R. Taft, "Holy Week in the Byzantine Tradition"

HEBDOMADAE SANCTAE CELEBRATIO

CONSPECTUS HISTORICUS COMPARATIVUS

The Celebration of Holy Week in Ancient Jerusalem and its Development in the Rites of East and West

L'antica celebrazione della Settimana Santa a Gerusalemme e il suo sviluppo nei riti dell'Oriente e dell'Occidente

K. Habtemichael; S. Janeras; A.G. Kollamparampil; A. Nocent; J. Pinell i Pons; Ch. Renoux; R.F. Taft; B. Varghese; A. Ward

ANTONII GEORGII KOLLAMPARAMPIL cura et studio

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HOLY WEEK IN THE BYZANTINE TRADITION

Robert F. TAFT, S.J.

1. Introduction - A Tale of Two Cities

The rite of Constantinople, like that of Old Rome, is a hybrid. During its formative period the liturgical tradition commonly known as the "Byzantine Rite" (though the Byzantines themselves never used this term) showed an astonishing capacity to absorb and synthesize new strains and outside influences, and to adapt itself to new exigencies. The story is basically a "Tale of Two Cities". Not only Constantinople but also Jerusalem and the monasteries of Palestine contributed much that now characterizes the Byzantine Holy Week, and especially its Paschal Triduum. For if the Church of Constantinople became predominant throughout the Eastern Empire, with its rite influencing those of lesser sees, including Jerusalem, the liturgical usages of the Holy City also spread throughout Christendom with the pilgrim trade, leaving unmistakable traces especially in the calendar, lectionary, and Holy Week services of East and West, including Constantinople.

¹ For an overview of the history of the Byzantine Rite see R.F. TAFT, The Byzantine Rite. A Short History, American Essays in Liturgy, Collegeville, 1992 [= The Byzantine Rite]; Id., "Mt. Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite", in a Dumbarton Caks Papers » 42 (1988) 179-194, reprinted in R.F. TAFT, Liturgy in Byzantium and Beyond, (= "Variorum Collected Studies Series", CS 493), Aldershot 1995, no. IV [= Liturgy]; M. ARRANZ, "Les grandes étapes de la liturgie byzantine: Palestine-Byzance-Russie", in Liturgie de l'Église particulière, liturgie de l'Église universelle, (= BEL 7), Rome 1976, 43-72; N. EGENDER, "Introduction" to La prière des heures, Horologion, (= La prière des Eglises de rite byzantin", 1), Chevetogne 1975, 25-56 [= Horologion]. The present study resumes material from two earlier articles on the topic: R.F. TAFT, "In the Bridegroom's Absence. The Paschal Triduum in the Byzantine Church", in La celebrazione del Triduo pasquale: anamnesis e mimesis. Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Liturgia, Roma, Pontificio Istituto Liturgico, 9-13 maggio 1988, (= "Studia Anselmiana", 102; "Analecta Liturgica", 14), Rome 1990, 71-97; Id., "A Tale of Two Cities. The Byzantine Holy Week Triduum as a Paradigm of Liturgical History", in J.N. ALEXANDER (ed.), Time and Community. In Honor of Thomas Julian Talley, (= "NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy"), Washington D.C. 1990, 21-41; both reprinted, with corrections, in TAFT, Liturgy, nos. V-VI.

This mutual exchange became especially intense after the first period of Iconoclasm (726-775), during the monastic restoration under the riod of reconcerasin (220 response) of Stoudios († 826), who summoned to the leadership of St. Aleccelor of the Monastery of St. Sabas to help capital some Palestinian monks of the Monastery of St. Sabas to help combat the heretics². But the evolution of the Byzantine hours did not stop with the Constantinopolitan-Sabaitic liturgical synthesis formed in this Studite phase. For this Studite usage then spread throughout the Byzantine monastic world, including Palestine, where it was subjected to further hagiopolite monastic developments³.

It is not surprising, then, that around the turn of the millennium our Holy Week documentation reveals a fascinating symbiosis: while the rite of Constantinople is being monasticized via Palestine, the rite of Palestine is being further byzantinized4. The ultimate result of this exchange is the hybrid neo-Sabaitic synthesis we know as the Byzantine Rite. Its services in Holy Week - or "Great Week" as the Byzantines call it - illustrate this mutual enrichment in every phase of their history.

