferences and customs.<sup>526</sup> This influence was by no means restricted to the Uniate Church, especially as the major changes in musical practices took place already prior to the Union.<sup>527</sup> Part-singing (*partesnoe penie*) was gradually becoming familiar in Ruthenian practice towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>528</sup> There is clear evidence that the union did not bring about any division of the Eastern Rite musical culture: liturgical chant constituted one sphere in which musicians, innovations, styles and musical

<sup>522</sup> Thurston, Herbert. "Angelus." *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1913), Vol. 1 [[http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic\\_Encyclopedia\\_\(1913\)/Angelus](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia_(1913)/Angelus)]

<sup>523</sup> "Rzecz słuszną widząc zgadzać się z cerkwią zachodnią we dzwonienu na pozdrowienie Nayswiętszey Panny, ranne, południowe y wieczorne [...]." *ACD* т.12. 1900, 108.

<sup>524</sup> "[...] aby codzien na paciene alias na Anielskie pozdrowienie Rano w Południu y w Wieczor Dzwoniono na pamiątkę Zwastowania Panny N y Wcielenia Syna Bozego [...] we Dzwon Wielki Dzwoniono." *Collectanea Historica o klasztorze Żyrowickim*. СПбИИ РАН coll. 52, item 164, f. 5v–6r.

<sup>525</sup> LMAB F 19-233, f. 111v; Stern 2000, 761; see appendix 3.

<sup>526</sup> In its evolution towards Baroque brilliance, the post-Tridentine Polish church musical tradition underwent certain changes that were later reflected in Eastern Rite musical culture, as well. Among these changes was the movement of the choir from the proximity of the altar to the back of the church, which often detached the choir from the actual service. Apart from vocal music, instruments and particularly organs became very popular in liturgical use. Kloczowski, Jerzy. *A History of Polish Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000, 158–159. The choir loft gradually became a standard feature in the Eastern Rite churches, as well.

<sup>527</sup> Цалай-Якименко 1996, 65. The most radical changes were manifested in the adoption of staff notation and in the gradual emergence of Western-style harmony in liturgical music.

<sup>528</sup> In the 1590s, Ruthenian Confraternities sought the approval of the Eastern patriarchs for the "figural'noe" or the part-singing, unknown in other Orthodox chant cultures. Meletios Pigas, Patriarch of Constantinople, gave his blessing by replying that "we do not censure either monophonic or polyphonic singing, as long as it is proper and decent." Morosan, Vladimir. *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press 1986, 40. In reference to the adoption of part-singing in Ruthenian practice, many scholars have relied on the instructions issued by the Lvov Confraternity School in 1586, in which the teacher was given the task of ensuring that the choir had chanters for the bass, tenor, alto, and descant voices. These instructions were published in part XI of the *Архивъ ЮЗР* (p. 69) and became widely cited; see, for instance, Герасимова-Персидская, Нина. *Партесный концерт в истории музыкальной культуры*. Москва: Музыка 1983, 34; Morosan 1986, 40–41. However, as the original document more likely dates back to the late 17<sup>th</sup> (not 16<sup>th</sup>) century, it reflects a situation in which the four-part choir had already become standard in musical practice. See Ісаєвич, Ярослав. "Братства і українська музична культура XVI-XVIII ст." *Українське музикознавство*, вип. 6. Київ 1971, 49–50. For a corrected version of the instructions with their Ukrainian translation and some explanatory notes, see Ясіновський, Юрій. "Розпорядження вчителів Львівської братської школи Теодорові Рузкевичу." *КАЛОΦΩΝΙΑ. Науковий збірник з історії церковної монодії та гимнографії*. Число 3. Львів: Видавництво Українського Католицького Університету 2006, 171–175.

material mingled.<sup>529</sup> In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Ruthenian *partes* polyphony flourished in both Uniate and Orthodox cathedrals,<sup>530</sup> while both churches continued to rely on the old chant tradition – the *Znamenny* church monody – as the foundation for liturgical services.<sup>531</sup> The loyalty to the old chant tradition was manifested, for example, in the careful ascription of practically every new hymnographical creation to the *oktoechos* cycle.

The Uniate Church also came to allow a practice that until then had been unfamiliar to the Eastern Rite: the use of instruments in liturgical music.<sup>532</sup> In spite of considerable dispute among later scholars,<sup>533</sup> there is enough evidence to conclude that the Uniate liturgical services frequently included music accompanied by an organ, most commonly, a portable (positive) organ.<sup>534</sup> For example, references to the use of the organ have been preserved in an inscription to a musical manuscript suggested to have been in Uniate use.<sup>535</sup> It is possible that the organ accompaniment was introduced into Uniate practice relatively early, in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Gerasimova points out the possibility that during the early post-union period, the Uniate churches most likely had to rely on organists from other denominations because there was a lack of Eastern Rite musicians with organ playing skills.<sup>536</sup> Later, organists became standard employees

<sup>529</sup> Jasinovs'kyj states that in spite of the reflections of the union struggle in new hymnography, the division was not manifested in liturgical chant. Ясіновський, Юрій. "Дискусія" in Цалай-Якименко 1996 (Ясіновський 1996<sup>a</sup>), 111. Senyk also underlines the fact that musical development was not based on the union because the changes had begun already before it. Сеник, Софія. "Дискусія" in Цалай-Якименко 1996, 123. Gerasimova presents several concrete examples of the interaction between the Uniate and the Orthodox in the musical circles of 17<sup>th</sup> century Vilna. It was relatively common for professional musicians to shift between the churches. Gerasimova relates, for example, the case of Afanasij Pirockij: a chanter at the Uniate Holy Trinity Monastery of Vilna, Pirockij received "Latin teaching" at the local Jesuit Academy. In 1655, he sought asylum at the Orthodox Holy Spirit Monastery which readily welcomed the new chanter. The fact that a chanter could perform in either Uniate or Orthodox Church clearly proves that there was no division in the musical sphere. Герасимова 2008<sup>a</sup>, 32.

<sup>530</sup> Most significant Ruthenian composers of *partes* polyphony in the 17<sup>th</sup> century included, for example, Nikolaj Dilecki, Tomasz Szewerowski, and Elisej the Monk. See Герасимова 2008<sup>a</sup> and 2010.

<sup>531</sup> Myrosław Antonowycz describes the situation: "On the one hand the Old Kiev tradition was preserved by Catholic [Uniate] and Orthodox Christians alike, on the other hand both churches accepted the innovations from the West in the form of polyphonic music and notation on five lines." Antonowycz 1974, 3. Apart from the polyphonic composition style that acquired the name of *partesny* concert, it seems possible that the liturgical chant could also be performed in simple, homophonic harmonisation. See, for instance, Antonowycz 1974, 149. This suggestion is not directly supported by the chant material preserved from the period, the *Irmologion* anthologies, which predominantly feature plainchant. However, it is possible that plainchant melodies were harmonised in the course of liturgical services by means of improvisation. The description by Johannes Herbinus from 1675 gives evidence of the wide familiarity and popularity of harmonised singing at the time, as a communal performance of liturgical chant: "Hymns are chanted there daily in different ways [...] by two high voices, with the participation of tenor and bass in the sweetest and most sounding harmony [...]. Simple people understand there what the *klir* chants [...] and therefore, combining their voices, [...] chants in such harmony that one feels being elevated into an atmosphere of ecstatic singing." Herbinus, Johannes. *Religiosae Kyovienses cryptae sive Kyovia subterranea*. Jena 1675 via Герасимова-Персидская 1983, 29.

<sup>532</sup> The question of using the organ in Ruthenian liturgy seems to have arisen with the establishment of part-singing already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The Lvov Confraternity's request to the Ecumenical Patriarch for a dispensation with respect to performance of liturgical music in the 1590s mentioned the organ accompaniment. The patriarch, however, did not favour the suggested but referred to Justin the Philosopher-Martyr who had condemned the organ music, and stated, "[...] it was never accepted in the Eastern Church." Morosan 1986, 40; Ліхач 1996, 12.

<sup>533</sup> Senyk, for example, denies the use of organs by the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Uniates altogether. Сеник, Софія. "Дискусія" in Цалай-Якименко 1996, 124.

<sup>534</sup> Цалай-Якименко 1996, 75; Герасимова 2008<sup>a</sup>, 35.

<sup>535</sup> A manuscript approximately from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century contains fragments of a concert-style "Служба" (Mass). The part for the bass contains a marking that indicates accompaniment by the organ. *Muzyczne silva rerum z XVII wieku*. Ed. Jerzy Gołos. Warszawa: PWN 1970, reference in Герасимова-Персидская 1983, 33; Цалай-Якименко 1996, 106.

<sup>536</sup> Герасимова 2008<sup>a</sup>, 35.

in monasteries,<sup>537</sup> as can be seen in the *Pomjannik*, Book of Commemorations, of the Suprasl' Monastery. The list of deceased includes – besides *diaks*, cooks, barbers, smiths and other staff – at least two organists, Evtihij and Gavriil.<sup>538</sup> The introduction of organ music probably went hand in hand with the adoption of new types of liturgical services. Although a considerably later example, the appointment of the organist Mihail Hetkevič by the Basilians in Boruny in 1794 testifies to the Uniates' use of the organ particularly in services such as the *Godzinki* and the Litanies.<sup>539</sup>

The Monastery of Suprasl' is known to have had two organs in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a large one in the church and a smaller, portable one in the chapel. The Monastery of Žyrovichy also had two organs,<sup>540</sup> one of which was known to be the largest in the Belarusian lands.<sup>541</sup> An undisputable proof of the central role of the organ as a liturgical instrument can be found in the number of instruments removed from church interiors or even destroyed during the campaign led by Bishop Semaško in 1836.<sup>542</sup>

Apart from different types of organ, the Uniates also made use of other instruments. There are references to small orchestras that performed during church-related ceremonies. Dalmatov attributes the establishment of the first ensemble at the Monastery of Suprasl' to Metropolitan Žohovskij (d. 1693).<sup>543</sup> Kaminskij, in turn, mentions an instrumental ensemble in Žyrovichy when he criticises the custom of carrying the Holy Sacrament around the church. During this procession, he mentions, "they beat drums in the choir and play heartily on the pipes".<sup>544</sup> Kaminskij's remark dates the use of instruments already to the 1680s; however, most references to orchestras in the Uniate practice are from the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>545</sup> One document claims that there were only vocal groups in Žyrovichy until 1703, which was the year of founding the *Capella Żyrowicka*.<sup>546</sup> During the following thirteen years, this ensemble came to include instruments such as trumpets, violins, oboes and bassoons.<sup>547</sup>

<sup>537</sup> In her research based on the visitation protocols in late 18<sup>th</sup>-century Uniate parishes, Barbara Skinner counts only four organs (in almost four hundred parishes), all in the Belarusian regions. She explains the small number by the economic status of the parishes; Basilian monasteries used organs more regularly. Skinner 2009, 61.

<sup>538</sup> "Помяни [...] Евтихия (органиста), Гавриила (органиста)." *Помянник (Субботник) Супрасльскій*. LMAF F 19-89, f. 46r. In the absence of a clear date, it could be estimated that the reference belongs to the period following the first decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, since the names of the organists are accompanied by a name of a "papėrnik", while it is known that a paper mill was built in Suprasl' in 1711 for the needs of the later printing press.

<sup>539</sup> According to Marozava, Hetkevič was appointed to play the organ at the Mass, the *Godzinki*, the Litany and the *Akathist*. Марозава С.В. Уніяцкая царква ў этнакультурным развіцці Беларусі (1596-1839 гады). Гродна: ГрДУ 2001, 139. Zosim interprets the reference to the Mass as to the Eastern Rite Divine Liturgy. Zosim 2012, 275.

<sup>540</sup> Ліхач 1996, 13.

<sup>541</sup> Зосім 2009, 101.

<sup>542</sup> In the process of dissolving the union and forcibly clearing the signs of Latinisation in the Uniate churches of the Lithuanian diocese, all organs (built-in and portable) were to be sold or destroyed. Archival documents mention 49 organs found in 1836, and in the following year, 117 instruments were removed. In the absence of buyers, organs were destroyed in several notable monasteries, including Žyrovichy and Suprasl'. Apart from organs, the removal involved also benches and confessionals. Zgliński, Marcin. "Budownictwo organowe na terenie dawnego Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego do około 1850 roku w świetle najnowszych badań." *Muzyka / Materiały* 3. 2003, 96–97. I am grateful to Magdalena Dobrowolska for an electronic copy of the article.

<sup>543</sup> Далматов, Н. *Супрасльскій Благовещенскій монастырь: Историко-статистическое описание*. Санкт-Петербург 1892, 180–181 via Ліхач 1996, 13.

<sup>544</sup> "Підчас процесії б'ють в кітли на хорі й замашісто грають на дудях, маринах [...]." Щурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 236. English translation taken from Huculak 1990, 46.

<sup>545</sup> Calaj-Jakymenko also dates the introduction of orchestras in the Uniate Church to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Цалай-Якименко 1996, 106.

<sup>546</sup> "Az do Roku 1703 Zyrowice Inszey Kapelli niemialy oprócz głośnistow kturych zawsze miały." *Collectanea Historica o klastorze [...]* (1713). СПбИИ РАН coll. 52, item 164, f. 30r.

<sup>547</sup> "Roku 1706 wziowszy Rzędy klasztorne X Benedykt Siekiewicz y Trąmby kupił y skrzypcow Dwoże a

It is, however, unclear how such ensembles performed in the actual liturgical context. Direct references to orchestral music are restricted to extra-liturgical activities, such as processions. For example, the Žyrovichy Ensemble is mentioned in another document depicting the funeral of Bishop Georgij Bulhak in 1769. The Ensemble accompanied the funeral procession, playing mournfully, until it reached the church. No mention is made here of the music continuing inside the church.<sup>548</sup> Yet in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century both the organ and other instruments seem to have become increasingly significant in liturgical use, predominantly as accompaniments to singing. Describing the festivities of the Žyrovichy miraculous icon in 1731, Olga Dadiomova relates how the “talented musicians played different instruments, accompanying the harmonious voices of the chanters.”<sup>549</sup> The church provided space for musical instruments in the choir gallery.<sup>550</sup>

Tamara Lihač views the musical performance in Uniate liturgy as analogous to the Roman Catholic liturgical-musical practice of the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Both featured traditional church monody (Gregorian chant for the Latin Rite, *Znamenny* chant for the Greek Rite), yet at the same time cultivated polyphonic composition and homophonic harmonisation of existing melodies. Liturgical music also employed musical instruments (the organ, small orchestras). Moreover, the chant repertoire opened up for paraliturgical songs.<sup>551</sup>

### 3.3.3.7 Paraliturgical songs and Latin hymns

The relaxation of the liturgical discipline with the formation of the “third” rite was also reflected in the content of divine services. Although never officially sanctioned, the Eastern Rite *typikon* began to give space to previously unfamiliar chant material. Such songs featured both spiritual songs and liturgical hymns of the Latin Rite.<sup>552</sup>

According to Olga Zosim, spiritual songs were well established in Ruthenian practice in the 17<sup>th</sup> century as *extra-liturgical* chants for domestic as well as public performance. Towards the 18<sup>th</sup> century, these songs acquired in the Uniate practice a *paraliturgical* function as additions or replacements of liturgical chants.<sup>553</sup> They could be sung before or after the divine service, between services such as Matins and the Divine Liturgy, before or after the sermon, during Communion, during processions, and so on.<sup>554</sup> Apart from compositions of their own, the Ruthenians adapted

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Muzycy się iacis Natenczas na wineli między ktoremi pierwszy był Pan Jan Lorens [...]. Stefan Graorowski Regent kapelli [...] u Roku 1715 [...] potym z ochoty swoiey Hoboze y Bason kupił [...].” СПбИИ РАН coll. 52, item 164, ff. 30r–30v.

<sup>548</sup> Description of the life and funeral of Georgij Bulhak, Bishop of Pinsk, in the Book of Commemorations (*Помянник*) from the Žyrovichy Monastery. LMA B F 19-91, f. 38v.

<sup>549</sup> Дадіомова, О.В. *Музыкальная культура городов Белоруссии в XVIII веке*. Минск: Минский Институт культуры 1992, 78, 65 via Лихач 1996, 13.

<sup>550</sup> In the Holy Trinity Church in Vilna, for example, one side of a wooden gallery, built in 1792, was reserved for the organ and the church ensemble, while the Basilian nuns occupied the other side. Солодих, Адам & Кузьма, В. “Історія василіянських мурів у Вільні.” *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*. Series II, Sectio II. Vol. VIII, Fasc. 1–4. Romae 1973, 22.

<sup>551</sup> Лихач 1996, 14.

<sup>552</sup> Spiritual songs developed in the Latin practice in the Middle Ages as part of the clericalisation of the divine services and the professionalisation of liturgical music. The practice of singing spiritual songs in the vernacular during liturgical services increased also in Poland from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onward. Зосім 2009, 26, 28.

<sup>553</sup> Zosim, Olga. “Methods of adaptation of the West-European sacred song in Ukrainian repertoire of the XVII–XIXth centuries.” *Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis. Acta Musicologica*. T. XIV. Bydgoszcz: Filharmonia Pomorska 2006, 2–3. [<http://dakkkim.academia.edu/OlgaZosim>]; Зосім, Ольга. “Паралитургическая ветвь восточнославянской духовной песенности: генезис и специфические черты.» Международная интернет конференция *Музыкальная наука на постсоветском пространстве-2010*. Российская Академия Музыки имени Гнесиных 2010<sup>b</sup>, 9. [<http://musxxi.gnesin-academy.ru/?p=1132>]

<sup>554</sup> Зосім 2010<sup>b</sup>, 9.

a number of Latin and Polish songs into Church Slavonic. In her analysis, Zosim has grouped these adaptations thematically into songs of the Advent, the Nativity, the Great Lent and the Resurrection, Pentecost, the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, songs to the Theotokos, to various saints, and penitential and prayer-like songs.<sup>555</sup>

Among such adaptations of Latin Rite origin we find, for example, *Veni Creator Spiritus* (Come, Creator Spirit), the invocation of the Holy Spirit. One version of the hymn has been included in a manuscript collection of hymnography, in Matins for Pentecost, right after the *stichera* at psalms 148–150: “Hymn for invoking the Most Holy Spirit adapted from the Roman *Veni creator Spiritus*.” It is followed by the Pentecostal sequence *Veni Sancte Spiritus* (Come, Holy Spirit).<sup>556</sup> The same scribe seems to have dated the writing a little further in the manuscript with the year “1687”.<sup>557</sup> The mid-18<sup>th</sup> century collection of paraliturgical songs from Suprasl’<sup>558</sup> contains a set of Marian hymns translated from Latin to Church Slavonic and accompanied also by the Latin texts, for example, *Omni die dic Mariae* (Daily, daily sing to Mary).<sup>559</sup>

*Dies irae* (“Day of wrath”), the 13<sup>th</sup>-century sequence which, especially after the Tridentine Council, had become an essential part of the Roman Requiem Mass,<sup>560</sup> appears in its Church Slavonic translation as *Děň gnevui* (Дѣнь гневуй).<sup>561</sup> The hymn can be found at least in three textual<sup>562</sup> and three musical<sup>563</sup> sources. Stern names the *Děň gnevui* in the *Irmologion* of 1639 from

<sup>555</sup> Incipits of these songs are available in Зосім 2009, 145–150.

<sup>556</sup> “Үмплъ (!) на призваніе прес(вя)таго д(у)ха з Римскаго *Veni creator spiritus* Преложений. Прииди создателю д(у)ше [...]” “Sequentia послѣдственное. *Veni Sancte Spiritus*.” LMAB F 19-138, f. 209v.

<sup>557</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>558</sup> LMAB F 19-233; for a commented edition, see Stern 2000.

<sup>559</sup> LMAB F 19-233, f. 98r: “Пѣснь предложена ѿм латинска Діалекта• роски; *Omni die dic Mariae, mea laudes anima*.” These Latin hymns were long attributed to St Casimir and then to Bernard of Clairvaux; more likely they were composed by Bernard of Morlas. In the Suprasl’ manuscript, they are accompanied by *Quando cor nostrum visitas*, again erroneously attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux. Interestingly, the three hymns beginning with *Omni die dic Mariae* have been translated twice for the same collection. The first set includes an attribution to Spiridion Jahimovič as its author [see also 3.3.3.2]: “преч(е)стнымъ ѿцемъ спирідіономъ яхимовичомъ чина с(вя)таго. в(асилия). вел(икаро)” (f. 98r). Stern suggests that all these texts may have been translated by Jahimovič, the second set being a draft translation; or, on the contrary, there must have been another translator whose name has not been preserved. Stern 2000, 28, 249–251.

<sup>560</sup> The sequence is chanted between the Epistle and the Gospel in the Mass in Commemoration of all Faithful Dead. The authorship of the hymn is nowadays unanimously attributed to Thomas of Celano (d. 1256). “*Dies irae, dies illa*.” *Encyclopedia Muzyki*. Red. Andrzej Chodkowski. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN 1995, 193; Warren, Charles F.S. *The Authorship, Text, and History of the hymn Dies Irae, with Critical, Historical and Biographical Notes*. London: Thomas Baker 1902, 4–5.

<sup>561</sup> See appendix 6.

<sup>562</sup> All three sources belong to the manuscript collection of LMAB: a late 18<sup>th</sup>-century *Horologion* (F 19-224, ff. 49v–50r); the previously discussed mid-18<sup>th</sup> century collection from Suprasl’ (F 19-233, ff. 18r–18v); and another 18<sup>th</sup>-century paraliturgical collection (F 19-234, ff. 59r–61v). The text seems quite uniform in the sources, apart from a little variation in the *Horologion* version. Jurij Medvedyk mentions yet another redaction of the hymn. He discovered an early 18<sup>th</sup>-century collection at the Vernads’kyj National Library of Ukraine, representing the Lemko tradition, originally from the village of Tylyč. The collection features the hymn titled “*De Extremo Sudicio Dei*” in three languages: Ukrainian (Ruthenian), Latin and Polish: “День гніву, день люті біді...” “*Dies irae, dies illa*...” and “Dzień on gniewu, dzień straszliwy”. НБУВ Маслов 48, f. 68v via Медведик, Юрій. “Латино-польсько-словацькі елементи в українській духовній пісні.” *Musica Нитана. Збірник статей кафедри музичної україністики, ч. 1. Львівська державна музична академія ім. М. Лисенка. Львів 2003*, 255. See also Зосім 2009, 62–63.

<sup>563</sup> *Irmologion* of 1639 from the Suprasl’ Monastery (LMAB F 19-116, ff. 2r–3r); *Irmologion* of 1662 from the same monastery (LMAB F 19-115, ff. 1r–1v); *Irmologion* s.a. (ЛНБ МВ-417, ff. 13r–14v). Stern argues that the chanting of *Děň gnevui* was mainly restricted to the monastery of Suprasl’ as the place of origin of its Church Slavonic translation. Stern 2000, 171. He does not, however, seem to be aware of the chant manuscript now preserved in Ukraine that contains the hymn.

the Monastery of Suprasl' as the earliest notated spiritual song in Ruthenian Eastern Rite use.<sup>564</sup> The Ruthenian translation is very loyal to the original both in poetic structure<sup>565</sup> and in melody.<sup>566</sup>

*Dies irae* is a depiction of the Day of Judgment, which is reflected in the titling of one Ruthenian source.<sup>567</sup> Other sources either leave the hymn untitled or refer to its use in the commemoration of the dead. The notated version in the *Irmologion* of 1662 has an inscription: "This chant for the dead we chant in the liturgy".<sup>568</sup> It is possible that this remark provided the basis for the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Russian scholar Preobraženskij when he argued that the Ruthenians had replaced the traditional funeral *kontakion* *Со святыми упокой* (*With the saints, give rest*) with *Dies irae*.<sup>569</sup> It seems, however, unlikely that such radical replacements were made. In the rubrics for a memorial Liturgy provided in the late 18<sup>th</sup>-century *Horologion*, the hymn *Děn gnevū* follows the dismissal by the priest as an immediate continuation of the Liturgy, yet outside the "canonical order" of the service.<sup>570</sup> It is such custom that Senyk refers to when describing the "hybrid" liturgical services that evolved in Uniate parishes especially when the benefactor of the parish was a Latin Rite Catholic and requested "devotions foreign to the Eastern Church, like the '*Dies irae*' (to be sung in Slavic, though) after the liturgy for the departed of the founder's family."<sup>571</sup>

Another highly popular Latin hymn that was adopted in Ruthenian Eastern Rite practice was *Te Deum laudamus*, the hymn of thanksgiving erroneously attributed to St Ambrose of Milan and St Augustine, more likely created by Nicetas, Bishop of Remesiana (c. 400).<sup>572</sup> It had a central role in Roman Catholic liturgical tradition<sup>573</sup> as well as in Protestant Lutheran

<sup>564</sup> LMAB F 19-116, ff. 2r-3r; Stern 2000, 171.

<sup>565</sup> Lihač notes that the Ruthenian translation reveals a highly progressive and skilled translating technique: apart from conveying the exact content of each verse, it retains the original rhythm by using the shortest possible words to correspond to the energetic character of the Latin sequence in stanzas 2-4, for example. Ліхач, Т. "Лацінская гімнаграфія ў літургічнай практыцы уніяцкай царквы." *Музычная культура Беларусі: Пошукі і знаходкі. Матэрыялы VII Навуковых чытанняў памяці А.С. Мухарынскай (1906-1987)*. Мінск: Беларуская дзяржаўная акадэмія музыкі 1998, 163. The translation generally reflects the Ruthenian pronunciation of Church Slavonic, where the vowel /ѣ/ (ě) equals to the vowel /i/. See, for example, the two first verses that are supposed to rhyme: "День гнѣву, день презоркихъ бѣдъ / Сожжеть во прахъ мира всякъ видъ" (emphasis mine). Example from LMAB F 19-234, f. 59.

<sup>566</sup> According to Lihač, the melody of the Ruthenian version relies fully on the Latin original but structuring the musical material differently. The original melodic patterns now form refrains. For example, the second stanza in the Ruthenian version ("Колик трепет хочет быти") consists of the *coda* "Pie Jesu Domine" of the Latin original repeated three times. Ліхач 1998, 163.

<sup>567</sup> "Үмнѣ ѿ Страшномъ судѣ", LMAB F 19-233, f. 18r.

<sup>568</sup> "Сіе пѣніе заусопшихъ поем на лѣтургии." LMAB F 19-115, f. 1r.

<sup>569</sup> Преображенский, А. *Культовая музыка в России*. Л[енинград]: Academia 1924, 71.

<sup>570</sup> LMAB F 19-224, f. 49v.

<sup>571</sup> The example comes from the Hrodna district in 1713. АВАК т.7, Вильна 1874, 26 via Senyk 1990, 178; Senyk 1985, 129.

<sup>572</sup> *Podręczna Encyklopedia Kościelna S-T-U*. Tom 39-40. Red. Ks. d-r Zygmunt Chelmski. Warszawa 1914, 75; *Encyklopedia Muzyki* 1995, 894-895.

<sup>573</sup> In the medieval Roman Catholic tradition, the *Te Deum* was part of the daily Divine Office as a hymn sung at the end of the Matins both in secular and monastic practice, with some exceptions during the Advent and the Septuagesima. Harper, John. *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1991, 82-83. The hymn belonged to the feasts of the highest rank in the Catholic Church, such as the Nativity, Easter, Corpus Christi, Pentecost, and other feasts featuring an octave, and it was also sung during festive processions with the Holy Sacrament. It was also used as a thanksgiving hymn sung at special celebrations, such as a papal election or royal coronation – in this purpose usually after Mass or Divine Office. Henry, H.T. "The Te Deum." *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1913), Vol. 14. [en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic\_Encyclopedia\_(1913)/The\_Te\_Deum] The thanksgiving character of the hymn is also reflected in its use in the coronations of icons of Virgin Mary, a popular practice also in the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century Poland-Lithuania. Хойнацкий 1871, 330-331.

practice.<sup>574</sup> The Polish-Lithuanian Ruthenians were well familiar with the hymn through various inter-religious events, such as processions on public holidays, during which *Te Deum laudamus* was commonly chanted.<sup>575</sup>

A Church Slavonic version of the hymn, *Tebě Boga hvalim* (Тебѣ Бога хвалимъ),<sup>576</sup> probably became established in the Ruthenian Eastern Rite practice already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, prior to the Union of Brest. No information has been preserved about the origin of the translation; it is not even certain whether the translation originated among the Ruthenians. The Eastern Rite use of the hymn was never restricted to the Uniate practice alone. For example, the Orthodox Holy Spirit confraternity of Vilna frequently included the "Confession of faith by Ambrose, Bishop of Milan" in its publications.<sup>577</sup> The status of the Latin hymn, chanted at various national festivities, was probably behind Metropolitan Mohyla's decision to include it in a *moleben* for the Pacification of the Orthodox Church, which he composed for the enthronement of King Władysław IV in 1632.<sup>578</sup> It is difficult to know to which extent the hymn was used among the Orthodox, especially as it is impossible to attribute the preserved copies of the hymn to either one of the Eastern Rite churches.<sup>579</sup> The hymn also spread to the Muscovite Orthodox Church, where it was included in a four-part arrangement in at least two manuscripts written in the *Znamenny* neumatic notation.<sup>580</sup>

However, it was the Uniates that seem to have embraced the hymn particularly keenly. There are references to the chanting of the hymn in Ruthenian (i.e. Church Slavonic) during the festivities of the Union of Brest in 1596:

Bearing the Holy Sacrament and *singing aloud the Te Deum*, the Ruthenian bishops who had remained faithful to their decision and were surrounded by the papal and royal representatives, proceeded through the streets of Brest and went first to the Ruthenian St. Nicholas' Church [...]. The Metropolitan celebrated the Holy Mass [...]. *After singing the Te Deum in Ruthenian*, the procession moved in turn to the Latin Church of St. Mary where [...] *after singing again the hymn of triumph*, the bishops of either rite embraced one another [...].<sup>581</sup>

<sup>574</sup> The hymn was a regular part of the Lutheran Office of Matins. An early Lithuanian version of the hymn was printed by the Lithuanian pastor Martynas Mažvydas of Ragnit in Königsberg in 1549. For a facsimile version, see Mažvydas, Martynas. *Kateizmas ir kiti raštai*. Red. Subačius, Giedrius. Vilnius 1993, 131–141. The hymn seems to have been absent from Reformed use. The author is grateful to Dr Darius Petkūnas for information and digital copies of the hymn. Petkūnas, Darius. "Re: Question about Te Deum." E-mail message. 6<sup>th</sup> July 2011.

<sup>575</sup> Котлярчук 2001, 88.

<sup>576</sup> A comparison between 22 Ruthenian copies of the hymn from the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries reveals two main redactions of the text. See appendix 7. The content and the development of the hymn on the basis of Ruthenian sources will be analysed in more detail in a forthcoming article by the author.

<sup>577</sup> *Молитвы повседневные* 1596, 1611, and 1631; *Букварь-катехизис* (*Primer-Catechism*), Братская типография 1618 (Евье), 1643, 1645, and 1652 (Вильно). The Primer of 1618 and the following copies were constructed according to Roman Catholic Catechism models. See Корзо, Маргарита. "Украинско-белорусские кириллические букварные катехизисы XVII–XVIII вв." *Вісник Львівського Університету. Серія книгознавство*, Вип. 1. 2006, 59–60, 62.

<sup>578</sup> Mohyla places the hymn within the *moleben*, after Psalm 71 (LXX). It is followed by *Достойно естъ* (*It is Truly Meet*). The hymn is referred to using its Church Slavonic title. *Архивъ ЮЗР ч.1, т.VII*. 1887, 167–170.

<sup>579</sup> Only in the cases when the hymn has been titled as "Confession of the Catholic faith" instead of the more common "Confession of the Orthodox faith" may we assume with some certainty that the particular copy belonged to a Uniate community. See, for instance, a late 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> century *Missal*, ЛНБ МБ-128, f. 9v.

<sup>580</sup> РНБ Кир.-Бел. 677/934 and 791/1048. According to Dr Natalia Ramazanova, the copies of the hymn are of later origin than the main content of these manuscripts. Ramazanova, Natalija. "Re: Vopros (Tebe Boga hvalim)." E-mail message. 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2012. The hymn is nowadays chanted in the Russian Orthodox tradition at *molebens* of thanksgiving, for example, at New Year and on Sunday of Orthodoxy during the Great Lent.

<sup>581</sup> Halecki 1958, 381 (emphasis mine). Halecki bases his description on the report by Petros Arcudios.

The hymn was used in both private worship and at communal events, recited or chanted at moments of thanksgiving as well as of need.<sup>582</sup> It was also the standard conclusion at the Chapters of the Basilian Order, as can be seen in the following reports:

1636: After the happy conclusion, by God's mercy, of our Chapter, we went straight to church, where the Divine Liturgy was celebrated together with our honourable protoarchimandrite, and after the conclusion of the Lord's service, we sang: *Te Deum laudamus*.<sup>583</sup>

1661: Having concluded this all for the praise of the Most High, and for the benefit of the monastics in sweet concord, [we] all went to church and sang "*Tebě Boga hvalim*" and served another devotion, asking the Lord God that He in His loving mercy *in nobis confirmare* [strengthened in us] everything that *operatus est* [is in process] – amen.<sup>584</sup>

1665: Having sung *Te Deum landamus* [sic] for thanksgiving, everyone left *in osculo pacis* [with a kiss of peace].<sup>585</sup>

1690: And this act received its crowning in the hymn *Tebe Boha chwalim* of due gratitude to God.<sup>586</sup>

1698: [...] after the conclusion of which the Ambrosian hymn "*Te, Deum, laudamus*" was chanted with *cum sonitu campanarum* [with the sound of bells].<sup>587</sup>

1703: [...] then it was chanted: *Te Deum laudamus, cum sonitu campanarum* [with the sound of bells].<sup>588</sup>

1709: [...] after the conclusion of which *et testationem obedientiae per osculum manus* [and showing obedience by kissing the hand] *Te Deum laudamus* was chanted.<sup>589</sup>

Yet if we look at the hymn in the context of the "third rite", it is necessary to define the extent of its use in actual liturgical services. That the hymn was in liturgical use, there is no doubt: it can be found in several different liturgical books, most commonly in square-notated *Irmologion* anthologies<sup>590</sup> and in *Horologia*, as well as some other manuscript types.<sup>591</sup> According to Kassian

<sup>582</sup> Metropolitan Ruts'kij, for example, recited the hymn after experiencing a sudden attack of fever. He reported in his letter of 1628 that the prayer had immediately cured him. "Quando in conspectum Vilnae veni, habens iam paroxysmum illius febris, Te Deum laudamus recitavi et febris deseruit me [...]." *Epistolae Iosephi Velamin Ruts'kij Metropolitae Kioviensis Catholici* 1956, 213.

<sup>583</sup> "Po szczęśliwym za łaską Bożą dokonczeniu tey congregacyey naszey, szliśmy zaraz do cerkwi, gdzie soborem liturgią świętą wielmożny protoarchimandryta nasz odprawował, a po dokonczeniu służby Bożej, śpiewaliśmy: Te Deum laudamus." 6<sup>th</sup> Chapter in Vilna (1636). *AC* t.12. 1900, 46.

<sup>584</sup> "Co wszystko ku chwale najwyższego, a pożytkowi zakonnemu w miłej zgodzie dokonczywszy, do cerkwi wszyscy poszli y "Тебе Бога хвалимъ" запіwali y inszą dewocją odprawili, upraszając Pana Boga, żeby to, co operatus est, in nobis z miłościwey łaski swey raczył confirmare – amen." 14<sup>th</sup> Chapter in Żyrowiły (1661). *AC* t.12. 1900, 77.

<sup>585</sup> "Te Deum landamus wdzięcznie zaspiewawszy, in osculo pacis wszyscy roziachali się." 15<sup>th</sup> Chapter in *Suprasl'* (1665). *AC* t.12. 1900, 82.

<sup>586</sup> "A ten akt coronidem odebrał z należyty m Bogu dziękczynieniem w hymnie *Tebe Boha chwalim*." 22<sup>nd</sup> Chapter in Minsk (1690). *AC* t.12. 1900, 130.

<sup>587</sup> "[...] po której wykonaniu cum sonitu campanarum śpiewany był hymn Ambrożego "Te, Deum, laudamus"." 24<sup>th</sup> Chapter in Bytń (1698). *AC* t.12. 1900, 142.

<sup>588</sup> "[...] zatym śpiewano: Te Deum laudamus, cum sonitu campanarum." 25<sup>th</sup> Chapter in Novogrudok (1703). *AC* t.12. 1900, 156.

<sup>589</sup> "[...] po którego wykonaniu et testationem obedientiae per osculum manus śpiewano Te Deum laudamus." 26<sup>th</sup> Chapter in Białá (1709). *AC* t.12. 1900, 169.

<sup>590</sup> According to Jasinov's'kyj, *Te Deum* is included in 24 *Irmologion* manuscripts dating to the period 1600–1750, making up about 3% of the whole number. Ясінівський 1996, 97–270.

<sup>591</sup> The following sixteen *Irmologion* sources have been consulted: LMA B F 19-115, -116, -118, -121, -122; BN Akc. 2606, Akc. 2662; ЛНБ АСП-96, НД-12, НД-104, НТШ-275; РНБ Кап. Q.15, Тит. 1902; Нац. муз. у Львові Рк-420, Рк-1001, Рк-814. Other sources include: LMA B F 22-80 (*Horologion*), F 19-209 (*Euchologion*), F 19-138 (*Menaion*); ЛНБ МВ-7 (*Horologion*), МВ-98 (*Horologion*), МВ-128 (*Missal*). However, it is not possible to estimate the actual frequency in which the hymn appeared by relying only on the manuscript material. There were most likely countless copies of the hymn, reproduced on separate sheets, which were later either lost or bound into manuscripts (with a better chance of survival). This can be seen in several manuscripts to which the hymn has obviously been added later, as can be judged from the handwriting, the paper and the placing of the hymn either at the beginning or the end of the manuscript. See, for instance, Нац. муз. у Львові Рк-420, f. 2r; or BN

Sakovič, *Te Deum laudamus* had not yet been widely adopted in liturgical practice in the 1640s. He criticised the Orthodox for ignoring the hymn that was chanted in the Catholic Church every Sunday and at every feast. “The Uniate fathers chant [it] already in some places during feasts and indulgences [...] and do it very well, but this custom has not been [adopted] everywhere among the Uniates, either,” he explained.<sup>592</sup> Most of the analysed sources can indeed be dated to the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

As a hymn that had no established place in the Eastern Rite liturgy, *Tebě Boga hvalim* could be included in various different services. An inscription marked in the *Irmologion* of 1659 indicates that the hymn be sung during the Liturgy: “сие на лит(ургии) поемъ”,<sup>593</sup> whereas another inscription in the *Irmologion* from the 1670s places the hymn after the final blessing, i.e. outside the Liturgy: “Отпущ(ст)”.<sup>594</sup> A clear description of the most likely practice is found in the *Irmologion* of 1748: “Поемъ в н(е)д(е)лю Политургии” (“[This] we sing on Sunday after the Liturgy”).<sup>595</sup> Considering the similarity between these three inscriptions, it may be suggested that at least in some churches, the hymn was sung on Sundays as a conclusion after the Liturgy.

There are also indications of the hymn as being sung during the daily office. For example, in a late 18<sup>th</sup>-century *Horologion*, the hymn is placed within a Small Compline, while a Missal from the late 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> century places the hymn text immediately after the prayers that the priest reads during the Matins.<sup>596</sup> The festive use of the hymn in the Matins on the New Year’s Day is described in an *Horologion* from 1713, where at the end of the service, “the deacon [recites] in a great voice: Glory to You, God, our benefactor. The chanters sing instead of *Glory to God in the highest* the *Hymn of St Ambrose the Bishop of Milan*.”<sup>597</sup> In Uniate practice, however, the chanting of the Ambrosian hymn was probably most widespread in the context of the cult of the Holy Eucharist, which we shall look at in the next chapter.

### 3.3.4 The “third” rite sanctioned at Council of Zamość (1720)

The “third” rite evolved in the Uniate Church in a confused atmosphere. The evolution of the Eastern Rite seemed a natural process to many, yet there were some who reacted against any liturgical evolution. The Basilian Petr Kaminskij gave voice to the Eastern Rite traditionalists both inside and outside the union, who were scandalised by the changes:

And they say, such people cannot be from God, who have so distorted the ceremonies of the Eastern Church, inspired by the Holy Spirit, and who fabricate every time something different which resembles neither the Greek nor the Roman [practice], for every liturgical service is celebrated differently than it is written, parts are omitted, other parts added, and everyone acts out of enlightenment of the Holy Spirit. Every monastery has its own ceremonies, every priest – his own way of celebrating.<sup>598</sup>

According to Kaminskij, the lack of uniformity in customs caused genuine desperation among the people. “The Uniate people,” he wrote,

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Акц. 2606, f. 249v.

<sup>592</sup> “[...] оцѡвѣ униї иуж на некторыхъ мѣсцѣхъ подъ часъ урочистыхъ свѣтъ у одпустѡвъ спѣвають [...] у бардѡ то добрѣ czyniя, але иещѣ не wszѣdzie tenъ zwyczajъ у униѡвъ.” *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.IX. 1893, 224.

<sup>593</sup> ЛНБ АСП-96, f. 14r.

<sup>594</sup> LMAV F 19-118, f. 27v.

<sup>595</sup> BN Акс. 2662, f. 32v.

<sup>596</sup> *Horologion* LMAV F 19-224, f. 32v; *Missal* ЛНБ МВ-128, f. 9v.

<sup>597</sup> “Дияконъ вели(к)имъ гласомъ: Слава Тебѣ Б(о)гу благодателю н(а)шему. Пѣвцы же поютъ вмѣсто слава въ вишнихъ Б(о)гу. Пѣснь С(вятаго) Амвросія еп(и)с(ко)па Медіолянскаго.” ЛНБ МВ-98, f. 7r.

<sup>598</sup> “І говорять, що не можуть бути від Бога ті люди, котримъ церемонії Східної Церкви, натхненні Духомъ Свѣтимъ, такъ збридли, що фабрикують що-разъ то инші, ніжъ описано; одні се пропускають, другі те додають, а кождий зъ освѣчення Свѣтаго Духа. Що монастир – то инші церемонії; що свѣщеник – то инший спосібъ відправи.” Шурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 234.

are completely perturbed, [...] they lament, cry and complain, seeing every day strange inventions and new changes in the liturgy, and they do not know whether they are Rus' or Romans, as a result of which they often quarrel with their priests: it would have been better [for us] to remain in disunion and have the liturgy that was transmitted from the holy Fathers, than not to know what to hold to.<sup>599</sup>

In his view, preserving the liturgical rite was better than earning the luxuries of the whole world, while abandoning it would be equal to ruin.<sup>600</sup> There were also other Basilian traditionalists who saw the situation in a similar light. For example, during a visitation to the Holy Trinity Monastery in Vilna in 1711, *igumen* Ivan Oleševskij quoted an unnamed Bishop who had experienced it more than once how God had punished them for abandoning the old ceremonies.<sup>601</sup> "[...] of all this, we, and nobody else, will have to give account to the Lord God in our time," he concluded his warning against changes in the Eastern Rite.<sup>602</sup>

The church elite seemed to have a different perspective on liturgical evolution. The need to become integrated into the Catholic sphere was so strong that the attachment to the old liturgical tradition began to be viewed with suspicion. In *Colloquium Lubelskie* (1680), loyalty to the rite was openly contrasted with loyalty to the Pope: "The Saviour is not going to ask you about the calendar, the vestments and ceremonies, but [He will ask] why you did not listen to the visible authority placed by Him in Rome, on the Chair of St Peter."<sup>603</sup> Similar opinions were familiar to Kaminskij, too, who complained that if a Uniate was not ready to move to the Latin Rite, he was regarded as a schismatic who valued the rite more than the obedience to the Pope.<sup>604</sup>

The development of a new type of Uniate Missal (*Služebnik*) reflected one stage in the transformation of the Eastern Rite liturgy towards an independent "third" rite. This was most clearly seen in the publishing project headed by Metropolitan Žohovskij in the 1690s.<sup>605</sup> The earliest of these missals was compiled and printed in 1691 by the Basilians of the Holy Trinity Monastery in Vilna during the preparation of a more extensive liturgical manual. The Latin influence was reflected in it, for example, through the addition of commemorations that were adopted from the Roman Catholic practice, as well as rubrics for the recited Liturgy.<sup>606</sup> It was soon replaced<sup>607</sup> by Metropolitan Žohovskij's Missal (1692), from which many innovations presented in the earlier publication were excluded.<sup>608</sup> Žohovskij's Missal represented the *missale plenum* type with biblical

<sup>599</sup> "[...] люди-унїати зовсїм збаламученї, [...] лементують, плачуть і нарікають, дивлячи ся що дни на дивнї вимисли і на новї відмінї в набоженствї та самї не знають, що вони – Русь чи римляни, наслідок чого часто сварять ся зі своїми духовними: ліпше нам було оставати в дізунїї й мати своє набоженство, переданне сьв. Отцями, ніж тепер, коли не знаємо, чого держати ся." Щурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 238.

<sup>600</sup> Щурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 212.

<sup>601</sup> "[...] doswiadczyłem tego nieraz jako Bog znacznie nas karał y karze za opuszczenie naszych starożytnych ceremoniey." Скочиляс 2008, 28.

<sup>602</sup> "[...] z czego wszystkiego, nie kto inszy, tylko my Panu Bogu rachunek czasu swego dac powinni będziemy." Скочиляс 2008, 28.

<sup>603</sup> "Niebędzie was pytał Zbawiciel / o Kalendarzu / habitach / y Ceremoniach / ale czemuście nieśluchali / iego władze widomey / Zostawionej w Rzymie / na Kathedrze Piotra Swietego." *Colloquium Lubelskie* 1680, 73.

<sup>604</sup> Щурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 211.

<sup>605</sup> Naumow 2002, 157. For a description of the Uniates' quest for liturgical books of their own, see, for example, Huculak 1990, 53–58.

<sup>606</sup> The 1691 Missal introduced, for example, the Offices for the Holy Trinity, the Sweetest Name of Jesus, the Holy Eucharist, and the Visitation. Naumow 2002, 157.

<sup>607</sup> Naumow suspects that the edition of 1691 may even have been removed from practice by force. Naumow 2002, 155.

<sup>608</sup> Vavryk points out how the Žohovskij edition (1692) has traditionally been viewed as pervaded by Latin influence, for example, in the imitation of the *Leitourgikon* (1683) by Cardinal Nerli, although thorough comparisons between the two have proven that Žohovskij did not borrow any notable ceremonies from the latter. Ваврик 1985, 318.

pericopes and the congregation's parts included.<sup>609</sup> After the metropolitan's death, the "great" Missal was supplemented in 1695 in Suprasl'.<sup>610</sup> The Missal of 1692–95 was most likely compiled in attempt to check the overwhelming diversity in liturgical customs as well as to officially introduce certain new practices. While it served as a model for later manuscripts and printed missals, as well as material for church councils that sought uniformity in the rite,<sup>611</sup> it did not provide a permanent solution to the problem of liturgical diversity.<sup>612</sup>

The lack of uniformity in liturgical practices and church life in general was in many ways caused by the lack of church discipline: there were notable divisions within the hierarchy, as well as the Basilian Order, and between the hierarchs and the monastics, not to mention the frequent discord between the Greek Rite and the Latin Rite Catholics. Yet the political turbulence in the Commonwealth in the later decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century increased the appeal of the Catholic Church among many Ruthenians. After the Kievan Orthodox Metropolitanate had been subordinated to the Patriarch of Moscow in 1686, the Orthodox dioceses remaining in the Commonwealth began to view the union more favourably. The state of the Uniate liturgical rite was, however, viewed with concern. As Galadza points out, the negotiators of the union from the diocese of Przemyśl specified in 1691 their wish to have "one faith, in two rites" – two rites, as separate, instead of a mixed third rite.<sup>613</sup>

With the official acception of the union by the dioceses of Przemyśl, Lvov and Luck by the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Uniate Church now encompassed all Ruthenian lands that still belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The jurisdictional changes created an even greater need for the unification of liturgical practices. When the southern dioceses joined the union, they were, as Ernst Christoph Suttner notes, divided by a gap of more than one hundred years from the northern (Lithuanian) church sphere in which many Latin-influenced practices had already become established.<sup>614</sup> The difference was most visible in the monastic tradition. The northern Basilian monasteries with their centralised organisation, common rules and chapters, were characterised by a considerable measure of Latin influence, while in the southern dioceses, the Ruthenian monasteries were more independently governed and retained a distinctively Byzantine Orthodox character,<sup>615</sup> cultivating contacts with monastic centres in the Balkans.<sup>616</sup> For decades after the new union, these monasteries continued to be characterised by conservatism in the Eastern Rite tradition.

The differences in liturgical practices between northern and southern parts were understood as too great to achieve uniformity spontaneously. The evident need for action in order to bring the two parts closer was recognised both by the Congregation and the Uniate hierarchs. Local synods

<sup>609</sup> In practice, the new Missal enabled clergy to celebrate without congregational participation. Galadza 2004, 263.

<sup>610</sup> The supplemented edition extended the traditional content of a *Služebnik* (the rubrics for the three types of Eastern Rite Divine Liturgy) with rubrics for the services of the daily cycle, prayers for the *moleben* and Gospel readings for Matins throughout the year, as well as "Te Deum". The addition of biblical readings – a custom already established in manuscript practice – brought the new edition closer to Latin missals. Naumow 2002, 155–156.

<sup>611</sup> The diocesan Council of Volodymyr in 1715 concentrated, among other topics, on the need to unify liturgical practices on the basis of "the new Missal". Скочиляс 2008, 26.

<sup>612</sup> Huculak 1990, 58.

<sup>613</sup> Галадза 1997, 19.

<sup>614</sup> Суттнер, Ернст Крістоф. "Значення Замойського (1720) та Віденського (1773) синодів для уніатів Речі Посполитої та Габсбурзької монархії." *Ковчег. Науковий збірник із церковної історії*. Ч. 2. Львів: Інститут Історії Церкви Львівської Богословської Академії 2000, 100.

<sup>615</sup> Huculak 1990, 62.

<sup>616</sup> Close contacts were cultivated, for example, between the Great Skete (Manjava) and Mount Athos. See Senyk, Sophia. *Manjava Skete. Ukrainian Monastic Writings of the Seventeenth Century*. Kalamazoo-Spencer-Coalville: Cistercian Publications 2001.

were organised in diocesan centres, in their way preparing the ground for a larger council.<sup>617</sup> With the permission of the Holy See, Metropolitan Kiška finally called together a council of the Uniate Church in the Commonwealth in 1720 to discuss a wide range of questions concerning the faith, including the catechism, the sacraments, the feasts and fasts, the organisation of parishes, clerical education and monastic life.<sup>618</sup>

The Council of Zamość constituted a point of culmination in the Eastern Rite liturgical tradition of the Uniate Church. It evaluated and sanctioned many innovations of the “third rite” by recognising the evolution that the Greek Rite had undergone during the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century and standardising and codifying certain local practices to involve the whole church.<sup>619</sup> Considerable attention was given to the unification of liturgical books: the use of disuniate books was prohibited and the hierarchs were advised not to print books without the confirmation from the Apostolic See.<sup>620</sup> In the articles dealing with the sacraments, in particular, the Council presented – with scholastic precision and rather refreshing practicality – guidelines for the correct administration and understanding of the mysteries, also defining the level of interritual participation with the Latin Rite Catholics. The *Filioque* was now to be inserted in the Creed at all instances.<sup>621</sup> The Council also established new feasts in the Uniate calendar: Holy Eucharist, Compassion of the Mother of God, Holy Trinity, and Blessed Josafat. It addressed problems that had long hindered the development of the Eastern Rite such as clerical education. Moreover, the Council provided guidelines for visitations through which the life in each parish was to be regularly investigated and documented.<sup>622</sup>

Skočyljas notes how past research has often taken the Council of Zamość out of historical and cultural context and emphasised the Roman initiative in its organisation.<sup>623</sup> Skinner also argues that the Council has been criminalised for “instituting Latin ‘distortions’ into the Eastern Rite.”<sup>624</sup> While it cannot be denied that the synodal decrees contributed to the demarcation of the Uniate Church, the character of the Council was less reformative than has generally been perceived. It mainly sealed the current stage of development in Uniate liturgical tradition and put an end to private innovations that had troubled the church in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>625</sup> It would, of course, take more than one council’s legislative actions to coordinate diverse liturgical practices.<sup>626</sup> The attempts to reorganise the rite continued, for example, with the correction of “schismatic” Orthodox liturgical books for Uniate use in the 1730s.<sup>627</sup> The decrees of the Council of Zamość

<sup>617</sup> The diocesan synod organised in Volodymyr in 1715, for example, addressed a number of topics that were consequently raised in Zamość: the codification and unification of liturgical practices, the control over administering the sacraments, the promotion of unity through catechism, the modernisation of diocesan administration, the strengthening of the cult of Blessed Josafat and political legitimisation of *Slavia Unita*, the discipline and education of parish clergy, and the reform of religious education (aiming towards the opening of a diocesan Seminary). For a detailed description of these points, see Скочиляс 2008, 25–35.

<sup>618</sup> For an introduction and a full description of the proceedings of the council, see, for example, the Latin-Ukrainian version in *Провінційний Синод у Замості 1720 р.Б.* 2006.

<sup>619</sup> Скочиляс 2008, 8.

<sup>620</sup> Мудрий, Софрон, єпископ. “Замойський синод і його значення для Української католицької церкви.” In *Провінційний Синод 2006*, 8, 14.

<sup>621</sup> *Провінційний Синод 2006*, 109.

<sup>622</sup> *Провінційний Синод 2006*, 285.

<sup>623</sup> Скочиляс 2008, 8.

<sup>624</sup> Skinner 2009, 40.

<sup>625</sup> Senyk 1990, 175.

<sup>626</sup> Huculak notes that twenty years after the Council of Zamość, the diocesan Council of Przemyśl still complained about confusion in liturgical services and argued that practically all priests celebrated differently. Huculak 1990, 77.

<sup>627</sup> In 1738, Metropolitan Afanasij Šeptyckyj issued detailed instructions on corrections of fifteen common liturgical books and one primer, to be written by hand on each copy in all monastic and parish churches. The corrections included, for example, the addition of the *Filioque*, commemorating the Pope, teaching about

contributed to the standardisation of the “third” rite as a mixture of Greek and Latin elements in liturgical practice that ultimately distinguished the Uniate Church from both the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic tradition.<sup>628</sup>

Among the already established liturgical practices that were standardised by the Council of Zamość was the Latin Feast of *Corpus Christi*, which had begun to be celebrated in certain Eastern Rite churches as the Feast of the Holy Sacrament, i.e the Holy Eucharist. The feast can be seen as a result of a long evolution in liturgical tradition in the aftermath of the Union of Brest. In the course of more than a century after the union, preceded by centuries of coexistence with the Western culture, the Ruthenian Eastern Rite had inevitably moved closer to the Latin tradition – so close that the loans from that culture were not perceived as foreign elements but were adopted without violating the idea of “changing nothing”, and soon came to be perceived as essential components of the Eastern Rite identity.

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purgatory, and the omission of certain saints no longer to be commemorated in the Uniate Church. Skinner remarks that despite the instructions, many Uniate priest continued to use uncorrected books, mainly because of the frequent lack of necessary liturgical texts. Skinner 2009, 62. As Naumow notes, still in 1747, the preface to a Missal printed in Uněv complains that many priests still preserved Missals of “foreign” origin and did not aim at uniformity in their performance of the rites. Naumow 1996, 139.

<sup>628</sup> Skinner 2009, 41.

# 4 The Origin and Emergence of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist

The Feast of the Holy Eucharist developed in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and was officially established in the Ruthenian Uniate Church in 1720. As a feast with a characteristically Latin origin and content, it belongs to the group of feasts adopted from the Roman Catholic Church and adapted to Eastern Rite liturgical practice. In the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Eastern Rite tradition – particularly in the Uniate Church – had undergone a number of changes, which created the context for the development of new practices, including a feast specifically dedicated to the veneration of the Holy Eucharist. This chapter follows the historical development of the Latin feast from a 13<sup>th</sup>-century local celebration into one of the cornerstones of the universal Roman Catholic tradition, also in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It traces the process leading to the establishment of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist by exploring the changing ideas and practices that involved the Sacrament in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup>-century Ruthenian Uniate Church.

## 4.1 THE LATIN FEAST OF *CORPUS CHRISTI*

An epitome of mediaeval Latin Eucharistic theology, the Feast of the Body of Christ developed from an early 13<sup>th</sup>-century local commemoration into a universally celebrated feast that in many ways sought to manifest the brilliance, the authority and the superiority of the Roman Catholic Church over other denominations. Before the feast was established in the Eastern Rite practice of the Ruthenian Uniates, it had spread across Europe and developed a tradition of processions featuring the carrying of the Holy Sacrament outside the church. These processions gave the celebration a special festive character. In the Polish-Lithuanian culture people from various denominations took part. The cult of the Holy Eucharist as detached from the immediate context of Liturgy was an unfamiliar concept to the Byzantine Rite. However, historical circumstances brought certain Eastern Rite communities into contact with the Latin feast, beginning from the Italian lands and eventually reaching the Ruthenians of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. These contacts laid the foundation for the Eastern Rite adaptations of the originally Latin feast.

### 4.1.1 The development of the feast

The Feast of *Corpus Christi* (*festum Corporis Christi*, “Body of Christ”) or *Corpus Domini* (“Body of the Lord”) developed in Liège, modern Belgium, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It was initiated by Juliana of Mont Cornillon, a mystic who at the age of eighteen began to have visions which she perceived as revelations from Christ.<sup>629</sup> In the vision, St Juliana saw a full moon with a small fraction missing. The moon, she interpreted through constant prayer, symbolised the Church, while the missing fraction signified the absence of a feast that Christ wished to be established: a day on which the institution of the Holy Sacrament would be celebrated more solemnly than it was on Maundy Thursday when the remembrance of Christ’s Passion received most attention.<sup>630</sup>

The feast was first established in the diocese of Liège in 1246. In 1264, Pope Urban IV decreed in his bull *Transiturus de hoc mundo* the Feast of the Body of Christ to be celebrated in the whole

<sup>629</sup> The visions and the life of St Juliana are depicted in Walters, Barbara. “The Feast and Its Founder.” Walters, Barbara, Corrigan, Vincent and Ricketts, Peter. *The Feast of Corpus Christi*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press 2006, 3–54.

<sup>630</sup> Walters 2006, 6–7.

Church on the Thursday after Pentecost. Later, following the practice in Liège, the day was settled on the Thursday following the octave of the Trinity, i.e. Trinity Sunday.<sup>631</sup> The feast initially failed to gain wide acceptance, although locally it enjoyed great popularity. After Urban IV, both Clement V and John XXII gave their papal support for the feast. *Corpus Christi* was formally instituted for the universal Church in 1317, and in 1391, Pope Boniface IX recommended its celebration wherever it had not yet been established.<sup>632</sup> In the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the celebration of *Corpus Christi* was initiated throughout Catholic Europe, for example at Cologne (1306), Worms (1315), Strasbourg (1316), Cracow (1320), and also in England (between 1320 and 1325).<sup>633</sup>

The development of the feast was rooted in a wider context of theological formulations concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Latin theology had been dominated by Eucharistic questions from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The Roman Church faced sectarian controversies and disputes over the sacraments, most notably the Eucharist. The 12<sup>th</sup> century in particular was characterised by debates over the real presence of Christ in the Holy Gifts. These debates reached their conclusion at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which accepted the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, the full change of the substance of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ in the sacrament.<sup>634</sup>

The theological movement had an interesting impact on the understanding of the sacrament. With the heightened importance assigned to the Eucharist, it came to be viewed as something to be protected by the clergy, even to the extent that in the course of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the laity became excluded from the chalice.<sup>635</sup> Instead, the laity was encouraged to practice contemplation by gazing the consecrated Host, for which the Body of Christ was ceremonially exposed on the altar.<sup>636</sup> In time, special vessels (monstrance, *ostensorium*) developed for the adoration of the Host, and once the exposition was over, it was locked safe in a *pyx* inside a tabernacle.

The private contemplation of the Eucharist intensified the mystical perception of the sacrament. Taft notes how the dissolution of the liturgical community by the privatisation, i.e. clericalisation of the Eucharistic liturgy created a “devotional vacuum” which was soon filled with fantastic allegorical explanations of the Mass and the sacrament.<sup>637</sup> The atmosphere of Eucharistic mysticism also laid the foundation for the Feast of *Corpus Christi*. The festivities soon came to include the exposition of the Sacrament (Benediction) and the carrying of the Host in a procession.<sup>638</sup> As such, the new feast can be seen as a true example of the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup>-century Eucharistic development in the Roman Church.

<sup>631</sup> At the time, the octave of the Trinity had been established only in Liège. Walters 2006, 12–13, 41.

<sup>632</sup> Zalewski, Zbigniew. “Boże Ciało.” Encyklopedia Katolicka tom II. Red. F. Gryglewicz, R. Łukaszyk, Z. Sułowski. Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski 1985, 861.

<sup>633</sup> Mersham, Francis. “Feast of Corpus Christi.” *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1913), Vol. 4. [[http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic\\_Encyclopedia\(1913\)/Feast\\_of\\_Corpus\\_Christi](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Catholic_Encyclopedia(1913)/Feast_of_Corpus_Christi)]; Zalewski 1985, 861.

<sup>634</sup> Walters 2006, 51–52. Later in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, St Thomas Aquinas formulated the concept by explaining, for example, that “this is done by Divine power in this sacrament; for the whole substance of the bread is changed into the whole substance of Christ’s body, and the whole substance of the wine into the whole substance of Christ’s blood. Hence this is not a formal, but a substantial conversion; nor is it a kind of natural movement: but, with a name of its own, it can be called *transubstantiation*.” Pt. III Q. 75 Art. 4 in Aquinas, Thomas. *Summa Theologica*. Vol. V. London: Sheed & Ward 1981, 2444.

<sup>635</sup> Rubin, Miri. *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2004, 70.

<sup>636</sup> Rubin 2004, 70. According to Taft, as a result the “Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament even [began] to displace the Mass itself as the center of Eucharistic worship.” Taft 2008, 447.

<sup>637</sup> Taft 2008, 446–447.

<sup>638</sup> Only the Host was carried in the procession, although the feast itself was dedicated to the Holy Sacrament in both species. Buxton argues that the emphasis on the bread rather than the wine was based on practicality, since it was considerably easier to elevate the bread in extra-liturgical ceremonies. He suggests that the emphasis was also reflected in the naming of the feast as *Corpus Christi*. Buxton, R.F. *The New Westminster Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*. Ed. J.G. Davies. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press 1986, 197.

The textual and musical content for the feast evolved in the course of the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries. There were three different early textual traditions for the office and the Mass: one that represented the practice of Liège, another which evolved among the Dominicans, and a third, attributed to St Thomas Aquinas, which eventually constituted the standard for the *Corpus Christi* service.<sup>639</sup>

Over the course of centuries, the feast came to be known particularly for its festive processions. The decrees concerning the practice of sacramental adoration, issued by the Council of Trent (1545–1563), reflect the central role of these processions. In the eight decrees and eleven canons concerning the Eucharist and related practices confirmed by the Council in 1551, the annual celebration of the Sacrament with extra-liturgical ceremonies was fully established. The 5<sup>th</sup> decree presented the adoration of the Sacrament as equal to the adoration of God, and its yearly feast as appropriate:

The holy Council explains that the Church of God has most piously and divinely adopted the custom of celebrating and solemnly venerating this sublime and venerable sacrament yearly on a special festal day and carrying it reverently in processions through the streets and public places.<sup>640</sup>

The 6<sup>th</sup> canon continues:

If anyone says that Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, is not to be adored in the cult of the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist and also in the form of external worship and that He is not to be venerated in this sacrament with a special feast, and not to be carried according to the praised and universal rite of the Holy Church, solemnly in processions, and not to be set before the public to be worshipped, and that those who thus adore him are idolaters, he is to be anathematised.<sup>641</sup>

By the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Feast of *Corpus Christi* was fully established in the Roman Catholic tradition, along with a variety of extra-liturgical customs involving the Holy Eucharist.

#### 4.1.2 *Corpus Christi* in Eastern Rite Italo-Byzantine practice

The impact of the Feast of *Corpus Christi* went beyond the Latin Rite. Well before the feast was adopted in the Ruthenian Uniate Church, the cult of the Holy Gifts developed in certain other Eastern Rite communities, such as the Melchites in the Middle East and the Greek<sup>642</sup> and Albanian (Arbëreshë)<sup>643</sup> inhabitants of Italy. The *Corpus Christi* tradition also

<sup>639</sup> Corrigan, Vincent. "Critical Editions of the Liturgical Manuscripts." Walters, Barbara, Corrigan, Vincent and Ricketts, Peter. *The Feast of Corpus Christi*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press 2006, 92. Scholars have named the versions after the opening verse of the antiphon for the First Vespers in each manuscript. According to Walters, *Animarum cibus*, found in the National Library of the Netherlands, The Hague (KB 70.E.4), is attributed to St Juliana herself. It is characterised by the not yet entirely consistent theological interpretation of the Eucharist and relies mostly on the theological thought of Hugh of Saint-Victor and Alger of Liège. *Sapientia aedificavit*, found at the Abbey of Strahov, Prague (MS D.E.I.7), may have been an early work of Thomas Aquinas. Its references to the Eucharist have been taken directly from the Bible and it relies extensively on the biblical exegesis Hugh of Saint-Cher. The third version, *Sacerdos in aeternum*, found at the National Library of France, Paris (BNF 1143), is attributed to Thomas Aquinas in the last years of his life. Walters 2006, 51–53.

<sup>640</sup> *Tridentium*. Trenton kirkolliskokouksen reformi- ja oppidekreetit sekä kaanonit. Suom. Martti Voutilainen. Vammalan Kirjapaino Oy 1984, 64–65.

<sup>641</sup> *Tridentium* 1984, 68.

<sup>642</sup> The Greek presence in Italy dates back to the first millennium, when the Byzantine Rite and the Latin Rite tradition lived in full communion under the jurisdiction of the Pope. After the Great Schism, the Greek Rite communities weakened until the diaspora that followed the fall of Constantinople (1453). The cities of Venice, Messina, Livorno, and Naples had a significant Greek presence, as did regions such as Calabria, Corsica, Sicily and Malta. O'Mahony, Anthony. "'Between Rome and Constantinople': the Italian-Albanian Church: a study in Eastern Catholic history and ecclesiology." *International journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 8:3. 2008, 233, 235.

<sup>643</sup> Albanian immigration to Italy increased in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, following the Ottoman invasion. As their arrival took place in the context of the Union of Florence, they were welcomed and settled in southern Italy where the Byzantine Rite population traditionally lived. O'Mahony 2008, 235–236.

became familiar to the Eastern Rite population of the Mediterranean region that was under Venetian rule.<sup>644</sup>

From our point of view, the tradition that developed among the Italo-Greeks is particularly interesting because of the Ruthenian contacts with them, particularly through education. Several members of the Ruthenian Uniate Church elite were educated at the Greek College of St Athanasius (opened in 1576) in Rome. The first students from the Kievan Metropolitanate were admitted in 1578.<sup>645</sup> During their stay in Rome, Ruthenian students became acquainted with an Eastern Rite minority whose position in the post-Tridentine reality was quite similar to their own, with the exception that the degree of Latinisation most likely exceeded their experience.<sup>646</sup> The influence of the majority culture had transformed liturgical practices in many centres of Italo-Byzantine spirituality, most notably in the Monastery of Grottaferrata.<sup>647</sup> The Italian Eastern Rite communities became fully submitted to Latin jurisdiction by Pope Pius IV in 1564, and it was the responsibility of the Catholic Ordinaries to exercise their superiority over Byzantine Rite churches, monasteries, clergy, divine services and sacraments, for the salvation of souls and the removal of heresy.<sup>648</sup> Heresy, in turn, could be noted in almost any doctrinal deviation and liturgical divergence between the Byzantine and the Latin Rites.<sup>649</sup>

Adoptions from the Latin liturgical tradition began to appear in Italo-Byzantine texts and practice already from the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>650</sup> Apart from prayers and liturgical formulas, the Roman influence became visible in the festal calendar. For example, the Greek adaptation of *Corpus Christi* evolved quite early in the Italo-Byzantine practice. According to Stefano Parenti, the earliest extant liturgical sources for the feast in Greek language date back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>651</sup> One of the earliest

<sup>644</sup> The Venetians extended their rule over the Ionian Islands from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onward, eventually ruling most of the Greek islands, including Cyprus and Crete, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The Byzantine Rite Church was by law submitted to the Roman Catholic superiors. The coexistence of two rites brought about manifestations of mutual respect (whether genuine or less so), which Bishop Potej praised in his letter to Prince Ostrožskij in 1598 as an example for the Ruthenians. Potej highlighted the Feast of *Corpus Christi* as a particular example of the amity between the Roman and the Greek faithful, describing how the Greeks participated in the Roman processions voluntarily, without any obligation. See Stradomski, Jan. "Teksty Hipacego Pocieja i Kliryka z Ostroga" in Naumow 2002, 242–243.

<sup>645</sup> Blažejovskij 1979, 143–144.

<sup>646</sup> In the Greek College, for example, the liturgical services mainly followed the Latin Rite, because the majority of staff and students belonged to it. The students thus got acquainted with Latin customs throughout their studies. Galadza points out that in 1583, the rules of the College stated that during the Mass, the students would read the Horologion or the Rosary on their knees. Later, in 1625, the constitution of the College decreed that the Eucharist be celebrated in two species (which was the Eastern Rite custom) only thrice a year: at Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas. An actual Byzantine Rite Liturgy was celebrated only about 35 times a year. All this, as Galadza notes, obviously had an immense influence on generations of Ruthenians studying at the College. Галадза 1997, 6–7; Galadza 2004, 374.

<sup>647</sup> The monastery, located in the province of Rome, was founded in 1004 by St Nilus of Rossano. Under Roman jurisdiction, the original Byzantine Rite underwent considerable changes and Latinisation already by the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Pope Leo XIII restored the Byzantine Rite at Grottaferrata in 1881. O'Mahony 2008, 244.

<sup>648</sup> O'Mahony 2008, 241.

<sup>649</sup> The list of divergences resembled the accusations against the Eastern Rite in Poland-Lithuania. It included, for example, the usage of the Julian calendar, the veneration of St Gregory Palamas, the commemoration of the Patriarch of Constantinople in the Liturgy instead of the Pope, the lack of the *Filioque* in the Creed, and so on. The *Filioque* was, interestingly, inserted in a profession of faith that was attributed to Pope Urban VIII and introduced in 1634 as obligatory to each member of the Eastern Rite clergy wishing to live in the Italian states. O'Mahony 2008, 238–239.

<sup>650</sup> Ваврик 1985, 319. Avvakumov notes that during the assimilation of Latin trends in Italo-Byzantine practice in the course of the 14<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries, for example, the leavened bread used for the Holy Eucharist was gradually replaced with unleavened bread. Аввакумов 2011, 71.

<sup>651</sup> The Greek Rite Feast of the Body (and Blood) of the Lord is found in four 14<sup>th</sup>-century sources. A *Typikon* (dated 1299/1300, Grottaferrata f.a. I, ff. 103v–104v) contains rubrics (*Diataxis*) for the feast. References to the feast can also be found in one liturgical anthology (*Vaticano gr.* 1844, ff. 53v–60v), an *Horologion* (Grottaferrata

sets of rubrics for the Feast of the “Holy and Immaculate Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ” (a later addition to a *Typikon* of 1299/1300), Parenti attributes to the period during which the Feast of *Corpus Christi* was ultimately established in the Roman Church, the papacy of John XIII (1316–1334); possibly to the leadership of Igumen Pancratios (1319–1324) in Grottaferrata.<sup>652</sup> The fact that the feast was thus adopted quite early in Eastern Rite practice is to be understood, in his opinion, in the light of the situation in which the Greek Church existed: it was not an individual choice made by pro-Latin monastic leaders, but rather an obligation fulfilled by all, Latin or Greek, because they were under Roman jurisdiction and, thus, the institution of a new universal feast inevitably involved them.<sup>653</sup>

The liturgical repertoire that evolved in the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>654</sup> did not, however, prove final but was replaced by a different compilation of hymnography around the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>655</sup> In Grottaferrata, this new office – known for its initial hymn, *To mega mysterion* – was in use already in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>656</sup> The later printed sources are characterised by more or less variation in their selection of hymns but nevertheless represent this particular office type: the *Neon Anthologion* by an Italo-Greek priest, Antonios Arkoudios of Soletto (1598), *Horologion* of Grottaferrata (1677), and the Basilian Missal of Grottaferrata (1683).<sup>657</sup>

The Italo-Byzantine *Corpus Christi* tradition provides an interesting reference point for the evolving Ruthenian practice, not only as an analogous phenomenon, but suggestedly as a source of liturgical influences. It is very likely that the Ruthenian students, who during their studies in Rome acquired skills in Greek and occasionally also translated texts from Greek into Church Slavonic, became familiar with the local Eastern Rite *Corpus Christi* tradition and the Greek liturgical texts for the feast.<sup>658</sup> As further analysis will show, it is certain that the Ruthenian compilers of the Church Slavonic liturgical texts draw on some Greek models that were available in Italy.

### 4.1.3 *Corpus Christi* tradition in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

The Feast of *Corpus Christi* (Pol. *Boże Ciało*, “Body of God”) was adopted in the diocese of Cracow in 1320. It was recognised as a high ranking feast during which the faithful were obliged to hear Mass (*festum fori*). It was followed by an octave, and during the 14<sup>th</sup> century it became common to celebrate Mass throughout the octave in the presence of the exposed Holy Sacrament. The custom of a ceremonial benediction of the Sacrament during the Mass while chanting the sequence *Lauda Sion* became established in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>659</sup>

*Γ.α. V*, f. 290v) and in a musical codex (*Messina gr. 161*, f. 21r). Parenti 2004, 149, 152.

<sup>652</sup> Parenti 2004, 151.

<sup>653</sup> Parenti 2004, 168.

<sup>654</sup> The rubrics point to the existence of an extensive cycle of liturgical texts dedicated to the feast. Corresponding texts have not, unfortunately, been discovered. Parenti 2004, 167.

<sup>655</sup> Parenti has located the new office in an *Anthologion* written at Rossano in 1487, now in the Grottaferrata collection, Δ.δ.Ι (ff. 222r–230v). Parenti 2004, 169.

<sup>656</sup> Parenti 2004, 169.

<sup>657</sup> Parenti 2004, 169–170. These sources have also been consulted in the following analysis of hymnography. The hymnography compiled by Antonios Arkoudios served as the main source for festal texts also in later Italo-Albanian Arbëreshë practice, where the Vespers and the Divine Liturgy for *Corpus Domini* were published in Greek by Papàs Spiridione Lo Jacono in 1880: *Traduzione del Vespri del Corpus Domini*. Palermo: Reale Stamperia 1880; *Liturgia di S. G. Crisostomo, versione del Ben[edetto] Parroco Spiridione Lo Jacono*. Palermo: Stabilimento Tipografico Virzì 1880; Garofalo, Girolamo. “Arbëresh Corpus Domini.” E-mail message to Maria Takala-Roszczenko. 8<sup>th</sup> August 2013. I am grateful to Dr Girolamo Garofalo for sharing his information and copies of several texts from the Arbëreshë tradition.

<sup>658</sup> Vavryk, for example, considers it most likely that the Ruthenian Basilians got acquainted with the Italo-Byzantine liturgical books during their study in Rome. Ваврик 1979, 118.

<sup>659</sup> Zalewski 1985, 861.

The 15<sup>th</sup> century also saw the beginning of festive processions with the Eucharist, a practice that had become widespread in Western Europe. According to a German custom, four altars were constructed on the way for the procession to pause and read from the Gospel and to distribute special festal benedictions. This was not a practice prescribed in the Roman liturgical manuals, for example, *Caeremonial episcoporum* (1600) and *Rituale Romanum* (1614);<sup>660</sup> nevertheless, it was widely accepted in Poland and included in the Polish version of the Roman Ritual, *Rytuał piotrkowski* (1631).<sup>661</sup>

The Feast of *Corpus Christi* gradually developed into a kind of a national holiday in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>662</sup> Its celebration involved different strata of society: the clergy, various trade guilds, religious confraternities, schools, the military and large numbers of the faithful.<sup>663</sup> Kotłjarčuk depicts the celebration of the feast in Belarusian cities in the 17<sup>th</sup> century:

The road on which the monstrance with the Body of Jesus Christ moved was scattered with flowers. Festive divine ceremonies were celebrated in front of the four temporary altars, constructed under open sky; religious *kants* were chanted, including the popular "Te Deum Laudamus". [...] Artisans walked in a procession, organised according to their guilds, carrying in their hands large coloured candles. The popular feast was usually accompanied by the playing of spiritual orchestras, illuminations, fireworks and cannon fire.<sup>664</sup>

Various theatrical plays, scenes and pageants also characterised the festivities. Such performances accompanied the procession or were acted out in the proximity of the festal altars. The motifs for the performances were adopted from biblical or hagiographical stories. They could also involve allegorical figures or Eucharistic dramatisations. From 1586–1633, processional scenes became particularly popular and elaborate in Vilna.<sup>665</sup> Walenty Bartoszewski published a colourful verse description of a pageant performed in Vilna in 1614.<sup>666</sup> It featured "figures" such as Church Militant, Faith, Hope, Charity, Victory, Abraham and Melchizedek, and the Ark of the Covenant, all accompanied by variety of musical instruments. Apart from contributing to the general celebration on the festal day, the pageant can be seen as demonstration of the superiority of the Catholic Church with its ceremonies, which was also repeatedly highlighted in Bartoszewski's

<sup>660</sup> *Rituale Romanum* gives the following prescription for the procession. During the Mass, the priest consecrates two Hosts, one of which is placed in a monstrance (enclosed with glass) to be used in the procession. The procession begins after the Mass with the chanting of the Litany of Saints. The priest then kneels and incenses the Blessed Sacrament. A humeral veil is placed on the priest's shoulders, and, covering his hands with the ends of the veil, he receives the monstrance, turns towards the people and joins the procession, walking under a canopy. Two acolytes or clerics carry censers with burning incense in front of him. The procession moves bareheaded, holding candles and singing the following hymns: *Pange lingua, Sacris sollemniis, Verbum supernum, Iesu nostra redemptio, Aeternae Rex*. Besides these hymns, it is possible to chant or recite the *Te Deum, Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, or the *Magnificat*. At the end of the procession, the Sacrament is brought back to the church, placed on the altar, and everyone kneels in adoration and chants the last stanzas of *Tantum ergo*. This is followed by versicles *Panem de caelo praestitisti eis – Omne delectamentum in se habentem* and the prayer. Finally, the priest genuflects, blesses the people with the monstrance with the sign of the cross, and the Sacrament is reposed in the tabernacle. *Rituale Romanum. Editio Princeps* (1614). Monumenta Liturgica Concilii Tridentini 5. Ed. Juan Javier Flores Arcas. Città del Vaticano: L'Editrice Vaticana 2004, 183–186. English translation available online, for example, at [www.sanctamissa.org/en/resources/books-1962/rituale-romanum/56-rites-for-processions.html](http://www.sanctamissa.org/en/resources/books-1962/rituale-romanum/56-rites-for-processions.html).

<sup>661</sup> Zalewski 1985, 862.

<sup>662</sup> Kotłjarčuk 2001, 87.

<sup>663</sup> Zalewski 1985, 862.

<sup>664</sup> Kotłjarčuk 2001, 88.

<sup>665</sup> Okoń, Jan. "Boże Ciało." *Encyklopedia Katolicka tom II*. Red. F. Gryglewicz, R. Łukaszyk, Z. Sułowski. Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski 1985, 862.

<sup>666</sup> Bartoszewski, Walenty. *Pobudka na obchodzenie nabożne Świątości roczney Tryumphu, y Pompy Ciała Bożego dana, a laśnie Oświeconemu, y Naywielebniejszemu w Panu Chrystusie Oycowi y Panu: Panu Benedictowi Woynie, z Łaski Bożej Biskupowi Wilenskiemu, ofiarowana. Przez Walentego Bartoszewskiego*. Wilno: Józef Karcan 1614.

depiction.<sup>667</sup> As Zosim points out, the theatrical processions with the Holy Gifts generally featured an interesting self-portrayal of the Catholic Church in the post-Tridentine era.<sup>668</sup>

## 4.2 EVOLVING EUCHARISTIC PRACTICES BEHIND THE RUTHENIAN FEAST OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST

The earliest contacts between the Eastern Rite Ruthenians and the Feast of *Corpus Christi* probably took place along with the establishment of Roman Catholic dioceses in old Ruthenian lands. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the festive processions organised on major Catholic celebrations were likely to touch the lives of many Eastern Rite townspeople, although at that time it seems not to have been common for them to actually participate.<sup>669</sup> Religious processions were integral to both traditions and there were similarities in the way they were conducted. For example, it was likely that the Eastern Rite ceremony of visiting the sick, during which liturgical vestments were worn and candles carried in front of the Holy Eucharist, resembled the procession on *Corpus Christi* to a certain (outward) extent.