Janeras has traced this evolution through the structure, lections, and poetry in the developing books of the two source-traditions5. The key documents are, 1) for Jerusalem, the Armenian⁶ (5th c.) and Georgian (5-8th c.)7 hagiopolite lectionaries, and the Holy Week services in codex Stavrou 43, copied in 1122 AD but reflecting layers of liturgical material from over a century earlier, certainly before the destruction of the Holy

Places by the Caliph al-Hakim in 10098; 2) for Constantinople, the Typikon of the Great Church in manuscripts of the ninth-tenth centuries, the Evangeliary10, and the Prophetologion or lectionary of Old Testament lessons11.

The Holy Week services of this neo-Sabaitic rite12 are still in use today, codified in the Byzantine liturgical book called the Triodion, an anthology of Lenten propers for which we have manuscripts from the tenth century. It contains a medieval mix of long and complex Triduum services, in contrast to the simpler Triduum of old Constantinople, cradle of the Byzantine Rite.

These sources seem to show a threefold process of mutual borrowing. 1) The overriding importance of Jerusalem as a pilgrimage center, especially at Easter time because of its highly developed and immensely popular Holy Week services, leads to the infiltration of hagiopolite elements into the rites of Constantinople. This is observable already in Constantinopolitan lectionary manuscripts of the ninth century, which have for Good Friday Orthros (Matins) a series of eleven Gospel lections formed by combining the old Jerusalem vigil lections of Holy Thursday

² THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, Ep. II, 15-16, Patrologia Graeca 99:1160-68; cf. Horolo-

³ See TAFT, "Mt. Athos" (note 1 above); ID., The Byzantine Rite, 52-66, 78-84.

⁴ On the liturgical interaction between these two liturgical centers see *ibid.*; TAFT, The Byzantine Rite; A. BAUMSTARK, "Denkmaler der Entstehungsgeschichte des byzantinischen Ritus", in « Oriens Christianus » ser. 3, 2 (1927) 1-32; ID., "Die Heiligtümer des byzantinischen Jerusalems nach einer übersehenen Urkunde", in « Oriens Christianus » 5 (1905) 227-289; A.A. DMITRIEVSKII, Drevnejshie patriarshie tipikony svjatogrobskij ierusalimskij i Velikoj Konstantinopol'skoj Cerkvi. Kritiko-bibliograficheskoe izsledovanie, Kiev 1907, [= DMITRIEVSKIJ, Tipikony].

⁵ S. JANERAS, "I vangeli domenicali della risurrezione nelle tradizioni liturgiche agiopolita e bizantina", in G. FARNEDI (ed.), Paschale mysterium, Studi in memoria dell'Abate Prof. Salvatore Marsili (1910-1983), (= "Studia Anselmiana", 91; "Analecta Liturgica", 10), Rome 1986, 55-69 [= "Vangeli"], ID., Le Vendredi-Saint dans la tradition liturgique byzantine. Structure et histoire de ses offices, (= "Studia Anselmiana", 99; "Analecta Liturgica", 12), Rome 1988 [= Vendredi-Saint], ID., "Les vespres del Divendres Sant en la tradició litúrgica de Jerusalem i de Constantinoble", in « Revista Catalana de Teologia » 7 (1982) 187-234 [= "Vespres"].

⁶ A. (CH.) RENOUX (ed.), Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121, II. Edition comparée du texte et de deux autres manuscrits, PO 36.2 = no. 168, Turnhout 1971, 139-388 [= Ed. PO 36].

⁷M. TARCHNISHVILI (ed.), Le grande lectionnaire de l'Eglise de Jérusalem (Ve-VIIIe siècle), CSCO 188-189, 204-205 = Scriptores Iberici 9-10, 13-14, Louvain 1959-1960 [= Ed. M. TARCHNISHVILI].