Ruthenians understood the theological difference between the Latin feast and their own Eucharistic tradition. This was separately emphasised in the articles that were written by the bishops as conditions to the union with Rome in 1595: "That we should not be compelled to take part in processions on the day of Corpus Christi; that we should not have to make such processions with our Mysteries *inasmuch as our use of the Mysteries is different*."<sup>670</sup> There was clear consciousness of the difference that had grown between Eucharistic practices in the two rites during the Middle Ages. While the Latin West had been preoccupied with disputes over the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the Byzantine theology had remained almost entirely unconcerned by those issues, which was also the reason for the fact that the East had never developed any extra-liturgical devotion to Christ's presence in the Eucharistic Gifts.<sup>671</sup> As Metropolitan Mohyla expressed it some decades later in *Lithos*:

Processions with the Most Holy Sacrament around the church – neither in the Greek nor in the Ruthenian Church – were never held, and such are not needed now, either, because the Most Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord is given and instituted by the Lord not in order to make processions with it, but to be fed to the faithful for the remission of sins and for eternal life, for the commemoration of His life-giving death, for He said: Take, eat, this is My Body [...].<sup>672</sup>

<sup>667</sup> Bartoszewski described the brilliance of the procession on *Corpus Christi*, which featured, for example, the bishop carrying the monstrance decorated with emerald and onyx, and the sound of bells, trumpets, drums, flutes and fiddles echoing in the streets and manifesting the greatness of the Sacrament. This magnificence, he wrote, makes the heretics feel uneasy, like a bat when it sees the sunlight ("Acz heretycy po nas to nie radzi widzą / Tą pompą Sakramentu świętego się brzydzą. / Tak Niedoperz słoneczny / gdy go blask ugodzi / Na słońce w morku siedząc / piszczele swe zwodzi.") It was, after all, the Eucharist of the Catholic Church that witnessed the true transubstantiation – unlike those, deceived by the devil, who fed themselves with simple bread, the sort which old women sold at market, and which could not be consecrated by any minister. ("Czemu nie wierząc ludzie od czarta zwiedzieni / Czci tej Bogu nie dają: bo prostem karmieni / Chlebem na miśie wielkey we zborze bywają: Takim / iaki na rynku baby przedawiają. / Minister go też żaden poświęcić nie może / Choć mu ku temu czasem / y baba powroże. / My iż nie zborowego chleba pożywamy / Przeto nie zborowego Boga wychwailamy. Lecz tego / który mocen istotę przemienić Chlebową / y ią słowem swym w ciało odmienić.") Bartoszewski's description featured some notably anti-Protestant sentiments, characteristic of the polemic period. Bartoszewski 1614, 8–10 (pagination mine).

<sup>668</sup> *Зосім* 2010<sup>3</sup>, 42.

<sup>669</sup> Котлярчук 2001, 87.

<sup>670</sup> 33 Articles Concerning Union With the Roman Church. 7<sup>th</sup> Article.

<sup>671</sup> Katrij, Julian J. OSBM. *A Byzantine Rite Liturgical Year*. Transl. Fr. Demetrius E. Wysochansky OSBM. Part I. Detroit, New York: Basilian Fathers Publication 1983, 195; Taft 2008, 438–439.

<sup>672</sup> "Processia zaś z Naświętzym Sakramentem około cerkwie, – w cerkwi tak Graeckiej, iako y Ruskiej, – nigdy iako przed tym nie była, tak y teraz niepotrzebna iest; bo Naświętzy Sakrament Ciała y Krwie Pańskiej

Interestingly, however, it was immediately after the conclusion of the Union of Brest in 1596 that the Ruthenian hierarchs gave in to the custom they had previously opposed. As a sign of the union, they carried the Holy Sacrament through the streets of Brest, first to the Orthodox Church, then to the Latin Church to be placed there.<sup>673</sup> Although accompanied by representatives of the Roman Church, the hierarchs were likely to act on their own initiative. The procession was, in fact, the first occasion in which a Latin custom was adapted for Eastern Rite use – adapted, because we may assume that the bishops carried a Eucharistic Bread that had been consecrated according to the Eastern Rite tradition, rather than used a Latin Host in a monstrance. Further conclusions are, of course, difficult to arrive at without sufficient details.

The procession with the Sacrament on the day of the union appears to have remained an exception. In fact, as already mentioned, the establishment of a tradition of processions with the Holy Gifts was strongly urged by the Roman investigator of the Articles of the Union, Juan Zaragoza.<sup>674</sup> The early decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century witnessed Uniate participation in Roman Catholic services and processions, but no accounts of such events as organised by the Uniates themselves have been preserved. Josafat Kuncevič, for example, has been noted for his eagerness to take part in processions on Latin *Corpus Christi* day and on Rogation days.<sup>675</sup> Apart from the clergy, many Uniate guild members became obliged to participate in Catholic festivities. In towns such as Minsk, Polock and Vitebsk, for instance, all guilds were expected to assist in the organisation of the procession on *Corpus Christi*,<sup>676</sup> thus involving a number of Uniates. However, the national character of the feast in Polish-Lithuanian society explains much of the multid denominational participation. As Kotljarčuk notes, it became common in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century to also involve the Orthodox and Protestant population in the festivities.<sup>677</sup>

The central role of the Feast of *Corpus Christi* in Polish-Lithuanian culture was likely to influence the new Eastern Rite Catholic Ruthenians, as the pomp and brilliance of the festal processions most vividly demonstrated the superiority of the Latin Church. The flourishing festal culture can indeed be seen as the most significant force behind the development of an Eastern Rite adaptation of *Corpus Christi*. Yet other aspects also greatly contributed to this process. The heightened importance ascribed to all matters related to the Eucharist, a characteristically post-Tridentine phenomenon, became reflected in the evolving Ruthenian Eucharistic practices in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries and paved the way for the new feast dedicated to the Holy Eucharist. This can be viewed as a process in which an increased attention to Eucharistic reverence brought about the need for more frequent celebration, which was partly realised by allowing shorter, recited Liturgies

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od Pana nie dla processiey z nim odprawowania postanowiony y podany iest, ale dla pożywania wiernym, na odpuszczeni grzechow y na dostąpienie żywota wiecznego, a naostatku na pamiątkę żywot daiącey iego śmierci, – bo tak rzekł: Bierzcie, iedzcie, to iest Ciało Moie [...]” *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.IX. 1893, 128.

<sup>673</sup> “Bearing the Holy Sacrament and singing aloud the *Te Deum*, the Ruthenian bishops who had remained faithful to their decision and were surrounded by the papal and royal representatives, proceeded through the streets of Brest and went first to the Ruthenian St. Nicholas’ Church, all being dressed in their pontifical vestments either Greek or Latin. The Metropolitan celebrated the Holy Mass and then the Archbishop of Polotsk read first the papal bull addressed to the Ruthenian hierarchy and then their reply, the final act of ratification which was to be sent to Rome. After singing there the *Te Deum* in Ruthenian, the procession moved in turn to the Latin Church of St. Mary’s where in a symbolic gesture they placed the Holy Sacrament brought from the Greek Church [...]” (The same passage was cited in part in the previous chapter). Halecki 1958, 381.

<sup>674</sup> Галадза 1997, 6; see chapter 3.2.1.

<sup>675</sup> Гуцуляк 2004, 50.

<sup>676</sup> Котлярчук 2001, 87–88.

<sup>677</sup> In 1672, for example, all members of the Vitebsk magistracy (many of whom were Orthodox or Protestant) were expected to walk in the procession of *Corpus Christi* and carry the *baldachin* above the monstrance. Moreover, in the 1690s, the choir of the Orthodox confraternity in Mogilev participated in the chanting on the feast. Котлярчук 2001, 89–90.

to evolve in resemblance of the Roman Catholic Low Mass. Attention to Eucharistic reverence also became reflected in the development of extra-liturgical customs such as the exposition of the Sacrament for adoration and contemplation, as well as the processions with the Eucharistic Bread. It was not long before the idea of a special feast dedicated to the Holy Eucharist began to be seen as a natural continuation of this development.

#### 4.2.1 Attention to Eucharistic reverence and frequency

One of the most persistent accusations against the Eastern Rite throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century concerned the reservation of the consecrated Holy Gifts for the needs of the sick. According to the Eastern Rite tradition, the consecration took place on Maundy Thursday, after which the Host was dried and reserved in the altar throughout the year in order to be distributed to the sick when necessary. In the Catholic practice, on the other hand, it had become common to replace the Host with a newly consecrated one at regular intervals. Representatives of the Catholic Church saw irreverence in the Eastern Rite custom, especially as the means and facilities for the reservation of the Sacrament varied in different churches.<sup>678</sup> In 1624, Nuncio Lancelotti reported from Warsaw to Rome that many Ruthenians were changing over to the Latin Rite because they were disgusted with the conditions in their churches: "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."<sup>679</sup>

Both Eastern Rite churches reacted to the situation. Sakovič noted in 1642 that certain Uniate monasteries (Holy Trinity in Vilna, Žyrovichy, Byten') had already begun to change the Sacrament by consecrating a new one every other week.<sup>680</sup> Metropolitan Mohyla, in turn, dedicated considerable energy to instructing his flock about the preparation and reservation of the Eucharist in his *Trebnik* (1646) and advised that in order to avoid mould in the Sacrament, it was possible to consecrate a new one every month or on any day necessary.<sup>681</sup> The preparation of the Sacrament for the sick for the whole year on Maundy Thursday ended in the Uniate Church with the decision of Council of Zamość to endorse the consecration of a new Eucharist every 8 or 15 days.<sup>682</sup>

In the decades following the Union of Brest, practices involving the Holy Sacrament were at the centre of attention. Eucharistic frequency became one of the ways in which the Uniate Church gradually detached itself from the Orthodox. Celebrating a Liturgy daily was an old Eastern Rite tradition in Ruthenian cathedrals and monasteries, provided that there were enough priests and

<sup>678</sup> The Sacrament could be reserved in boxes of different kinds, not always made of metal. In some churches, it was simply wrapped in paper or cloth and placed in a hole on the wall. Eucharistic misuses and lack of sufficient care provided polemicists with issues to criticise. Kassian Sakovič, for example, described in his *Perspektiva* (1642) how in some churches, the consecrated Bread was dried outside the church, in the wind, inviting birds and mice; in some cases, the bread had become mouldy or wormy. Sakowicz 1642, 18–19; Гуцуляк 2004, 47. Still in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, there were reports of dubious practices involving the Eucharist. In 1720, for example, one priest was discovered keeping the Body of Christ in a wooden box *under* the Holy Table, and when asked, he assured that the particular Sacrament was reserved only for the peasant parishioners, whereas another one, for the lord benefactor, was stored separately in a tin box! Гуцуляк 2004, 91.

<sup>679</sup> Citation from Huculak 1990, 44.

<sup>680</sup> Sakowicz 1642, 18–20; Гуцуляк 2004, 47.

<sup>681</sup> "Б(о)ж(е)ственныя Тайны, не точію въ Великій Четвертокъ, но и въ иныя дни, многихъ ради винъ, по уставу великаго Червертка въ служебникахъ написаномъ ѡс(вя)щенны, сущены, и хранимы быти могутъ." ("The Holy Gifts can be consecrated, dried and reserved not only on Maundy Thursday but also on other days, for various reasons, according to the *typikon* for Maundy Thursday, as written in the Missal.") "Хощеши ли оубо сицевыхъ случаевъ бѣдныхъ избѣгнати, в кійждѡ М(е)с(я)цѣ, новыя Б(о)ж(е)ственныя Тайны ѡс(вя)ти и храни, древнѣйшая же при служеніи Б(о)ж(е)ственныя Литургіи въ с(вя)тую Чашу высыпавъ потреби." ("If you want to escape such unhappy cases, consecrate and reserve new Divine Mystery every month, and use the old one during the Liturgy in the holy chalice.") *Требник митрополита Петра Могили* 1996, 261–262.

<sup>682</sup> *Провінційний Синод у Замості 1720 р.Б.* 2006, 156–161.

hieromonks.<sup>683</sup> However, unlike in the Roman Rite, there was no obligation for every priest to celebrate Liturgy every day. As Senyk points out, by the 17<sup>th</sup> century the “absence of an obligation [...] became transformed into a quasi-obligation *not* to celebrate daily”, and an exception to the rule actually required justification: Leontij Karpovič, an Orthodox archimandrite (d. 1620), was warned that celebrating daily would lead to carelessness about holy things.<sup>684</sup>

In the Uniate monasteries, in turn, the frequency of celebrating Liturgies increased notably in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Josafat Kuncevič showed an example by taking part in, or even celebrating the Holy Eucharist every day.<sup>685</sup> Monasteries encouraged Eucharistic participation with different kinds of indulgences, privileged altars, and so on.<sup>686</sup> In the early decades of the union, the increase in Eucharistic activity was motivated by a desire for spiritual renewal in the Ruthenian Church which, as Pott notes, may reflect a Latin influence but also an authentic desire to reform the liturgical life of the Ruthenians.<sup>687</sup> Eucharistic activity was also noted in polemic writings, for example, in *Sowita wina* (1621), whose author praised the Holy Trinity Monastery of Vilna for celebrating four Liturgies daily: “[...] in Vilna, apart from the common service, three Liturgies are celebrated without fail daily on three altars [...]”.<sup>688</sup> Such reverence to the Holy Sacrament could not be found, according to the author, among the Orthodox.<sup>689</sup> The emphasis on the number of Liturgies as a measurement of piety reflected a new approach, previously unknown to the Eastern Rite Eucharistic tradition.

The Byzantine Orthodox tradition had restricted the daily number of Liturgies, celebrated on the same altar, to one, while individual priests were allowed to celebrate once per day. Moreover, no Liturgies (apart from the Liturgy of Pre-sanctified Gifts) were celebrated during Great Lent. This tradition underwent some changes in Uniate practice. In the early decades, the Uniates took great care not to encroach on the restriction concerning the altar.<sup>690</sup> The celebration of more frequent Liturgies became possible by constructing new side altars in churches, if such were not yet available.<sup>691</sup> Later, however, the restriction seemed to lose its effect as successive celebrations on one altar became acceptable.<sup>692</sup> In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the restriction on celebrating the Liturgy during the Great Lent became questioned, as well. In a document from 1677, for example, the monks in Suprasl’ confirmed that they would celebrate five Liturgies during the Great Lent and another five during the Apostles’ fast for the soul of a benefactor in purgatory, and

<sup>683</sup> Senyk 1985, 125, 135.

<sup>684</sup> Senyk 1985, 137.

<sup>685</sup> Гуцуляк 2004, 39; Senyk 1985, 138.

<sup>686</sup> At Rutskiy’s initiative, for example, a full indulgence was promised to the pilgrims visiting Žyrovichy in 1630 and taking part in Confession and Communion on the first Sunday of the month. Гуцуляк 2004, 45.

<sup>687</sup> Pott 2010, 238.

<sup>688</sup> “[...] w Wilnie oprócz nabożeństwa zwykłego trzy służby Boże niepochybnie na każdy dzień odprawia się u trzech ołtarzów [...]” *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.VII. 1887, 499.

<sup>689</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>690</sup> For example, the Basilians who in 1624 had requested a Privileged Altar and received a permission for one day per week, turned again to Rome for a two-day extension to the permission since according to the Greek Rite custom, it was not possible to celebrate more than one Liturgy per day on the same altar, without displeasing the faithful. Гуцуляк 2004, 38–39.

<sup>691</sup> At Suprasl’, for example, four side altars were built by 1652 under the leadership of Archimandrite Dubowicz. One altar was dedicated to the Saviour, another to Most Pure Virgin, the third one to the Feast of the Annunciation, and the fourth to St John the Evangelist together with St Joseph. See АСД т.9. 1870, 213. On the basis of documentation from visitations to Uniate parishes, it has been estimated that in the Diocese of Volodymyr and Brest in the late 1720s, side altars were found in 40 churches out of 60. Occasionally the side altar was placed in an adjacent chapel. Kulak, Aneta. “Ołtarz czy ikonostas? O wyposażeniu podlaskich cerkwi na początku XVIII wieku.” *Śladami unii brzeskiej*. Acta Collegii Suprasliensis. Tom X. Lublin-Supraśl: Wydawnictwo KUL 2010, 584.

<sup>692</sup> Senyk mentions evidence from the 1640s (polemics between Sakovič and Mohyla) and from the 1660s (a testament made to the monastery church in Minsk). Senyk 1985, 142.

stressed that after such a long life, it was fitting that the Liturgy was celebrated on the main altar and that it was a chanted, full service.<sup>693</sup> In his Missal published in 1692, Metropolitan Žohovskij endorsed the custom of celebrating Liturgies throughout the year, explaining that the Uniates had got accustomed to celebrating during the Great Lent, following the Roman practice.<sup>694</sup>

By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it had become customary for Uniate hieromonks to celebrate a Liturgy daily.<sup>695</sup> Even more was often required. Monasteries, besides receiving and serving pilgrims, fulfilled requests that usually accompanied testaments or gifts from benefactors. These obligations easily outnumbered the available clergy and created a need for more frequent celebration. Already in the early years of the union, the Pope had endowed Ruthenian metropolitans with the right to grant permissions to priests who were obliged to celebrate two Liturgies per day.<sup>696</sup> It became customary to fulfil these obligations by celebrating simplified versions of the Liturgy on a side altar, attended by a minimal number of people, featuring a minimal level of ceremony.<sup>697</sup>

Such “private” Liturgies for funded intentions increased throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In this development, however, the Eucharistic community risked becoming fragmented. Senyk evaluates the process as “a loss in the ecclesial understanding of the Eucharist.”<sup>698</sup> One Liturgy attended by the congregation in its fullness could become overshadowed by several Liturgies celebrated almost privately on separate altars, each carrying out a pre-ordered intention. The situation eventually led to the development of a service previously unknown to the Eastern Rite: the recited Liturgy, a Ruthenian version of the Latin Low Mass.

#### 4.2.2 Recited Liturgy

The Ruthenian recited Liturgy constituted an abridged version of the chanted Liturgy. Although it evolved within the Eastern Rite tradition, it imitated the Roman Catholic Low Mass in the sense of being a private celebration in which all the parts formerly done by deacon, lector, and the choir, were taken over by the priest<sup>699</sup> or performed by the priest and an assisting server. Private services were generally unknown to the Byzantine tradition. The priest needed to be accompanied by assistants or servers, at least – not only for practical reasons but because of the communal character of the liturgy. The early Uniate fathers were keen to emphasise this aspect. The guidelines for the priest (*Nauka*), compiled by Kuncevič and Krevza in 1617, note that if a priest celebrates alone, he shows disregard for the Sacrament and through it, for Christ and His Church.<sup>700</sup>

Private celebrations became common already in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>701</sup> As mentioned earlier, Kassian Sakovič presented himself as the initiator of the recited Liturgy in Volhynia.<sup>702</sup> Similar developments evidently also took place elsewhere, since it was necessary for the 7<sup>th</sup> Basilian

<sup>693</sup> “[...] aby in perpetuum memoriam za dusze w czyscu zatrzymane mszy 5 odprowowna w post Wielki, a drugie 5 w post S. Piotra. Także po długim życiu, [...] powinniśmy requialną mszą świętą odprawić śpiewaną, wielką, na ołtarzu wielkim [...]” *АСД* т.9. 1870, 255.

<sup>694</sup> Гуцуляк 2004, 84.

<sup>695</sup> Senyk 1985, 139–140.

<sup>696</sup> This right was first granted by Pope Clement VIII. It had to be renewed every seven years. Гуцуляк 2004, 42.

<sup>697</sup> Гуцуляк 2004, 42.

<sup>698</sup> Senyk 1985, 140.

<sup>699</sup> Howell, Clifford SJ. “From Trent to Vatican II.” *The Study of Liturgy*. Eds. Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, Edward Yarnolds, SJ. London: SPCK 1978, 243. According to Huculak, the fact that the priest was often the only literate person, even if the service was attended by more people, contributed to the private character of the service: it was the priest who had to read the epistle, the accompanying *prokeimenon* and the Alleluia verses. Гуцуляк 2004, 240.

<sup>700</sup> “А иначей ежелибы с(вя)щенникъ самъ собѣ послужоваль, тогда Сакрамента Х(ристо)вы зневажаетъ, и Х(рист)а самого, п(е)рковъ его облюбленницу [...]” *Наука* 1617, f. 7 via Гуцуляк 2004, 149.

<sup>701</sup> Гуцуляк 2004, 365.

<sup>702</sup> Sakowicz 1642, 33 via Гуцуляк 2004, 48.

Chapter (1650) to address the problems caused by the new service type. It is worth noting that the Chapter did not criticise the celebration of recited Liturgies but only the influences adopted from the Roman Missal that threatened to disfigure the old Greek Rite ceremonies.<sup>703</sup> The 14<sup>th</sup> Chapter (1661) also called for the observation of traditional Eastern Rite rubrics in the celebration of recited as well as chanted Liturgies.<sup>704</sup> By the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, the recited Liturgy seems to have become a practice common enough in the Uniate Church. In the rules given by Metropolitan Žohovskij to the Monastery of Suprasl' in 1687, the reciting of Liturgies twice a week in the memory of the patrons was described as an "old habit".<sup>705</sup>

What were the rubrics for the recited Liturgy? Initially, it may be assumed, each individual celebrant abbreviated the content of the chanted Liturgy according to his own judgment. The Latin Low Mass obviously provided an example. A more or less unified tradition evolved only towards the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Most likely the earliest preserved rubrics<sup>706</sup> are included in the Borgia Missal, a Slavonic-Latin manuscript dating possibly from as early as the 1680s.<sup>707</sup> The instructions presented by Vavryk concern, unfortunately, only the *proskomedija* conducted by the priest before the Liturgy of the Word.<sup>708</sup> Rubrics for the recited Liturgy appear also in at least one other manuscript from the last decade of the century, the Missal compiled by Samuil Pilihovskij.<sup>709</sup> The section is marked with "Liturgy without chanting, in fact read [recited], which in the Latin language is called *lecta*."<sup>710</sup> According to Odincov, these rubrics deviate relatively little from the Eastern Rite Liturgy. Most changes concern only the prayers pronounced by the priest. The number of pieces into which the *agnec* is cut is reduced from four to three, which Odincov names as a Latin influence. The priest is also instructed to recite the Cherubic Hymn only once; the traditional three times are voluntary. Apart from such changes, the Liturgy seems to retain much of the structure of the chanted one.<sup>711</sup>

<sup>703</sup> "Ponieważ od niektórych naszych zakonników, a ile simplicioribus wniosły się abusus w odprawowaniu służb Bożych czytanych, w których ceremonii niepotrzebnych, accomodując się ceremoniom rzymskiego mszału, zażywają, przeto nakazujemy każdemu starszemu y wizytatorowi, aby te wszystkie abusus wykorzenili y nie dopuszczali onych zażywać, konformując się do starodawnych ceremonii greckiego nabożeństwa [...]" ACД т.12. 1900, 48.

<sup>704</sup> ACД т.12. 1900, 74.

<sup>705</sup> "Ochraniamy i to, aby podług dawnego zwyczaju służby Boże w każdy tydzień w poniedziałek i sobotę za j.j. pp. kolatorow czytane w cerkwi Woskresenia świętego odprawowane były [...]" ACД т.9. 1870, 268 (italics mine).

<sup>706</sup> Гуцуляк 2004, 205.

<sup>707</sup> MS Borgia Illyrico 13-14, Vatican Library. The content of the manuscript has been thoroughly analysed in Ваврик 1979, 98-142. On the basis of its structure, Vavryk dates it possibly to the 1680s, most certainly before 1692. See Ваврик 1979, 114.

<sup>708</sup> The traditional Eastern Rite rubrics have been modified by omitting the parts of the deacon, the cutting of the *agnec*, as well as the censing of the Holy Gifts and the church interior. The priest simply places the chalice and *diskos* on the altar and begins the Liturgy. Ваврик 1979, 132; Гуцуляк 2004, 205. In the process of development, there seems to have been a risk of the *proskomedija* becoming reduced to minimum or entirely omitted. A clear Latin influence can be noted here, as the Roman Catholic Church has no separate *proskomedija*. The Basilian Chapter of 1667 tried to halt this development by instructing that each priest was to perform the *proskomedija* individually. ACД т.12. 1900, 96; Гуцуляк 2004, 174-175. However, in 1685 Kaminskij complained that the *proskomedija* had been completely omitted and that a hieromonk could buy a roll at the market, cut a piece of it in his cell or wherever it was possible, wrap it in paper and when in church, simply put it in the chalice. Шыпар 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 234. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the printed missals nevertheless included rubrics for the (abridged as it may have been) *proskomedija*, which was performed in the sacristy. See Гуцуляк 2004, 205.

<sup>709</sup> LMAV F 19-192, ff. 23-33 (concluded by 1693); Ваврик 1979, 123.

<sup>710</sup> "[...] лит(у)ргія без пѣнія но точію чтенная яже латинским языком нарицається лекта." Ваврик 1979, 123; Одинцовъ 1886, 45.

<sup>711</sup> Одинцовъ 1886, 45-46.

The recited Liturgy is mentioned on the title page of the preparatory Missal printed in 1691 by the Basilians of the Holy Trinity Monastery in Vilna;<sup>712</sup> however, it was not included in the 1692 Missal by Metropolitan Žohovskij which became a standard for later manuscript and printed editions. Vavryk suggests that the differences between the chanted and the recited Liturgies were still considered too notable to include the latter in the official printed Missal.<sup>713</sup> The late 17<sup>th</sup>-century tradition was most likely transmitted to the later printed liturgical books, published in Uněv (1733), Počaev (1755) and Lvov (1759).<sup>714</sup> Huculak relates some of the rubrics for the recited Liturgy in the Počaev Missal. This source indicates that the priest be assisted by a server who also performed parts of the cantor or choir – reading, not chanting, of course. Some parts seem to have been performed simultaneously.<sup>715</sup> Huculak notes that the priest imitated the Latin practices in reading the Gospel with his back to the people, which was due to the fact that no separate Gospel book was used, since the new type of the Uniate Missal included the necessary readings, and the chalice and *diskos* (placed on the altar for the whole time) took the traditional place of the Gospel book on the Holy Table.<sup>716</sup>

In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the recited Liturgies proved highly popular both in monastic and secular practice. Their celebration was convenient for those parishes that lacked singers and books.<sup>717</sup> Throughout the century all major monasteries were also obliged to celebrate a chanted Liturgy daily. According to Huculak, not all monasteries observed this obligation or celebrated the Liturgy in full, but some celebrated both chanted and recited Liturgies: in Žyrovičy, there were two chanted Liturgies per day, while in Chelm, there was one chanted Liturgy a day and even two or three on Sundays and feast days.<sup>718</sup>

#### 4.2.3 Exposition of the Sacrament

Besides the increase in Eucharistic frequency and the development of the recited Liturgy, the Uniate Church also adopted other Eucharist related practices from the Latin Church in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Extra-liturgical reverence for the Sacrament was one of the ways in which the Uniates tried to demarcate from the old Eastern Rite which restricted the use of the Eucharist to the distribution of the Body and Blood to the faithful. Popular Latin devotions related to the Eucharistic presence were readily embraced in the Uniate practice. These included the exposition of the Sacrament for adoration, the Forty Hours' Devotion, and other customs previously unknown in the Eastern Rite Church.

<sup>712</sup> Naumow 2002, 142. However, Naumow does not provide any details of such rubrics in the edition that is preserved in the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (L-17/2-20).

<sup>713</sup> Ваврик 1979, 133.

<sup>714</sup> Гуцуляк 2004, 365.

<sup>715</sup> "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. [...] [W]hile 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 the 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." Huculak 1990, 220, 224.

<sup>716</sup> Гуцуляк 2004, 252.

<sup>717</sup> Гуцуляк 2004, 147. In statistics based on archival sources, Skinner points out the small number of cantors in Uniate parishes in 1798. Due to economic limitations, parishes without a cantor could not celebrate traditional Eastern Rite liturgy in its fullness but occasionally had to read the Mass (Divine Liturgy) instead of singing. She stresses that the sung Liturgy nevertheless remained the ideal form when possible. Skinner 2009, 54.

<sup>718</sup> Гуцуляк 2004, 125.

In 1621, the author of *Sowita wina*, writing in answer to an Orthodox polemicist, remarked that “everyone [...] admits there is greater dignity and greater ornaments around the Most Holy Sacrament [among the Uniates] than in your church”.<sup>719</sup> This greater reverence was obviously not restricted to the celebration of the sacrament itself, but was reflected in the different uses of the consecrated Bread. One example of extra-liturgical Eucharistic veneration comes from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Basilian Chapter (1621), which formulated the order in which the renewal of monastic vows was to take place:

The renewal of vows is to take place every year in each of our monasteries on the day of our holy father Basil the Great, including all fathers and brethren, in the following manner: the elder, having brought together all brethren and *placed the most holy Sacrament on the altar*, shall wear the *epitrachelion*, as a vicar of God, and speak to the brethren until the beginning of the service, in order to prepare them for the vows; and *he shall kneel before the most holy Sacrament* and renew the vows [...].<sup>720</sup>

In the Latin tradition, the service of Benediction by means of exposing the Sacrament was a particularly solemn devotion in which the tabernacle was opened and the consecrated Host was placed in a monstrance in front of the faithful for adoration. There was a series of prayers, either quietly read by the faithful or recited by the priest. The exposition culminated in the benediction with the monstrance. The ceremony was commonly preceded and concluded by singing parts from the hymns composed by Thomas Aquinas for the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, *O Salutaris Hostia* (the last two stanzas of the hymn *Verbum supernum prodiens*) and *Tantum ergo Sacramentum*.<sup>721</sup>

This custom seems to have found support also among the Uniates. Although no contemporary depictions of the particular devotion have yet been found, there is a musical source indicating that a Church Slavonic adaption of the exposition ceremony came into being in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. “This song we chant at the exposition”<sup>722</sup> of the Sacrament” (“Сію поем пѣснь, Навинесени Сакраменту”) is the title on a folio from a square-notated manuscript dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the century,<sup>723</sup> featuring a chanted dialogue between the priest and the brethren:

Table 1: *O spasitelnaja Žertva*

Ruthenian text	English translation
МДА 231908, f. 151v	
<i>Іерей</i> : О спасителная Жертва.	<i>Priest</i> : O the saving sacrifice.
<i>Братія</i> : Небесную отверзая дверь ярост востаеи вражити. Подажд крѣпост немощным принеси во поможение.	<i>Brethren</i> : That opens the heavenly door. The Enemy’s anger is rising. Give strength to the weak, bring help.
<i>Іерей</i> : Единому во Троици, Господеви.	<i>Priest</i> : To the Lord, one in Trinity.
<i>Братія</i> : Да будет вѣчная слава иже живот нам дарует даруетъ во царствии, небесном.	<i>Brethren</i> : May eternal glory be [to Him] who gives us life in the heavenly Kingdom.

<sup>719</sup> “W ołtarzy koło naświętszego sakramentu uczciwość y ochędostwo większe niż u was, – przyzna to każdy, który bywa u nas y u was.” *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.VII. 1887, 499.

<sup>720</sup> “Każdego roku w każdych kłastorach naszych ma być renowacya słubow w święto oyca naszego Bazylego wielkiego od wszystkich oycow y braci naszych w ten sposób: zgromadziwszy starzy wszytką bracią do cerkwi y wystawiwszy na ołtarzu nayswiętszy sakrament, ten że sam starszy ma stać w petrachelu, iako wikary Boski, y ma uczynić mowę do bracy, tak do wzruszenia nabożenstwa, iako do większey dispozycyey uczynienia słubow; ukłękniwszy potym na kolana, starzy przed nayswiętszym sakramentem uczyni renowacyią słubow [...]” (Italics mine.) *АСД* т.12. 1900, 18.

<sup>721</sup> *Зосім* 2010<sup>3</sup>, 42–43.

<sup>722</sup> The original word does not literally translate as “exposition”, but in the sense of carrying out or raising the Sacrament, this translation may be suggested.

<sup>723</sup> Ruthenian *Irmologion* manuscript from the collection of the Moscow Spiritual Academy, МДА 231908, f. 151v.

The Ruthenian text features an almost literal translation of *O Salutaris Hostia*, thus marking the fact that the adoption of this Eucharistic devotion also included the transmission of the hymn characteristic of the Latin Rite practice.

Table 2: *O Salutaris Hostia*

<b>Ruthenian text</b> МДА 231908, f. 151v	<b>Latin text</b> MS D.E.I.7, Abbey of Strahov, Prague via Walters, Corrigan, Ricketts 2006, 234	<b>English translation from Latin</b> Walters, Corrigan, Ricketts 2006, 235.
О спасительная Жертва. Небесную отверзая дверь ярост востаеи вражити. Подаждь крѣпост немощнымъ принеси во поможение.	O salutaris hostia Que celi pandis ostium Bella premunt hostilia Da robur fer auxilium.	O saving victim Who opens the door of heaven, Wars and enemies press us, Give us strength, bring us help.
Единому во Троици, Господеви. Да будетъ вѣчная слава иже живот нам даруетъ во царствии, небесномъ.	Uni trinoque Domino Sit sempiterna gloria Qui vitam sine termino Nobis donet in patria. Amen.	To the Lord, one and three, Be eternal praise, May he give us eternal life In the homeland. Amen.

The hymn has been found in a number of later sources with slight variation in wording. In her article on paraliturgical Eucharistic songs, Zosim presents the text from a Galician late 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript<sup>724</sup>, titled “Сіе пѣніе поется предъ литургією. Пренайс(вя)тѣиший сакраментъ выставується и презентується.” (“This song is sung before the Divine Liturgy. The most holy Sacrament is exposed and presented.”)<sup>725</sup> The remark confirms, as Zosim points out, that the exposition of the Sacrament had become established among the Uniates in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>726</sup> at the latest. In comparison with the manuscript text quoted above, the Galician text has a rhyming quality and an extra line has been inserted before the conclusion of the second stanza:

Іерей: Ω сп(а)сительная жертва  
Клир: Н(е)б(е)сную отверзаетъ дверьъ  
Иарост стираетъ вражию  
Подаетъ крѣпость немощнымъ  
Есть нам ко вспоможенію.  
Іерей: Единому в Тр(ои)ци Г(о)с(по)д(е)ви  
Клир: Да будетъ вѣчна слава Б(о)гу и Ц(а)реви  
Иже животъ безконечный  
Даруй намъ беспечный  
Во царствѣ своемъ. Аминь.

Interestingly, different redactions of the hymn can be found in later printed editions up to the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>727</sup>

<sup>724</sup> A song collection from Galicia, the village of Čyrna, the Lemko district (contemporary Poland), ИР НБУВ (Institute of Manuscripts, Vernadskyj National Library of Ukraine), ф. Маслова (XXXIII), no. 56. Information about the manuscript received via a Facebook message from Olga Zosim. 4<sup>th</sup> December 2012.

<sup>725</sup> ИР НБУВ, ф. Маслова, no. 56, f. 28v in Zosim 2010<sup>3</sup>, 44.

<sup>726</sup> Zosim 2010<sup>3</sup>, 44.

<sup>727</sup> Hojnackij presents a version found in a prayer book (*Molitvoslov*) by Josef Ricci, printed by the [Lvov] stauropigial monastery in 1859: “О спасительная жертва. / Небесную дверь отверзающая. Брань востаеи вражия. Подаждь крѣпость и помощь. / Единому въ Тройцѣ Господеви. / Да будетъ вѣчная слава. Иже

The dependence on the Latin devotional practice can also be seen in the musical setting the hymn, preserved in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century notated manuscript.

Example 1: *O spasitel'naja Žertva*<sup>728</sup>

Іерей О \_\_\_\_\_ спа - си - тел - на я Жер - - тва.

Братія Не - бес - ну - ю от - ве - рза - я двер

я - рост \_\_\_\_\_ во - ста - ет \_\_\_\_\_ вра - жі - ти.

По - дажд крѣ - пост не - мощ - ным при - не - сиво по мо - же - ні - е.

Іерей Е - ди - но - му во Тро - й - ци, Го - спо - де - ви.

Братія Да \_\_\_\_\_ бу - дет вѣ - чна - я \_\_\_\_\_ сла - ва

живоѣ вѣчный Даруетъ намъ вх царствии. Аминь." Хойнацкий 1871, 458. The rubrics for the quoted ceremony are on pages 324–325 in Ricci's book. Хойнацкий 1871, 452.

An identical version of the hymn in the Galician songbook (ІР НБУВ, ф. Маслова, по. 56) can be found, for example, in a manual published by the Basilians of Žovkva in 1912, see *Вечірня і утрєня на празники неподвижні... Часть друга*. Жовква: Печатня ОО. Василян 1912, 1034. The hymn is entitled "Піснь при виставленю Прєсв. Євхаристіи" ("Song at the exposition of the most holy Eucharist") and it has been placed between the hymn of thanksgiving by Ambrose of Milan and the Prayer of Supplication (see chapter 5.4.1 for more).

<sup>728</sup> МДА 231908, f. 151v.



The melody conveyed in the square-notated score for the priest and the brethren resembles a chant that was originally based on a hymn to St Dominic, *Gaude Mater Ecclesia*, which served as a melodic model for another popular Polish anthem, *Gaude Mater Polonia*, composed by Wincenty of Kielcza in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>729</sup> Most interestingly, it is also the contrafactum of *O Salutaris Hostia*.

Example 2: *Gaude Mater Polonia*<sup>730</sup>



A comparison of the Ruthenian musical score and corresponding parts of the Polish anthem (see examples 3–5) reveals the Ruthenian use of two basic themes (A–B) throughout the dialogue between the priest (*іерей*) and the brethren (*Братія*).<sup>731</sup>

<sup>729</sup> "Gaude Mater Polonia" was composed for the canonisation of St Stanislaw in 1253. In the course of centuries, the hymn was used on various national and royal events. The earliest musical evidence of the hymn comes from a Polish *Antiphonarium* from year 1372.

<sup>730</sup> The hymn was copied from an arrangement by Teofil Klonowski and transposed to correspond to the Ruthenian manuscript source. *Gaude Mater Polonia*. Warszawa: Związek Chórów Kościelnych Caecilianum 2007.

<sup>731</sup> I am grateful to Magdalena Dobrowolska for pointing out the musical connection between the scores. Dobrowolska, Magdalena. "Re: Musical question." E-mail message to Maria Takala-Roszczenko. 1<sup>st</sup> July 2010.

Example 3: Theme A (O spasitel'naja Žertva)

1. Gau - - - de Ma - ter, Po - lo - - - - ni - a.

О \_\_\_\_\_ спа - си - тел - на я Жер - - - тва.

По - даждь кръ - пост не - мощ - ным при - не - си вопо мо - же - нї - е.

Е - ди - но - му во Тро - й - ци, Го - - спо - де - ви.

да - - ру - етъ во \_\_\_\_\_ цар - стви - и,

Example 4: Theme B (O spasitel'naja Žertva)

3. Sum - - mi Re - gis mag - na - lia \_\_\_\_\_ lau...

Не - бес - ну - ю от - ве - рза - я двер

я - рост \_\_\_\_\_ во - ста - ет \_\_\_\_\_ вра - жи - ти.

Да \_\_\_\_\_ бу - дет вѣ - чна - я сла - ва

и - же \_\_\_\_\_ жи - вот нам да - ру - ет

Example 5: Final cadence (O spasitelnaja Žertva)

Following the Latin Rite practice of the exposition of the Sacrament, the Uniates also adapted the hymn *Tantum ergo Sacramentum* for their use. According to Zosim, the Latin hymn was translated via an intermediary language, Polish.<sup>732</sup> The 18<sup>th</sup>-century Galician songbook cited earlier presents a Ruthenian text of *Предъ такъ велкымъ сакраментомъ* (“Before such a great Sacrament”) which bears close resemblance to a Polish spiritual song, *Przed tak wielkim sakramentem*,<sup>733</sup> slightly departing from the Latin text in its second stanza. It is difficult to say whether the first translations of this hymn appeared already in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as in the case of *O Salutaris Hostia*. The earlier noted reference of the 18<sup>th</sup> Basilian Chapter (1671) to the hymn *Przed tak wielkim sakramentem* that was to be chanted during the elevation of the Sacrament, as requested by Lady Łankowska,<sup>734</sup> proves that the hymn was well known and practiced among the Basilians. The language in which the hymn was to be chanted remains, however, uncertain, since the proceedings of the Chapter were written in Polish and could, in theory, refer to a Polish original as well as to a Ruthenian translation.

Table 3: *Pred tak velkim sakramentom*

Ruthenian 18 <sup>th</sup> -century text Зосім 2010 <sup>a</sup> , 58.	Latin text Зосім 2010 <sup>a</sup> , 57.	English translation from Latin Walters, Corrigan, Ricketts 2006, 247.
<i>Їерей починает:</i> Пред такъ велкымъ сакраментомъ Оупадайме на твари <i>Лук:</i> Нех оуступат з тестаментомъ Новым справам южъ старый Вѣра будет суплементом Що ся смыслом немъ здарить.	<i>Tantum ergo Sacramentum Veneremur cernui:</i>  <i>Et antiquum documentum Novo cedat ritui:</i> <i>Praestet fides supplementum Sensuum defectui.</i>	Therefore let us eagerly venerate such a great sacrament. Let the old example cede to the new rite. Let faith render assistance to the limitations of the senses.

<sup>732</sup> Зосім 2010<sup>a</sup>, 44.

<sup>733</sup> “Przed tak wielkim Sakramentem / Upadajmy na twarz; / Niech ustąpią z Testamentem / Nowym sprawom już starzy; / Wiara będzie suplementem, / Co się zmysłom nie zdarzy. Ojciec z Synem niech to sprawi, / By Mu dzięki zabrzmiała, / Niech Duch święty błogosławi, / By się Jego moc stała, / Niech nas nasza wiara stawia, / Gdzie jest wieczna cześć, chwała.” ИП НБУВ, ф. Маслова, no. 56, f. 28r–28v via Зосім 2010a, 58.

<sup>734</sup> “[...] z himnem pod czas elewacyey przed tak wielkim sakramentem [...].” АСД т.12. 1900, 107. See chapter 3.3.3.2.

<p>Іерей:  От(е)цъ з С(ы)номъ нех то  справить  Да му вся тварь благодарить  Лик:  Нех Д(у)хъ С(вя)тый бл(а)го-  словить  Да ся Его власт славословить  Вѣра н(а)ша нех нас ставить  Где ест вечна чест славит.</p>	<p>Genitori, Genitoque  Laus et jubilatio,  Salus, honor, virtus quoque  Sit et benedictio:  Procedenti ab utroque  Compar sit laudatio. Amen.</p>	<p>To the Father, and to  the Son be praise and  jubilation,  salvation, honor, strength,  and blessing.  To the One who proceeds  from them both be equal  praise. Amen.</p>
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It is thus clear that the service of Benediction was adapted both textually and musically to Ruthenian use on the basis of the tradition cultivated in the Polish-Lithuanian Catholic Church. Although the devotion attained a synodal approval only in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>735</sup> the early musical version of the Church Slavonic *O Salutaris Hostia* indicates that its development began well into the 17<sup>th</sup> century and thus paved the way for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist.

Another proof of the development of this devotion in the 17<sup>th</sup> century can be seen in the emergence of the *Forty Hours' Devotion* in the Uniate Church. This devotion originated in the Roman Catholic Church in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>736</sup> It constituted forty hours of continuous prayer before the exposed Sacrament and was often preceded and followed by a Mass, accompanied by a procession with the Sacrament and the Litany of the Saints. The Litany, as we have seen, was adopted in Ruthenian practice in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Forty Hours' Devotion was very popular among the Ruthenians from the beginning of the union. Josafat Kuncevič is said to have admired the service, and Uniates were generally encouraged to take part in the devotion in Latin Rite churches. The Pope, for example, endowed the Uniate metropolitans Korsak, Seljava and Kolenda with a right to grant full indulgences for participating in the Forty Hours service, Confession and Communion to all converted heretics and others.<sup>737</sup> The devotion was eventually included in the programme of the 17<sup>th</sup> Basilian Chapter that took place in 1667 in Vilna.<sup>738</sup> It is possible that the service was part of the special festivities organised in commemoration of Blessed Josafat. The proceedings of the Chapter note that it was necessary to delay the sessions for some days, partly for the solemn introduction of the body of the blessed martyr, partly for the exposition of the Holy Sacrament with daily processions to the martyr's grave.<sup>739</sup> Furthermore, during the Lublin Colloquium in 1680, Metropolitan Žohovskij recommended the *Quadragesima horarum* (Forty Hours' Devotion) as one way of increasing reverence for the Holy Sacrament.<sup>740</sup>

References to the exposition of the Sacrament raise questions of the actual form of the Eucharistic Bread used in the ceremony. In the Eastern Rite tradition, after all, the bread used for the sacrament was a leavened *prosphora*, made of wheat and baked in a bread-like shape, out of which the *agnez*

<sup>735</sup> Katrij 1983, 198.

<sup>736</sup> The devotion first developed as a local practice in Milan. In 1592, Pope Clement VIII issued a document concerning the practice of "Forty Hours" (Ital. *Quarant' Ore*). More detailed instructions for the devotion were published in 1731 by Pope Clement XII [Hardon mistakenly numbers the pope as Clement XIII]. Hardon, John A., S.J. *The History of Eucharistic Adoration. Development of Doctrine in the Catholic Church*. Oak Lawn, Illinois: CMJ Marian Publishers 1997, 10.

<sup>737</sup> Галадза 1997, 13; Гуцуляк 2004, 51.

<sup>738</sup> АСД т.12. 1900, 99.

<sup>739</sup> "[...] między którymi niektóre dni wakować musiały, częścią dla chwalebney introdukcyej ciała Błogosławionego męczennika Jozafata cum rara solennitate et summo totius orbis júbilo, częścią dla expositiey Nasw. Sakramentu z codziennemi a mało nie ustawicznymi processyami do ciała tego B. męczennika." АСД т.12. 1900, 93.

<sup>740</sup> *Colloquium Lubelskie* 1680, 28.

and other pieces were cut in squares.<sup>741</sup> In the Latin tradition, the Host was consecrated from a thin, unleavened wafer, which could be inserted into a monstrance for display. This was not possible when using Eastern Rite bread. It seems that during the 17<sup>th</sup> century and well into the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Uniate churches rarely possessed or used a monstrance for exposition. The consecrated bread was most likely placed in a tabernacle for adoration. It was only in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century that the number of monstrances increased,<sup>742</sup> which also suggests that the type of bread was changing. Indeed, Skinner reports that in 1795, several priests in Ukrainian parishes recently converted from Uniate to Orthodox still followed some Uniate customs, such as the use of unleavened bread for the Eucharist.<sup>743</sup>

It is interesting that the Council of Zamość (1720) gave few instructions concerning the exposition of the Sacrament or other related practices. It referred to the use of a Latin-style tabernacle ("ciborium"), in front of which a lamp should be lighted at least during feasts and on Sundays.<sup>744</sup> The lighted lamp or candle on the altar was a sign of the Eucharistic presence in the church, allowing the faithful to "visit" the Eucharist also outside the liturgy. Standing on the altar table, the ciborium would be in full view of the congregation – if only the view was not obstructed by anything, such as an iconostasis (the icon wall separating the altar from the nave). Thus it was that the new Eucharistic customs had a gradual influence on the interior of Uniate churches. Apart from constructing side altars for the frequent celebration of the Eucharist, it became necessary to remove parts of the iconostasis or the whole wall altogether, to enable the direct view to the altar.<sup>745</sup> This was a long process that reached its fulfilment in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>746</sup> Changes began to appear already in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. For example, Kaminskij described the changes made in a church in Vilna by the Basilian provincial Martyškevič:

He built a new ciborium, or tomb in our language [i.e. tabernacle], and for it to be visible (because of the great size), he broke the royal doors and damaged them. Since the doors were small for such a wide hole [in the iconostasis], he lengthened them from below with some two boards. How ugly it is, God, you just see.<sup>747</sup>

A model for the Uniate church interior evolved in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It was rather eclectic in the combination of Eastern and Western features, for example, the Latin-style altar table,<sup>748</sup> iconostasis, ciborium, and a table of Preparation (*žertvennik*), later also stoups and

<sup>741</sup> In his *Euchologion* (*Trebnik* of 1646), Metropolitan Mohyla warned against celebrating the Eucharist with anything else but leavened bread – celebrating with a Latin-style bread would bring a heavy mortal sin upon the celebrant. *Требник митрополита Петра Могили* 1996, 235.

<sup>742</sup> Bobryk notes that in the diocese of Chełm, only four churches owned a monstrance in 1759, while in 1779, the number had grown to sixteen, and in 1793, to nineteen. Later, after the official dissolution of the union in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Russian authorities specifically prohibited the use of monstrances, which caused distress among the Uniates to whom many Latin Rite customs had become a natural part of their Eastern Rite religiosity. Bobryk 2010, 179, 184.

<sup>743</sup> Skinner 2009, 218.

<sup>744</sup> *Провінційний Синод у Замості 1720 р.Б.* 2006, 156–161.

<sup>745</sup> Bobryk 2010, 179–180.

<sup>746</sup> Skinner 2009, 60.

<sup>747</sup> "Циборию, або по нашому гробницю збудував нову і щоб видко було її (задля величини, бо махина велика), поломив царські врата, попусував. А що до такої великої діри двері малі, то якимись двома платами зі споду надточено царські врата. Як воно там бридко, Боже, сам бачиш." Щурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 234.

<sup>748</sup> The altar table, the Holy Table, in the Eastern Rite practice was a square table placed in the middle of the altar room, so that the clergy was able to go and stand round it. During the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it became increasingly common to push the table to the wall, as customary in the Latin Rite churches. Kaminskij criticised this in his letter. Щурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 234. Bobryk argues that the altar table was moved to the wall because going round the altar was abandoned in the Liturgy. This became quite widespread in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Bobryk 2010, 174–175.

pulpits.<sup>749</sup> Changes took place gradually: In the 1720s, the majority of Uniate churches still had an iconostasis. When new churches were built they were generally modelled on Roman Catholic churches.<sup>750</sup>

#### 4.2.4 Processions with the Holy Gifts

Processions were a natural element of the Eastern Rite. They were usually performed during feasts and solemn days, such as Good Friday and Holy Saturday, the Easter period, the Epiphany and the feasts of patron saints of different churches. A lamp and a cross were carried at the head of the procession, and different kinds of church banners, *horugvs*, and portable icons added to the festive mood. The Gospel book was also carried and at certain points, passages from it were read to the faithful. On Good Friday and Holy Saturday, the procession featured the carrying of the *epitaphios* in remembrance of Christ's burial.

It seems that in the early years of the union, the Uniates continued to perform processions strictly according to the Eastern Rite tradition. Apart from the procession in Brest in 1596, they only participated in Latin Rite processions in which the Sacrament was carried. The earliest example of the independent procession with the Holy Gifts was noted by Sakovič in 1642, when he praised the Bishop of Volodymyr<sup>751</sup> for introducing the custom:

Two things initiated by Bishop of Volodymyr in his church deserve praise: first / when he goes around the church in a procession / he carries the Sacrament / and the church bells are rung / whereas in other places the priests go without the Sacrament, carrying only the Gospel and the Crosses.<sup>752</sup>

That this indeed was the first known instance of making a procession with the Eucharist can be seen in the categorical answer by Metropolitan Mohyla in *Lithos*: he affirmed that such processions never took place in the Greek or Ruthenian churches<sup>753</sup> and that the greatest reverence and adoration for the Sacrament was shown on the altar. Carrying the Gifts was, he remarked, a dangerous due to the various accidents that might occur.<sup>754</sup>

The processions introduced in Volodymyr in the 1630s–40s, as any other innovations of liturgical nature, were first likely to remain restricted to their diocese. No other references to the custom have been found, whereas an official report from 1665 named the Monastery of Žyrovichy as the centre in which processions with the Holy Gifts had begun – here they took place during the Feast of *Corpus Christi*. The future Basilian protoarchimandrite Pahomij Ohilevyč reported to Rome that solemn *Corpus Christi* processions were performed in Žyrovichy despite the negative stance that the earlier Uniates had taken in their conditions for the union.<sup>755</sup> The festivities in Žyrovichy were modelled on the Latin Rite tradition. As Huculak points out, the monastery thus most likely tried to serve the large numbers of Latin Rite pilgrims that visited the shrine.<sup>756</sup> Ohilevyč made an interesting comment on the way in which the procession was performed, indicating that the

<sup>749</sup> Kulak 2010, 585; Bobryk 2010, 181.

<sup>750</sup> In the diocese of Volodymyr and Brest, for example, over 80% of churches still included an iconostasis in the 1720s. Kulak 2010, 585. By the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Uniate parish churches were often built without an iconostasis. Skinner 2009, 54.

<sup>751</sup> It is unclear whether Sakovič, writing in the early 1640s, refers to Joakim Morohovskij (1613–1631) or to Iosif Bakoveckij (1632–1650). Huculak 1990, 45.

<sup>752</sup> "Rzeczy dwie pochwały godne teraz Ociec Władyka Włodzimierski w Cerkwi swej postanowił: pierwsza / że kiedy idzie z procesją około Cerkwi / tedy Sakrament niesie / a tym czasem dzwonią / a gdzie indziej tylko Ewangelię y Krzyżów popi nabrawszy idą bez Sakramentu." Sakowicz 1642, 46–47.

<sup>753</sup> See footnote 672.

<sup>754</sup> *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.IX. 1893, 128.

<sup>755</sup> "... e nel monastero di Zirovico si è anco introdotta la processione solenne del Corpo di Christo, ancorchè nelle conditioni dell'Uanche promossi li studii, per quanto è stato loro possibile." *Litterae Basilianorum* 1979, 109; Huculak 1990, 45–46.

<sup>756</sup> Гуцуляк 2004, 51.

monks had had to modify the “formula” to some extent: “[I] asked why they had changed the Latin formula, they said that Rome had ordered them to, and that in their old books it is the Latin formula that is found.”<sup>757</sup> It is, of course, difficult to suggest what the performance originally consisted of and what had been changed, lacking the actual liturgical sources.

By the 1680s, the processions with the Holy Gifts had evolved in Žyrovichy into truly festive ceremonies during which, as we saw earlier, various instruments, drums and pipes, were played.<sup>758</sup> While not specifying whether he referred to a procession on *Corpus Christi* or another feast, the critical viewer, Petr Kaminskij, noted that “the monks in Žyrovichy 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.”<sup>759</sup> Kaminskij’s attitude toward Latin Rite loans was bitterly negative, partly because he was aware of the discrimination that the Uniates had to suffer in their coexistence with the Roman Church. It was different in centres like Žyrovichy, where the Uniates served the Latin Rite faithful as well as their own, but in areas inhabited by both Eastern Rite and Western Rite Catholics, liturgical “co-operation” took place mainly at the expense of the Uniate Church. According to Kaminskij, participation in inter-ritual processions on feasts such as *Corpus Christi* was not always voluntary. He wrote about the situation in the Przemyśl Diocese:

The clergy of the Greek Rite not only lacks the appropriate respect among the Catholic benefactor priests, but also the freedom to practice of their own rite, for they are forced to go to Catholic churches and organise processions. We have a yearly example in the procession on the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, in which the clergy from the whole community is obliged to participate during the octave, under the threat of penalty of ten *hryvnia*, while the feast sometimes coincides with our Ascension. And so, for the sake of foreign feast, the clergy must leave the Liturgy aside in some dozen churches, which is a great loss for the poor people, in order to run about three miles, tongue rolling out, to the foreign procession with apparatus. [...] And what fun is made of our clergy in the procession – God, you just see! And this is in order to make the cultured townspeople of the Greek faith feel ashamed of their clergy and turn away from their Greek Rite. [...] What business does the Greek Rite have in the Latin procession? Was it established for them? What do they understand of it? It would be the same if the Catholic priests were sometimes forced to go to Greek services which they do not understand.<sup>760</sup>

The pomp and circumstance accompanying the Latin Rite *Corpus Christi* processions nevertheless appealed to many members of the Uniate elite. In 1680, the Colloquium in Lublin hosted a procession with the Sacrament after the Divine Liturgy. Metropolitan Žohovskij openly encouraged the clergy of his church to organise processions on *Corpus Christi*, not only with icons and Gospel

<sup>757</sup> “Richiesto perché habbiano mutato la formola Latina, dice esser stato così loro ordinato da Roma, e che ne loro libri antichi vi è formola latina.” *Litterae Basilianorum* 1979, 109. I am grateful to Dr Ivan Moody for assistance with the translation from Italian.

<sup>758</sup> See footnote 544.

<sup>759</sup> “Тай з Найсвятїйшими Тайнами в монстранції церці в Жировичах ходять по церкві з процесією; нехай же й Пан Біг заєдно на престолі не стоїть; треба, щоб Його було по всіх кутах повно.” Шурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 236. English translation by Huculak 1990, 46.

<sup>760</sup> “І не лиш належного поважання не має духовенство грецького обряду в добродіїв ксьондзів, але й не є воно свободне в практиках свого обряду, бо змушують їх ходити до костелів і відбувати процесії. Щорічним приміром та процесія Божого Тіла, на яку духовенство з цілого ключа під карою десяти гривень повинно прибути підчас октави, коли то часом випаде в нас Воснесене. І так того дня для чужого свята духовні мусять у кількадесяти церквах опустити Літургії з великою шкодою убогого люду, щоб бігти зо три милі, висолопивши язик, на чужу процесію з опаратами. [...] А на процесії що-за сьміх з духовенства – Боже, ти бачиш! І то для того, щоб культурійші люди грецького обряду по містах, збентежені стидом ізза свого духовенства, відбивали ся від свого грецького обряду. [...] Що грецькому обрядови до латинської процесії? Чи для них то установлено? Що вони там розуміють? То власне так, як колиб ксьондзів примушувано ходити на грецькі набоженства, котрих вони не розуміють.” Шурат 1929 via Новаковський 2005, 211.

books but also with monstrances and boxes, and to carry the Holy Body out of the church for the adoration of the people.<sup>761</sup> Despite his admiration for the tradition, Žohovskij did not officially introduce the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, i.e. the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, in the final version of his great Missal of 1692,<sup>762</sup> although the Ruthenian festal tradition was becoming well established. He nevertheless paid attention to the processions with and adoration of the Eucharist.<sup>763</sup> For example, he introduced the custom of including the Sacrament in the burial procession of Christ on Good Friday. The *agnez*, consecrated on Maundy Thursday and placed in a pyx, was carried after the *epitaphios* in a procession. It then remained exposed on a grave that was constructed in the middle of the church, until the beginning of the Easter Matins, before which it was carried back to the altar.<sup>764</sup>

Processions with the Holy Gifts became gradually established in Uniate practice in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>765</sup> Huculak sees a clear line of development in the process. First, individual Uniates took part in Latin Rite processions with the Holy Gifts. Later, they combined the custom of carrying the Eucharist with the Eastern Rite procession, traditionally involving only the Gospel book and the cross. At shrines visited by numerous Latin pilgrims, it gradually became customary to perform processions with the Sacrament on traditional Catholic feasts, such as *Corpus Christi*.<sup>766</sup> Finally, this led to the establishment of processions with the Holy Gifts as an Eastern Rite practice. This process can be seen as largely culturally induced rather than a reflection of a change in Eucharistic theological thinking. Processions constituted an integral part of Polish-Lithuanian and Ruthenian festal culture. Apart from religious feasts, the custom also extended to events such as church councils. According to Skočyljas, the three-day diocesan Council of Volodymyr in 1715 was both opened and concluded with a festive procession around the Cathedral of the Dormition, carrying the Holy Gifts and chanting the Ambrosian hymn *Tebě Boga hvalim (Te Deum laudamus)*.<sup>767</sup>

Although the Council of Zamość did not separately enforce the carrying of the Holy Gifts in a procession, the custom continued to be encouraged in many dioceses<sup>768</sup> and later also in liturgical manuals, such as a manual from Lvov (1760), which emphasised the benefits that the faithful would gain through indulgences associated with the processions.<sup>769</sup> Later in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, processions with the Holy Gifts were performed on the first Sunday of the month, as well as other festal days. Their popularity seems to have grown in some places to such measures that it was proposed to a synod in Brest in 1765 that the exposition of the Sacrament should not take place

<sup>761</sup> "[...] co Processie Bożego Ciała / y tak częste z Nass. sakramentem Nie wszystko to Panowie moi z Obrazami / Ewangeliemi / dobrzeby y z Monstrantiami / lub Puszczkami / Pana Nieba y ziemię Ciało S. maiacy mi / wynieść z Cerkwi / y do adoratyey Ludziom podać." *Colloquium Lubelskie* 1680, 28.

<sup>762</sup> The Office for the feast first appeared in limited print in the "small" Missal published by the Holy Trinity Monastery in 1691. The following year, it was nevertheless excluded from the "great" Missal. Naumow 2002, 157.

<sup>763</sup> Гуцуляк 2004, 93.

<sup>764</sup> Huculak 1990, 88. Žohovskij seems to have been the initiator of this custom, because no mention of the exposition of the Sacrament on Good Friday can be found in Odincov's study on the 17<sup>th</sup>-century liturgical manuscripts. Hojnackij, instead, describes the procession as prescribed in the early 18<sup>th</sup>-century manuals and points out the correspondences with the Latin Rite tradition. Хойнацкий 1871, 52–55.

<sup>765</sup> In some dioceses, the practice received synodal recommendation. Skočyljas notes how the synodal decrees from Chelm in the 1680s as well as Volodymyr in 1715 encouraged priests to special services for the strengthening of the holy faith, unity, and the Commonwealth. These included an *Akathistos* on every Saturday and a *moleben* with a procession carrying the Holy Gifts around the church on every Sunday. Скочиляс 2008, 32.

<sup>766</sup> Huculak 1990, 46.

<sup>767</sup> Скочиляс 2008, 24.

<sup>768</sup> Bobryk 2010, 178.

<sup>769</sup> Huculak 1990, 90.

in monasteries or secular churches without the bishop's permission;<sup>770</sup> furthermore, a synod of 1797 in Chełm had to forbid processions on other days than Easter, *Corpus Christi* and the feast of the particular church.<sup>771</sup> The main occasion for the procession with the Sacrament was, however, the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, which at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries gradually evolved into an independent Ruthenian celebration of the Holy Eucharist.

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<sup>770</sup> Huculak 1990, 90.

<sup>771</sup> Bobryk 2010, 178–179.

# 5 Liturgical Transformation of the Feast from “Latin” to “Greek”

The creation of a Church Slavonic set of hymnography for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist can be seen as a natural consequence of the process initiated in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. Processions with the Holy Gifts, participation in the festivities during the Latin Rite *Corpus Christi*, the exposition of the Sacrament and other devotions dedicated to the Eucharist gradually prepared the ground for Uniate adoption of a previously unknown feast whose theological foundation was not in consonance with the Byzantine tradition. It was eventually transformed into an Eastern Rite feast of the highest category.

The transformation is best reflected in liturgical texts, especially in hymnography. By tracing the development of festal hymnography from its earliest stages, from short Offices to full cycles providing texts for the entire festal period (including the octave), it becomes possible to perceive the increase in the importance that was ascribed to the emerging feast. An analysis of the extent to which the new texts reflect influence from existing hymnographical traditions – Slavonic, Latin, and Byzantine – makes it clear that the Ruthenian authors were highly creative, independent and skilled in their combination of Latin themes with Byzantine-Slavonic hymnographical expression. The liturgical cycles reveal a conscious aim to “Easternise” the Latin feast by rooting it in traditional Eastern Rite poetic style and old Slavonic church monody, as well as in contemporary Ruthenian theology. In an interesting way, the hymnography participates in the theological debate of its day by emphasising the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ruthenian view on Eucharistic consecration. It could be seen as influenced by church politics, taking a stance against the *epiclesis* theology endorsed by the Moscow Patriarchate in the 1690s.

## 5.1 EARLIEST HYMNOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE OF THE FEAST OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST

The earliest hymnographical evidence that can be dated appeared in the 1680s–1690s in the form of an Office, a set of liturgical propers that were required for the celebration of an Eastern Rite Divine Liturgy. The Office laid the basis for further publications of full liturgical cycles for the feast. Little information has been preserved about the earliest stages of hymnographical creation. On the basis of seven copies of the Office from manuscript and printed sources, it is possible to distinguish two redactions of the early text, though their authors remain unknown. While the main hymnographical content – the *troparion* and the *kontakion* – appear to be independent compositions, the use of biblical texts, psalms and readings from the New Testament reflects the authors’ familiarity with both Byzantine-Slavic and Latin traditions. Three techniques of transforming the Latin feast into a Greek one are noted in the early Office: the use of the Eastern Rite liturgical structure and hymnographical genres, of the *oktoechos* as the basis of musical performance, and of the Church Slavonic hymnographical tradition as the model for poetic expression.

### 5.1.1 The Office for the feast

The Office, or the *Služba* (Служба) for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, consisted of the *troparion* and the *kontakion* hymns, the *prokeimenon*, the Epistle text, the verses for Alleluia, the Gospel reading, the Communion hymn (*pričasten*) and the dismissal for the priest. Such Offices for different

commemorations were generally featured in the new type of Uniate Missal which emerged in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. In the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century, before the official establishment of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, the festal hymnography seems to have been limited to the Office.<sup>772</sup>

The earliest printed (and the most reliably dated) version of the text was published by the Basilians of the Holy Trinity Monastery in Vilna as the *Office for the Most Holy Sacrament of Eucharist, or the Body and Blood of Christ* in 1691.<sup>773</sup> Including the Vilna edition, the early Office has been found in seven manuscript and printed sources, presented in the table:<sup>774</sup>

Table 4: *Office for the Most Holy Sacrament of Eucharist*

	Library call no.	Page / folio	Genre and date	Type of book
1	LMAB L-17/2-20	39r–39v	Missal (1691)	Printed
2	Vatican Library, Borgia Illirico 13-14	269v–270r	Missal (1680s–1692)	Manuscript
3	LMAB F 19-192	214r–215r	Missal (by 1693)	Manuscript
4	LMAB F 19-191	118r–119v	Missal (last third of the 17 <sup>th</sup> century)	Manuscript
5	ЛНБ MB-128	65r–65v	Missal (late 17 <sup>th</sup> –early 18 <sup>th</sup> century)	Printed page bound in a manuscript
6	LMAB F 19-209	280r–281r	Euchologion (early 18 <sup>th</sup> century)	Manuscript
7	LMAB F 19-195	189r–190v	Missal (early 18 <sup>th</sup> century)	Manuscript

These sources reflect in many ways the still unofficial status of the feast. There is some variety in naming it, in which different traditions are interestingly combined.<sup>775</sup> Moreover, the Office is

<sup>772</sup> For a survey of early examples of the Office, see also Takala-Roszczenko, Maria. “The Office for the Ruthenian Feast of the Holy Eucharist in early historical and hymnographical documents.” *Stav výskumu Mukačevsko-Užhorodského nápevu. Súbor štúdií. Orientalia et Occidentalia*, vol. 6. Košice: Centrum spirituality Východ – Západ Michala Lacka 2010. 339–349. See also *ibid.*, “The Ruthenian Feast of the Holy Eucharist in the XVII–XVIII Century Cyrillic Manuscripts.” *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštės kalbos, kultūros ir rašijos tradicijos. Bibliotheca Archivi Lithuanici* 7. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas 2009. 430–435; *ibid.* “The ‘Latin’ within the ‘Greek’. The Feast of Corpus Christi in 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century Ruthenian practice.” *Church, State and Nation in Orthodox Church Music. Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Orthodox Church Music. University of Joensuu, Finland. 8-14 June 2009*. Publications of the International Society for Orthodox Church Music 3. Jyväskylä: Kopijyvä 2010. 76–87.

<sup>773</sup> Служба о Пр(е)с(вя)тѣй Тайнѣ евхаристіи, или Тѣла и Крови Х(ристо)вѣй. *ЛИТУРГІА иже въ с(вя)тыхъ отца нашего Иоанна Златоустаго архіе(и)с(ко)па Константина Града*. Вилна 1691, 39r–39v. A copy of the publication is available at the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences Library (LMAB), call no. L-17/2-20. For a description of this early Uniate Missal, see Naumow 2002, 141–157.

<sup>774</sup> The information concerning the manuscript sources at the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (LMAB) is based on two catalogues: by Flavian Nikolaevič Dobrjanskij (1882) and by Nadežda Morozova (2008). Dobrjanskij based his analysis on the handwriting which in the majority of cases was characterised as 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> century *poluustav*. See Добрянский, Ф.Н. *Описание рукописей Виленской Публичной Библиотеки, церковно-славянскихъ и русскихъ*. Вильна 1882, 301–305. Morozova’s catalogue is based on watermarks and thus enables a more precise dating. See Морозова, Надежда. *Кириллические рукописные книги, хранящиеся в Вильнюсе. Каталог*. Vilnius: LLTI 2008, 66. I am grateful to Dr Nadežda Morozova for providing access to the catalogue. The information concerning the Borgia manuscript, as already discussed, is based on Vavryk’s analysis of the sources. While he suggests that the manuscript could have been compiled as early as in the 1680s, he mentions the year 1692 as the latest possible date, because that year Metropolitan Žohovskij published his Missal in which certain customs related to the commemoration of Blessed Josafat differed from the Borgia script. See Ваврик 1979, 114.

<sup>775</sup> The Office is called, for example, “Служба о Пр(е)с(вя)тѣй [or Пр(е)с(вя)той] Тайнѣ евхаристіи, или

not ascribed to any particular day in the liturgical calendar.<sup>776</sup> Most importantly, the content of the Office is not identical, which implies that the formation of the early festal hymnography involved more than one author. The following table presents the incipits of the content in each source (grey colour indicates a different redaction; see below):

Table 5: Contents of the Office

	<b>Troparion</b>	<b>Kontakion</b>	<b>Prokeimenon</b>	<b>Epistle</b>	<b>Alleluia verses</b>	<b>Gospel</b>	<b>Communion hymn</b>
1	Хлѣб Преестественный --- Беззаконїя моя презри	Се предлежит --- Хлѣбъ Христе взяти	Напита ихъ --- Радуйтєся Богу	1 Cor. 1:23–32	Очи всѣх --- Отверзаеши	John 6:48–54	Ядый мою Плоть
2	Хлѣбъ пресвятѣйший	Се предлежитъ	Господь пасетъ мя --- Уготоваль еси	“	Что воздам	“	-
3	Хлѣбъ пресвятѣйший	Се предлежитъ	Господь пасетъ мя --- Оуготоваль еси	“	Что воздам	“	Чашу спасенїя
4	Хлѣбъ преестественный	Се предлежит	Господь пасетъ мя --- Оуготоваль еси	“	Что воздам	“	Чашу спасенїя
5	Хлѣбъ преестественный --- Беззаконїя моя презри	Се предлежит --- Хлѣбъ Христе взяти	Напита ихъ --- Радуйтєся Богу	“	Очи всѣх --- Отверзаеши	“	Ядый мою Плоть
6	Хлѣбъ преестественный	Се предлежит	Господь пасетъ мя --- Оуготоваль еси	“	Что воздам	“	Чашу спасенїя
7	Хлѣбъ преЕстественный	Се предлежитъ	Господь пасетъ мя --- Оуготоваль еси	“	Что воздамъ	“	Чашу спасенїя

Тѣла и Крови Х(ристо)вѣй” (*Missal* 1691; LMAB F 19-192; ЛНБ МВ-128), “Служба о нас(вя)тѣйшом Сакраме(н)тѣ” (LMAB F 19-191; -195), “Служба о пренас(вя)тѣйшом Сакраментѣ” (LMAB F 19-209). The Eucharistic Mystery is thus referred to as “тайна” (Church Slavonic) or “sacrament” (Latin), and the attributes for “most holy” reflect the influence of the Polish language in “насвятѣйший” (najświętszy) and “пренасвятѣйший” (przenajświętszy) instead of the Church Slavonic-based “пресвятѣй”.

<sup>776</sup> The Office was usually placed after the hymnography for Pentecost, which corresponded with the Latin practice (and with the later establishment of the feast in the Eastern Rite calendar). In the *Missal* of 1691, it was placed after the feasts of Transfiguration (6<sup>th</sup> August) and Elevation of the Cross (14<sup>th</sup> September). First inscriptions of a particular date began to appear only after 1720, for example, in a printed *Missal* (1727): “On Thursday of the 9<sup>th</sup> week after Easter, that is, of the first week of the Apostles’ fast” (LMAB R-18/2-43) or in a manuscript *Euchologion* (1739): “On Thursday after the Sunday of All Saints” (ЛНБ МВ-355).

In the case of the two main hymns, the *troparion* and the *kontakion*, the comparison of these incipits points at relative uniformity, with the exception of the attribute “пресвятѣйшій” used instead of the more typical “преестественный” in the second and third source. The same applies to the prescribed biblical readings. However, the comparison of the psalms used for the *prokeimenon*, the Alleluia verses and the Communion hymn reveals two different redactions of the Office. **Redaction A** is found in two sources: the Vilna Missal of 1691 and a printed page inserted in a manuscript Missal (ЛНБ МБ-128). These were marked in grey in the previous table and are characterised by the use of the following psalm verses<sup>777</sup>. The Communion hymn comes not from the Psalter but from the Gospel, John 6:56.<sup>778</sup>

Table 6: Redaction A (Office)

	Slavonic text (LXX)	English translation (LXX)
<b>Prokeimenon</b>	Напита ихъ от тука пшенична, и отъ камене меда насыти ихъ. (Ps. 80:17)	And he fed them with the fat of the wheat; and satisfied them with honey out of the rock. (Ps. 81:16)
<b>Prokeimenon verse</b>	Радуйтесь Богу помощнику нашему, воскликните Богу Иаковлю. (Ps. 80:2)	Rejoice ye in God our helper; shout aloud to the God of Jacob. (Ps. 81:1)
<b>Alleluia 1<sup>st</sup> verse</b>	Очи всѣхъ на тя оуповають, и ты даеши имъ пищу въ благовремя. (Ps. 144:15)	The eyes of all wait upon thee; and thou givest them their food in due season. (Ps. 145:15)
<b>Alleluia 2<sup>nd</sup> verse</b>	Отверзаеши ты руку твою, и насыщаеши всяко животное благоволения. (Ps. 144:16)	Thou openest thine hands, and fillest every living thing with pleasure. (Ps. 145:16)
<b>Communion hymn</b>	Ядый мою Плоть, и пїяй мою Кровь въ мнѣ пребывает, и азъ въ немъ: рече Господь.	He who eats My flesh and drinks My blood abides in Me, and I in him, says the Lord.

The remaining five sources represent **redaction B** with the following psalm verses:

Table 7: Redaction B (Office)

	Slavonic text (LXX)	English translation (LXX)
<b>Prokeimenon</b>	Господь пасеть мя и ничтоже мя лишитъ. На мѣстѣ злачнѣ тамо мя вселилъ еси. (Ps. 22:1-2)	The Lord tends me as a shepherd, and I shall want nothing. In a place of green grass, there he has made me dwell. (Ps. 23:1-2)
<b>Prokeimenon verse</b>	Оуготовалъ еси предо мною трапезу предъ стоужающимъ ми. (Ps. 22:5)	Thou hast prepared a table before me in presence of them that afflict me. (Ps. 23:5)
<b>Alleluia 1<sup>st</sup> verse</b>	Что воздамъ Господеву о всѣхъ яже воздастъ ми. (Ps. 115:3)	What shall I render to the Lord for all the things wherein he has rewarded me? (Ps. 116:12)
<b>Alleluia 2<sup>nd</sup> verse</b>	--	--
<b>Communion hymn</b>	Чашу спасения прииму, и имя господне призову. (Ps. 115:4)	I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord. (Ps. 116:13)

<sup>777</sup> English Translation of the Greek Septuagint Bible 1851. [www.ecmarsh.com/lxx]

<sup>778</sup> English translation from the New King James Version (NKJV). [www.biblegateway.com.]

A closer comparison between the sources with redaction A reveals that the printed page, bound in a manuscript Missal (ЛНБ МБ-128), is identical to the Vilna Missal of 1691 and is, most likely, its exact reproduction.<sup>779</sup> It is thus possible to conclude that *redaction A represents the Office compiled for the Vilna publication*, while the five manuscripts with *redaction B* spring from another source. Interestingly, it is the Vilna 1691 redaction A that becomes predominant through the publication of the full hymnographical cycles after 1720.

### 5.1.2 The origin of the Office

The creation process of the Office was, as usual, not documented. It is highly likely that local practices and embryonic hymnographies developed in centres where the feast was introduced already in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Feast of the Holy Eucharist was, after all, one of the new Uniate feasts that became established in liturgical practice well before it was officially sanctioned at the Council of Zamość. It is thus possible, or even probable, that the Office printed in the Vilna Missal of 1691 was preceded by different manuscript versions.

Two of the earliest manuscripts that contain the Office for the feast feature the Borgia manuscript (number 2 in the table) and the Missal compiled by Samuil Pilihovskij<sup>780</sup> (LMAB F 19-192, number 3 in the table). It is possible that these two manuscripts were written before 1691. As already mentioned, the Borgia manuscript has been attributed to the period between the 1680s and the year 1692.<sup>781</sup> Pilihovskij's manuscript was definitely written before 1693, because he died on 23<sup>rd</sup> March of that year. The date on the manuscript in question does not mark its completion but its donation to the Suprasl' Monastery by Metropolitan Žohovskij in 1693.<sup>782</sup>

The creation of the Office for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist coincided with a project to prepare Ruthenian liturgical books for publication. The commission for the work was founded in 1683. Samuil Pilihovskij was its member from the beginning and is said to have worked on both the "small" Vilna Missal of 1691<sup>783</sup> and Metropolitan Žohovskij's "great" Missal of 1692.<sup>784</sup> His influence on these publications seems surprisingly limited,<sup>785</sup> considering the fact that the Office in his manuscript represents a different redaction from the one eventually included in the 1691 Missal; moreover, the Feast of the Holy Eucharist was excluded entirely from the 1692 edition. The Borgia manuscript has also been associated with the project to publish a Uniate Missal. According to Vavryk, this bilingual (Church Slavonic–Latin) manuscript was compiled by a Ruthenian scribe in Rome, to provide the Congregation that granted the official blessing for new liturgical books with a model for the publication or at least a source for inspection.<sup>786</sup> We can thus conclude that

<sup>779</sup> These sources are identical also in the sense that they are the only ones to offer an alternative *troparion* and *kontakion*: "Беззаконїя моя презри" and "Хлѣбъ Христе взяти".

<sup>780</sup> Pilihovskij (1652–1693) was a Basilian monk and a literary talent in the Uniate Church. He was born a priest's son in Right Bank Ukraine. He was admitted to the Greek College of St Athanasius in Rome in 1665. He then continued his studies in the Basilian residence of SS Sergius and Bacchus (1665–69). He is said to have acquired skills in Greek, translating liturgical texts from Greek into Church Slavonic, and copying manuscripts. Having returned from Rome on account of health problems, he served by Bishop Suša in the monastery in Chełm, later in Byten'. He also participated in the Lublin Colloquium in 1680. He spent the later years of his life working on liturgical books in Vilna, where Metropolitan Žohovskij had invited him. Балик 1973, 97–98; Blažejovskij 1979, 158; Ваврик 1985, 313.

<sup>781</sup> Ваврик 1979, 114.

<sup>782</sup> "Сїя книга Г(лаго)лема(я) служебникъ, рукодїйствїемъ изданный пречестнаго ѡтца Самуїла Пилиховскаго. А ѡт Іасневельможнаго Его м(и)л(о)с(ти) Кїрь Цытрыана на Жохах Жоховского монастыреви Супрасл(с)кому наданыи м(еся)ца авгу(ста) ПІ дня року АХСГ [1693]." Title page in LMAB F 19-192.

<sup>783</sup> Naumow 2002, 144.

<sup>784</sup> Ваврик 1985, 313.

<sup>785</sup> Ваврик 1985, 314.

<sup>786</sup> Ваврик 1979, 120. Vavryk suggests that with the publication of the Great Missal in 1692, the Borgia

both the Borgia and the Pilihovskij manuscript, as well as the printed Missal of 1691,<sup>787</sup> aimed at paving the way for the final, complete publication of a new type of Uniate Missal.

Turning to the actual Office for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, it is possible to note a striking similarity between the Borgia and Pilihovskij manuscripts. Not only do they generally represent the same redaction but they share a feature not found in other manuscripts of the same type: they begin the *troparion* with the words “Хлѣбъ пресвятѣйшій” (“the most holy Bread”) instead of the predominantly used “Хлѣбъ преестественный” (“the supernatural Bread”). This indicates that as far as the Office was concerned, these manuscripts had a common source, a common author, or one author copied the text from the other.

What was the connection between the Borgia manuscript and Samuil Pilihovskij’s work? If the Borgia manuscript was really written in Rome, could it be that the Office, compiled in Rome, was transmitted to native Ruthenian practice through Pilihovskij, who studied there for five years? Or could the Borgia manuscript be attributed to Pilihovskij himself, who is known to have acquired skills in translation and the creation of liturgical texts?<sup>788</sup> Vavryk notes that the Borgia manuscript and Pilihovskij’s Missal differ from each other in their general structure, content and orthography, which makes Pilihovskij an unlikely author of the first one.<sup>789</sup> It seems more probable that Office was created by someone associated with the Ruthenian community in Rome, whether the actual author of the Borgia manuscript or someone else. Pilihovskij then became familiar with it while in Rome and transmitted it to Vilna,<sup>790</sup> where the publication of the printed Missal was being prepared. For some reason, however, the editors of the 1691 publication modified the content of the Office by replacing the already mentioned attribute “most holy” with “supernatural” in the *troparion* and by choosing alternative psalm verses for the *prokeimenon* and the verses for Alleluia. This constituted redaction A for the Missal of 1691. Pilihovskij’s version gained popularity in other sources until it was replaced by the publication of the full hymnographical cycles after 1720.

### 5.1.3 Textual traditions behind the Office

Although the Feast of the Holy Eucharist in itself was an innovation in the Uniate Eastern Rite culture, the hymnography compiled for the celebration was firmly based on the existing Church Slavonic liturgical tradition. Regarding the rich textual tradition accompanying the Latin Rite *Corpus Christi*, it could have been assumed that the Ruthenian adaptation followed the hymns composed by Thomas Aquinas which were so popular in Polish-Lithuanian Catholic practice. Full offices and litanies had, after all, been translated from Latin into Church Slavonic in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as chapter three has shown. Another possibility would have been to base the Church Slavonic texts on existing Italo-Byzantine sources, provided that such were familiar to the Ruthenian authors.<sup>791</sup>

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manuscript lost its initial purpose. Ваврик 1979, 124.

<sup>787</sup> The Basilians of the Holy Trinity Monastery explicitly stated in the foreword to the book that the current “small” Missal was published due to the delayed publication of the great Missal, which was to take place in the following year. See Naumow 2002, 142–143.

<sup>788</sup> “Służebików (!) kilka, Pontyfikatów Biskupich, xiąg Ustawu cerkiewnego wszystkiego popisał. Grecki język znał dobrze, po Grecku książeczki pisał [...]” (“He wrote some missals, *Arhieratika* for bishops, books of the church *typikon*. He knew the Greek language well and wrote booklets in Greek [...].”) Балик 1973, 97.

<sup>789</sup> Ваврик 1979, 123.

<sup>790</sup> It seems that Pilihovskij modified the *troparion* text by adding one word to the second line: “Хлѣбъ пресвятѣйшій, егоже Анг(е)ли и Арханг(е)ли трепещуще **видѣти** желаютъ” (“The most holy Bread, which angels and archangels desire to behold”), while – according to Vavryk – the word “**видѣти**” (‘behold’) is absent in the Borgia manuscript. Ваврик 1979, 141.

<sup>791</sup> It is most probable that the compilers of the Vilna Missal (1691) were at least familiar with the Greek Basilian Missal (ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΚΟΝ 1683), printed under the authority of Cardinal Nerli, for Grottaferrata. It has often been noted that the Basilian Missal served as an example for Metropolitan Žohovskij during his book project in the 1690s. Гуцуляк 2004, 364.

We shall take a look at the content of the Office in order to determine the extent of these authors' originality and how they built liturgical-textual bridges between existing traditions.

5.1.3.1 The *troparion*

The *troparion* for the feast has generally been viewed as an independent fruit of Uniate hymnographical creativity.<sup>792</sup> This seems likely, because earlier Byzantine, Italo-Byzantine and Latin traditions have not revealed any texts which resemble it fully, whether related to the Holy Eucharist or to the Feast of *Corpus Christi*.

Table 8: The *troparion*<sup>793</sup>

Missal of 1691, 39r	English translation
Хлѣб Преестественный егоже Анг(е)ли и Арханг(е)ли трепещуще видѣти желаютъ, днесь Празднественно на Пр(е)стола зрится. и ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)комъ въ снѣдъ дається. Внемъ же мы преребогатую твою м(и)л(о)сть Х(рист)е Б(ож)е н(а)шъ зряще, Б(о)га тя съ плотію зрѣніемъ случаевъ оутаеннаго исповѣдуемъ г(лаго)люще. Сподоби насъ Причастниками быти да и жизни вѣчныя насладимъся.	The supernatural bread which angels and archangels desire to behold is festively exposed upon the altar and given to men as food. In It we behold Your abundant mercy, Christ our God, and acknowledge You to be God enfleshed, hidden under visible species and say: 'Make us worthy to share in the joy of eternal life.'

The *troparion* traditionally summarises the content of the commemoration; this one refers to both the exposition of and participation in the Sacrament. The emphasis is undeniably on the external observation, on *beholding* God in the bread, which in a way distances the text from the original purpose of the feast as an extension of the commemoration on Maundy Thursday. If we compare the Ruthenian text with the corresponding *troparia* in Italo-Byzantine sources, we see that the Grottaferrata Greek retained the connection with Maundy Thursday hymnography by using either the old Byzantine *troparion* for Matins (*When the glorious disciples*)<sup>794</sup> or the *troparion* for Vespers and Liturgy, also a pre-Communion prayer (*Of Your mystical supper*)<sup>795</sup> for the festal *troparion*.

Why was a new *troparion* composed for the Ruthenian feast? It was, perhaps, done in order to provide the feast with a "summary" that more accurately reflected its content. As a matter of fact, the Ruthenian *troparion* included an unusually direct reference to Latin Eucharistic theology. The phrase "съ плотію зрѣніемъ случаевъ оутаеннаго", "enfleshed, hidden under visible species", echoes the Scholastic formulation concerning the species, the bread and the wine, whose *accidents*<sup>796</sup>

<sup>792</sup> Hohnackij, for instance, mentions the *troparion* as a text specifically composed for the feast. Хойнацкий 1871, 400.

<sup>793</sup> English translation is from *Liturgical Propers of the Easter-Pentecost Cycle* 1979, 102.

<sup>794</sup> The *troparion* Ὅτε οἱ ἐνδοξοὶ (*When the glorious disciples*) was chanted in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Antiphon, according to the rubrics in *Typikon Grottaferrata* Г.а. I, f. 104v. See Parenti 2004, 156.

<sup>795</sup> The *troparion* Τοῦ δειπνου σου (*Of Your mystical supper*) can be found in *Horologion* of 1677, p. 628, and *Missal* of 1683, p. 71. Since the *Anthology* by Arkoudios (1598) contains no texts for the Divine Liturgy, no direct reference is possible. However, the *troparion* prescribed for festal Vespers in Arkoudios's *Anthology* represents another independent textual tradition: "Ἡ Ανάμνησίς σου Χριστέ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἀνέτειλε τῷ κόσμῳ ἡμέραν ἐορτιον, ὑπὸ σου γὰρ οἱ τοῖς ἰχθύας ἀγλάοντες, θυσίαν τὴν ἀναίμακτον ἐν ἄρτῳ καὶ οἶνῳ σοὶ τελεῖν ἐδιδάσκοντο. οὕτως ποιεῖν τὴν σὴν θείαν ἀνάμνησιν, ὧ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐορτάζοντες, κρᾶζομεν. κύριε δόξα σοι." NEON ANΘΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ 1598, 374. ["Your Memorial brings forth a festive day for the world, Christ our God. For fishermen learned from You to offer unbloody sacrifice to You with bread and wine, and so renew Your divine memorial act. In celebrating it we cry out: 'Lord, glory to You!'" *Liturgical Propers of the Easter-Pentecost Cycle* 1979, 101.] There is no indication of this *troparion* as a source for the Ruthenian short Office.

<sup>796</sup> In the Latin translation of the *troparion*, the word "слччавъ" is translated as "sub accidentibus". Ваврик

remain unchanged at the consecration.<sup>797</sup> Such expressions were generally not characteristic of Eastern Rite Eucharistic discussions (except in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ruthenian Church<sup>798</sup>), let alone Byzantine hymnography. Nevertheless, this *troparion* became the predominant one in Ruthenian festal practice and seems to have surpassed an alternative *troparion*, included as alternative in the Missal of 1691,<sup>799</sup> which derived from the Eastern Rite pre-Communion tradition.<sup>800</sup>

Table 9: The alternative *troparion*<sup>801</sup>

Missal of 1691, 39v	English translation
Беззаконїя моя презри Г(оспо)ди ѿт Д(ѣ)вы Рождейся, и с(е)рдце мое очисти, Ц(е)рковь то творя Пречистому твоему Тѣлу и Крови: ниже ѿтрини мене ѿт твоего лица, безчисла имѣя велїю милость.	Regard not mine iniquities, O Lord Who wast born of a Virgin; cleanse Thou my heart and make it a temple for Thy most pure Body and Blood; cast me not away from Thy countenance, O Thou Who hast great mercy without measure.

### 5.1.3.2 The *kontakion*

The *kontakion* also seems to have been composed especially for the new Office and it prevailed in later publications.<sup>802</sup> For some reason, Vavryk attributes the origin of the *kontakion* to the Greek text published by Arkoudios in his *Anthology* (1598);<sup>803</sup> however, the *kontakion* in the mentioned source is a direct loan from the Byzantine hymnography for Maundy Thursday.<sup>804</sup> Instead, the Ruthenian author most likely relied on the Eastern Rite pre-Communion prayer tradition for inspiration, as

1979, 141.

<sup>797</sup> See, for example, Pt. III Q. 75 Art. 5 in Aquinas 1981, 2444.

<sup>798</sup> See chapter 5.5.2.

<sup>799</sup> Apart from the printed Missal, the same *troparion* obviously appears in the manuscript Missal with an inserted printed page featuring the Feast of the Holy Eucharist (ЛНБ МВ-128, f. 65v). It can also be found in a combined manuscript *Missal-Euchologion* from the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Monastery of Suprasl', where it appears in the place of the *troparion* and the *kontakion* and consists of three stanzas which are otherwise familiar from Orthodox pre-Communion prayers:

"Беззаконїя моя презри...

Слава. Ко причастїю с(вя)тынь твоихъ, како дерзну недостойный; аще бо дерзну ко тебѣ приступити со достойными хитонъ мя обличаетъ, яко нѣсть Вечерний, и ѡсуждение исходатайствую многогрѣшной д(у)ши моей. Очисти Г(оспо)ди скверну д(у)ша моя, и сп(а)си яко ч(е)ловѣколюбецъ.

И н(ы)не. Многая премножества моихъ Б(огороди)це согрѣшенїй, ко тебѣ прибѣгохъ пр(е)ч(ис)тая, сп(а)сенїя требую, поспѣти болѣзнующую мою душу, и м(о)ли с(ы)на своего и Б(о)га н(а)шего подати ми ѡставление, яж содѣя злыхъ Едина бл(агосло)венная." (LMAB F 19-196, ff. 93r-93v)

<sup>800</sup> This *troparion* continued to be used in pre-Communion prayers of the Eastern Rite. See, for example, a Uniate prayer book, *Евхологіонъ сирѣчь Молитвенникъ*, Suprasl' 1766, (LMAB R-28/217), p. 657.

<sup>801</sup> English translation is from *Древнеправославный молитвенникъ / Old Orthodox Prayer Book* 1986, 280.

<sup>802</sup> An alternative *kontakion* published in the Missal of 1691 (and thus also included in ЛНБ МВ-128, f. 65v) has not been found in other sources: "Хлѣбъ Хр(и)сте взяти, да мя не презриши, Тѣло твое, и Б(о)ж(е)ственную твою н(ы)нѣ Кровь: Преч(и)стыхъ Вл(а)д(ы)ко, и грозныхъ твоихъ Таинъ причаститися окаяннаго: да не будетъ ми въ суд: да будетъ же в животъ вѣчный и безсмертный."

<sup>803</sup> "[...] кондак, як відомо, є перекладом з грецької служби Пресв. Євхаристії в Антології Антона Аркудія (Рим, 1598, 874)." Ваврик 1979, 141. The reference seems generally dubious since the Office for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist is located on pages 371–380 in the *Anthology*.

<sup>804</sup> "Τον ἄρτον λαβὼν, εἰς χεῖρας ὁ προδότης, κρυφίως αὐτὰς ἐκτείνει, καὶ λαμβάνει τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ πλάσαντος ταῖς οἰκείαις χερσὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἀδιόρθωτος ἔμεινεν Ἰούδας ὁ δούλος καὶ δόλιος." NEON ANΘΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ 1598, 378. ("After taking the bread into his hands the traitor secretly stretches them out and takes the price of the One who fashioned humankind with his own hands; and he remained unrepentant, Judas the slave and deceiver." Translation by Archimandrite Ephrem (Lash), [www.anastasis.org.uk](http://www.anastasis.org.uk).) The same text provides the festal *kontakion* also for other Italo-Byzantine sources, *Horologion* of 1677 and Missal of 1683.

can be noted in the comparison between the *kontakion* and a prayer that has been prescribed for the moment when the participant approaches the Divine Mysteries (translations below<sup>805</sup>):

Table 10: *The kontakion*

Missal of 1691, 39r	Pre-Communion prayer
<p><i>Се предлежитъ Х(рист)с на пищу всѣм.</i>          Прїйдѣте, и припадающе поклонимъся          Х(рист)у Б(ог)у, сими Тайнами оутаенному,          съ оумилєніємъ возывающе. <i>Вл(а)д(ы)ко да</i>  <i>не опалиши насъ недостойныхъ приобщеніємъ,</i>          но буди пополая грѣхи, и очищая д(у)ша          н(а)ша.</p>	<p>Се приступаю к б(о)жественому          причащенію, <i>Владыко, да не опалиши</i> мя  <i>прїобщеніємъ</i>, но очисти мя ѡ(т) всякія          скверны, огонь бо реклъ еси, недостойныхъ          опаляя.  <i>Се предлежитъ Хр(и)стос на пищу всѣм, мнѣ</i>  <i>же прилѣплятися Б(о)зѣ бл(а)го есть, и</i>  <i>полагати на Г(о)с(по)да упованіе сп(а)сенія</i>  <i>моего, аминь.</i></p>
<p><i>"Behold, Christ is present as food for all. Come,</i>  <i>let us prostrate ourselves in worship before</i>  <i>Christ our God hidden under these mysteries.</i>  <i>Let us humbly cry out: 'Master, do not devour</i>  <i>us in communion though we are unworthy but</i>  <i>consume our sins in its fire and purify our</i>  <i>souls.'"</i></p>	<p><i>"Behold, I draw near to divine Communion.</i>  <i>O Master, burn me not by this Communion, but</i>  <i>rather cleanse me from every impurity, for</i>  <i>fire Thou art to consume the unworthy, as</i>  <i>Thou hast said. Behold, Christ is present as food</i>  <i>for all. It is good for me to cleave to God and</i>  <i>to place in the Lord my hope of salvation.</i>  <i>Amen."</i></p>

The identical form of the highlighted phrases, “Се предлежит Христос на пищу всѣм” and “Владыко да не опалиши [...] приобщеніємъ,” indicates that the Ruthenian author probably used the existing prayer as a source for the new *kontakion*, reorganising and slightly paraphrasing its content. The technique is interesting also in the sense that the evident linkage between the texts rooted the new creation in the existing tradition: the familiar phrases made it possible to (even unconsciously) associate the *kontakion* with the Eucharistic practices of the Eastern Rite.

### 5.1.3.3 The *prokeimenon*, the Alleluia and the Communion hymn

The choice of psalm verses in the early examples of the Office reveals its multiple authorship, as demonstrated in chapter 5.1.1. Since the Bible and especially the Psalter provides the common source for liturgical texts in both the Western and Eastern traditions, it would seem only natural that the Ruthenian authors turned to the existing *Corpus Christi* texts for psalm references. According to Hojnackij, the Latin influence on the choice of psalm verses is indeed obvious.<sup>806</sup> A closer comparison between different possible sources points to a more modifying approach: the Ruthenian authors seem to have combined existing traditions without relying exclusively on any one of them.

For the *prokeimenon* and its verse, the Missal of 1691 (redaction A) used psalm 80 (LXX): verse 17 (“Напита ихъ”, “And he fed them”) and verse 2 (“Радуйтесь Бг҃у”, “Rejoice ye in God”). Here, the influence of the *Corpus Christi* tradition seems clear: “Cibavit eos ex adipe frumenti, et de petra melle saturavit eos” (Ps. 80:17) appears in the Latin texts composed by St Thomas Aquinas no less than five times, most notably as the Introit in the Mass.<sup>807</sup> The verse can also be found in an

<sup>805</sup> English translation of the festal *kontakion* is from *Liturgical Propers of the Easter-Pentecost Cycle* 1979, 102. Translation of the pre-Communion prayer is from *Древнеправославныи молитвеннкъ / Old Orthodox Prayer Book* 1986, 327. Emphasis mine.

<sup>806</sup> Хойнацкий 1871, 401. Unfortunately Hojnackij does not specify the actual Ruthenian text he refers to.

<sup>807</sup> Хойнацкий 1871, 401; Walters, Corrigan, Ricketts 2006, 304. Moreover, the same verse is found in the 2<sup>nd</sup>

early Italo-Byzantine source (1299/1300) in which it was used in all three antiphons of the Divine Liturgy.<sup>808</sup> For redaction A, it was thus most likely the Latin tradition that guided the Ruthenian author in the choice of the psalm verse.

The *prokeimenon* and the verse in redaction B come from psalm 22 (LXX): verses 1–2 (“Господь пасет мя”, “The Lord tends me as a shepherd”) and verse 5 (“Оуготовалъ еси”, “Thou hast prepared a table”). This choice cannot be as clearly associated with Latin practice as the previous one. The only corresponding instance is the use of the verse “Paratur nobis mensa domini adversus omnes qui tribulant nos” (Ps. 22:5) as an antiphon in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Nocturn of the *Corpus Christi* Office. Yet psalm 22 is one of the psalms recited in the Eastern Rite pre-Communion prayers.<sup>809</sup> It is possible that the association of the psalm with the Eastern Rite Sacrament of the Eucharist persuaded the Ruthenian author to include it in the Office.

In his choice for the Alleluia verses, the author of redaction A seems to have been influenced by the *Corpus Christi* tradition. The first verse, psalm 144:15 (“Очи всѣх на тя оуповають”, “The eyes of all wait upon thee”) serves as a Gradual in the Latin Mass: “Oculi omnium in te sperant, illis escam in tempore oportuno. Aperis tu manum tuam et implebis omne animal benedictione.”<sup>810</sup> Both verses, 144:15–16 (concluding with “Отверзаеши ты руку твою”, “Thou openest thine hands”), can also be found in the early Italo-Byzantine rubrics for the Divine Liturgy (1299/1300), where they are placed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> antiphon.<sup>811</sup> References to the Alleluia verse used in redaction B, psalm 115:3 (“Что воздамъ Господевѣ”, “What shall I render to the Lord”), cannot be found in either Latin or Italo-Byzantine sources. However, the psalm is also part of the Eastern Rite pre-Communion prayers,<sup>812</sup> and its use may thus be explained by its proximity to another verse from the same psalm, 115:4, which is used as Communion hymn in redaction B: “Чашу спасенія” (“I will take the cup of salvation”). This psalm verse is frequently used in Eastern Rite liturgy; however, it is commonly associated with the commemorations of the Theotokos. In the Latin texts for *Corpus Christi*, the verse “Calicem salutaris accipiam et sacrificabo hostiam laudis” appears as an antiphon in Vespers.<sup>813</sup>

The Communion hymn in redaction A is an interesting example of variation within different sources. The verse comes from the Gospel, John 6:56: “Ядый мою Плоть и пїяй мою Кровь въ мнѣ пребывает, и азъ в немъ: рече Г(оспо)дь” (“He who eats My flesh and drinks My blood abides in Me, and I in him, says the Lord”). It is analogous to the Latin *Corpus Christi* practice: “Qui manducat meam carnem” as responsory in 3<sup>rd</sup> Nocturn and Alleluia in the Mass.<sup>814</sup> The same verse can be found in the Grottaferrata Rubrics of 1299/1300,<sup>815</sup> where it is used as the first Alleluia verse. In two other Italo-Byzantine sources, a similar verse is used for Communion hymn, but a closer look reveals that instead of John 6:56, these sources use John 6:54: “Whoever eats My flesh

and 3<sup>rd</sup> Nocturn and in two instances in the Prime. Walters, Corrigan & Ricketts 2006, 270, 281, 300, 301.

<sup>808</sup> “ΕΘΡΕΥΣΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΚ ΣΤΕΑΤΟΣ ΠΥΡΟΥ.” *Grottaferrata* Γ.α. I, f. 104r. The same source also includes the verse 80:2 in the 3<sup>rd</sup> antiphon: “Αγαλλιᾶσθε τῷ θεῷ [...] Ἰακώβ.” *Grottaferrata* Γ.α. I, f. 104v. Parenti marks the verse as 80:1. See Parenti 2004, 156. The later Grottaferrata and Roman sources seem to have preferred Byzantine texts for Maundy Thursday in their choice for psalm verses for the new festal services. For the *prokeimenon* in the Divine Liturgy of the feast, all available sources (*Typikon* of 1299/1300, *Horologion* of 1677 and Missal of 1683) use the Maundy Thursday *prokeimenon*: “Οἱ ἄρχοντες”, “The rulers were gathered together against the Lord” (Ps. 2:2). See *Grottaferrata* Γ.α. I, f. 104v via Parenti 2004, 156; *ΩΡΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ* 1677, 628; *ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΚΟΝ* 1683, 71.

<sup>809</sup> *Древнеправославный молитвенникъ* / *Old Orthodox Prayer Book* 1986, 278–279.

<sup>810</sup> Walters, Corrigan & Ricketts 2006, 308.

<sup>811</sup> “Οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων [...] ἀνοίγεις σὺ τὴν χεῖρα [...]” *Grottaferrata* Γ.α. I, f. 104v in Parenti 2004, 156.

<sup>812</sup> *Древнеправославный молитвенникъ* / *Old Orthodox Prayer Book* 1986, 280.

<sup>813</sup> Walters, Corrigan & Ricketts 2006, 242.

<sup>814</sup> Walters, Corrigan & Ricketts 2006, 284, 310.

<sup>815</sup> “Ο τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα.” *Grottaferrata* Γ.α. I, f. 104v in Parenti 2004, 156.

and drinks My blood has eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day.”<sup>816</sup> The Ruthenian author, who most likely had access to the Basilian Missal of 1683, at least, thus chose to abide by the Latin custom<sup>817</sup> rather than the Italo-Byzantine practice.

#### 5.1.3.4 Biblical readings

The choice of biblical readings reflects a consciousness of a universal practice. The Epistle and Gospel texts, written out in the Ruthenian Office, correspond to passages that were recited in the Mass at *Corpus Christi*. Hohnackij, for example, attributes the selected Epistle and Gospel texts fully to the Roman Catholic tradition.<sup>818</sup> A closer comparison, however, reveals certain minor inconsistencies in this argument. The Epistle text for the Ruthenian feast, found in every example of the Office, features 1 Corinthians 11:23–32 (“зач. 149”):

For I received from the Lord that which I also delivered to you: that the Lord Jesus on the same night when He was betrayed took bread; and when He had given thanks, He broke it and said, “Take, eat; this is My body which is broken for you; do this in remembrance of Me.” In the same manner He also took the cup after supper, saying, “This cup is the new covenant in My blood. This do, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of Me.” For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord’s death till He comes. Therefore whoever eats this bread or drinks this cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be guilty of the body and blood of the lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of the bread and drink of the cup. For he who eats and drinks in an unworthy manner eats and drinks judgment to himself, not discerning the Lord’s body. For this reason many are weak and sick among you, and many sleep. For if we could judge ourselves, we would not be judged. But when we are judged, we are chastened by the Lord, that we may not be condemned with the world.<sup>819</sup>

However, the Epistle reading for the Latin Mass concludes already at 11:29 (“not discerning the Lord’s body”).<sup>820</sup> Why did the Ruthenian author extend the passage with three sentences? There is an obvious reason: this was the Epistle reading for the Liturgy on Maundy Thursday in the Byzantine tradition, relating the actual Institution of the Eucharist. Because of its content, it was also used in pre-Communion rites.<sup>821</sup> The same passage can be found in three Italo-Byzantine sources; two of them refer directly to the Epistle on Maundy Thursday.<sup>822</sup> It could thus be equally justified to argue that the author of the Ruthenian office relied on an existing Eastern Rite practice and borrowed from the Maundy Thursday liturgical texts, thus providing a sense of continuation for the new Feast of the Holy Eucharist.

The Gospel reading, John 6:48–54 (“зач. 23”), relates the theological foundation of the Sacrament of the Eucharist:

I am the bread of life. Your fathers ate the manna in the wilderness, and are dead. This is the bread which comes down from heaven, that one may eat of it and not die. I am the living bread which came down from heaven. If anyone eats of this bread, he will live forever; and the bread that I shall give is My flesh, which I shall give for the life of the world.” The Jews therefore quarrelled among themselves,

<sup>816</sup> “Ο τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον.” *ΩΡΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ* 1677, 629; *ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΚΟΝ* 1683, 71.

<sup>817</sup> Interestingly, John 6:54 is not used in the office composed by Aquinas.

<sup>818</sup> “Литургійные апостолъ (1 Кор. зач. 149) и евангеліе (Іоан. зач. 23) совершенно тождественны съ такими же латинскими.” Хойнацкий 1871, 401.

<sup>819</sup> NKJV. [www.biblegateway.com]

<sup>820</sup> Walters, Corrigan & Ricketts 2006, 307.

<sup>821</sup> See Metropolitan Mohyla’s instructions for clergy, *Требник Митрополита Петра Могили* 1996, 271–272; see also instructions for laity in *Древнеправославный молитвенникъ / Old Orthodox Prayer Book* 1986, 327.

<sup>822</sup> “Ζήτει ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ε΄.” [“See in Holy Fifth = Thursday.”] *Grottaferrata Γ.α. I*, f. 104v in Parenti 2004, 156; *ΩΡΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ* 1677, 628. The Basilian Missal only refers to the passage as “chapter 11”, but relates the same text in full. *ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΚΟΝ* 1683, 71.

saying, "How can this Man give us His flesh to eat?" Then Jesus said to them, "Most assuredly, I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, you have no life in you. Whoever eats My flesh and drinks My blood has eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day."<sup>823</sup>

All Ruthenian Offices, as well as the consulted Italo-Byzantine sources, include the same text in their respective languages. This is not, however, the Gospel reading for Maundy Thursday in the Byzantine tradition. The passage is read on a Friday, the third week after Easter, which the Italo-Byzantine sources clearly point out.<sup>824</sup> It is possible that the Ruthenian Office followed here the example of the Italo-Greek practice. In the Latin Mass, parts of the passage appear in responsories; however, the actual Gospel reading comes from John 6:55–58.<sup>825</sup>

#### 5.1.4 The Office in light of Easternising the "Latin" feast

The Ruthenian Office for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist reveals the earliest steps taken in the adaptation of a quintessentially Latin feast to an Eastern Rite liturgical environment. Contrary to certain arguments in the past, the process of creation appears to have been quite independent and eclectic in the use of different sources. The Latin *Corpus Christi* tradition obviously provided the thematic core around which the new Church Slavonic texts were built. In some cases, the Latin tradition also seems to have served as an authority in the choice of psalm verses, for instance; most notably in redaction A. There is no evidence direct borrowing or imitation of the Latin hymnography. Neither is there clear evidence for extensive use of the Italo-Byzantine texts as sources for the Ruthenian feast. Ruthenian compositions of a new *troparion* and a *kontakion*, for example, seem uninfluenced by any tradition other than their own Byzantine Rite. This allows us to look at the Office as a creative composition in which the Latin content was consciously modified for an Eastern Rite expression.

Three aspects can be noted in this process. Firstly, of course, the Office was compiled to provide the necessary material for the Eastern Rite Liturgy and thus it had to be constructed according to the traditional hymnographical genres. The use of existing *Corpus Christi* hymnography was in this sense impossible, since the stanzaic, rhyming hymns of the Roman Catholic tradition differed from the Byzantine-Slavonic composition style.

Musical organisation was another means of rooting the new hymnography in the Eastern Rite practice. Although liturgical music in both Roman Catholic and Byzantine Orthodox tradition was founded on the idea of the eight-tone system,<sup>826</sup> the Eastern Rite Church retained a more systematic practice of marking each chanted hymn and psalm verse with a tonal prescription. The hymnography composed for the new Uniate feast was also rooted in this system, which meant that the musical image of the Uniate liturgy did not change and thus the new texts were easy to integrate into Eastern Rite use.

Interestingly, the musical organisation of the early Office seems initially to have been based on an oral practice. The tonal prescriptions are absent in the earliest sources<sup>827</sup> and appear only in two Missals (LMAB F 19-191 and -195) and one *Euchologion* (LMAB F 19-209).<sup>828</sup> The *kontakion*

<sup>823</sup> NKJV. [www.biblegateway.com]

<sup>824</sup> For example, "ζήτηται τῇ παρασκευῇ τῆς γ' εὐδομάδος ἀπὸ τοῦ Πάσχα." *Grottaferrata Γ.α. I, f. 104v* in Parenti 2004, 156.

<sup>825</sup> Walters, Corrigan & Ricketts 2006, 318.

<sup>826</sup> The plainchant melodies were organised according to eight modes or tones. In Slavic practice, the *octoechos* can be seen as functioning less on the level of musical scales and more as a system of model melodies, according to which a given hymn within a given hymnographical genre was performed.

<sup>827</sup> In the case of the Borgia manuscript, our information is based on the short description by Vavryk. It is possible that he may not have considered it necessary to make references to tonal prescriptions. We cannot thus state anything categorical about this detail of the Office contained in that manuscript.

<sup>828</sup> These sources all belong to redaction B. *Missal* F 19-191 and *Euchologion* F 19-209 are identical in their prescriptions. The *troparion* is marked as "tone 4", the *kontakion* as "tone 2", the *prokeimenon* as "tone 7" and

in the printed Missal of 1691, consulted for this study, has later been marked with a faint inscription: “Tone 4”. Quite interestingly, the tonal prescriptions changed with the publication of full hymnographical cycles after 1720.<sup>829</sup> While the fact that the Office existed only in unnotated textual sources indicates its compliance with the *octoechos* system, since the texts *had* to be chanted according to an existing melodic tradition rather than with melodies specifically composed for them, the subsequent change in the tone prescriptions reflects a strange instability and confusion in the festal practice. Nevertheless, even after the change the musical performance remained within the *octoechos* system.

The third aspect in the transformation from a Latin to an Eastern Rite feast concerns the language. The creation of new liturgical texts in the Church Slavonic language almost automatically transformed the otherwise unfamiliar Western ideas into “Greek”. Easternisation by means of language provided a subtle means of transmitting concepts from Latin Eucharistic theology to Ruthenian Eastern Rite consciousness, as can be seen in the wording of the *troparion*. Moreover, the creation of hymnography by means of intertextuality – i.e. using words or phrases traditionally associated with Eastern Rite liturgy, such as the pre-Communion prayer tradition – endowed the new texts with considerable familiarity among Eastern Rite believers. This was a technique that had been used by Byzantine and Slavic hymnographers throughout history and it was perhaps the most effective way of integrating the new feast into Uniate Eastern Rite liturgy.

## 5.2 HYMNOGRAPHY FOR THE FEAST AFTER COUNCIL OF ZAMOŚĆ (1720)

The Feast of the Holy Eucharist was established in the liturgical calendar of the Ruthenian Uniate Church at the Council of Zamość in 1720. The decrees of the Council did not elaborate on the issue but listed “*festum Corporis Christi Domini*” among the traditional feasts of the Eastern Rite Church.<sup>830</sup> By doing so, the Council sanctioned the already established practice and turned the locally celebrated feast into an *obligatory* part of the liturgical calendar<sup>831</sup> in the whole Kievan Uniate Church.

The newly established feast was in urgent need of liturgical material, i.e. hymnography for the divine services in their fullness. In spite of the official adoption of the feast, the process of creating new liturgical texts remains undocumented. Interestingly, the printing of the festal cycle in the 1730s took place not in one, but in two places, the Monasteries of Suprasl’ and Uněv. Even more intriguingly, these early publications represent two almost independent textual traditions. In the following, these two collections, the *Apograf* and the *Voslědovanija*, are analysed in order to reveal their relation to existing liturgical-textual traditions, Church Slavonic, Latin, and Greek.

### 5.2.1 The emergence of new cycles: the *Apograf* and the *Voslědovanija*

After the Council of Zamość, the Uniate Church concentrated much of its efforts on literary activities. Apart from correcting and unifying existing liturgical books, this involved the printing of new manuals for the needs of the Church. The Monastery of Suprasl’ had become one of the centres of Uniate printing, mainly because Metropolitan Žohovskij had had the printing press moved there from Vilna for the need of his Missal (1692), complemented with additional pages

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the Alleluia as “tone 5”. Missal F 19-195 marks only the *prokeimenon* with tone 7.

<sup>829</sup> In the later printed sources, the *Apograf* and the *Voslědovanija*, the *troparion* changed from tone 4 to 7, and the *kontakion* from tone 2 to 4, although the texts contained no changes. For their choice of psalm verses, these sources followed redaction A and prescribed the *prokeimeimon* as “tone 4” and the Alleluia as “tone 4” (however, the Alleluia is altogether absent from the *Apograf*).

<sup>830</sup> Провінційний Синод у Замості 1720 р.Б. 2006, 260–261.

<sup>831</sup> Мудрий 2006, 14.

that were printed in the new location in 1695.<sup>832</sup> After Žohovskij, the Suprasl' printing press was under the protection of Metropolitan Kiška who endowed it with a monopoly in the publishing business. For the needs of the press, a paper mill was also built in Suprasl'.<sup>833</sup>

It was very probably the Basilian Brethren of the Suprasl' Monastery who undertook the task of composing a full hymnographical cycle for the officially established Feast of the Holy Eucharist. There is no documentation that the work had been commissioned from the monastery, but the typographical features of the publication clearly confirm its origin in the particular printing press.<sup>834</sup> As noted earlier, the *Apograf, ili Slog Činnyj*<sup>835</sup> contains no preface or any other details about its publication date or authorship; nevertheless, it is possible to establish the date between the 1710s–1730s, more precisely (on the basis of content) between 1720 and the 1730s.

The printing of another set of festal hymnography, included in the *Voslědovanija*,<sup>836</sup> is slightly less enigmatic in its origin. The Monastery of Uněv, located near Lvov in Galicia, had hosted an Orthodox printing press in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the monastery along with the diocese joined the union with Rome. Under the leadership of Archimandrite Afanasij Šeptyckyj, the printing press resumed its work in 1732.<sup>837</sup> The *Voslědovanija* was published there in 1738, serving as a model for later editions printed between 1741–1762 both in Uněv and in Počaeв. The preface of the 1738 edition is signed by Šeptyckyj, who, according to his status now as the Metropolitan of all Russia, instructed the feast to be observed in all churches, as decreed by the Council of Zamość.<sup>838</sup> The preface contains no information about the actual author of the text; it is likely that it was compiled locally in Uněv.

Why was the Feast of the Holy Eucharist endowed with two quite different sets of hymnography which, moreover, seem too have been compiled approximately at the same time? Despite their differences, the two publications also contain corresponding parts, which allows us to suggest that either the author of one set was familiar with the content of the other and used it as the basis for the new edition, or there was a proto-text consulted by both the Suprasl' and the Uněv brethren. The *Apograf* has traditionally been identified as the earliest of the publications. It is larger than the *Voslědovanija* and, as we shall shortly see, it contains considerably more references to the Latin theological tradition and to the Feast of *Corpus Christi* than the Uněv publication. This difference can easily be explained by historical facts: the Suprasl' Monastery had come under the Uniate metropolitan already in the early decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and had thus been in contact with the Latin sphere for a whole century, while Uněv, like other Galician monasteries, was culturally still very much attached to the old Eastern Rite tradition. One explanation for the similarity between the

<sup>832</sup> Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew 2005, 142.

<sup>833</sup> Щавинская 1998, 15.

<sup>834</sup> See Chapter 1.2.1 for more details of the date and place of the publication.

<sup>835</sup> *Апографъ или Слогъ чинный, вечернихъ и оутреннихъ пений, на Праздникъ Пр(е)ч(и)стаго Тѣла Г(о)с(по)да н(а)шего И(и)с(уса) Х(рист)а*. The copy consulted for this research belongs to the collection of early prints at the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences Library in Vilnius (LMAB R-17/2-4).

<sup>836</sup> *Вослѣдованія праздникомъ Пресвятой тайни Евхаристіи, Состраданія пресвятія Б(о)городица и Бл(а)женнаго священномученика Иисафата святого Собора Замойскаго преподаннимъ, Типомъ издашася въ манастирѣ уневскомъ чину святого василія великаго въ львѣ отъ воплощенія Слова афли* [1738].

<sup>837</sup> Chomik, Piotr. "Typografie monasterskie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVII-XVIII w." *Prawosławne oficyny wydawnicze w Rzeczypospolitej* 2004, 103. A Missal (*Služebnik*, 1733) based on Žohovskij's 1692 edition was the first Uniate book printed in Uněv. Шманько, Тарас. „Богослужбові книги Унівської друкарні.” *КАЛОΦΩΝΙΑ. Науковий збірник з історії церковної монодії та гимнографії*. Число 2. Львів: Видавництво Українського Католицького Університету 2004, 103.

<sup>838</sup> “Понеже С(вя)тій Соборъ Замойскій въ Ωглавленіи Праздниковъ всего лѣта и надстоящія си есть Пресвятой ТАИНИ ЕУХАРИСТІИ [...] назнамена намъ, и сия по всюду праздновати заповѣда; сего ради Пречестнымъ ωтцемъ Прото-презвитеромъ, и Честнымъ Презвитеромъ, Пастирско повелѣваем; да вся тѣя Праздники людемъ до Пастви ихъ належашимъ, по Ц(е)рквахъ своихъ ωглашаютъ, и вседневно Святити заповѣдаютъ, самиже тимъ Праздникомъ надходящимъ ωбразомъ непремѣнно послѣдуютъ. АФАНАСИИ АРХИЕПИСКОПЪ МЕТРОПОЛИТА ВСЕЯ РОССІИ. Р. В.” *Вослѣдованія* 1738, 2.

two textual cycles could be that the Suprasl' edition was used as a source and revised by the more conservative Uněv brethren into the *Voslědovanija*. Yet early 18<sup>th</sup> century practice was generally not characterised by *de*-Latinising efforts; the contrary was usually the case.<sup>839</sup> The reverse direction thus seems more likely: the more concise Uněv text was complemented with Latin-influenced additions at Suprasl'. Yet due to the close publication dates (in the 1730s) and the geographical and cultural distance between the two centres, it seems equally possible that there was an earlier, unofficial compilation of festal hymnography, consulted by authors working independently for the two publications; one for the needs of Suprasl' and the other for Uněv.<sup>840</sup>

The two publications agreed in one particular aspect. From the very beginning, it seems, the feast was considered "high-ranking", equal to the twelve major feasts in the Eastern Rite church year, such as the Nativity, Epiphany, Ascension, Pentecost, or Transfiguration. The range of liturgical texts is far superior to any ordinary commemoration; moreover, the actual feast is followed by hymnography for the whole following octave. This obviously reflects the position of the feast in Roman Catholic tradition; however, the elevation of a new feast to such a major status had been unknown in the Eastern Rite practice for centuries. As we already know, the Council of 1720 gave no indication of the rank of the feast. Most interestingly, concerning the practice established already in the earliest liturgical cycles, it was officially elevated to the rank of a first-class feast with an afterfeast only at the Council of Lvov in 1891.<sup>841</sup>

### 5.2.2 New hymnography in light of Church Slavonic liturgical tradition

We shall now turn to the actual content in the two earliest publications. The following table presents the outline of the *Apograf* and the *Voslědovanija* and points out their correspondences. The corresponding texts have been marked in grey, while minor differences in these have been underlined. For practical reasons, the table only includes the services of the actual festal day and the Vespers on the evening of the feast, and not the full octave.

Table 11: Contents of the *Apograf* and the *Voslědovanija*

Genre	The Apograf	The Voslědovanija
	<b>Small Vespers</b>	<b>Vespers</b>
<i>Stichera</i> at psalm 140	<u>1<sup>st</sup> tone, podoben Небеснымъ Чиномъ</u> "Великое таинство"	<u>6<sup>th</sup> tone, podoben Тридневно</u> "Великое таинство"
	"Сънь Небесная"	"Сънь Небесная"
	"Хлѣбъ благословивъ"	"Хлѣбъ благословивъ"
	"Тайнѣй днесъ Вечери"	
<i>Doxasticon</i> 4 <sup>th</sup> tone	"Прійдѣте празднолюбци"	"Прійдѣте празднолюбци"
<i>Stichera aposticha</i> 2 <sup>nd</sup> tone	"Ω Тайна благоговѣнія"	
	"Приступай съ вѣрою"	
	"Да составятся составу оуды"	

<sup>839</sup> I would like to thank Dr Sergejus Temčinas for pointing out the risk of anachronism in the interpretation.

<sup>840</sup> Two centuries later, the Uniate Metropolitan Andrei Šeptyckyj noted that due to various practical circumstances, liturgical books issued by each publishing centre mainly remained in the particular region and thus their prescriptions applied to the local customs only. For this reason, he pointed out, there were generally no books published in Vilnius or Suprasl' in the Galician churches. See his pastoral "On Rites" (1941) in Galadza 2004, 401. Of course, the metropolitan was reflecting on the past on the basis of his knowledge of the contemporary situation in which Galicia constituted part of Austria and the Lithuanian and Belarusian lands were under Russia.

<sup>841</sup> The Synod decreed the feast to be celebrated with an eight day post-feast and approved the custom of exposing the Sacrament during the Divine Liturgy at the feast. Katrij 1983, 198.

<i>Doxasticon</i> 8 <sup>th</sup> tone	“Древле оубѡ людїе Израилстїи”	
	<b>Great Vespers</b>	
<i>Stichera</i> at psalm 140, 3 <sup>rd</sup> tone	“Началниче таинъ”	
	“Якоже можетъ хлѣбъ”	
	“Слово Христа сію содѣйствуетъ Тайну”	
	“Великое оубѡ и нарочитое таинство”	
	“Иже ясть, рече Господь”	
	“Нынѣ самаго Господа ѡбѣтомъ”	
<i>Doxasticon</i> 8 <sup>th</sup> tone	“Днесъ Слово собезначалное”	
<i>Premia</i>	<i>Exodus</i> (19:10-19)	<i>Exodus</i> (19:10-19)
	1 <sup>st</sup> Book of Kings (21:2-7)	1 <sup>st</sup> Book of Kings (21:2-7)
	3 <sup>rd</sup> Book of Kings (17:2-16)	3 <sup>rd</sup> Book of Kings (17:2-16)
<i>Stichera</i> at the <i>Litia</i> 6 <sup>th</sup> tone	“Предъ сѣннымъ ковчегомъ”	“Предъ сѣннымъ ковчегомъ”
	“Имѣяше ветхїй завѣтъ”	“Имѣяше ветхїй завѣтъ”
	“Какѡ совокупишися”	
		“Иже единъ имѣяй бесмертіе”
		“Аггелъ незлобивый”
<i>Doxasticon</i>	8 <sup>th</sup> tone	2 <sup>nd</sup> tone
<i>Stichera aposticha</i> 1 <sup>st</sup> tone	“Днесъ радостноу благодарственная”	“Тайнѣй днесъ вечери”
	“Хлѣбъ небесный”	“Хлѣбъ небесный”
	“На Вечери самаго себе даль еси”	“На вечери самаго себе даль еси”
	“Ω Божественное”	“О Божественное”
<i>Doxasticon</i>	8 <sup>th</sup> tone	8 <sup>th</sup> tone
<i>Troparion</i> 7 <sup>th</sup> tone	“Днесъ нареченъ ѡт Бога Іерей”	“Ω Преславное чудо!”
Other <i>Troparion</i> 8 <sup>th</sup> tone	“Хлѣбъ преестественный”	“Хлѣбъ преестественный”
Dismissal	“Благословенъ еси Христе Боже”	
	“Премногія ради <u>благости</u> ”	“Премногія ради <u>милости</u> ”
<b>Matins</b>		
1 <sup>st</sup> <i>Kathisma</i> 7 <sup>th</sup> tone	“Пасха наша великая”	“Пасха наша великая”
<i>Theotokion</i> 7 <sup>th</sup> tone	“Богородице, присно Дѣво”	“Богородице присно Дѣво”
2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>Kathisma</i> 4 <sup>th</sup> tone	“Хлѣбъ Небесный”	“Хлѣбъ небесный”
<i>Theotokion</i> 4 <sup>th</sup> tone	“Безсѣменно”	“Безсѣменно”

<i>Megalynarion</i>	“Величаемъ тя, животѣдавче Христе” Verses: 1) Воскликните Господеви вся земля 2) Все языцы восплещайте рукамъ 3) Что воздамъ Господеви 4) Чащу спасенія 5) Милостивъ и щедръ Господь 6) Напита ихъ 7) Одожди имъ манну ясти 8) Хлѣбъ Ангелскій яде чловѣкъ	“Величаемъ тя Животдавче Христе” Verses: 1) Велий Господь и хваленъ 2) Что воздамъ Господеви 3) Память сотворилъ естъ 4) Одожди имъ манну ясти, Хлѣбъ Ангелскій, яде чловѣкъ
<i>Kathisma</i> after Polyeleos, 3 <sup>rd</sup> tone	“Превѣчный Боже”	“Превѣчный Богъ”
Antiphons 4 <sup>th</sup> tone	“От юности”	“От юности”
<i>Prokeimenon</i> 4 <sup>th</sup> tone	“Ядый мою Плоть... рече Господь” (John 6:56) Verse: “Имать... въ послѣдній день” (John 6:54)	“Ядый мою Плоть... въ послѣдній день” (John 6:54)
Gospel	John 6:55-58 (зач. 24)	John 6:55-58 (зач. 24)
<i>Sticheron</i> after psalm 50 6 <sup>th</sup> tone	“Днесъ Ангели ужаются... милосерде Господи”	“Днесъ Ангели ужаются... Благосерде Господи”
Canon 6 <sup>th</sup> tone		
1 <sup>st</sup> Ode, <i>Heirmos</i>	“Съченнымъ пресѣчено”	“Грядѣте людѣе”
<i>Troparia</i>	“Цѣломудреннѣ къ Царскому Агнца”	“Хлѣбъ живота”
	“Егоже любовь Божественная”	“Кровь твою Владыко”
	“Окроплени кровію”	“Оскверненъ дѣлы”
<i>Theotokion</i>	“Очищается земныхъ существо”	“Земле благая”
<i>Katabasis</i>	“Съченнымъ пресѣчено”	“Отверзу уста моя”
3 <sup>rd</sup> Ode, <i>Heirmos</i>	“Господь сый всѣхъ Живодитель”	“На камени мя вѣри”
<i>Troparia</i>	“Исусе Преблагій”	“Слезныя мы подаждь”
	“Здѣ тебе молящимися”	“Въ оставленіе”
	“Предъ намъ Откупителю”	“Сподоби мя”
<i>Theotokion</i>	“Красенъ Богородице”	“Хлѣба животнаго трапеза”
<i>Katabasis</i>	“Господь сый всѣхъ Живодитель”	“Твоя пѣвца”
<i>Kathisma</i>	3 <sup>rd</sup> tone	
	“На тайнѣ своей Вечери”	
Other <i>Kathisma</i>	4 <sup>th</sup> tone	1 <sup>st</sup> tone
	“Ядый Владыко съ Оученики”	“Ядый Владыко съ Оученики”
<i>Theotokion</i>	4 <sup>th</sup> tone	(1 <sup>st</sup> tone)
	“Агнца и Пастыря”	“Агнца и Пастира”
4 <sup>th</sup> Ode, <i>Heirmos</i>	“Провидя Пророкъ”	“Пришествовавъ отъ Дѣвы”
<i>Troparia</i>	“Даде недугующимъ Тѣло”	“Восхотѣлъ еси”
	“Такъ сію жертву”	“Исцѣли душа моя раны”
	“Трепещутъ видящій”	“Стоя истеня”
<i>Theotokion</i>	“Ручку злату”	“Милостива и мнѣ”
<i>Katabasis</i>	“Провидя Пророкъ”	“Съдай въ славу”
5 <sup>th</sup> Ode, <i>Heirmos</i>	“Миръ многъ любящимъ тя”	“Просвѣщеніе въ тмѣ”
<i>Troparia</i>	“Слово свыше исходяй”	“Якоже предрекъ еси”
	“На смерть отъ оученика”	“Слове Божій”
	“Иже подъ обоимъ существомъ”	“Преоскверненну душу”
<i>Theotokion</i>	“Невѣстникъ свѣтоносенъ”	“Маріе Мати Божая”

<i>Katabasis</i>	“Миръ многъ любящимъ тя”	“Оудивишася всяческая”
6 <sup>th</sup> Ode, <i>Heirmos</i>	“Бездна послѣдняя”	“Во безднѣ грѣховнѣ”
<i>Troparia</i>	“Раждающійся самаго себе”	“Умъ, душу и сердце освятитъ”
	“Ω Спасительная Жертва”	“Да оустранився”
	“Пожаждь время благоприятно”	“Съ страхомъ и трепетомъ”
<i>Theotokion</i>	“Естество человѣческое”	“Божіе Слово”
<i>Katabasis</i>	“Бездна послѣдняя”	“Божественное сіе”
<i>Kontakion</i> 8 <sup>th</sup> tone	“Егда съ Оученики”	“Се предлежитъ”
<i>Oikos</i>	“Ничтоже сея Тайны лучшее есть”	“Тайнѣй трапезѣ”
<i>Synaxarion</i>	“Понеже достоинъ благочестивымъ людемъ”	
7 <sup>th</sup> Ode, <i>Heirmos</i>	“Ωтроци въ Вавилонѣ”	“О тѣлѣ златѣ”
<i>Troparia</i>	“Воспрослави Роде”	“Причастіе Христе”
	“Намъ оубо даны”	“Да избавлясь”
	“Въ ѡстатную ноци”	“Душе моя окаянная”
<i>Triadikon</i>	“Святая Троице въ единици Божества”	
<i>Theotokion</i>	“Творца всѣхъ неизреченно”	“Спаса Христа”
<i>Katabasis</i>	“Ωтроци въ Вавилонѣ”	“Непослужиша Твари”
8 <sup>th</sup> Ode, <i>Heirmos</i>	“По законѣ отчѣмъ”	“О подобіи златѣ небрегоша”
<i>Troparia</i>	“Слово Тѣло”	“Небесныхъ страшныхъ”
	“Толику оубо Тайну”	“Къ твоему прибѣгъ”
	“Хлѣбъ Ангелскій”	“Съдыгаюся пріемля огнь”
<i>Triadikon</i>	“Еже въ тріехъ Лицехъ”	
<i>Theotokion</i>	“Ωт Дѣвы волею”	“Божественный Хлѣбъ”
<i>Katabasis</i>	“По Законѣ отчѣмъ”	“Ωтроки благочестивіа”
2 Verses (припев) for the 9 <sup>th</sup> Ode	“Величай душе моя Господа, Плоть свою намъ въ пищу Тайну даваго” “Величай душе моя Христа Бога нашего, Плоть въ спасеніе человѣкомъ даваго”	“Величай душе моя Господа, Плоть свою намъ в пищу Тайну даваго” “Величай душе моя Христа Бога нашего, Плоть въ спасение человѣкомъ даваго”
9 <sup>th</sup> Ode, <i>Heirmos</i>	“Странствія Владычня”	“Весь еси желание”
<i>Troparia</i>	“Празнованію святыхъ Таинъ”	“Христосъ есть вкусите”
	“Нощи содѣйствуетъся”	“Душею и тѣломъ”
	“По таинственномъ Агнци”	“Якоже огнь да будетъ”
<i>Theotokion</i>	“Древо тя Дѣвице”	“Богъ воплотился есть”
<i>Katabasis</i>	“Радуйся Царице Пресвятая Дѣво”	“Всякъ земнородній”
<i>Exapostilarion</i>	“Оученикомъ сѣдящимъ”	“Ученикомъ сѣдящимъ”
Glory...	“Снїйдѣте съ Небесъ”	
<i>Exapostilarion</i>		
Now...	“Сей есть Пресвятая Дѣво”	“Сей есть пречистая Дѣво”
<i>Exapostilarion</i>		
<i>Stichera</i> at psalms 148–150, 1 <sup>st</sup> Tone	“Ω дивное чудо! Источникъ жизни”	“О дивное чудо! Источникъ жизни”
	“Ω дивное чудо! иже въ Маннѣ”	“Ω дивное чудо! иже въ маннѣ”
	“Ω дивное чудо! закла Премудрость”	“Ω дивное чудо! закла Премудрость”
	“Ω дивное чудо! иже на горѣ”	“Ω дивное чудо! иже на горѣ”
<i>Doxasticon</i>	8 <sup>th</sup> tone “Днесъ Пророческое”	6 <sup>th</sup> tone “Азъ есмь Хлѣбъ животный”

<b>Divine Liturgy</b>		
1 <sup>st</sup> Antiphon	<p>Verses:</p> <p>1) "Господь пасетъ мя... мя всели." – "Молитвами Богородица"</p> <p>2) "Аще бо пойду посредѣ... съ мною еси."</p> <p>3) "Оуготоваль еси... яко державна."</p>	<p>Verses:</p> <p>1) "Господь пасетъ мя... мя всели." – "Молитвами Богородица"</p> <p>2) "Аще бо пойду посредѣ... со мною еси."</p> <p>3) "Оуготоваль еси... стужающимъ ми."</p> <p>4) "Оумастилъ еси елеомъ... яко державна."</p>
2 <sup>nd</sup> Antiphon, O Only-Begotten Son	<p>Verses:</p> <p>1) "Вѣровахъ... смѣрихъся зѣло" – "Спаси насъ Сыне Божій"</p> <p>2) "Что воздамъ... воздасть ми."</p> <p>3) "Чашу спасенія... призову." Единородный Сынъ</p>	<p>Verses:</p> <p>1) "Вѣровахъ... смирихъся зѣло" – "Спаси насъ Сыне Божій"</p> <p>2) "Что воздамъ... воздасть ми."</p> <p>3) "Чашу спасенія... призову." Единородный Сынъ</p>
3 <sup>rd</sup> Antiphon, Troparion 7 <sup>th</sup> tone	<p>Verses:</p> <p>1) "Пожрѣте жертву... на Господа." – "Хлѣбъ преестественный"</p> <p>2) "Отъ плода... оумножишася."</p> <p>3) "Яко насытилъ... благъ."</p>	<p>Verses:</p> <p>1) "Пожрѣте жертву... на Господа." – "Хлѣбъ преестественный"</p> <p>2) "Отъ плода... оумножишася."</p> <p>3) "Яко насытилъ... благъ."</p>
Entrance	"Тебѣ пожру жертву хвалы... призову."	"Тебѣ пожру жертву хвалы... призову."
<i>Kontakion</i> 4 <sup>th</sup> tone	"Се предлежитъ"	"Се предлежитъ"
<i>Prokeimenon</i> 4 <sup>th</sup> tone	<p>"Напита ихъ... насыти ихъ."</p> <p>Verse: "Радуйтесь Богу... Іаковлю."</p>	<p>"Напита ихъ... насыти ихъ"</p> <p>Verse: "Радуйтесь Богу... Іаковлю."</p>
Epistle	1 Cor. 1:23-32 (зач. 149): "Азъ прияхъ ѿт Господа... с миромъ осудимся."	1 Cor. 1:23-32 (зач. 149): "Азъ прияхъ ѿт Господа... с миромъ осудимся."
Alleluia verses		<p>4<sup>th</sup> tone</p> <p>"Очи всѣхъ на тя... въ благо время."</p> <p>"Отверзаеши ти руку... благоволенія."</p>
Gospel	<i>John</i> 6:48-54 (зач. 23): "Рече Господь... Азъ есмь хлѣбъ животный... въ послѣдний день."	<i>John</i> 6:48-54 (зач. 23): "Рече Господь... Азъ есмь хлѣбъ животный... въ послѣдний день."
9 <sup>th</sup> Ode (задостойник)		<i>Canon</i> , 9 <sup>th</sup> <i>Heirmos</i> "Весь еси желаніе"
Communion hymn	"Ядый мою Плоть... рече Господь."	"Ядый мою Плоть... рече Господь."
<b>Vespers</b>		
<i>Stichera</i> at psalm 140	<p>6<sup>th</sup> tone, <i>podobn</i> <i>Все упование</i> "Архіерей превѣчный"</p>	<p>2<sup>nd</sup> tone, <i>Samoglasny</i> "Архіерей Предвѣчный"</p>
	"Щедръ и милостивъ"	"Щедръ и милостивъ"
	"Память сотворилъ"	"Память сотворилъ"
	"Тайный днесъ вечера"	"Тайный днесъ вечера"
	<p>3<sup>rd</sup> tone</p> <p>"Прійдѣте вси концы земніи"</p>	

	"Нынѣ самаго Господа"	
<i>Doxasticon</i>		8 <sup>th</sup> tone "Слава... Азъ есмь хлѣбъ животный"
<i>Theotokion</i>	8 <sup>th</sup> tone "Древле оубо Иудее"	8 <sup>th</sup> tone "И нынѣ... Егоже, безъ сѣмени родила еси"
<i>Prokeimeinon</i> , 7 <sup>th</sup> tone	"Кто богъ велій"	"Кто Богъ Велій"
<i>Stichera aposticha</i>	2 <sup>nd</sup> tone, podoben Дому Ефразовъ "На тайной вечери"	2 <sup>nd</sup> tone, podoben Дому Ефразовъ "На тайной вечери"
	"Приступите вси"	"Приступѣте вси"
	"Дается Христосъ"	"Дается Христосъ"
<i>Doxasticon</i> 2 <sup>nd</sup> tone	"Хвалимъ тя"	"Слава... Хвалимъ тя"
<i>Theotokion</i>		"И нынѣ... Богородице Дѣво Маріе"

The table reveals the scope and extent of the new hymnography. It is obvious that both cycles were created with great care and dedication. It is particularly noteworthy that there is practically no repetition within the cycle, but each part in the service is an independent hymnographical composition or a loan from existing tradition.

Looking at the two cycles in the light of old Byzantine-Slavonic liturgical tradition, their close relation to existing textual models becomes clear. A comparison of the new texts with traditional Eucharist-related texts, such as hymnography for the Holy Week and the pre-Communion prayers, reveals two techniques by means of which both the *Apograf* and the *Voslědovaniija* were planted deep in the Eastern Rite tradition. One way was to borrow and use existing texts, provided that they corresponded with the theme of the feast. Another way was more creative: to compose entirely new texts which nevertheless drew on traditional Church Slavonic hymnography.

Rather surprisingly, the technique of direct borrowing was employed only to a limited degree.<sup>842</sup> The clearest hymnographical loans can be seen in the three *stichera* placed at the very beginning of Vespers (in the *Apograf*, Small Vespers): *Великое таинство*, *Снь Небесная* and *Хлѣбъ благословиъ*. These texts can be traced back to the Compline on Holy Wednesday, where they constitute the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> *troparia* of the *triadion*'s 9<sup>th</sup> Ode.<sup>843</sup> As they depict the Institution of the Sacrament of Eucharist by Christ with his disciples, they were easily adaptable to the new feast, at least in terms of textual content.

In the choice for the Canon in the festal Matins, the new publications relied on two different existing sources. The *Apograf* compiled the Canon from the *heirmoi* borrowed from Maundy Thursday Matins and the *troparia* composed specifically for the new feast. The *Voslědovaniija*, instead, combined two well-established Canon texts: the full Pre-Communion Canon (the *heirmoi* beginning with *Грядѣте людѣ*, the *troparia* with *Хлѣбъ живота*) and the common Canon for the Theotokos as the *katabasia* (*Отверзу уста моя*). In fact, the use of the Pre-Communion Canon by the *Voslědovaniija* was the only direct hymnographical loan from the Eastern Rite pre-Communion tradition in either of the publications.

The *Apograf* also made use of the Byzantine Lenten hymnography, namely the Great Canon by St Andrew of Crete. The *triadion* chanted at Compline after the actual festal day, Thursday, began

<sup>842</sup> It must be noted, however, that my analysis has not delved into the origin of certain texts (for example, the *theotokia*) that are traditionally borrowed from existing hymnographical collections such as *Menaion*, *Triadion* or *Oktoechos*.

<sup>843</sup> The source used for comparison here is an early printed publication of the ΤΡΙΩΔΙΟΝ, published by the Uspenie Brotherhood of Lvov in 1688. LMAB R-17/2-4, f. 62r.

with an *heirmos* that was modelled after an *heirmos* from the Great Canon: “Видите, видите, яко азъ есмь Богъ” (“See, see that I am God”).<sup>844</sup> The choice of this *heirmos* is explained by its reference to the manna, a frequent topic in hymnography dedicated to the Eucharist. At the same time, however, the new *heirmos* departed from its model by changing the tonal prescription from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> tone.

Apart from hymnographical loans, the two sources relied on existing tradition in their choice of the first and third *paremia* readings. These readings, recited from the Old Testament at festal Vespers, are traditionally related to the topic of the commemoration in one way or another. The first *paremia* both in the *Apograf* and the *Voslědovanija* comes from Exodus, relating the revelation of God to the Israelites on Mount Sinai, which is the first *paremia* reading at Eastern Rite Vespers on Maundy Thursday. The third *paremia*, from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Book of Kings<sup>845</sup>, relating the encounter of Prophet Elijah and the widow of Zarephath, is read in the Liturgy on Holy Saturday in the Byzantine tradition.<sup>846</sup> These readings, with the readings already discussed in relation to the Office, constituted the biblical loans from existing Eastern Rite tradition, shared by the *Apograf* and the *Voslědovanija* alike.

Other features that have their origin in the existing Eastern Rite tradition reflect the status assigned to the feast. As at all Matins prescribed for a high-ranking feast, the 4<sup>th</sup>-tone Antiphon *От юности* (*From my youth*) was chanted at the Feast of the Holy Eucharist. Another indication that the feast was regarded more or less as the “13<sup>th</sup> Great Feast” can be seen in the Vespers that follow the festal Liturgy: both the *Apograf* and the *Voslědovanija* prescribe the chanting of a Great Prokeimenon, *Кто Богъ велѣи*.

The creation of full hymnographical cycles for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist was, however, predominantly based on original compositions. Looking at the traditional Eastern Rite hymnography for Maundy Thursday, for example, the need for new hymnography becomes quite understandable. The theme of the Last Supper on Maundy Thursday is in many ways intertwined with or even overshadowed by other topics, such as the deception of Judas and the washing of the disciples’ feet. The new texts were designed solely for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist. They concentrated on Eucharistic topics, mainly on the Institution of the Sacrament. The Old Testament also provided symbolic references to the Eucharist, for example, the manna as food for the Israelites in the wilderness.

The authors of the new hymnography revealed a remarkable fluency in Church Slavonic hymnographical expression.<sup>847</sup> The technique, which gave the new texts an unmistakably Eastern Rite character, was to weave words, phrases and structures traditionally associated with the Byzantine liturgy into the new composition.<sup>848</sup> This was, of course, what hymnographers had

<sup>844</sup> The full text of the *heirmos* in the *Apograf*: “Пѣнь [2]. Ирмосъ. Видите, видите, яко азъ есмь Б(о)гъ, оумерщвляяй и животворяяй, даровавый из камене несъкома воду, и ождивый Манну на пищу людемъ Израилевымъ: яко силенъ.” See *Апографъ* s.a., 16.

<sup>845</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Book of Kings 17:2–16 in NKJV. [www.biblegateway.com]

<sup>846</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> *paremia* reading from the 1<sup>st</sup> Book of Kings (i.e., 1<sup>st</sup> Samuel in NKJV) has no prescribed place in the Eastern Rite liturgical year. It describes how King David received the holy bread for food from the priest Ahimelech. The choice of text, following neither a Latin nor an Italo-Byzantine source, is most likely explained by the reference to bread, i.e. the Eucharist.

<sup>847</sup> Considering the often less than adequate knowledge of the Church Slavonic language among the Basilian Uniates, noted by Kaminskij and contemporaries in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, it is interesting that this was not reflected in hymnographical creativity. Collections such as the *Apograf* and the *Voslědovanija* contradict the generalisations made about the Uniate liturgical culture by scholars such as Konstantin Harlampovič, according to whom the Church Slavonic language had become nearly extinct in the Uniate Church towards the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Харламповичъ, К.В. *Западнорусскія православныя школы XVI и начала XVII вѣка*. Казань: Типо-литографія Императорскаго Университета 1898, 519–521.

<sup>848</sup> Looking at the mere incipits of these new texts, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether they had been borrowed from earlier Eastern Rite hymnography or whether they were original compositions. For example,

always done when composing new liturgical texts. The significance of the technique in this case was in its ability to convert previously unfamiliar ideas into hymnography that was instantly recognisable as Eastern.

The four *stichera* at psalms 148–150 serve as a good example of the Ruthenian creativity within the Eastern Rite hymnographical tradition. Each text begins with an expression “О дивное чудо” (“O marvellous wonder”) which, besides many other commemorations, most characteristically opens the first *sticheron* at psalm 140 for the Dormition of the Mother of God. This particular *sticheron* serves in Slavic Eastern Rite chant as a *podoben*, a model melody for a number of other hymns. Here the *podoben* text<sup>849</sup> provides the poetic structure for three of the festal *stichera* (based on the poetic “arch” created between two phrases: “О дивное чудо” and “Веселися / Веселѣтся”). The first<sup>850</sup> of these *stichera*, in particular, can be seen as imitating the existing model to detail:<sup>851</sup>

Table 12: *O divnoe čudo*

1 <sup>st</sup> <i>sticheron</i> for the Dormition, at psalm 140, Great Vespers	1 <sup>st</sup> <i>sticheron</i> for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, at psalms 148–150, Matins
<p>О дивное чудо источник жизни во гробѣ полагается. и лѣствица к небеси гроб бывает. веселися Гефсимании, богородичин святой доме. возопиѣмъ вѣрнии Гавриила имуща чиноначальника. Обрадованная радуйся, с тобою Господь подай мирови тобою велию милость.</p>	<p>Ω дивное чудо! Источникъ жизни, на Престолъ зрится, человѣкомъ въ снѣдь дается; веселися Церкви Божественная, Хлѣбомъ Плоти Христовы преукрашенная: возопіѣмъ вѣрнии, Іоанна Богослова имуща Чиноначальника: И Слово Плоть бысть, и вселися въ ны, и видихомъ славу егѡ: яко единороднаго ѡт Отца.</p>
<p><i>O marvellous wonder!</i> <i>The source of life is laid in a grave,</i> <i>and the tomb becomes a ladder to heaven.</i> <i>Be glad, O Gethsemane, the holy shrine of the</i> <i>Mother of God.</i> <i>Let us the faithful cry,</i> <i>with Gabriel as our captain:</i> <i>O Full of grace, hail! The Lord is with you,</i> <i>who grants the world through you his great</i> <i>mercy.</i></p>	<p><i>O marvellous wonder!</i> <i>The source of life is seen on the altar,</i> <i>and is given to people as food.</i> <i>Be glad, O Divine Church, beautified by the</i> <i>Bread of Christ's Body.</i> <i>Let us the faithful cry,</i> <i>with John the Theologian as our captain:</i> <i>And the Word became Flesh, and dwelt</i> <i>among us;</i> <i>and we beheld His glory, as the only-</i> <i>begotten from the Father.</i></p>

the *Apograf* provided the festal Vespers with an alternative *troparion*, in the 8<sup>th</sup> tone, beginning with words “Благословень еси Христе Боже нашъ” (“Blessed are you, Christ our God”). See *Апографъ* s.a., 6. This is also the beginning line of another 8<sup>th</sup>-tone festal *troparion*, for Pentecost. By using the same phrase and the same tone, the *troparion* for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist created a clear textual-musical allusion to Pentecost, thus rooting the new text more deeply in the tradition.

<sup>849</sup> Text from an Irmologion manuscript, LMAB F 19-118, f. 287r. English translation by Fr. Ephrem Lash. [www.anastasis.org.uk/15aug.htm]

<sup>850</sup> *Апографъ* s.a., 13. Translation mine.

<sup>851</sup> The textual correspondences between the *podoben* and the first festal *sticheron* have been analysed by the author in Takala-Roszczenko, Maria. “Церковная монодия в униатской традиции XVIII века: Стихиры на “Хвалитех” праздника св. Евхаристии (Corpus Christi)” / “Kirchenmonodie in der griechisch-katholischen Tradition des 18. Jahrhunderts: Stichera auf “Hvalitech” des Festes der Heiligen Eucharistie (Fronleichnam)”. *Theorie und Geschichte der Monodie*. Bd. 6. Bericht der Internationalen Tagung Wien 2010. Her. Czernin, Martin – Pischlöger, Maria. Brno 2012, 456–457 (in German translation pp. 438–440).

The corresponding phrases and words such as “Ω дивное чудо! Источникъ жизни”, “веселися”, “возопіємъ вѣрній” and “имуще Чинопачальника” unquestionably confirm the use of the Dormition *sticheron* as a model for the new text. They create an association between the two *stichera* by using the same expressions and similar imagery. In a sense this “canonises” the new text as a representative of the same liturgical tradition. An interesting feature, however, can be noted the change in the personification of “the source of life” from the Virgin Mary as Theotokos, to Christ himself as the Eucharistic Bread.

The two publications, the *Apograf* and the *Voslǣdovanija*, agree to a considerable extent in their relation to existing Eastern Rite hymnography. As the table shows, apart from the choice for the festal Canon, all texts that were borrowed directly from existing sources are featured in both publications. The nearly identical use of existing texts supports the suggestion that either a proto-text was consulted by the authors of both cycles, or, alternatively, the author(s) of one cycle used the other for a source. The above discussion suggests that the *Voslǣdovanija* was used in the compilation of the *Apograf*.

### 5.2.3 Latin roots of Ruthenian texts

For an adaptation of a quintessentially Roman Catholic feast, the Ruthenian Feast of the Holy Eucharist introduced surprisingly few Latin-based liturgical texts in its official hymnography. As we saw in the early Office, only the selection of psalm verses points to possible loans from the Latin festal tradition. The publications of complete hymnographical cycles consisted predominantly of newly composed material, based on Eucharistic topics and relying on traditional Eastern Rite expression. The only direct reference to Latin liturgical practice featured both in the *Apograf* and in the *Voslǣdovanija* can be noted in the Gospel prescribed for festal Matins, John 6:55–58.<sup>852</sup>

A closer look at the hymnography published in the *Apograf* reveals, however, a far more substantial connection between the Ruthenian texts and the Latin *Corpus Christi* tradition. Four *stichera* at psalm 140 for Great Vespers, which at first glance appear as ordinary Church Slavonic compositions, turn out to be hymnographical renditions of Eucharistic teaching in the treatise *De sacramentis* (*On the sacraments*)<sup>853</sup> by Ambrose of Milan.<sup>854</sup> *De sacramentis* was one of the cornerstones of understanding the Eucharist in the Latin Church, and it was extensively cited by Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologica*.<sup>855</sup> Moreover, the teachings of Ambrose were included in the liturgical cycle composed by Aquinas for the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, where they were used for lectionary readings.<sup>856</sup>

There are six *stichera* provided for Great Vespers in the *Apograf*. Four of them have so far been identified as being based on Ambrose’s teaching. The original source of the two remaining, despite their clear resemblance to the style and content of *De sacramentis*, has not yet been possible to confirm. All six *stichera* firstly draw attention to their rather untraditional structure:

<sup>852</sup> Walters, Corrigan & Ricketts 2006, 318.

<sup>853</sup> The source used here is a Latin-German edition: Ambrosius “Mediolanensis”. *De sacramentis* = *Über die Sakramente. De mysteriis* = *Über die Mysterien* 1990. The English translations are from *The Fathers of the Church. A New Translation. Vol. 44: Saint Ambrose: Theological and Dogmatic Works* 1987.

<sup>854</sup> As a pre-Schism (4<sup>th</sup> century) bishop and a prominent theologian, St Ambrose is venerated in both Western and Eastern Christianity. He is particularly revered in the Latin Church and was named as one of the original four Doctors of the Church. See Małunowiczówna, Leokadia. “Ambroży.” *Encyklopedia Katolicka t. I*. red. F. Gryglewicz, R. Łukaszyk, Z. Sułowski. Lublin: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski 1985, 411.

<sup>855</sup> See, for example, Pt. III, Q. 78, Art. I-II, IV in Aquinas 1981.

<sup>856</sup> Citations from Ambrose’s *De mysteriis* and *De sacramentis* were included in the lectionaries via Gratian’s *De consecratione*. See Walters, Corrigan & Ricketts 2006, 240–361. Gratian was a 12<sup>th</sup> century canon lawyer, whose *Decretum Gratiani*, or *Concordia Discordantium Canonum* featured a collection of nearly 4,000 patristic texts, conciliar decrees and papal pronouncements on all fields of church discipline. See “Gratian”, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Ed. F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1974, 589.

the text often proceeds in question-answer mode. A *sticheron* usually opens with a thesis, which is followed by a catechismal question: how can this be? It is particularly noteworthy that the text sometimes includes an actual question mark, which is highly uncommon in traditional Eastern Rite hymnography. The *sticheron* then provides a detailed answer to the question and ends with a standard concluding verse, such as “you who love mankind” or “save our souls”.

Let us compare the *stichera* to corresponding text extracted from *De sacramentis* (English translations below):

Table 13: *Načalniče tain*

1 <sup>st</sup> <i>sticheron</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> tone ( <i>Apograf</i> p. 2)	Ambrose, <i>De sacramentis</i> , IV, Ch. 4, 13-14
“Началниче таинъ Христе Спасе нашъ, твоимъ совѣтомъ с небесе тайны провозвѣстивый: воистинну веліе твое бысть чудо, иже с небесе людемъ нетруждающимся ѡдождивый ясти манну: мыже оубо аще речемъ, нашъ хлѣбъ есть вседневный, но сей хлѣбъ, есть хлѣбъ прежде словесъ таинъ: ѡсвященію бо дѣйствующуся, Хлѣбъ бываетъ Тѣло Христа: емуже въ Тайнѣ преестественнѣ присносущну, покланяющесе молебнѣ возопѣмъ: прїими нашу вечернюю пѣснь человѣколюбче.”	13. “Ergo auctor sacramentorum quis est nisi dominus Iesus? De caelo ista sacramenta venerunt; consilium enim omne de caelo est. Vere autem magnum et divinum miraculum, quod populo pluit dues manna de caelo, et non laborabat populus et manducabat. 14. Tu forte dicis: ‘Meus panis est usitatus.’ Sed panis iste panis est ante verba sacramentorum; ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi.”
“The head of the sacraments, Christ our Saviour, who hast given the sacraments from heaven with your counsel: truly great is your miracle, which has rained manna from heaven to the people who did not labour: we however say, Our bread is usual, but this bread is bread before the words of the sacraments: when the consecration has taken place, the bread becomes the Body of Christ: to him, supernaturally supernaturally eternal, bowing we prayerfully cry: receive our evening song, you who love mankind.”	“13. [...] who is the author of the sacraments but the Lord Jesus? Those sacraments came down from heaven, for all counsel is from heaven. Moreover, truly a great and divine miracle, that God rained manna from heaven upon the people, and the people did not labor and did eat. 14. You perhaps say: ‘My bread is usual.’ But that bread is bread before the words of the sacraments; when consecration has been added, from bread it becomes the flesh of Christ.”

In the first *sticheron*,<sup>857</sup> the original question has been converted into an opening line, addressing Christ as the receiver of the hymn. In spite of the editorial work performed on the original, in which the sentences have been revised to give them a more fluent hymnographical expression, the similarity between the two texts is clear enough for us to argue that the Ruthenian author was actually translating an existing text, rather than composing a new one. The Latin text was integrated into the traditional Byzantine *sticheron* genre by concluding it with a familiar petition: “покланяющесе молебнѣ возопѣмъ: прїими нашу вечернюю пѣснь человеколюбче” (“bowing we prayerfully cry: receive our evening song, you who love mankind”).

<sup>857</sup> Latin original from Ambrosius 1990, 142, translated in *The Fathers of the Church* 1987, 301–302. My translation of the *sticheron*.

Table 14: *Jakože moŹet Hlěb*

2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>Sticheron</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> tone ( <i>Apograp</i> p. 2)	Ambrose, <i>De sacramentis</i> , IV, Ch. 4, 14
<p>"Якоже можетъ хлѣбъ, иже есть хлѣбъ, Тѣло быти Христа: дѣйствуется сія тайна ѡсвященіемъ, ѡсвященіеже словесы Господа Исуса Христа бываетъ, молитваже за люди, за Царя и прочія предносится: гдѣ ѡсвященіе наступующу нарочитыя тайны, оуже не своихъ словесъ Іерей, но оупотребляетъ словесъ Христа: емуже на тайной Вечери въ хлѣбъ Плоть, въ вінѣ Кровь свою, намъ на спасеніе даровавшему, молебнѡ возопѣмъ: прійми нашу вечернюю пѣснь человеколюбче."</p>	<p>"[...] quomodo potest, qui panis est, corpus esse Christi. Consecratio igitur quibus verbis est et cuius sermonibus? Domini Iesu. Nam reliqua omnia, quae dicuntur in superioribus, a sacerdote dicuntur: laus deo, defertur oratio, petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro ceteris. Ubi venit, ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum, iam non suis semnibus utitur sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi."</p>
<p>"How can bread, which is bread, be the Body of Christ: This sacrament works through consecration, which is consecration through the words of Lord Jesus Christ, while the prayer is uttered for people, the King and others: When it is time for the consecration of the main sacrament, the priest no longer uses his own words, but the words of Christ: To Him, who at the mystical Supper gave us His Body in bread and Blood in wine for our salvation, we prayerfully cry: receive our evening song, you who love mankind."</p>	<p>"[...] how it is possible that what is bread is the body of Christ. By what words, then, is the consecration and by whose expressions? By those of the Lord Jesus. For all the rest that are said in the preceding are said by the priest: praise to God, prayer is offered, there is a petition for the people, for kings, for the rest. When it comes to performing a venerable sacrament, then the priest uses not his own expressions, but he uses the expressions of Christ."</p>

The second *sticheron*<sup>858</sup> skilfully inserts the essential Latin Rite Eucharistic teaching into hymnography. The inclusion of this text in the festal cycle is a clear reflection of the intense Eucharistic debate of the time. The question of the moment of consecration by words of institution or through an *epiclesis* characterised the theological discussion especially in the Eastern Slavic church sphere, as we shall see later in this chapter.<sup>859</sup>

Table 15: *Slovo Hrista siju sodějstvouet Tajnu*

3 <sup>rd</sup> <i>Sticheron</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> tone ( <i>Apograp</i> p. 2)	Ambrose, <i>De sacramentis</i> , IV, Ch. 4, 14–16
<p>"Слово Христа сію содѣйствууетъ Тайну, Словоже Христа се есть, имже вся быша: рече Господь и бысть Небо, земля, море, и вся тварь рожденна: оубѡ аще толика сила есть, въ Словесехъ Господа Исуса Христа, да начнутъ быти, яже не быша, кольми паче дѣйственнѣйша, яже быша, да въ ино премѣнятся? Онъ самъ рече и быша, повелѣ, и создашася: Не бѣ во Тѣло Христово прежде ѡсвященія, но</p>	<p>"14. Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum. 15. Quis est sermo Christi? Nempe is, quo facta sunt omnia. Iussit dominus, factum est caelum; iussit dominus, facta est terra; iussit dominus, facta sunt maria; iussit dominus, omnis creatura generata est. Vides ergo, quam operatorius sermo sit Christi. Si ergo tanta vis est in sermone domini Iesu, ut inciperent esse, quae non erant, quanto magis operatorius est, ut sint, quae</p>

<sup>858</sup> Latin original from Ambrosius 1990, 142, translated in *The Fathers of the Church* 1987, 302. My translation of the *sticheron*.

<sup>859</sup> See chapter 5.5.2.

по ѡсвященїи, оуже Тѣло есть Христа,  
 якѡ самъ рече быти; егѡже нынѣ Святѣй  
 Тайнѣ покланяющеся, смиреннѡ  
 просѣмъ: оумирити мїръ, и спасти душы  
 наша.”

errant, et in aliud commutentur. Caelum non  
 erat, mare non erat, terra non erat, sed audi  
 dicentem David: ‘Ipse dixit et facta sunt, ipse  
 mandavit et creata sunt.’  
 16. Ergo tibi ut respondeam, non erat corpus  
 Christi ante consecrationem, sed post  
 consecrationem dico tibi, quia iam corpus est  
 Christi.”

“Christ’s word makes this sacrament, the  
 word of Christ is the one with which all was  
 created: the Lord speaks and the Heaven,  
 earth, sea and all creation is born. Therefore,  
 if the words of Lord Jesus Christ have such  
 power that what did not exist, begin to exist,  
 how much more efficacious is it, when that  
 which exists is converted into something  
 else? He Himself speaks and it comes into  
 being, he orders, and it is created: There  
 is not Body of Christ before consecration,  
 but after consecration the Body is already  
 Christ’s, as He Himself tells it to be: we  
 now bow down to His Holy Sacrament and  
 humbly beg to give peace to the world and to  
 save our souls.”