⁸ A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (ed.), 'Ανάτλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικής σταχυολοχίας, ΙΙ, St. Petersburg 1894, 1-254 [= Ed. PK]. On this much-studied ms, see BAUMSTARK, "Die Heiligtumer des byzantinischen Jerusalems" (note 4 above), and G. BERTONIERE, *The His*torical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church, OCA 193, Rome 1972, 12-18 [= BERTONIÈRE]. Corrections to the PK edition are given in DMITRIEVSKII, Tipikony, 11-60. Dmitrievskij's earlier edition of this ms, with facing Russian translation, based on an 1804 copy (see BERTONIÈRE, 12 note 25), is given in his Bogosluzhenie strastnoj i pasxalnoj sedmic vo sv. Ierusalime IX-X v., Kazan 1894. The Holy Week services have been studied in Thibaut. J.-B. THIBAUT, Ordre des offices de la Semaine sainte à Jérusalem du IVe au Xe siècle, Paris 1926. Older studies on Good Friday in this ms have been superceded by those of Janeras cited in note 5 above.

⁹ J. MATEOS (ed.), Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, Xe siècle. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes, 2 vols., OCA 165-166, Rome 1962-1963 [= Ed. MATEOS, Typicon].

¹⁰ Cf. C.R. GREGORY, Textkritik des Neuen Testaments, 3 vols., Leipzig 1900, 1902, 1909; JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 109-113; ID., "Vangeli", 66-68, with the references given there in note 44

¹¹ Ed. C. HOEG - G. ZUNTZ, Pophetologium, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Lectionaria, vol. I, part 1, fasc. 1-6, Copenhagen 1939-1970; ibid., vol. II, part 2, ed. G. ENGBERG, Copenhagen 1980-1981, vol. I, fasc. 4 (1960) and 5 (1962) contain the Triduum lections. On this lectionary, see C. HOEG - G. ZUNTZ, "Remarks on the Prophetologion", in R.P. CASEY S. LAKE - A.K. LAKE (eds.), Quantulacumque. Studies Presented to K. Lake, London 1937, 189-226; G. ZUNTZ, "Das byzantinische Septuaginta-Lektionar ('Prophetologion')", in « Classica et Mediaevalia » 17 (1956) 183-198.

¹² I have coined the term "neo-Sabaitic" to distinguish the final period of Byzantine liturgical evolution from the earlier "Studite" period, which also involved the influence of the Palestinian monastic usages of St. Sabas. See TAFT, The Byzantine Rite, 52-66, 78-84.

night with those of the hagiopolite Good Friday day hours¹³. 2) This night with those of the lager with the Constantinopolitan lections of composite lection series, along with the Constantinopolitan lections of composite lection series, and Holy Saturday Orthros according to the Good Friday Vespers and Holy Saturday Orthros according to the Good Friday Vespets and their way to Jerusalem and are Typikon of the Great Church, then find their way to Jerusalem and are Typikon of the Oreal Charles and and are incorporated into the corresponding hagiopolite services by the end of incorporated into the corresponding hagiopolite services by the end of incorporated into the context and of the millennium. This is the situation we find in Jerusalem as mirrored the millennium. the miliennium. And 100915. 3) Finally, it is this system – Jerusalem in Stavrou 43 before 100915. 3) In stavrou 43 below with a hybrid series of eleven hagiopolite-Constantinopolitan Gospel lections¹⁶; Jerusalem Good Friday Vespers Constantinopolitan via Constantinopolitan readings¹⁷; plus the and riory Salarday And Hours Repeating Gospel lections that the Jerusalem Good Friday day hours Repeating Gospel lections that the Constantinopolitan redactors, in phase two, had already incorporated into the composite list of eleven Gospels (later expanded to twelve) at Matins¹⁹ - that is ultimately codified in the Byzantine Triodion.

Let us see how Holy Week looked in the no longer extant "Rite of The Great Church", how different today's services are from that old rite of Constantinople, and how they got that way.

2. Holy Week in Old Constantinople

Throughout most of the first millennium, the Great Church of Constantinople remained relatively immune to the influence of the new, picturesquely mimetic Holy Week services of Jerusalem, retaining a very sober Holy Week liturgy up until the period of monastic dominance following the struggle against Iconoclasm (726-775, 815-843), when it is enriched by the gradual introduction of hagiopolite elements.