“14. Thus the expression of Christ performs this  
 sacrament.  
 15. What is the expression of Christ? Surely  
 that by which all things were made. The Lord  
 ordered, the heaven was made; the Lord  
 ordered, the earth was made; the Lord ordered,  
 the seas were made; the Lord ordered, every  
 creature was generated. You see then how the  
 creating expression of Christ is. If then there  
 is so great force in the expression of the Lord  
 Jesus, that those things might begin to be  
 which were not, how much more creating, than  
 those things be which were, and be changed  
 to something else. The heaven was not, the sea  
 was not, the earth was not, but hear David as  
 he says: ‘He spoke and they were made; He  
 commanded and they were created.’  
 16. Therefore, to reply you, there was no body  
 of Christ before consecration, but after the  
 consecration I say to you that now there is the  
 body of Christ. He Himself spoke and it was  
 made.”

The third *sticheron*<sup>860</sup> continues the explanation of the consecratory power of Christ’s words. The original text, which shows certain tautology – probably as an oratorical technique – was edited by the translator into a more concise stanza.

Table 16: Velikoe oubō i naročitoe tainstvo

4 <sup>th</sup> Sticheron, 3 <sup>rd</sup> tone (Apograp p. 2-3)	Ambrose, <i>De sacramentis</i> , IV, Ch. 5, 24–25
<p>“Великое оубѡ и нарочитое таинство,          еже Господь себесе ѡдожди манну:          но оуразумѣмъ, что есть ктому Манна          себесе, еда Тѣло Христа? Тѣло оубѡ          Христа, есть Небесъ Творца, мертвымъ          животь дающагѡ, манну бо ядушїи          оумроша, ядушїи же Христа Тѣло,          получаютъ ѡставленїе грѣхѡвъ, и          неумрутъ въ вѣки, се есть истинна, юже          исповѣдающимъ языкомъ, и сію любовїю          сердца содержащимъ Христос небесное          брашно даетъ, миръ и велїю милость.”</p>	<p>“24. Magnum quidem et venerabile, quod          manna Iudaeis pluit e caelo. Sed intellege: Quid          est amplius, manna de caelo an corpus Christi?          Corpus Christi utique, qui auctor est caeli.          Deinde manna qui manducavit, mortuus est,          qui manducaverit hoc corpus, fiet ei remissio          peccatorum et ‘non morietur in aeternum’.          25. Ergo non otiose dicis tu ‘amen’, iam in          spiritu confitens, quod accipias corpus Christi.          Cum ergo tu petieris, dicit tibi sacredos: ‘corpus          Christi’, et tu dicis: ‘amen’, hoc est: ‘verum.’          Quod confitetur lingua, teneat adfectus.”</p>

<sup>860</sup> Latin original from Ambrosius 1990, 142, 144; translated in *The Fathers of the Church* 1987, 302–303. My translation of the *sticheron*.

"A great and wonderful mystery, that the Lord rained down manna from heaven: but understand, what is the manna from heaven compared with the Body of Christ? The Body of Christ is of the Creator of Heaven, who gives life to the dead; those who ate the manna died, but those who eat the Body of Christ receive the forgiveness of sins and will not die forever, this is the truth, and to those who confess it with their tongues and have this love in their hearts, Christ will give heavenly food, peace and great mercy."

"24. Great and venerable indeed is the fact that manna rained upon the Jews from heaven. But understand! What is greater, manna from heaven or the body of Christ? Surely the body of Christ, who is the Author of heaven. Then, he who ate the manna died; he who has eaten this body will effect for himself remission of sins and 'shall not die forever.'

25. So you say not indifferently 'Amen', already confessing in spirit that you receive the body of Christ. Therefore, when you ask, the priest says to you: 'the body of Christ', and you say: 'Amen,' that is, 'truly.' What the tongue confesses let the affection hold."

This *sticheron*<sup>861</sup> is the fourth that can be identified as a translation of Ambrose's text. Despite a thorough search, no other parts of *De sacramentis* have yet been found to correspond with the remaining two *stichera*. The fact that new Church Slavonic hymnography was composed on the basis of a Latin theological treatise is a fascinating feature in the creation of the *Apograf*.

These *stichera* could be considered as an indication that the Ruthenian author relied on Ambrose via the Latin Rite *Corpus Christi* tradition in which *De sacramentis* was cited (though not in chant, but recited). Could it be, instead, that *De sacramentis* was used as direct source, independent of Aquinas' festal cycle? The theory of the *Corpus Christi* tradition as a mediator of the texts is somewhat undermined by the fact that the 1<sup>st</sup> *sticheron*, for instance, lacks an original in Aquinas' cycle. The 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> *stichera* find their Latin equivalents in *lectio* 11,<sup>862</sup> while references to the 4<sup>th</sup> *sticheron* can be found in *lectio* 4.<sup>863</sup> In other words, it can be seen that the *Corpus Christi* cycle compiled by Aquinas was not the only source for the author of the *Apograf*. There must have been a copy of Ambrose's teachings at hand.<sup>864</sup> Instead, the general *Corpus Christi* tradition was likely to provide orientation for the Ruthenian author in search for textual sources.

Having established the connection between these Latin and Ruthenian Church Slavonic texts, it would seem realistic to expect other such findings in the rest of the publication. Stylistically, the *Apograf* is especially characterised by relatively lengthy hymnographical stanzas, notably longer than usual in the Byzantine tradition, and a Scholastic explicitness in the content of the *stichera*, in particular. There is at least one more example of direct influence from a Latin source. It relates to the hymn *O Salutaris Hostia*, discussed in chapter 4.2.3, which had been translated into Church Slavonic and was chanted during the exposition of the Holy Sacrament already in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. A text very similar to the original was included in the *Apograf*, in the festal Canon:

<sup>861</sup> Latin original from Ambrosius 1990, 150; translated in *The Fathers of the Church* 1987, 305–306. My translation of the *sticheron*.

<sup>862</sup> Citation via Gratian, *De consecratione*, Dist. II, can. 55 = Ambrosius, *De sacramentis* IV, Ch. 4-5. See Walters, Corrigan & Ricketts 2006, 328–329.

<sup>863</sup> However, here the original text is not from *De sacramentis* but from Ambrose's *De mysteriis*, Ch. VIII, n. 47, cited via Gratian, *De consecratione*, Dist. II, can. 69. See Walters, Corrigan & Ricketts 2006, 271.

<sup>864</sup> No copy of *De sacramentis* has been noted in the inventory of the Suprasl' Monastery where the new publication was most likely compiled. See Шавинская 1998, 134–148.

Table 17: *O spasitel'naja Žertva (the Apograf)*

<b>"At the exposition of the Sacrament" РГБ, МДА 231908, f. 151v</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> troparion of the 6<sup>th</sup> Ode, Canon for the Matins, the Apograf (p. 10)</b>
О спасительная Жертва. Небесную отверзая дверь ярост востает вразжити. Подажд крѣпост немощным принеси во поможение. Единому во Троици, Господеви. Да будет вѣчная слава иже живот нам дарует во царствии, небесном.	О Спасительная жертва! Яже Небесную отверзаеши дверь, брани соодолѣвають вражныя, подаждь крѣпость, оускоряяй на помощь; возведи от истлѣнія животь нашъ.

The *troparion* text<sup>865</sup> is obviously a paraphrase of the translated hymn, originally composed by Aquinas for the Feast of *Corpus Christi*. Interestingly, it also implies that the earlier discussed practice was familiar to the author of the *Apograf*.

The last example of borrowing from the Latin liturgical tradition in the hymnography for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist has been identified, not surprisingly, in the *Apograf*. According to the Eastern Rite tradition, the *synaxarion* usually placed after the 6<sup>th</sup> Ode in the Canon at Matins explains the context and reasons for the particular commemoration. The *synaxarion* in the *Apograf* does this by relating the historical background of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist in the "Roxolanian" lands. A closer look at the text reveals it, however, a slightly edited translation of *lectio* 3 in the *Corpus Christi* Office, composed by Aquinas:

Table 18: *The Synaxarion*

<b>Synaxarion, the Apograf (p. 11)</b>	<b>Lectio III, Office of Corpus Christi</b>
Понеже достоитъ благочестивымъ людемъ торжественнѣ спасительныя, и зѣло чудесныя Тайны, сѣ есть: Тѣла Христова Праздникъ почитати, да нарочитѣ ѿ вѣрныхъ всемогущее, Божіе въ тайнѣ видимой, толика чудеса дѣйствующее присутствіе прославится: Вселенскій Папа Римскій Оурвань [IV] сея Тайны достоговѣніемъ возбужденъ, благочестивъ предреченнаго Праздника память, по Попразднству Пентекостѣ, сирѣчь по Сочествіи Святаго Духа, въ первый Четвертокъ всѣхъ вѣрныхъ торжествовати настави; Да всякъ благовѣрный, чрезъ Кругъ всего Года, сея Тайны къ спасенію оупотребляемый, тогжде времемя память Тѣла Христова благоговѣнно празднуетъ, въ еже Духъ Святыи сердце Оученикъ Христовыхъ исполнителнѣ сея Тайны тайная научи разумѣти. Егдаже ѿт предреченнаго Четвертка, чрезъ дни всея Седмица ѿт вѣрныхъ сей спасительныя Тайны Праздникъ начать народнѣ прославлятися, ѿт толь тойжде предреченный, Вселенскій, Римскій Архіерей, вмѣстѣ раздаянія вещественныхъ, присутственнѣ въ Церквехъ моленіемъ, сѣсть: на часехъ правильныхъ, нощныхъ, такожде и дневныхъ пребывающимъ, Апостольскою благодатію obroki духовныя, на отпущеніе грѣховъ, и къ полученію Царствія небеснаго даровати изволи.	Convenit itaque devotioni fidelium sollempniter recollere institutionem tam salutiferi tamquam mirabilis sacramenti, ut ineffabilem modum divine presencie in sacramento visibili veneremur, et laudetur dei potencia que in sacramento eodem tot mirabilia operatur [...]. [...] romanus pontifex Urbanus quartus huius sacramenti devotione affectus, pie statuit prefate institutionis memoriam prima feria quinta post octabas penthecostes a cunctis fidelibus celebrari, ut qui per totum anni circulum hoc sacramentuo utimur ad salutem, eius institutionem illo specialiter tempore recolamus, quo spiritus sanctus discipulorum corda edocuit ad plene cognoscenda huius mysteria sacramenti. Nam et in eodem tempore cepit hoc sacramentum a fidelibus frequentari. [...] Ut autem predicta quinta feria et per octavas sequentes eiusdem salutaris institutionis honorificentius agatur memoria et sollempnitas de hoc celebrior habeatur loco distributionem materialium que in ecclesiis cathedralibus largiuntur existentibus canonicis horis nocturnis pariterque diurnis prefatus romanus pontifex eis qui huiusmodi horis in hac sollempnitate personaliter in ecclesiis interessent stipendia spiritualia apostolica largitione concessit quatinus per hec fideles ad tanti festi celibritatem avidius et copiosius convenirent.

<sup>865</sup> "O saving Sacrifice! You who open the Heavenly door, the hostile armies are conquering, give strength, hasten to help; guide our lives out of corruption." Translation mine.

Оубо ктому и бывшій лѣта [1720] ѿ Рождества Христова въ Замойстю Синодъ, тамѣже ѿ всѣхъ Рѣкосянскихъ, или Рѣсскійскихъ Странъ собравшимися, благочестивыми Ѡтцы, въ Святой Преестественной Тайнѣ, Тѣло Христово оусердно исповѣдавшими, оуоставленный тояже спасительныи и животворящия Тайны, подвидомъ Хлѣба, Тѣла Христова Праздникъ, такожде чрезъ всю Седмицу ѿ прежде реченнаго Четвертка наченше, ѡхотно благоговѣннымъ всенародно людемъ торжествовати оутверди въ славу Богу; емуже да будетъ ѿ всякѣя твари честь, хваленіе, благословеніе, благодареніе, и поклоненіе, въ вѣки Аминь.

"Since it is fitting for the pious people to festively honour the saving and very wonderful Sacraments, that is, the Feast of the Body of Christ, let the all-powerful presence of God, visible in the Sacrament, working so many miracles, be praised by the believers: the Ecumenical Roman Pope Urban IV, inspired by the reverence for the Sacrament, piously prescribed the memory of the aforementioned Feast, after the post-feast of Pentecost, that is, after the Descent of the Holy Spirit, on the first Thursday to be celebrated by all faithful; Let all people who for their salvation participate in this Sacrament throughout the year, at this time reverently celebrate the memory of the Body of Christ, in which the Holy Spirit taught the heart(s) of the disciples of Christ to wholly understand the mystery of this Sacrament. For when this Feast of the saving Sacrament began to be celebrated by the faithful from the aforementioned Thursday through the days of the whole week [7 days], the also aforementioned Ecumenical Roman Hierarch, instead of distributing material things to those present in the church in prayer, that is: during proper times, night as well as day, allowed the spiritual salaries of the Apostolic grace to be given, for the remission of sins, and for obtaining the heavenly Kingdom. For this, also at the Council in Zamość, that was in the year 1720 after the Birth of Christ, by the devout fathers, coming together from all Roxolanian, or Russian, lands, and having diligently confessed the Body of Christ in the Holy Supernatural Sacrament, this Feast of the saving and life-giving Sacrament, in the form of bread, the Body of Christ, was decreed, and confirmed similarly through the week that begins with the above-mentioned Thursday to be eagerly celebrated by all pious people to the glory of God; to Him let all creation give honour, praise, blessing, thanksgiving and worship forever, amen."

"It is fitting therefore for the devotion of the faithful, solemnly to honor again the institution of such a salubrious and miraculous sacrament, so that we may venerate the ineffable mode of the divine presence in a visible sacrament, and so that the power of God may be praised, which, in the same sacrament, works so many miracles [...]. [...] the Roman Pope Urban IV, influenced by the devotion of this sacrament, piously decreed commemoration of the aforementioned institution on feria five after the octave of Pentecost, to be celebrated by all the faithful, so that we, who use this sacrament throughout the year for salvation, may honor again, at that time especially, its institution, by which the Holy Spirit taught the hearts of the disciples to understand fully the mysteries of this sacrament. For at the same time this sacrament began to be frequented by the faithful. [...] So that, on the aforesaid feria five and the following octave, remembrance of this same saving institution may be performed more honorably and its ceremony have greater participation, in place of the distributions of material goods that are bestowed in cathedral churches, during current established times, night as well as day, the aforesaid Roman pope grants to those who, during its times, personally take part in this ceremony at church spiritual stipends through apostolic generosity, so that by them the faithful more eagerly and more numerous may come together for he celebration of so great a feast."

The Latin text is transformed into a Ruthenian *synaxarion*<sup>866</sup> by concluding it with a paragraph explaining the official adoption of the feast at the Council of Zamość in 1720. It is interesting that

<sup>866</sup> My translation of the *synaxarion*. Translation of the Latin original from Walters, Corrigan & Ricketts 2006, 263–264.

here the feast is defined solely as a commemoration of the Body of Christ, under the species of bread. This reflected the official decree, issued by the Council, which was written in Latin and thus used the Latin term *festum Corporis Christi*. In practice, however, Ruthenian liturgical texts generally referred to both the Body and the Blood of Christ.

This survey of the Latin roots identifiable in the Ruthenian texts for the new feast reveals the rather limited use of existing Latin material. The majority of the new texts were original Church Slavonic compositions. Yet the adaptations of Ambrose's teachings and texts from the *Corpus Christi* liturgical cycle are interesting examples of the interplay between the Ruthenian feast and the original Roman Catholic feast. Moreover, on the basis of the analysed examples, it is possible to see that there was clear division within the Ruthenian practice: all texts of Latin origin were included in the *Apograf* alone.

### 5.2.4 Uncovering the Greek sources

The *Apograf* and the *Voslédovaniija* accommodated the Feast of the Holy Eucharist to Ruthenian liturgical use. Yet the Ruthenians were not the first to include the Latin-based feast in the Eastern Rite. By the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the feast had been known among Italo-Byzantine Christians for approximately four centuries. It is likely that the liturgical tradition established in the Greek language around the Feast of *Corpus Christi* was familiar to several Ruthenian students who graduated from the Greek College of St Athanasius in Rome and, after their return, occupied leading positions in the Basilian Order and in the whole Uniate Church. This tradition had evolved in the course of the centuries: a number of early Greek texts were likely to have been translated from Latin,<sup>867</sup> while the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup>-century collections include a considerable number of loans from the existing Byzantine liturgical texts, most characteristically from pre-Communion tradition and the hymnography for Maundy Thursday.<sup>868</sup>

We shall now examine the Italo-Byzantine sources in order to point out possible correspondences between them and the new Ruthenian publications. The analysis of the early Office for the feast revealed no considerable influence from the Italo-Byzantine tradition: the practices mostly coincided in the use of psalm verses and other biblical readings. The *Apograf* and the *Voslédovaniija*, instead, point to the familiarity of the Ruthenian authors with the Italo-Byzantine festal tradition in its 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup>-century form.

The first point of correspondence concerns the general scope of liturgical texts. The Italo-Byzantine festal cycles were structured according to the Eastern Rite tradition. There was no intention of introducing anything new, but the feast was adapted to the Eastern Rite as discreetly as possible: the essence of the commemoration was conveyed via traditional hymnographical genres, *stichera*, *troparia*, *heirmoi*, and so forth, which were placed in the framework of Vespers, Compline, Matins, Divine Liturgy and occasionally also the Hours. The liturgical cycles compiled for Ruthenian use followed the same structure. Perhaps this was a principle so obvious to those involved that no alternative way was even considered; moreover, the Ruthenians hardly needed any example from other traditions to follow their own liturgical rite. Nevertheless, the similarity of approach to the new feast in the two cultures is striking, as is the fact that neither the Italo-Byzantines nor the Ruthenians provide any liturgical content or instructions for the most characteristic content of the feast: the procession with the Holy Gifts.

The clearest evidence of the Italo-Byzantine influence on Ruthenian liturgical texts can be found in the Greek hymnography for Vespers,<sup>869</sup> in the *stichera*. Most interestingly, these are predominantly

<sup>867</sup> The rubrics included in *Typikon* (1299/1300) give evidence of the existence of such translations. Parenti 2004, 167.

<sup>868</sup> See the content in *NEON ANΘOΛOΓION* (1598) and *ΩΡΟΛΟΓION* (1677), for example.

<sup>869</sup> The 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup>-century Italo-Byzantine sources for the Vespers are here limited to two: *NEON ANΘOΛOΓION* by Antonios Arkoudios (1598) and the Grottaferrata *ΩΡΟΛΟΓION* (1677), since Cardinal Nerli's *ΑΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΚΟΝ*

the same *stichera* we earlier attributed to the existing Church Slavonic tradition, featured in both Ruthenian publications, the *Apograpf* and the *Voslǣdovanija*. There are six corresponding *stichera* with two psalm verses associated with them:

Table 19: Greek sources

Genre	<i>Neon Anthologion</i> (1598)	<i>Horologion</i> (1677)	<i>Apograpf</i> (c. 1730s)	<i>Voslǣdovanija</i> (1738)	Original source
<b>1<sup>st</sup> sticheron at psalm 140</b>	Το μέγα μυστήριον (p. 371)	Το μέγα μυστήριον (p. 615)	Великое таинство (Small Vespers, p. 1)	Великое таинство (p. 3)	Holy Wednesday Compline, Ode 9, 1 <sup>st</sup> troparion
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> sticheron at psalm 140</b>	Σκηνή ἐπουράνιος (p. 371)	Σκηνή ἐπουράνιος (p. 615)	Снь Небесная (Small Vespers, p. 1)	Снь Небесная (p. 3)	Holy Wednesday Compline, Ode 9, 2 <sup>nd</sup> troparion
<b>Doxasticon at psalm 140</b>	Δεῦτε φιλέοργοι πιστοὶ (p. 371)	-	Прійдѣте празнолюбци (Small Vespers, p. 1)	Прійдѣте празнолюбци (p. 3)	-
<b>Aposticha, 1<sup>st</sup> sticheron</b>	Ἀρτον οὐράνιον ὕμνοις (p. 374)	-	Хлѣбъ небесный (Great Vespers, p. 5)	Хлѣбъ небесный (p. 5)	-
<b>Verse after 1<sup>st</sup> sticheron</b>	Ἀρτον ἀγγέλων ἔφαγεν ἄνθρωπος	-	Хлѣбъ Ангелскій яде чловѣкъ (p. 6)	Хлѣбъ Ангелскій яде чловѣкъ (p. 5)	Psalm 77:25
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> sticheron</b>	Ἐν τῇ τοῦ δείπνου ἐσπέρᾳ (p. 374)	-	На Вечери самого себе даль еси (Great Vespers, p. 6)	На Вечери самого себе даль еси (p. 5)	-
<b>Verse after 2<sup>nd</sup> sticheron</b>	Καὶ ἔβρεξεω αὐτοῖς μάννα φαγεῖν	-	И ѡдожди имъ Манну ясти (p. 6)	И ѡдожди имъ манну ясти (p. 5)	Psalm 77:24
<b>3<sup>rd</sup> sticheron</b>	Ὁ Θεῖον πάνσεπτον σῶμα (p. 374)	-	Ω Божественное, и всечестное Тѣло (Great Vespers, p. 6)	О Божественное. и всечестное Тѣло (p. 5)	-
<b>Doxasticon</b>	Ὁ Θαύματος παραδόξη (p. 374)	-	-	Ω преславное чудо (p. 5)	-

As can be seen, it was not a Ruthenian innovation to borrow the *troparia* from the existing Holy Wednesday texts and use them as the first two *stichera* in the Vespers. The Italo-Byzantines obviously established this practice. Yet instead of following the Italo-Byzantine practice of borrowing yet another text from the same Ode for the third *sticheron*, *Τὰς χεῖρας* (2<sup>nd</sup> troparion), the Ruthenians used another one, *Хлѣбъ благословиѣ* (4<sup>th</sup> troparion).<sup>870</sup>

The five other *stichera* that the Ruthenians obviously translated from the Italo-Byzantine sources show no relation to any earlier existing Eastern Rite texts. We can thus assume that these were original texts composed for Arkoudios's *Anthology* and later adopted by the Ruthenians.

(1683) features only the Office for the Divine Liturgy.

<sup>870</sup> *Вослѣдованія* 1738, 3; *Апографъ* s.a., 1.

The *Voslǵdovaniija* presents a fuller set than the *Apograp* by including the *doxasticon* for *stichera aposticha*, *О преславное чудо*, which is a literal translation of the Greek *Ω θαύματος παραδόξη* in Arkoudios's *Anthology*.

Another example of possible Italo-Byzantine influence can be detected in the adoption of the traditional Pre-Communion Canon as the festal Canon in the *Voslǵdovaniija*. Here we have, firstly, an interesting piece of evidence of the variation in pre-Communion prayer practice within the Eastern Rite. The seemingly earliest pre-Communion Canon text, in 2<sup>nd</sup> tone, was fixed in Byzantine manuscripts in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It was structured on an alphabetical *akrostikon* beginning with *troparion* Ἄρτος ζωῆς ("Bread of Life", in Church Slavonic translation Хлѣбъ живота), the first *heirmos* being Δεῦτε λαοὶ ("Come, O people", *Грядѣте людѣе*).<sup>871</sup> In Eastern Slavic practice, there existed an alternative Canon, also in 2<sup>nd</sup> tone, that featured *troparia* beginning with *Виждѣ душе* ("See, O soul") and *heirmoi* beginning with the same *Грядѣте людѣе* ("Come, O people").<sup>872</sup> These two Canons were used in Ruthenian practice in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The version with *Виждѣ душе* appears to have been predominant in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>873</sup>

In their choice for the Canon at festal Matins of *Corpus Domini*, the Italo-Byzantines used the Greek version of the alternative Canon: *heirmos* Δεῦτε λαοὶ ("Come, O people") and *troparion* Βλέπε ψυχή ("See, O soul")<sup>874</sup>. This Canon is featured in both the *Neon Anthologion* (1598) and the *Grottaferrata Horologion* (1677).<sup>875</sup> The alternative Canon with *troparion* Ἄρτος ζωῆς was used in the *Grottaferrata Horologion* as the Canon at festal Compline.<sup>876</sup> Rather interestingly, when choosing the Canon text for the Matins, the Ruthenian author of the *Voslǵdovaniija* did not follow the Italo-Byzantine example by using the Canon text with *troparion* *Виждѣ душе* – in other words, the common Ruthenian Pre-Communion Canon of the 16<sup>th</sup> century – but turned to the alternative text with *troparion* Хлѣбъ живота, thus complying with the Canon for Compline in the *Grottaferrata*. Moreover, the Ruthenian use of the Canon text is more extensive than in the Greek source where each Ode includes only two *troparia* and a *theotokion*, whereas the *Voslǵdovaniija* consistently provides three *troparia* and a *theotokion* for every Ode.<sup>877</sup> It is, of course, entirely possible that the compilers of the *Voslǵdovaniija* chose the particular Canon redaction without any influence from an existing Italo-Byzantine tradition, especially as the said text seems to have become common in Ruthenian use in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>878</sup> Nevertheless, it is equally likely that the Italo-Byzantine practice influenced the choice.

Familiarity with the Italo-Byzantine tradition was possibly reflected in the Ruthenian publications in more than direct hymnographical loans. The choice for the first *paremia* reading (Exodus 19:10–19), besides mirroring the Eastern Rite Maundy Thursday service, might have been

<sup>871</sup> Желтов, Михаил. "Евхаристия в Византии в XI в." *Православная Энциклопедия* т. 17: ЕВХАРИСТИЯ. ЧАСТЬ II. Москва 2010. [www.pravenc.ru/text/351651.html]

<sup>872</sup> The selection of *heirmoi* in the two Canons was not, however, completely identical. Желтов 2010.

<sup>873</sup> See, for example, the prayers in preparation for Holy Communion in a Ruthenian *Horologion* from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, LMAB F 19-223, f. 47r; also the prayerbook (*Молитвы повседневные*) printed by the Vilna Brotherhood in 1596. This Canon text represents the tradition commonly known as "Iosif's redaction", named after Muscovite Patriarch Iosif under whose instructions liturgical books appeared in print in the 1640s–50s. *Древнеправославный молитвенник* / *Old Orthodox Prayer Book* 1986, 283–291. After the Nikonian reforms in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, the Canon remained in the use of Old Believers. Желтов 2010.

<sup>874</sup> Interestingly, however, Želtov notes that no original Greek text for the particular Slavic Canon has yet been revealed. Желтов 2010. In Italo-Byzantine practice, as we can see, a Greek text was nevertheless used.

<sup>875</sup> NEON ANΘOΛOΓION 1598, 376–379; ΩΡΟΛΟΓION 1677, 622–626.

<sup>876</sup> ΩΡΟΛΟΓION 1677, 617–621.

<sup>877</sup> Apart from the 9<sup>th</sup> Ode, the *Horologion* usually excludes the *troparion* preceded by "Glory", proceeding directly to the *theotokion*.

<sup>878</sup> This redaction can be found in several 18<sup>th</sup>-century prayer books, for example, *Евхолоуиѳон сирѣчь Молитвенникъ* (Suprasl' 1766, LMAB R-28/217), p. 659.

influenced by its presence in the Italo-Byzantine festal Vespers.<sup>879</sup> Moreover, the adaptation of Aquinas' *lectio* as a *synaxarion* in the *Apograf*, which clearly refers to the Latin *Corpus Christi* tradition, might also have been influenced by Italo-Byzantine practice. Arkoudios's *Neon Anthologion* places the *synaxarion* before the Antiphons in the Matins and attributes the text openly to Aquinas, as an edited version.<sup>880</sup> In spite of the similar use of the text in these two Eastern Rite traditions, the Ruthenian adaptation nevertheless seems to follow the Latin text more carefully than the Greek one; moreover, the *Apograf* version is longer due to its independent conclusion.

These examples, particularly the *stichera*, support the suggestion that the Ruthenians were familiar with the Italo-Byzantine festal tradition either through personal contact or via printed liturgical material. No evidence of Italo-Byzantine publications has, however, been found in the Ruthenian book collections, for example the inventories of the Suprasl' Monastery. It remains likely that part of the new hymnography was created in Rome by translating existing Italo-Byzantine texts. This would support the suggestion of the existence of a Ruthenian proto-text that was compiled on the basis of the Greek practice, for the part of the Vespers, at least. Yet it is equally possible to argue that the *Voslédovaniija*, with its five borrowed *stichera* and the Pre-Communion Canon, shows a stronger relation to the Italo-Byzantine tradition and could thus logically be seen as the basis for later texts.

### 5.3 MUSICAL PERFORMANCE OF THE FEAST

The general challenge for the study of hymnography is crystallised in the fact that texts themselves do not transmit any actual music or sound. Thus the analysis of the musical performance is always to a certain extent hypothetical. The Feast of the Holy Eucharist is no exception. We know of its musical character only to the extent that is revealed in the written sources. What the sources confirm, fascinatingly, is an unswaying loyalty to the Eastern Rite liturgical-musical tradition. This chapter demonstrates the clear intention to root the new hymnography in the system of eight church tones, the *oktoechos*, by prescribing each text to a particular tone and often also to a model

<sup>879</sup> This feature can be found in all consulted Italo-Byzantine sources, from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>880</sup> "[...] ἐκ χειριδίου τοῦ Μακαρίου Θωμᾶ τοῦ Ακουῖνου, ἐκ τῆς Ρωμαϊδος φωνῆς κατὰ παράφρασιν ἐξεληνθέν. Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἁγίας πεντηκοστῆς αἱ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καρδιαὶ διδασχθεῖσαι διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως χάριτός τε, καὶ δωρεᾶς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἁρτίως ἐπέγνωσαν τὴν τῶν θείων μυστηρίων δύναμιν τε καὶ θεότητα. Ἐκτοτὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πιστοῖς ταῦτα τὰ θεία μυστήρια ἤρξαντο συχνάζεσθαι. Τῇ γὰρ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ πέμπτῃ (ἡνίκα τοῦ μυστικοῦ δείπνου μνημονεύομεν) ἀνάμνησιν ποιούμεν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς θείαις ἀκολουθίαις καὶ ἱεροτελεταῖς περὶ τῶν ἀχράντων μυστηρίων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἰδίως, ἐπεὶ τότε καὶ περὶ τῶν παθῶν μνεῖαν ποιούμεθα. Διὸ Οὐρβανὸς ὁ τέταρτος τῶν Ρωμαίων ἄκρος ἀρχιερεὺς εὐδιαθέτως ἔχων, καὶ εὐλαβούμενος τὸ δε τὸ θεῖον μυστήριον, καὶ κατανοήσας νουνεχῶς τὰς κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν γινομένας θείας ἐνεργείας, ἀσεβῶς ἐθεσπίστω διαταξάμενος. Ἵνα τῇ πέμπτῃ τῇ μετὰ τὴν κυριακὴν τῶν ἁγίων πάντων (τὴν τῆς ἁγίας πεντηκοστῆς ὀγδοᾶδα καλουμένην) πάντες οἱ καθ' ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ περικύκλιον χρώμενοι πρὸς ψυχικὴν σωτηρίαν. Τοῖς δὲ τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀχράντοις ἀθανάτοις, ἐπουρανοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ μυστηρίοις σεβασμίως πανηγυρίζωσι καὶ μεγάλως δοξολογῶσι τὴν πανθαύμαστον ταύτην καὶ μεγίστην ἑορτὴν τῆς τοῦ κυριακοῦ σώματος φημί, καὶ αἵματος ἀναμνήσεως ἐξαιρέτως καὶ ἐπισήμως, μεθ' ἑορτάζουσιν τε ἔτι καὶ ἄχρι τῆς ὀγδοῆς ἡμέρας. Ὅθεν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑλικῶν μεταδόσεων τῶν χορηγουμένων τοῖς ὑπηρετοῦσί τε καὶ συλλειτουργοῦσιν ἅμα καὶ διακονοῦσιν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς νυχθημέροις ἀκολουθίαις, ἔτι καὶ προπομπαῖς ἐφ' ὅλον τὸ διάστημα τῆς δε τῆς ὀγδοᾶδος ἐν ταῖς καθεδρिकाῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ὁ ῥηθεὶς Ρωμαίων ἄκρος ἀρχιερεὺς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ φόβῳ θεοῦ συνεισερχομένοις καὶ λιτανεύουσιν ἐν ταῖς ῥηθείσειν ἀκολουθείαις ταῖς κατ' ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄδομέναις, ἀποστολικὴ χορηγήσει πνευματικὰς μισθοποδέδοται χάριτας. Τούτου χάριν ἅπαντες ὁλοψύχως καὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἑορτάζοντες μνεῖαν τὴν ῥηθείσαν ποιούμενος, καὶ τὴν ἀφάτῳ τρόπῳ ἀοράτως ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις δώροις ὅλην θεότητα μετὰ τρόμου ὑμνοῦμεν, αἰνοῦντές τε καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς πανθαυμάστως καὶ πανσόφως ἐνεργοῦσιν ἐξουσίαν, παρ' ἧς μεγάλως εὐεργετηθέντες, τὰς ὀφειλομένας εὐχαριστίας ἀναπέμπομεν αὐτῷ τῷ ἐν τριάδι ὑμνουμένῳ, καὶ ἐν μονάδι προσκυνουμένῳ θεῷ. Τῇ ἀφάτῳ σου εὐσπλαχνία Χριστέ ὁ θεὸς ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. Ἀμήν." I am grateful to Jaakko Olkinuora for the transliteration of the text from *NEON ANΘOΛOΓION* 1598, 375–376.

melody. Musical manuscripts from the period occasionally point to their use during the festivities of the Holy Eucharist. Moreover, we find one rare example of notated chant for the feast, which serves as a further confirmation of the close ties between traditional Slavic church monody (the *Znamenny* chant) and Uniate chant practice.

### 5.3.1 Oktoechos as the musical framework

The creators of new hymnography for the Ruthenian Feast of the Holy Eucharist aimed at full Easternisation of the originally Latin Rite feast. One technique of adaptation was to root the new – or borrowed – texts in the existing musical tradition of the Ruthenian Church. During the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, different musical styles had become established in the Kievan Church. Polyphonic compositions flourished and the harmonisation of liturgical singing during performance seems to have been widespread. Old plainchant nevertheless remained at the core of liturgical chant and continued to be transcribed in manuscripts and printed chant books throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The old church monody, whether accompanied in practice by other voices or not, was based on the principle of *oktoechos*, the eight-tone system, in which almost all chanted texts were attributed to a specific tone. As we already saw in the early Office for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, the tonal prescriptions accompanied the new texts almost from the beginning; however, some wavering could be detected in the consistency with which certain texts were marked.

The association with a certain tone was reinforced by a common practice of model melodies, the *podobny*. In Slavic tradition, a *podobny* denoted an existing piece of chant which served mainly as a musical model for the new composition.<sup>881</sup> In other words, a new text was prescribed to the melody of an existing chant whose incipit was marked next to the tonal prescription. The new hymnography for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist was attributed to a wide range of *podobny*:

Table 20: The *podobny*

Genre	The <i>Apograf</i>	The <i>Voslǣdovanija</i>
<b>Sticheron</b>	Небеснымъ чиномъ радованіе, 1 <sup>st</sup> tone	Небеснымъ чиномъ радованіе, 1 <sup>st</sup> tone
	О дивное чудо, 1 <sup>st</sup> tone	О дивное чудо, 1 <sup>st</sup> tone
	Доме Ефравовъ, 2 <sup>nd</sup> tone	Доме Ефравовъ, 2 <sup>nd</sup> tone
		Яко добля въ мученицехъ, 4 <sup>th</sup> tone
	Все оупованіе, 6 <sup>th</sup> tone	
	Тридневно, 6 <sup>th</sup> tone	Тридневно, 6 <sup>th</sup> tone
<b>Kathisma</b>	Камени знаменанну, 1 <sup>st</sup> tone	Камени знаменанну, 1 <sup>st</sup> tone
	Гробъ твой Спасе, 1 <sup>st</sup> tone	
	Благообразный Іосифъ, 2 <sup>nd</sup> tone	
	Христосъ отъ мертвыхъ воста, 3 <sup>rd</sup> tone	
	Красотъ Дѣвства, 3 <sup>rd</sup> tone	Красотъ Дѣвства, 3 <sup>rd</sup> tone
	Оудивися Іосифъ, 4 <sup>th</sup> tone	
	Крестъ Господень, 5 <sup>th</sup> tone	
	Ненаемая, 6 <sup>th</sup> tone	
	Повелѣнное таинство, 8 <sup>th</sup> tone	
	Явился, 4 <sup>th</sup> tone	
<b>Kontakion</b>	Явился еси, 4 <sup>th</sup> tone	

The majority of the *podobny* featured in the table belong to the commonly used model melodies in Slavic liturgical chant tradition. In this way, the musical character of the new festal

<sup>881</sup> In Byzantine practice the new composition also imitated the metric structure of the model; however, in the translation of Greek texts into Church Slavonic, the metric character was difficult to preserve.

hymnography was already familiar to the faithful, which obviously promoted the adoption of the feast. Apart from texts chanted to *podoben* melodies, the *oktoechos* encompassed the whole liturgical cycle in the sense that no chanted text was left without a tonal prescription. This applies to both Ruthenian publications. The “Ambrosian” *stichera* in the *Apograf*, for example, are marked with the prescription “3<sup>rd</sup> tone”.

A closer comparison of the musical practices established in the *Apograf* and the *Voslědovaniija* reveals some interesting inconsistency in the use of the model melodies and tonal prescriptions. For example, the *kathisma* *Ядыи Владыко*, prescribed in the *Apograf* to the 4<sup>th</sup> tone, appears in the *Voslědovaniija* under the prescription “1<sup>st</sup> tone, *podoben*: Камени знаменанну”. Another inconsistency is found in Vespers on the evening of the feast, where four *stichera* at psalm 140 (starting with *Архїерей пре(д)вѣчный*), featured in both publications, are marked with different tonal prescriptions: as the 6<sup>th</sup> tone *podoben* *Все оупованіе* in the *Apograf* and as the 2<sup>nd</sup> tone *samoglasen* (independent melody) in the *Voslědovaniija*.

The most interesting musical transgression can be noted in the above-mentioned *stichera* at psalm 140 for the actual festal Vespers, which turned out to be loans from the Byzantine Holy Wednesday Compline, adopted by Ruthenians possibly under Italo-Byzantine influence. The *Apograf* marks these *stichera* (*Великое таинство*, *Снь Небесная* and *Хлѣбъ благословиѣ*) to be chanted according to the *podoben* *Небеснымъ чиномъ радованіе*, 1<sup>st</sup> tone. The *Voslědovaniija* prescribes them to the 6<sup>th</sup> tone *podoben* *Тридневно*. Here the *Voslědovaniija* has retained the tonal prescription of the original texts (6<sup>th</sup> tone).<sup>882</sup> Both publications imply a certain relaxation of hymnographical genres, since in the original source, the texts are not treated as *stichera* but they constitute the *troparia* in the 9<sup>th</sup> Ode of *Triodion* at Compline. After all, genres such as *stichera* and *troparia* are not simply interchangeable, although in this case, the *troparia* were most certainly no longer chanted.<sup>883</sup>

Such inconsistencies, as well as changes of tonal prescription that we saw in the Office, raise questions about the early musical performance. Why did the musical practices vary? Was a tonal prescription merely a random choice made by the compilers of the publications? How consistently did the performance of new texts actually follow the prescribed model melodies? The predominant sources of liturgical chant used in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup>-century Eastern Rite Churches, the *Irmologion* manuscripts, provide some information about the actual performance by referring to the Feast of the Holy Eucharist in their marginal inscriptions. This information is rather limited – inscriptions have been discovered in just three manuscripts – but they point to practices established both in the *Apograf* and in the *Voslědovaniija*. An *Irmologion* dated to the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century contains a marking next to the 9<sup>th</sup> *heirmos* *Весь еси желание* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> tone: “Божіму Тѣлу” (“to the [Feast of the] Body of God”).<sup>884</sup> This was indeed the concluding *heirmos* in the festal Canon printed in the *Voslědovaniija*.<sup>885</sup> References to the same Canon can be found in another *Irmologion*, dated to 1659, where the *heirmoi* selected for the feast have been marked with symbol of a circle with a cross inside, or with the word “Эвхарист” (“Eucharist”).<sup>886</sup> It is likely that these inscriptions were added by a much later hand than by the original copyist of the manuscript. This, of course, makes sense since the 2<sup>nd</sup> tone Canon was established as the festal Canon only in 1738, when the *Voslědovaniija*

<sup>882</sup> In the Italo-Byzantine practice, these *stichera* are also prescribed to the 6<sup>th</sup>, i.e., plagal 2<sup>nd</sup> tone. Arkoudios even accompanies the prescription with a model melody: *Ασπόρου συλλήψεως*, which belongs to the genre of Canon *heirmoi*. See NEON ANΘΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ 1598, 371.

<sup>883</sup> The custom of chanting the *troparia* of a Canon in full had withered in Eastern Slavic practice. In Moscow, the Stoglav Council of 1551 had confirmed the new practice of reciting rather than chanting these texts.

<sup>884</sup> ИРЛИ Петерц 101, f. 227r.

<sup>885</sup> *Вослѣдованія* 1738, 11.

<sup>886</sup> ЛНБ АСП (Петр.) 96, ff. 96v–114v. The marked *heirmoi* are the 1<sup>st</sup> *Грядѣте людїе*, 3<sup>rd</sup> *На камени мя вѣры*, 5<sup>th</sup> *Просвѣщенїе во тмѣ*, 6<sup>th</sup> *Бездна грѣхов* (in the *Voslědovaniija*: *Во безднѣ грѣховнѣ*), 7<sup>th</sup> *Тѣлу златому* (in the *Voslědovaniija*: *О тѣлѣ златѣ*), 8<sup>th</sup> *О подобїи златѣ*, 9<sup>th</sup> *Весь еси желание*. See *Вослѣдованія* 1738, 8–11.

was printed. In contrast the third *Irmologion* quite likely reflects a contemporary practice. The manuscript is dated to 1746, to the Church of the Transfiguration in Vitebsk, and it points to the *heirmoi* from the Canon of Maundy Thursday as to be chanted during the Feast of the “Eucharist” and of the “Body”.<sup>887</sup> As we saw earlier, the *heirmoi* of Maundy Thursday were used in the festal Canon published in the *Apograf*.<sup>888</sup> The markings in this particular *Irmologion* thus prove that the *Apograf* redaction of festal hymnography was used in the town of Vitebsk approximately a decade after its publication at another northern location, the Monastery of Suprasl’.

These inscriptions serve as evidence of the performance of the new hymnography which, as Eastern Rite hymnography in general, was not accompanied by notation but referred to the *oktoechos* and the *podoben* melodies for musical models. Because both the *Apograf* and the *Voslědovanija* based their festal *heirmoi* on existing hymnography, the chanter could thus find notated scores corresponding to the printed texts by turning to a musical *Irmologion*.

### 5.3.2 The notated *stichera O divnoe čudo* for Matins

More evidence of the actual musical performance may be found in the only (to our knowledge) preserved fragment of notated liturgical chant for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, written in 18<sup>th</sup> century Kievan square notation and placed in an *Irmologion* anthology from the Suprasl’ Monastery (1638-1639).<sup>889</sup> The *stichera* for the festal Matins are written on one folio, somewhat carelessly bound into the *Irmologion* (the *verso* side of the folio precedes the titled *recto* side). The fragment consists of the first three *stichera* at psalms 148–150; however, the third *sticheron* is incomplete.<sup>890</sup> It implies the existence of a fuller set of notated scores for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist from which the folio in question was at some point removed.

The fragment is titled “On Thursday of the 9<sup>th</sup> week of the Apostles’ Fast. *Stichera* at ‘Hvalěteh’ [‘Praises’] at the [Feast of the] Body of God”.<sup>891</sup> There is no indication of the tone or the *podoben*, but the initial phrase in each *stichera*, *O divnoe čudo* (О дивное чудо), indicates a relation to the highly common 1<sup>st</sup> tone *podoben* from the hymnography for the Dormition of the Mother of God. This suggestion is, of course, confirmed by the tonal prescriptions for these particular *stichera* texts in both the *Apograf* and the *Voslědovanija*.<sup>892</sup> It is thus possible to turn to the analysis of the actual musical correspondence between the notated *stichera* and its model, the *podoben*. For practical reasons, this analysis involves only the first *sticheron* as a representative of the three. As a source of comparison, I have used the *podoben O divnoe čudo* transcribed from a Vitebsk *Irmologion* dated

<sup>887</sup> РНБ Кап. F.12, ff. 113v, 115v, 118v. Information from Герасимова 2003, 19.

<sup>888</sup> *Апографъ* s.a., 8–12.

<sup>889</sup> LMAF F 19-116, ff. 287r–287v. Concerning the dating of the fragment, see chapter 1.2.2.

<sup>890</sup> Here are the *sticheron* texts from the notated fragment (in the correct page order):

1<sup>st</sup> *sticheron* (f. 287v): О ди(в)ное чудо / источник жизни на престолѣ зрится и челоуѣкомъ въ снѣд дается / веселися церкви божественная / хлѣбомъ плоти христовы преукрашенная / возопиемъ върнии / иоанна богослова имуща чинопочинальника / и слово плотъ бысть и вселися въ ны / и видѣхомъ славу его яко едиnorodнаго отъ отца.

2<sup>nd</sup> *sticheron*: О дивное чудо / иже въ маннѣ преобразуемый Богъ истинный / отъ Бога истинна / рожденный восприя челоуѣческая плоти естество / веселися [f. 287r] днесъ роду челоуѣчъ / въдѣй бога во плоти себе тебѣ дающая / возопийъ веселящаяся и оусердно бога благодаряще / и слово плотъ бысть и вселися въ ны / и видѣхомъ славу его яко едиnorodнаго отъ отца.

3<sup>rd</sup> *sticheron*: О дивное чудо / закла премудростъ своя жертвенная / и черпа въ чаши своей вино / и оуготова трапезу всѣхъ къ себѣ возывающе / прийдѣте ядѣте мой хлѣбъ / и пѣйте вино еже черпахъ вамъ / веселѣтеся царие / бл(а)годарите святителие / яко слово плотъ сый и вселися въ ны / и видѣхомъ славу [no ending].

<sup>891</sup> “В четвертокъ ѿ недели Петрова посту. Стихиры на Хвалѣхъ Божому Тѣлу.” LMAF F 19-116, f. 287v. The “9<sup>th</sup> week” referred to the distance of the feast from Easter, since it was Easter that dictated the date of Pentecost and thus also of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, celebrated on the Thursday following the first Sunday after Pentecost (Sunday of All Saints). Since the Apostles’ Fast began on that Sunday, the feast always coincided with the fasting period.

<sup>892</sup> See the comparison made between the *podoben* and the first *sticheron* in chapter 5.3.2.

*Example 6: Comparison of the 1<sup>st</sup> sticheron with the podobn*

О ди(в) - но - е - чу - до

О — ди — вно — е — чу — — — до

*Eucharist*


и - стоу - ник жи - з - ни

*Dormition*

И - - - СТО - ЧНИК\_ ЖИ - ЗНИ

Е.  на пре-сто-лѣ зрит-ся

[illegible]

E. 

D. 

Е. 

D. 

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E.  ве - се - ли - ся цер - кви бо - же - ствен - на я \_\_\_\_\_

D.  Ве - се - ли - ся Геф - си - ма - ни и \_\_\_\_\_

E.  Хлѣ - бом. пло - ти хри - сто - вы пре - оу - кра - шен - на - я

D.  Бо - го - ро - - - ди - чий свя - тых \_\_\_\_\_ до - ме.

E.  во - зо - пи - ем \_\_\_\_\_ вѣр - ни и \_\_\_\_\_

D.  Во - зо - пи - ем \_\_\_\_\_ вѣр - ни - и \_\_\_\_\_

E.  И - о - ан - на Бо - го - сло - ва и - му - ще

D.  га - ври - и - ла \_\_\_\_\_ и - му - ще \_\_\_\_\_

E.  чи - но - на - чал - ни - - - ка

D.  чи - но - на - чал - ни - - - ка.

E.  и \_\_\_\_\_ сло - во \_\_\_\_\_ плот \_\_\_\_\_ быст \_\_\_\_\_

D.  О - бра - до - ван - на - я \_\_\_\_\_ ра - дуй - ся

E. и все - ли - ся вны и ви - дѣ - хом сла - ву е - го

D. с то бо - ю го - спод по - да - яй ми - ро - ви то -

E. я - ко е - ди - но - род - на - го ѿт ѿт - ца.

D. -бо - ю ве - ли - ю ми - лост.

The rhythmical variation and the differences in the distribution of syllables can be explained by the number of words and syllables in the two texts which, as we have seen, are not identical as such. It also needs to be remembered that in a manuscript tradition, scribes often modified chant melodies on the basis of local practices; thus the manuscripts reveal variation even between different versions of the *podoben*. What the comparison clearly reveals, however, is a striking loyalty to the existing chant tradition in the sense that the performance of new hymnography was intentionally rooted in the old musical system. As far as we can draw conclusions on the basis of one *stichera* set, the adaptation of the new feast to the traditional Eastern Rite liturgy appears successful not only in its hymnographical expression but also in its musical setting.

What we find in these *stichera* is an example of the Ruthenian chant tradition, a branch of the East Slavic *Znamenny* chant, which had evolved in the Polish-Lithuanian Eastern Rite culture into a redaction of its own.<sup>894</sup> The analysis becomes even more interesting when we extend it to the *Znamenny* church monody in general. What was the relation between the *stichera* for the Uniate Feast of the Holy Eucharist and the *Znamenny* chant tradition cultivated in the Muscovite Church, under whose jurisdiction the Ruthenian Orthodox Church already was at this stage?

To examine this relation, I have compared the already cited Ruthenian sources with the *sticheron O divnoe čudo* from a Muscovite manuscript, a double-notated<sup>895</sup> *Festal Menaion (Prazdniki)* from the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>896</sup> The comparison concentrates on a selected set of fixed melodic formulas, the *popevki*, which form the basis of the *oktoechos* system in the *Znamenny* chant. We shall see the extent to which the *popevka* formulas in the Muscovite *sticheron* resemble the corresponding fragments in the Ruthenian *stichera*.

<sup>894</sup> This tradition, which for a long time was predominantly orally transmitted, possibly underwent a process of comparison and unification with Old Russian chant tradition (on the basis of neumatic manuscripts) in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the church monody was transcribed into square-notated *Irmologion* manuscripts. See Герасимова, И.В. "Стихира-осмогласник Успению Богоначальным мановением в древнерусской и литовско-русской традициях знаменного распева." *Древнерусское песнопение: Пути во времени*. По материалам научной конференции "Бражниковские чтения" 2005, вып. 3, Санкт-Петербург 2008<sup>b</sup>, 57, 75.

<sup>895</sup> *Dvoznamennik*, containing parallel neumatic and staff-notated rows.

<sup>896</sup> Троице-Сергиева Лавра, главная библиотека № 450, ff. 346r–347r. The manuscript is available online at [www.stsl.ru/manuscripts/book.php?col?1&manuscript?450](http://www.stsl.ru/manuscripts/book.php?col?1&manuscript?450).

Example 7: Comparison of the popevki

Sticheron at psalm 140, Feast of the Dormition,  
Double-notated MS, Тройце-Сергиево главная библиот. 450, f. 346r



Sticheron at psalm 140, Feast of the Dormition, LMAB F 19-118, f. 287r



Sticheron at "Hvaliteh", Feast of the Holy Eucharist, LMAB F 19-116, f. 287v



The opening line "О дивное чудо" of the *sticheron* in the Muscovite *Znamenny* chant contains a formula that resembles a short version of the *popevka* "stezja velikaja" or "grunka (pastela) so stezej". The same formula appears also in words "(Гаври)ила имуща чиновначалника". The comparison between the three fragments shows a common melodic line – despite the first two notes in the Uniate *sticheron* and the rhythmic differences – at the beginning and the end of the row, while in the middle, the *Irmologion* sources perhaps rely on a local Ruthenian chant practice with the movement f-e-f-g in quarter notes.

Example 8: Comparison of the popevki

The *popevka* "priglaska srednjaja", found on the words "(гро)бе полагается" and in a shorter form ("priglaska malaja") on the words "(благода)тная раду́йся" almost fully coincides with the corresponding formula in the *sticheron* for the Uniate feast, while the *podobn* in the Vitebsk *Irmologion* makes a movement of its own on the word "гробѣ".

Example 9: Comparison of the popevki

Тр.-Сепр.  
450

к не - бе - си гроб бы - ва - еть

LMAB  
F19-118

к не - бе - си гроб бы - ва - ет

LMAB  
F19-116

КОМ ВЪ СНѢ да - ет - ся

The *popevka* "kolčanec" or "grunka (pastela)" is found on the words "(не)беси гроб бываетъ", "святymi доме" and in the closing phrase of the *sticheron*, "(тобо)ю велию милость". Apart from some embellishments in the movement to the final note, the same formula appears in corresponding places in the Ruthenian sources.

These selected examples show how the *popevka* formulas of the *Znamenny* chant in the Muscovite tradition coincide with similar melodic formulas in Ruthenian sources. They provide clear evidence of the underlying similarity between different branches of the East Slavic church monody and, most importantly, serve as further confirmation of the wish to root the new Uniate feast in the old chant tradition of the Eastern Rite.

## 5.4 EXTRA-LITURGICAL FESTAL PRACTICES

The popularity of the Feast of *Corpus Christi* was in many ways associated with extra-liturgical devotion to the Holy Sacrament, the exhibition of and procession with the Host. These were the customs that had induced the Ruthenian Uniates to adopt the Latin feast into their liturgical practice as the Feast of the Holy Eucharist. However, despite constituting a central part of the festivities, the documentation of these practices in the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century is surprisingly scarce. The extra-liturgical ceremonies are therefore approached retrospectively, on the basis of late 19<sup>th</sup>-century practice. Recent research on Ruthenian paraliturgical singing tradition also sheds light on the variety of music performed during the procession.

### 5.4.1 Eucharistic devotions

The Feast of the Holy Eucharist was built on the popular practice of Eucharistic devotions such as the exposition of the Sacrament, yet no trace of the actual course of action can be found in the rubrics for the established feast.<sup>897</sup> The *Apograf* as well as the *Voslědovaniija* limit their content to the traditional liturgical cycle: the divine services as celebrated by the Eastern Rite Church. The absence of rubrics for extra-liturgical ceremonies also characterises the Italo-Byzantine sources for the feast. Detailed instructions can found only in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, in the *Typikon* edited by Isidor Dol'nyč'kyj (1830–1924) and approved by the Uniate Council of Lvov in 1891.<sup>898</sup> These

<sup>897</sup> No liturgical rubrics or descriptions have been found from the period leading to the establishment of the feast in 1720. Bobryk refers to a description published in the Missal of Metropolitan Žohovskij; however, it seems he has the actual liturgical Office in mind. Bobryk 2010, 178.

<sup>898</sup> *Типик Української Католицької Церкви*. Укл. Ісидор Дольницький. Рим: Видавництво оо. Василян (1899) 1992. It has not been possible to conduct a thorough search of liturgical manuals from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in the course of this research; it is thus possible that rubrics for the exposition of the Sacrament or

instructions are examined here as potential evidence of the festal customs in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Although there is a gap of nearly 200 years, the analysis is based on the idea that liturgical customs usually evolve over a long period of time until they are confirmed by a council or a hierarch as valid and appropriate. The *Typikon* compiled in the 1890s emphasises its relation to the past by explaining many practices taking place “as customary” (“за звичаєм”).<sup>899</sup> As a confirmatory organ, the Council of 1891 may thus have based its approval on a custom that had existed already for some centuries.

The Council of 1891 decreed that the Feast of the Holy Eucharist be distinguished from other feasts<sup>900</sup> by allowing a double benediction of the Sacrament to take place. The extra-liturgical (in this sense understood as departing from the traditional Byzantine liturgy) Eucharistic ceremony on the festal day thus consisted of two parts: the exposition of and blessing with the Holy Sacrament before the Divine Liturgy and the procession after the post-ambo prayer, concluding in Benediction.

The *Typikon* of Dol’nyc’kyj (1899) describes the ceremony performed before the Divine Liturgy on the Feast of the Holy Eucharist in close detail. After the priest has placed the consecrated Host in a monstrance, he lifts it with an *omofor* and, turning to the people,

sings gravely and solemnly the beginning of the first stanza: ‘O saving victim,’ and all people continue to sing from the same stanza. Again the priest [sings] the beginning of the second stanza: ‘To God, One in Trinity,’ and [they] all sing the rest. The priest makes a sign of the cross with the Holy Gifts over the people [...] [and] places the monstrance on the *eileton*.<sup>901</sup>

The exposition of the Sacrament depicted here clearly corresponds to the late 17<sup>th</sup>-century musical source *О Спасительная жертва* (*O Salutaris Hostia*).<sup>902</sup> It is thus possible to suggest that here the *typikon* relates a practice that had long been in use among the Ruthenians – probably already before the official establishment of the feast.

The procession with the Holy Sacrament had, in turn, evolved gradually on the basis of the Eastern Rite procession that commonly took place after the Divine Liturgy, following the post-ambo prayer. It was customary on festal days to perform a procession around the church, accompanied by the singing of the festal *troparion* and the reading of the Gospel. The Uniate innovation, attributed by Kassian Sakovič to the bishop of Volodymyr in mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, had been to carry the Holy Gifts in the procession. In the *typikon* of 1899, the practice is further complemented by the use of separate altars on which the Gospel was read and the chanting of the Prayer of Supplication as well as verses from the *Te Deum*.

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the procession with the Holy Gifts had been formulated already before the Council of Lvov. However, there is no mention of any extra-liturgical Eucharistic devotions in the *Euchologion* printed in 1739 by Metropolitan Afanasij Šeptickij (who, incidentally, was in charge of the publication of the *Voslědovaniia*), published again in 1876 in Przemyśl. See *EVXOLOGIONЪ си есть ТРЕБНИКЪ къ строенію с(вя)тыхъ ТАИНЪ и иныхъ с(вя)щеннодействій или Обрядовъ ц(е)рковныхъ*, Исправленъ и вторично изданъ трудом и иждивеніемъ Григоріа Шашкевича, Архіпресвитера Собора Кліроса Перемыскаго. Въ Перемышляхъ: въ Типографіи Собора Кліроса при престолномъ Храмѣ Рождества с(вя)таго Іоанна Кр(е)стителя 1876. [www.dds.edu.ua]

<sup>899</sup> See, for example, *Типик Української Католицької Церкви* 1992, 449.

<sup>900</sup> Katrij points out that at the time of the Council, the exposition of the Sacrament on the Feast of the Holy Eucharist was recognised as a “custom long accepted in our Church”. Exposition also took place on the feast of the church’s patron saint. The Council also approved the procession on other occasions such as at Easter, or during a mission or a pilgrimage. Katrij 1983, 198–199.

<sup>901</sup> “[...] співає поважно й урочисто початок першої строфи: “О спасительна Жертво”, а всі люди продовжують співати ту саму строфу. І знову ієрей – початок другої строфи: “Единому в Тройці Богові”, а всі співають решту. Ієрей знаменує хрестоподібно святими тайнами людей, [...] ставить монстрацію на літон [...]” *Типик Української Католицької Церкви* 1991, 450.

<sup>902</sup> See chapter 4.2.3

The *Typikon* describes how the priest takes the Holy Gifts, turns to the people and begins to sing the festal *troparion* (Хлѣбъ преестественный) or “some other spiritual song”. He then moves under a *baldachin* and the procession to the first altar begins. The choir and the people continue to sing the *troparion* or “something else”. At the first stop, the Holy Gifts are placed in a folded *eileton* on the altar, and the Gospel is read. After this, the priest, kneeling before the Holy Gifts, sings with the other clergy the first verse of the Prayer of Supplication, “Holy God”, thrice. The people then sing the same, also thrice. The priest then takes the Holy Gifts, blesses the people in the shape of a cross, pronouncing quietly, “O Lord, save thy people and bless thine inheritance.” The choir sings the festal *troparion* or “some other song” as the procession moves on to the following altar. It is the same procedure at every altar, only the verses from the Prayer of Supplication vary. Finally, returning to church, the priest blesses the people and chants reverently and solemnly a verse from the hymn of Ambrose of Milan, “O Lord, save thy people,” thrice. At the first and the second time, the people repeat the verse. At the third time, the priest concludes the verse with “and bless thine inheritance.” The people continue to chant the hymn to its end.<sup>903</sup>

It is clear that very little from the Latin processional practice, described in *Rituale Romanum* (1614),<sup>904</sup> was adopted in Ruthenian use. The Eastern Rite practice, in turn, seems to have been flexible enough to accommodate a previously unknown Supplication service, a chanted dialogue consisting of petitions to Christ, Virgin Mary and selected saints.<sup>905</sup> It is not yet clear how and when this prayer was established in the Uniate Church. Not a service restricted to the Feast of the Holy Eucharist alone, the Prayer of Supplication was chanted during the exposition of the Sacrament on any solemn occasion, as the Council of Lvov decreed.<sup>906</sup> In the absence of contemporary sources, it is, of course, impossible to argue that the custom developed in the early years of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist.

The conclusion of the procession and of the Supplication service with verses from *Te Deum laudamus* (Тебе Бога хвалимъ in its Ruthenian version) roots the Uniate practice in the common Latin tradition in which the Ambrosian hymn was chanted at the end of a festive Mass or other celebration. The hymn was part of the celebration of the *Corpus Christi* feast from the very beginning.<sup>907</sup> The earliest Italo-Byzantine source, the *Typikon* of 1299/1300 with rubrics for the

<sup>903</sup> Типик Української Католицької Церкви 1991, 451–453.

<sup>904</sup> The Latin Rite procession relied on a number of hymns composed by Thomas Aquinas. See the description of a procession with the Holy Sacrament in *Rituale Romanum* (1614), chapter 4.1.3, footnote 660.

<sup>905</sup> “С(вя)тый Б(о)же, С(вя)тый крѣпкій, С(вя)тый безсмертний, помилуй насъ. (3)

От повѣтрїя, града, огня и войны, избави насъ, Г(о)с(по)ди. (3)

От наглыя а несподѣванныя смерти, сохрани насъ, Г(о)с(по)ди. (3)

Мы грѣшнїи Тебе Б(о)га просимъ, оуслыши насъ, Г(о)с(по)ди.

Мы грѣшнїи Тебе Б(о)га просимъ, прости намъ, Г(о)с(по)ди.

Мы грѣшнїи Тебе Б(о)га просимъ, помилуй насъ, Г(о)с(по)ди.

Ω Ии(су)се, ω Ии(су)се, ω Ии(су)се С(ы)не Б(о)га живаго, оумилосердися надъ нами.

Ω М(а)ріе, ω М(а)ріе, ω М(а)ріе Дѣво и Мати Б(о)жая, причинися за нами.

Ω С(вя)тый [Им(я)р(е)къ] моли Б(о)га о насъ грѣшныхъ.

Свѣщ.: Спаси люди твоя, Г(о)с(по)ди. (2)

Хор: Спаси люди твоя, Г(о)с(по)ди.

Свѣщ.: Спаси люди твоя, Г(о)с(по)ди, и благослови достояніе твое.

Хор: И исправи я и вознеси я во вѣки. Во вся дни бл(а)гословимъ тебе, и восхвалим имя твое во веки, и во вѣкъ вѣка. Сподоби, Г(о)с(по)ди, вх день сей, (въ вечеръ сей) без грѣха сохранитися намъ. Оумилосердися надъ нами, Г(о)с(по)ди, оумилосердися надъ нами. Да будетъ милосердіе твое, Г(о)с(по)ди, надъ нами, якоже оуповахомъ на тя. На тя, Г(о)с(по)ди оуповахомъ, да не постыдимся во вѣки, аминь.” *Вечірня і утрєня на празники неповижні* 1912, 1034–1035. For the English translation of the Supplication service on the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, see *LITURGICAL PROPER OF THE EASTER-PENTECOST CYCLE* 1979, 275–282.

<sup>906</sup> Katrij 1983, 198–199.

<sup>907</sup> *Rituale Romanum* 2004, 186; Зосім 2009, 124.

feast, reflects this practice by replacing the *Great Doxology*, chanted at the end of festal Matins, by *Te Deum laudamus*, *Σὲ τὸν Θεὸν ὑμνοῦμεν*.<sup>908</sup> The later Italo-Byzantine sources, as well as the *Apograf* and the *Voslēdovaniia*, conclude the Matins with the chanting of the traditional *Great Doxology*.<sup>909</sup> It is thus likely that the Ruthenians placed the hymn at the end of the extra-liturgical procession, perhaps chanting it in its entirety or integrating it into the Supplication service, as seen in the rubrics approved at the Council of Lvov in 1891.

#### 5.4.2 Paraliturgical Eucharistic songs

According to the *Typikon* of 1899, the music chanted during the procession from one altar to another consisted of the festal *troparion* or “some other spiritual song”.<sup>910</sup> Uncommon in the Eastern Rite tradition, the prescription thus allowed the chanting of material outside the festal hymnography.

The genre of paraliturgical songs with Eucharistic topics appeared in musical manuscripts only after the establishment of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>911</sup> Zosim mentions, for example, a Galician song collection from the 1730s which featured two Eucharistic songs, *Свѣтъ на де вишнихъ* and *Твоя честь хвала*.<sup>912</sup> Often these songs were translations of existing Polish or Latin songs.<sup>913</sup> In fact, the earlier analysed translations from the Latin Eucharistic hymns by Thomas Aquinas, chanted at the exposition of the Sacrament, belong to the same genre and thus, at least in the case of *О Спасительная жертва* extend their period of use to the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.

An interesting meeting point between the new paraliturgical Eucharistic genre and old Latin Rite practice can be seen in a spiritual song titled *Твоя честь хвала Предвѣчный Боже*. While its incipit refers to a Ruthenian translation of a Polish song *Twoja cześć, chwala*, the lyrics of the song actually paraphrase the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*.<sup>914</sup> Zosim explains that both the paraliturgical song and the Ambrosian hymn were likely to play a role in the procession on the Feast of the Holy Eucharist,<sup>915</sup> which resulted in the combination of their textual content in this particular example.<sup>916</sup>

On the basis of the paraliturgical repertoire in musical manuscripts, it is possible to suggest that during the early decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and even after the feast was fully established, the festal procession was mainly accompanied by the chanting of the *troparion*, as customary in the Eastern Rite tradition. It was only towards the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century that the liturgical hymnography was substituted with spiritual songs during the procession.

<sup>908</sup> *Grottaferrata* Г.а. I, f. 104r, via Parenti 2004, 155.

<sup>909</sup> *Апографъ* s.a., 14; *Вослѣдованія* 1738, 12.

<sup>910</sup> *Типик* Української Католицької Церкви 1991, 451–452.

<sup>911</sup> Зосім 2010<sup>a</sup>, 43.

<sup>912</sup> ИР НБУВ, ф. Маслова, № 48, ff. 26v; 57r–57v. Зосім 2010<sup>a</sup>, 44.

<sup>913</sup> Zosim lists examples of the early Eucharistic songs intended for paraliturgical use: *Боже, люблю тя, Небо, земля и вся зоры, У врат стоиі свого Рана*. Зосім 2010<sup>a</sup>, 51.

<sup>914</sup> Зосім 2009, 124; Зосім 2010<sup>a</sup>, 47. The text of the song is from ЛНБ, ф. БА, № 196, ff. 43r–43v via Зосім 2010<sup>a</sup>, 62–63:

Твоя чест хвала предвѣчный Б(о)же / Кто ж ты достойно воспѣти може.  
Земный человекъ не разумѣть / Архангелскѣй разумъ недоумѣть.  
Од херувѣмовъ превозносимый / И ѿт архангелъ всегда славимый.  
Тя серафими вси восхваляютъ / Св(я)тъ Св(я)тъ Св(я)тъ Г(оспо)дь Б(о)гъ всегда волаютъ.  
Ликъ апостольскъ и пророческъ / Хвалятъ Тя всегда Б(о)же всяческъ.  
Тя патриарси со мученикъ / Хвалятъ Тя всегда всѣхъ (св)ятыхъ ликъ.  
Царѣ глави своя склоняютъ / Чест и пѣние хвалу воздаютъ.  
И мы грѣшние Тя превозносимъ / Серцемъ оустнами смиренно просимъ  
Абис намъ рачиль грѣхи ѿпустити / А по смѣрти нашей рай наслѣдити.

<sup>915</sup> Another version of the paraliturgical song, *Тебѣ честь хвала*, was marked in a Galician song collection from 1789 with the inscription: “процессія или пѣніе Б(о)жому Тѣлу” (“The procession or chant to the Body of God”). ИР НБУВ, ф. Маслова, № 52, f. 56r in Зосім 2010<sup>a</sup>, 44.

## 5.5 THE FEAST IN LIGHT OF EUCHARISTIC THEOLOGY AND PRACTICE

The “Easternisation” of the Feast of *Corpus Christi* took place predominantly on the level of language and of liturgical rite. Existing Church Slavonic, Greek and Latin texts on Eucharistic topics were combined with new hymnographical compositions into cycles that followed the Byzantine liturgical order in detail. Yet theological questions inevitably arose from the transformation of the Feast of *Corpus Christi*. It had emerged, after all, from a characteristically Roman Catholic sphere of Eucharistic theology.

The degree of responsiveness to Latin Rite Eucharistic concepts and practices is indeed one of the most interesting aspects in the analysis of the festal hymnography. It is, of course, difficult to ascribe any concepts entirely to the Latin tradition, because the perception of the Sacrament of the Eucharist in the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox Churches is substantially similar. Moreover, the evolution that took place in Eastern Rite liturgical culture of the Ruthenians had blurred certain boundaries between the rites well before the development of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist.

Latin Eucharistic practices became familiar to the Uniate faithful in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Feast of the Holy Eucharist evolved under the influence of the highly popular *Corpus Christi* tradition with its festive processions as well as other extra-liturgical customs involving the Holy Sacrament. Rooted in this culture, the new Eastern Rite feast can well be expected to reflect customs and ideas previously unfamiliar to the Byzantine tradition. This chapter shows how certain topics in the festal hymnography suggest a connection with certain Latin Rite customs, such as the procession with the Holy Gifts and the exposition of the Sacrament. With respect to receiving the Eucharist in both species, on the other hand, the hymnography takes an uncompromisingly Byzantine Rite stance. The analysis of the hymnography for the feast culminates in the discussion of its role in the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century theological controversy over the moment of Eucharistic consecration. The hymnographical emphasis on a characteristically Latin theological view is examined in the wider context of the consecration debate. The Uniate feast turns out to be in line with the Ruthenian Eastern Rite theological tradition.

### 5.5.1 Hymnographical reflections of Eucharistic practices

Turning first to reflections of Latin Eucharistic practices in hymnography, we are looking for depictions of processions with the Holy Gifts, or of the exposition and adoration of the Sacrament – the customs that most notably departed from the Byzantine Eucharistic tradition. In their absence of direct depictions of extra-liturgical Eucharistic worship, our attention turns to topics that could be interpreted as hymnographical reflections of these customs. These include the carrying of the *Ark of the Covenant* as a symbol of an Eucharistic procession and the emphasis on *beholding the Eucharist* as an implication of Eucharistic exposition and adoration.

The references to the Ark of the Covenant as a hymnographical topic are few in number but interesting in the connection they draw between the historical event of moving the Ark to Jerusalem and the presentation of the consecrated bread and wine, the Body and Blood of Christ, before the faithful.<sup>917</sup>

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<sup>917</sup> Translations mine.

Table 21: References to the Ark of the Covenant

<b>Festal Vespers, Litia, 1<sup>st</sup> sticheron, the Apograf, p. 5</b>	<b>English translation</b>
Предъ сѣннымъ ковчегомъ, скакаше играя Богоотецъ Давидъ: мыже сему днесъ яко Богу поклоняемся. Егѡже Человѣчество ковчегъ преобразоваше: Ибо вмѣсто манне Божество воплощенно, вмѣсто Скрижалии Законодавца, Христосъ Господь оутаенъ зрится: Спаситель душъ нашихъ.	Before the prefigurative Ark, leaping and playing [was] Holy Father David: whereas we today bow to it as to God. The Ark was a prefiguration of His Humanity: For instead of the manna, Divinity is born in flesh, and instead of the Tablets of the Law-giver, Christ the Lord is beheld hidden: The Saviour of our souls.
<b>Vespers on Sunday, at psalm 140, 2<sup>nd</sup> sticheron, the Voslѣdovanija, p. 19</b>	
Богоотецъ Давидъ проводя кѡтъ ѡт дому Оведдома, во градъ свой играюще въ трубы, въ тымпаны и кимвалы, вси же людѣ провождаху Кѡтъ со веселѣемъ но Царь грая в гусли. Кѡтъ сей бе знамение Кіота Святая святыхъ, Тѣла и Крове Христа нашего, иже днесъ ѡт всѣхъ поклоняемый, ему же и мы поклоняющиеся, яко Богу и Зиждителю всѣхъ, молимся да спасетъ душа наша.	Holy father David [was] escorting the Ark from the house of Abdedom into his city with the playing of horns, timbrels and cymbals; all the people escorted the Ark with rejoicing but the King played the harp [ <i>gushi</i> ]. This Ark is the symbol of the Ark of the Holy of Holies, the Body and Blood of our Christ, before whom everybody now bows down; to Him, as to God and Maker of all, we also bow down and pray that He save our souls.
<b>Vespers on Monday, Aposticha, 1<sup>st</sup> sticheron, the Voslѣdovanija, p. 21</b>	
Домѣ Давидъ, въспой псаломстѣ, себо Кіотъ Вышняго; в немъ же содержитсяъ, вся содержаи; Христосъ Богъ Ізраилевъ.	The House of David, sing psalmodically, for this is the Ark of the Most High; it contains the one that contains all; Christ, God of Israel.

These texts create a close connection between the Ark of the Old Testament and the Eucharist: the first (containing manna and the Law) as the symbol, the prefiguration; the second as the embodiment of God. Such comparisons between the Old and the New Testament are generally characteristic of Eastern Rite hymnography. What makes the first two *stichera* particularly interesting from our perspective is their reference to the triumphal procession in which the Ark was brought to Jerusalem, escorted by King David “dancing and playing”.<sup>918</sup> A similar hymnographical depiction characterises the 4<sup>th</sup> Ode in the Byzantine Easter Canon; however, the reference there is made to the resurrection of Christ, not to the Eucharist.<sup>919</sup> The association of the Eucharist with the Ark, and not only with the concept of the “Holy of Holies” but with the *act of carrying the Ark in a procession* escorted with great joy, dance and music, could in this context be

<sup>918</sup> “So David, and the elders of Israel, and the captains of thousands, went to bring up the Ark of the Covenant from the house of Abdedom with gladness. [...] And all Israel brought up the ark of the covenant of the Lord with shouting, and with the sound of a horn, and with trumpets, and with cymbals, playing loudly on lutes and harps. And the ark of the covenant of the Lord arrived, and came to the city of David; and Melchol the daughter of Saul looked down through the window, and saw King David dancing and playing [...]” 1 Chronicles 15:25, 28–29, *English Translation of the Greek Septuagint Bible* (1851). [www.ecmarsh.com/lxx]

<sup>919</sup> Contemporary Church Slavonic text of the 4<sup>th</sup> troparion in Ode 4 of the Easter Canon by John Damascene: “Богоотецъ убо Давидъ предъ сѣннымъ ковчегомъ скакаше играя, людие же Божии святѣи, образовъ сбытие зряще, веселимся Божественне, яко воскресе Христосъ, яко Всесиленъ.” “God’s forebear David, dancing, leaped before the ark, mere shadow, but seeing the fulfilment of the types, let us, God’s holy people, inspired, rejoice, for Christ has risen as omnipotent.” English translation by Fr Ephrem Lash. [www.anastasis.org.uk]

interpreted in the light of the experience Ruthenians had of the festal culture surrounding the Feast of *Corpus Christi* in 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century Polish-Lithuanian society. The biblical story was likely to be visualised in terms of the tradition that was familiar to them: the triumphal processions with the Holy Sacrament.

Another topic of interest can be found in the hymnographical expressions concerning the Eucharist as an object of beholding or seeing. While the essence of the Sacrament obviously lies in participation in the Body and Blood of Christ,<sup>920</sup> in the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century reality the frequency of Eucharistic participation, especially among the laity, was still relatively low. Attendance at Divine Liturgy consisted for most people of prayerful observation of the Sacrament; participation in it required lengthy preparation and was usually restricted to special seasons during the liturgical year. We may here see one reason why the *observation* of the Sacrament is emphasised in the festal hymnography even to the point the references of beholding Christ, hidden and yet visible in “a small piece of bread”,<sup>921</sup> exceed the references to actually consuming the Sacrament.<sup>922</sup> Moreover, bearing in mind the Latin origin of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, it could also be suggested that such emphasis reflects the well-established custom of extra-liturgical reverence: the exposition of the Sacrament for adoration and contemplation. The following table lists the examples found in the two publications:

Table 22: References to beholding and seeing<sup>923</sup>

Hymn source	The <i>Apograf</i>	The <i>Voslǣdovanija</i>
<b>1<sup>st</sup> sticheron at Litia, festal Vespers</b>	p. 5: “Христос Господь оутаень зрится” (“Christ the Lord is <b>seen</b> hidden”)	p. 4: “Христось Господь оутаень зрится” (“Christ the Lord is <b>seen</b> hidden”)
<b>Troparion, festal Vespers</b>	p. 6: “Хлѣбъ преестественный, егоже Ангели и Архатели трепещуще <b>видѣти</b> желаютъ, днесъ празденственнѡ на Престолъ зрится” (“The supernatural bread which angels and archangels desire to <b>behold</b> is festively <b>seen [exposed]</b> upon the altar”)	p. 6: “Хлѣбъ преестественный, егоже Ангели трепещуще <b>видѣти</b> желаютъ, днесъ празденственно на престолѣ зрится” (“The supernatural bread which angels and archangels desire to <b>behold</b> is festively <b>seen [exposed]</b> upon the altar”)

<sup>920</sup> The *doxasticon* following the *stichera* at Litia in the *Apograf* describes this in the following words: “[...] нынѣ самъ Христось намъ повелѣваетъ, нетокмоу себе видѣти, себѣ касатися, но себе ясти, и внутреняя наша воспріймати [...]” (“[...] now Christ himself orders us not only to see or to touch Him, but to eat Him, to receive Him inside us [...]”) *Апографъ* s.a., 5.

<sup>921</sup> “Б(о)гъ [...] днесъ же въ крупици малой хлѣба затворенной”, “God [...] now enclosed in a small piece of bread”. A verse from the *Aposticha* chanted at Friday Matins during the festal octave. *Вослѣдованія* 1738, 16.

<sup>922</sup> In most cases, the references to consuming the Sacrament are accompanied by the initial act of beholding, for example, “днесъ празденственнѡ на Престолъ зрится, и челоуѣкомъ въ снѣдъ дается” (“is festively seen [exposed] upon the altar and given to men as food”). The festal *troparion*, *Апографъ* s.a., 6. Similar examples, see 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> *stichera* at psalms 148–150 for festal Matins *Вослѣдованія* 1738, 12; *Theotokion* at psalm 140 for Vespers on Thursday (p. 15); 3<sup>rd</sup> *sticheron* at psalm 140 and 2<sup>nd</sup> *sticheron* at the *aposticha* for Vespers on Monday (p. 21); and 1<sup>st</sup> *sticheron* at psalm 140 for Vespers on Tuesday (p. 22). It is noteworthy that in these examples, the participation in the Holy Gifts is described in terms of the Body of Christ only, without mentioning the Blood.

<sup>923</sup> Apart from the translation of the festal *troparion*, cited earlier, the English translations are by the author. In spite of the similarity between the Church Slavonic verbs “зрѣти” and “видѣти”, I have chosen to translate the first as “to see” and the second as “to behold”. An exception is made for the adjective “видимый” and its different forms, which are translated as “visible” etc.