For Constantinople, in spite of the awesome grandeur of its cathedral, Hagia Sophia, and the imperial splendor of its liturgies, long retained a Holy Week and Paschal Triduum of remarkable simplicity and primitive sobriety. Constantinopolitan liturgical books of the entire first millennium show hardly a trace of the repetitive Passion proclamation or of the colourful, mimetic drama of today's Byzantine Paschal Triduum.

According to the tenth-century Typikon of the Great Church20, the Holy Week celebrations were preceded by "Lazarus Saturday", the Saturday before Palm Sunday. In the life of Jesus (In 11-12) as well as in the nascent Jerusalem Holy Week described in 384 by Egeria's Diary 29.3-621, the "Raising of Lazarus" constitutes a prelude to the Paschal Mystery celebrations because of its prophetic resurrectional typology²². In Constantinople, Lazarus Saturday was a baptismal day, with the patriarch conferring the sacraments of initiation in the Small Baptistry following Orthros (Matins)23.

HOLY WEEK IN THE BYZANTINE TRADITION

Palm Sunday services in New Rome opened at the Church of the Le Rela Forty Soldier Martyrs at the Bronze Tetrapylon north of the Forum Tauri near the Philadelphion²⁴. The patriarch distributed palms to the assisting clergy and congregation, who then formed a procession that wound its way for about 1.5 kilometers to Hagia Sophia for the Divine Liturgy25. An earlier witness to the Byzantine Palm Sunday procession can be seen in the fictitious Life of St. Andrew the Fool, variously dated ca. 650-ca. 95026

Monday to Wednesday of Holy Week were no different from other Luu Lenten ferias: there was no eucharistic service, not even the Liturgy of the Presanctified27. The Holy Thursday services at Hagia Sophia opened Quantit at dawn with the adoration of the Great Church's prized Passion relic,

¹³ JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 109-113, 119-122; cf. MATEOS, Typicon II, 76-79; 79 note 1. 14 JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 119-122.

¹⁵ PK 116-179.

¹⁶ Compare PK 116-146 with MATEOS, Typicon II, 78-79.

¹⁷ Compare PK 158-159 with MATEOS, Typicon II, 80-81.

¹⁸ PK 147-154

¹⁹ See note 16 above. On the 12th Gospel, see JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 123-124; ID., noeli" 66.68 "Vangeli", 66-68.

²⁰ MATEOS, Typicon II, 62-91.

²¹ P. MARAVAL (ed.), Égérie, Journal de voyage (Itinéraire), SC 296, Paris 1982, 268-271.

²² On the origins and history of Lazarus Saturday, which is not part of Holy Week and hence beyond the scope of this study, see T.J. TALLEY, The Origins of the Liturgical Year, 2nd ed., Collegeville 1991, 176-183, 185-189, 211-214, 234 [= TALLEY]; also the recent study of P. ALLEN, "Reconstructing Pre-Paschal Liturgies in Constantinople: Some Sixth-Century Homiletic Evidence", in A. SCHOORS - P. VAN DEUN (eds.), Philohistôr, Miscellan in honorem Caroli Laga Septuagenarii, (= "Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta", 60), Louvain 1994, 217-228.

²³ MATEOS, Typicon II, 62-65.

²⁴ On the origins and early history of Palm Sunday see TALLEY, 176-182, 186, 198-200, 209-214; A. BAUMSTARK, "La solennité des palmes dans l'ancienne et la nouvelle Rome", in « Irénikon » 13 (1936) 3-24.

²⁵ MATEOS, Typicon II, 64-67; cf. R. JANIN, La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantine, Partie I: La siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, tome 3: Les églises et les monastères, Paris 1969, 485 [= JANIN]; J. BALDOVIN, The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy, OCA 228, Rome 1987, 192, and map 276 [= BALDOVIN].

²⁶ L. RYDÉN (ed.), The Life of St Andrew the Fool, 2 vols., Acta Universitatis Upsaleinsis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 4.1-2, Uppsala 1995, II line 2248; on the dispute over the date, see ibid., I, 41-56.

²⁷ MATEOS, Typicon II, 68-71.

the Sacred Lance that pierced Christ's side (Jn 19:34). In the afternoon, the Sacred Lance that pierceu chites are the during which the patriarch Vespers was followed by the pedilavium rite during which the patriarch vespers was followed by the clergy (three subdeacons, three in the control of twelve of the clergy) Vespers was followed by the pediatric the patriarch washed the feet of twelve of the clergy (three subdeacons, three deawashed the feet of twelve an archbishop and two metropolitane) washed the feet of twelve of an archbishop and two metropolitans). The cons, three presbyters, an archbishop and two metropolitans). The cons, three presbyters, an analysis of St. Basil the Great followed, with basically the same Chrism Liturgy of St. Basil the Great followed, with basically the same Chrism Liturgy of St. Bash & 19:10-19; Job 38:1-21 (plus, in today's scripture lessons as today: Ex 19:10-19; Job 38:1-21 (plus, in today's scripture lessons as today: Les 50:4-11: J Cor 11:23-32; and a cento Passion Co. scripture lessons as 100ay, a 11:23-32; and a cento Passion Gospel usage, 42:1-5); Is 50:4-11; I Cor 11:23-32; and a cento Passion Gospel usage, 42:1-5); Is 50:4-11; I Cor 11:23-32; and a cento Passion Gospel usage, 42:1-5); Is 50:4-11; I Cor 11:23-32; and a cento Passion Gospel usage, 42:1-5); Is 50:4-11; I Cor 11:23-32; and a cento Passion Gospel usage, 42:1-5); Is 50:4-11; I Cor 11:23-32; and a cento Passion Gospel usage, 42:1-5); Is 50:4-11; I Cor 11:23-32; and a cento Passion Gospel usage, 42:1-5); Is 50:4-11; I Cor 11:23-32; and a cento Passion Gospel usage, 42:1-5); Is 50:4-11; I Cor 11:23-32; and a cento Passion Gospel usage, 42:1-5); Is 50:4-11; I Cor 11:23-32; and a cento Passion Gospel usage, 42:1-5); Is 50:4-11; I Cor 11:23-32; and a cento Passion Gospel usage, 42:1-5); Is 50:4-11; I Cor 11:23-32; and a cento Passion Gospel usage, 42:1-5); Is 50:4-11; I Cor 11:23-32; and a cento Passion Gospel usage, 42:1-5); Is 50:4-11; I Cor 11:23-32; and a cento Passion Gospel usage, 42:1-5); Is 50:4-11; I Cor 11:23-32; and a cento Passion Gospel usage, 42:1-30; and a cento Passion Gos usage, 42:1-5); 18 30:4-11, 26:2-20, Jn 13:3-17, Mt 26:21-39, Lk 22:43-45, concordance from Mt 26:2-20, Jn 13:3-17, Mt 26:21-39, Lk 22:43-45, Mt 26:40-27:228.

26:40-21:2".

The Constantinopolitan offices of Good Friday comprised Pannychises The Constantinopolitical Tribation on the vigil Holy Thursday evening, after the Chrism Mass; Orthros and on the vigil Holy Thursday evening, after the Chrism Mass; Orthros and on the vigil riory lines and on the vigil riory lines and vigil riory lines and the vigil riory lines and the vigil riory tan fast-day office said in the morning between the third and sixth tan 1ast-day office sanctified Eucharist in the evening³¹. The only nours, vespers and recommendation on Good Friday were the veneration, before Orthros, of the Sacred Lance (In 19:34)32; and the prebaptismal

Venerati

28 Ibid., 72-77; The Lenten Triodion, trans. Mother Mary - K. Ware (London & Boston, 1978) 559 [= Lenten Triodion]. On the consecration of the chrism, see M. ARRANZ, "Les sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain 10: La consécration du saint myron", in

OCP 55 (1989) 317-338.

OP 55 (1989) 317-338.

On the Pannychis of Constantinople, see MATEOS, Typicon II, 311; M. ARRANZ, "Les"

Pubblicae byzantin et la "Panikhida" dec prières presbytérales de la 'Pannychis' de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin et la 'Panikhida' des défunts", in OCP 40 (1974) 314-343.