<b>Troparion after Polyeleos, festal Matins</b>	р. 7: "Сію тайну Божественную, днесъ <b>зряще</b> съ оумилєніємъ глаголемъ" ("Now <b>seeing</b> this Divine Sacrament we tenderly say")	р. 7: "Сію Тайну Божественную, днесъ <b>зряще</b> съ оумилєніємъ глаголемъ" ("Now <b>seeing</b> this Divine Sacrament we tenderly say")
<b>Sticheron after Gospel, festal Matins</b>	р. 8: " <b>зряще</b> тя Бога Воплощенна: в тайнахъ сокровеннаго" ("God is <b>seen</b> enfleshed, hidden in the Mysteries")	р. 7: " <b>зряще</b> тя Бога въплощенна, в тайнахъ съкровеннаго" (" <b>seeing</b> you God enfleshed, hidden in the Mysteries")
<b>1<sup>st</sup> sticheron at psalms 148-150, festal Matins</b>	р. 13: "источник жизни, на Престолъ <b>зрится</b> " ("the source of life is <b>seen</b> on the altar")	р. 12: "источник жизни, на престолъ <b>зрится</b> " ("the source of life is <b>seen</b> on the altar")
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> sticheron at psalms 148-150, festal Matins</b>	р. 13: " <b>видяй</b> Бога во плоти" (" <b>beholding</b> God in flesh")	р. 12: " <b>видяй</b> Бога во плоти" (" <b>beholding</b> God in flesh")
<b>1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> sticheron at psalms 148-150, festal Matins</b>	р. 13: " <b>видѣхомъ</b> славу его" ("we have <b>beheld</b> His glory")	р. 12: " <b>видѣхомъ</b> славу его" ("we have <b>beheld</b> His glory")
<b>Doxasticon at psalms 148-150 (Vespers on Thursday)</b>	р. 13: "се Агнецъ Божій, [...] <b>видимъ</b> под недовѣдомою Хлѣба Тайною предстоить" ("this is the Lamb of God, [...] <b>visible</b> in the unfathomable Sacrament of Bread")	
<b>Theotokion at psalms 148-150 (Vespers on Thursday)</b>		р. 15: "днесъ на престолъ праздественно <b>зрится</b> , и въ снѣдъ вѣрнымъ дается" ("[...] is today festively <b>seen</b> on the altar, and given as food to believers")
<b>Doxasticon at psalm 140 (Vespers on Friday)</b>	р. 15: "Сей бо бысть Агнецъ Божій на Престолъ сѣдѣщъ: егоже <b>зримъ</b> днесъ въ Пресвятыхъ Тайнахъ <b>невидимъ</b> , <b>видимъ</b> же есть отъ вѣрныхъ вѣрою" ("for this is the Lamb of God sitting on the Throne [altar]: Him we now see invisibly in the most holy Mysteries, for He is visible by the faith of the faithful")	р. 17: "сей бо бысть Агнецъ Божій на престолъ сѣдѣщъ: егоже <b>зримъ</b> днесъ въ пресвятыхъ Тайнахъ <b>невидимаго</b> , <b>видимъ</b> же есть отъ вѣрныхъ вѣрою" ("for this is the Lamb of God sitting on the throne [altar]: Him we now <b>see invisible</b> in the most holy Mysteries, for He is <b>visible</b> by the faith of the faithful")
<b>Aposticha, 3<sup>rd</sup> sticheron (Matins on Monday)</b>	р. 24: " <b>Зряще</b> тайну Плоти Божественныя, Хлѣбъ преестественный" (" <b>Seeing</b> the sacrament of Divine Flesh, the supernatural Bread")	р. 20: " <b>Зряще</b> тайну Плоти Божественныя, хлѣбъ Преестественный" (" <b>Seeing</b> the sacrament of Divine Flesh, the supernatural Bread")
<b>3<sup>rd</sup> sticheron at psalm 140 (Vespers on Monday)</b>	р. 24: "Хлѣбъ преестественный, Христось, Богъ <b>зрится</b> , и чловѣкомъ въ снѣдъ дается" ("the supernatural Bread, Christ, God, is <b>seen</b> , and is given to people as food")	р. 21: "Хлѣбъ преестественный Христось <b>зрится</b> ; и чловѣкомъ въ снѣдъ дается" ("the supernatural Bread, Christ, is <b>seen</b> ; and is given to people as food")
<b>Doxasticon at psalm 140 (Vespers on Monday)</b>	р. 24: "аки Хлѣбъ <b>видимъ</b> , но Бога вѣруемъ" ("we <b>see</b> as Bread, but believe [as] in God")	р. 21: "яко хлѣбъ <b>видимъ</b> ; но Бога вѣруемъ" ("we <b>see</b> as bread; but believe [as] in God")

<b>Aposticha, 2<sup>nd</sup> sticheron (Vespers on Monday)</b>		р. 21: “сей днесъ Хлѣбомъ покровень <b>зрится</b> , и въ снѣдъ вѣрнымъ подается” (“it is now <b>seen</b> hidden in Bread, and given to the faithful as food”)
<b>1<sup>st</sup> sticheron at psalm 140 (Vespers on Tuesday)</b>		р. 22: “сей днесъ въ хлѣбѣ затворенный <b>зрится</b> ; и въ снѣдъ всѣмъ дается Христїяномъ” (“it is now <b>seen</b> enclosed in bread; and is given as food to all Christians”)
<b>Doxasticon at aposticha (Vespers on Tuesday)</b>		р. 23: “на престолѣ праздниченно <b>зрится</b> ” (“is <b>seen</b> festively on the altar [throne]”)
<b>Doxasticon at aposticha (Matins on Wednesday)</b>		р. 23: “вкусимъ и <b>оувидѣмъ</b> источника безмертнаго” (“we taste and <b>behold</b> the source of eternity”)

The number of hymn verses with reference to the visual aspect of the Eucharist is considerable. It is unlikely that the emphasis was unwittingly placed; rather, the *expressions of beholding and seeing could be seen as reflections of the reverence addressed to the Sacrament, or the Body of Christ, not only during but also outside the Divine Liturgy*. The connection between the Latin practice of exposing the Sacrament and the hymnography can be suggested particularly in the depictions of God as visible on the altar in the form of Bread. In the Byzantine practice, after all, the faithful were able to behold the Eucharistic Gifts in their physical form only at the Communion, because the actual bread and wine were visible only to the clergy before they were combined in the chalice.

The emphasis on beholding God in the Eucharistic Bread touches upon another practical question: did the hymnography highlight the Body of Christ as an object of veneration at the expense of His Blood? As already mentioned, the participation in the Eucharist was mainly described in terms of consuming the bread. The wine, although not entirely excluded from the hymnography, was nevertheless mentioned less frequently. Was this a reflection of a changing Eucharistic practice in favour of the Latin custom in which the laity received only the Body of Christ?

The Ruthenian Uniates had defended the Eastern Rite usage of both species from the very beginning of the Union, as can be seen in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Article submitted to Rome: “That the Mysteries of the Most Holy Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ should be retained entirely as we have been accustomed until now, under the species of bread and wine; that this should remain among us eternally the same and unchangeable.”<sup>924</sup> Unlike the Italo-Byzantines, whom Pope Clement VIII had ordered to abandon the use of both species, the Ruthenians continued to celebrate the Eucharist according to the Eastern Rite tradition.<sup>925</sup> Most interestingly, the *Apograpf* underlined the Eastern Rite attitude twice in its content:

Table 23: References to two species

<b>Matins, Festal Canon, 5<sup>th</sup> Ode, 3<sup>rd</sup> troparion, the Apograpf, p. 10</b>	<b>English translation</b>
Иже под обоимъ существомъ даде Тѣло и Кровь, да въ двойнѣй истности всецѣлаго человека, ѿ снѣдующихъ прославленъ будеть: яко человеколюбецъ.	The one who <b>in both species</b> gives the Body and the Blood, in two beings a complete man, let he be praised by those who eat: as one who loves mankind.

<sup>924</sup> 33 Articles Concerning Union With the Roman Church. 3<sup>rd</sup> Article.

<sup>925</sup> Senyk 1994, 565–566.

<b>Compline, Triodion, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ode, 4<sup>th</sup> troparion, the Apograf, p. 16</b>	
Да толикаго благодѣйства всегда въ насъ пребываетъ память, Христосъ бо Тѣло свое въ снѣдь, и Кровь свою въ питие, <b>под видомъ хлѣба, и вина</b> , снѣсти вѣрнымъ остави: яко благъ и всесилень.	Let the memory of such great mercy always abide in us, for Christ has left his Body as food and Blood as drink, <b>under the species of bread and wine</b> , for the faithful to eat: as one who is merciful and all-powerful.

Thus, although the festal hymnography generally highlighted the Body of Christ as the main object of reverence, it is most likely to be viewed as a reflection of the *Corpus Christi* tradition on a hymnographical level only, not as an indication of change in actual Eucharistic practice.

### 5.5.2 Eucharistic consecration theology in festal hymnography

The most interesting theological-practical question reflected in the festal hymnography concerns the consecration of the Holy Gifts. In the late 17<sup>th</sup>-century Slavic Eastern Rite community, the moment of Eucharistic consecration was at the centre of a heated debate, especially in the Muscovite Orthodox Church. The controversy raged around two theological views: the consecration as taking place through the words of institution ("Take, eat" and "Drink ye all of this") or through the *epiclesis* prayer ("And make this bread the precious Body").<sup>926</sup>

In the Roman Catholic tradition, the consecratory effect has always been ascribed solely to Christ's words. Consecration through *epiclesis*, instead, has commonly been attributed to the Eastern Rite tradition.<sup>927</sup> Which line of theological thought did the Feast of the Holy Eucharist relate to? The *Apograf* gives clear evidence of the Latin heritage of the feast by referring to the moment of consecration in terms of the words of institution only:

Table 24: References to the moment of consecration

<b>Hymn source</b>	<b>The Apograf</b>
<b>1<sup>st</sup> sticheron at psalm 140, festal Vespers</b>	р. 2: "сей хлѣбъ, есть хлѣбъ прежде <b>словесъ тайнъ</b> : ѡсвященію бо дѣйствующуся, Хлѣбъ бываетъ Тѣло Христа" ("this bread is bread before <b>the words of the sacraments</b> : when the consecration has taken place, the bread becomes the Body of Christ")
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> sticheron at psalm 140, festal Vespers</b>	р. 2: "дѣйствуется сѧ тайна ѡсвященіемъ, <b>ѡсвященіеже словесы Господа Исуса Христа бываетъ</b> , [...] гдѣ ѡсвященію наступующу нарочитыя тайны, оуже не своихъ словесъ Іерей, но <b>оупотребляетъ словесъ Христа</b> " ("This sacrament works through consecration, which is consecration <b>through the words of Lord Jesus Christ</b> [...] When it is time for the consecration of the main sacrament, the priest no longer uses his own words, but <b>the words of Christ</b> ")
<b>3<sup>rd</sup> sticheron at psalm 140, festal Vespers</b>	р. 2: "Слово Христа сию содѣйствуетъ Тайну, Словоже Христа се есть, имже все быша: [...] Не бѣ бо Тѣло Христово прежде ѡсвященія, но по ѡсвященіи, оуже Тѣло есть Христа, <b>яко самъ рече быти</b> " (" <b>Christ's word makes this sacrament</b> , the word of Christ is the one with which all was created: [...] There is not Body of Christ before consecration, but after consecration the Body is already Christ's, <b>as He Himself tells it to be</b> ")

<sup>926</sup> The question of the Eucharistic consecration has been and still is one of the main topics of ecumenical discussion.

<sup>927</sup> Defining the exact procedure and timing of Eucharistic consecration has not, however, generally characterised Byzantine theological thought, unlike the Latin Scholastic tradition. Instead of pointing out an exact moment when the bread and the wine become the Body and Blood of Christ, it is commonly considered that the consecration takes place over the course of the whole Eucharistic Canon.

1 <sup>st</sup> <i>troparion</i> , 9 <sup>th</sup> Ode, Canon, festal Matins	р. 12: “Хлѣбъ истинный, <b>словесемъ</b> Тѣло дѣйствуетъ” (“the true Bread, the Body is effected by <b>the word</b> ”)
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As we can see, apart from the fourth example, the citations represent the Eucharistic teaching by Ambrose of Milan,<sup>928</sup> which, characterised by its emphasis on the institution narrative, had laid the foundation for Latin Eucharistic theology.<sup>929</sup> By adapting the teaching to the festal *stichera*, the author of the *Apograf* thus also underlined the Latin view in the consecration debate. A similar effect, in both the *Apograf* and the *Voslēdovaniija*, was created by the extensive use of the actual words of institution<sup>930</sup> throughout the hymnography:

Table 25: References to the words of institution

Hymn source	The <i>Apograf</i>	The <i>Voslēdovaniija</i>
<b>3<sup>rd</sup> <i>sticheron</i> at psalm 140, small Vespers</b>	р. 1: “Прїймѣте, ядите, вопїя, се мое есть Тѣло, и пейте Кровь нетлѣнный жизни” (“Take, eat, he calls, this is my Body, and drink the Blood of eternal life”)	р. 3: “Прїймѣте ядѣте вопїя сїе мое ест Тѣло, и пїйте Кровь нетлѣнный жизни” (“Come, eat, he calls, this is my Body, and drink the Blood of eternal life”)
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> <i>sticheron</i> at <i>Aposticha</i>, festal Vespers</b>	р. 5-6: “во снѣдъ ядѣте хлѣбъ, се бо есть Тѣло мое; Чашу же прїемъ реклѣ еси; вси пїйте вы кровь мою” (“as food eat the bread, for it is my Body; taking the Cup he said: drink, you all, my blood”)	р. 5: “во снѣдъ ядѣте хлѣбъ, се бо есть Тѣло мое; Чашу же прїемъ реклѣ еси; вси пїйте вы Кровь мою” (“as food eat the bread, for it is my Body; taking the Cup he said: drink, you all, my Blood”)
<b><i>Doxasticon</i> at <i>Aposticha</i>, festal Vespers</b>	р. 6: “Прїймѣте и ядѣте, сїе есть Тѣло мое, и пїйте вси ѿ чаши моей, себо есть Кровь моя новаго завѣта, яже за многїя излѣваема, въ оставленїе грѣховъ” (“Take and eat, this is my Body, and drink you all from my cup, for it is my Blood of the New Covenant, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins”)	

<sup>928</sup> Discussed in chapter 5.2.3.

<sup>929</sup> Johnson, Maxwell E. “Introduction.” *Issues in Eucharistic Praying in East and West: Essays in Liturgical and Theological Analysis*. Ed. Maxwell Johnson. Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press 2010, xii.

<sup>930</sup> As an interesting historical detail, it can be noticed that the hymnography uses two different redactions of the phrase “Take, eat, this is my Body,” namely, “се есть Тѣло мое” and “сїе ест Тѣло мое”. These forms reflect the failure to unify the text of the Divine Liturgy in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The 17<sup>th</sup> Basilian Chapter in Vilna (1667) decided that the consecratory words should follow the first Uniate Missal, printed by Mamonič in 1617, namely, “се есть”: “Poswięcając zaś kielich, abo krew Pańską nie Siia ale Se mówili.” *АСД* т.12, 96. The widespread contemporary practice was based on the forms printed in the Missal of Peter Mohyla (1639), “cie” and “sia”. Yet the Basilian decree created no uniformity in Uniate practice but the forms continued to vary even in the works of one author. As Vavryk notes, Metropolitan Žohovskij relied on the Mohylan redaction in his Missal of 1692, although still in the Lublin Colloquium (1680), he had endorsed the use of the Mamonič text. Ваврик 1979, 108, 126; Ваврик 1985, 337.

<b>Doxasticon at Aposticha, festal Vespers</b>		р. 5: “пріємъ бо Хлѣбъ бл(а)г(о) словивъ даде рекъ Оуч(е)никомъ, пріймѣте и ядѣте, сіе ест Тѣло мое; такоже и чашу” (“for taking the Bread, blessing it, giving it to the Disciples he said, take and eat, this is my Body; and the same with the cup”)
<b>Theotokion, 1<sup>st</sup> kathisma</b>	р. 6: “пріймѣте и ядѣте се ест Тѣло мое, и пійте сія ест Кровь моя” (“take and eat, this is my Body, and drink this is my Blood”)	р. 6: “пріймѣте и ядѣте се ест Тѣло мое, и пійте сія ест Кровь моя” (“take and eat, this is my Body, and drink this is my Blood”)
<b>3<sup>rd</sup> sticheron at psalms 148-150, festal Matins</b>	р. 13: “прійдѣте ядѣте мой Хлѣбъ; и пійте Вино еже черпах вамъ” (“come, eat my Bread, and drink the Wine I have poured you”)	р. 12: “прійдѣте ядѣте мой Хлѣбъ; и пійте Вино еже черпах вамъ” (“come, eat my Bread, and drink the Wine I have poured you”)
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> sticheron at psalm 140, Vespers on Thursday</b>	р. 15: “пріймѣте и ядѣте, сіе ест Тѣло мое, пійте ѿт нея вси, сія ест Кровь моя, новаго Завѣта, яже за вы и за многи изливаема, въ оставленіе грѣховъ” (“Take and eat, this is my Body, drink of this all, this is my Blood, of the New Covenant, which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins”)	р. 14: “пріймѣте и ядѣте, сіе ест Тѣло мое, пійте ѿт нея вси, сія ест Кровь моя, новаго Завѣта, Яже за вы изливаема, въ оставленіе грѣховъ” (“take and eat, this is my Body, drink of this all, this is my Blood, of the New Covenant, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins”)
<b>1<sup>st</sup> sticheron at psalm 140, Vespers on Friday</b>	р. 19: “Пріймѣте и ядѣте, сіе ест Тѣло мое: пійте ѿт Чаши, сія бо ест Кровь моя: за весь міръ изліянна” (“Take and eat, this is my Body: drink from the Cup, for this is my Blood, shed for the whole world”)	р. 16: “пріймѣте и ядѣте сіе ест Тѣло мое, пійте ѿт чаши сія бо ест Кровь моя, за в весь миръ изліянна” (“take and eat, this is my Body, drink from the cup for this is my Blood, shed for the whole world”)
<b>3<sup>rd</sup> sticheron at psalm 140, Vespers on Friday</b>	р. 19: “Пріймѣте и ядѣте, сіе ест Тѣло мое, еже за вы ломимое: въ ѿставленіе грѣховъ” (“Take and eat, this is my Body, which is broken for you: for the remission of sins”)	р. 17: “примѣте и ядѣте, сіе ест Тѣло мое, еже за вы ломимое, въ оставленіе грѣховъ и в жизнь вѣчную” (“take and eat, this is my Body, which is broken for you, for the remission of sins and for eternal life”)
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> sticheron at Aposticha, Matins on Saturday</b>	р. 20: “Пріймѣте и ядѣте, сіе ест Тѣло мое, за вы ломимое, во ѿставленіе грѣховъ” (“Take and eat, this is my Body, broken for you, for the remission of sins”)	р. 18: “пріймѣте и ядѣте, сіе ест Тѣло мое, за вы ломимое во оставленіе грѣховъ” (“take and eat, this is my Body, broken for you for the remission of sins”)
<b>3<sup>rd</sup> sticheron at Aposticha, Matins on Saturday</b>	р. 20: “сія Чаша ест новый Завѣтъ, въ моей Крови за вы изліянной” (“this is the Cup the new Covenant in my Blood, shed for you”)	р. 18: “сія ест чаша новый завѣтъ въ моей Крови, за вы изліянной” (“this is the cup the new covenant in my Blood, shed for you”)

The hymnography for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist does indeed seem to take a clear pro-Latin stance in the debate on the moment and effect of Eucharistic consecration. Yet the context in which the festal hymnography evolved was considerably less clearly dichotomised than is traditionally perceived.<sup>931</sup> In fact, there was no single official Eastern Rite theological view on the question. The

<sup>931</sup> In traditional representations of Orthodox Eucharistic theology, one of which we find in *Eucharist* (1947) by Archimandrite Kiprian (Kern), the line dividing the Roman Catholic and the Byzantine traditions is drawn

dogma of the *epiclesis* was formulated only in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>932</sup> but it was by no means the only perception of the consecratory act among Eastern Rite theologians. Thus the view that the Uniates, or the Ruthenians in general, turned away from the traditional Byzantine line of theology would mean an anachronistic projection of our contemporary Eucharistic ideas onto a significantly more pluralistic past.

As Mihail Zheltov demonstrates in his highly enlightening article,<sup>933</sup> the Eastern Rite Church has hosted a variety of different views on Eucharistic consecration in the course of the centuries. The existence of an *epiclesis* prayer in different versions of early Byzantine liturgy, as well as in mystagogical teaching, did not automatically signify that the understanding of Eucharistic consecration corresponded to our contemporary perception.<sup>934</sup> In fact, the earliest precise definition of the *epiclesis* as the moment of consecration dates to as late as to the 9<sup>th</sup> century, to Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople (d. 828), according to whom the Eucharistic gifts “are supernaturally converted (μεταβάλλεται) to the Body and Blood of Christ because of the celebrant’s invocation (ἐπικλήσει τοῦ ἱερέοντος), through the descent of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>935</sup> For most of the Byzantine period, until the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries, it appears that the consecration was often associated with the pre-Communion elevation of the Eucharistic Bread at the words “The holy [things] to the holy” (“Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις”).<sup>936</sup> This concept was also reflected in certain Slavic liturgical commentaries.<sup>937</sup>

The *epiclesis* came to be identified as the consecratory part in the Eastern Rite anaphora in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries in the course of debates with Roman Catholic theologians. The Latin side, advocating the well-formulated idea of consecration by the words of institution, forced the Byzantine representatives to focus on the question, which until then had not been treated systematically.<sup>938</sup> Theologians such as Nicholas Cabasilas (d. after 1392) defended consecration by the *epiclesis* in their liturgical commentaries. This approach was by no means exclusive. Cabasilas, for example, saw both the words of institution and the *epiclesis* as necessary for the consecration: “[...] we believe that the Lord’s words do indeed accomplish the mystery, but through the medium of the priest, his invocation, and his prayer.”<sup>939</sup> For Cabasilas, the *epiclesis* was the way of “applying” the words of institution to the Holy Gifts.<sup>940</sup> Cabasilas’ line of thought was continued by Mark Eugenikos, Metropolitan of Ephesus (d. 1444), who in his treatise *That Not Only as a Result of Recitation of the Words of the Lord the Divine Gifts are Sanctified, but Because of a Prayer [Read] after These [Words] and of a Blessing of a Priest, by the Power of the Holy Spirit* recognised the words of institution as endowing the sanctifying power but saw the *epiclesis* as the force that “completes” the consecration.<sup>941</sup>

Regard for the words of institution was thus not restricted to the Latin Rite church alone. Independently of the Roman tradition, Christ’s words had been considered as consecratory by

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very precisely between the consecration by words of institution and by the *epiclesis* prayer. See Киприанъ, Архимандритъ. *Евхаристія*. Парижъ: YMCA-PRESS 1947, 229, 245–246.

<sup>932</sup> Zheltov 2010, 281.

<sup>933</sup> Zheltov 2010, 263–306.

<sup>934</sup> Zheltov 2010, 263, 273.

<sup>935</sup> PG 100, 336; English translation by Zheltov 2010, 273. Quite interestingly, Zheltov associates the emphasis on the *epiclesis* with the replacement of the Liturgy of St Basil the Great with that of John Chrysostom as the primary Byzantine Liturgy in the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries. The *epiclesis* in Chrysostom’s Eucharistic Canon is more explicit in its invocation to God to “make” the gifts the Body and Blood of Christ, converting them with His Holy Spirit. Zheltov 2010, 270, 274–275.

<sup>936</sup> Zheltov 2010, 293.

<sup>937</sup> Zheltov 2010, 295.

<sup>938</sup> Zheltov 2010, 275.

<sup>939</sup> Cabasilas, Nicholas. *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*. Crestwood: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press 1977, 72.

<sup>940</sup> Zheltov 2010, 276.

<sup>941</sup> Zheltov 2010, 279–280.

certain Greek fathers, such as St Gregory of Nyssa (d. c. 394), to some extent, St John Chrysostom<sup>942</sup> and several Syrian theologians in the 6<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>943</sup> During the 15<sup>th</sup> century, some Byzantine theologians reacted to the confrontation with the West by denying the active role of the Lord's words altogether in defense of their own liturgical practices. Symeon of Thessalonica (d. 1429), for example, was explicit in his view on the *epiclesis* and the priestly blessing of the Gifts as the only consecrative force. He stated, "I will emphasise [the fact] that the priest does not bless the gifts, when he is saying: 'Take, eat' and 'Drink ye all of it.'"<sup>944</sup> According to Zheltov, the Latin pressure on Byzantine theology, particularly evident at the Council of Florence in 1439, dichotomised perceptions of Eucharistic consecration. The representatives of the Patriarchate of Constantinople initially tried to rely on Cabasilas' definition of the *epiclesis* as an "actualisation" of the words of institution, both necessary for the transformation to take place, but, lacking the skills and techniques of Scholastic theology, they were ultimately forced to accept that the consecration was achieved *only* through the words of institution.<sup>945</sup> Such exclusivity, Zheltov notes, had never been characteristic of the Byzantine Eucharistic tradition.<sup>946</sup>

It is thus possible to see that Byzantine Eucharistic theology was by no means monolithic but hosted a variety of views. Scholastic precision was generally unfamiliar to the Eastern Rite understanding of the liturgy. In the Ruthenian Eastern Rite Church, on the other hand, the Byzantine theological tradition was challenged by the daily encounter with Latin Scholastic practice especially in the aftermath of the Tridentine Council. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, liturgical manuals and catechetical writings generally tended to favour the idea of consecration through the words of institution. Although such views had existed also in earlier Eastern Rite tradition, the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ruthenian line of thought can be clearly identified as Latin-inspired, for reasons discussed in the previous chapters. The Roman influence also spread via Italo-Greek publications of Orthodox liturgical books, where the consecration of the Holy Gifts takes place at Christ's words, accompanied by the blessing of the priest.<sup>947</sup>

The Latin Eucharistic practice was reflected in Ruthenian liturgical sources from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century onward. One of the earliest, the Orthodox Missal printed in Strjatin (1604), instructs the priest to bless the Gifts at the words of institution and after them, mirroring a similar Latin custom, to elevate the chalice and *diskos*.<sup>948</sup> Some decades later, Peter Mohyla highlighted the consecrative power of the words of institution in his *Orthodox Confession*,<sup>949</sup> *Catechism*<sup>950</sup> and *Euchologion*. In the

<sup>942</sup> Chrysostom's comment in *De prodit. Jud.* 1.6. (PG 49, 380), referring to the words "This is my Body" as consecratory, has been repeatedly used in the defense of the Latin theological view. Ambiguously, however, in another text Chrysostom points to the invocation of the Holy Spirit as the consecratory act: "The priest [...] raising his hands to heaven, calling the Holy Spirit to come and touch the [gifts] set forth. [...] And when the Spirit gives the grace, [...] they you can see the Lamb, already slain and prepared." *De coemet. et de cruc.* 3. PG 49, 398; English translation by Zheltov. Zheltov 2010, 282–283.

<sup>943</sup> Zheltov mentions Severus of Antioch (d. 521), James of Edessa (d. 708) and John of Dara (9<sup>th</sup> c.) as theologians who attributed the consecrative power to the words of institution, while recognising the power of the Holy Spirit in the *epiclesis*. Zheltov 2010, 284.

<sup>944</sup> *Expl. de div. temple.* 88. PG 155, 736–737. English translation by Zheltov. Zheltov 2010, 278.

<sup>945</sup> Zheltov 2010, 279.

<sup>946</sup> Zheltov 2010, 293.

<sup>947</sup> Meyendorff (citing Dmitrievskij) names the earliest Greek sources to emphasise the words of institution as the Missal published by Demetrius Doucas in Rome (1526), and its reprint by Iakovos Leonginos in Venice (1578). These sources were subsequently used by editors of liturgical books in Strjatin, Kiev, and later also in Moscow. Meyendorff 1991, 185–186.

<sup>948</sup> Zheltov 2010, 292.

<sup>949</sup> The question of the moment Eucharistic consecration was discussed extensively at the Synod of Kiev (1640) to which Mohyla submitted his new book for endorsement. Florovsky 1979, 75.

<sup>950</sup> Archimandrite Kiprian notes that the earliest, Latin redaction of Metropolitan Mohyla's *Catechism* attributed the consecration to the words of institution only. This point was changed after the Council of Iasi in 1642, in the Greek translation of the book, to correspond with the "tradition of Byzantine theology". Кипріанъ 1947, 254.

latter, he defined the “form” of the Sacrament as the Lord’s words, leaving the *epiclesis* without a mention:

The form or the completion of the Body of Christ are [in] the words of the Lord pronounced by the priest above the bread that is on the *discos* at the altar, i.e., TAKE, EAT, THIS IS MY BODY [...]. With these words, the bread is transubstantiated. [...] DRINK OF THIS YE ALL, THIS IS MY BLOOD [...].

With these words, the wine is truly transformed into the Blood of Christ.<sup>951</sup>

A similar point of silence can be noted in the teaching of another Ruthenian Orthodox theologian, Sylvestr Kossov, who in his *Exegesis* (1635) stated that “the form [of the Sacrament] is [in] those words pronounced by the priest: ‘take, eat, this is My Body’; and ‘drink of this ye all, for this is My Blood.’”<sup>952</sup> For further confirmation, Kossov also turned to Ambrose of Milan, citing the same words from *De sacramentis* that were later used by the author of the *Apograf* in the first *sticheron* at Great Vespers.<sup>953</sup> Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the moment of Eucharistic consecration was also attributed to the words of institution in the teaching of a number of other Ruthenian theologians.<sup>954</sup>

Despite the clear emphasis on the words of institution in the contemporary theological thought, Metropolitan Mohyla refrained from explicitly denying the role of the *epiclesis* in the consecration.<sup>955</sup> In the Canon composed by him for the priest’s pre-Communion preparation,<sup>956</sup> the consecration is recurrently described in terms of *both* the words of institution *and* the *epiclesis*.<sup>957</sup> For example:

Table 26: Mohyla’s pre-Communion Canon

Source ( <i>Euchologion</i> 1646)	Original text	English translation
<b>4<sup>th</sup> Ode, 3<sup>rd</sup> troparion</b>	р. 283: “Божественными ти словесы, дѣйствомъ же Пресвятаго Духа [...] премѣнятися исповѣдаю”	“By your divine words, as by the action of the Holy Spirit [...] to change I confess”
<b>5<sup>th</sup> Ode, 3<sup>rd</sup> troparion</b>	р. 284: “яко словесы твоими, и наитіемъ святаго Духа”	“as by your words, and by the coming [upon] of the Holy Spirit”
<b>5<sup>th</sup> Ode, theotokion</b>	р. 284-285: “по изреченіи Божественныхъ ти словесъ, дѣйством Пресвятаго Духа”	“after pronouncing your Divine words, by the action of the Holy Spirit”

It can thus be seen that 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ruthenian Eucharistic theology generally reflected the Latin understanding of the Sacrament. Occasionally the consecrative power of Christ’s words was combined with the “actualising” effect of the *epiclesis*, in the spirit of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantine theology but the perception of the consecration predominantly relied on the words of institution.

<sup>951</sup> “Образъ или съвершеніе Тѣла Х(ристов)а, суть словеса Г(оспо)дня над хлѣбом на Діскосъ на Пр(е)ст(о)лѣ сушом ѿт Іерея гл(агол)емя, сієсть: ПРИИМѢТЕ ЯДИТЕ, СІЄСТЬ ТѢЛО МОЕ [...] Сими словесы, хлѣбъ пресуществується. [...] ПШИТЕ ОТ НЕЯ ВСИ, СІЯ ЕСТ КРОВѢ МОЯ [...]. Сими словесы существо Вина въ КровѢ Х(ристо)ву истинноу предлагается.” *Требник митрополита Петра Могили* 1996, 238–239.

<sup>952</sup> “... formą zaś tego sakramentu są one słowa, które kapłan mówi: bierzcie y jedźcie, to iest Ciało Moie; y one: pićcie z niego wszyscy, to iest Krew Moia.” *Exegesis* (1635). *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.VIII. 1914, 428. A similar teaching can be found in Kossov’s *Didaskalia albo nauka o sedmi sakramentah* (1637). Florovsky 1979, 77.

<sup>953</sup> “A Ambroszy święty: panis iste est panis ante verbo sacramentorum; ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit Caro Christi, to iest: Chleb ten iest chlebem przed słowami sakramentalnymi; skoro przystąpi poświęcenie, chleba zostaje się Ciało Chrystusowe. (De sacr. 1, 4).” *Exegesis* (1635). *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.VIII. 1914, 443.

<sup>954</sup> Archimandrite Kiprian mentions writers such as Innocent Gizel’, Theodosy Safonovič and Lazar Baranovič as representatives of the Latin-influenced Eucharistic theology. Кипріанъ 1947, 254–255.

<sup>955</sup> Melnyk & Pilipowicz 2002, 327.

<sup>956</sup> This Canon is included in Mohyla’s *Euchologion*, see *Требник митрополита Петра Могили* 1996, 278–293. It was also reprinted in a slightly abridged version in *Архивъ ЮЗР* ч.1, т.VII. Киевъ 1887, 133–139.

<sup>957</sup> Naumow 1996, 156 (footnote 36).

Most importantly, this was something shared by both Orthodox and Uniate Ruthenians. Although they emphasised the consecration by Christ's words, as Metropolitan Žohovskij did in his Missal of 1692,<sup>958</sup> the Uniates did not thus actually depart from an existing Eastern Rite tradition but built on a familiar theological idea.

Ruthenian views came to be perceived as problematic only in the last third of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in increasing encounters with the Muscovite Orthodox Church. As has been noted, the Muscovite controversy of the Eucharistic consecration (the "bread worshipping heresy") grew from a theological issue into a broader national debate over whether Muscovy should lean toward the "Latins" (the West) or the "Greeks".<sup>959</sup> The first view, identified by its opponents as Latin, spread in Muscovy via Ruthenian liturgical books and teachers such as Simeon of Polock and Silvestr Medvedev. The Greek side found representation in figures such as Epifanij Slavineckij, the monk Evfimij and the brothers Likhud.<sup>960</sup> The controversy finally ended with the official refutation of the theology of consecration through the words of institution at the Moscow Council (1690).<sup>961</sup>

From the Ruthenian perspective, this process was significant because the Kievan Orthodox Metropolitanate was officially subordinated to the Patriarchate of Moscow during this controversy, in 1686. Enforcing his authority over the Kievan Church, Patriarch Ioachim and his successor Adrian instructed the Ruthenian publishers to avoid the old "form" of consecration in new liturgical books just as the Muscovite publications adopted the teaching of the *epiclesis*.<sup>962</sup> Yet the words of institution continued to be emphasised in a number of liturgical books.<sup>963</sup> The final unification of the Muscovite and Ruthenian Orthodox views on consecration theology took place in the 1720s, when all liturgical publications were subordinated to the Moscow Synod. The already traditional Ruthenian teaching on the "form" of the Eucharistic consecration thus continued to be proclaimed in the Uniate Church alone.<sup>964</sup>

In conclusion, it can be noted that the Eastern Rite Byzantine tradition was by no means monolithic in its teaching concerning the moment of consecration. The Council of Moscow (1690) was one of the earliest church organs to prohibit perceptions other than the consecration through an *epiclesis*. Among Ruthenians, whose liturgical tradition had for centuries evolved in close contact with the Roman Catholic Church, the moment of consecration was quite naturally perceived in terms of the words of institution, a theological concept so well-formulated in Latin tradition. It can thus be seen that in its clear emphasis on the consecrative power of Christ's words, the Uniate Feast of the Holy Eucharist understandably relied on the original content of the Latin *Corpus Christi*, but also on the Eucharistic teaching that had been generally accepted in the Ruthenian Eastern Rite circles of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, considering the period during which the new Uniate feast emerged, it is possible to argue that the increasing role of the Moscow Patriarchate in Ruthenian church life was also reflected in the Uniates' unswerving adherence to the local theological tradition.

<sup>958</sup> Naumow 2002, 148.

<sup>959</sup> Florovsky 1979, 107; Meyendorff 1991, 186.

<sup>960</sup> Киприанъ 1947, 254; Florovsky 1979, 107.

<sup>961</sup> Zheltov 2010, 292.

<sup>962</sup> Киприанъ 1947, 254–255; Ваврик 1985, 338.

<sup>963</sup> A *Poluustav* printed by the Holy Spirit Orthodox Monastery in Vilna (1695) underlines the view by explaining the consecrative power of Christ's words: "Приимете: сие ест тѣло мое... Ведай, же по вымовленю тых слов от священника, непонятным човекови способом хлеб, над которымся то мовить, на дискосе положенный, юж не ест хлебом далей, але пренайдорожшим зостае телом Христовым." ("Take: this is my Body... Know that after the pronouncing of these words by the priest, the bread, over which he pronounces them, and which is placed on the *discos*, in an unfathomable way is no longer bread but becomes the most precious body of Christ.") A similar explanation is made about the transformation of the wine into blood. The *epiclesis*, however, is passed with a small comment concerning the reverent participation in the Holy Gifts, for which the priest summons the Holy Spirit. Ваврик 1973, 464–465.

<sup>964</sup> Ваврик 1985, 338–339.

## 6 Conclusion

This research concentrated on the Uniate Feast of the Holy Eucharist in the context of the Eastern Rite Ruthenian liturgical evolution in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The feast, ratified by the Uniate Council of Zamość in 1720, was an adaptation of the 13<sup>th</sup>-century Roman Catholic Feast of *Corpus Christi* (The Body of Christ) which has no analogue in the Eastern Rite Byzantine tradition. This dissertation examined the Ruthenian feast as a historical and a liturgical phenomenon. The main part of the analysis was dedicated to Church Slavonic liturgical texts composed for the feast approximately from the 1690s–1730s. These texts were consulted in several manuscript and printed sources that had not previously received thorough attention.

The dichotomy between the Roman Catholic and Byzantine-Slavic liturgical traditions provided the general framework for the analysis of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist and its transformation from “Latin” into “Greek”. In studies of Ruthenian liturgical tradition, the feast has often been viewed rather narrowly either as a foreign implant in the Eastern Rite, or an example of the Latinisation of Ruthenian tradition in the centuries following the Union of Brest (1596). This research sought to question the traditional view by exploring the development of the feast in its immediate cultural context. It proposed that the feast was a natural consequence of gradual evolution in the Uniate liturgy, especially in its Eucharistic cult. Instead of analysing the development in terms of Latinisation alone, it suggested that the feast be approached as a phenomenon in which Western and Eastern influences were combined and the originally “Latin” celebration was transformed into something characteristically “Greek” through its accommodation to the Church Slavonic hymnographical tradition.

The research proceeded from an understanding of liturgical tradition as constantly evolving in the course of social and cultural change during each period of history. Different phenomena arising from the evolution of the Ruthenian Eastern Rite tradition, including the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, were thus approached as reflections of different socio-cultural processes shaping Ruthenian society.

During the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries, significant social, cultural and denominational changes took place in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. *The second chapter* of this study delved into these changes and the reactions they brought about among the Ruthenian population in order to provide the following analysis of liturgical evolution with a sufficient cultural-historical context. The historical period was approached thematically by concentrating on three aspects: ethnic, linguistic and religious. The analysis pointed out the demarcating as well as assimilating functions of these factors in the formation of a Ruthenian collective identity which, it was argued, was also reflected in the attitudes and actions related to liturgical rite.

Since the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Rus’ population had inhabited the eastern and southeastern parts of Lithuania and Poland, where they constituted a rather fragmented, socially stratified community. By approaching the past from an ethno-symbolist perspective in the sense of tracing signs of an evolving ethnic consciousness, it became possible to argue that a characteristically Polish-Lithuanian Ruthenian identity was in formation during the period under investigation. Processes of naming, self-definition and demarcation manifested an increasing consciousness of constituting their own community. These processes never resulted in the formation of a united Ruthenian nation, as integrative and disintegrative processes fluctuated throughout the centuries. The general identification of the Ruthenians with a Rus’ community, which persisted even after the division of the Eastern Rite Church at the Union of Brest, was at the same time challenged

by a more exclusivist identification with the *Roxolani* elite, the pro-Orthodox concept of *Rosiia* and its politically influenced form *Little Rosiia*, as well as by the general term for borderland and its inhabitants, *Ukraïna*. Yet naming processes contributed to the identification of at least certain groups of Ruthenians with the Polish-Lithuanian political homeland, which was reflected in their reluctance to side with the other, Muscovite, Rus', as well as in their responsiveness to influences from the surrounding Polish-dominated society.

The responsiveness and ability to adapt to changes turned out to be one of the most consequential characteristics of the Ruthenian culture. Adaptation was obviously a condition of survival in the multicultural and multilingual Commonwealth. Ruthenian linguistic identity relied on two languages, Church Slavonic and Ruthenian, whose role in strengthening the sense of community and continuation of tradition was significant. The gradual Polonisation that embraced the Rus' elite, in particular, increased the role of Polish and Latin languages in Ruthenian society. The pressure for multilingual competence became particularly evident in Ruthenian education in which the teaching of Latin and Polish was established in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. Although the process was likely to weaken the role of Ruthenian as the main means of communication, in this analysis it was also evaluated from the perspective of cross-cultural adaptation in which a degree of assimilation is seen as a route to better functional fitness. By learning the languages of the dominating culture, the Ruthenians increased their competence and could thus avoid discrimination in various situations. It was also pointed out that an educated Ruthenian could develop multiple linguistic identities that operated at different levels.

The Eastern Rite religion was a key factor demarcating the Ruthenians in Polish-Lithuanian society and it also constituted the core of the characteristically Ruthenian identity. From the 14<sup>th</sup> century onward, the Eastern Rite subjects of the Polish-Lithuanian rule faced considerable discrimination on the basis of their denomination. Their loyalty to the Roman Catholic monarch was suspected especially in political situations involving Eastern Rite Muscovy. Cultural Polonisation was often accompanied by conversion to the Catholic (or, with the Reformation, to a Protestant) faith, especially among the Ruthenian elite, which further weakened the position of the Eastern Rite Church. The church union in 1596 did not improve the second-class status of the Eastern Rite; instead, discrimination against both Orthodox and Uniate Ruthenians continued well into the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Political and social conditions had a notable impact on the Eastern Rite religious identity. Instead of isolating itself from society, the Eastern Rite Ruthenian community generally opened up to influences from the dominating Western culture. This responsiveness has been defined in terms of cultural "polymorphism", a tendency to assimilate and synthesise elements from different traditions. Employing this concept in the analysis of religious identity and, consequently, liturgical evolution, this research argued that a certain degree of assimilation was indeed inevitable and even imperative for the survival of the Eastern Rite.

Research into the Eastern Rite liturgy of Ruthenian Uniates has been dominated by evaluations of the extent and consequences of assimilating influences from Roman Catholic tradition. These aspects were analysed in *the third and fourth chapters* of this study in relation to the concept of liturgical evolution which encompassed the development of ideas and practices in the Ruthenian Eastern Rite from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. In order to create the context for further analysis of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, the main emphasis was on the evolution of the characteristically Uniate Eastern Rite tradition from the Union of Brest (1596) to the Council of Zamość (1720).

The analysis proceeded from the idea that although all liturgical traditions constantly change and evolve, the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century evolution of the Eastern Rite Ruthenian liturgy ultimately resulted from the crisis within the church in the 16<sup>th</sup> century: the low level of education, the absence of

adequate leadership, the lack of consensus between its members and the sense of inferiority with respect to the Eastern Rite. In the opinion of Archimandrite Sergij of the Suprasl' Monastery, depicting the state of contemporary liturgical rite in his letter of 1536/1556, the diversity of customs constituted a threat to the church by leading it into internal disorder. Toward the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, the lack of coordination within the liturgical rite came to be seen as detrimental to the church not only because of its impact on the integrity of faith, but also because it undermined the status of the church in the eyes of others, especially the revitalised Roman Catholic Church.

The supporters of the union with the Roman Church had a vision of protection that the Eastern Rite would enjoy under the Pope's jurisdiction. In 1595, the preservation of the liturgical tradition was defined as a condition of the hierarchs' subordination to Rome. In the light of post-Tridentine Catholic ecclesiology however, the jurisdictional subordination inevitably signified gradual conformation to the Roman doctrinal tradition and, through it, to the Latin liturgical rite. Although the Union of Brest did not bring about any abrupt changes in the Eastern Rite liturgy, the idea of the Latin tradition as superior and of the Greek Rite as inferior gradually permeated the Ruthenian religious identity and resulted in loans of Latin origin. During the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, both the Orthodox and the Uniates adopted influences from the Roman Catholic tradition while claiming the legitimacy as the true Eastern Rite Church.

In the Eastern Rite Uniate Church, the assimilation of ideas and customs from the Latin tradition increased in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Rather than viewing the process simply as the Latinisation of the Uniate Church, it was analysed in terms of confessionalisation, the development toward an independent church tradition. The process involved attempts at both demarcation from the old Eastern Rite Orthodox community and integration into the Roman Catholic sphere. The early estrangement between the two Eastern Rite churches increased considerably with the murder of the Uniate Archbishop Kuncevič at the hands of the Orthodox in 1623, which also initiated the cult of the first Uniate saint. The psychological division grew deeper with the decidedly anti-union Cossack movement in mid-17<sup>th</sup> century and the subordination of the Ruthenian Orthodox to the Moscow Patriarchate in 1686. This estrangement became reflected in Uniate liturgical practice: certain Eastern Rite customs came to be regarded as "schismatic", in some places leading to the rejection of fundamental parts of the divine services, such as the entrances during the Eucharistic Liturgy.

The development toward confessional maturity was also manifested in attempts at realising the union with the Roman Catholic Church on a practical level. Inter-ritual participation in sacraments such as the Eucharist and Confession constituted a test of this unity, as the Uniates soon found that the two rites, the Greek and the Latin, were not considered equal in the eyes of the Roman Church. While sacramental participation in Latin churches was open to members of the Uniate Church, the validity of the Eastern Rite sacraments was questioned.

The process of demarcation and assimilation resulted in the Uniate Church in the creation of a "third" rite combining features from both the Latin and the Greek Rite. The process was, however, highly uncoordinated. New customs emerged and old customs were modified on individual initiative, only partly checked by the *de facto* highest authority of the Uniate Church, the Basilian Order. The evolution of the "third" rite involved the modification of existing Eastern Rite practices to correspond to the Latin Rite tradition. This was seen, for example, in omissions and changes in the rubrics of divine services – the inclusion of the *Filioque* in the Creed, the commemoration of the Pope during the Divine Liturgy, the celebration of the Eucharist during the Great Lent, the reduction of the *proskomedie*, and most notably in the development of the recited Liturgy as a shortened version on the basis of the Latin Low Mass – and in the reorganisation of church interior, for example, the building of side altars and the gradual removal of the iconostasis.

The evolution was further manifested in the adoption of commemorations of Latin origin and in the adaptation of Latin practices to an Eastern Rite liturgical expression, especially through translation of Latin liturgical texts into Church Slavonic. New commemorations and feasts were included in the Uniate calendar, for example, the Visitation (*Posëščenje*) and the Compassion of the Mother of God (*Sostradanie*), St Anthony of Padua, St Casimir, and the Sweetest Name of Jesus, while some traditional Eastern Rite saints were removed from it. The Feast of the Conception of Virgin Mary, possibly reflecting the popularity of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, came to be celebrated with an eight-day afterfeast. Previously unknown types of devotions such as the *godzinki* (for example the Little Office of the Immaculate Conception), the litanies (Litany of the Saints, Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary), and hymns such as *Omni die dic Mariae*, *Dies irae* and *Te Deum laudamus* (which was also used in Orthodox practice), became cultivated in the Eastern Rite liturgical context. Customs such as the praying of the rosary, the ringing of the Angelus bell, the exposition of the Sacrament at the Forty Hours' Devotion, and processions with the Body of Christ were also established in the Uniate Church. In musical performance, in spite of relying on the chant tradition shared with the Ruthenian Orthodox – the old church monody as the basis of liturgical chant and the *partes* polyphony – the Uniates departed from the Eastern Rite tradition by also allowing the use of instruments, such as portable and built-in organs. Instrumental ensembles were also supported in monasteries such as Žyrovichy; however, it remains unclear whether instrumental music was used in the actual liturgy.

The evolution in the Ruthenian Uniate liturgical rite largely occurred in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The lack of coordination with which the changes were introduced brought about the need for a synod in which they could be evaluated and sanctioned. In contrast to the prevailing view of the Council of Zamość in 1720 this was thus a belated reaction to evolution that had already taken place. The Council aimed at putting an end to private innovations by confirming the status quo in liturgical tradition, thus standardising many aspects of the “third” rite.

By assimilating practices of Latin origin and transforming them into Eastern Rite liturgical services, feasts, hymns and customs, the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup>-century Uniate Church created the conditions for yet another manifestation of the “third” rite: the Feast of the Holy Eucharist. The festal practice began to emerge already in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The 13<sup>th</sup>-century Feast of *Corpus Christi*, which had become established all over Catholic-dominated Europe, including the Greek Rite communities of the Italian Peninsula, was celebrated as a special national holiday in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It has been shown that the Uniate preference for the Latin feast was, to a great extent, culturally induced. Yet the influence of Latin Eucharistic theology also raised awareness of the Eucharistic cult in the Uniate Church. Many features later attributed to the Feast of the Holy Eucharist were established already in the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The process was depicted here as a natural development in which the reverence to the Holy Eucharist was highlighted, by adopting customs such as the exposition of the Sacrament and processions with the Eucharistic Bread. Already in 1621, the Basilians were advised to renew their vows in front of the Holy Sacrament exposed on the altar. A musical manuscript dated to the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century indicates that the exposition took place in a special devotion featuring chanted dialogue between the priest and brethren. The score constituted a Church Slavonic rendition of a Latin hymn text *O Salutaris Hostia*, *О спасительная Жертва*. The comparison of the Ruthenian musical line with a 13<sup>th</sup>-century Polish melody *Gaude Mater Ecclesia*, which was also used in performing the text *O Salutaris Hostia*, revealed that the musical content was also based on the Latin model. References were also found to another hymn closely associated with extra-liturgical Eucharistic devotion, *Tantum ergo Sacramentum*, which was translated into Ruthenian by the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Eucharistic reverence was manifested in the Latin tradition by processions in which the Body of Christ, the consecrated Bread, was carried. While such processions were initially viewed as foreign to the Eastern Rite, the earliest evidence of carrying the Sacrament in a Uniate procession was noted already in 1642. The custom became established in monasteries such as Žyrovichy by the 1680s at the latest. From the perspective of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, the carrying of the Sacrament in a procession constituted a decisive step towards perceiving the Eucharist as detachable from the Divine Liturgy – a concept until then unfamiliar to Eastern Rite sacramental thinking.

After examining the ways in which the evolution in the Ruthenian Greek Rite liturgy created the conditions for another Latin-based innovation, the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, the research concentrated in *the fifth chapter* on the actual transformation of the *Corpus Christi* celebration into an Eastern liturgical feast with Church Slavonic hymnography. The analysis was based on seven copies of the earliest, short Office composed for the festal Liturgy, which was published in 1691 in the Vilna edition of the new Uniate Missal and appeared in a slightly different redaction in manuscript sources preceding the publication of full liturgical cycles for the feast. The most extensive analysis was conducted on the two earliest collections of liturgical texts, published after the Council of Zamość: the *Apograf* (s.a.) and the *Voslědovanija* (1738). Both collections encompassed the festal services from the eve of the feast to the end of the eight-day afterfeast (octave).

The aim of the analysis was to reveal to what extent the new liturgical texts relied on the original Latin content and to what they could be characterised as “Greek” in their dependence on the Byzantine and Slavic hymnographical traditions. In earlier, rather limited research, the content of the festal hymnography and readings had predominantly been evaluated in terms of its correspondences with the Latin texts (Hojnackij). By analysing a substantially larger corpus of texts and by extending the sources for comparison to Latin, Church Slavonic and Italo-Byzantine Greek texts, this study reached the following general conclusions:

1) The new hymnographical texts were predominantly independent compositions in Church Slavonic.

2) The influence of existing Latin *Corpus Christi* texts was mainly detectable in the choice of biblical texts (psalm verses, Old Testament *paremia* readings, the Epistle and the Gospel pericopes); however, many of these features could have equally been borrowed from the Byzantine liturgical tradition.

3) Of the two published collections of liturgical texts, the *Apograf* was more Latin in character than the *Voslědovanija*.

4) Both collections revealed a connection with the Italo-Byzantine textual tradition for the Greek Feast of *Corpus Christi* by borrowing the same texts from existing Byzantine hymnography (*stichera* adapted from the Canon of the Holy Wednesday Compline) and also by translating original Italo-Byzantine texts into Church Slavonic; slightly more of these features were discovered in the *Voslědovanija*.

5) All sources revealed a conscious aim to transform the Latin feast into a Greek one by following the traditional Eastern Rite hymnographical genres and structure of the services, by organising the hymnography according to the *oktoechos* principle, and by imitating the Church Slavonic hymnographical expression.

More detailed analysis of the early Office for the feast revealed that more than one author was involved in the composition process, which was reflected in two redactions, based on different choices for psalm verses for the *prokeimenon*, the Alleluia and the Communion hymn. Correspondences between two manuscript copies (the Borgia MS and Pilihovskij’s Missal), dating back to 1693 at the latest, suggested that an early version of the Office might have originated

in Rome. These sources featured a redaction that was predominant in manuscripts preceding the official establishment of the feast. The first published Office (the 1691 Missal), however, represented another redaction. This particular publication, printed at the Holy Trinity Monastery in Vilna, was supposed to prepare the way for a larger Missal by Metropolitan Žohovskij. Yet when this larger Missal was published in 1692 (and supplemented in 1695) it did not include the Office for the Holy Eucharist.

The main proper hymns chanted in the Eastern Rite Divine Liturgy, the *troparion* and the *kontakion*, were established already in the early Office, with only minor variation in their wording. The *troparion*, *Хлѣбъ преестественный*, was an original composition bearing no resemblance to any other hymns. An interesting echo of Latin Scholastic theology was pointed out in its reference to the enfleshed God, “hidden under visible species”. The preciseness with which the presence of Christ in the Eucharistic Gifts was defined in the Scholastic tradition was generally unfamiliar to Byzantine theology; however, such definitions characterised the Ruthenian theological thought in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The *kontakion*, *Се предлежит Христос на пищу всѣмъ*, was analysed as partly a paraphrase of an existing text, noting that two full sentences had been borrowed from the Byzantine pre-Communion prayer *Се приступаю к божественному причащенію*. The technique of borrowing expressions, full sentences, or structuring a new text according to an existing model, was noted as a standard hymnographical tool that the authors of these festal texts widely used, most likely with the aim of rooting their composition in the Eastern Rite tradition.

The full cycles of liturgical texts for the new feast were created after the official establishment of *festum Corporis Christi* in the Uniate calendar. The extent of textual material revealed that from the very beginning, the Feast of the Holy Eucharist was perceived as a high-ranking feast: by content, it was equal to the twelve Great Feasts of the Eastern Rite Church. While it remained difficult to determine why two different sets of texts appeared at approximately the same time (the 1720s–1730s), an analysis of content pointed to the degree of Latin influence as a possible separating factor between the *Apograf* and the *Voslėdovanija*. The *Apograf* was revealed as clearly more Latin-oriented in its theological views. Most notably, the only clear loans from Latin texts were found in its content: four *stichera* modified from the Eucharistic teaching by Ambrose of Milan (*De sacramentis*), a Canon *troparion* paraphrasing the *Corpus Christi* hymn *O Salutaris Hostia*, and a *synaxarion* text based on the 3<sup>rd</sup> *lectio* in the *Corpus Christi* office, also composed by Thomas Aquinas. The *Voslėdovanija* was found to be more conservative in its content. This was explained by the cultural gap between the two monastic centres in which the collections were published: the Suprasl’ Monastery had been under Uniate jurisdiction for nearly 100 years longer than the Unėv Monastery, which accounts for their differing attitudes toward Latin influence.

Discussing the coinciding publication period of these collections, it was suggested that the author(s) of one cycle used the other publication as a source. It was noted that the revision of the Latin-influenced *Apograf* into a more conservative *Voslėdovanija* would have been against the contemporary course of evolution, which was not characterised by de-Latinisation. Thus, it was suggested that the publication of the Suprasl’ Monastery was a complemented version of the publication of the Unėv Monastery. The greater influence of Italo-Byzantine *Corpus Christi* hymnography on the *Voslėdovanija* was suggested as evidence of the earlier compilation of this collection. It was also argued that there may have been a proto-text of the festal hymnography, drawing on the Italo-Byzantine sources, which was consulted by the authors of both collections.

Examining the relationship between the new hymnography and the Eastern Rite hymnographical tradition, the analysis also touched upon the musical performance of the texts. As already noted, the musical organisation was fully based on the eight-tone system (*oktoechos*) of the Slavic church plainchant, which was reflected in the prescription of each separate hymn to one of the eight tones, often accompanied by a reference to a model melody (*podobn*) of the particular tone. Although the

performance obviously could not be heard, a notated score of three *stichera* for the feast (LMAB F 19-116, ff. 287r–287v), dating back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, served as evidence of the close relationship that had been preserved between the Uniate liturgical chant and the old church monody, despite the evolution towards *partes* polyphony, organ accompaniment and orchestral music. The melodic line of the *stichera* prescribed to the 1<sup>st</sup> tone *podobno O divnoe chudo* corresponded, both to a Ruthenian score of the particular model melody and, most interestingly, to a double-notated score of the same hymn from the Muscovite *Znamenny* tradition. It was thus possible to argue that the musical performance in the festal services relied fully on the Eastern Rite musical tradition, which clearly made it easier for the faithful to familiarise themselves with the new texts. In contrast, during the procession outside the church, it was possible that the liturgical chant gradually succumbed to spiritual songs from the evolving paraliturgical tradition. Moreover, the procession most likely concluded with a popular hymn of Latin origin, *Te Deum laudamus*, or verses from it.

The analysis of the liturgical texts for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist revealed the ways in which the Latin feast was transformed into a Greek one. The major “Easternisation” took place on the level of language and liturgical rite with its hymnographical and musical conventions. The final task of the analysis was to explore the new liturgical texts in light of Eucharistic theology in which the Western and Eastern traditions are commonly perceived to diverge. The hymnographical content was first examined in search of references to characteristically Latin Rite Eucharistic customs, such as the procession with the Holy Gifts, the exposition of the Sacrament, and the Eucharistic communication of the laity in only one species, the Body of Christ. Symbolic references were pointed out in the depictions of carrying the Ark of Covenant, as a reflection of the festive procession in which “instead of the Tablets of the Law-giver, Christ the Lord is beheld hidden” (*sticheron* at Litia), as well as in the recurrent use of expressions of “beholding” and “seeing” as reflections of the reverent observation of the Holy Sacrament during its exposition. Concerning the participation in the Body as well as Blood of Christ, however, the hymnography clearly underlined the Eastern Rite custom of communicating in two species.

As a festal tradition that evolved most significantly from the 1690s–1730s, the Feast of the Holy Eucharist was also expected to reflect the heated theological debate of its time, the controversy over the moment of Eucharistic consecration, involving both Ruthenian and Muscovite theologians. Aware of the continuing ecumenical importance of the question, this research culminated in the examination of the early 18<sup>th</sup>-century hymnography in light of the consecration theology. Considering the Latin theological basis of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, it did not come as a surprise that the hymnography revealed a clear emphasis on the words of Christ, i.e., the words of institution (“Take, eat, this is My Body” and “Drink ye all of this, this is My Blood”) as consecratory. In the Roman Catholic tradition, the moment of consecration has always been ascribed to these words, whereas the Byzantine tradition has generally refrained from defining a particular moment, or emphasised the role of the *epiclesis* prayer (“And make this bread the precious Body”) or, as recent research (Zheltoy) has shown, some other moment during the Liturgy. Arguments for the consecration through *epiclesis* generally sharpened in Byzantine circles during the confrontation with Latin theology in the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries, but they were by no means exclusive. One of the earliest official decisions in support of the *epiclesis* consecration was made at the Council of Moscow in 1690. In the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ruthenian line of thought, however, the moment of consecration was generally defined in terms of the words of institution, or both the words of institution and the *epiclesis* prayer.

In view of the absence of a single Eastern Rite perception of the moment of consecration, the emphasis on the words of institution in the hymnography was interpreted, firstly, as a continuation of the general Ruthenian theological tradition, Orthodox and Uniate alike. Secondly, it was perceived as a reflection of the contemporary church political situation. It was during the

consecration controversy, in 1686, that the Orthodox Metropolitanate of Kiev was subordinated to the Patriarchate of Moscow. This subordination was followed by attempts at the unification of theological thought according to the Muscovite teaching. It could thus be argued that by proclaiming the consecration through the words of institution, the Uniate Church obviously relied on the Roman Catholic theology reflected by the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, as well as on the 17<sup>th</sup>-century local Ruthenian tradition, but it also manifested its stance against the unifying policy of Muscovite Orthodoxy.

In conclusion, the Feast of the Holy Eucharist was analysed as a fruit of a long evolution of liturgy, theology, and practice, especially in relation to the Sacrament of the Eucharist, in the Eastern Rite Uniate Church in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Contrary to the popular interpretation of the feast as a purely Latin loan implanted into the Eastern Rite, a closer analysis of the hymnography composed for the new feast revealed how, although unfamiliar to the Byzantine Church in its theological premise, the new liturgical texts rooted the feast deep in the Eastern Rite Uniate liturgical tradition.

The current thesis can be seen as a valuable contribution to the study of the Ruthenian branch of the Eastern Rite liturgy, as it is the first monograph dissertation on the Feast of the Holy Eucharist in this context. The research was based on an extensive analysis of a number of previously unexamined manuscripts and early publications. By bringing these sources to light and especially by including the transcripts of the two earliest full cycles of liturgical texts for the feast as appendices to the study, this dissertation has paved the way for further research on early Uniate hymnography, its themes, expressions, language and relation to existing hymnographical traditions both in the Latin and the Byzantine Rite.

## 7 Excursio

This thesis has focused on the formative years and liturgical performance of the Uniate Feast of the Holy Eucharist. Looking back now, nearly three centuries after the Council of Zamość, it is striking to perceive how the currents of liturgical evolution never cease to mould the rite. While the feast was undoubtedly one of the most characteristically “third-rite” innovations in the Uniate liturgy, since its establishment it has been variously encouraged, suppressed, elevated, or simply ignored. At the same time, the feast and the associated Eucharistic customs have left traces in local practices, both Uniate and Orthodox, which continue to be observed to this day.<sup>965</sup>

The political development of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century had a major impact on the Uniate liturgical tradition. In the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia, and Habsburg Austria, the territories with most Uniate inhabitants came under Russian rule.<sup>966</sup> With each partition, the Russian control over the Uniate Ruthenians tightened, culminating in a conversion campaign launched by Empress Catherine II in 1794–1796.<sup>967</sup> The following campaign to convert the remaining Uniates took place under Czar Nicholas I (1825–1855) and, by the decision of three Russian-oriented Uniate bishops, resulted in the official dissolution of the Union of Brest in the Russian Empire in 1839. The bloody conversion of the Uniates of the Chełm region in 1875 concluded the century of suppression. During the “voluntary return”<sup>968</sup> of the Ruthenians to the Russian Orthodox Church and with it, the “restoration of the true

<sup>965</sup> Contemporary Ruthenian parishes, whether in Poland, Belarus, Ukraine, or other regions of the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, share the history of shifting allegiances and conversions from Orthodox to Uniate and vice versa. Extra-liturgical Eucharistic devotions continue, for example, in the Diocese of Przemyśl and Nowy Sącz of the Polish Orthodox Church with processions with the Holy Gifts and the Supplication (Benediction) services. The customs of the local population have prevailed to such extent that the Supplication service (*Пісня благальна*) has been included in prayerbook printed by the diocese. See *Отче наш. Молитовник. До друку підготував М. Бендза*. Сянік 1988, 363–364. Reflections of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist, in turn, can be suggested in an interesting practice observed in the Orthodox parish of Narew (Diocese of Warsaw and Bielsk, Polish Orthodox Church), where the verses chanted during the Communion extend beyond the common *Receive the Body of Christ* (*Тело Христово*) to *I will take the cup of salvation* (*Чашу спасения*, Ps. 116:13) and *He who eats My flesh* (*Ядый мою Плоть*, John 6:56). These observations have been made by the author from 2000–2013. Although these verses are commonly associated with the Sacrament of the Eucharist in general, they are also the Communion verses prescribed for the Office for the Feast of the Holy Eucharist – in redactions A and B, as we saw in chapter 5.1.3.3. It seems more than a coincidence that they should here complement the Communion verse *Receive the Body of Christ*.

<sup>966</sup> In the first partition (1772), along with the lands acquired by Prussia in the northwest, the eastern Belarusian lands were annexed to Russia, while Austria gained Galicia, including the Uniate administrative centres Lvov and Przemyśl. The second partition (1793) brought the palatinates of Minsk, Podole, Kiev and Braclav under Russian control and with the third partition (1795), Russia acquired the Lithuanian, Western Volhynian and Belarusian provinces. It has been estimated that during the second partition, more than 2 million Ruthenians belonged to the Uniate Church in the lands annexed to Russia (against c. 300,000 Orthodox), and with the third partition, 1.2 million Ruthenians, predominantly Uniate, became Russian citizens. Skinner 2009, 196, 199.

<sup>967</sup> The conversion campaign concentrated on lands acquired in the second and, from 1795, the first partition. It was most efficient in the Braclav Palatinate, where virtually all of the Uniate parishes became Orthodox. During 1794–1796, the total number of converts is estimated to have reached 1.6 million. Catherine II liquidated the old Uniate dioceses of Pinsk, Volodymyr, and Luck, and placed all Uniate parishes under the Archbishop of Polock, Iraklii Lisovskij, who had been personally chosen by the Empress as a trustworthy hierarch. Skinner 2009, 209, 219–222.

<sup>968</sup> The Russian westward expansion of the 1790s revived the myth of the unity of eastern Slavic peoples – Russian and Ruthenian – and their one ethnic, political and religious identity. The rhetoric of Ruthenian “return” to “Mother Russia” was widely used at that time; however, as Skinner notes, the myth had been developed by Ruthenian clergy in Kiev during the 17<sup>th</sup> century integration of Left Bank Ukraine into Muscovy. Skinner 2009, 199.

Eastern Rite”, the Uniates tended to cling to their old liturgical tradition and particularly to those features that departed most from the Russian Synodal usages, namely, those that reflected a Latin influence.<sup>969</sup> Correspondingly, the “third-rite” Eucharistic customs were seen as quintessential to the Uniate identity,<sup>970</sup> even to the point that in order to remove the Feast of the Holy Eucharist from “national memory,” the Russian government tried to replace it with a special day dedicated to the “reunion” of the Uniates with the Orthodox Church.<sup>971</sup>

Yet views about the “third” rite also diverged within the Uniate Church.<sup>972</sup> After the first partition (1773), the Uniate Archbishop of Polock, Iraklii Lisovskij, called for uniformity of liturgical practice by means of eliminating Latin practices from the Eastern Rite.<sup>973</sup> In the 1790s, Bishop Ważyński expressed similar opinions in the Chełm Diocese. He found opposition in the representatives of Rome as well as in those Uniates who favoured the Latin-influenced practices as elements of a demarcated Uniate religious identity.<sup>974</sup> Some decades later, the dissolution of the union in the Russian Empire was reinforced by the energetic actions by Bishop Iosif Semaško who “cleansed” the Uniate churches from Latin emblems such as organs and confessionals and replaced liturgical books with Synodal printings. Similarly, the conversion of the Chełm Uniates in the 1870s was preceded by intense “purification of the rite” by a Uniate convert to Orthodoxy, Markel Popel’.<sup>975</sup>

Questions of liturgical purity also arose among the Uniates annexed to Austria in the first partition. Under the Habsburg monarchs Maria Theresa and Joseph II, the Galician Uniates enjoyed relative peace and developed an allegiance to the Austrian monarchy and society.<sup>976</sup> Their liturgical life continued on the path laid by the Council of Zamość; however, especially in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the influence of the Latin Rite seems to have intensified. Partly in response to the threat of total assimilation,<sup>977</sup> some members of the clergy began to introduce changes in the liturgy in order to remove Latin Rite customs. In Roman and Austrian eyes the “purification” movement concealed an intention to submit to Orthodox Russia,<sup>978</sup> and the Provincial Council of Lvov (1891) was instructed not to allow any attempts in this direction. The Council ratified several practices that had become established in the “third” rite; most importantly in our case, it elevated the Feast of the Holy Eucharist to the rank of Great Feast and approved the rubrics for the festal exposition of the Sacrament and the procession as described in the *Typikon* by Isydor Dol’nyc’kyj.<sup>979</sup>

<sup>969</sup> Senyk 1990, 184. The later Metropolitan of the Galician Uniate Church, Andrej Šeptyckyj, noted that in the Belarussian lands as well as in Chełm, the “purification of the rite” was understood as a means of Russification. With this in mind, Pope Pius IX issued an encyclical in 1874 ordering Ruthenians to preserve the features that distinguished their rite from that of “the heretics and schismatics.” Galadza 2004, 249, 404.

<sup>970</sup> Especially in Belarussian lands, where the Uniate Church had dominated for generations, practices such as processions were an integral part of the local tradition. Skinner 2009, 157.

<sup>971</sup> Котлярчук 2001, 196.

<sup>972</sup> Senyk 1990, 183.

<sup>973</sup> Galadza 2004, 361; Skinner 2009, 63.

<sup>974</sup> Skinner 2009, 63.

<sup>975</sup> Galadza 2004, 248–249, 361.

<sup>976</sup> Турій, Олег. “Соціальний статус і матеріальне становище греко-католицького духовенства Галичини в середині XIX століття.” *Ковчег. Науковий збірник із церковної історії*. Ч. 2. Львів: Інститут Історії Церкви Львівської Богословської Академії 2000, 115.

<sup>977</sup> In 1866, Austria granted the Polish nobility control over all social institutions in Galicia. Metropolitan Šeptyckyj viewed the purification of the rite from Latin influences as protection against Polonisation. Galadza 2004, 248, 321.

<sup>978</sup> As Galadza relates, Metropolitan Iosyf Sembratovyč was forced by Rome to resign around 1882 on account of accusations such as his “toleration for the purification of the Rite, whose actual purpose was to assimilate the Ruthenians and their followers to the Russian Church and facilitate their passage to Muscovite schism.” Galadza 2004, 250.

<sup>979</sup> See chapter 5.4.1.

Throughout the political turmoil of the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries the main impetus to the evolution of the Uniate Eastern Rite continued to come from its suggested inferiority with respect to the Latin Rite. As the later Uniate Metropolitan Andrei Šeptyckyj (1865–1944) wrote,

Our forebears, both before and after Zamość, believed they were obliged to approximate the Latin Rite to the utmost by introducing as many [Latin] customs and practices as possible – even minor ones – in order to gain acceptance as true Catholics [...].<sup>980</sup>

The superiority of the Latin Rite continued to be proclaimed by the Roman See with little space for interpretation, for example in *Etsi pastoralis* (1742) by Pope Benedict XIV.<sup>981</sup> In the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, a shift towards greater tolerance and appreciation for the Eastern Church was detectable in the encyclicals by Pope Leo XIII. This also meant that borrowing Western liturgical forms and rites was discouraged in the Eastern Rite.<sup>982</sup> Metropolitan Andrei Šeptyckyj, who in many ways personified the Galician “purification” movement of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, found inspiration in this changed atmosphere. As Peter Galadza points out, while Šeptyckyj’s own theology reflected his Western training and certain strong Latin inclinations, his role in the “Easternisation” of the Uniate liturgy was notable, especially in the cultivation of public opinion about the Eastern Rite.<sup>983</sup> Šeptyckyj emphasised the distinction between “Catholic” and “Latin” – full membership of the Catholic Church did not require the adoption of the Latin Rite.<sup>984</sup>

However, Šeptyckyj was rather far from an “Easterniser” in his views on extra-liturgical reverence for the Holy Eucharist. He remained convinced of the spiritual benefit of certain Eucharistic practices, such as the exposition of the Sacrament, to an Eastern Rite believer. As Galadza notes, in the absence of distinctive Uniate theology and proper mystagogia, the discussion about such devotions never reached a theological level.<sup>985</sup> Understandably enough, the Feast of the Holy Eucharist is not mentioned in Šeptyckyj’s pastorals among the commemorations or practices to reconsider. The *Pentekostarion* printed in Lvov in 1907 contains rubrics and hymnography for the whole festal cycle, including the octave.<sup>986</sup>

In the 1940s, new liturgical books for the Ruthenian use (the *Recensio Ruthena*) were published in Rome. Departing from the tradition of Uniate Missals in the *missale plenum* type, initiated in the 1690s, the new *Liturgikon* (1942) followed the common Byzantine tradition, excluding,

<sup>980</sup> Galadza 2004, 403.

<sup>981</sup> “[T]he Latin Rite prevails over the Greek Rite [...] because of [the Latin Rite’s] superiority, and because it is the Rite of the Holy Roman Church, which is the mother and teacher of all Churches.” Cited from Galadza 2004, 403, footnote 248.

<sup>982</sup> For example, “[i]nasmuch as this diversity of liturgical form and discipline of the Eastern Churches is approved in law, besides its other merits, it has redounded tremendously to the glory and usefulness of the Church. [...] So much is this the case that it is in the best interest of all that their discipline not haphazardly borrow anything that would be ill-suited from Western ministers of the Gospel [...]” Leo XIII, Pope. *Orientalium dignitas* (*On the Churches of the East*) 1894. [<http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Leo13/113orient.htm>]

<sup>983</sup> Šeptyckyj’s views on liturgical rite were reflected, for example, in his pastorals “Regarding Liturgical Matters” (1931), “On the Liturgical Life” (1934), “On Rites” (1941), and “The Publication of the New Liturgikon” (1942). For an English translation, commentary, and an analysis of Šeptyckyj’s views, see Galadza 2004, 337–432.

<sup>984</sup> In his pastoral “Regarding Ritual Matters” (1931), Šeptyckyj stressed the importance of preserving the Eastern Rite both to the Uniates themselves as well as to the future perspectives of the eastward expansion of the Union: “[...] a concern for Rite is also something we ourselves need; we absolutely must stop imitating others, we need to be ourselves, for only in this way will we be able to offer something to the Church [...]” Galadza 2004, 436. The missionary aspect, that is, the hope of converting the Russians by retaining the old Eastern Rite, inspired Šeptyckyj’s activity. Galadza 2004, 336.

<sup>985</sup> Galadza 2004, 435.

<sup>986</sup> ТРИЦДЦЬ ЦВѢТНАЯ ЕЛИНСКИ ПЕНТИКОСТАРІОНЪ. Сиесть ПЯТДЕСЯТНИЦА. Во Львовѣ: Въ Типографіи Інстітута Ставропигійскаго при Храмѣ Оуспенія Прес(вя)тыя Б(о)гоматере. 1907, 614–638. [<http://plc-ugcc.blogspot.fr/p/blog-page.html>]

for example, the rubrics for the recited Liturgy. The reference to the Feast of the Holy Eucharist (as to any other feast) is limited to the list of dismissals (*Otpusty*).<sup>987</sup>

Towards the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the counter-movement against the "third" rite has clearly intensified. The sense of inferiority that for centuries racked the Uniate confessional identity became officially acknowledged as groundless at the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), during which Pope Paul VI promulgated the decree *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* (1964) stating the equality of the rites and the need for each Church to retain its own traditions.<sup>988</sup> In 1996, Vatican issued an *Instruction for Applying the Liturgical Prescriptions of the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches*, which openly guides towards elimination of Latin liturgical loans from the Eastern Rite practice.<sup>989</sup> This has been seen as a confirmation for the custom in many Uniate parishes to abandon the Feast of the Holy Eucharist along with other practices that distinguish them from the Byzantine Orthodox tradition; naturally, a conciliar ratification would eventually need to be cancelled by another council.<sup>990</sup>

The Feast of the Holy Eucharist is officially still observed by the Ruthenian Uniates, and, from a more recent date, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Yet in the light of liturgical re-orientalisation, the idea of a synodal meeting abolishing the feast is gaining increasing support. Whether the tide of liturgical evolution will gradually erode the feast until it exists no more, thus reversing its emergence through popular practice in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century, only time will tell.

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<sup>987</sup> ЛІТУРГІКОНЪ 1942, 301.

<sup>988</sup> "[...] it is the mind of the Catholic Church that each individual Church or Rite should retain its traditions whole and entire [...]. These individual Churches, whether of the East or the West [...] are consequently of equal dignity, so that none of them is superior to the others as regards rite [...]." Paul VI, Pope. *Orientalium Ecclesiarum. Decree on the Catholic Churches of the Eastern Rite* 1964. [[http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_decree\\_19641121\\_orientalium-ecclesiarum\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19641121_orientalium-ecclesiarum_en.html)]

<sup>989</sup> For example, the instruction on *Liturgical reform and renewal* states the following: "The first requirement of every Eastern liturgical renewal, [...] is that of rediscovering full fidelity to their own liturgical tradition, benefiting from their riches and eliminating that which has altered their authenticity." Further, under the title *The liturgical year*: "To constitute, transfer or suppress feast days belongs to the respective authority which is competent to establish particular laws, always taking into account the obligation to guard the proper patrimony and not allow changes to be made except by reason of its organic process." "If in recent times, feasts or fasts coming from the Latin liturgy [...] have been introduced in the calendars of the Eastern Catholic Churches, necessary steps should be taken, with pastoral prudence, to restore the calendar to its traditional structure, eliminating the elements incompatible with the spirit and features of the Eastern heritage." *Instruction for Applying the Liturgical Prescriptions of the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana 1996, 18–19, 33.

<sup>990</sup> Galadza, Daniel. Facebook message to Maria Takala-Roszczenko 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2013.

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# Illustrations

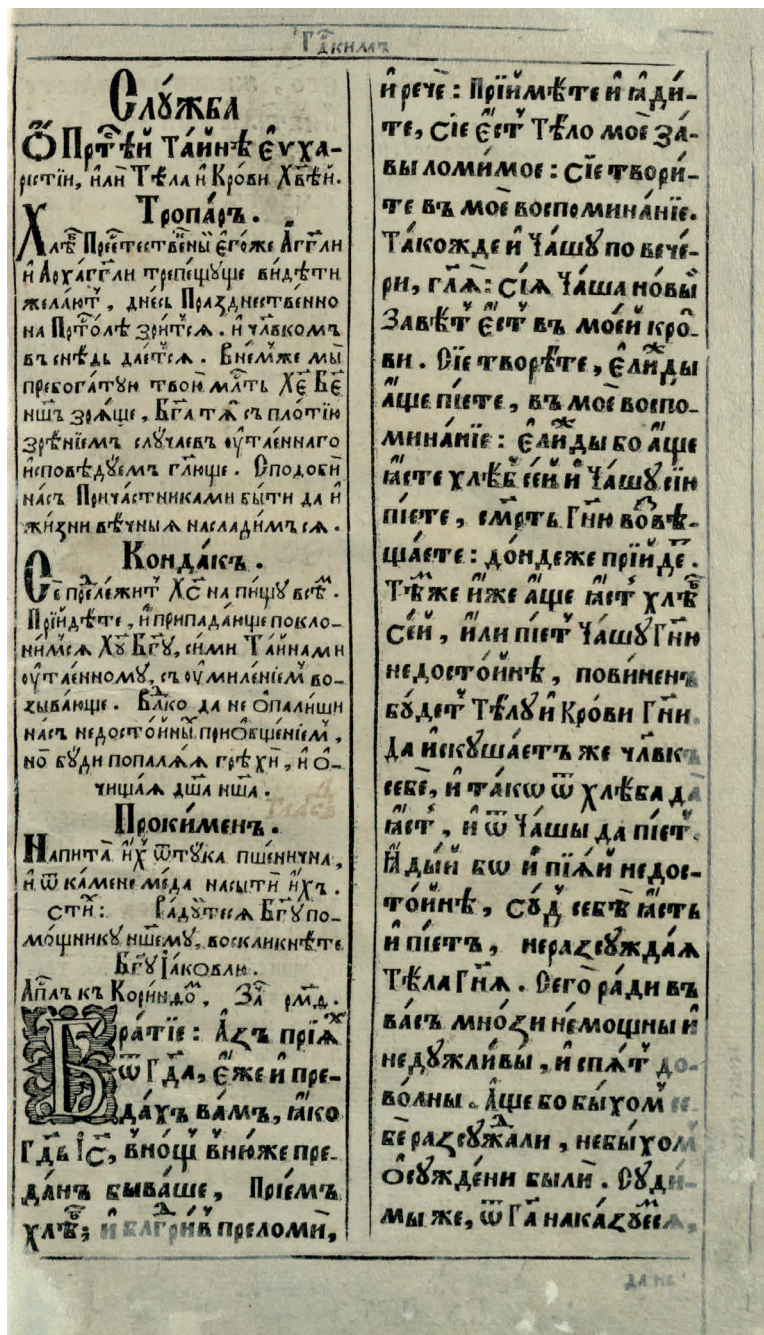


Illustration 1: Office for the Most Holy Sacrament of Eucharist (Missal of 1691).  
 ЛИТУРГІА иже въ святыхъ отца нашего Іоанна Златоустаго архієпископа Константины Града.  
 Виана: Обитель Живоначалныя Троицы 1691, f. 39r.  
 Courtesy of the Wróblewskie Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius.