³⁰ See MATEOS, Typicon II, 323; M. ARRANZ, "Les prières presbytérales de la Tritoektî de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin", in OCP 43 (1977) 70-93, 335-354.

31 On Good Friday Presanctified, originally celebrated in Constantinople but later suppressed with the adoption of the hagiopolite Holy Week offices, see JANERAS, "Vespres", 212-226; ID., Vendredi-Saint, 369-388.

32 MATEOS, Typicon II, 72-73, 78-79; CONSTANTIN VII PORPHYROGÉNÈTE, Le Livre des cérémonies. Texte établi et traduit par A. Vogt, 2 vols., Paris 1935, 1939, I, 43 (34), 168 [= De ceremoniis]. Sources from the 9th century and later speak only of this extra-liturgical veneration of the Passion relics preserved in the capital. For a time, however, in the second half of the 7th century, there was also a veneration of the relic of the true cross in Hagia Sophia. Arculf describes it ca. 670 in L. BIELER (ed.), Adamnani de locis sanctis libri tres, II, 3:5-10, CCL 175, Turnhout: Brepols 1965, 228. According to tradition the cross relic was brought to Constantinople from Jerusalem by Heraclius, in 635, just before the fall of the Holy City to the Arabs the following year. Cf. A. FROLOW, La relique de la vraie croix. Recherches sur la développement d'un culte, (= "Archives de l'Orient chrétien", 7), Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines 1965, 73ff. Shortly before, Heraclius had recuperated the cross abducted by the Persians in 614, and returned it to Jerusalem in 631. Cf. V.G. GRUMEL, "La reposition de la vraie croix à Jérusalem par Héraclius. Le jour et l'année", in « Byzantinische Forschungen » 1 (1966) 139-149. But by the 9th century, when we first have substantial evidence of the Holy Week ritual of the Great Church, there is no longer any mention of the cross among the Passion relics venerated during the Triduum. For abundant later evidence on the veneration of the Constantinopolitan Passion relics see G.P. MAJESKA. Russian Travellers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, (="Dum-

HOLY WEEK IN THE BYZANTINE TRADITION catechesis and renunciation of Satan, which the patriarch held in Hagia Eirene, after Tritoekte, for the photizomenoi - i.e., the illuminandi, the candidates who were to be baptized at the Easter Vigil³³. The adoration of the relic, however, was but the continuation of a devotion begun, as we saw, at dawn on Holy Thursday, not an integral part of the Good Friday liturgy. And the catechesis and renunciation were part of the paschal

initiation process, not a Passion commemoration.

Basically, then, the Church of Constantinople did on Good Friday what it did on every other Friday of Lent24. Apart from the paraliturgical veneration of the lance - para-liturgical because it is not integrated into any of the normal offices of the cursus - Constantinople had no Thursday night Passion nocturns, no Good Friday day hours with Passion Gospels, no reading at all of the Last Discourse of Jn 13-1735, no adoration of the cross or its relic36. Indeed, apart from a few chant pieces at Good Friday Orthros - and that is the sort of festive coloration found on any special liturgical day - there are few proper elements, and no scripture lections at all, in any of the Constantinopolitan Good Friday services except Vespers37.

So the only thing special about these Constantinopolitan services curiwere the lections of the Holy Thursday evening services, and of Good peutlic Friday Vespers. The essence of what was to be understood about Maundy Thursday was found after Vespers in the mandatum or pedilavium rite with its Gospel, Jn 13:3-17, followed by the evening eucharist with its series of five vigil lections38, three from the Old Testament (Ex 19:10-19, Job 38:1-21, Is 50:4-11) plus an Epistle (I Cor 11:23-32)

barton Oaks Studies", 19), Washington D.C. 1984, 2, 28-31, 34-37, 44-45, 132-133, 138-141, 160-161, 182-183, 186-191, 216-218, 343-344, 368-370, 378 [= MAJESKA]; and, most recently, J. NADAL CAN, "Un Parsifal litúrgico bizantino", in « Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona » 44 (1993-1994) 391-399 (I am indebted to Fr. Nadal for sending me an offprint of his study).