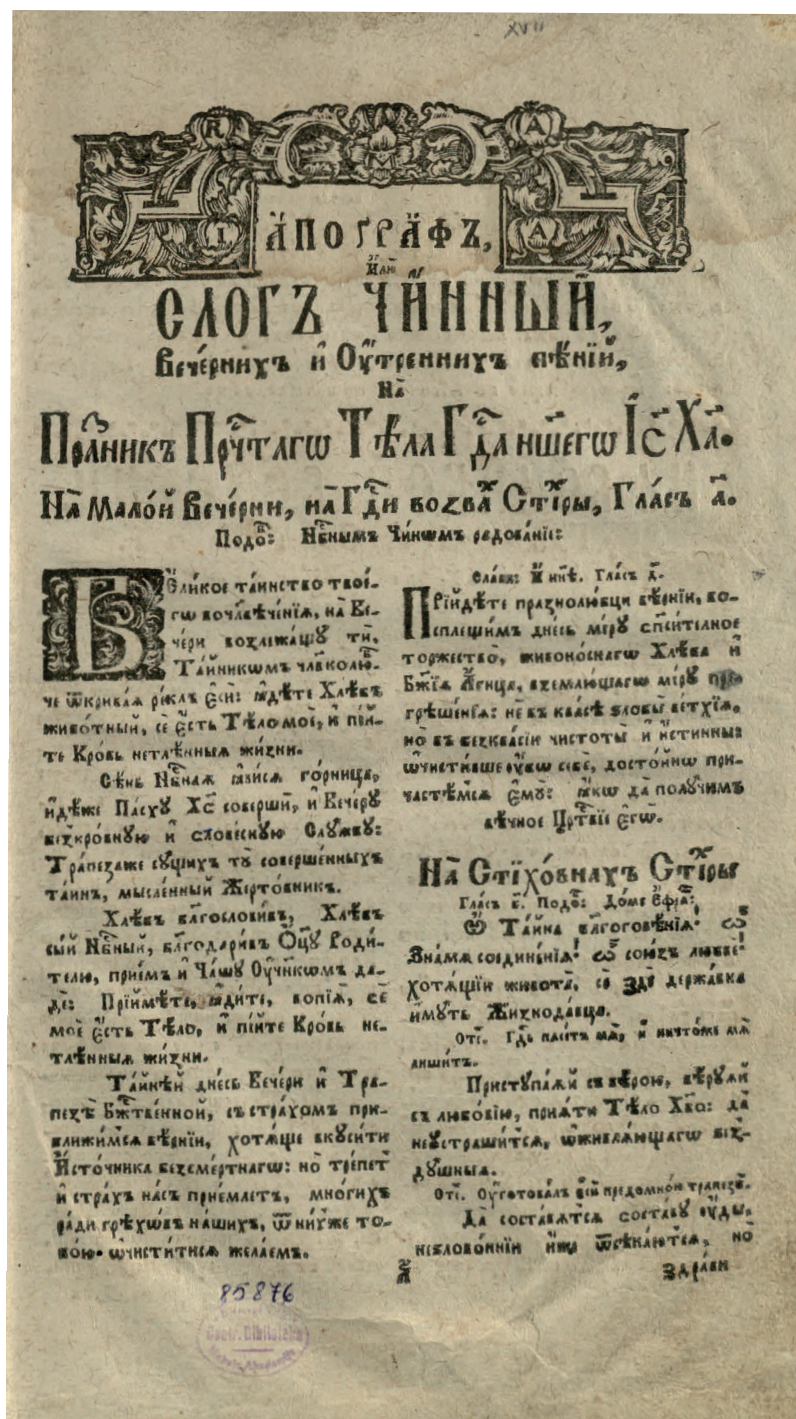


Illustration 2: The Apograpf.

Апографъ или Слогъ чинный, вечернихъ и оутреннихъ пений, на Празникъ Пречистаго Тѣла Господа нашего Иисуса Христа. [Suprasl'] s.a., p. 1.

Courtesy of the Wróblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, Vilnius.



Illustration 3: The author in front of the Church of the Annunciation, Suprasl' Monastery, Poland.  
Photo: Aleksander Roszczenko (2008).



Illustration 4: The Holy Dormition Lavra of the Studite Rite, Univ (Uněv), Ukraine.  
Courtesy of Professor Rainer Stichel (2007).



# Appendices

## Appendix 1: The Apograpf

**АПОГРАФЪ**  
**или**  
**СЛОГЪ ЧИННЫЙ,**  
**Вечернихъ и Оутреннихъ пѣнй,**  
**На**  
**Празникъ Пр(е)ч(и)стаго Тѣла**  
**Г(о)с(по)да н(а)шего І(ису)с(а) Х(рист)а.**

1:

**На Малой Вечерни, на Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ**  
**Стѣх(и)ры, Гласъ [1]. Подоб(ен): Н(е)б(е)снымъ**  
**Чинамъ радованіе:**

Великое таинство твоего воч(е)л(о)вчѣнія,  
на Вечери возлежащу ти, Тайникомъ  
ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)колюбче открывая рекъ еси: ядѣте  
Хлѣбъ животный, се есть Тѣло мое, и пійте Кровь  
нетлѣнная жизни.

Сѣнь Н(е)б(е)сная явися горнице, идѣже Пасху  
Х(ристо)с(ъ) соверши, и Вечеру безкровную  
и словесную Службу: Трапезаже сущихъ ту  
совершенныхъ таинъ, мысленный Жертовникъ.

Хлѣбъ бл(а)гословивъ, Хлѣбъ сый Н(е)б(е)сный,  
бл(а)годаривъ О(т)цу Родителю, приемъ и Чашу  
Оуч(е)н(и)комъ даде: Пріймѣте, ядите, вопія, се  
мое есть Тѣло, и пійте Кровь нетлѣнная жизни.

Тайнѣй днесъ Вечери и Трапезѣ Б(о)ж(е)ственной,  
съ страхомъ приближимся вѣрнѣи, хотяще  
вкусити Источника безсмертнаго: но трепетъ и  
страхъ насъ приемлетъ, многихъ ради грѣховъ  
нашихъ, ѿ нихъже тобою ѿчиститися желаемъ.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ. Гласъ [4].

Прійдѣте празнолюбци вѣрнѣи, восплещимъ днесъ  
миру сп(а)сительное торжество, живоноснаго  
Хлѣба и Б(о)жїа Агнца, вземлющаго міру  
прегрѣшенїя: не въ квасъ злобы ветхїа, но въ  
безквасїи чистоты и истинны: ѿчистивше оубо  
себе, достойно причастѣмся ему: яко да  
получимъ вѣчное Ц(а)рствіе его.

**На Стѣх(и)рныхъ Стѣх(и)ры. Гласъ [2]. Подоб(ен):**  
**Доме Ефра(фо):**

Ω Тайна бл(а)гоговѣнїа! Ω Знамя соединенїа! Ω  
союзъ любви! Хотящїи живота, се зде державна  
имуть Жизнодавца.

Стѣх. Г(оспо)дѣ пасетъ мя, и ничтоже мя лишитъ.

Приступай съ вѣрою, вѣруай съ любовїю,  
прїяти Тѣло Х(ристо)во: да неустрашиться,  
оживляющаго бездушныя.

Стѣх. Оутотоваль еси предомною трапезу.

Да составятъся составу оуды: незловоннїи иже  
отсѣкаются, но

2:

здрави и лѣпотни, прилипляющеса Тѣлу, живутъ  
Б(о)гу от Б(о)га.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Глас [8].

Древле оубо людїе Израилстїи, брашно въ алчвѣ  
тѣлесной Манну ядоша, ѿ каменеже несѣкома  
питїе, въ жаждѣ водупиша: мыже брашно духовное  
ямы, и питїе таковожде пїемъ: изобразующей  
во Маннѣ, Хлѣбъ небесе снизходящїй, Каменю  
воды истощенныя знаменующу, Камень бысть  
Х(ристо)с: ѿ туду хлѣбъ, ѿ туду питїе,  
Камень бо Х(ристо)с въ знамени, истинный въ  
Словѣ и въ Тѣлѣ: еже намъ на тайнѣй Вечери  
въ снѣдъ животный, и въ живодателное питїе,  
Кровь свою Б(о)ж(е)ственную дарова: яко  
ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)колюбче.

**НА ВЕЛИКОИ ВЕЧЕРНИ.**

**На Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ, Стѣх(и)ры Гласъ [3].**

Началниче таинъ Х(рист)е Сп(а)се нашъ,  
твоимъ совѣтомъ небесе тайны провозвѣстивый:  
воистинну велїе твое бысть чудо, иже небесе  
людемъ нетруждающимъ ѿдождивый ясти  
манну: мыже оубо еще речемъ, нашъ хлѣбъ есть  
вседневный, но сей хлѣбъ, есть хлѣбъ прежде  
словесъ таинъ: ѿсвященїю бо дѣйствующеюся,  
Хлѣбъ бываетъ Тѣло Х(рист)а: емуже въ Тайнѣ  
преестественнѣ присносущну, покланяющеса  
молебнѣ возопѣемъ: прїими нашу вечернюю  
пѣснь ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)колюбче.

Якоже можетъ хлѣбъ, иже есть хлѣбъ, Тѣло быти  
Х(рист)а: дѣйствуется сія тайна ѿсвященїемъ,  
ѿсвященїеже словесы Г(о)с(по)да І(ису)с(а)  
Х(рист)а бываетъ, вся бо прочая изреченная  
хвалу Б(о)гу воздають, молитваже за люди, за  
Царя и прочїя предносятся: гдѣ ѿсвященїю  
наступающую нарочитыя тайны, оуже не своихъ  
словесъ Іерей, но оупотребляетъ словесъ

Х(рист)а: емуже на тайной Вечери въ хлѣбъ  
Плоть, въ вѣнъ Кровь свою, намъ на сп(а)сеніе  
даровавшему, молебнѣ възопѣмъ: прїими нашу  
вечернюю пѣснь ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)колюбче.

Слово Хр(и)ста сію содѣйствуетъ Тайну, Словоже  
Хр(и)ста се есть, имже все быша: рече Г(о)с(по)дъ и  
бысть Н(е)бо, земля, море, и вся тварь рожденна:  
оубѣ аще толика сила есть, въ Словесехъ  
Г(о)с(по)да І(ису)с(а) Х(рист)а, да начнутъ быти,  
яже не быша, колымъ паче дѣйственнѣйша, яже  
быша, да въ ино премѣнятся? Онъ самъ рече  
и быша, повелѣ, и создашася: Не бѣ бо Тѣло  
Х(ристо)во прежде ѿс(вя)щенїя, но по ѿс(вя)щенїи,  
оуже Тѣло есть Хр(и)ста, яко самъ рече быти;  
егоже н(ы)нѣ С(вя)тѣй Тайнѣ поклоняющеся,  
смирениѣ просѣмъ: оумирити мїръ, и спасти  
д(у)ши наша.

Великое оубѣ и нарочитое таинство, еже  
Г(о)с(по)дъ снебесе ѿдожди манну: но  
оуразумѣимъ, что есть ктому Манна снебесе, еда  
Тѣло Хр(и)ста? Тѣло оубѣ Хр(и)ста, есть Н(е)б(е)  
сѣ Творца, мертвымъ животь дающаго, манну бо  
ядущїи оумроша, ядущїи

3:

же Хр(и)ста Тѣло, получаютъ ѿставленїе  
грѣховъ, и неумрутъ въ вѣки, се есть истинна,  
юже исповѣдающимъ языкомъ, и сію любовїю  
с(е)рдца содержащимъ Х(ристо)с н(е)б(е)сное  
брашно даетъ, миръ и велїю милость.

Иже ясть, рече Г(о)с(по)дъ, Тѣло мое, и пїетъ Кровь  
мою, въ мнѣ пребываетъ, и азъ въ немъ: якоже бо  
малъ квась, все смѣшенїе кваситъ, совокупленїеже  
истаенихъ воскъвѣ едино вмѣшенїе творитъ, такъ  
иже Тѣло и Кровь Г(о)с(под)ню приемлетъ, с  
нимъ соединяется, Х(ри)с(то)с въ немъ, а онъ въ  
Х(ристѣ) ѿбрътается, малое бо бл(а)гословенїе  
всего ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ка в себе привлекаетъ, и своею  
бл(а)годатїю исполняяй, симъ образомъ въ  
насъ Х(ристо)с пребываетъ, и мы въ Хр(и)стѣ  
даруящемъ намъ ѿставленїе грѣховъ, и миръ  
міру.

Н(ы)нѣ самаго Г(о)с(по)да ѿбѣтомъ, и вѣрою  
н(а)шею воинственну Тѣло и Кровь Г(о)с(по)дня  
есть, и тая прїята и испита, сіе дѣйствуетъ, да  
мы въ Хр(и)стѣ и онъ в насъ пребудетъ, еда не се  
истинна есть? прилучается истиннѣ небыти, иже  
І(ису)с(а) Х(рист)а истиннаго Б(о)га ѿтрицаются:  
сам оубѣ свѣдѣтельствуєтъ г(лаго)ля: сей мїръ  
невидитъ мя, выже мя видите, якоже азъ живу, и  
вы живи будете, зане азъ въ О(т)ци моемъ, и вы  
въ мнѣ и азъ въ васъ, емуже яко Бл(а)годателю  
возопѣмъ: слава Хр(и)сте бл(а)гоутробїю твоему.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [8].

Днесъ Слово собезначалное, О(т)цу и  
Д(у)ху соестественное, Б(о)гогласно извѣствуетъ,  
г(лаго)ля: Сіе есть Тѣло мое: сіе есть веліе

бл(а)говолившимъ оучрежденїе, вѣрующимъ  
крѣпкое защищенїе, б(о)горазумнама на  
не очима взирающимъ богатоугодное ѿсвѣщенїе:  
ничтоже бо намъ неудобочувственное  
Х(ристо)с предаде, но тымиже чувственными  
вещми вся разумѣна предложи: въ с(вя)томъ  
оубѣ приношенїи подъ чувственнымъ хлѣба  
видомъ, дароносная Жертва совершается,  
въ сп(а)сительнойже Тайнѣ: преестественнѣ  
разумѣчное, Преч(и)стое Тѣло Х(ристо)во  
содержитъся: воплотившисъ насъ дѣля Хр(и)  
сте Б(о)же, избави насъ ѿ всякаго вреда  
грѣховнаго, Б(о)ж(е)ственной твоей Плоти  
бл(а)говѣннѣ поклоняющихся.

**Таже, Входъ. Свѣте тихїй: Прокимень дню. и  
чтенїя Паримїи настоящихъ.**

**Ѿт Исхода чтенїе. Глава [19].**

Рече Г(о)с(по)дъ къ Моисїю: сниди, возвѣсти  
людемъ, и ѿчисти я днесъ и оутрѣ: и да  
исперутъ ризы своя, и да будутъ готови въ день  
третїй: въ третїй бо день снидетъ Г(о)с(по)дъ на  
Гору Сїнайскую, предъ лицемъ всѣхъ людей, и  
оустроиши люди обоямо г(лаго)ля: внемлите себѣ  
невосходити на гору, и ничимже коснутисъ ея,  
всякъ бо прикоснувшисъ горѣ смертїю оумретъ:  
приемшасяже ей рука, каменїемъ побїетъся,  
или стрѣлою оустрѣлится: либо звѣрь, либо  
ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ, небудетъ живъ: егдаже гласъ трубы  
и облакъ ѿидетъ ѿ горы, сіи да возыйдутъ на  
гору. Изыйдеже Моисїй съ горы къ людемъ и  
ѿчисти я, и испраша ризы своя, речеже людемъ  
будите готови три дни и неходите къ женамъ.  
Быстьже въ третїй день, къ свитанїю, и быша  
гласы, и молнїя, и облакъ молнїанъ

4:

на горѣ Сїнаистѣй, и гласъ трубный глашаше  
силенъ зѣло, и оубояшася вси людїе въ полцѣ.  
Изведеже Моисїй люди противу Б(о)гу, ѿ  
полка, и стаха подъ горою: гораже Сїнайска  
курашеся вся, сходенїя ради Б(о)жїя на ню въ  
огни: исхождашеже дымъ, яко дымъ пещный,  
и оужасошася вси людїе зѣло. Бышаже гласы  
трубнїи, сходяще крѣпци зѣло: Моисїйже  
г(лаго)лаше, а Б(о)гъ ѿтвѣщаваше ему.

**Ѿт Ц(а)рскихъ Книгъ первыхъ чтенїе. Глава  
[21].**

Въ дни оны: Прїйде Д(а)в(и)дъ въ Ц(е)рк(о)вѣ  
къ Авимелеху, Іерею, и изыйде Авимелехъ въ  
стрѣтенїе ему, и рече ему: что се ты единъ еси?  
и нѣсте никогоже с тобою? Речеже Д(а)в(и)дъ  
Іерею, Царь зиповѣда ми глаголь днесъ, и рече къ  
мнѣ: никтоже да неразумѣетъ глагола, егоже азъ  
пушаю ти, и ѿ немже азъ заповѣдаю ти и отроки  
ѿставихъ, на мѣстѣ г(лаго)лемомъ Еммонимъ.  
Н(ы)нѣ есть ли гдѣ оу тебе пять хлѣбѣ даждь  
ми елико имаша. Ѿтвѣшаша Іереи Д(а)в(и)ду и  
рече, нѣсть хлѣба проста оу мене, но суть хлѣбы

с(вя)щени, храними тѣмъ, иже чисти суть ѿт  
женъ и тии ядятъ я. И ѿтвѣща Д(а)в(и)дъ Іерею  
рече: и мы есмы чисти ѿт женъ ѿт третiаго дне,  
и до дне, ѿтнелиже изыйдохомъ на путь, и суть  
отроци вси чисти, и путь сей есть чистъ, зане  
ѡсвятятъсѧ днесь сосудъ ради моихъ. И дасть ему  
Іерей Авимелехъ хлѣбы предложенiя, яко не бѣ ту  
иного хлѣба, тii бо бѣху едины хлѣбы принесени,  
иже взяша предъ лицемъ Г(о)с(по)днимъ.

#### **От Ц(а)рскихъ Книгъ третихъ чтенiе. Глава [17].**

Бысть глаголь Г(о)с(по)д(е)нь къ Илiи: иди ѿт  
сюду на востокъ, и сокрыйсѧ въ потоцъ Хорафа  
прямѡ лицу Іорданову: и будещи пити ѿт  
потока, и вранѡмъ заповѣдахъ препитати тя ту.  
И сотвори Илiя по глаголу Г(о)с(по)дню, и сѣдъ  
при потоцъ Хорафъ прямѡ лицу Іорданову. И  
вранове приношаху ему хлѣбы завтра, и мяса к  
вечеру, и ѿт потока пiяше воду. И бысть по днехъ  
ише источникъ, яко не бѣ дожда на землю. И  
бысть глаголь Г(о)с(по)д(е)нь къ Илiи г(лаго)ля:  
Востани и иди въ Сарефу Сидонскую и пребуди  
тамъ: се бо заповѣдахъ женѣ Вдовици препитати  
тя. И воставъ иде въ Сарефу Сидонскую, и прiйде  
къ вратѡмъ града, и се ту жена вдовица собираше  
дровца, и возва ю возади Илiя, рече ей: прьнеси  
оубѡ мало воды в сосудъ да пiю. И иде взяти,  
и возопи въслѣдъ ея Илiя, рече: прiйми оубѡ  
оукрухъ хлѣба въ руку твою и да ямъ. Речеже  
жена, живъ Г(о)с(по)дъ Б(о)гъ мой, аще есть въ  
сокровищи моемъ что, но токмѡ пригорща  
муки въ сосудъ, и мало масла въ чванцѣ, и се азъ  
собираю двѣ полънца, и вниду и сотвору себѣ, и  
чадомъ своимъ, и ямы и оумремъ. И рече к ней  
Илiя: потщисѧ вниди, и сотвори якоже рекла еси,  
и сотвори ми ѡтуду ѡпрѣснокъ малъ, прежде  
принеси ми, себѣже и чадомъ своимъ сотвориши  
послѣди: яко такѡ г(лаго)летъ Г(о)с(по)дъ Б(о)гъ  
Ізраилевъ.

5:

Водонось муки неѡскудѣтъ, и чванецъ  
масла неумалитсѧ, до дне, дондеже дасть  
Г(о)с(по)дъ дождъ на землю. И иде жена и сотвори,  
по глаголу Илiину, и дасть ему, и ясть самъ, и та,  
и чада ея. И сосудъ мучный неѡскудѣ: и чванецъ  
масла не оумалисѧ, по глаголу Г(о)с(по)дню, иже  
глагола рукою Илiиною.

#### **На Литiи Стiхиры Глас [6].**

Предъ сѣннымъ ковчегѡмъ, скакаше играя  
Б(о)гоо(те)цъ Д(а)в(и)дъ: мыже сему днесь яко  
Б(о)гу поклоняемсѧ. Егѡже Ч(е)л(о)вѣ)чество  
ковчегъ преобразоваше: Ибо вмѣсто манне  
Б(о)ж(е)ство воплощенно, вмѣсто Скрижали  
Законодавца, Х(ристо)с Г(о)с(по)дъ оутаенъ  
зрится: Сп(а)ситель д(у)шъ нашихъ.

Имѣяше ветхiй завѣтъ, Кiвѡтъ ѡкованъ всюду  
златѡмъ, иже взять ѿт Иноплеменникъ, нестерпѣ

въ капищи съ кумирѡмъ приобщенiя, но изрину  
и на землю, и сокруши главу, обѣ длани рукъ  
егѡ. Тыже ч(е)л(о)вѣ)колюбче Х(рист)е Б(о)  
же нашъ, како внидещи въ капище скверныя  
д(у)ша ѡкаянныя? иже единъ имѣяй безсмертiе, и  
въ свѣтъ живой неприсутнѣмъ.

Како совокупиши сѧ съ кумирѡмъ тмы грѣховныя?  
но ѡ свѣте просвѣщай всякаго ч(е)л(о)вѣ)ка,  
несокруши, и неизверзи въ тму кромѣшную,  
темныя и грѣшныя д(у)ша наша: но просвѣти я  
бл(а)годатiю твоею молимъсѧ, милосердiя пучино,  
Хлѣбе преестественный. Агнче незловивый,  
вземляй грѣхи всего мiра, ч(е)л(о)вѣ)ческаго ради  
сп(а)сенiя, Хлѣбъ претворилъ еси въ Плѡть свою,  
и въ Хлѣбъ Б(о)жество, Плѡть и д(у)шу, Б(о)ж(е)  
ственнымъ силою оутайлъ еси: емуже вси вѣрнiи  
днесь празденственнѡ, съ оумилениемъ и вѣрою  
поклонимъсѧ.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [8].

Днесь радостнѡ бл(а)годарственная гѣсно-  
словимъ, себо Г(о)с(по)дъ съ нами, непреемный  
въ благодарiихъ, богатъ сый въ милостехъ: аще  
бы мы вещественною плѡтiю ѡблечени, весма  
существо Безплотныхъ имѣли, обаче самъ бы  
намъ безплотны, и нещественны дары преподаль,  
но понеже д(у)ша съ тѣломъ сочетана есть, въ  
чувственныхъ разумѣчна намъ подаваетъ, ѡ нихже  
не оу многопытнѡ, съ испытословствующими  
глаголѣмъ, хоцемъ егѡ видъ, зракъ познати,  
сапоги и оутварь видѣти, заеже оубѡ егѡ  
ѡбожескiя ѡдежды желаемъ оузрѣти, себо  
н(ы)нѣ самъ Х(ристо)с намъ повелѣваетъ,  
не токмѡ себе видѣти, себѣ касатисѧ, но себе ясти,  
и внутреняя наша воспрiимати. Воплотивыйсѧ  
насъ дѣля Хр(и)сте Б(о)же, свободи ѿт вѣчныя  
насъ смерти, животворящей твоей Плѡти  
бл(а)гочестнѡ поклоняющихся.

#### **На Стiховнахъ Стiхиры, Гласъ [1]. Подоб(ен): Н(е)б(е)снымъ Чин(омъ)**

Хлѣбъ н(е)б(е)сный животный воспоимъ,  
снебесе непрестаннѡ сходящъ неизреченнѡ,  
г(лаго)люще единомудреннѡ: Тѣло Х(ристо)во,  
имѣже вси избавихомсѧ, [!] радуйтесѧ, и Кровь  
Б(о)ж(е)ственная и с(вя)тая, еюже искупихомсѧ.

Стiх. Хлѣбъ Агг(е)лскiй яде ч(е)л(о)вѣ)къ, брашнѡ  
посла имъ до обилiя.

На Вечери самаго себе далъ еси, твоимъ  
Оученикѡмъ и друтѡмъ Х(рист)е.

6:

Ѡ чудесе: во снѣдъ: ядѣте Хлѣбъ, симъ рекль: ибо  
есть Тѣло мое, Чашуже приемъ рекль еси: вси  
пiйте вы Кровь мою.

Стiх. И ѡдожди имъ Манну ясти, и Хлѣбъ  
Н(е)б(е)сный даде имъ.

ѠБ(о)жественное, и всесечное Тѣло и дражайшее!  
Б(о)гоч(е)л(о)вѣчна Слова, сп(а)си своя рабы,  
ѡт скорбѣй многихъ, и искушенѣй, и всякихъ  
ѡбстоянѣй: Н(е)б(е)сное Ц(а)рствіе и жизнь подая,  
твоея ради м(и)л(о)сти.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [8].

Днесь наречень ѡт Б(о)га Іерей, въ вѣки  
Х(ристо)с Г(о)с(по)дь по чину Мелхиседекову,  
намъ преестественный Хлѣбъ и Вѣно предлагаетъ,  
и воспоминаѣнъ насъ алчущихъ приглашаетъ  
сиче возывающе: Прѣймѣте и ядѣте, сіе есть Тѣло  
мое, и пѣйте вси ѡт чаши моей, себо есть Кровь  
моя новаго завѣта, яже за многѣя излѣваема, въ  
ѡставленіе грѣхѡв. Елижды во Хлѣбъ сей снѣсте,  
и Чашу мою испіете, смерть мою возвѣстите,  
дондеже оубо прійду. Аще бо кто ясть Хлѣбъ  
сей, или пѣтъ Чашу сію достойнѣ, неповиненъ  
будетъ Тѣлу и Крови Г(о)с(по)днѣй, тѣмажде,  
да всякъ себе ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ искушаетъ, и такѡ  
ѡт Хлѣба да ясть, и ѡт Чаши да пѣтъ: ядый  
бо и пѣй недостоинѣ, судъ себѣ ясть и пѣтъ,  
неразсуждая Тѣла Г(о)с(по)дня. Воплотивыйся  
насъ дѣля Х(рист)е Б(о)же, неповиннымъ  
Преч(и)стыхъ твоихъ таинъ приобщеніемъ,  
въ будущее живота, Ц(а)рство насъ введи,  
православнѡ Б(о)жественное твое Воплощеніе  
славящихъ.

Таже, Н(ы)нѣ ѡтпущаеши: Тр(и)с(вя)тое: по  
О(т)че нашъ: Яко твое есть Ц(а)рство:

Тропаръ Гласъ [7].

Хлѣбъ преестественный, егоже Ап(е)ли и  
Арханг(е)ли трепещуще видѣти желаютъ,  
днесь празденственнѡ на Престолахъ зрится,  
и ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)комъ въ снѣдъ дається: в немъ же  
мы пребогатую твою милость Х(рист)е нашъ  
зряще, Б(о)га тя съ Плотію зрѣніемъ случаевъ  
оутаеннаго исповѣдаемъ гл(агол)юще: сподоби  
насъ причастниками быти, да и жизни вѣчныя  
насладимся.

Инъ тропаръ Гласъ [8].

Бл(а)гословенъ еси Х(рист)е Б(о)же нашъ,  
исполненный сладости небесе Хлѣбъ Ап(е)лскій,  
въ оукущеніе намъ подая рекъ еси: Тѣло мое  
истинно есть брашно, и Кровь моя. истинно есть  
питіе: тѣмъ же мы пр(и)снѡ въ тайнѣ под видомъ  
хлѣба, и вѣна, Плоти и Крови твоя животворныя  
наслаждающиеся: всемогую твою бл(а)гость  
славимъ всем(и)л(о)стиве.

**Ѡтпустъ.** Премногія ради бл(а)гости, Плоть  
свою ясти, и Кровь свою истинную пити на сп(а)  
сеніе наше давѣй. Хр(и)ст(о)съ истинный Б(о)гъ  
н(а)шъ, м(о)литвами Пречистія своея М(а)т(е)ре,  
с(вя)тыхъ славныхъ и всехвалныхъ Ап(о)столахъ, и  
всѣхъ с(вя)тыхъ пом(и)луеъ и сп(а)сѣтъ насъ, яко  
бл(а)гъ и ч(е)л(о)вѣ)колюбецъ.

Ликъ. Аминь.

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**В ЧЕТВЕРЬ на Оутрени.**

**На Б(о)гъ Г(о)с(по)дь. Троп(арь): Празнику.**

**По [1] Кафисмъ СѢДАЛЕНЪ Гласъ [7].**

Пасха наша великая, и всесечная есть  
Х(ристо)съ, снѣдѣнъ бысть яко хлѣбъ, заклавъ же  
яко овца, той бо принесенъ ѡ насъ жертва бл(а)  
гопріемна; егѡ-

7:

же Пр(е)ч(и)стому Тѣлу и Ч(е)стной Крови  
бл(а)гочестнѡ поклоняющася оумилнѡ  
гл(агол)емъ: всегда снами самъ сопребивай, и  
никтоже возможеть что на ны.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Б(о)город(ичен): Гласъ тожъ:

Б(огороди)це, пр(и)снѡ Д(ѣ)во, М(а)ріе, се  
Плоть С(ы)на твоегѡ Хр(и)ста Б(о)га нашегѡ,  
юже из оутробы твоея дѣйствомъ Д(у)ха  
прес(вя)таго приемшъ, на тайной Вечери  
Оученикомъ своимъ даяше гл(агол)ая: прѣймѣте и  
ядите се есть Тѣло мое, и пѣйте сіе есть Кровь моя:  
егоже ты Матернимъ си дерзновеніемъ оумоли,  
яко да насъ причащающихся неѡпалитъ, но  
сп(а)сѣтъ д(у)шы наша.

**По [2] Кафисмъ СѢДАЛЕНЪ Гласъ [4]. Подоб(ен):  
Оудивися Іѡсифъ:**

Хлѣбъ Н(е)б(е)сный и Чашу возьмъ  
Х(ристо)съ бл(аго)сл(о)ви, показуя О(т)цу  
Родителю, и дивящимся Оученикомъ, подая  
гл(агол)юще: ядый мою Плоть, и пѣй мою Кровь,  
имать животъ вѣчный, и азъ воскрешу его въ  
последній день. Сего ради мы недостойніи днесь  
празденственнѡ покланяемъ Пречистымъ  
Тайнамъ Плоти и Крове твоея, дерзновеннѡ  
вѣрующе: яко ты еси Х(ристо)съ, С(ы)нъ Б(о)га  
живагѡ, пришедый въ міръ, грѣшныхъ сп(а)сти.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ и Подоб(ен): тожъ:

Безъменнѡ ѡт Д(у)ха С(вя)та зачала, и родила  
еси С(ы)на, Х(ри)ста Б(о)га нашего: егѡже  
Пр(е)ч(и)стой Плоти, яко Б(о)гу и Избавителю  
нашему, до лица земли покланяемъ, и  
причастники быти желаемъ, и къ тебѣ яко Матери  
прибѣгаемъ, Преч(и)стая Б(огороди)це, оумилнѡ  
гл(агол)юще, молимъ тя: прѣйми м(о)литвы наша,  
и донеси я С(ы)ну своему и Б(о)гу нашему, да сп(а)  
сѣтъ д(у)шы наша.

**Таже, Величаніе.**

Величаемъ тя, животъдавецъ Хр(и)сте, насъ  
дѣля хлѣбъ въ Плоть, и Вѣно въ Кровь свою  
претворшаго, симъ же мы Тайнамъ, яко Б(о)гу  
истиннѡ покланяемъ.

Стѣх [1]. Воскликнѣте Г(о)с(по)д(е)ви вся земля:  
пойтеже Имени егѡ, да дѣте славу хвалѣ егѡ.

Стіх [2]. Вси языцы восплещайте рукама: воскликните Б(о)гу гласомъ радости.

Стіх [3]. Что воздамъ Г(о)с(по)д(е)ви ѿ всѣхъ, яже воздасть ми.

Стіх [4]. Чашу сп(а)сенія прійму, и Имя Г(о)с(под)не призову.

Стіх [5]. Милостивъ и щедръ Г(о)с(по)дъ, пищу далъ есть боящимъся его.

Стіх [6]. Напита ихъ ѿмъ тука пшенична, и ѿмъ камене меда насыти ихъ.

Стіх [7]. Одожди имъ манну ясти, и хлѣбъ Н(е)б(е)сный дасть имъ.

Стіх [8]. Хлѣбъ Анг(е)лскій яде ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ, брашно посла имъ до обилія.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Аллилуѣа [3].

**По Величанію, Съдаленъ Гласъ [3]. Подоб(ен): Красотъ Д(ѣ)вства:**

Превѣчный Б(о)же, и безначальный, иже восприялъ естество ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ческое, пришедъ на горницу оутюванну съ Оученики своими, идеже Пасху ветху скончалъ еси Сп(а)се нашъ: и Пасху нову таинственну содѣлююще, приемъ хлѣбъ, его въ Плоть свою, Чашу же въ Кровь претворил: и намъ въ снѣдъ и питіе подалъ еси: сію тайну Б(о)жественную днесъ зряще, съ оумиленіемъ г(лаго)лемъ: слава бл(а)гоутробію твоему Ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)колюбче.

**Антіфоны Гласа [4]-го.**

**ПРОКИМЕНЬ Гласъ [4].** Ядый мою Плоть и пійя мою Кровь, въ мнѣ пребываетъ, и азъ въ немъ рече Г(о)с(по)дъ.

Стіх. Имаѣть животоу вѣчный, и азъ воскрешу его въ послѣдній день.

8:

**Ев(ан)г(е)ліе ѿмъ Іѡан(на): Зач: [24].**

Рече Г(о)с(по)дъ къ пришедшимъ къ нему Іудиемъ: Плоть моя истинно есть брашно, и Кровь моя истинно есть питіе. Ядый мою Плоть, и пійя мою Кровь, въ мнѣ пребываетъ, и азъ въ немъ. Якоже посла мя живой О(те)цъ, и азъ живу О(т)ца ради, и ядый мя, и той живъ будетъ мене ради. Сей есть Хлѣбъ сошедый небесе: не якоже ядоша ѿтцы ваши Манну, и оумроша; ядый Хлѣбъ сей, живъ будетъ въ вѣки.

**Таже псаломъ [50].** Пом(и)луй мя Б(о)же:

**Стіх(и)ра, гласъ [6].** Днесъ Анг(е)ли оужасаются, зряще тя Б(о)га Воплощенна: въ тайнахъ сокровеннаго: ѿмъ ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ съ страхомъ покланяема, и въ снѣдъ дающася: сними же и мы земніи, Вл(а)д(ы)ку тя челоуколюбца, воспоимъ г(лаго)люще: сподоби насъ Плоти твоей и Крови

Преч(и)стой причаститися: м(и)л(о)с(е)рд(е) Г(о)с(по)ди.

**КАНОНЪ. Гласъ [6].**

**Пѣснь [1]. Ірмосъ.** Съчненнымъ пресѣчено бысть море чермное, волнами питаемая же изсше глубина: таже купно безоружнымъ бысть прошествіе, и всеоружнымъ же гробъ: пѣснь же Б(о)гу красная воспивашеся, славнѣ бо прославися.

Припѣл. Слава Тебѣ Б(о)же н(а)шъ, слава Тебѣ.

Цѣломудреннѣ къ Царскому Агнца оучрежденію приступимъ, въ ризы красны облечени, по прошествію моря чермнаго Ц(а)рю Хр(и)сту воспѣвающе: яко славнѣ прославися.

Егоже любовь Б(о)ж(е)ственная с(вя)тую Кровь, и оуды Преч(и)стаго Тѣлесе подаетъ, тѣяже милость с(вя)щеннодѣйствующе, въ жертву приноситъ на сп(а)с(е)ніе попомъ: яко славнѣ прославися.

Окроплену кровію подвою, ратоборецъ оужасается аг(е)лъ, море предѣлено повѣже, Г(о)с(по)дъ бо враговъ потопленыхъ брани сокрушай въ вѣки царствуетъ: ему же мы поемъ яко славнѣ прославися.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ:

Очищается земныхъ существо, тобою присовокупльшееся неистерпимому, Б(о)ж(е)ственному огню: яко бо подпламыщный Пре ч(и)стая Д(ѣ)во, въ тебѣ Хлѣбъ испекшійся, Хр(исто)съ невредну тя сохранишъ: славнѣ прославися.

**Катавасіа.** Съчненнымъ пресѣчено бысть:

**Пѣснь [3]. Ірмосъ.** Г(о)с(по)дъ сый всѣхъ Жиждатель, и Б(о)гъ, за созданныхъ безстрастный обнищавша себе причита; и Пасха, въ нюже хотяще оумрѣти, самъ себе предъ пожре: ядѣте попія Тѣло мое, и вѣроу оутвердятся.

Припѣл. Слава Тебѣ Б(о)же н(а)шъ:

І(ису)се Пребл(а)гій, въ с(вя)тѣй Тайнѣ оутаенный, сый д(у)шамъ н(а)шимъ вѣчнымъ радованіемъ, исправнѣ ѿмъ смер-

9:

ти лютыя грѣховъ животу Тѣломъ и Ч(е)стною [!] Кровію твоею ѿтрожденнымъ насъ избавляяй, вѣроу оутверди: яко с(вя)тъ еси.

Здѣ тебе моленствующими пѣснями оумоляемъ, Преч(и)стому Тѣлу и Крови твоей причащающимся ѿпусти прегрѣшенія, и с(е)рдца наша выпсрь къ тебѣ возносяй свышнего бл(а)г(о)д(а)тию, вѣроу оутверди: яко с(вя)тъ еси.

Предѣ намъ Ѳткупителю, повинну пригвожденный Кресту, нашего ради сп(а)с(е)нія,

подавый неизживаемую цѣну Б(о)ж(е)ственныя Крове твоея, еяже вѣроу оутверждены, н(ы)нѣ славимъ ты: яко с(вя)тъ еси.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ:

Красенъ Б(огороди)це прорасте плод твой, не тля причащающимъся, но ходотайственъ жизни, вѣроу ты величающимъ: изъ тебе бо воплотившагося вѣроу оутверждени исповѣдаемъ: яко с(вя)тъ есть.

**Катавасіа.** Г(о)с(по)дь сый всѣхъ Живдителей:

**СѢДАЛЕНЪ Гласъ [3].** На тайнѣй своей Вечери ядый съ Оученики Г(о)с(по)дь, вручи намъ въ снѣдѣ Тѣло свое, и въ питіи Кровь свою, да въ немъ пребудемъ, и онъ въ насъ. Пребываемъ же въ немъ, яко есмы оуды ему; пребываетъ же онъ въ насъ, зане есмы храмъ ему, якоже есмы оуды ему, пріобщеніе насъ соединяетъ, да пріобщеніе соединитъ, се содѣйствуетъ любви: любовь же ѡткуда Б(о)жія? Ап(о)столомъ возвѣстися: любовь Б(о)жію излія въ с(е)рдца наша Д(у)хъ с(вя)тый, даровавый намъ миръ и велію милость.

**Инъ СѢДАЛЕНЪ Гласъ [4].** Ядый Вл(а)д(ы)ко съ Оуч(е)н(и)ки своими Агнца, по заповѣди Моисея, себе Агнца непорочна таинственно въ снѣдѣ далъ еси намъ, въ ѡставленіе грѣховъ, въ ѡс(вя)щеніе д(у)шамъ, имъ же питающесе молимъ: да не въ судъ или въ ѡсужденіе будетъ намъ причастіе с(вя)тыхъ твоихъ Таинъ, грѣхъ ради и беззаконій нашихъ.

**Б(о)город(ичен), гласъ [4].** Агнца и Пастыря М(а)ти Д(ѣ)во Б(огороди)це оумоли, егоже родила еси С(ы)на, да сп(а)сетъ и просвѣтитъ д(у)ша наша.

**Пѣснь [4]. Ирмосъ.** Провидя Прор(о)къ тайну твою неизреченную Хр(и)сте, провозглашаше, положи твердыя любви крепость, О(т)че щедрый: Единороднаго бо ты С(ы)на бл(а)гій ѡчищеніе въ миръ послалъ еси.

Припѣл. Слава Тебѣ Б(о)же н(а)шъ:

Даде недугующимъ Тѣло въ снѣдно, даде скорбящимъ Крове Чашу, гл(агол)я: пріймѣте, иже подахъ восудецъ, и вси ѡт него пійте, воспѣвающе: слава посланнаго силъ на ѡчищеніе міра.

Такъ сію жертву оустави, еяже содѣйствіе оувѣрити бл(а)говоли, самымъ токмо Іереемъ, имъ же такъ приличествуеъ, да ядятъ, и подадять прочіимъ, воспѣвающимъ; слава дѣйствовавшаго силъ, на ѡчищеніе міра.

Трепещутъ видящій Агт(е)ли воспященіе животу смертныхъ, согрѣшаетъ оубо тѣло, ѡчищаетъ тѣло, царствуетъ бо Б(о)гъ Б(о)га Тѣло, восклицающимъ: слава силъ даровавшаго ѡчищеніе міру.

**Б(о)городиченъ.** Ручку злату, Преч(и)стую Трапезу Б(о)ж(е)ственнаго Хлѣба, жизнь дарующаго именуемъ ты Ч(и)стая, мѣсто с(вя)щ(е)нія, Престоль высокъ, на немъ же

10:

Б(о)гъ почилъ есть, на ѡбновленіе и ѡчищеніе воспѣвающимъ: слава Рождеству твоему Б(о)гомати пребл(а)г(о)с(ло)венная.

**Катавасіа.** Провидя Прор(о)къ:

**Пѣснь [5]. Ирмосъ.** Миръ много любящимъ ты Хр(и)сте, изъ нощиже просвѣщеніе въ пищи словесъ твоихъ, и сега ради къ тебѣ оутренююще, просимъ м(и)л(о)сти ѡт тебе, ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)колюбче.

Припѣл. Слава Тебѣ Б(о)же н(а)шъ:

Слово свышше исходяй, О(т)ца неѡстави десница, и на дѣло свое оупѣвай, прійде на послѣдокъ лѣтѣмъ спасти родъ ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ческій: яко ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)колюбче.

На смерть ѡт оученика преданъ, своимъ соперникомъ первѣе въ снѣдѣ животнѣ себе подаде, Оученикомъ же своимъ союзъ любви наказующъ, туюже въ нихъ оутверди: яко ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)колюбче.

Иже под обоимъ существомъ даде Тѣло и Кровь, да въ двойнѣй истности всецѣлаго ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ка, ѡт снѣдующихъ прославленъ будетъ: яко ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)колюбче.

**Б(о)городиченъ.** Невѣстникъ свѣтоносенъ и чистъ Д(ѣ)во, бывшій Б(о)гу, воспѣваемъ ты любовью и блажимъ, ты бо Б(о)га Слово Плотію мірови родила еси, въ существѣхъ и хотѣніихъ сугубыхъ, иже насъ дѣля вочеловѣчивыйся, тобою же намъ присокоупитися бл(а)гоизволи: яко ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)колюбче.

**Катавасіа.** Миръ много любящимъ ты:

**Песнь [6]. Ирмосъ.** Бездна послѣдняя грѣховъ ѡбыде мя, и волненія оуже нетерпя, яко Іона къ Вл(а)д(ы)цѣ вопію ти: из тля мя возведи.

Припѣл. Слава Тебѣ Б(о)же н(а)шъ:

Раждающійся самого себе даде въ причастіе, сообщающійся самого себе въ питаніе, оумирающій, самого себе въ ѡцѣненіе, Ц(а)рствующій самого себе даде въ почестъ: и яко Б(о)гъ бл(а)гооутробенъ изведе ѡт истлѣнія животъ нашъ.

О Сп(а)сительная Жертва! яже Н(е)б(е)сную ѡтверзаеши дверь, брани соѡдолѣвають вражныя, подаждь крѣпость, оускоряя на помощь; возведи ѡт истлѣнія животъ нашъ.

Подаждь время бл(а)гоприятно, подаждь слезъ источникомъ ѡмыти с(е)рдца жертву, юже

радостная восплаляет милость, и изведи ѿ тлѣнїя животь нашъ.

**Б(о)город(ичень).** Естество ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ческое работающее грѣху, Вл(а)д(ы)ч(и)це ч(и)стая, тобою свободу оулучи, твой бо С(ы)нъ, яко Агнецъ закланъ за всѣхъ, всѣмъ повиннымъ намъ ѿпущеніе грѣхѡвъ своею Кровію дарова, изводяи ѿ тля животь нашъ.

**Катавас(їа):** Бездна послѣдняя:

**КОНДАКЪ Гласъ [8].**

Егда съ Оученики въ Горлицу вошелъ еси, къ вечери свѣте невечерній, в тайнѣ чудеснѣ стр(а)сти твоя память ѡставилъ еси: подаждь молящимътисѣ, такѡ намъ Тѣла и Крове твоя с(вя)тую Тайну почитати, да искупленїя твоего плодъ въ насъ пр(и)сно ѡщущающїи возываемъ: Жизнодавче Хр(и)сте Б(о)же нашъ слава тебѣ.

**ИКОСЬ.**

Ничтоже сея Тайны лучшее есть: ибо сія грѣхи ѡчищаетъ, добродѣтели оумножаетъ, и оумъ всѣхъ духовныхъ дарѡвъ сею избыточествуетъ. Ѻт Іерей в Ц(е)ркви за живыхъ и мертвыхъ приносима, всѣмъ на спасенїе полезна есть. Ктоже сея Тайны бл(а)гостыню доволнѣ изречетъ, понеже ѿ нея духовныхъ сладостїй

**11:**

причащающимся истекають источники, яже Х(ристо)съ въ память стр(а)сти своя изыщнѣйшия ради любви намъ показа возывающимъ: Животъдавче Х(рист)е Б(о)же нашъ слава тебѣ.

**Синаксаръ.**

Понеже достоить бл(а)гочестивымъ людемъ торжественнѣ сп(а)сительныя, и зѣлѡ чудесныя Тайны, сіестъ: Тѣла Х(ристо)ва Праздникъ почитати, да нарочитѡ ѿ вѣрныхъ всемогущее, Б(о)жіе въ тайнѣ видимой, толика чудеса дѣйствующее присутствїе прославитьсѣ: Вселенскїй Папа Римъскїй Оурванъ [IV] сея Тайны достоговѣніемъ возбужденъ, благочестивъ предреченнаго Праздника память, по Поппраздству Пентекостїя, сирѣчь по Сошествїи С(вя)таго Д(у)ха, въ первый Четвертокъ всѣхъ вѣрныхъ торжествовати настави; Да всякъ бл(а)говѣрный, чрезъ Кругъ всего Года, сея Тайны къ сп(а)сенїю оупотребляемый, тогжде време не память Тѣла Х(ристо)ва благоговѣнно празднует, въ еже Д(у)хъ С(вя)тый (с)е)рдце Оученикъ Х(ристо)выхъ исполнително сея Тайны тайная научи разумѣти. Егдаже ѿ предреченнаго Четвертка, чрезъ дни всея Седмица ѿ вѣрныхъ сей сп(а)сительныя Тайны Праздникъ начать народнѣ прославлятися, ѿ толь тойже предреченный, Вселенскїй, Римъскїй Архіерей, вмѣсто раздаянїя вещественныхъ, присутственнѣ въ Церквехъ моленїемъ, сіестъ: на часехъ правилныхъ, ношныхъ, такожде и дневныхъ

пребывающимъ, Ап(о)стольскаго бл(а)годатїю obroки духовныя, на ѿпущенїе грѣхѡвъ, и къ полученїю Царствїя н(е)б(е)снаго даровати изводи. Оубо ктому и бывшїй лѣта [1720] ѿ Рождества Х(ристо)ва въ Замойстю Синодъ, тамгжде ѿ всѣхъ Рѡксолянскихъ, или Рѡссїйскихъ Странъ собравшимися, бл(а)гочестивыми Ѻтцы, въ С(вя)той Преестественной Тайнѣ, Тѣло Х(ристо)во оусердно исповѣдавшими, оуставленный тояжде сп(а)сительныя и животворящїя Тайны, под видомъ Хлѣба, Тѣла Х(ристо)ва Праздникъ, такожде чрезъ всю Седмицу ѿ прежде реченнаго Четвертка наченше, охотно бл(а)гоговѣннымъ всенародно людемъ торжествовати оутверди въ славу Богу; емуже да будетъ ѿ всякїя твари честь, хваленїе, бл(а)гословенїе, бл(а)годаренїе, и поклоненїе, въ вѣки Аминь.

**Пѣснь [7]. Ірмосъ.** Ѻтроци въ Вавилонѣ, печи пламенныя неубояшесѣ, но посреде огня повержени, прохладжаеми воспѣваху пѣснь: Бл(а)гословенъ еси Г(о)с(по)ди Б(о)же Ѻтецъ нашихъ.

Припѣл. Слава Тебѣ Б(о)же н(а)шъ:

Воспрослави Роде всепразднственную Пр(е)ч(и)стаго Тѣла и безцѣнныя Крове Тайну, юже на искупленїе міру, Плодъ живота бл(а)годатнаго Царь, яко бл(а)гъ тебѣ оувѣри поющу: бл(а)гословенъ еси Г(о)с(по)ди Б(о)же Ѻтецъ нашихъ. Намъ оубо даный, намъ рожденный, ѿ Пр(е)ч(и)стыя Д(ѣ)вы, въ мїрѣ живый, разсѣявше словесъ сѣмена животна, своего бытїя медленїе чудеснымъ чиномъ доконча, яко бл(а)гъ поющимъ: Бл(а)гословенъ еси Г(о)с(по)ди Б(о)же Ѻтецъ нашихъ.

Въ ѡстатную нощи вечеру, возлежащъ съ Братїею, исполненнѡ Законъ соблюдающе, въ брашнахъ сѣновнѣхъ, брашно народу алчущу сво-

**12:**

има рукама яко бл(а)гъ подавый Тѣло и Кровь сп(а)сительную поющу: Бл(а)гословенъ еси Г(о)с(по)ди Б(о)же Ѻтецъ нашихъ.

**Троиц(е)нъ.** С(вя)тая Троице въ единици Б(о)жества, тя молебнѡ молимъ: повѣщающе насъ тя почитающихъ, наставляя твоими стезями безвѣдно шествовати до свѣта, въ немже пребываеши: Бл(а)гословенъ еси Г(о)с(по)ди Б(о)же Ѻтецъ нашихъ.

**Б(о)город(ичень).** Творца всѣхъ неизреченно родила еси Преч(и)стая, избавляющаго древнїя клятвы ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ки, и смертныя тля: тѣмже тобою единому Б(о)гу въ преестественномъ Хлѣбѣ оутаеннаго познавши бл(а)гохвално вопїемъ: Бл(а)гословенъ еси Г(о)с(по)ди Б(о)же ѡтецъ нашихъ.

**Катавасїя.** Ѻтроци въ Вавилонѣ:

**Пѣснь [8]. Ірмосъ.** По Законѣ отчѣмъ трѣбл(а)женнѣи, въ Вавѣлонѣ ины бѣды подемяюще, царующаго небрегоша повелѣннѣи безумнаго, и совокуплени, въ немѣже неизваришася огни, держащему достойно воспѣваху пѣснь: Г(о)с(по)да воспѣвайте дѣла, и превозносите его въ вѣки.

Припѣл. Слава Тебѣ Б(о)же н(а)шѣ:

Слово Тѣло, Хлѣбъ истинный, словесемъ Тѣло дѣйствуетъ, бываетъже Кровь Хр(ист)а вино, аще и смыслъ оустаеъ: въ оутвержденіе с(е)рдца чистаго, едина въра довлѣетъ пѣснословащимъ: Г(о)с(по)да воспѣвайте дѣла, и превозносите его въ вѣки.

Толику оубо Тайну почтенно празнующимъ, ветхѣи прѣказъ новому Завѣту да оуступитъ, подастъ въра прибыль смысловъ лишенію: за еже Г(о)с(по)да воспѣвайте дѣла, и превозносите его въ вѣки.

Хлѣбъ Анг(е)лскѣи, бываетъ Хлѣбъ ч(е)л(о)вѣчѣи, даетъ хлѣбъ н(е)б(е)сный образомъ предѣлъ, ѿ дивная вещь! ястъ Г(о)с(по)да нищѣи, рабъ, и смиренный пѣснословаще: Г(о)с(по)да воспѣвайте дѣла, и превозносите его въ вѣки.

**Тро(и)ч(е)нъ.** Еже въ трѣхъ Лицехъ изобразуемо, нераздѣлно, тринпостасно Б(о)жество, въ единомъ ест(е)ствѣ, славѣ, и силѣ: бл(а)гословѣте вся дѣла Г(о)с(по)да Г(о)с(по)да, и превозносите его въ вѣки.

**Б(о)город(и)чъ.** *Отъ* Д(ѣ)вы волею воплощшемуся безъ сѣмене С(ы)ну, по Рождествѣ Б(о)жественною силою Чистую Д(ѣ)ву сохранишему, иже надъ всѣми Б(о)гу, и Пр(е)ч(и)стой Б(о)гом(а)т(е)ри преестественный Хлѣбъ, Хр(ист)а д(у)шамъ нашимъ рождшей воспоимъ: Бл(а)гословите вся дѣла, и превозносите я въ вѣки.

**Катавасіа.** По Законѣ отчѣмъ:

**Припѣлъ.** Величай д(у)ше моя Г(о)с(по)да, Плоть свою намъ въ пищу Тайну давшаго.

**Припѣлъ другій.** Величай д(у)ше моя, Хр(ист)а Б(о)га нашего, Плоть въ сп(а)с(е)ніе ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)комъ давшаго.

Честнѣйшую непоемъ.

**Пѣснь [9]. Ірмосъ.** Странствія Владычнѣи къ безсмертнѣи Трапезѣ, на горнемъ мѣстѣ, высокими оумы вѣрнѣи прѣйдѣте, воспріимѣмъ възшедша Слова, *отъ* Слова научившеся: егоже величаимъ.

Припѣл. Слава Тебѣ Б(о)же н(а)шѣ:

Празнованію св(я)тыхъ Таинъ совокупѣмъ радованія, и *отъ* внутреннихъ восклицающе хваленія, да ѡставимъ вся ветхая: с(е)рдцемъже гласы, и дѣяннѣи новыми Матеръ Б(о)жѣи возвеличимъ.

Ноши содѣйствуетъ вечера ѡстатна, егоже Хр(исто)съ вѣруетъся, Агнце въ присноцѣ дати братѣмъ, по оуставленному законоположенію древнимъ *отцемъ*: мыже тайныя Вечера животнымъ Хлѣбомъ наслаждающеся, М(а)т(е)рѣ Б(о)жѣи возвеличимъ.

**13:**

По таинственномъ Агнці, исполненну оучрежденію Тѣло Г(о)с(по)дне дано Оученикомъ, такъ цѣло всѣмъ, еже цѣло коимъждо: егоже рукамъ исповѣданно вѣрующѣи М(а)т(е)рѣ Б(о)жѣи величаимъ.

**Б(о)город(и)чъ.** Древо тя Д(ѣ)вице жизни свѣми, небѣ снѣди плодъ смертоносный ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)комъ изъ тебе прозябе, но живота пр(и)носущнаго, на сп(а)сѣніе тя величающимъ.

**КАТАВАСІЯ, гласъ (page torn).**

Радуйся Царице Пресв(я)тая Д(ѣ)во, едина Преч(и)стая, тя славить вся тварь, яко М(а)т(е)рѣ свѣта: тѣмъже и мы свѣтомъ просвѣщени, тя достойно величаемъ.

**СВѢТИЛЕНЪ.**

Оученикомъ сѣдящимъ на тайной Вечери, и зрящимъ тя Г(о)с(по)ди, приялъ еси Хлѣбъ въ Св(я)тыя своя Руки, возведъ очи на Н(е)бо къ Б(о)гу О(т)цу, благодаривъ, бл(а)гослови(въ), и преломи(въ), даяше св(я)тымъ Оуч(е)никамъ своимъ: подаждѣже и намъ грѣшнымъ, недостойнымъ рабамъ твоимъ.

Слава:

Снѣдѣте съ Н(е)б(е)съ полци Н(е)б(е)снѣи, Анг(е)ли и Арханг(е)ли, днесъ восклицайте купно съ ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ки Хр(ист)а Б(о)га нашего, въ Хлѣбѣ Б(о)ж(е)ственномъ оутаеннаго, въ сп(а)сѣніе д(у)шамъ нашимъ.

И нынѣ: Сей есть Пресв(я)тая Д(ѣ)во Б(о)городице, въ сихъ Тайнахъ покланяемый, егоже ти ношаше прежде въ чревѣ Матернѣ, посѣмъ на руку, егоже ѡ насъ моли: да сп(а)сѣтъ д(у)ша наша.

**На Хвалитехъ Стих(и)ры**

**Гласъ [1]. Подоб(ен): Ѡ дивное чудо:**

Ѡ дивное чудо! Источникъ жизни, на Престолѣ зрится, ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)комъ въ снѣдъ даеъся; веселися Ц(е)ркви Б(о)жественная, Хлѣбомъ Плоти Хр(исто)вы преукрашенная: возопѣмъ вѣрнѣи, Іоанна Б(о)гослова имуща Чиноначальника: И Слово Плоть бысть, и веселися въ ны, и вѣдохомъ славу его: яко единороднаго *отъ* О(т)ца.

Ѡ дивное чудо! иже въ Маннѣ преобразуемый, Б(о)гъ истинный, *отъ* Б(о)га истинна рожденный воспріа ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ческия плоти естество: веселися днесъ роде ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)чѣ, видяи Б(о)га въ Плоти, себе тебѣ дающа, возопѣи веселящеся,

и оусердно Б(о)га бл(а)годаряще: И Слово Плоть бысть, и вселися въ ны, и видихомъ славу егѡ, яко единороднаго ѿ Отца.

Ω дивное чудо! закла Премудрость своя жертвенная, и черпа въ чаши своей вино, и оуготова трапезу, всѣхъ къ себѣ возивающи: прїйдѣте ядите мой Хлѣбъ, и пїйте вино еже черпахъ вамъ: веселѣтесь Ц(а)ріе, бл(а)годарите С(вя)тителїе: яко Слово Плоть бысть, и вселися въ ны, и видихомъ славу егѡ: яко единороднаго ѿ Отца.

Ω дивное чудо! иже на горѣ Сїнаистѣй съ Моисїемъ г(лаго)лавый во купинѣ неѡпалимой, и Скрижали Законныя написавый: егѡже гласъ грома, трубъ, и молнїи, оустраши сыны Израилевы прошедшыя море по суху: сей днесь Б(о)ж(е)ственнѡ въ Хлѣбѣ оутаися, и въ снѣдъ подавается всѣмъ: Агнецъ, Б(о)гъ, и Сп(а)ситель.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [8].

Днесь Прор(о)ческое содѣйствуется Слово: се Агнецъ Б(о)жїй, взямаи грѣхи міру видимѡ под недовѣдомою Хлѣба Тайною предстоитъ, Агнецъ, егѡже Плоть истинно есть

#### 14:

брашно, Кровь егѡ истинно есть питїе. Никтоже оубѡ егѡ Плоти мерзостно ѿ ядущихъ доволнѣ насыщается, ниже питїе егѡ въ сладострастныхъ похотехъ ѿ пїющихъ достоинѣ ему сообщается, но всякъ огнемъ любви разжженъ, духовною жаждою распаленъ, и чистою совѣстію возбужденъ, къ сей животворящей Тайнѣ приступая, оугодно питается. Ащели бо Іудее стоящїи, плесница на ногахъ имущїи, жезлы въ рукахъ содержащїи, Агнца съ тїцанїемъ ядоша, мнозѣ паче снѣдушимъ намъ сіе Г(о)с(по)дне брашно искуснѣйшимъ быти достоитъ, да не въ см(е)ртъ Плоти Б(о)жїей причастимъся.

Таже, Славословіе Великое. Тропарь Празд(нику). Ектенїя. и Ѿпустъ.

#### НА ЛУТУРГІИ.

##### Антїфонъ [1]

Г(о)с(по)дъ пасетъ мя, и ничтоже мя лишитъ: на мѣстѣ злчнѣ тамѡ мя всели.

Стїх. М(о)л(и)твами Б(огороди)цы, Сп(а)се спаси насъ.

Стїхъ [2]. Аще бо пойду посредѣ снѣгъ смертныя, неоубоюся зла: яко ты съ мною еси.

М(о)л(и)твами Б(огороди)цы:

Стїх [3]. Оуготовалъ еси предомною трапезу: и Чаша твоя оупоюющая мя яко державна.

М(о)л(и)твами:

##### Антїфонъ [2].

Вѣровахъ, тѣмъже и возг(лаго)лахъ: азъ же смѣрихъся зѣло. Спаси насъ С(ы)не Б(о)жїй, питаемый Плотїю своею поющихъ ти. Аллилуѧ [3].

Стїх [2]. Что воздамъ Г(о)с(поде)ви ѡ всѣхъ: яже воздасть ми. Спаси насъ:

Стїх [3]. Чашу сп(а)сенїя прїиму: и Имя Г(о)с(по)дне призову. Спаси насъ С(ы)не:

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Единородный С(ы)нъ:

##### Антїфонъ [3].

Пожрѣте жертву правды: и оуповайте на Г(о)с(по)да.

##### ТРОПАРЬ Гласъ [7].

Хлѣбъ преестественный, егѡже Анг(е)ли трепещуще видити жаждють, днесь праздненственнѡ на Пр(е)столѣ зрїтъся, и ч(е)л(о)вѣкъмъ въ снѣдъ дается: въ немъже мы пребогатую твою м(и)л(о)сть Хр(и)сте Б(о)же н(а)шъ зряще, Б(о)га тя съ Плотїю въ хлѣба случаехъ оутаеннаго исповѣдаемъ г(лаго)люще: сподоби насъ причастниками быти: да и жизни вѣчн ы я насладимъся.

Стїх [2]. Ѿ плода пшеницы, вина, и елея своего оумножишася.

Троп(арь): Хлѣбъ преестественный:

Стїх [3]. Яко насытилъ есть д(у)шу твою: и д(у)шу алачу твою исполни бл(а)гъ.

Троп(арь): Хлѣбъ преестественный:

**ВХОДЪ.** Тебѣ пожру жертву хвалы: и Имя Г(о)с(по)дне призову. Хлѣбъ преест(ественный):

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: **Конд(акъ). Гласъ [4]. Подоб(енъ): Явился еси:**

Се преддежитъ Х(ристо)съ на пищу всѣмъ, прїйдѣте и припадающе поклонимъся Хр(и)сту Б(о)гу, сими Тайнами оутаенному, съ оумиленїемъ возывающе: Вл(а)д(ы)ко да не ѡпалиши насъ недостойныхъ приобщенїемъ: но буди пополая грѣхи, и ѡчищая д(у)ша наша.

##### Прокимень Гласъ [4].

Напита ихъ ѿ тука пшенична: и ѿ камене меда насыти ихъ.

Стїх. Радуйтесь Б(о)гу помощнику нашему: воскликнѣте Б(о)гу Іаковлю.

Ап(о)с(то)лъ къ Коринфѡм, зач(ало): [149].

Ев(ан)г(е)ліе ѿ Іоанна, зач(ало): [23].

**Причаст(ен):** Ядый мою Плоть, и пїй мой Кровь, въ мнѣ пребываетъ, и азъ въ немъ, рече Г(о)с(по)дъ. Аллилуѧ.

15:

**Въ тойже день Вечерь, на Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ Сѣх(и)ры. Гласъ [6]. Подоб(ен): Все оупованіе:**

Архїерей превѣчный по чину Мелхиседекову, Г(о)с(по)дъ н(а)шъ І(су)съ Х(ристо)съ: Хлѣбъ и вино на тайнѣй вечери своей, въ себе самаго премѣни, грѣхъ ради рода человѣческаго, семуже днесь яко Б(о)гу истинному, празднственнѣ покланяимъ.

Щедръ и м(и)л(о)стивъ Г(о)с(по)дъ, пищу далъ есть боящимъ его, г(лаго)ля къ Оученикомъ своимъ: Прїимѣте и ядѣте, сіе есть Тѣло мое: пїите ѿ нея вси, сія есть Кровь моя новаго Завѣта, яже за вы и за мнози изливаема, въ ѡставленіе грѣховъ.

Память сотворилъ есть чудесъ своихъ Г(о)с(по)дъ, щедрѣе своего ради бл(а)гоутробїя, въ сихъ Тайнахъ Плоти и Крови своей, Плоть свою дая въ снѣдъ, и Кровь въ питіе: Ѡ велїя сила, и дѣла Г(о)с(по)дня, изыскана въ всѣхъ воляхъ его, С(вя)то и страшно Имя его: еже есть паче всякаго имени; да ѡ Имени І(су)совѣмъ, всяко колѣно полонитъ, Н(е)б(ес)ныхъ и земныхъ, и преисподнихъ.

Тайнѣй днесь вечери, и трапезъ Б(о)ж(е)ственнѣй, съ страхомъ приближаимъ въ рніи: хотяще вкусити Источника безсмертнаго: но трепеть и страхъ насъ приемлетъ, многихъ ради грѣховъ нашихъ, ѿ нихъже тобою ѡчиститися желаимъ.

**Гласъ [3].**

Прїйдѣте вси концы земнїи, и въ Храмъ Г(о)с(о)днѣ ставше днесь припадѣмъ на лица земли съ смиреніемъ: якоже бо видѣ Іованъ Б(о)гословъ, старца дванадесѣть и чѣтыри припадающа, предъ сѣдящимъ на Престолѣ, живущему въ вѣки вѣковъ. Сей бо бысть Агнецъ Б(о)жїй на Престолѣ сѣдѣщъ: егоже зримъ днесь въ Прес(вя)тыхъ Тайнахъ невидимѣ, видимъже есть ѿ вѣрныхъ вѣроу: егоже яко Б(о)га Слова воч(е)л(о)вѣчшася исповѣдающе, съ страхомъ и трепетомъ, ему покланяимъ.

Н(ы)нѣ самаго Г(о)с(по)да ѡбѣтомъ, и вѣроу: **Зри на Велицей Вечерни. Листъ [3].**

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [8].

Древле оубо Іудее въ Палестыну, обитанїю ѡбѣщанну путешествующїи, образъ преселникъ прообразоваша, мыже Б(о)ж(е)ственнаго наслажденїя разумъ восприемлюще, должны есмь въ Іер(у)с(а)лимъ Н(е)б(е)снѣй, въ Градъ написанныхъ въ Книгахъ животныхъ Агнчїи внити: чегѣ ради въ всемъ шестїи житїя временнаго, тщателнѣ требъ намъ есть бодрствовати, ниже бо недостойно съпричащающимися, Преч(и)стаго Агнца Тѣлу и Крови, въ предуготованну, великую муку впасти: тѣмже оубо молебнѣ преестественной Тайнѣ кланяющеся, воспоминаѣмъ, яко противу

предателю Х(ристо)ву, и противу соборищу неповиннаго смерти распинающе беззаконовавшу возгараемъ, такожде и разумно разсмотрѣмъ, да не и мы повинни будемъ Тѣлу и Крове Г(о)с(по)да нашего Іс(уса) Х(рист)а: егоже язвою исцѣлихомъ.

**Таже, Входъ. Свѣтъ тихїй.**

16:

**ПРОКИМЕНЪ Гласъ [7].** Кто богъ велїй; яко Б(о)гъ нашъ, Ты еси Б(о)гъ творяй чудеса.

Сѣх [1]. Познану сотворилъ еси въ людехъ силу твою.

Сѣх [2]. Рѣхъ и н(ы)нѣ начяхъ, сія измѣна десница вышняго.

Сѣх [3]. Помянухъ дѣла Г(о)с(по)дня, яко помяну ѿ зачала чудесъ твоихъ, и поучуся.

Таже. Кто богъ велїй? яко Б(о)гъ нашъ:

**На Сѣх(и)нахъ Сѣх(и)ры.**

**Гласъ [2]. Подоб(ен): Доме Ефраф(овъ).**

На тайной Вечери, Х(ристо)съ Б(о)гъ далъ есть, Ап(о)столомъ ясти, Плоть свою Б(о)ж(е)ственную, въ исцѣленіе д(у)ши и тѣлу.

Сѣх. Г(о)с(по)дъ пасетъ мя, ничтоже мя лишитъ.

Приступите вси, не къ Сїнайскѣй горѣ, но къ Б(о)гу въсѣхъ, въ сихъ Тайнахъ страшныхъ оутаенному, Хр(и)сту Б(о)гу нашему.

Сѣх. Оуготовалъ еси предомною трапезу, сопротивъ стужающимъ ми.

Даетъся Х(ристо)съ, всѣмъ въ снѣдъ грѣшнымъ, Хлѣбъ творя Тѣломъ, и вино въ Кровь, Б(о)ж(е)ственно претворяющи.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ то(й)ж(де):

Хвалимъ тя Христе, Сп(а)се нашъ бл(а)гїй: иже Кровь свою изліялъ еси: сп(а)сенїя ради ч(е)л(о)вѣческаго.

**Таже. Н(ы)нѣ ѡтпущаеши: Тр(и)с(вя)тое: по О(т)че нашъ: Трои(арь): Празнику.**

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**ТРИПѢСНЕЦЪ на Паверници.**

**Гласъ [4].**

**Пѣснь [2]. Ирмосъ.** Видите, видите, яко азъ есмь Б(о)гъ, оумерщвляя и животворяя, даровавый из камене несѣкома воду, и ѡдождивый Манну на пищу людемъ Израилевымъ: яко силенъ.

Припѣл. Слава тебѣ Б(о)же нашъ:

Б(о)гъ неизмѣримъ въ щедротахъ, намъ неѡцѣнимое бл(а)годѣйство представи: ниже бо есть, ниже бѣ когда тако великий языкъ, иже

имѣяше приближающихся себѣ б(о)гѡвъ, яко намѣ б(о)гъ нашъ присутствуетъ: яко всесилень.

Единородный бо С(ы)нъ Б(о)жій, естество наше приемъ, да люди сотворитъ Б(о)гы, бысть ч(е)л(о)вѣкъ, кому еже ѡт нашего взя, все то подаде на спасеніе наше: яко всесилень.

Тѣло оубѡ свое нашего ради примиренія, на Олтару Креста пожре Б(о)гу О(т)цу. Кровь свою излія въ цѣну, купнѡ и въ баню паки бытія, и на ѡбновленіе наше, да искупленныхъ ѡт ѡкаянныхъ работы, ѡт всѣхъ грѣхѡвъ ѡчиститъ: яко всесилень.

Да толикагѡ бл(а)годѣйства всегда въ насѣ пребываетъ память, Х(ристо)съ бо Тѣло свое въ снѣдъ, и Кровь свою въ питіе, под видомъ хлѣба, и віна, снѣсти вѣрнымъ ѡстави: яко бл(а)гъ и всесилень.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: **Б(о)город(ичень):**

Не можетъ тя слово ч(е)л(о)вѣческое, ни языкъ достойнѡ похвалити Преч(и)стая Д(ѣ)во, из тебе бо без сѣмене Жизнодавецъ Х(ристо)съ Б(о)гъ воплотився, яко Агнецъ закланъ, всѣхъ Кровію своею искупи, тя Б(огороди)цу исповѣдающихъ, яко всесилень.

**Пѣснь [8]. Ирмосъ.** Вся дѣла Б(о)жія, и вся тварь бл(а)г(о)с(ло)вите Г(о)с(по)да, преподобніи, и смиренніи с(е)рдцемъ пойте, людіе, и превозносите его въ вѣки.

Припѣл. Слава тебѣ Б(о)же нашъ:

О дивна! и честна! спасительна! и всякія исполненна бл(а)гости оучрежденія трапеза; что оубѡ сея трапезы честнѣйшее быти можетъ? еже на ней не мясомъ юнчимъ и кознимъ, яко въ древнемъ Законѣ; но самагѡ Х(рист)а, истиннагѡ Б(о)га Тѣлу и Крови въ снѣдъ

17:

предлагатися поющимъ: Вся дѣла Б(о)жія бл(а)г(о)с(ло)вите Г(о)с(по)да, и превозносите его въ вѣки.

Что сея Тайны пречуднѣйшее есть, еже не ней Хлѣбу и віну, въ Тѣло и Кровь Хр(и)стову преестественнѣ премѣнятися, чегѡ ради Х(ристо)съ Г(о)гъ, и ч(е)л(о)вѣкъ совершенный подъ частицею Хлѣба, совершенный и под видомъ віна сожержитъ, на спасеніе намѣ поющимъ: Вся дѣла Б(о)жія бл(а)гословите Г(о)с(по)да, и превозносите его въ вѣки.

Ядятъ вѣрніи, но ѡтнюдъ въ Прес(вя)тѣй Тайнѣ Х(ристо)съ нераздѣляется, ибо раздѣленной Тайнѣ, подъ коеюждо раздѣленія частицею весь Х(ристо)съ пребываетъ; тѣмже оубѡ мы видимаго, невидимѡ въ необычномъ видѣ оутаеннаго снѣдущіи, разсуднѡ ѡ случаевъ себѣ вѣдомыхъ смыслы прелщенію не повинны оудержающе

воспѣваемъ: вся дѣла Б(о)жія бл(а)гословите Г(о)с(по)да, и превозносите его въ вѣки.

**Тро(й)чень.** Родителю О(т)цу, и нарожденну С(ы)ну похваленіе, и воскликновеніе, слава, честь, сила и бл(а)гословеніе, исходящу Д(у)ху ѡт обоихъ, да будетъ равное чести пѣснопѣніе ѡт вопіющихъ: вся дѣла Б(о)жія бл(а)гословите Г(о)с(по)да, и превозносите его въ вѣки.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: **Б(о)город(ичень):**

Врача ч(е)л(о)вѣкъѡмъ Преч(и)стая родила еси всесилное Слово, Хр(и)ста Г(о)с(по)да ѡт прародительныхъ клятвы и язвы живоудателною Плотію и Кровію своею всѣхъ исцѣляюща: егоже моли, тя пр(и)снѡ воспѣвающимъ славити, и превозносимъ его въ вѣки.

**Пѣснь [9]. Ирмосъ.** Тайна Б(о)жія преславная тобою бысть явственна Д(ѣ)во Преч(и)стая, ибо Б(о)гъ изъ тебе воплотися за милосердіе: тѣмъ ты вси яко Б(огороди)цу величаимъ.

Древле воду въ віно претвори Х(ристо)съ, въ Канѣ Галілейстѣ, яже имать нѣкое, съ кровію свойство, и аще малѡ се оутодное дѣйствіе вмѣняемъ, кому оувѣримъ: да вѣруимъ Хр(и)сту, иже віно на преестественнѣй Тайнѣ, въ Кровь свою претворяетъ, ейже мы почтеннѡ причащающеся Преч(и)стую Б(о)гоматеръ достойными пѣснями величаимъ.

На онъ бракъ, на немъже тѣлеса сочетаются, Х(ристо)съ возванъ, кромѣ всѣхъ мнѣній, воду въ віно претвори: многле се извѣстнѣйшее чудо есть, еже на тайнѣй Вечери своимъ Оученикомъ Х(ристо)съ сотвори: ибо въ видѣ Хлѣба, и въ видѣ віна даде Тѣло, и Кровь свою, да егда мы сегѡ снѣдна вкушаемъ, причастниками Тѣла и Крове Х(рист)а бываемъ, егѡже бл(а)гоутробіе восхваляюще: яко преславную Б(огороди)цу достойнѡ величаимъ.

Такѡ оубѡ творимъ Христоносцами, се есть Х(рист)а въ телесехъ нашихъ носителми, егда Тѣло егѡ и Кровь, въ оуды наша приемлемъ, якоже оубѡ и по словесехъ с(вя)тагѡ Петра бываемъ Б(о)ж(е)ственнагѡ причастници естества; тѣмъже за се великое Х(рист)а бл(а)годѣйство бл(а)гдарственнѡ прославляюще, Преч(и)стую егѡ М(а)т(е)рь достойнѡ величаимъ.

**Тро(й)чень.** Единому въ Тро(й)ци Г(о)с(по)деви, да будетъ вѣчное хваленіе, честь и поклоненіе, иже намъ сп(а)сительному Х(рист)а Кровію искупленнымъ, и къ неопредѣленному Ц(а)рству возводимымъ примирителна посредства дарова, въ наслѣдіе живота вѣчнагѡ.

18:

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: **Б(о)город(ичень):**

Бл(а)годать процвѣте, Законъ преста тобою всеч(и)стая, ты бо чистая родила еси Г(о)с(по)да,

Плоть свою и Кровь подающего ч(е)л(о)вѣкъмъ на ѿпущеніе грѣховъ: егоже ради мы ѿт смысла бл(а)гоговѣннаго тя достойно величаемъ.

**Таже, Катавасіа. Тайна Б(о)жїя. Тр(и)с(вя)тое: по О(т)че нашъ: Конд(акъ): Празнику. Г(о)с(по)ди пом(илуй): [40]. Нескверная, и блазная: и проч(ее). и Ѡпустъ.**

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**Въ Пятокъ на Оутрени**

**На Б(о)гъ Г(о)с(по)дъ. Тропарь Празнику. Слава: Троп(арь): С(вя)тому. И н(ы)нѣ: Праз(нику):**

**По [1]. Кафісмъ, Съдал(ень): Гласъ [3]. Подоб(ен): Х(ристо)съ ѿ мертвыхъ воста:**

Оуже Пасха наша Х(ристо)съ есть, истинная тожде жертва, и чистымъ душамъ чиста, и истинны ѿприснокъ: егоже въ Тайне достойнымъ на сп(а)сеніе подаде десницею единою, и крепостію своею: якъ ч(е)л(о)вѣколюбецъ.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ тойжде.

Д(ѣ)во Прес(вя)тая спаси насъ м(о)л(и)твами твоими, движуши оутробу матернюю, къ С(ы)ну и Б(о)гу твоему, въ Преч(и)стѣй Тайнѣ себе на оутѣшеніе вѣрныхъ даруюшу: да подасть намъ Причастіе славы своея.

**По [2]. Кафісмъ, Съдал(ень): Гласъ [8]. Подоб(ень): Повелѣнное таинство:**

Ѡ истинно н(е)б(е)сна жертва, ейже адъ повинуется, смертныя оузы разрѣшаются, живота вравія суть восприята десницею единою, и единаѡ Вл(а)д(ы)ки крепостію: егоже верно восхваляимъ.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [4]. Под(обенъ): Явился:

Радуйся Агг(е)ломъ міру радость приемшая, радуйся рождающая присущаго въ Тайне Творца твари и Г(о)с(по)да: радуйся сподобляющаяся быти М(а)ти Х(рист)а Б(о)га.

Канѡнъ Празнику и с(вя)тому.

**На Стѣхонахъ Стѣх(и)ры Гласъ [6]. Подоб(ень): Трїднев(но):**

Тайна сія великая и страшная есть, въ нейже Создатель Б(о)гъ совершенъ пребываетъ: съ Б(о)ж(е)ствомъ и Плотію и д(у)шею, м(и)л(о)сти ради рода ч(е)л(о)вѣческагѡ: сему вси кланяемся, якъ Б(о)гу, и Сп(а)су д(у)шамъ нашимъ.

Стѣх: Что воздамъ Г(о)с(по)деви ѡ всѣхъ, яже воздаде ми.

Ѡ чудо преславно! якъ Б(о)гъ невомѣстимый первѣе, въ чревѣ Д(ѣ)вѣй вомѣщенъ, днесь же въ частици малой Хлѣба затворенный: ѿт ч(е)л(о)вѣкъ поклоненіе празднственнѡ приемлетъ: егоже мы съ Агг(е)лы и Архангелы воспоимъ, Сп(а)сителя д(у)шамъ нашимъ.

Стѣх: Чашу сп(а)сенія прїиму, и Имя Г(о)с(по)дне призову.

Ты еси Архіерей, по чину Мелхиседекову: приносиши Б(о)гу О(т)цу Хлѣбъ и вїно, жертву себе грѣхъ ради нашихъ, Хр(и)сте, Б(о)же, Сп(а)се нашъ: тебѣже мы истинному Б(о)гу, съ всякимъ бл(а)годареніемъ поклоняимъся.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [3].

Прїйдѣте вси концы земныи, и въ Храмъ Г(о)с(о)днѣмъ ставше днесь: припадѣмъ на лица земли съ смиреніемъ: якоже видѣ Іѡанъ Б(о)гословъ, старца двадесять и чѣтыри припадающа: предъ сѣдящимъ на Престолѣ, живущему въ вѣки вѣковъ. Сей бо бысть Агнецъ Б(о)жїй на Престолѣ сѣдѣющъ: егоже зримъ днесь въ Прес(вя)тыхъ Тайнахъ невидима: видимъже есть ѿт вѣрныхъ вѣроу: егоже якъ Б(о)га Слова воч(е)л(о)вѣчшася исповѣдающе, съ страхомъ и трепетомъ, ему поклоняимъся.

19:

**Въ Пятокъ Вечерь,**

**На Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ, Стѣх(и)ры Празнику. Гласъ [5].**

Даяй Ісаакъ бл(а)г(о)с(ло)веніе, С(ы)ну своему Іакову Патрїярсѣ, обиліемъ пшеница и вїна оутверди его: семуже бл(а)гословенію Патрїарха, совокупи и первенство сыновне: такожде сотвори и Сп(а)ситель нашъ Х(ристо)съ Г(о)с(по)дъ, даяй намъ Хлѣбъ преестественный, и вїно ѿт лозы истинныя: приемъ бо Хлѣбъ въ руцѣ Б(о)жественныя г(лаго)ля: Прїймѣте и ядѣте, сіе есть Тѣло мое: пїйте ѿт Чаши, сіа бо есть Кровь моя: за весь міръ изліянная.

Имѣже ѡбразомъ желаетъ Елень на источники водныя: сїце желаетъ д(у)ша моя къ тебѣ Б(о)же, иже далъ еси намъ Плоть свою въ снѣдъ, и питаеши насъ алчущихъ Хлѣбомъ Б(о)жественнымъ, и напаяеши насъ жаждущихъ д(у)шами, Вїномъ Преч(и)стѣй Крове твоея: тѣмъже днесь кланяемъся празднственнѡ, тебѣ Хр(и)сту Б(о)гу нашему воч(е)л(о)вѣчшуся: тебѣ припадающе и оумиленнѡ гл(агол)емъ: сп(а)си насъ м(и)л(о)с(е)рдїа ради твоегѡ.