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³³ MATEOS, Typicon II, 78-79; M. ARRANZ, "Les sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe constantinopolitain (5)", in OCP 50 (1984) 372-397. The text of this rite from the oldest Byzantine liturgical ms, the mid-8th century codex Barberini Gr. 336, is given in J. GOAR, Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum..., 2nd ed. Venice 1730; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt 1960, 279-281; and in F. CONYBEARE, Rituale Armenorum, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1905, 438-442.

³⁴ JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 109; also ID., "Vespres", 214, and "Vangeli", 67 note 41.1 depend largely on Janeras' definitive work for what I say below about the Good Friday offices.

³⁵ Undoubtedly because it was read as part of the Johannine Bahnlesung between Ascension and Pentecost: MATEOS, Typicon II, 128-135; cf. JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 109, 151-152.

³⁶ See note 31 above.

³⁷ JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 151-152.

³⁸ MATEOS, Typicon II, 72-77.

Apart from the Holy Thursday peatatrant, the Apart from the Holy Thursday Passion anamnesis was concenno mimesis whatever. The Good Friday Passion anamnesis was concenno mimesis whatever. The Good Friday Passion anamnesis was concenno mimesis whatever. The Gospel resumes the events of the by later hagiopolite influence. The Gospel resumes the events of the entire day from Jesus' condemnation through to his burial. The Epistle entire day from Jesus' condemnation through to his burial. The Epistle is on "the folly of the cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the Cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the Cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the Cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the Cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the Cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the folly of the cross"; Isaiah is the famous "Suffering Servant" is on "the f

Holy Saturday *Orthros* in the Typikon of the Great Church also has nothing special to characterize it, apart from two refrains on the themes of guarding the tomb and Jesus' accepting to be buried for our salvation, and, of course, the Word service⁴⁴.

The Gospel, which narrates Pilate's order to guard the tomb, «Lest his disciples steal him away, and tell the people, "He has risen from the dead" » (Mt 27:64), is also the prelude to the resurrection, a theme clearly announced in the Responsories: «Arise, Lord, help us and redeem us for your name's sake » (Ps 43:7); «Arise, Lord God, let your hand be lifted up » (Ps 9:33); «Let God arise, and his enemies be scattered... » (Ps 67:2) – the last being the classic resurrection psalm across the traditions

The Epistle cento is also paschal: « For Christ our paschal lamb has been sacrificed. Let us ... celebrate the festival...» (1 Cor 5:7-8); « Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law... » (Gal 3:13). And the Prophecy is Ezekial's dramatic "dry bones" resurrection scenario. But

there were none of the Enkomia that characterize today's Holy Saturday Orthros in the Triodion, and nothing at all about Jesus' burial, recounted instead in the previous evening's service, in spite of the picturesque burial cortège during the Trisagion, before the lessons, of today's rite.

HOLY WEEK IN THE BYZANTINE TRADITION

So in old Constantinople, originally there was nothing, absolutely nothing, of what is considered "characteristically Byzantine" in the Triduum today⁴⁵.

3. Byzantine "Great Week" Today

How different this is from the most of the Holy Week services in present, Byzantine usage! Today, too, Byzantine Lent ends with the Friday before Lazarus Saturday/Palm Sunday. The Saturday Liturgy of the Hours bears the effects of the later Sabaitic influence already described, whereas the lections of the eucharistic Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom (Heb 12:28-13:8, Jn 11:1-45) are from the old rite of the Great Church⁴⁶.

Palm Sunday provides a similar amalgam: Sabaitic offices with a Constantinopolitan eucharist, including the lections (Phil 4:4-9, Jn 12:1-18)⁴⁷. In today's rite the blessing of the palms takes place at Palm Sunday Orthros (Matins), after the reading of the festive Gospel of Matins (Mt 21:1-11, 15-17)⁴⁸. The blessed palms are still distributed as of old, but the procession has fallen into disuse except in some local usages such as that of the Badia Greca di Grottaferrata in the Castelli Romani south of Rome⁴⁹. Finally, today's Holy Thursday pedilavium and eucharistic Liturgy of St. Basil also retain elements from the rite of old Constantinople.