Ядущимъ Оуч(е)никомъ на тайной Вечери, приемъ І(с)усъ Хлѣбъ въ руцѣ свои, очиче свои возведъ на Н(е)бо, бл(а)г(о)с(ло)ви, преломи, даде Оуч(е)никомъ своимъ г(лаго)ля: Прїймѣте и ядѣте, сіе есть Тѣло мое, еже за вы ломимое: въ ѡставленіе грѣховъ.

**Таже, Стѣх(и)ры С(вя)тому [3]. Слава: с(вя)тому еще есть. И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [8]-гѡ. Догмать. Ц(а)рь Н(е)б(ес)ный, за ч(е)л(о)вѣколюбіе:**

## На Стѣх(овнахъ): Стѣх(и)ры, Глас [2].

Воскликнѣте людѣ ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)колюбцу Б(о)гу, яко сотвори намъ величѣе сильный: на тайной Вечери своей, подающе всѣмъ Хлѣбъ небесный: въ спасеніе д(у)шамъ нашимъ.

Стѣх. М(и)л(о)ситъ и щедръ Г(о)с(по)дъ; пищу далъ есть боящимся его.

Вся земля да поклонится Б(о)гу, въ сѣхъ Тайнахъ живу, бл(а)годарящи м(и)л(о)с(е)рдіе его: яко Хлѣбъ преестественный небесе, брашно даде возлюбленнымъ своимъ: яже искупи Кровію своею.

Стѣх: Избавленіе посла Г(о)с(по)дъ людемъ своимъ, заповѣда въ вѣкъ Завѣтъ свой.

Вкусите и оувидѣте, яко бл(а)гъ Г(о)с(по)дъ: иже на тайной Вечери, Плоть свою даде Оуч(е)никомъ, и всѣмъ вѣрнымъ: въ снѣдъ и въ сп(а)сеніе вѣчное.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [6]:

Азъ есмь Хлѣбъ животный сошедый небесе: да аще кто снѣстъ ѿ него неумретъ, но живъ будетъ въ вѣки: и Хлѣбъ егоже азъ дамъ истинная Плоть моя есть, юже азъ дахъ за животъ міра.

Таже. Н(ы)нѣ ѡтпущаеши: Тр(и)с(вя)тое: по О(т)че нашъ: Троп(арь): С(вя)тому, и Празнику.

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Въ Субботу На Оутрени.

На Б(о)гъ Г(о)с(по)дъ. Троп(арь): Празнику. Слава: Троп(арь): С(вя)тому. И н(ы)нѣ: Празнику.

По [1]. Кафіз(мъ): Сѣдал(ень): Глас [2]. Подоб(ень): Бл(а)гообразный Іосифъ:

Победитель поправый всеборца преисподняя, Х(ристо)съ знаменія побѣдительная, язвы Тѣла и страсти своя разпрострени, порабощеннаго царя тмы въ тартаръ заключаетъ десницею единою, и крѣпостію своею: подая мірови велію м(и)л(о)сть.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ тойже.

Спаси люди твоя Г(о)с(по)ди, яже стяжалъ еси честною си Кровію, на враги крѣпость Царемъ даруяй, Цер-

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квамъже твоимъ миръ подаждъ Б(огороди)ця, м(о)л(и)твами, и еяже десницею единою крепкою, исхити насъ ѿ всякаго вражескаго ѡбстоянія.

По [2]. Кафіз(мъ): Сѣдал(ень): Глас [1]. Подоб(ень): Камени знамен(анну):

Тайными образы въ сей с(вя)тѣйшей и преизящѣйшей Тайнѣ, дѣлаетъ Б(о)гъ вѣчный, и непостыдимый безконечныя силы, творить

велія и неиспытанная на Н(е)б(е)си и на земли, ниже есть изслѣдование чудесныхъ его дѣлъ, за яже бл(а)годарственне воспоемъ: слава Х(рист)е всесилію твоему.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Б(о)город(ичень):

Превосходиши силы Н(е)б(е)сныя, ибо храмъ была еси Б(о)ж(е)ственный Б(огороди)це, яко рождающая оутаеннаго въ Прес(вя)тѣй Тайнѣ Хр(и)ста, и Сп(а)са д(у)шамъ н(а)шимъ.

Таже, Канонъ Празнику, Храму, и С(вя)тому: егоже есть день.

На Стѣх(овнахъ): Стѣх(и)ры, Глас [1]. Подоб(ень): Н(е)б(е)снымъ чиномъ:

Веселися днесъ Ц(е)ркви Хр(и)стова, празднственнѣ поклоняющися Хр(и)сту Б(о)гу, Плотію ѿ Д(ѣ)вы рождшемуся, и въ Тайнахъ Хлѣба сокровенному, и въ снѣдъ дающемуся: и сп(а)сающему душа наша.

Стѣх: Одожди имъ Манну ясти, и Хлѣбъ Н(е)б(е)сный дасть имъ.

На горниці веліей, идеже Оуч(е)ници оуготоваша ясти Пасху, возлеже І(с)усъ, и ѡбанадесяте Ап(о)столъ съ нимъ, речеже Г(о)с(по)дъ къ нимъ, желаніемъ вождѣхъ сію Пасху ясти съ вами, приемъ Хлѣбъ, хвалу воздавъ преломи, и даде Оученикомъ своимъ г(лаго)ля: Пріимѣте и ядѣте, сіе есть Тѣло мое, за вы ломимое, во ѡставленіе грѣховъ.

Стѣх: Хлѣбъ Агг(е)лскій яде ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ, брашно посла имъ до ѡбилія.

Приемъ и Чашу по вечери г(лаго)ля: сія Чаша есть новый Завѣтъ, въ моей Крови за вы изліянной: Аминь бо г(лаго)лю вамъ, яко не имамъ пити ѿ лознаго; дондеже Ц(а)рствіе Б(о)жіе прійдетъ.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: гласъ [6]. Днесъ веселится вся вселенная, днесъ красуется Ц(е)ркви соборная: празднственнѣ творяще память любуе Хр(и)стовы, иже всѣхъ насъ вѣрныхъ до конца возлюби, егда Хлѣбъ въ Плоть свою претвори; и въ пици живота вѣчнаго ѡстави гл(агол)я: Азъ есмь съ вами по вся дни живота вашего: ядый мою Плоть, и пійй мою Кровь: достоинъ въ мнѣ пребываетъ, и азъ въ немъ, и азъ его воскрешу въ животъ вѣчный.

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Въ Субботу Вечерь.

На Г(о)с(по)ди Возвахъ, Стѣх(и)ры Воскресны.

Таж(е): Стѣх(и)ры Празнику Гласъ [1]. Подоб(ень): Н(е)б(е)снымъ Чиномъ:

Чудна вещь! и вѣры достойна! и ч(е)л(о)вѣчскій побѣждающая разумъ: яко ты Г(о)с(по)ди Б(о)же нашъ, истинный Б(о)гъ и ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ, под

малымъ видомъ Хлѣба, и Вѣна цѣль содержишися, и безъ изнуренія ѿт приемлющихъ снѣдаешися: тѣмъ и мы тя въ сокрушенію с(е)рдца молимъ вопіюще, сподоби и насъ сіе животодателное снѣдно достойнѣ пріймати: якѡ податель ѡчищенія грѣховъ, и велія милости.

Ты Г(о)с(по)ди всѣхъ, иже ни чіея имаша потребы, изволилъ еси таинствомъ твоимъ вселитися въ ны: со-

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храни с(е)рдца наша, и тѣло нескверно, якѡ да веселою и чистою совѣстію, частѣе твоя возможемъ совершати таинства, и на наше вѣчное пріймати сп(а)сеніе: яже въ твою израднѣ честь, и память вѣчную ѡсвятить еси, намъ же даровалъ еси сими: ѡчищеніе грѣховъ, и велію м(и)л(о)сть.

Веселися душе вѣрныхъ, и бл(а)годари Б(о)га, ѡ толь славномъ дарѣ, и оутѣсь изящной, въ сей слезной оудолѣ тебѣ ѡставленной: елижды бо сіе таинство поминаеши, и Х(ристо)во Тѣло приемлеши, толижды твоего искупленія дѣло дѣеши, и причастница всѣхъ достояній Х(ристо)выхъ твориши: ибо любовь Х(ристо)ва никогдаже оумалѣется, но симъ своимъ таинствомъ, подаеъ ѡчищеніе грѣховъ, и велію милость.

**Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Догмат: Всемѣрную славу:**

**На Стѣхонахъ, Стѣх(и)ры Воскресны.**

**На Стѣх(овнахъ): Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Глас [6].**

Величіе оум(и)л(о)стивленія твоего Х(рист)е, николиже изчерпается, егѡже ради новымъ пр(и)снооумѡбновленіемъ, къ сему оутѡтоватися должны есмы, и великое спасенія таинство внимательнымъ разсмотрѣніемъ измѣрати: такѡ велико, ново, и красно намъ видѣти подобаетъ, егда совершаему Литургію слышимъ, радиво размышляимъ: аки въ той день Х(ристо)съ первѣе въ оутробу Д(ѣ)в(и)чу сошедъ, да ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ будетъ: или на Кресте вися, за ч(е)л(о)вѣческое сп(а)сеніе да пострадавъ оумретъ.

**С(вя)тому же Служба бываетъ на Павечерниці. Аще же случитъся Нарочитаго с(вя)таго въ Н(е)д(е)лю, На Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ, Стѣх(и)ры Воскресны [4]. Праз(нику): [3]. С(вя)тому [3]. Слава: с(вя)тому. И н(ы)нѣ: Догматъ Гласа [1-]го. На Стѣхонахъ, Стѣх(и)ры Воскр(е)сны. Слава: С(вя)тому. И н(ы)не: Празнику.**

**Въ НЕДЕЛЮ на Оутрени.**

**На Б(о)гъ Г(о)с(по)дъ. Трон(арь): Воскр(е)с(е)нѣ [2-]ж(ды). Слав(а): И н(ы)нѣ: Трон(арь): Празнику:**

**Аще же (е) Нарочит(а)го: С(вя)таго. Слав(а): с(вя)тому И н(ы)нѣ: Праз(нику):**

**По [1]. Кафісмъ. Съдал(ень): Воскр(е)с(е)нѣ. Слава:**

**И н(ы)нѣ Съд(алень): Празнику.**

**Гласъ [1]. Подоб(ень): Гробъ твой:**

Ѳ невидимый Содѣтелю міра Б(о)же! коль чудна дѣеши съ нами? коль сладостна, и бл(а)годатна съ избранными твоими располагаеши, имъ же себе самаго въ таинствѣ привѣтлива предлагаеши, сіе бо всякъ разумъ превосходитъ: сіе видимѡ бл(а)гоговѣнныхъ с(е)рдца привлекаетъ, и возжигаетъ желаніе, славити тя едине ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)колюбче.

**По [2]. Кафісмъ. Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ, [1]. Подоб(ень): той же.**

Тѣи истинній вѣрителіе твой, иже весь животъ свой къ исправленію оустрающіи, ѿт сегѡ достойнѣйшаго таинства, велію бл(а)гоговѣнства бл(а)годать, и добродѣтелей любовь, частѡ восприемлютъ, якѡ бл(а)годателю тебе вопіюще: слава Х(рист)е бл(а)гооутробію твоему.

**Таже, Послѣдованіе обычнѡ Воскресное. Канон Воскр(е)с(е)нѣ, и Празнику.**

**На Хвалитехъ Стѣх(и)ры Глас [6]. Подоб(ень): Ненаемая.**

Стѣх. Хвалите его въ тимъпанѣ и лицѣ, хвалите его въ струнахъ и органахъ.

Ѳ дивная! и сокровенная! бл(а)годать таинственная! юже знаютъ точію Х(ристо)вы вѣрніи: невѣрніи же, и грѣху служащіи искусити немогутъ: ибо въ семъ таинствѣ, преподаетъся духовная бл(а)годать, и восприимлетъ въ душу изгнѣшая сила: грѣхомъ же безобразная воз-

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вращается красота, дарующая ѡчищеніе, и велію милость.

Стѣх. Хвалите его въ кимъвалѣхъ dobroгласныхъ, хвалите его въ кимъвалѣхъ восклицанія: всяко дыханіе да хвалитъ Г(о)с(по)да.

Толика есть нѣкогда сія бл(а)годать, якѡ ѿт исполненія собраннаго бл(а)гоговѣнія, не точію оумъ, но слабое тѣло, силы себѣ даныя ощущаетъ многіи: ѡбаче зѣлѡ ѡкаательно оуныніе наше есть, якѡ не вящшихъ вождолѣніемъ привлекаемъ къ еже Хр(и)ста пріяти, въ немъ же всякая надежда спасающихся состоитъся, и достоинство дарующее миръ и велію милость.

Стѣх. Хлѣбъ Агг(е)лскій яде ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ, брашно посла имъ до обилія.

Х(ристо)съ есть въ спасительной Тайнѣ ѡс(вя)щеніе наше, и искупленіе, той оутешеніе путникомъ, и с(вя)тыхъ вѣчное наслажденіе: волительно оубѡ зело, якѡ мнози толь мало сіе спасенное таинство внимаютъ, еже Н(е)бо ѡбвеселяетъ, и міръ сохраняетъ весь. Ѳле слѣпотѣ! и жестости с(е)рдца ч(е)л(о)вѣческаго! толь неизреченнаго

дара непаче внимати, но ѿт повседнежнаго оупотребленія, еще къ невниманію изліятися: оудалющеса мира и велиа м(и)л(о)сти.

Стіх. Ωдожди имъ Манну ясти, и Хлѣбъ Н(е)б(е)сныи даде имъ.

Аще сіе с(вя)тѣйшее таинство, въ единомъ токмо совершалосѧ бы мѣстѣ, и ѿт одинаго точію с(вя)щеннодѣйствовалося бы С(вя)щенника въ мѣрѣ: коликимъ желаніемъ къ тому мѣсту, и къ таковому Б(о)жію С(вя)щеннику ч(е)л(о)вѣци подвизалися бы, Б(о)ж(е)ственныя тайны совершающіяся слышати: н(ы)нѣже мнози быша С(вя)щенници, и въ многихъ мѣстѣхъ приношається Х(ристо)съ, яко да толико болша явится бл(а)годать, и ч(е)л(о)вѣ)колюбіе Б(о)жіе къ ч(е)л(о)вѣ)ку: елико ширше есть с(вя)щенно-общеніе, изліянно по вселеннѣй.

**Таже. Слава: Стіх(и)ра Ев(ан)г(е)лская. И н(ы)не: Пребл(а)г(о)с(ло)венна еси: и проч(ее): Оутрени.**

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**Въ НЕДЕЛЮ Вечерь.**

**На Г(о)с(по)ди возвах. Стіх(и)ры Глас [8].**

Г(о)с(по)ди сладост словесъ твоихъ насъ призываетъ, да съ дерзновеніемъ къ тебѣ приступаемъ: повеливаеши бо приятъственно, аще съ мною хочете имѣти часть, безсмертія пріймѣте пищу: ащеже вѣчныя желаете получитьи жизни и славы; прійдѣте (гл(агол)еши) къ мнѣ вси труждающіися, и ѡбремененніи: и азъ оупокою вы.

Ω сладкое и дружественное слово въ оуспѣ грѣшникъ! имиже ты Г(о)с(по)ди Б(о)же нашъ, оубога и нища зовещи: къ общенію твоего с(вя)тѣйшаго Тѣла; но что есмы мы Г(о)с(по)ди? да къ тебѣ смѣемъ приступити: се Н(е)б(е)са Н(е)б(е)сѣ тебе невомѣщаютъ, и ты гл(агол)еши: прійдете къ мнѣ и азъ оупокою вы.

Что хочеть сіе быти бл(а)гочестивѣйшее сподобленіе, и толь дружественное призваніе? како дерзнемъ прійти, како тя введемъ въ домъ нашъ, иже часто возбраняемъ бл(а)гостиннѣйшему лицу твоему: говѣютъ Анг(е)ли, и Арханг(е)ли, бояться с(вя)тѣи и праведнѣи, а ты гл(агол)еши: прійдете къ мнѣ вси, и азъ оупокою вы.

**Таже с(вя)тому Стіх(и)ры [3].**

**Слава: И н(ы)не: Гласъ [6].**

Аще бы не ты Г(о)с(по)ди повелѣлъ еси, кто приступити искусылъбыся; Ное мужъ праведенъ, въ Ковчезкомъ тво-

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реніи столѣтъ потрудилъся есть, да съ малыми спасеться: мыже како возможемъ единъ часть оуготовитися, да міра творителя съ бл(а)гоговѣніемъ пріймемъ: въ сп(а)сеніе д(у)шъ нашихъ.

**Таже. Входъ. Свете тихій: Прокименъ дни. и проч(ее):**

**На Стіх(овнахъ): Стіх(и)ры Гласъ [2]. Подоб(енъ): Доме Ефрафовъ:**

Даль еси намъ, въ насыщеніе оума и тѣлесе немощнымъ, с(вя)щенное Тѣло твое, положилъ еси свѣтилникъ, Г(о)с(по)ди ногамъ нашимъ слово твое.

Стіх. Г(о)с(по)дѣ пасеть мя, и ничтоже мя лишитъ.

Слово твое свѣтъ души, и таинство твое, Хлѣбъ жизни, кромѣ сію обою, добръ жити неможемъ.

Стіх. Оуготовалъ еси предомною трапезу.

Едина трапеза, Тѣло есть Х(ристо)во, другая въ оузилищи телесе сего, Б(о)жественнаго Закона содежащи оученіе с(вя)тое, наказующая вѣру правую.

**Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [2].**

Бл(а)годаримъ тебѣ Г(о)с(по)ди І(су)се, С(вѣ)те свѣта вѣчнаго, за оучиненіе с(вя)щенныя трапезы, юже даль еси ты намъ, и рабы твоими Прор(о)ки и Ап(о)столы, и иными Оучители, иже насъ научилъ еси (гл(агол)я) с(вя)ти будите, яко азъ с(вя)тъ есмь, Г(о)с(по)дѣ Б(о)гѣ вашъ.

**Таже. Н(ы)нѣ ѡтпущаеши: Тр(и)с(вя)тое: по О(т)че нашъ: Троп(арь): С(вя)тому, и Празнику.**

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**Въ Пон(е)дѣ)локъ на Оутрени.**

**По [1]. Кафісмъ Съдал(енъ): Гласъ [3]. Подоб(енъ): Х(ристо)съ ѿт мертвыхъ воста:**

Весь въ таинстве жертвенника Б(о)же мой, Ч(е)л(о)вѣ)къ, Х(ристо)съ: І(су)съ предстоиши, идѣже и ѡбилный приемлеться вѣчнаго сп(а)сенія плодъ, елижды аще достойнѣ, и бл(а)гоговѣннѣ приемлемъ: къ сему же не притягаеть легкость нѣкая, ниже многовещіе, или чувственность: но твердая вѣра, бл(а)гоговѣнная надежда, и чистая любви.

**Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Глас и Под(обенъ): то(й)ж(е):**

Спаса и Вл(а)д(ы)ку рождающая Х(рист)а, достойна всегда причастію Тѣла и Крове Х(ристо)вы мя Дѣ)во сподоби, ѡбнищавша всякихъ бл(а)гъ, Остроковице чистая, да покою твоя величія.

По [2]. Кафісмъ Съд(алень): Гласъ [4].  
Под(обень): Явился:

Бл(а)годарим тебѣ І(сусе) бл(а)гий, Пастырю  
вѣчный: иже насѣ нищихъ и изгнанныхъ  
сподобилъ еси, дражайшимъ Тѣломъ и Кровію  
твоею насыщати: и къ еже сія Тайны навъкнути,  
еже своихъ си оустъ привѣщаніемъ призвати реклъ  
еси: прійдѣте къ мнѣ вси, иже оутруждени есте, и  
обременени, и азъ оупокою вы.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ, и Под(обень): то(й)  
ж(де):

Свѣтлыми м(о)л(и)твами си Д(ѣ)во, мысленно  
мои оцѣ ѿмрачени злобою просвѣти молюся, и  
въ покаяніи истинномъ, къ достойному причастію  
Х(ристо)выхъ Таинъ возведи мя, яко да должнѣ  
тя пѣснословлю, паче Слова, Слово рождшую.

Канонъ Празнику, и с(вя)тому.

На Стіх(овнахъ): Стіх(и)ры Гласъ [4].  
Подоб(ень): Яко добля:

Ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)колюбче, Сп(а)сителю Х(рист)е,  
сп(а)сенія н(а)шего ради сошедый съ н(е)б(е)съ,  
и изъ М(а)рія Д(ѣ)вы воч(е)л(о)вѣчивъся: хотяи  
волею ити на см(е)ртъ: сію Тайну Б(о)ж(е)ственну  
оуставилъ еси, даѣи себѣ въ снѣдъ Оученикомъ  
и всѣмъ вѣрнымъ имже подаждь бл(а)годать и  
животъ вѣчный.

24:

Стіх. Одожди имъ Манну ясти, и хлѣбъ  
н(е)б(е)сный даде имъ.

Оудивися вся тварь Б(о)жіею измѣненію  
странному: какѡ Б(о)гъ Н(е)б(е)сы и землю  
необемлемый, въ малѣй части хлѣба весь  
содержитъся, съ Б(о)жествомъ, Плотію, и  
Д(у)шею Б(о)ж(е)ственною: егоже такѡ  
исповѣдающе, Б(о)ж(е)ственному Тѣлу  
Х(ристо)ву поклонѣмся: яко да получимъ ѿ  
негѡ О(т)чее бл(а)г(о)с(ло)веніе.

Стіх. Хлѣбъ Анг(е)лскій яде ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ, брашно  
посла имъ до обилія.

Зряще тайну Плоти Б(о)ж(е)ственныхя, Хлѣбъ  
преестественный, Б(о)гу воплотившемуся ѿ  
Д(ѣ)вы Марія, съ оумиленіемъ поклонѣмся: се  
бо Агнецъ незлобивый, взямаи грѣхи міру, и  
сп(а)саяи д(у)ша наша.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [5].

Быша въ древнемъ Завѣтѣ хлѣбы предложенія,  
но сихъ бывшихъ требы, оуже древле конецъ  
пріяша: въ новомъже Завѣтѣ, Хлѣбъ есть  
н(е)б(е)сный, и Чаша сп(а)сительная, яже д(у)шу  
и тѣло ѡсвятяетъ: ради чесѡгѡ, не такѡ симъ  
внимати восхотѣмъ, якоже есть нагий и простый  
хлѣбъ, нагое и простое вѣно, но Тѣло и Кровь есть  
Хр(и)ста: сп(а)сающаго д(у)ша наша.

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Въ Понедѣлокъ Вечеръ.

На Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ Стіх(и)ры Празнику.  
Гласъ [5].

Снїдѣте вси Анг(е)ли Н(е)б(е)снїи, и вся  
силы Б(о)жія; восхваляюще съ нами Б(о)га  
воч(е)л(о)вѣчшагося: иже м(и)л(о)сти ради  
рода ч(е)л(о)вѣча неисчетною мудростію своею  
Б(о)жіею, самаго себе въ Тайнахъ Хлѣба затвори,  
и въ пищу ч(е)л(о)вѣкомъ ѡстави: егоже яко Б(о)га  
днесь праздненственнѡ воспоѣмъ, с(вя)тъ, с(вя)тъ,  
с(вя)тъ гл(агол)юще: слава бл(а)гоутробію твоему.

Прійдѣте вси конци земнїи, Преч(и)стое Тѣло  
Б(о)жіе оубл(а)жимъ: еже за ны и грѣхъ ради  
нашихъ лѡмимое: и на сме(р)тъ Кр(е)стную даное  
есть: по Воскресенїиже на Н(е)б(е)са вознесено,  
одесную Б(о)га Отца въ славѣ посажденно,  
и въ сихъ Тайнахъ на земли тожде вѣрнымъ  
ѡставлено; еже мы вси земнороднїи, на лице  
земли припадающе, съ умиленіемъ восхвалѣмъ.

Прійдѣте празднлюбныхъ собори, прїтецѣте  
ликъ составимъ: прійдѣте вѣнчаемъ песньми  
Ц(е)рк(о)въ Х(ристо)ву, днесь праздненственнѡ  
оукрашенную: въ нейже Хлѣбъ преестественный,  
Х(ристо)съ, Б(о)гъ зрїтъся, и ч(е)л(о)вѣкомъ въ  
снѣдъ даетъся: емуже вси вѣрнїи съ страхомъ и  
веселіемъ поклонѣмся: и съ Силь Н(е)б(е)сныхъ  
восхвалѣмъ, с(вя)тъ, с(вя)тъ, с(вя)тъ еси Б(о)же:  
Агнче вземаи грѣхи всего міра.

Таже с(вя)тому Стіх(и)ры [3].

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [5].

Прійдѣте вся дѣла Г(о)с(по)дня, Г(о)с(по)да съ  
нами воспойте, иже здѣ есть покланяемый:  
бл(а)г(о)с(ло)вѣте съ нами Н(е)б(е)са и  
земля, и воды яже превъшше н(е)б(е)съ:  
бл(а)г(о)с(ло)вите с(о)лнце, мѣсяцъ, и звѣзды,  
огнь, море, воздухъ, ѡблаци и вся тварь: яко  
зѣло и до конца возлюби Б(о)гъ міръ, и родъ  
ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ческій: егѡже ради истоци себе,  
зракъ раба приеъмъ, въ сихъже Тайнахъ неточію  
Б(о)ж(е)ство, но и ч(е)л(о)вѣчество сокри: идѣже  
аки Хлѣбъ видимъ, но Б(о)га вѣруемъ: емуже съ  
страхомъ и трепетомъ кланяющеся исповѣдаимъ:  
яко той есть Х(ристо)съ, С(ы)нъ Б(о)га живагѡ, и  
Сп(а)съ д(у)шамъ нашимъ.

25:

На Стіх(овнахъ): Стіх(и)ры Гласъ [2]. Подоб(ен):  
Доме Ефрафовъ.

Доме Д(а)видов, воспой псалмопенія, се бо Кїѡтъ  
вышнягѡ, въ немъже содержитсяъ вся содержай:  
Х(ристо)съ Б(о)гъ Израилевъ.

Стіх: Память сотворилъ есть чудесъ своихъ,  
м(и)л(о)стивъ щедрѣ Г(о)с(по)дѣ.

Иже Манну даде въ пустыни, въ пищу людемъ  
живимъ: сей днесь хлѣбомъ покровень зрится: и  
въ снѣдъ всѣмъ подается, сп(а)сая д(у)ша наша.

Стіх: Избавленіе посла Г(о)с(по)дъ людемъ своимъ,  
свято и страшно Имя его.

Похвали Іер(у)с(а)лиме Г(о)с(по)да, хвали Б(о)га  
твоего Сіоне, яко даде ти въ пищу, Плоть свою  
Б(о)жественную, тука пшенична насыщай тя.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: **Глас [8].**

Ω преславное чудо! сошедый небесе Хлѣбъ  
животный и Б(о)ж(е)ственный, волею въ снѣдъ  
дадеса, въ вечеръ таинственный, приемъ бо  
Хлѣбъ бл(а)гословивъ, и даая рече Оученикомъ:  
приимъте и ядъте, сіе есть Тѣло мое, такожде и  
чашу: пійте от нея вси, сіа есть Кровь моя: тѣмъ же  
каждо себе да искушаетъ, и тако да ястъ, и пійетъ,  
въ сп(а)сеніе и жизнь вѣчную.

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**Въ Второкъ на Оутрени.**

**По [1]. Кафісмъ Съд(аленъ): Гласъ [5].  
Подоб(енъ): Крестъ Г(о)с(по)д(е)нь:**

Ω сладчайшій І(су)се! колика тебѣ говѣнія и  
бл(а)годаренія, съ вѣчною хвалою, за принятіе  
с(ая)щеннаго Тѣла твоего должны есмы, егже  
достоинство никтоже ѿ ч(е)л(о)вѣкъ сказати  
силенъ ѡбрѣтається, но мы аще и по долгу  
почитати тя не можемъ, обаче бл(а)гоговѣннѣ  
пред тобою всячески смѣрающесе, нескончаемую  
бл(а)годаръ над нами вознесшаго подножію,  
бл(а)годарственнѣ поклоняемъся.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: **Б(о)город(иченъ),**

С(вя)тая Д(ѣ)во, вѣрнымъ Заступленіе едина,  
м(о)л(и)тву твою сопоспѣшную, оутаенному въ  
случаехъ хлѣба Б(о)гу, и С(ы)ну твоему, сотвори,  
за насъ вѣрно тя чистую Б(огороди)цу чтущихъ.

**По [2]. Кафісмъ, Съд(аленъ): Гласъ [1].  
Подоб(енъ): Гробъ твой Сп(а)се:**

Се ты Хр(и)сте с(вя)тъ с(вя)тыхъ, а мы мерзкіи  
грѣшници, се ты І(су)съ призываеши насъ  
на оучрежденіе твое, ты намъ дати волиши  
Н(е)б(е)сное Брашно, и Хлѣбъ Агг(е)лскій ясти, не  
инаго весма, развѣ тебе самага Хлѣбъ, и Вино, иже  
небесе сошелъ еси: и даеши жизнь мірови.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: **Б(о)город(иченъ): Гласъ то(й)  
ж(де):**

Къ причащенію Б(о)ж(е)ственныхъ Таинъ хотящій  
внити, молимъ тя Б(о)жію дверь совнѣити съ рабы  
ти Вл(а)д(ы)ч(и)це: и разшири всяка помышленія  
с(е)рдца: сп(а)сительная творити повѣленія.

**Канонъ Празнику, и с(вя)тому.**

**На Стіх(овнахъ): Стіх(и)ры, Гласъ [2].  
Подоб(енъ): Доме Ефрафовъ:**

Ω дивное твое Г(о)с(по)ди м(и)л(о)с(е)рдіе! яко ты  
Создатель всѣхъ духовъ, къ нищей оудостояеши  
прійти души, съ всѣмъ Б(о)жествомъ твоимъ и  
ч(е)л(о)вѣчествомъ, тоя оутучати алчбу.

Стіх. Ядятъ нищїи, и насыщаются.

Ω бл(а)гополучный оумъ! и бл(а)женная душа,  
яже Г(о)с(по)да своего оудостояется, говѣтелнѣ  
пріяти, да радости духовныя исполнятся.

Стіх. Восхвалятъ Г(о)с(по)да взыскаищїи его.

Ω коль д(у)ше великаго подемлиши Г(о)с(по)да!  
коль радостную приемиши

**26:**

дружину! коль красна друга! и бл(а)городна  
ѡбемлиши жениха, паче всѣхъ возлюбленныхъ.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: **Гласъ и Подоб(енъ): то(й)  
ж(де):**

Ω коль чудно дѣло твое Г(о)с(по)ди! коль  
неизреченна истинна твоя? рекъ бо еси и быша  
вса, и сіе бысть, еже самъ заповѣдалъ еси.

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**Въ Второкъ Вечерь.**

**На Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ Стіх(и)ры Празнику,  
Гласъ [8].**

Г(о)с(по)ди въ простотѣ с(е)рдца нашего,  
приносимъ насъ самыхъ тебѣ, днесь въ рабы  
вѣчныя, въ службу, и въ с(вя)щеннодѣйствіе  
хвалы пр(и)сносущныя, подими насъ съ симъ  
с(вя)тымъ приношеніемъ твоего Честнаго Тѣла,  
еже тебѣ днесь пред лицемъ Агг(е)лъ невидимъ  
прістоящихъ приносимъ: да будетъ намъ, и  
всѣмъ людемъ твоимъ въ спасеніе.

Г(о)с(по)ди приносимъ тебѣ вся наша  
прегрѣшенія, яже содѣяхомъ пред тобою, и  
с(вя)тыми Агг(е)лы твоими, ѿ дне въ еже  
согрѣшити даже до часа сего возмогохомъ: на  
примирительномъ Олтари твоемъ, да ты вся вкупѣ  
изжежеша огнемъ любве твоея, и ѡчищающе  
вся скверны грѣхъ нашихъ, совѣсть нашу ѿ  
всякаго согрѣшенія свободядай, въ ѡблобызанїи  
мира насъ м(и)л(о)стивнѣ прїими: яко  
ч(е)л(о)вѣколюбець.

Г(о)с(по)ди что можемъ дѣлати ѡ грѣсехъ нашихъ,  
развѣ смѣреннѣ въ сокрушенїи с(е)рдца покаяніе  
творити, и по силѣ добле творити; ѡстави Б(о)  
же ѡстави грѣхи наша, Имене ради твоего с(вя)  
таго, спаси д(у)ша наша, яже честною си Кровїю  
искупилъ еси: се насъ предаемъ м(и)л(о)сти твоей,  
вомѣтаемъ насъ въ руцѣ твои, сотвори съ нами по  
бл(а)гости твоей, не по нашей злобѣ и беззаконїю:  
яко ч(е)л(о)вѣколюбець.

**Таже, с(вя)тому Стіх(и)ры [3].**

**Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [8].**

Г(о)с(по)ди приносимъ тебѣ вся бл(а)гая наша, вся бл(а)гочестная желанія наша, и бл(а)гоговѣнныхъ нужды другѡвъ и всѣхъ возлюбленныхъ н(а)шихъ: ѡ тѣхъ, иже намѣ или инымъ, любве ради твоя бл(а)га сотвориша, аще и зѣло мала и несовершенна, яко да ты исправиши и ѡс(вя)тиши: и еще паки приносимъ ѡ тѣхъ, иже аще въ плоти живутъ, или оуже преставишася, м(о)л(и)твѣ и Литургіи ѡ себѣ, и ѡ своихъ си всѣхъ ѡмъ насъ желаша, яко да вси себѣ помощь, защищеніе, оутѣшеніе, и избавленіе мукъ ѡщущающе, воздадутъ вельдѣнное тебѣ бл(а)годареніе: яко ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)колюбцу.

**На Стіх(овнахъ): Стіх(и)ры Гласъ [2].  
Подоб(енъ): Доме Ефразовъ:**

Бл(а)годаримъ тебѣ Искупителю челоуѣкъ, иже изяснити міру любовь ти хотяи, вечеру оуготовалъ еси велику, въ нейже не Агнца обращаго, но с(вя)тое ти Тѣло и Кровь въ снѣдъ предложилъ еси.

**Стіх. Хлѣбъ Агт(е)лскій яде ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ:**

Возвеселилъ еси вся вѣрныя, пиромъ с(вя)щеннымъ, и Чашею сп(а)сенною, въ нейже суть вся пища райскія, и пирствуютъ съ нами Агт(е)ли с(вя)тїи.

**Стіх. Ѡдожди имъ Манну ясти, и хлѣбъ Н(е)б(е)снй даде имъ.**

Ѡ коль честенъ есть санъ с(вя)щенникомъ! имъже дано есть словесы с(вя)щенными, с(вя)щенное дѣйствовать, ру-

**27:**

кама и оустнама Г(о)с(по)да держати, и прочіимъ служити.

**Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [2].**

Егда С(вя)щенникъ Службу совершаетъ, Б(о)га почитая Агт(е)лы веселитъ, Ц(е)рковь созидаетъ, живымъ помагая, мертвымъ покой подаетъ, и себе всѣхъ бл(а)гъ причастника содѣловающе, творитъ всѣхъ Прес(вя)тому Тѣлу и Крови Х(ристо)вой причащающихся, да будутъ достояніи бл(а)годати егѡ наслаждающіися, предуспѣвати въ живѡтъ вѣчный.

**Въ Среду на Оутрени.**

**По [1]. Кафісмъ, Съдал(енъ): Гласъ [1].  
Подоб(енъ): Гробъ твой Сп(а)се:**

Ѡ Пресладкїи и возлюбленный Г(о)с(по)ди! воздвигни с(е)рдца наша къ тебѣ на Н(е)бо, неѡставляя насъ заблуждаться по земли, ты бо единъ наше ѡмъ н(ы)нѣ наслажденіе, ты единъ брашно и питіе наше, ты единъ еси радость и

любовь с(е)рдца нашегѡ ѡчищающая, и разумъ просвѣщающая.

**Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Б(о)город(иченъ):**

Радуйся пространное Б(о)жіе вѡмѣстилище, радуйся Ковчеже новагѡ Завѣта, радуйся стапно изъ неяже н(е)б(е)сная Манна въ преестественне тайнѣ Х(ристо)вѣ дадеся всѣмъ ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)комъ, на ѡтпущеніе грѣхѡвъ и сп(а)сеніе.

**По [2]. Кафісмъ, Съдал(енъ): Гласъ [2].**

**Подоб(енъ): Бл(а)гообразный Іѡсифъ:**

Се такѡ бл(а)г(о)с(ло)вѣтъ ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ, возыскай Г(о)с(по)да всѣмъ с(е)рдцемъ своимъ, ниже всуе приемлетъ д(у)шу свою, но великія оудостояется Б(о)жественнагѡ соединенія бл(а)г(о)д(а)ти, иже не взирающе на свое бл(а)гоговеніе и оутешеніе, но приемляи с(вя)щенную Евхаристїю: паче всего оутешенія, взираетъ на Б(о)жію славу и честь.

**Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Б(о)город(иченъ):**

Падающимъ исправленіе, скорбнымъ оутѣшеніе Преч(и)стая Д(ѣ)во, д(у)шѣ нашихъ ѡбщеніемъ Тайнъ Х(ристо)выхъ скорбѣ разори ч(и)стая, и оутѣшеніе свѣше ѡмъ Б(о)га подати намъ молися, да подолгу твоя величія возвеличимъ.

**Канонъ Празнику, и с(вя)тому.**

**На Стіх(овнахъ): Стіх(и)ры Гласъ [6].**

Нѣсть приношеніе достойнѣйшее, и дозвѣтвеніе болшее, на ѡчищеніе грѣхѡвъ, яко себе самаго чиста, и цѣла, съ приношеніемъ Тѣла въ Литургіи, и въ ѡбщенїи Б(о)гови приносити: аще сотворитъ ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ, еже въ себѣ есть, и истинно покается, колиждыливо къ мнѣ приступить: живу азъ, глаголетъ Г(о)с(по)дъ, яко грѣхѡвъ егѡ не помяну ктому: но вся ему прощена будутъ.

**Стіх. Хлѣбъ Агт(е)лскій яде ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ, брашно посла имъ до обилїя.**

Ѡ любви неизмѣрная! ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)ку единственнѣй приклоненная! но что воздадемъ Г(о)с(по)ди за бл(а)годать сію, за любленіе толь преимущее, нѣсть ино, еже оутѣднѣйшее даровати можемъ, нежели да с(е)рдце Б(о)гу нашему весма предадѣмъ, и внутрнѣ совокупѣмъ: тогда возрадуются вся внутрняя наша, и да совершенна будутъ Б(о)гови д(у)шя наша: сіе бо есть все желаніе наше, да д(у)шя наша тебѣ будутъ соединены.

**Стіх. Ѡдожди имъ Манну ясти, и хлѣбъ Н(е)б(е)снй даде имъ.**

Ѡ яко сладокъ есть Г(о)с(по)ди д(у)хъ

**28:**

твой! иже да сладость твою на с(ы)нехъ покажеши, хлѣбомъ сладчайшимъ, снебесе сошедшимъ тыя насыщати сподоляеши, на повседневную оутѣху,

и на еже с(е)рдца воздвигнути, ибо ты себе самага даеши снѣдати, и наслаждатися: воистинну ты любимый нашъ, избранный ѿмъ тысячъ, въ немъже бл(а)говолѣють д(у)ши наша жити, по вся дни живота своего: въ немъже больший покой и истинный, егѡже кромѣ: трудъ и болѣзнь, и безконечное ѡкаянство.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [4].

Да хвалѣть ты вси людѣе, племена, и языци, и с(вя)тое и медоточное Имя твое, съ великимъ восклицаніемъ, и горящимъ бл(а)гоговѣніемъ да величаютъ: и кійждо, иже честнѡ и бл(а)гоговѣннѡ превеликое таинство твое совершаютъ, и совершенную вѣрою

восприемлють, бл(а)годать и м(и)л(о)сть оу тебе ѡбрести да сподобѣться.

Таже. Бл(а)го есть исповѣдаться Г(о)с(по)д(е)ви: Тр(и)с(вя)тое: по О(т)че нашъ: Якѡ твое есть Ц(а)рство: Троп(арь): Празнику. Ектенія. Помилуй насъ Б(о)же: и проч(ая): и Ѡтпустъ.

Въ Среду Вечерь, на Г(о)с(по)ди вохвахъ Стѣх(и)ры Празнику, Зри Листъ [2]. кромѣ Паримій. С(вя)тому же бываетъ Служба, на Павечерниці. Въ Четвертокъ на Оутрени Служба вся Празнику, непремѣннѡ, кромѣ Величанія. Славословіе великое: и проч(ая):

## Appendix 2: The Voslѣdovanija

1:

Вослѣдованія праздникомъ Пресвятой тайни Евхаристіи, Состраданія пресвятія Б(о)городица и Бл(а)женного священномученика Иѡсифата святаго Собора Замойскаго преподадимъ, Типомъ издашася въ манастирѣ уневскомъ чину святаго василія великаго въ лѣто ѿмъ воплощенія Слова [1738]

2:

АФАНАСІИ НА ШЕПТИЦАХЪ ШЕПТИЦКІЙ / МИЛОСТІЮ БОЖІЕЮ И СВЯТАГО / АПОСТОЛСКАГО ѠРОНУ / АРХИЕПИСКОПЪ МЕТРОПОЛИТА КИЕВСКІЙ / И ВСЕЯ РОССІИ / ЕПИСКОПЪ ЛВОВСКІЙ ГАЛИЦКІЙ И КАМЕНЦА / ПОДОЛСКАГО АРХИМАНДРИТА КИЕВО / ПЕЧЕРСКІЙ И УНЕВСКІЙ.

Пречестнымъ ѡтцемъ Протопрезвитеромъ Честнымъ Презвитеромъ и всѣму церковному Причту в Епархіяхъ н(а)шихъ ѡбрѣтающемуся здравія ѿмъ Г(о)с(по)дѣ.

Понеже С(вя)тій Соборъ Замойскій въ Ѡглавленіи Праздниковъ всего лѣта и надстоящія си есть Пресвятой ТАИНИ ЕВХАРИСТІИ, СОСТРАДАНІЯ ПРЕСВЯТІЯ БОГОРОДИЦА, И БЛАЖЕННАГО СВЯЩЕННОМУЧЕНИКА ИѢСАФАТА назнамена намъ, и сѣя по всюду праздновати заповѣда; сего ради Пречестнымъ ѡтцемъ Прото-презвитеромъ, и Честнымъ Презвитеромъ, Пастирско повелѣваемъ; да вся тія Праздники людемъ до Пастви ихъ належачимъ, по Ц(е)рквахъ своихъ ѡглашаютъ, и вседневно Святити заповѣдаютъ, сами же тимъ Праздникомъ надходящимъ ѡбразомъ непремѣнно послѣдуютъ.

АФАНАСИИ АРХИЕПИСКОПЪ МЕТРОПОЛИТА ВСЕЯ РОССІИ. Р. В.

3:

Вослѣдованіе праздника Пресвятой тайни Евхаристіи совершаемое в четвергъ по Недели Всѣхъ с(вя)тыхъ

В среду вечеръ на Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ ст(и)х(и)ры: Гласъ [6]. Подобенъ Тридневно.

Великое таинство твоего, въ ч(е)л(о)вѣчѣніи, на вечера возлежащу ти, Тайникомъ Ч(е)л(овѣ)колюбче ѡткрив рекл еси, ядѣте Хлѣбъ животный, се Есть Тѣло мое, и Кровь нетлѣнная жизни.

Сънь Н(е)б(е)сная явился Горница, идеже Пасху Х(ристо)с соверши, и вечеру безкровную и словесную службу, трапеза же сущихъ ту совершенныхъ Тайнъ, мысленный жертвеникъ.

Хлѣбъ бл(а)г(о)с(ло)вивъ хлѣбъ сый Н(е)б(е)сный бл(а)годаривъ Ѡтцу Родителю, пріемый и Чашу Оученикомъ даяше, Пріймѣте ядѣте вопія сѣе мое ест Тѣло, и пійте Кровь нетлѣнная жизни.

Слава: и н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [4].

Прійдѣте празднующіи вѣрныи, въсплещемъ днес, миру сп(а)сительное торжество животнаго Хлѣба, и Б(о)жіяго Агнца вземлющаго грѣхи миру и прегрѣшенія, не во квасъ злоби ветхія, но въ безквасіи ч(и)стоты и истинны, очистище оубо себе достойно причастимъся ему, яко да получимъ вѣчнаго царствія его.

Въходъ, и прокимень дню, тажъ парамій.

Ѡмъ Исхода чтеніе:

Рече Г(оспо)дъ къ Моисею, Низшедъ засвѣдѣтельству людемъ симъ, и очисти ихъ днесъ, и заутра, и даисперутъ рызи своя. И дабудутъ готови въ день третій. Въ день бо третій сниидетъ Г(о)с(по)дъ на гору, синаискую, предвѣсми людами. И ѿмъ лучиши люжи окрестъ, г(ла)голя:

внимайте себѣ еже взыйти на гору, и коснутися чему от нея. Всякъ коснувыйся горѣ, смертію оумреть. Неприкоснет ся ей рука, каменіемъ бо побіетъ ся, или стрѣлою сострѣлена будетъ. Аще же ч(е)л(о)вѣкъ, аще ли скотъ неживъ будетъ, егда же гласъ трубы, и облакъ ѿидеть ѿ горы ѿни взыйдутъ на гору. Снийде же Мойсей къ людемъ ѿ горы, и ѿс(вя)ти ихъ, и испраша рызи своя, и рече людемъ, будѣте готови, три дни да неприступите къ женѣ. Бысть же в день третій, бывшу къ оутру, быша гласы и молнія, и облаци темни на горѣ синаистѣй. Глас трубы шумящъ велми, и оубояшася вси людіе, иже быша в полцѣ. И изведе Мойсей люди въ стрѣтеніе Б(о)гу ѿ полка, и сташа пред горою синаискою. Гора синайская дымящася вся, зане снийде Б(о)гъ на ню огнемъ. Исхождаше же дым, яко печный, и оужасаюшася вси людіе зѣло. Быша же гласы трубы предидущныя крѣпчайша зѣло. Мойсей гл(агол)аше, Б(о)гъ же ѿтвѣщаваше ему гласомъ.

4:

**Ѿт царствъ, Книгъ Первыхъ чтеніе, гава (!) [21]:**

Въ дни оны, прииде Д(а)в(и)дъ в Ц(е)рк(о)вѣ къ Авимелеху Іерею: и изыйде Авимелехъ въ стрѣтеніе ему. И рече ему что се ты единъ еси, и нѣсть никогоже стобою. И рече Д(а)в(и)дъ Іереови Ц(а)рѣ заповѣдами г(лаго)лѣ днесъ, и рече къ мнѣ, никтоже данеразумѣтъ г(лаго)ла егоже азъ ради пуцаю тя. И онемъ же азъ заповѣдаю ти и отроки оставихъ, намѣстъ г(лаго)лемомъ емьмонимъ. И н(ы)нѣ есть ли гдѣ оутебе, пять хлѣбъ даждъ ми елико имаша, и ѿтвѣща Іерей Д(а)в(и)д(о)ви и рече нѣсть хлѣби прости оумене но сугъ хлѣбы оумене с(вя)щени; храними тѣмъ, иже чисти сугъ ѿт женъ и тѣи ядятъ я. И ѿтвѣща Д(а)в(и)дъ Іереови рече: и мы есмы чисти ѿт женъ, ѿт третіяго дне, и до дне, ѿт не лѣже изыидохомъ напутъ, сугъ отроцы вси чисти; и путь сей есть чистъ. Зане ос(вя)тятся днест сосудъ ради моихъ. И дасть ему Іерей Авимелехъ хлѣбы предложенія, яко небѣ ту иного хлѣба тѣи во бѣху едини хлѣби принесени изже взяша пред лицемъ Іннмъ (?), и тои дасть я ему в той день.

**Ѿт третихъ, Книгъ Царскихъ чтеніе, глава [6]:**

Бысть слово Г(о)с(по)дне къ Ілїи гл(агол)я: иди ѿтсюду навостоки, и сокрійся въ потоцъ Хѡрафъ, прямѡ лицу Іѡрданову. Ибудеши пити ѿ потока воду: и враномъ заповѣдахъ припитати тя тамѡ. И иде и сотвори Ілїя по г(лаго)лу Г(о)с(под)ню, и сѣде при потоцѣ Хѡрафѣ, прямѡ лицу Іѡрдана. И вранѡве приношаху ему Хлѣбы заутра, и мясо къ вечеру: и ѿ потока воду. И бысть поднехъ и ише потокъ, яко небысть дождъ на земли. И бысть г(лаго)лѣ Г(о)с(по)д(е)нъ къ Ілїи, г(лаго)ля. Встани и иди въ Сарѣфу сїдонскую, и пребуди тамо: себо заповѣдахъ женѣ вдовици препитати тя, и въставъ и иде въ Сарѣфу къ вратомъ града: и

се тамѡ жена вдовица собираше дровца: и възопи к ней съзиди Ілїа, и рече ей: принеси оубо ми мало воды в сосудъ да пію, и иде взяти: и възопи въ слѣдъ ея Ілїа, и рече: Прїйми оубѡ ми и оукрухъ Хлѣба въ руцѣ своей. И рече жена: живъ Г(о)с(по)дъ Б(о)гъ мой, аще естъ въ сокровенныхъ оу мене, но токмо пригорща муки въ водоносѣ, и мало елая въ чванци: и се сбираю двѣ полѣнцы, и вниду и сътворю то себе, и чадамъ своимъ, и ямы, и оумремъ. И рече къ ней Ілїа: потщися вниди, и сотвори по г(лаго)лу твоему, но сотвори ми ѿтуду ѡпрѣснокъ малъ въ первыхъ, и принеси ми: себѣ же и чадамъ своимъ сотвори послѣжди. Яко сїя г(лаго)летъ Г(о)с(по)дъ Б(о)гъ И(зра)илевъ: водоносъ муки не ѡскудетъ, и чванецъ елая не оумалитъ, до дне вонъже Г(о)с(по)дъ Б(о)гъ дасть дождъ на лице всея земля. И иде жена и сотвори по г(лаго)лу Ілїину, и дасть ему, и себѣ и чадамъ своимъ. И ѿт дни того водоносъ муки не оскудѣ, и чванецъ елая не оумалися, г(лаго)лу Іию иже г(лаго)ла рукою Ілїиною.

**На литїи стихиры, гласъ [6]**

Предъ сѣннымъ ковчегомъ, скакаше играя, б(о)гъ ѿт(е)цъ Д(а)в(и)дъ мы же сему днесъ, яко Б(о)гу покланяемъ ся. Егоже Ч(е)л(овѣ)ч(е)ство кѣвчегъ просѡбразоваше, ибо въ мѣсто манны Б(о)ж(е)ство воплощенно, въ мѣсто скрижали законодавца Хр(и)стѡсъ Г(о)с(по)дъ оутаенъ зрится. Сп(а)саяй д(у)ша н(а)ша.

Имѣяше ветхїй завѣтъ, кіотъ ѡкованъ всюду златомъ, иже взять ѿт иноплеменикъ. Нестерпѣ на Капищи съ кумиромъ приобщенія, но изрини и наземлю, и сокруши главу, и обѣ длани рук е(\*\*) (torn)

5:

Тыже Ч(е)л(овѣ)колюбче Хр(и)сте Б(о)же нашъ, како внидеши въ капище сквернїя д(у)шы ѡкаяннїя.

Иже единъ имѣяй безсмертіе, и восвѣтъ живой неприступнѣмъ, како совѣкупиши ся съ кумиромъ тмы грѣховнїя; но ѡ Свѣте! просвѣщай всякаго ч(е)л(ове)ка: не сокруши, и не изверзи въ тму кромѣшную, темнїя и грѣшнїя д(у)ша н(а)ша; но просвѣти я благодатію твоею молимъ ся, м(и)л(о)с(е)рдїя пучиною хлѣбъ преестественный.

Агнче незлобивый, взямай грѣхи всего мира, ч(е)л(ове)ч(е)скаго ради сп(а)сенїя, хлѣбъ претворилъ еси въ Плоть свою; и въ хлѣбъ Б(о)жество, Плоть и д(у)шу, Б(о)жественною силою оутаилъ еси. Емуже вси вѣрнїи, днесъ празденственно съ оумиленіемъ и вѣрою покланяемъся.

**Слава: и н(ы)нѣ: Глас [2]:**

Тайнѣй днесъ вечери. и Трапезѣ Б(о)жественной, съ страхомъ приближаемъся вѣрнїи, хотяще вкусити источника безмертнаго, но трепетъ

и страхъ насъ прїемлетъ, многихъ ради грѣхъ нашихъ, ѿ нихъ же тобою ѡчиститися желаемъ, м(о)литвами Б(о)городица Вл(а)д(и)ч(и)ца н(а) шея.

**Настиховнахъ. Ст(и)х(и)ры. Глас [1]: Подоб(ен): Н(е)б(е)снымъ чиномъ.**

Хлѣбъ н(е)б(е)сный животный воспоемъ, съ Н(е)б(е)се непрестанно сходящъ неизреченно, гл(агол)юще единомудренно, Тѣло Х(ри)с(то)во; имже вси избавихомся радуися, и Кровь Б(о)жественная и с(вя)тая, егоже искупихомся.

Стихъ: Хлѣбъ Ап(е)лскій яде чловѣкъ, брашна посла имъ, дообил(ія).

На вечера самага себе далъ еси, Твоимъ оученикомъ и Другомъ очудеси: во снѣдъ ядѣте хлѣбъ, се бо есть Тѣло мое; Чашу же прїемъ рекъ еси; вси пїйте вы Кровь мою.

Стих: И ѡдожди имъ Манну ясти, и Хлѣбъ Н(е)б(е)сный даде имъ.

О Б(о)жественное. и всечестное Тѣло и дражайшее, Б(о)гоч(е)л(о)вѣчна слова, сп(а)си своя рабы ѿ скорбей многихъ и искушеній; и всякихъ ѡбстояній. Н(е)б(е)сное ц(а)рствіе и жизн подая, твоя ради м(и)л(о)сти.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Глас: [8]:

Ω Преславное чудо! сошедый съ Небесе Хлѣбъ животнїй и Б(о)жественный, волею воснѣдъ дадеса, во вечеръ таинственный, прїемъ бо Хлѣбъ бл(а)г(о)словивъ даде рекъ Оуч(е)никомъ, прїимѣте и ядѣте, сіе ест Тѣло мое; также и чашу. Тѣмже кождо себе искушаеъ, и тако да ясть и пїетъ, въ сп(а)сеніе и жизнь вѣчную.

6:

**Н(ы)нѣ: Ωтпущаеши: и проч: Тропарь Глас [7]:**

Хлѣбъ преестественный, егоже Ап(е)ли трепещуще видѣти желаютъ, днесъ празденственно на престолѣ зрится, и ч(е)л(о)вѣкомъ въ снѣдъ дается: внемже мы пребогатую твою м(и)л(о)сть Хр(и)сте Б(о)же н(а)шгъ зряще, Б(о)га ты со плотію зрѣнемъ припадковъ оутаеннаго исповѣдуемъ г(лаго)люще: сподоби насъ причастниковъ быти, да и жизни вѣчнїя насладимся.

**Ωтпустъ.** Премногїа ради м(и)л(о)сти, на тайной своей вечера Плоть свою ясти, и Кровь свою пити на сп(а)сеніе наше давїй намъ. Хр(и)ст(о)съ истинный Б(о)гъ н(а)шгъ, м(о)л(и)твами Пречистїа своя М(а)т(е)ре, С(вя)тыхъ Ап(о)столъ дванадесяте, и всѣхъ С(вя)тыхъ, пом(и)луеъ и сп(а)сеть насъ, якѡ бл(а)гїй Б(о)гъ, и Ч(е)л(овѣ)колюбецъ. Аминь.

**На оутрни на Б(о)гъ Г(оспо)дь: Троп(арь): Хлѣбъ преестествен(ный):**

**Во [1]. кафисмъ Съдална: Глас: [7].**

Пасха наша великая и всечестная есть Х(ристо)с; снѣденъ быстъ якѡ хлѣбъ, заклавшежеся якѡ ѡвча, тойбо принесеса ѡ насъ жертва Бл(а)гопрїемна; егоже пр(е)ч(и)стому Тѣлу, и честнѣй Крови бл(а)гочестно покланяющеса оумилно гл(агол)еъ: всегда с нами самъ съ пребываяй, но никтоже възможеъ что на ны.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Б(о)город(ичен):

Б(о)городице пр(и)сно Дѣво Марїе, се плоть С(ы)на твоего Хр(и)ста Б(о)га нашего, яже из утробы твояе дѣйствомъ Д(у)ха преС(вя)таго прїемъ, и на тайной Вечери Оученикомъ своимъ даяше гл(агол)я: прїимѣте и ядѣте се есть Тѣло мое, и пїйте сіа есть Кровь моя: егоже Ты матернимъ дерзновеніемъ оумоли яко да насъ причащающихся неопалая но сп(а)сетъ д(у)ша наша.

**По второй каф(исмъ): Съдал(ен): Глас: [4].**

Хлѣбъ Н(е)б(е)сный и чашу возьмъ Х(ристо)с бл(аго)сл(о)ви, показуя Ωтцу Родителю, и дивящимся Оученикомъ, подая г(лаго)люще: ядый мою Плоть, и пїй мою Кровь иматъ животъ вѣчный, и азъ възкресшу Его въ послѣднїй день. Сего ради мы недостойнїи, днесъ празденственно кланяемся пречистимъ Тайнамъ Плоти и Крови твояе, дерзновенно вѣрующе, яко ты еси Х(ристо)съ С(ы)нъ Б(о)га живаго, пришедый въ миръ грѣшнихъ сп(а)сти.

7:

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Безсѣменно ѿ Д(у)ха С(вя)та(го) зачала и родила еси С(ы)на Хр(и)ста Б(о)га нашего, егоже пр(е)ч(и)стой Плоти, якѡ Б(о)гу и Избавителю н(а)шему, до лица земли покланяемся, и причастници быти желаемъ; и к тебѣ якѡ матери прибѣгаемъ Пречистая Б(о)городице, оумилно г(лаго)люще молимъ тя; прїими молитви наша, и донеси я С(ы)ну своему и Б(о)гу нашему да сп(а)сетъ д(у)ша наша.

**Полиелеѡсъ: Величаніе.**

Величаемъ тя Животдавецъ Хр(и)сте, насъ дѣля хлѣбъ въ Плотъ, и вино въ кровь свою претворшаго. Симъ же днесъ якѡ Б(о)гу воплощенну покланяемся.

Стих: [1]. Велїй Г(оспо)дь и хваленъ зѣло во градѣ Б(о)га н(а)шего въ горѣ С(вя)тѣй егѡ.

Стих: [2]. Что воздамъ Г(о)с(по)д(е)ви о всѣхъ яже воздасть ми, Чашу сп(а)сенїа.

Стих: [3]. Память сотворилъ есть чудеса своихъ, м(и)л(о)стывъ Г(о)с(по)дь и щедръ пишу далъ есть боящимся егѡ.

Стих: [4]. Одожди имъ манну ясти, Хлѣбъ Ангелскій, яде ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ брашно посла имъ до ѡбїіа.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Аلیلуя [3].

**Поподіелеѡс Сѣдал(ен): Глас: [3]. Под(обен) Красоте.**

Предвѣчній Б(о)гъ и безначалнїй, иже воспрїятъ естество ч(е)л(овѣ)ческое, прїйде на горницу оуготованну съ Оуч(е)н(и)ки своими, идеже Пасху ветху скончалъ еси Сп(а)се нашъ: и Пасху нову Таинственну содѣла, прїемъ бо хлѣбъ и во Плоть свою, чашу же въ Кровь претвори, и намъ въ снѣдь и питіе подадъ еси. Сїю Тайну Б(о)жественную, днесь зряще съ оумиленїемъ г(лаго)лемъ: слава бл(а)гоутробїю твоему Ч(е)л(овѣ)колюбче.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ тойже: **Степень [1]. Антифонъ: [4]го Гласа.**

**Прокимень: Глас: [4].** Ядый мою Плоть, и пїйя мою Кровь имать животъ вѣчнїй, и азъ въскрещу его въ послѣднїй день.

**Ев(ан)г(е)ліе. От Іоана, Зачало: [24].**

Рече Г(о)с(по)дъ къ пришедшимъ къ нему Іудеѡмъ: Плоть моя истинно есть брашно, и Кровь моя истинно есть питіе. Ядый мою Плоть, и пїйя мою Кровь, въ мнѣ пребываетъ, и азъ въ немъ. Якоже посла мя живый О(те)цъ, и азъ живу О(т)ца ради, и ядый мя, и той живъ будетъ мене ради. Сей есть Хлѣбъ сошедый небесе: не якоже ядоша ѡтцы ваши Манну, и оумроша; ядый Хлѣбъ сей, живъ будетъ вѣки.

**Ст(и)х(и)ра. по Ев(ан)г(е)ліи Гласъ: [6].**

Днесь Агг(е)ли оужасаются, зряще тя Б(о)га воплощенна, втайнахъ съкровеннаго. От ч(е)л(овѣ)къ съ страхомъ покланяема, и всенѣдъ дающая, с ними же и мы земнїй, Вл(а)д(ы)ку тя ч(е)л(овѣ)колюбца воспоемъ г(лаго)люще: сподоби насъ Плоти, и Крови Пр(е)ч(и)стой причаститися. Бл(а)госерде Г(о)с(по)ди.

8:

**Канон гласъ [2].**

**Пѣснь [1]. Ірмосъ.** Грядѣте людїе Поемъ пѣснь Хр(и)сту:

Припѣлъ за каждыиъ Стихомъ: Слава Хр(и)сте Плоти твоей и Крови:

Хлѣбъ живота вѣчнующаго; да будетъ мы Тѣло твое с(вя)тое, бл(а)гоутробне Г(о)с(по)ди, и ч(е)стная Кровь болѣзней много образныхъ исцѣлїе.

Кровь твою Вл(а)д(ы)ко пр(е)ч(и)стую, и Тѣло твое пр(е)с(вя)тое, мене сподоби ясти же и пити, съ желанїемъ и вѣроу.

Слава: Оскверненъ дѣлы безмѣстными окаяннїй, твоего пр(е)ч(и)стаго Тѣла и Б(о)ж(е)ственнїй Крове, недостойнъ есмь Хр(и)сте причащенїа егоже мя сподоби.

И н(ы)нѣ: Земле бл(а)гая, бл(а)г(о)с(ло)венная Невѣсто; Класъ възрастившая не ораннїй, и сп(а)сительный (!) мїру: сподоби мя сей ядуща сп(а)стися.

**Катавас(ия): Ірмосъ. Отверзу оуста моя.**

**Пѣснь: [3]. Ірмосъ:** На камени мя вѣри оутверди, разширилъ еси:

Слезныя мы подаждъ Хр(и)сте капли, скверну с(е)рд(е)чную очищающїя; яко да бл(а)гоу совѣстїю очистишь, вѣроу приходяду и страхомъ Вл(а)д(ы)ка, ко причащенїю даровъ твоихъ.

Въ оставленїе да будетъ ми прегрѣшенїй пр(е)ч(и)стое Тѣло твое, и Б(о)жественная Кровь, Д(у)ха же с(вя)таго общенїе, и в жизнь вѣчную ч(е)л(овѣ)колюбче, и страстей отчужденїе.

Слава: Сподоби мя Г(о)с(по)ди, твоего Тѣла причаститися не осужденно, и Крове твоея ч(е)стныя: и славити твою бл(а)гостыню:

И н(ы)нѣ: Хлѣба животнаго трапеза пр(е)ч(и)стая; совышше м(и)л(о)сти ради сошедышаго мирови животъ дающаябѡ [!]: и мене н(ы)нѣ сподоби недостойнаго, со страхомъ вкусити сего, и живу быти.

**Катав(асия): Твоя пѣвца.**

**Сѣдална Глас: [1]. Подоб(ен): Камени знаменанну.**

Ядый Вл(а)д(ы)ко съ Оуч(е)н(и)ки своими Агнца по заповѣди Моисея, себе Агнца непорочна таинственно въ снѣдъ далъ еси намъ, въ оставленїе грѣховъ, въ освященїе д(у)шамъ, имже питающеся молимъ: да неведъ или въ осужденїе будетъ причастїе с(вя)тыхъ твоихъ Таинъ, грѣхъ ради и беззаконїй нашихъ.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ:

Агнца и Пастира Мати Д(ѣ)во Б(огороди)це, оумоли егоже родила еси С(ы)на, да сп(а)сетъ и просвѣтитъ д(у)ша наша.

9:

**Пѣснь: [4]. Ірмосъ:** Пришествоваѡ ѡт Дѣви:

Восхотѣлъ еси насъ дѣла воплощя многом(и)л(о)стиве, закланъ быти яко овца, грѣхъ ради ч(е)л(овѣ)ческихъ: тѣмъже молю тя, и моя очисти прегрѣшенїа:

Исцѣли д(у)ша моя раны Г(о)с(по)ди, и всего ос(вя)ти: и всего сподоби Вл(а)д(ы)ко, яко да причастникъ буду, тайнїа твоя Б(о)жественнїа Вечери, окаяннїй.

Слав(а): Стоя истения со страхомъ и трепетомъ, очи мои с(е)рд(е)чнѣи имамъ горѣ, к тебѣ Сп(а)се, на Кр(е)стѣ простершу *отвезтыи* рунѣ: имиже даждь ми пишу твоего бл(а)говоленія: оутверждаю мя и оукрѣпляю въ страсть твою.

И н(ы)нѣ: М(и)л(о)стива и мнѣ сотвори бл(а)гоутробнаго С(ы)на твоего, Вл(а)д(ы)ч(и)це, и соблюди мя без скверны раба твоего и без порока: яко да внутрь пріемъ оумный Бисеръ оещуся.

**Катав(асия):** Съдѣй во славѣ.

**Пѣснь: [5]. Ирмос:** Просвѣщеніе въ тмѣ:

Якоже предрекль еси Хр(и)сте, да будетъ оубо худому рабу твоему; и въ мнѣ пребуди, якоже общался еси: себо Тѣло твое ям Б(о)ж(е)ственное, и пію Кровь твою.

Слове Б(о)жій и Б(о)же, оуглѣ Тѣла твоего, да будетъ мнѣ помолченному въ просвѣщеніе, и очищеніе осквернанной д(у)ши моей кровью твоею.

Слава: Преоскверненну д(у)шу и оустнѣ имый нечистѣ, несмѣю н(ы)нѣ приблизити к тебѣ Хр(и)сте, и пріяти Тѣло твое: но ты мя явы достойна.

И н(ы)нѣ: М(а)ріе М(а)ти Б(о)жая, бл(а)гоуханія ч(е)стное вселеніе, твоими м(о)л(и)твами сосудъ мя избранъ содѣлай; яко да с(вя)тыхъ тайнъ причащуся С(ы)на твоего.

**Катав(асия):** Оудивишася всяческая.

**Пѣснь: [6]. Ирмос:** Во безднѣ грѣховнѣ:

Умѣ, д(у)шу, с(е)рдце ос(вя)ти, Сп(а)се, и тѣло мое: и сподоби мя неосужденно Вл(а)д(ы)ко, къ страшнымъ Тайнамъ приступити.

Да оустранився *от* страстей, твоя бл(а)г(о)д(а)ти сподоблюся имѣти прилогъ; живота же оутвержденіе, причащенія ради с(вя)тыхъ Хр(и)сте твоихъ Тайнъ.

**11:**

Слава: Съ страхомъ и трепетомъ приступити даждь ми къ Б(о)ж(е)ственнымъ Хр(и)сте твоимъ тайнамъ, истоеже и с(вя)тое Тѣло твое пріяти; и истую и с(вя)тую и ч(е)стную Кровь твою.

И н(ы)нѣ: Б(о)жѣ Слово с(вя)тое Б(о)же, всего мя ос(вя)ти, н(ы)нѣ приходящаго къ Б(о)жественнымъ твоимъ тайнамъ: с(вя)тыя М(а)т(е)ре твоя молебамъ.

**Катав(асия):** Б(о)жественное сіе и вес:

**Кондакъ гласъ [4]:**

Се предлежитъ Хр(исто)съ на пишу всѣмъ, прійдѣте, и припадающе поклонѣмся Хр(и)сту Б(о)гу сими Тайнами оутаенному, со оумиленіемъ взывающе, Вл(а)д(ы)ко; да не опалиши насъ

недостойныхъ приобщеніемъ, но буди пополая грѣхъ, и очищающъ д(у)ша наша.

**Икосъ**

Тайнѣй трапезѣ, со страхомъ приближившеся вси, ч(е)ст(н)ыми д(у)шами хлѣбъ Б(о)жественный приемлѣмъ, чающе сп(а)сенія; умыимъ нозѣ совѣсти нашея, да и жизни вѣчныя насладимся Молитвами Б(о)жїя М(а)т(е)ре.

**Пѣснь: [7]. Ирмос:** О тѣлѣ златѣ:

Причастіе Хр(и)сте безсмертныхъ н(ы)нѣ твоихъ Тайнъ, молю да будетъ ми источникъ бл(а)гихъ, свѣтъ, животъ и безстрастіе; но преспѣянію и оумноженію добродѣтели Б(о)ж(е)ственнѣйшия ходотайственно, едине бл(а)же: яко да славлю тя.

Да избавлся *от* страстей, враговъ нуждъ и всякая скорѣби, съ трепетомъ любовію и благоговѣніемъ Ч(е)л(о)в(е)колюбче, приступлю н(ы)нѣ, къ твоимъ безсмертнымъ и Б(о)ж(е)ственнымъ Тайнамъ, сподоби, и да пою: тебѣ бл(а)гословенъ еси Г(о)с(по)ди Б(о)же *От*(е)цъ нашихъ.

Слава: Д(у)ше моя окаанная, д(у)ше страстная, оужаснися зрѣщи Таинства преславная, въздыхающи прослезися, в перси бющи, зовущи же и глаголющи: Б(о)же очисти мя якоже блуднаго.

И н(ы)нѣ: Сп(а)са Хр(и)ста Порождающая паче оума Б(о)гбл(а)г(о)д(а)тная, молю тя оусердно ч(и)стую рабѣ твоей нечистый: хотящаго н(ы)нѣ къ пр(е)ч(и)стимъ Тайнамъ приступити, очисти мя всего, *от* скверны плоти и д(у)ха.

**Катав(асия):** Непослужиша Твари.

**Пѣснь [8]. Ирмос:** О подобіи златѣ небрегоша:

Н(е)б(е)сныхъ страшныхъ и с(вя)тыхъ твоихъ Хр(и)сте н(ы)нѣ Таниѣ, Б(о)жественныя же твоя и тайныя Вечери, обещаю быти мене сподоби Б(о)же сп(а)сителью мой.

**11:**

Къ твоему прибѣгъ бл(а)гоутробію Бл(а)же, съ страхомъ зову ти: въ мнѣ пребуди Сп(а)се, и азъ, якоже рекль еси, к тебѣ: се бо надѣяся на м(и)л(о)сть твою, ямъ Тѣло твое, и пію Кровь твою.

Слава: Съдрыгаюся пріемля огонь, да не опалюся якоже воскъ. и яко сѣно, оле бл(а)гоутробію Б(о)жїя! оле стр(а)шнаго Таинства! како Б(о)жественна Тѣла и Крове брѣніе причащаюся? и нетлѣнен сотворяюся.

И н(ы)нѣ: Б(о)жественный Хлѣбъ жизни, въ чревѣ твоёмъ Б(о)гомати, истинно испечся, сохранивъ невредна ложесна твоя Непорочная: тѣмже яко питателнишу н(а)шу поемъ тя въ вся вѣки.

**Катав(асия):** *От*роки бл(а)гочестивія:

## Пѣснь [9].

Прежде Ирмоса поем Припѣл: Величай д(у)ше моя Г(о)с(по)да, Плоть свою в пищу Тайну давшего.

Инь припѣль. Величай душе моя Хр(и)ста Б(о)га нашего, Плоть въ сп(а)сение ч(е)л(о)вѣкомъ давшего.

**Ирмос:** Вѣсь еси желание:

Х(ристо)съ есть вкусите, и оувидите яко Г(оспо)дь древле бывѣи, насъ дѣла единою себе принесть, яко жертву *Ω*тцу своему, пр(и)сно закалается ос(вя)щая причащающихся.

Д(у)шею и тѣломъ да ос(вя)щуся Вл(а)д(ы)ко, да просвѣщуся, да сп(а)суся, да буду домъ твой, причащеніемъ с(вя)щенныхъ Таинъ: живущаго ты имѣя в себѣ со *ω*тцемъ и Д(у)хомъ, бл(а)годатію многом(и)л(ост)иве.

Слава: Якоже огонь да будет ми, и яко свѣтъ, Тѣло твое, и Кровь Сп(а)се мой Преч(е)стная: опаляя грѣховную вещь, сожигая же страстей терніе, и всего мя просвѣщая, покланяющагося твоему Б(о)жеству.

И н(ы)нѣ: Б(о)гъ воплотился есть, *ω*т ч(и)стыхъ кровей твоихъ, *ω*тнюду же всякъ родъ поет тя Вл(а)д(и)ч(и)це. Оумная же множества славятъ тя, яко Тобою явѣ оузрѣша всѣми вл(а)д(ы)чествующаго, осуществовавшагося ч(е)л(о)вѣчествомъ.

**Катав(асія):** Всякъ земнороднѣй.

## Свѣтилень

Уч(е)никомъ сѣдящимъ на Тайной Вечери, изрящимъ тя Г(о)с(по)ди, пріемъ хлѣбъ въ С(вя)тыя своя Руки, возведъ очи на Н(е)бо къ Б(о)гу *Ω*(т)цу, благодаривъ, бл(а)г(о)с(ло)вивъ, и преломиъ, дающе С(вя)тымъ Оуч(е)никомъ своимъ, Подаждъ же и намъ грѣшнымъ рабомъ твоимъ.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ:

Сей есть преч(и)стая Д(ѣ)во Б(огороди)це, всихъ Тайнахъ покланяемый, егоже ти ношаше прежде въ чревѣ материи, посемъ на руку; сегоже о насъ моли, да сп(а)сѣтъ д(у)ша наша.

12:

**На хвалитехъ ст(и)х(и)ры: [4]. Глас: [1]. Под(обен):** О дивное чудо.

О дивное чудо! источникъ жизни, на престолѣ зрится, ч(е)л(овѣ)комъ во снѣдъ дается; веселися Ц(ерк)ви Б(о)жественная, Хлѣбомъ плоти Х(ристо)вой преукрашенная, возопіемъ вѣрнѣи, Іоана Б(о)гослова имуща чиноначалника. и Слово Плоть бысть, и вселися вны; и видѣхомъ славу его, яко едиnorodнаго *ω*т О(т)ца.

*Ω* дивное чудо! иже въ маннѣ преобразуемый Б(о)гъ истинный, *ω*т Б(о)га истинна рожденный; воспріемъ ч(е)л(ове)ческія плоти естество. Веселися днесь роде ч(е)л(о)в(е)чѣ, видяи Б(о)га во плоти, себе тебѣ дающа; возопіи веселяшеся, и оусердно Б(о)га бл(а)годарящи. и Слово Плоть бысть, и вселися вны; и видѣхомъ славу его, яко едиnorodнаго *ω*т О(т)ца.

*Ω* дивное чудо! закла Премудрость своя жертвенная, и черпа въ чаши своей вино, и оуготова свою трапезу, всѣхъ к себѣ возивающи: прійдѣте ядѣте мой Хлѣбъ; и пійте Вино еже черпахъ вамъ. Веселѣтся Ц(а)ріе, бл(а)годарите С(вя)тителіе, и Слово Плоть бысть, и вселися вны, и видѣхомъ славу его, яко едиnorodнаго *ω*т О(т)ца.

*Ω* дивное чудо! иже на горѣ Синаистой съ Моисеомъ г(лаго)лавый во купинѣ не *ω*палимой, и скрижали законныя написавый, егоже гласъ грома, трубъ, и молній, оустраши с(ы)ны І(зра)илевы: прошедшія море по суху, сей днесь Б(о)ж(е)ственно въ хлѣбѣ оутайся, и въ снѣдъ подается всѣмъ: Агнецъ, Б(о)гъ, и Сп(а)ситель.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: **Гласъ: [6].** Азъ есмь Хлѣбъ животный, Хлѣбъ съшѣдый съ Н(е)б(е)се, рече Г(о)с(по)дь къ пришедшимъ къ нему Іудеомъ; аще не снѣсте *ω*т Плоти С(ы)на ч(е)л(о)вѣческаго, и не пїете Крове его, живота неимате всебѣ; ядый мою Плоть, и пїй мой Кровь, имать животъ вѣчный; и Азъ воскрешу его, въ послѣднѣй д(е)нь.

**Славословіе Велікое; по Тр(и)с(вя)томъ: Тропарь Праз(нику):** Хлѣбъ преестествен(ный): ищи, вчера на вечерни. По ектен(ий): *Ω*тпуст:

## На литургіи

**Антіфонъ [1].**

Г(о)с(по)дь пасетъ мя, и ничтоже мя лишитъ: на мѣстѣ злачнѣ тамо мя всели. Молитвами Б(огороди)ца, Сп(а)се, спаси насъ.

Стіхъ [2]. Аще во пойду посредеѣ сѣни смертныя, не оубоюся зла яко ты съ мною еси. Молитвами Б(огороди)ца, Сп(а)се, спаси насъ.

13:

Стіхъ [3]. Оуготовалъ еси предо мною трапезу сопротивъ стужающимъ ми. Молитвами Б(огороди)ца, Сп(а)се, спаси насъ.

Стіхъ [4]. Оумастилъ еси елеомъ главу мою, и чаша твоя оупояющая мя яко державна. Молитвами Б(огороди)ца, Сп(а)се, спаси насъ.

**Антіфонъ [2].**

Вѣровахъ, тѣмже и возг(лаго)лахъ: азъ же смирихъся зѣло. Спаси насъ С(ы)не Б(о)жій Питаемый Плотію своею поющихъ ти. Аллилуѣа (3).

Стихъ [2]. Что воздамъ Г(о)с(по)деви ѿ всехъ, яже воздасть ми. Спаси насъ С(ы)не Б(о)жій Питавый Плотію своею поющихъ ти. Аллилуїа (3).

Стихъ [3]. Чашу сп(а)сенія прійму, и Имя Г(о)с(по)днѣ призову. Спаси насъ С(ы)не Б(о)жій Питавый Плотію своею поющихъ ти. Аллилуїа (3).

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Единородный С(ы)нѣ:

### Антіфонъ [3].

Пожръте жертву правды, и оуповайте на Г(о)с(по)да. Троп(арь): Хлѣбъ преестественный.

Стихъ [2]. *От* плода пшеница, вина, и елея своего оумножишася. Троп(арь): Хлѣбъ преестест(венный).

Стихъ [3]. Яко насытилъ есть д(у)шу тшу, и д(у)шу алчущу исполни бл(а)гъ. Троп(арь): Хлѣбъ преестест(венный).

Въходъ: Тебѣ пожру жертву хвалы и въ имя Г(о)с(по)дне призову.

Троп(арь): Хлѣбъ преестественный. Слава(а): и н(ы)нѣ: Конд(ак): Гласъ [4]. Се предложитъ Х(ристо)с: зри на листъ [8]. по Пѣсни [6].

Прокимень Гласъ [4]. Напита ихъ ѿ тука пшенична, и ѿ камене меда насыти ихъ.

Стихъ. Радуйтесь Б(о)гу помощнику нашему, воскликните Б(о)гу Іаковлю.

### Апостолъ къ Коринфомъ, Зачало [149]:

Азъ прияхъ ѿ Г(о)с(по)да, еже и предахъ вамъ, яко Г(о)с(по)дъ І(су)с, внощъ в нюже предающъ бываше, пріемхъ хлѣбъ... ѿ Г(о)с(по)данаказуемъ да не съ миромъ осудимъ.

Аллилуїа Гласъ [4].

Очи всѣхъ на тя оуповають, и ты даеши имъ пищу въ бл(а)го время.

Стихъ. *Отверзаеши* ти руку твою, и насыщаеши всяко животно бл(а)говоленія.

14:

Ев(а)н(г)еліе ѿ Іоана, зачало [23]:

Рече Г(о)с(по)дъ ко пришедшимъ к нему Іудеомъ: Азъ есмъ хлѣбъ животый... имать животъ вѣчный и Азъ воскрешу его въ послѣдній день.

По Изрядномъ вмѣсто Достоина поемъ со припѣломъ Ірмосъ: Весь еси желаніе: Причастень. Ядый мою Плоть, и пійи мою Кровь, въ мнѣ пребываетъ, и азъ:

*Отпустъ зри Навечерни вчорайшей.*

В тойже четверъ вечеръ безъ каф(исмъ)

На Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ, Поставимъ, Стихъ: [4]. На [6]. Повторяюще, [2].

### Ст(и)х(и)ры: Гласъ [2]. Самоглас(ен):

Архіерей Предвѣчный, почину Мелхиседекову, Г(о)с(по)дъ н(а)шъ І(су)съ Х(ристо)съ, хлѣбъ и вино на Тайнѣй Вечери своей, себе самага Б(о)гу *Отцу* принесе грѣхъ ради рода ч(е)л(о)вѣческаго, семуже днесъ, яко Б(о)гу Истинному, празденственно покланяемъ. [2]-ж(ды)

Щедр и м(и)л(о)стивъ, пишу далъ ест Г(о)с(по)дъ боящимся его, г(лаго)ля къ Оученикомъ своимъ, пріимѣте и ядѣте, сіе естъ Тѣло мое, пійте ѿ нея вси, сіа естъ Кровь моя, новаго Завѣта, Яже за вы изливаемая, въ оставленіе грѣховъ. [2]-ж(ды)

Память сотворилъ естъ чудесь своихъ Г(о)с(по)дъ, м(и)л(о)сти своя ради и бл(а)гоутробія. Всихъ Тайнахъ Плоти и Крови своя, Плоть свою дая въ снѣдъ и Кровь въ питіе, О велія сила! и дѣла Г(о)с(по)дния, изысканна въ всѣхъ воляхъ его, (с)вяго и страшно имя его: Еже естъ паче всякаго имени; да о Имени І(су)совомъ всяко колѣно покланяется, Н(е)б(ес)ныхъ и земныхъ, и преисподнихъ.

15:

Тайнѣй днесъ Вечери, и Трапезу Б(о)ж(е)ственнѣй; състрахомъ приближимся вѣрніи, хотяще вкусити Источника безсмертнаго, но трепеть и страхъ насъ пріемлетъ; многихъ ради грѣхъ нашихъ, ѿ нихъ же тобою очиститися желаемъ, м(о)литвами Вл(а)д(ы)ч(и)цы н(а)шея Б(огороди)цы.

Слава: Гласъ [8]:

Азъ есмъ хлѣбъ животный съшедый съ Н(е)б(е)се, да аще кто снѣстъ неумреть но живъ будетъ въ вѣки, и хлѣбъ егоже азъ дамъ, истинная Плоть естъ моя, юже азъ дахъ за животъ мира: азъ есмъ хлѣбъ животный, хлѣбъ съходящъ съ Н(е)б(е)се, да аще кто ѿ него ястъ неумреть, но имать животъ вѣчный.

И н(ы)нѣ: Богород(ичень): Гласъ тойже.

Егоже, без сѣмени родила еси Пр(е)ч(и)стая Д(ѣ)во, сей неиспытн днесъ на престолѣ празденственно зрится, и въ снѣдъ вѣрнымъ дается, Агг(е)ли со трепетомъ и ч(е)л(о)вѣци яко Б(о)гу истинну покланяются, Егоже Матерними си м(о)л(и)твами оумоли, яко да не опалитъ насъ грѣхъ ради нашихъ, но пом(и)луетъ и сп(а)сетъ д(у)ша наша.

Въходъ съ кадиницею: и Свѣте тихій.

Проким(ен) гласъ [7]. Кто Б(о)гъ Велій яко Б(о)гъ нашъ, Ты еси Б(о)гъ творящъ чудеса.

Стихъ: Сказалъ еси вѣлюдехъ силу твою.

Стихъ: И рѣхъ н(ы)нѣ начахъ си измѣна десница выпшняго.

Стихъ: Помянухъ дѣла Г(о)с(по)дня, яко помяну  
ѡт зачала чудеса твоихъ.

Кто Б(о)гъ велѣи яко Б(о)гъ нашъ: И проч(ая):  
Доконца;

**Сподоб(и) Г(о)с(по)ди в вечеръ:**

**На Стиховнахъ: Гласъ [2]: Подобень Доме  
Еффрафовъ.**

На тайной вечери, Х(ристо)съ Б(о)гъ даль  
есть, Ап(о)ст(о)ломъ ясти; Плоть свою  
б(о)ж(е)ственнымъ, въ испѣленіе д(у)ши и тѣлу.

Стихъ: Уготовалъ еси трапезу предстужающими  
моя.

Приступѣте вси, не ко сѣнастей горѣ, но ко  
Б(о)гу вышнему, всихъ Тайнахъ оутаенному,  
Хр(и)сту Б(о)гу нашему.

Стихъ: Г(о)с(по)дь пасеть мя и ничтоже мя  
лишитъ.

Дается Х(ристо)съ, всѣмъ въ снѣдъ грѣшнымъ:  
хлѣбъ творя Тѣломъ, и вино въ Кровь,  
Б(о)жественно претворяиши.

**Слава: Гласъ: и под(обень) тоиже(е):**

Хвалимъ тя Христе, Сп(а)се н(а)шъ бл(а)гій:  
иже Кровь свою, изліялъ еси, сп(а)сенія ради  
ч(е)л(о)вѣческаго.

И н(ы)нѣ: **тоиже(е):**

**16:**

Б(огороди)це Дѣво М(а)ріе, моли истебе  
Рожшагося Хр(и)ста, да достойныхъ сотворишь,  
причастниками быти.

**По н(ы)нѣ ѡтпущаеши: Тр(исвя)тое: и по  
ѡтче нашъ, Троп(арь): Празд(нику):**

**В пятокъ, на утрени,**

**Тропарь Празд(нику); и С(вя)тому; Съдал(ен):  
по [1]. Кафизм(е); Празд(нику), по [2]. дню:  
канон Празд(ника) и с(вя)тому; по [3]. Пѣсни:  
Конд(ак): праз(днику); по [6] конд(ак); с(вя)  
тому: свѣтил(ен): дню: Слава праз(днику): и  
н(ы)нѣ тамже.**

**На стиховнахъ. Празд(нику) ст(и)х(и)ры: гласъ  
[6]. Подоб(ен): Тр(идневно) воскресъ еси.**

Тайна сія великая и страшная есть, в нейже  
Создатель Б(о)гъ сокровень пребываетъ, со  
Б(о)ж(е)ствомъ и Плотию и д(у)шею, м(и)л(о)сти  
ради рода ч(е)л(о)вѣческаго, сему вси кланяемся  
яко Б(о)гу: и Сп(а)су д(у)шамъ нашимъ.

Стихъ: Что воздамъ Г(о)с(по)деви о всѣхъ, юже  
воздаде ми.

Ѡ чудо преславное! яко Б(о)гъ невомѣстимый  
первѣе, въ чревѣ Дѣвѣи вѣмѣщенъ, днесъ же

въ крупицы малой хлѣба затворенной, ѡт  
ч(е)л(о)вѣкъ поклоненіе праздественно  
пріемлетъ; егоже мы съ Атг(е)лы и Архангелы  
воспоемъ, Сп(а)сителя д(у)шамъ нашимъ.

Стихъ: Чашу сп(а)сенія пріиму; и Имя  
Г(о)с(по)дне призову.

Ты еси Архїерей по чину Мелхиседекову,  
приносяи Б(о)гу Ѡтцу хлѣбъ и Вино жертву себе,  
грѣхъ ради н(а)шихъ; Хр(и)сте Б(о)же сп(а)се  
н(а)шъ, тебѣ же мы истинному Б(о)гу, съ всякимъ  
бл(аго)д(а)рениемъ покланяемся.

Слава: и н(ы)нѣ: гласъ [4]. зри назадъ, в среду на  
вечерни на Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ, лист [3].

**В пятокъ вечеръ:**

**На Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ ст(и)х(и)ры: праз(дника):  
[3]. Гласъ, [5]. Самоглас(ен).**

Даяи Исаакъ бл(а)г(о)с(ло)веніе, с(ы)ну своему  
Іакову Патріярсъ, обіишемъ пшеницы и вина  
оутверди его, семуже бл(а)г(о)с(ло)венію  
Патріарха совокупи и первенство с(ы)новне.  
Также сотвори и Сп(а)ситель нашъ Х(ристо)съ  
Г(о)с(по)дь, даяи намъ хлѣбъ преестественный, и  
Вино ѡтлозы истинныя; пріемъ бо хлѣбъ в руцѣ  
Б(о)жественныя г(лаго)ля: пріимѣте и ядѣте сіе  
есть Тѣло мое, пійте ѡт чаши сія бо есть Кровь  
моя, за в весь миръ изліянная.

Имѣже образомъ желаетъ елень на источники  
водныя, сице желаетъ д(у)ша моя к тебѣ Б(о)же,  
иже даль еси намъ Плоть свою воснѣдъ, и питаеши  
насъ алчущихъ хлѣбомъ Б(о)жественнымъ и  
напаяеши насъ жаждущихъ д(у)шами, виномъ  
Пр(е)ч(и)стыя Крове твоея:

**17:**

тѣмъ же днесъ кланяющееся праздественно;  
тебѣ Хр(и)сту Б(о)гу нашему въч(е)л(о)вѣчшуся,  
пострадавшу на Кр(е)стѣ; и оумершему  
сп(а)сенія н(а)шего ради. Воскр(е)сшу въ третій  
день, вознесшуся на Н(е)бо: и сѣдѣшу одесную  
Ѡтца: тебѣ припадаемъ. и оумилно гл(агол)емъ.  
сп(а)си насъ, м(и)л(о)с(е)рдїя ради твоего.

Ядущимъ Оуч(е)никомъ на тайной вечери;  
пріемъ І(су)съ хлѣбъ в руцѣ свои; очи же свои  
възведъ на Н(е)бо, бл(а)г(о)с(ло)ви преломи, даетъ  
оуч(е)никомъ своимъ г(лаго)ля: примѣте и ядѣте,  
сіе есть Тѣло мое, еже за вы ломимое, въ оставленіе  
грѣховъ и в жизнь вѣчную.

Слава: И н(ы)не: **Гласъ: [3].** Прійдѣте вси концы  
земныя и въ храмъ Г(о)с(по)дни ставши днесъ:  
припадѣмъ на лица земли съ смиреніемъ: якоже  
видѣ Іоанъ Б(о)гословъ старца двадцать и чѣтыри,  
припадающа предъ сѣдѣщимъ на престолѣ, и  
Живущимъ въ вѣки вѣкомъ: сей бо бысть Агнецъ  
Б(о)жій на престолѣ сѣдѣщъ: егоже зримъ днесъ  
въ пр(е)с(вя)тыхъ Тайнахъ невидимаго, видимъ же

есть ѿ вѣрныхъ вѣроу; его же яко Б(о)га и слова вѣч(е)л(о)вѣчшася исповѣдующе, съ страхомъ и трепетомъ, ему поклоняемся.

По Свѣте тихій: **Прокимень дню.**

**На Стѣховнахъ Ст(и)х(и)ры: глас [2]. Подоб(ен) Доме Еффрафовъ;**

Воскликните людѣе. Ч(е)л(о)вѣколюбцу Б(о)гу; яко сотвори намъ величїе силныи, на тайнѣй Вечери своей; подающе всѣмъ хлѣбъ Н(е)б(е)сный, въ сп(а)сенїе д(у)шамъ нашимъ.

Стѣх: Память сотворилъ есть чудесъ своихъ, м(и)л(о)стивъ и щедръ Г(о)с(по)дь.

Вся земля да поклонится; Б(о)гу в сихъ Тайнахъ живу, бл(а)годаряще м(и)л(о)с(е)рдїе его: яко хлѣбъ Преестественный съ Н(е)б(е)се, брашно дастъ возлюбленнымъ своимъ, ихъ же искупилъ есть Кровїю.

Стѣх: Избавление посла Г(о)с(по)дь людемъ своимъ.

Вкусите, и оувидите, яко бл(а)гъ Г(о)с(по)дь, иже на тайной Вечери, Плот свои даст Оуч(е)никомъ; и всѣмъ вѣрнымъ въ снѣдь; и въ Сп(а)сенїе вѣчное.

Слава: и н(ы)нѣ: **Гласъ [6]:**

Азъ есмъ хлѣбъ животный съшедый съ Н(е)б(е)се, да аще кто снѣстъ неумретъ но живъ будетъ въ вѣки, и хлѣбъ егоже азъ дамъ, истинная Плотъ есть моя, юже азъ дахъ за животъ мира: азъ есмъ хлѣбъ животный, хлѣбъ съходяй съ Н(е)б(е)се, да аще кто ѿ него ястъ неумретъ, но имать животъ вѣчный.

**18:**

**В Субботу на утрени:**

**на Стѣховнахъ ст(и)х(и)ры: Глас [1]. Подоб(ен): Н(е)б(е)снымъ чиномъ**

Веселися днесь Ц(е)ркви Хр(и)стова, празднественно поклоняюще Хр(и)сту Б(о)гу, Плотїю ѿ Д(ѣ)вы Рождшемуся, и в Тайнахъ Хлѣба сокровенному, и въ снѣдь ч(е)л(о)вѣкомъ дающемуся, и сп(а)сающему д(у)ша наша.

Стѣх: Одожди имъ манну ясти, и Хлѣбъ Н(е)б(е)сный даде имъ.

На горници велѣй, Оуч(е)ници оуготоваша ясти Пасху, возлеже І(су)съ, и обанадесяте Ап(о)ст(о)ли снимъ, Рече же к нимъ Г(о)с(по)дь, желанїемъ вожделѣхъ сїю Пасху ясти с вами, прїимъ хлѣбъ хвалу воздаде, преломи дасть оученикомъ своимъ г(лаго)ля; прїимѣте и ядѣте, сїе есть Тѣло мое, за вы ломимое во оставленїе грѣховъ.

Стѣх: Хлѣбъ Ап(е)лскїй яде ч(е)л(о)в(ѣ)къ брашно посла имъ до обїїя.

Прїемъ чашу г(лаго)ля, сїя есть чаша новый завѣтъ въ моей Крови, за вы изліянной; Аминь г(лаго)лю вамъ, яко не имамъ пити ѿ плода лознаго, дондеже ц(а)рств(в)їе Б(о)жїе прїидеть.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: **гласъ [6]:**

Егоже, без сѣмени родила еси Пр(е)ч(и)стая Д(ѣ)во, сей неиспытнo днесь на престолѣ празднественно зрится, и въ снѣдь вѣрнымъ дается, Ап(е)ли со трепетомъ и ч(е)л(о)вѣци яко Б(о)гу истинну поклоняются, Егоже Матерними си м(о)л(и)твами оумоли, яко да не опалитъ насъ грѣхъ ради нашихъ, но пом(и)луеъ и сп(а)сѣтъ д(у)ша наша.

**В субботу вечеръ на Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ: Ст(и)х(и)ры Воскр(е)сны, и Празднику): [3]. Глас [6]. Под(обен) Триднев(не): [1]. Великое Таинство, [2]. Снѣнь Н(е)б(е)сная, [3]. Хлѣбъ бл(а)г(о)с(ло)вивъ: Слава: Глас [4]. Прїидѣте празднующи; сїя вся писаны в Среду Вечеръ; На Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ: лист: [3]. И н(ы)нѣ: Догматъ; по Гласу.**

**На Стѣховнахъ, Ст(и)х(и)ры: В Октоиху, Воскр(е)сны: Слава: И н(ы)нѣ празд(ника); Глас [2]. Тайнѣй днесь вечери, зри на листъ [5]: В Среду на Литии писан:**

**В неделю на Хвалит(ех) Ст(и)х(и)ры: [3]. Глас а. О дивное чудо! источникъ жизни: [2]. О дивное чудо! иже в маннѣ. [3]. О дивное чудо! закла прем(у)дрость; сїе все, зри в Четверъ, на Хвалїтехъ на Листъ [12].**

**В неделю вечеръ на Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ; Ст(и)х(и)ры; празд(ника): [3]. Глас [6]. Самоглас(ны).**

Въ первый д(е)нь опрѣсночный г(лаго)лаху Оуч(е)ници къ Іс(усо)ви, Г(о)с(по)ди, где хоцещи? оуготоваем ти ясти Пасху, он же, рече идѣте въ преднюю весъ, и вл(а)д(и)цѣ дому рцѣте, оуч(и)тель г(лаго)летъ, оу тебе

**19:**

сотвору Пасху съ Оуч(е)ники моими, и сотвориша повелѣнное, оуготоваша Пасху, ядущимъ же имъ, прїемъ І(су)съ Хлѣбъ; бл(а)годаривъ, бл(а)г(о)с(ло)вивъ, и преломивъ, даяше оуч(е)никомъ г(лаго)ля: прїимѣте и ядѣте сїе есть Тѣло мое, пїйте ѿ нея, сїя есть Кровь моя, въ оставленїе грѣховъ.

Б(о)гоотецъ Д(а)видъ проводя кїотъ ѿ дому Оведдома, во градъ свой играюще в трубы, въ тымпаны и кимвалы, вси же людѣе провождаху Кїотъ со веселїемъ но Ц(а)рь грая в гусли. Кїотъ сей бе знамение Кїота С(вя)тая с(вя)тыхъ, Тѣла и Крове Хр(и)ста н(а)шего, иже днесь ѿ всѣхъ поклоняемый, ему же и мы поклоняющеся, яко Б(о)гу и Зиждителю всѣхъ, м(о)л(и)мся да сп(а)сѣтъ д(у)ша наша.

Напита Г(о)с(по)дь Оуч(е)ники своя брашномъ Н(е)б(е)снимъ, прежде стр(а)сти дасть имъ хлѣбъ Агг(е)лскій, паче манны предивный: *Отцы* ваши рече Г(о)с(по)дь; ядоша манну въ пустыни и оумроша, сей есть хлѣбъ сходяй съ Н(е)б(е)се, да аще кто *от* него ясть неумретъ но живъ будетъ вовѣки: егоже и насъ н(ы)нѣ сподоби причастится. М(о)л(и)твами твоея ради Б(о)го М(а)т(е)ре.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: **Гласъ [3].**

Ω Мудрости предивная! о м(и)л(о)сти къ намъ Б(о)жїа неизглаголанная: како Б(о)гъ не токмо насъ дѣла ч(е)л(о)вѣкъ быст; и Б(о)ж(е)ство къ ч(е)л(о)вѣчеству сокри, но въ хлѣбъ себе самого оутаи; и ч(е)л(о)вѣкомъ въ снѣдь даде: слава Твоему Б(о)ж(е)ственному бл(а)гоутробію.

**На Стѣхонахъ. Ст(и)х(и)ры: Глас [2]. Подоб(енъ): Доме Еффраф(ов)**

Бл(а)г(о)с(ло)ви Исаакъ Іакова гл(агол)я, да дасть ти Б(о)гъ *от* росы Н(е)б(е)снѣя, и *от* тука земнаго обіліе пшеници и вина, себо тайна бысть; Тѣла и Крови Г(о)с(по)дня, и предначертается.

Стѣх. Г(о)с(по)дь пасетъ мя, и ничтоже мя лишит.

Испроши Исавъ бл(а)г(о)с(ло)венія *отца*, нѣстли остало бл(а)г(о)с(ло)венія и мнѣ *отче?* пшеницею и виномъ оутвердихъ его, тебѣ же что сотворю чадо? рече *от(е)цъ* къ с(ы)ну своему Ісаву.

Стѣх. Оуготовалъ еси предомною трапезу, предстуж[ающимъ ми]:

Нѣсть бл(а)г(о)с(ло)венія, токмо в Тѣле и Крови Хр(и)стовой, яже намъ далъ есть Х(ристо)съ Г(о)с(по)дь самого себе, въ очищеніе грѣхов наших.

**20:**

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: **Гласъ [8].**

Сей есть Хлѣбъ съшедый съ Н(е)б(е)се, да аще кто *от* него ясть, живъ будетъ; возываше І(су) съ гл(агол)я: аще кто жаждетъ, да прїидетъ къ мнѣ и піетъ; и рѣки *от* чрева его истекутъ воды живїя: ядый мою Плотъ, и пїйя мою Кровь, въ мнѣ пребывает и азъ в немъ.

**В ПОНЕДЕЛОКЪ НАУТРЕНИ**

**На стѣхонахъ: Ст(и)х(и)ры: Глас [4]. Подоб(ен) Яко добля въ м(у)ч(е)ницах:**

Ч(е)л(о)вѣколюбче Сп(а)сителю Хр(и)сте; сп(а)сенія нашего ради съшедый съ н(е)б(е)сѣ и *от* М(а)рія Дѣ(ѣ)вы вѣч(е)л(о)вѣчився, хотяй волю ити на смерть, сїю Тайну Б(о)жественну оуставилъ еси, даѣя себе въ снѣдь Оученикомъ. и всѣмъ вѣрнымъ: имже подаждь бл(а)г(о)дат и животь вѣчный.

Стѣхъ: И одожди имъ манну ясти, и Хлѣбъ Н(е)б(е)снѣя даде имъ.

Азъ есмь Хлѣбъ Н(е)б(е)снѣй, рече Г(о)с(по)дь своимъ Оуч(е)никомъ, съшедый съ Н(е)б(е)се: азъ есмь хлѣбъ животный, грядый къ мнѣ неимат възлѣкаться, и вѣруйя в мя неимат вѣжаждатися, аще бы кто снѣсть *от* хлѣба сего, живъ будетъ въ вѣки, и хлѣбъ егоже азъ дамъ Плотъ моя есть; дающая причащающимся животъ вѣчный.

Стѣх: Хлѣбъ Агг(е)лскій яде ч(е)л(о)вѣкъ, брашно посла имъ до обілія.

Зряще тайну Плоти Б(о)ж(е)ственныя, хлѣбъ Преестественный, Б(о)гу воплотившуся *от* Дѣ(ѣ)вы М(а)ріи, съ оумилениемъ поклонимся, се бо есть Агнецъ незлобивый, взямаѣй грѣхи миру, и сп(а)сая д(у)ша наша.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: **Гласъ [2].**

Удивися вся тварь Б(о)жїему измѣненію страшному; како Б(о)гъ, Н(е)б(е)сы и землею не обмысленный, въ маннѣ и части хлѣба, весь содержится; съ Б(о)ж(е)ствомъ Плотію и Д(у)шею Б(о)ж(е)ственною, егоже тако исповѣдующе; Б(о)жественному Тѣлу Хр(и)с(то)ву покланяемся: яко да получимъ *от* него *Отче* бл(а)г(о)словеніе.

**В ПОНЕДЕЛОКЪ ВЕЧЕРЪ**

**На Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ ст(и)х(и)ры: Праз(нику): [3]. Глас: [5]. Самоглас(ны):**

Снїйдѣте вси Агг(е)ли н(е)б(е)снїи и вся силы Б(о)жїя; восхвалимъ с нами Б(о)га вѣч(е)л(о)вѣчшагося, иже м(и)л(о)сти ради рода ч(е)л(о)вѣка

**21:**

и исчетною мудростію своею Б(о)жїею, самого себе в Тайнахъ хлѣба затвори, и въ пищу ч(е)л(о)вѣком остави: егоже яко Б(о)га днесь празденственно воспоемъ гл(агол)юще: С(вя)тъ, С(вя)тъ, С(вя)тъ еси Б(о)же, слава бл(а)гоутробію твоему.

Прїйдѣте вси конци земнїи, Пренайс(вя)тѣйшее Тѣло Б(о)жїе оубл(а)жим: еже заны и грѣхъ ради нашихъ ломимое, и насме(р)тъ Кр(е)стную данное есть, по Вѣскр(е)снїи же на Н(е)б(е)са вознесенно; одесную Б(о)га *Отца*, посаженно въ славѣ; и всїхъ Тайнахъ на земли тожде вѣрнымъ оставленно; еже мы вси земнороднїи, на лице земли припадающе: съ умиленіемъ восхваляемъ.

Прїйдѣте празднолюбныхъ собори, прїйдѣте и ликъ составимъ, прїйдѣте вѣнчаемъ Ц(е)рковъ Хр(и)ст(о)ву, днесь празденственно оукрашенную; в нейже Хлѣбъ преестественный Х(ристо)съ зрится; и ч(е)л(о)вѣкомъ въ снѣд дается. емуже вси вѣрнїи съ страхомъ и веселіемъ покланяемся; и съ Лики силъ Н(е)б(е)снѣхъ восхвалимъ гл(агол)юще: С(вя)тъ, С(вя)тъ, С(вя)тъ еси Агнецъ Б(о)жїй, взямаѣй грѣхи мира.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ тойже.

Прїйдѣте вся дѣла Г(о)сподня, Г(о)с(по)да с нами воспойте, иже здѣ есть покланяемый; бл(а)г(о)с(ло)вѣте С(о)лце М(ѣ)с(я)цъ и Звѣзды; огнь, море, въздух, облаци, и вся тварь; яко зѣло и до конца, возлюби Б(о)гъ миръ и родъ ч(е)л(о)вѣчскїй: егоже ради истоци себе, зракъ раба прїемъ, в сихъ же Тайнахъ неточїю Б(о)ж(е)ство но и ч(е)л(о)вѣчество съкри, идеже яко хлѣбъ видимъ; но Б(о)га вѣруемъ: Ему же съ страхомъ и трепетомъ кланяюща исповѣдуемъ: яко той есть Х(ристо)съ С(ы)нъ Б(о)га живаго, и Сп(а)съ д(у)шамъ нашимъ.

**На Стѣхонахъ: Ст(и)х(и)ры. Гласъ в. Подоб(ен): Доме ефраф(ов).**

Доме Д(а)видъ, въспой псаломстѣ, себо Кїотъ Вышняго; в немъ же содержится, вся содержаи; Х(ристо)съ Б(о)гъ І(зра)илевъ.

Стѣхъ: Избавленїе посла Г(о)с(по)дъ людемъ своимъ.

Иже Манну давый въ пустыни; въ пищу людемъ своимъ; сей днесъ Хлѣбомъ покровень зрится, и въ снѣдъ вѣрнымъ подается; сп(а)сая д(у)ша наша.

**22:** Стѣхъ: Память сотворилъ есть Г(о)с(по)дъ чудеса своихъ, м(и)л(о)стивъ щедръ и праведенъ.

Похвали Іер(у)с(а)лме Г(о)с(по)да, хвали Б(о)га Сїоне, яко дасть ти въ пищу, Плоть свою Божественную, и тука тишенична насыщай тя.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [6].

Велїй Г(о)с(по)дъ нашъ, и велїя крѣпость его; иже хлѣба в мѣсто, Плот свою дасть въ пищу роду Хр(и)стіанскому, яко да съвоюпится съ вкушающими, ибо възнесетъ къ С(ы)новству Б(о)жїему всѣхъ причащающихъ ся, и сп(а)сетъ д(у)ша наша.

**ВЪ ВТОРОКЪ НА УТРЕНИ**

**Стѣхона; Гласъ [1]. Подоб(ен): Н(е)б(е)снымъ чиномъ;**

[1]. Веселися днесъ Ц(е)ркви Х(ри)с(то)ва:

[2]. На Горници Велїей идеже:

[3]. Прїемъ и Чашу г(а)г(а)ля;

со Стѣхи ихъ: Тамъ же;

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [6]. Егоже безъ сѣмени родила еси;

Сїа вся зри, в Субботу, на Утрени на Листъ [18].

**ВО ВТОРОКЪ ВЕЧЕРЬ**

**На Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ: Ст(и)х(и)ры: Гласъ [3].**

Иже Манну въ Пустыни одождивый, и Хлѣбъ Агг(е)лскїй съ Н(е)б(е)се подавъ Ізраилтяномъ,

сей днесъ въ хлѣбъ затворенный зрится; и въ снѣдъ всѣмъ дается Хр(и)стіаномъ въ оставленїе грѣховъ, и в жизнь вѣчную.

Очистимъ с(е)рдце и совѣсть, приступающе не къ горѣ Сїнаистей, но къ Б(о)гу, съ Моисеомъ г(а)г(а)люще, Хр(и)сту Б(о)гу и Избавителю нашему: в сихъ Тайнахъ Пр(е)ч(и)стыхъ Оутаенному, Сп(а)саящему д(у)ша наша.

Егоже трепещутъ Агг(е)лскїя силы, и оужасаются Н(е)б(е)сная Воинства: сему мы припадающе поклонѣмся, и съ оумиленїемъ возопїемъ; сподоби насъ Г(о)с(по)ди, достойнѣ причаститися Плоти и Крови твоя.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [6]. Предъ сѣннымъ ковчегомъ скакаше играя: зри на листъ [4].

**На Стѣхонахъ, Ст(и)х(и)ры: Гласъ [2]. Подобень Доме Ефрафовъ**

Сей есть Хлѣбъ животный, сошедый съ Н(е)б(е)се, питавый вѣрныхъ: Б(о)ж(е)с(т)венною Плотїю своею, и даруяй животъ вѣчный.

Стѣхъ. М(и)л(о)стивъ и щедръ Г(о)с(по)дъ, пищу далъ есть боящимъ его.

Прїйдѣте вѣрнїи, припадѣмъ Хр(и)сту Б(о)гу, на престолъ сушу, кланяюща сп(а)су д(у)шамъ н(а)шимъ.

Стѣхъ: Одожди имъ манну ясти и хлѣбъ:

Вкусите Манну, Плоти Хр(и)стовой, и со страхомъ прїимѣте: Хлѣбъ Б(о)ж(е)с(т)венный дающїй животъ вѣчный.

**23:** Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [1].

Сей Агнецъ Б(о)жїй взямаи грѣхи мира, даиися въ снѣдъ ч(е)л(о)вѣкомъ: на престолъ празденственно зрится, ѿт Агг(е)лъ воспѣваемый, и ѿт ч(е)л(о)вѣкъ покланяемый: иже судити прїидетъ живыхъ и мертвыхъ, и воздати комуждо по дѣломъ его Емуже и мы покланяемъ съ оумиленїемъ, яко Б(о)гу и Создателю нашему.

**В СРЕДУ НА УТРЕНИ**

**На стѣхонахъ: Ст(и)х(и)ры: Гласъ [2]. Подоб(ен): Доме ефраф(ов):**

Плотъ моя пища истинная есть, и Кровь питїе, рече Г(о)с(по)дъ; ядый мою Плот, и пїяи мою Кровь; въ мнѣ пребываетъ и азъ в немъ.

Стѣхъ. Одожди имъ манну ясти, и Хлѣбъ Н(е)б(е)сный даде имъ.

Сей есть Агнецъ Б(о)жїй, взямаи грѣхи, на Кр(е)сте пострадавый, и Плотъ свою въ снѣдъ давый, емуже яко Б(о)гу кланяемъся.

Стѣхъ: Вкусите и оувидите яко бл(а)гъ Г(о)с(по)дъ:

Азъ есмь Хлѣбъ животный, сошедый съ Н(е)б(е)се, рече Г(о)с(по)дъ; аще кто ѿт него

яст не оумреть, но животь имѣть вѣчный, въ Ц(а)рствіи Небесномъ.

Слава: И н(ы)нѣ: Гласъ [7].

Въспрѣйми гусли своя Д(а)в(и)де, и играя веселися, се бо Манна съ Н(е)б(е)се сошедша, въ Хлѣбъ Анг(е)лскій претворися: и ч(е)л(о)вѣкомъ въ снѣдъ подается, имже вси причащшися, Б(о)га истиннаго въ хлѣбъ преестественномъ пріемяютъ, и снимъ совокупляются: приступимъ же и мы вси вѣрніи, вкусимъ и оувидѣмъ источника безмертнаго.

Посемъ: Б(а)го есть: Тр(и)с(вя)тое: по *Отче нашъ*: Тропарь Празднику: и *Отпустъ*.

### В СРЕДУ ВЕЧЕРЬ

На Г(о)с(по)ди возвахъ: ст(и)х(и)ры: Празд(нику) на [6]. писаны на первой Вечерни в Среду, зри на Листъ [3]. Такожде же и на Стѣхонахъ: все Празднику поемъ непремѣнно, кроме Парамей, и Величаній.

24:

### НА УТРЕНИ

Служба святаго поеться на Павечерниці, или когда изволишь Настоятель. Ащели же Великій Святый, то Весполь, съ Праздникомъ поеть ся: можетъ ему быти Парамей Величаніе, и по Поліелеосъ, и прочая; аще же нѣсть святый Великій; Служба вся не премѣнно, якоже на самый Праздникъ поеть ся.

### В ЧЕТВЕРТОКЪ НА УТРЕНИ

На Б(о)гъ Г(о)с(по)дъ Тропарь Празднику трижды: Съдални; по [1]вой и по [2]рой. Кафизмъ, таже Канонъ, Свѣтиленъ и на Хвалитех Празднику; Славословіе великое, Тропарь, таже Чась, а [1]вій. и *Отпустъ*.

На Литургіи, все непремѣнно поемъ яко всамъ д(е)нь Праздника.

## Appendix 3: The Godzinki (Immaculate Conception)

Годинки ѿ Зачатіи Прес(вя)т(ы)я Д(ѣ)вы Б(огороди)ца ѿ(т) Римска Діалектра на Росскій преведенны, в Супраслю.

Богогласник (Кнѣга Пѣснопѣній сирѣчь Ирмологіон), LMAV F19-233, ff. 108r-111v. Published in Stern 2000, 753-761.

108r:

Отверѣмъ оуста н(а)ша воспоймо девици Матери б(о)га н(а)шегѡ небесной ц(а)рици.

Вонми д(ѣ)во въ помощь да будемъ ти пѣти, И сокруши сама лукавыхъ врагѡвъ сѣти. Слава о(т)цу и предвѣчному егѡ с(ы)ну Такожде с(вя)тому д(у)ху да будетъ выну. Якоже бѣ въ началѣ да будетъ и днесъ Единъ б(о)гъ въ тро(и)ци славимый бо на миръ весь.

### Вмнѣ ѿ Зачатіи и Рождествѣ.

Возбранной воеводѣ побѣдителная  
Избавляющая ѡт злыхъ свободителная.  
Недостойніи ти рабы богородице  
Восписуемъ и славимъ небесна ц(а)р(и)це.  
Непорочное твое зачатіе свято  
Еже ѡт днѣи начала оу творца есть взято.  
И рождество ти поемъ Маріе пресвято  
Непорочно рожденно, тако и зачато.  
Радуся агг(е)лъ рече, тоже и мы поемъ  
Веселящися всегда ѿ рождествѣ твоемъ.  
По рождествѣ же твоемъ, б(о)жие бо слово,  
Обрѣте себѣ в тебѣ жилище готово.  
Радуйся еюже мы кланяемся творцу  
Ты ѿ насъ д(ѣ)во моли прес(вя)тую тро(и)цу.

Officium parvum Conceptionis Immaculatae  
(Little Office of the Immaculate Conception)

[www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/BVM/OPConlmm.html](http://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/BVM/OPConlmm.html)

Eia, mea labia, nunc annuntiate, laudes et praeconia Virginis beatae.

V. Convertat nos, Domina, tuis precibus placatur Iesus Christus Filius tuus.

R. Et avertat iram suam a nobis.

V. DOMINA, in adiutorium meum intende.

R. Me de manu hostium potenter defende.

V. Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto.

R. Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Alleluia.

**Стихъ.** Предзрѣвъ ю Б(о)гъ и избра ю себѣ.

**Отвѣтъ.** И оуготова жилище въ небѣ.

**Стихъ.** Г(о)сп(о)же оуслыши м(о)л(и)твы н(а)шя.

**Отвѣтъ.** И вопль н(а)шъ к тебѣ да прійдетъ.

**108г-v:**

Іерей, или простый людинъ началствуя г(лаго) лет м(о)л(и)тву сію.

М(о)ли Б(о)га ѿ насъ

Ω прес(вя)тая д(ѣ)во М(а)ріе ц(а)р(и)це н(е)б(е)сная м(а)ти Г(о)сп(о)да н(а)шего Іис(уса) Хр(и)ста и г(о)сп(о)же свѣта, яже ни единого ѿставляеши, никогоже презираеши, призри на насъ г(о)сп(о)жем(и)л(о)стивнѣ бл(а)гоутробнымъ си око(мъ) м(и)л(о)с(е)рдїя, и испроси намъ оу возлюбленнаго с(ы)на твоего, ѿставленіе всѣхъ согрешеній нашихъ, да яко мы, иже днес твое непорочное зачатіе и пр(е)с(вя)тое рождество, оусерднымъ с(е)рдцемъ и оусты недостойными почитаемъ, вѣчнаго въ градущее бытіе бл(а)гословенїя почестъ воспрїяти сподобимся, юже да подасть намъ с(ы)нъ твой г(о)сп(о)дъ н(а)шъ Іис(ус) Х(ристо)с ѿ тебе рожденный, съ о(т)цемъ и с(вя)тымъ д(у)хомъ пребывай и ц(а)рствуя въ тро(и)ци единосущнѣй б(о)гъ въ вѣк(и) вѣковъ. Аминь.

**Стихъ.** Г(о)сп(о)же оуслыши м(о)л(и)твы наша.

**Отвѣтъ.** И вопль нашъ к тебѣ да прійдетъ.

**Стихъ.** Бл(а)гословимъ г(о)сп(о)да.

**Отвѣтъ.** Б(о)гу бл(а)годареніе.

**Стихъ.** А вѣрныхъ д(у)шя ѿ щедротъ б(о)жїихъ да ѿпочиваютъ во мирѣ.

**Отвѣтъ.** Аминь.

**108v-109г:**

**На [1]-мъ часѣ ѿ Воведенїи и Бл(а)говѣщенїи.**

**Стихъ.** Твоя пѣвица д(ѣ)во ѿ всякаго зла свободи,

**Отвѣтъ.** И въ б(о)ж(е)ственной ти славѣ вѣнцевъ сподоби.

**Стихъ.** Вонми д(ѣ)во въ помощь да будемъ ти пѣти,

**Отвѣтъ.** И сокруши силнѣ лукавыхъ враговъ сѣти.

Слава Отцу и предвѣчному егѡ сыну. и прочая.

**Умнѣ**

Радуйся премудрая, небеси царице,  
Храме, трапеза, столпе, Марїе д(ѣ)в(и)це.  
Въ юности веденна въ ц(е)рковь въ три лѣта,  
Истинная скинїе предвѣчнаго свѣта.

В началѣ ѿ первыя клятвы свободенна,  
М(а)т(е)рію первіе,; нижли порожденна.  
Ты егда агг(е)лъ прїйде, оужасеся тощнѣ,  
Рекущи: С(ы)ну, како родитися мощнѣ.  
Онъже рече съ страхомъ, радуйся начало  
Х(ри)с(то)выхъ чудесь, д(ѣ)во хр(и)стїанъ похвало.

Словуще чудо много, агг(е)лѡмъ ты еси

Неискусобрачная ц(а)р(и)це небеси.

Струпе многоплачевный бѣсѡмъ ты ц(а)р(и)це,

А грѣшнымъ прибѣжище м(а)ти вл(а)д(ы)ч(и)це.

V. Elegit eam Deus, et praelegit eam.

R. In tabernaculo suo habitare fecit eam.

V. Domina, protege orationem meam.

R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Oremus

Sancta Maria, Regina caelorum, Mater Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et mundi Domina, quae nullum derelinquis, et nullum despicias: respice me, Domina, clementer oculo pietatis, et impetra mihi apud tuum dilectum Filium cunctorum veniam peccatorum: ut qui nunc tuam sanctam et immaculatam conceptionem devoto affectu recolo, aeternae in futurum beatitudinis, bravium capiam, ipso, quem virgo peperisti, donante Domino nostro Iesu Christo: qui cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu vivit et regnat, in Trinitate perfecta, Deus, in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

V. Domina, protege orationem meam.

R. Et clamour meus ad te veniat.

V. Benedicamus Domino.

R. Deo gratias.

V. Fidelium animae per misericordiam Dei requiescant in pace.

R. Amen.

V. DOMINA, in adiutorium meum intende.

R. Me de manu hostium potenter defende.

Gloria Patri etc.

Поемъ ты всегда, зато б(о)га слова исто  
Радуйся ненеѣстная М(а)ріе неѣсто.

**Стихъ.** Самъ созда въ с(вя)тому д(у)ху

**Отвѣтъ.** Излію на всѣхъ свою руку.

**Стихъ.** Г(о)сп(о)же оуслыши м(о)л(и)твы; и прочая выше писана.

**На [3]-мъ часѣ, ѿ Пос(ѣ)щенія Елисаветы и ѿ Рождествъ**

**109v-110r:**

**Вмнѣ**

Радуйся д(ѣ)во рече Елисаветъ тебѣ  
Токмѡ егда ты оузрѣ приходящу къ себѣ.  
На земли тамъ есть н(е)бо, гдѣ ты д(ѣ)во еси  
Избранная ц(а)р(и)це, земли и небеси.  
Радуйся яже б(о)га слова породила,  
По рождествѣ же прежде д(ѣ)вою пребыла.  
Не разумѣвъ же тайны Іосифъ смятесе  
А егдаже оузрѣвый же тебѣ дадесе.  
Отъ вышняго десницы сокровище драго  
Ап(е)лъ путь показуетъ въ Египетъ тебѣ.  
Трудилася есть земля еврейска далеко  
Радуйся изъ неяже течетъ медъ и млеко.  
Началника породивши нашего сп(а)сенія  
Идетъ въ ц(е)рковь требуя д(е)ва ѡчищенія.  
Воспрійми с(ы)на рече Симеѡнъ своего  
Н(ы)нѣ ѡтпусти раба вл(а)д(ы)ко твоего.

**Стихъ.** Якъ лилія въ тернѣ

**Отвѣтъ.** Сие возлюбленная въ дщерехъ  
адамлихъ.

**Стихъ.** Г(о)сп(о)же оуслыши м(о)л(и)твы наша; и прочая.

**На [9]-мъ часѣ ѿ Обрѣтенія въ Ц(е)ркви и ѿ воскр(е)с(е)нїи**

**Стихъ.** Совершаемое Празденство ѿт д(ѣ)вы  
рожденіе

**Отвѣтъ.** И поемъ ѿт гроба тридневное  
воскресеніе.

**Стихъ.** Вонми д(ѣ)во въ помощь да будемъ ти  
пѣти. и проч(ая).

**Вмнѣ**

Радуйся Граде с(вя)тыи врата на востоки  
Прописана д(а)в(и)домъ и всеми прор(о)ки.  
Яковъ видѣ листвицу, Езекиль врата  
Тя зачатую оузрѣвъ д(ѣ)в(и)це прес(вя)та.  
Есфиръ, егда оумоли ц(а)ра: веселися  
Же народъ ей ѿ руки врагѡвъ свободися.  
Ты веселися егда Х(рист)а намъ зродила,  
Такжде якѡ его въ ц(е)ркви обрѣла.  
Токмѡ онъ пребысть три дни, книжники оучаше,  
Хр(и)сту архіерею такѡ подобаше.  
Веселися принеши, Юдифъ врага главу  
И обрѣте премногу оу народа славу.  
Ты с(ы)номъ своимъ м(а)ти, множайшу обрѣла  
Бо насъ ѿ адовыхъ оузъ зъ с(ы)номъ свободила.  
Егда бо с(ы)нъ твой д(ѣ)во, изъ м(е)ртвыхъ  
воскресе,  
Тогда радость премногу, всѣмъ вѣрнымъ  
принесе.

V. Ipse creavit illam in Spiritu Sancto.

R. Et effundit illam super omnia opera sua.

V. Domina, protege orationem meam..

**(Ad Sextam)**

V. Sicut lilium inter spinas

R. Sic amica mea inter filias Adae.

V. Domina, protege orationem meam etc.

**(Ad Nonam)**

V. Domina, in adiutorium meum intende...

Salve, urbs refugii, turrisque munita

David, propugnaculis armisque insignita.

In conceptione caritate ignita

draconis potestas est a te contrita.

O mulier fortis, et invicta Iudith!

Pulchra Abisag virgo verum fovens David!

Rachel curatorem Aegypti gestavit:

Salvatorem mundi Maria portavit.

**Стихъ.** Вся красная еси моя возлюбленная.  
**Отвѣтъ.** От первороднаго грѣха свободенная.  
**Стихъ.** Г(о)сп(о)же оуслыши м(о)л(и)твы н(а)ша.  
и прочая.

**110v:**

#### На Вечерню ѿ Вознесеніи

**Стихъ.** Въ пламени ѿтрокъ росу принесе  
**Отвѣтъ.** Иже въ пламень сошедъ съ небесе.  
**Стихъ.** Вонми д(ѣ)во въ помощь да будемъ ти  
пѣти. и прочая.

**҂мнѣ**

Радуйся луче свѣта разумнаго с(о)лнца  
Прежде вѣкъ неимуца начала и конца.  
Иже на послѣдокъ дний из тебе родися.  
Х(ристо)с г(о)с(по)дь съ н(е)б(е)се на земли явися.  
А сотвориши путь въ н(е)бо яко всѣмъ сп(а)  
стися,  
Идеже бѣ первѣе, тамо возвратися.  
Сошедъ бо съ н(е)б(е)се и паки возыде,  
Потомъ оутѣшитель д(у)хъ с(вя)тый за тя прійде.  
Егда Х(рист)а въ животѣ зачала иногда  
Оутѣшитель д(у)хъ с(вя)тый ѡсѣни тя тогда.  
А егда г(о)с(по)дь о(т)ца на земли прослави,  
Восходящий на н(е)бо сѣру неѡстави.  
Ты м(а)ти вл(а)д(ы)ч(и)це и г(о)с(по)же свѣта  
Посла на тя съ н(е)б(е)се д(у)ха параклита.  
Моли егоже еси д(ѣ)во возлюбленна  
Да будетъ д(у)ша н(а)ша грѣшна и сп(а)сенна.

**111r:**

**Стихъ.** Азъ сотворихъ на н(е)б(е)сехъ да ѡзаритъ  
луча непрестанно  
**Отвѣтъ.** Яко мракъ покрихъ всю землю.  
**Стихъ.** Г(о)сп(о)же оуслыши м(о)л(и)твы н(а)ша.  
и прочая.

#### На Павечерню

**Стихъ.** Всякъ земнородный духовно веселится.  
**Отвѣтъ.** Егда ѿ Земля к небеси преселится.  
**Стихъ.** Н(е)б(е)сная Ц(а)р(и)це М(а)ріе Сіѡнова.  
**Отвѣтъ.** Яже насъ храниши ѿ г(о)с(по)дня  
гнѣва.  
**Стихъ.** Вонми д(ѣ)во въ помощь да будемъ ти. и  
прочая.

**҂мнѣ**

Радуйся д(ѣ)во М(а)ти, М(а)ріе прес(вя)та,  
Прежде вѣкъ неимуца, оу творца естъ взята.  
Над хѡры вышша еси, вѣнецъ зъ звѣздъ имущи  
Анг(е)ли тя желаютъ вѣдѣти плещущи.  
Ты бо пр(е)столь имаши, вышши херувимѡвъ  
Славнѣйша въ истину еси серафимѡвъ.  
Тя вѣдѣвъ прежде д(а)в(и)дъ, ризу позлащенну,  
Одѣянну ц(а)р(и)цу и преукрашенну.  
Ты м(а)ти Х(рист)а еси надежда грѣшникѡмъ  
Зродила с(ы)на б(о)га и творца всѣмъ вѣкѡмъ.  
Къ небеснымъ пренесенна еси обителемъ  
Веселящеся зъ с(ы)номъ н(а)шимъ сп(а)с(и)т(е)  
лемъ.  
Ты дщерь о(т)ца, и м(а)ти с(ы)на ц(а)ря свѣта  
М(а)ріе возлюбленная д(у)ха параклита.

V. Tota pulchra es, amica mea.  
R. Et macula originalis numquam fuit in te.  
V. Domina, protege orationem meam etc.

#### Ad Vesperas

V. Domina, in adiutorium meum etc.

V. Ego feci in caelis ut oriretur lumen indeficiens.  
R. Et quasi nebula texi omnem terram.  
V. Domina, protege orationem meam...

#### Ad Completerium

V. Domina, in adiutorium meum...

Одесную стоиши родителю с(ы)на  
 М(о)ли абы намъ была ѡтпущона вина.  
 Дверь м(и)л(о)с(е)рдїя всѣмъ ся намъ кающимъ  
 Ѡтверзи сокрушеннымъ с(е)рдцемъ желающимъ.  
 Бысмо ты зъ с(ы)номъ б(о)гомъ въ н(е)бѣ  
 ѡглядали  
 Въ агт(е)лы радуйся ц(а)р(и)це спѣвали.

#### 111v:

Стихъ. Мило излїянное ѡ М(а)рїя имя твое  
 Отвѣтъ. Мы рабы твои зѣло возрадовахомъся.  
 Стихъ. Г(о)сп(о)же оуслыши м(о)л(и)твы н(а)ша.  
 и прочая.

V. Oleum effusum, Maria, nomen tuum.  
 R. Servi tui dilexerunt te nimis.  
 V. Domina, protege orationem meam.

#### На Ѡтданїи

О всепѣтая М(а)ти, Творца всѣхъ рождшїя  
 Приими недостойныя м(о)л(и)твы н(а)шїя.  
 Иже мы воздаемъ ти на земли служаще  
 Не престаи ѡ насъ д(ѣ)во ч(и)стая моляще.  
 В житїи семъ всякаго зла и враговъ руки  
 Избави насъ г(о)сп(о)же ѡт вѣчныи муки.

#### М(о)л(и)тва Пр(е)с(вя)той Б(огороди)ци по Часицехъ

Б(огоро)д(и)це д(ѣ)во радуйся бл(а)годатная М(а)  
 рїе, якѡ зачала еси пло(домъ) с(ы)на б(о)жїя,  
 Радуйся якѡ его носила еси въ чревѣ своемъ,  
 Ра(ду)йся якѡ родила еси,  
 Радуйся якѡ ему волсви поклонишася,  
 Радуйся якѡ Х(рист)а въ ц(е)ркви по трїехъ днехъ  
 ѡбрѣла еси,  
 Ра(ду)йся якѡ Х(ристо)с воскрес изъ м(е)ртвыхъ  
 и возшелъ на н(е)бо.  
 Радуйся якѡ сама на н(е)бо взята еси,  
 Радуйся якѡ ты д(ѣ)вствомъ агт(е)ловъ и славою  
 с(вя)тыхъ превосходиши,  
 Радуйся якѡ ты (на) земли миръ твориши,  
 Радуйся якѡ тебѣ жителїе небесн(и) послушнїи  
 суть,  
 Радуйся якѡ ты еже хочещи оу с(ы)на своего  
 Хр(и)ста б(о)га нашего, сие оумилостивиши,  
 Радуйся якѡ сподоби(ла)ся еси сѣсть близъ  
 прес(вя)тыя тро(и)ця,  
 Радуйся якѡ ты лю(биши) людїи ѡзлобленныхъ,  
 иже къ тебѣ притикають,  
 Радуйся якѡ твоя радость въ вѣки нескончается,  
 Радуйся б(о)гобл(а)года(т)ная г(о)с(по)дь съ  
 тобою.

#### Целованїе Пр(е)с(вя)тыя Б(огоро)дица

Агт(е)лъ г(о)с(по)д(е)нь бл(а)г(о)с(ло)вить М(а)рїи,  
 и зачать ѡт д(у)ха с(вя)та. Б(огороди)це д(ѣ)во до  
 конца.  
 Се раба г(о)с(по)дня буди мнѣ н(ы)нѣ по г(лаго)лу  
 твоему. Б(огороди)це д(ѣ)во до конца.  
 А слово плоть бысть и вселися в ны. Б(огороди)це  
 д(ѣ)во до конца.  
 Вѣчный покой престававшимъ рабомъ даждъ  
 г(о)с(по)ди, и светъ лица твоег(о) да ѡсѣнить я.  
 Аминь.  
 Посемъ можна пѣснь пѣти. Ѡд(ѣ)во преизбранная,  
 н(е)б(е)сѣ сущи прехвалная.

#### The Angelus

V. Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariae, R. Et concepit  
 de Spiritu Sancto. V. Ave Maria, gratia plena etc.  
 V. Ecce Ancilla Domini. R. Fiat mihi secundum  
 Verbum tuum. V. Ave Maria, gratia plena etc.  
 V. Et Verbum caro factum est. R. Et habitavit in nobis.  
 V. Ave Maria, gratia plena etc.

## Appendix 4: The Litany of Saints

LMAB F19-190, 171v-174v

The Litany of the Saints

[www.breviary.net/misc/litanysaints.htm](http://www.breviary.net/misc/litanysaints.htm)

**169v:** Ектенїи намолебнах гл(аго)лемыи през сеимъ, и в процесыях кды со кресты ходят, по [3] пѣсни.

**171v:**

**На молебнѣ братскомѣ.**

Еще молимся Г(оспо)ду Б(о)гу н(а)шему ѿ братствѣ н(а)шомѣ д(у)ховномѣ и ѿ всѣхъ служащихъ пречистѣй д(ѣ)вѣ м(а)рїи, каждого ихъ по имени, ѿ оукрѣ(\*\*)нїю их. во подвижѣ блазѣ и (\*\*)спѣянїю въ добродѣтелехъ (\*\*) множенїи числомѣ. ѿ еже из(\*\*)гнѣся им (\*\*)

**172r:**

С(вя)тѣй Феѡдоре Стратилате.

С(вя)тѣй Феѡдоре Тироне.

С(вя)тѣй Игнатїе Б(о)гоносе.

С(вя)тѣй Прокопїе.

С(вя)тѣй Артемїе.

С(вя)тѣй Никито и Іакове.

С(вя)тѣй Евстафїе.

С(вя)тѣй Викентїе.

С(вя)тѣй Феѡдоре.

С(вя)тѣй Никифоре.

С(вя)тѣй Флавиане. и Себестїане.

С(вя)тѣй Іѡанне, и Павле.

С(вя)тїи Косма, и Дамїане.

С(вя)тїи Гervasїе и Protасїе.

С(вя)тїи Андріане и Наталїа.

С(вя)тїи м(у)ч(е)н(и)ци м-те [40]

Вси с(вя)тїи мученици.

С(вя)тѣй великїй Василїе.

С(вя)тѣй Григорїе Б(о)гослове.

С(вя)тѣй Іѡанне Златоусте.

С(вя)тѣй Афанасїе.

С(вя)тѣй Н(\*\*)

С(вя)тѣй Кирилле.

С(вя)тѣй (\*\*)

С(вя)тѣй Амбросїе.

**172v:**

С(вя)тѣй Августине.

С(вя)тѣй Ерониме.

С(вя)тѣй Мартине.

С(вя)тѣй Феѡфане.

С(вя)тѣй Германе.

Вси с(вяти)т(е)ли и исповѣдници.

и вси с(вя)тїи оучителїе.

С(вя)тѣй Антонїе.

С(вя)тѣй Пахомїе.

С(вя)тѣй Павле.

С(вя)тѣй Евфимїе.

С(вя)тѣй Макаріе.

С(вя)тѣй Пафнотїе.

С(вя)тѣй Мартинїане.

С(вя)тѣй Венедикте.

V. Sancti Fabiane et Sebastiani. R. Orate pro nobis.

V. Sancti Joannes et Paule. R. Orate pro nobis.

V. Sancti Cosma et Damiane. R. Orate pro nobis.

V. Sancti Gervasi et Protasi. R. Orate pro nobis.

V. Omnes sancti Martyres. R. Orate pro nobis.

V. Sancte Gregori. R. Ora pro nobis.

V. Sancte Ambrosi. R. Ora pro nobis.

V. Sancte Augustine. R. Ora pro nobis.

V. Sancte Hieronymi. R. Ora pro nobis.

V. Sancte Martine. R. Ora pro nobis.

V. Omnes sancti Pontifices et Confessores. R. Orate pro nobis.

V. Omnes sancti Doctores. R. Orate pro nobis.

V. Sancti Antoni. R. Ora pro nobis.

V. Sancte Benedicte. R. Ora pro nobis.

С(вя)тый Берънарде.  
С(вя)тый Доминику.  
С(вя)тый Францишку.  
С(вя)тый Онофріе.  
С(вя)тый Ефреме.  
С(вя)тый Иларіоне.  
С(вя)тый Алексею.  
С(вя)тый Андрею.  
С(вя)тый Симеоне.  
С(вя)тый Максиме.  
С(вя)тый Дионісіе.  
С(вя)тый Ерофее.  
С(вя)тый Клименте.  
С(вя)тый Григоріе чудотворче.  
С(вя)тый Фоко.  
С(вя)тый Кипріане.  
С(вя)тый Кази-

**173г:**

-меру.

Бл(аго)с(ло)венный Игнатіе.

Бл(аго)с(ло)венный Іѡсафате.

С(вя)тый Спиридоне.

Вси с(вя)тіи с(вя)щенници и левитове.

Вси с(вя)тіи иноки и пустынници.

С(вя)тая М(а)рія Магдалини.

С(вя)тая Катерино.

С(вя)тая Агафіе.

С(вя)тая Евфросиние.

С(вя)тая Макрено.

С(вя)тая М(а)ріе Египтянко.

С(вя)тая Кристино.

С(вя)тая Алимпіадо.

С(вя)тая Евпраксіе.

С(вя)тая Евфіміе.

С(вя)тая Евгеніе.

С(вя)тая Феѡдосіе.

С(вя)тая Феѡдоро.

С(вя)тая Пелагіе.

С(вя)тая Цицеліе.

С(вя)тая Ядвиго.

С(вя)тая Люкеріа.

С(вя)тая Текло.

С(вя)тая Варваро.

С(вя)тая Ягнешко.

С(вя)тая Парасковіе.

С(вя)тая Анно.

С(вя)тая Марино.

С(вя)тая Оуліаніе.

С(вя)тая (\*\*)

**173в:**

С(вя)тая Евпраксіе.

Вси с(вя)тіи д(ѣ)вы и вдовы.

и всі с(вя)тіи б(о)жіи.

Будь милостивъ.

Прости нам Г(оспод)и.

Будь м(и)л(о)стивъ, оуслыши нас г(оспод)и.

V. Sancte Bernarde. R. Ora pro nobis.

V. Sancte Dominice. R. Ora pro nobis.

V. Sancte Francisce. R. Ora pro nobis

V. Omnes sancti Sacerdotes et Levitae. R. Orate pro nobis.

V. Omnes sancti Monachi et Eremitae. R. Orate pro nobis.

V. Sancta Maria Magdalena. R. Ora pro nobis.

V. Sancta Agatha. R. Ora pro nobis.

V. Sancta Caecelia. R. Ora pro nobis.

V. Omnes sanctae Virgines et Viduae. R. Orate pro nobis.

V. Omnes Sancti et Sanctae Dei. R. Intercedite pro nobis.

V. Protipius esto.

R. Parce nobis, Domine.

V. Protipius esto. R. Exaudi nos, Domine.

От всего злого избави нас г(оспод)и.  
От грѣху вшелякого.  
От наглое см(е)рти.

От сѣтей дѣволихъ.  
От гнѣву и зависти;

От д(у)ха прелюбодеянія.  
От перуна и непогодыю.  
От смерти вѣчное.  
От голоду повѣтра и войны.  
През воплощеніе твое.

Презъ нарощеніе твое.  
Презъ крещеніе и с(вя)тый пост твой.

Презъ крестъ и муку твою.

Презъ смерть и погребеніе твое.

Презъ воскресеніе твое.

Презъ вознесеніе твое.

Презъ пришествіе д(у)ха с(вя)т(а)го оутѣ-

#### 174r:

-шителя.

Въ день судный оуслыши нас Г(оспод)и.  
Мы грѣшніи просимо тебе оуслыши насъ  
г(оспод)и.

Абысь намъ грѣхи отпусти и оульжити  
рачилъ.

Абысь насъ до покуты правдивое привести  
рачилъ.

Абысь ц(е)рковъ с(вя)тую твою радити и заховати  
рачилъ.

Абысь и найвышшого пастыра и вси оурадники  
ц(е)рковные и законы въ с(вя)тѣй вѣре помнажати  
и заховати рачилъ.

Абысь вси непріятелі ц(е)ркви с(вя)тое понижити  
рачилъ.

Абысь всему панству хр(и)стіанскому правдивый  
покой и згodu дати рачилъ.

Абысь всѣмъ людемъ хр(и)стіанскимъ покой и  
едност дати рачилъ.

#### 174v:

Абысь насъ самыхъ въ твоей с(вя)тей службѣ,  
оумощнати и заховати рачилъ.

Абысь мысли н(а)ши до н(е)б(е)снаго прагненія  
подносити рачилъ.

Абысь всѣмъ добродѣемъ нашимъ вѣчными  
добрами нагрожати рачилъ.

Абысь д(у)ши н(а)ши братии п(л)оти, и ближнихъ  
н(а)шихъ от вѣчнаго потопленія (\*\*\*) рачилъ.

Абысь всѣмъ вѣрнымъ мерътвымъ вѣчное  
отпочиненіе дати рачилъ.

V. Ab omni malo. R. Libera nos, Domine.

V. Ab omni peccato. R. Libera nos, Domine.

V. A subitanea et improvisa morte. R. Libera nos,  
Domine.

V. Ab insidiis diaboli. R. Libera nos, Domine.

V. Ab ira, et odio, et oni mala voluntate. R. Libera nos,  
Domine.

V. A spiritu fornicationis. R. Libera nos, Domine.

V. A fulgure et tempestate. R. Libera nos, Domine.

V. A morte perpetua. R. Libera nos, Domine.

V. A peste, fame et bello. R. Libera nos, Domine.

V. Per mysterium sanctae Incarnationis tuae. R.  
Libera nos, Domine.

V. Per nativitatem tuam. R. Libera nos, Domine.

V. Per baptismum et sanctum jejunium tuum. R.  
Libera nos, Domine.

V. Per crucem et passionem tuam. R. Libera nos,  
Domine.

V. Per mortem et sepulturam tuam. R. Libera nos,  
Domine.

V. Per sanctam resurrectionem tuam. R. Libera nos,  
Domine.

V. Per admirabilem ascensionem tuam. R. Libera nos,  
Domine.

V. Per advetum Spiritus Sancti Paracliti. R. Libera  
nos, Domine.

V. In die judicii. R. Libera nos, Domine.

V. Peccatores. R. Te rogamus, audi nos.

V. Ut nobis indulgeas. R. Te rogamus, audi nos.

V. Ut ad veram poenitentiam nos perducere digneris.  
R. Te rogamus, audi nos.

V. Ut Ecclesiam tuam sanctam regere et conservare  
digneris. R. Te rogamus, audi nos.

V. Ut domnum Apostolicum et omnes ecclesiasticos  
ordines in sancta religione conservare digneris. R. Te  
rogamus, audi nos.

V. Ut inimicos sanctae Ecclesiae humiliare digneris.  
R. Te rogamus, audi nos.

V. Ut regibus et principibus christianis pacem et  
veram concordiam donare digneris. R. Te rogamus,  
audi nos.

V. Ut cuncto populo christiano pacem et unitatem  
largiri digneris. R. Te rogamus, audi nos.

V. Ut nosmetipsos in tuo sancto servitio confortare et  
conservare digneris. R. Te rogamus, audi nos.

V. Ut mentes nostras ad caelesta desideria erigas. R.  
Te rogamus, audi nos.

V. Ut omnibus benefactoribus nostris sempiterna  
bona retribuas. R. Te rogamus, audi nos.

V. Ut animas nostras, fratrum, propinquorum et  
benefactorum nostrorum ab aeterna damnatione  
eripias. R. Te rogamus, audi nos.

V. Ut omnibus fidelibus defunctis requiem aeternam  
donare digneris. R. Te rogamus, audi nos.

Абысь насъ выслухати рачил,

сыне б(о)жій.

Агньче б(о)жій, въземляй грѣхи миру, отпусти нам г(о)споди.

Агньче б(о)жій, въземляй грѣхи миру, змилуйся над нами.

Агньче б(о)жій, въземляй грѣхи миру,

**175г:**

оуслыши нас г(о)споди.

Х(рист)е оуслыши насъ.

Хр(и)сте выслухай насъ.

Кирие елейсонъ.

Христе елейсон.

V. Ut nos exaudire digneris. R. Te rogamus, audi nos.

V. Fili dei. R. Te rogamus, audi nos.

V. Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi. R. Parce nobis, Domine.

V. Agnus dei, qui tollis peccata mundi.

R. Miserere nobis. (order reversed)

V. Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi.

R. Exaudi nobis, Domine.

V. Christe, audi nos.

R. Christe, exaudi nos.

V. Kyrie, eleison.

R. Christe, eleison.

## *Appendix 5: The Litany of Loreto*

Герасимова, Ирина. "Жизнь и творчество белорусского композитора Фомы Шеверовского." Калогфония. Науковий збірник з історії церковної монодії та гимнографії. Число 5. Львів: Інститут Українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича НАН України 2010, 55-66.

Кирие, кирие елейсон,

Христе елейсон, кирие елейсон.

Отче небесный, небесный Боже, помилуй нас. (twice)

Сыне избавителю мира, Боже,

помилуй нас. (twice)

Душе Святыи Боже, помилуй нас,

Троице Святая, единый Боже,

помилуй нас. (four times)

Святая Марие, моли Бога, моли Бога о нас,

Пресвятая Богородице,

высшая всех дев Дѣво

моли Бога, моли Бога о нас,

Мати Исуса Христа,

Мати обрадованная,

моли Бога, моли Бога о нас,

Мати Пречистая,

Мати прекрасная,

моли Бога, моли Бога о нас,

Мати, Мати, Мати, Мати,

Мати нетленная,

Мати непорочная,

моли Бога, моли Бога о нас,

Мати, Мати, Мати, Мати,

прелюбезная Мати,

пречудная Мати,

моли Бога, моли Бога о нас,

Мати Создателя Искупителя

моли Бога, моли Бога о нас

[www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/BBM/Laurentanae.html](http://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/BBM/Laurentanae.html)

Kyrie, eleison.

R. Christe, eleison.

Kyrie, eleison.

Pater de caelis, Deus,

R. miserere nobis.

Fili, Redemptor mundi, Deus,

R. miserere nobis.

Spiritus Sancte Deus,

R. Miserere nobis.

Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus,

R. miserere nobis.

Sancta Maria,

R. ora pro nobis.

Sancta Dei Genetrix,

Sancta Virgo virginum,

R. ora pro nobis.

Mater Christi, R. ora pro nobis.

Mater Ecclesiae, R. ora pro nobis.

Mater Divinae gratiae, R. ora pro nobis.

Mater purissima, R. ora pro nobis

Mater castissima, R. ora pro nobis.

Mater inviolate, R. ora pro nobis.

Mater intemerata, R. ora pro nobis.

Mater amabilis, R. ora pro nobis.

Mater admirabilis, R. ora pro nobis.

Mater boni Consilii,

R. ora pro nobis.

Mater Creatoris, R. ora pro nobis.

Mater Salvatoris, R. ora pro nobis.

Дѣво, Дѣво премудрая,  
моли Бога о нас,

Дѣво пречестная,

Дѣво, Дѣво преславная,  
моли Бога о нас,  
Дѣво Владычице благодатная,  
Дѣво верная, моли Бога о нас (twice).

Зерцало правды и истины,  
моли Бога о нас,  
престоле мудрости, моли Бога о нас,  
вина нашей радости, моли Бога о нас,  
сосуде честный,  
сосуде духовный,  
сосуде изряднаго правила,  
моли Бога о нас.

Цвѣте духовный,  
столпе Давыдов,  
столпе от кости слонов,  
моли Бога о нас,  
храме златый,  
златый киоте завѣта,  
дверь небесная,  
зарю утрняя,  
здравие немощным,  
прибѣжище грѣшным,  
утѣшение озлобленным,  
помощнице вѣрным,  
моли Бога о нас (twice).

Царице, царице ангельская,  
царице патриархов,  
царице пророков,  
моли Бога о нас (twice),  
царице, царице апостолов,  
царице мучеников, мучеников,  
царице исповѣдников,  
царице дѣвиц святых,  
моли Бога о нас (twice),  
царице, царице, царице, царице всѣх святых,  
моли Бога о нас (twice).

Агнче Божий  
вземляй, принимая грѣхи мира,  
прости нам (four times), Господи,  
агнче, агнче Божий, агнче, агнче Божий принимая  
грѣхи мира,  
услыши нас, Господи (twice),  
агнче Божий, агнче Божий  
вземляй, принимая, принимая грѣхи мира, помилуй  
нас (four times).

Virgo prudentissima, R. ora pro nobis.  
Virgo veneranda, R. ora pro nobis.

Virgo praedicanda, R. ora pro nobis.  
Virgo potens, R. ora pro nobis.  
Virgo clemens, R. ora pro nobis.  
Virgo fidelis, R. ora pro nobis.

Speculum iustitiae,  
R. ora pro nobis.  
Sedes sapientiae, R. ora pro nobis.  
Causa nostra laetitiae, R. ora pro nobis.  
Vas spirituale, R. ora pro nobis.  
Vas honorabile, R. ora pro nobis.  
Vas insigne devotionis, R. ora pro nobis.

Rosa mystica, R. ora pro nobis.  
Turris Davidica, R. ora pro nobis.  
Turris eburnea, R. ora pro nobis.

Domus aurea, R. ora pro nobis.  
Foederis arca, R. ora pro nobis.  
Ianua caeli, R. ora pro nobis.  
Stella matutina, R. ora pro nobis.  
Salus infirmorum, R. ora pro nobis.  
Refugium peccatorum, R. ora pro nobis.  
Consolatrix afflictorum, R. ora pro nobis.  
Auxilium Christianorum, R. ora pro nobis.

Regina angelorum, R. ora pro nobis.  
Regina Patriarcharum, R. ora pro nobis.  
Regina Prophetarum, R. ora pro nobis.

Regina Apostolorum, R. ora pro nobis.  
Regina Martyrum, R. ora pro nobis.  
Regina Confessorum, R. ora pro nobis.  
Regina Virginum, R. ora pro nobis.

Regina Sanctorum omnium, R. ora pro nobis.

Regina sine labe originali concepta, R. ora pro nobis.  
Regina in caelum assumpta, R. ora pro nobis.  
Regina Sacratissimi Rosarii, R. ora pro nobis.  
Regina familiae, R. ora pro nobis.  
Regina pacis, R. ora pro nobis.

Agnus Dei,  
qui tollis peccata mundi,  
R. parce nobis, Domine.  
Agnus Dei,  
qui tollis peccata mundi,  
R. exaudi nos, Domine.  
Agnus Dei,  
qui tollis peccata mundi,  
R. miserere nobis.

Христе вонми молитвы наша,  
Христе призири, призири, призири на молитвы  
наша,  
на молитвы наша.  
Кирие елейсон,  
Христе елейсон,  
кирие елейсон, елейсон, елейсон.

V. Ora pro nobis, Sancta Dei genetrix  
R. Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.  
Oremus (prayer)

## *Appendix 6: Dies irae, dies illa*

ff. 1r-1v Irmologion  
LMAB F19-115  
Suprasl 1662

1r:

Ден гнѣву ден прегорких бѣд  
Сожжет во прах мира всяк вид  
З Сивилею предрек Давид

Колик трепет хочет быти,  
егда судя имат прийти,  
вся подробну согласѣти.

Труба дивный звук возгудит  
мертвых везде совозбудит,  
на судище всѣх понудит,

смерт с естеством оусумнится,  
егда встати твар потщится,  
да судии оправдися.

Отверстая всѣм явится,  
книга в ней же содержится,  
всеми же мир осудится.

Судя оубо съд являет,  
тайная и обличает.  
Ктому ничто же прощает.

Тогда мною что речется,  
кто заступник призовется,  
едва бо благ соблюдется.

Трепетныя царю славы,  
вѣнчаеши святых главы,  
милостиве мя избави.

Исусе благий помниши,  
яко за мя плот носиши,  
в ден мя он не погубиши

Ища мя тружда съдяше  
иску[1v:]пяя крест терпяше  
колик троуд всуели баше

Право суде отмщения  
подай дар оставления,  
прежде дне осуждения.

Warren, Charles F.S. *The Authorship, Text, and History of the Hymn Dies Irae*. London 1902, 5-7.

Dies irae, dies illa,  
Solvat saeculum in favilla,  
Teste David cum Sibylla.

Quantus tremor est futurus,  
Quando Iudex est venturus,  
Cuncta stricte discussurus.

Tuba mirum spargens sonum,  
Per sepulcra regionum,  
Coget omnes ante thronum.

Mors stupedit, et Natura,  
Cum resurget creatura,  
Judicanti responsura.

Liber scriptus proferetur,  
In quo totum continetur,  
Unde mundus judicetur.

Iudex ergo cum sedebit,  
Quidquid latet apparebit:  
Nil inultum remanebit.

Quid sum, miser, tunc dicturus?  
Quem patronum rogaturus,  
Cum vix justus sit securus?

Re tremendae majestatis,  
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,  
Salva me, fons pietatis.

Recordare, Jesu pie,  
Quod sum causa tuae viae:  
Ne me perdas illa die.

Quaerens me, sedisti lassus:  
Redemisti, crucem passus:  
Tantus labor non sit cassus!

Iuste Iudex ultionis,  
Donum fac remissionis,  
Ante diem rationis.

Яко должен состеняю,  
стыдяся о гресех каю,  
прости Боже припадаю.

Ты Марию разрешивый,  
разбойника глас внушивый  
мне надежду совершивый.

Несм достоин оумолити,  
но сам мя благ бо еси ты  
огня вѣчнаго исхити.

Овцам присовокупляя,  
от козлищ же отлучая,  
одесную поставляя.

Обличенным осужденным  
в пламен горкий поверженным  
причти мя благословенным.

Молю тя и припадаю,  
сердце в пепель сокрушаю,  
тебе мой коней предаю,

плача ден и вскупе страха,  
вон же встанет всяк от праха,  
человек на суд его же  
помилууй и спаси Боже,  
благий Цару Исусе,  
дарууй им вечный живот, амин.

Ingemisco, tanquam reus:  
Culpa rubet vultus meus:  
Supplici parce, Deus.

Qui Mariam absolvisti,  
Et latronem exaudisti,  
Mihi quoque spem dedisti.

Preces meae non sunt dignae;  
Sed Tu, bonus, fac benigne,  
Ne perenni cremer igne.

Inter oves locum praesta,  
Et ab haedis me sequestra,  
Statues in parte dextra.

Confutatis maledictis,  
Flammis acribus addictis,  
Voca me, cum benedictis.

Oro, supplex et acclinis,  
Cor contritum quasi cinis,  
Gere curam mei finis.

Lacrymosa dies illa,  
Qua resurget ex favilla  
Judicandus homo reus;  
Huic ergo parce, Deus:  
Pie Jesu, Domine,  
Dona eis Requiem.

## Appendix 7: Te Deum laudamus

### Church Slavonic redaction A LMAB F22-80 (17<sup>th</sup> c.)

#### 207г:

Тебе Б(о)га хвалим. Тебе Г(о)  
с(по)да исповѣдуем.  
Тебе прежде вѣчнаго ѡтца вся  
земля величает.  
Тебе вси агг(е)ли и вся н(е)б(е)  
сныя силы.  
Тебе херувими и серафими  
непрестанными гласы  
восклицают.  
С(вя)тъ, С(вя)тъ, С(вя)тъ, Г(о)  
с(по)дъ Саваѡфъ.  
Полны суть н(е)б(е)са и земля,  
величества хвалы твоя.  
Тебе прехвалный ап(о)с(то)л(с)  
кій соборъ.  
Тебе пророческий хвалебный  
лик.  
Тебе хвалятъ пресвѣтлыя полки  
м(у)ч(е)ников.  
Тебе всего круга земнаго  
исповѣдует с(вя)тая ц(е)рков,  
ѡтца неодолимаго величества:

### Church Slavonic redaction B Львів муз. Рк420 (1720)

#### 2г:

Тебе Б(о)га хвалим. Тебе  
Господа исповѣдуем.  
Тебе предвѣчнаго ѡтца вся  
земля почитаетъ.  
Тебе вси ангели тебѣ небеса и  
вся сили  
Тебе херувими и серафими  
непрестанныи гласом возивают  
С(вя)тъ, С(вя)тъ, С(вя)тъ, Господ  
Богъ Саваѡфъ.  
Исполнени суть небеса и земля  
величества славы твоя.  
Тебе преславный апостолскій  
соборъ  
Тебе пророческій прехвалный  
ликъ.  
Тебе м(у)ч(е)ническое  
пресвѣтлое хвалит воинство  
Тебе по всей вселенной святая  
исповѣдует ц(е)рков  
ѡтца непостижимаго  
величества:

### Latin text

Te Deum laudamus: te Dominum  
confitemur.  
Te aeternum Patrem omnis terra  
veneratur.  
Tibi omnes Angeli; tibi Caeli et  
universae Potestates;  
Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim  
incessabili voce proclamant:  
Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus,  
Dominus Deus Sabaoth.  
Pleni sunt caeli et terra maiestatis  
gloriae tuae.  
Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus,  
  
Te Prophetarum laudabilis  
numerus,  
Te Martyrum candidatus laudat  
exercitus.  
Te per orbem terrarum sancta  
confitetur Ecclesia,  
Patrem immensae maiestatis:

и превѣчнаго твоего Праведнаго  
Единороднаго С(ы)на,  
и с(вя)таго твоего оутѣшителя  
д(у)ха.

Ты ц(а)рю славы Хр(и)сте.  
Ты ѡтца превѣчнаго С(ы)нъ  
сый.

Ты ко изъваленію пріять ч(е)  
л(о)в(е)ка, невозгнушался еси  
дѣвича чрева.

Ты ѡдоѣвъ см(е)рти жало.  
ѡтворилъ еси вѣрующим  
[207v:] ц(а)рство н(е)б(е)сное.  
Ты ѡдесну(ю) Б(о)га ѡтца  
сѣдиши во славѣ.  
Судіею прійти вовѣрен еси.

Того ради молим тя помози  
рабомъ твоимъ, ихъ же ч(е)  
стною кровію твоею ѡ(т)купилъ  
еси.

И сподоби со с(вя)тыми твоими  
в вѣчной славѣ твоей  
ц(а)рствовать.

Сп(а)си люди своя г(о)с(по)  
ди, и Б(ла)госл(о)ви достоянію  
твоему.

И оупаси тѣхъ и вознеси ихъ  
вовѣки.

Да во вся дни бл(а)гословимъ  
тя,  
и восхвалимъ [*more commonly  
in type A: хвалимъ*] имя твое во  
вѣки и во вѣкъ вѣка.

Сподоби г(о)с(по)ди в день сей  
безъ грѣха сохранитися намъ.  
Оум(и)л(о)с(е)рдися надъ нами  
г(о)с(по)ди, оум(и)л(о)с(е)рдися  
над нами.

Да будет м(и)л(о)с(е)рдіе твое  
г(о)с(по)ди над нами, иже  
оуповахом на тя.  
на тя [*more commonly in type A: на  
тебе*] г(о)с(по)ди оуповахом, да  
не постыдимся во вѣки.

почітаемаго твоего истинаго  
[2v:] и Единороднаго Сина,  
и святаго твоего оутѣшителя  
духа.

Ти цар слави Хр(и)сте.  
Ти ѡтца присносущній син еси

Ти ко извалению пріемля  
человѣка, невозгнушался еси  
дѣвческаго чрева

Ты ѡдоѣ смерти жалу  
ѡтверз(л) еси вѣрующим  
ц(а)рство небесное

Ти ѡдесную Б(о)га сѣдиши во  
славѣ отчей

Судия вѣруещися быти  
градушим тебе

Оубо просим твоимъ рабом  
помози ихъ же ч(е)стною си  
кровію искупил еси

И сподоби со святыми твоими  
во вѣчной славѣ ликovati.

Сп(а)си господи люди твоя и  
бл(а)гослови достояніе свое

И упаси я и возми я до вѣка

На всяк ден бл(а)гословим тя  
и возхвалим ѳма твое во вѣки и  
во вѣкъ вѣка

Сподоби господи в день сей без  
грѣха сохранитися нам

Помилуй нас Г(о)с(по)ди  
помилуй нас

буд(и) господи м(и)л(о)ст твоя  
(на) нас яко же оуповахом на тя  
на тя господи оуповахом да не  
постыдимся во вѣки.

Venerandum tuum verum et  
unicum Filium;  
Sanctum quoque Paraclitum  
Spiritus.  
Tu Rex gloriae, Christe.  
Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius.

Tu ad liberandum suscepturus  
hominem, non horruisti Virginis  
uterum.

Tu, devicto mortis aculeo,  
aperuisti credentibus regna  
caelorum.

Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes, in  
gloria Patris.

Iudex crederis esse venturus.

Te ergo quaesumus, tuis famulis  
subveni: quos pretioso sanguine  
redemisti.

Aeterna fac cum sanctis tuis in  
gloria numerari.

V. Salvum fac populum tuum,  
Domine, et benedic hereditati  
 tuae.

R. Et rege eos, et extolle illos  
usque in aeternum.

V. Per singulos dies benedicimus  
te.

R. Et laudamus nomen tuum in  
saeculum, et in saeculum saeculi.

V. Dignare, Domine, die isto sine  
peccato nos custodire.

R. Miserere nostri, Domine,  
miserere nostri.

V. Fiat misericordia tua, Domine,  
super nos, quemadmodum  
speravimus in te.

R. In te, Domine, speravi: non  
confundar in aeternum.

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**MARIA TAKALA-ROSZCZENKO**

***The 'Latin' within the 'Greek':***

*The Feast of the Holy Eucharist in  
the Context of Ruthenian Eastern  
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16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Centuries*

Maria Takala-Roszczenko traces the liturgical evolution of the Feast of the Holy Eucharist (Corpus Christi) in the Eastern Rite Uniate Church during the 16th–18th centuries in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The analysis of liturgical sources reveals how the work of Ruthenian hymnographers transformed the “Latin” celebration into a “Greek” feast.



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