³⁹ Mt 26:2-20, Jn 13:3-17, Mt 26:21-39, Lk 22:43-44, Mt 26:40-27:2.

⁴⁰ Compare the preceding and following Old Testament lections in MATEOS, Typicon II, 68ff, 80-81.

⁴¹ Compare ibid., 80-81, with Τριώδιον κατανωκτιόν, Rome 1879, 704-707 [= Triodion] or Lenten Triodion, 613-614

⁴² F.C. BURKITT, "The Early Syriac Lectionary System", in « Proceedings of the British Academy 1921-1923 » 11 (1923) 309; PO 36, 287; cf. JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 348-349.

⁴³ MATEOS, Typicon II, 68ff, 80-81; cf. JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 348.

⁴⁴ MATEOS, Typicon II, 82-85.

⁴⁵ The beginnings of which are first seen in one 10th century codex of the Typikon of Hagia Sophia, Stavrou 40: cf. ibid., 76-77, 79 note 1; TAFT, "A Tale of Two Cities", 27.

⁴⁶ MATEOS, Typicon II, 64-65; Lenten Triodion, 488.

⁴⁷ MATEOS, Typicon II, 66-67; Lenten Triodion, 504.

⁴⁸ Lenten Triodion, 494. In Russian usage this takes place Saturday evening, at the "Allnight Vigil" (Vsenoshchnoe Bdenie), comprising festive Vespers plus elements of the old Jerusalem Cathedral Vigil and Matins. Cf. ID., The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West, The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today, 2nd ed., Collegeville 1993, 277-287 [= TAFT, Hours].

⁴⁹ It was long preserved in Muscovite usage too, with a procession from Uspenskij (Dormition) Cathedral in the Kremlin to the Cathedral of the Intercession (also called "of Basil the Blessed") in Red Square: cf. R.S. WORTMAN, Scenarios of Power, Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy, vol. I: From Peter the Great to the Death of Nicholas I, Princeton 1995, 37, who opines, however, (p. 37 note 46) that the procession was introduced in the 16th century in imitation of the Latins.

spers with the riesancians Triduums begins Holy Thursday even-Today's Byzantine Triodion Triduums begins Holy Thursday even-Today's Byzantine Tribonal or anticipated Good Friday Orthros ing with the Service of the Passion or anticipated Good Friday Orthros ing with the Service of the Characterized by the chanting of twelve (Matins), a three-hour marathon characterized by the chanting of twelve (Matins), a unice-road management of the entire Passion account in all four Gos-Gospel lections, comprising the entire Passion account in all four Gos-Gospet rections, comparison of John. This proclamation is duplipels, including the Last Discourse of John. The proclamation is duplipels, including the Last Discourse of John. pels, including the Last Plant Hours of Prime, Terce, Sext, and cated Good Friday during the Great Hours of Prime, Terce, Sext, and cated Good Finday during and None, celebrated nowadays usually only in monasteries, seminaries, and None, celebrated howards a Prophecy, an Epistle, and a Passion large churches. Each hour has a Prophecy, an Epistle, and a Passion Gospel (in Sext and None, only of the crucifixion) from Matthew (Prime), Mark (Terce), Luke (Sext), John (None).

Early the same afternoon, Good Friday Vespers are celebrated, with three Old Testament readings, an Epistle, and a Passion Gospel. At the end of Vespers there occurs the first "burial procession" of Jesus.

Holy Saturday Matins, with its long and beautiful poetry, follows the same evening. It, too, has a burial cortège procession and readings, including a Prophecy, an Epistle, and the Gospel of the sealing and guarding the tomb.

In these offices, three characteristics immediately stand out, especially to those with some experience of their celebration: 1) the absolutely staggering number of Passion Gospel lections, seventeen in all, twelve of them at Good Friday Matins. From these Gospel lections alone, it is obvious we face here a composite tradition that has been subjected to little attempt at homogeneity or coordination. The entire Passion is read again and again, and lections from the twelve Passion Gospels of Friday Matins are repeated immediately thereafter, in the Great Hours. 2) The extraordinary beauty of the liturgical poetry, and its major role in communicating the sense of the liturgical anamnesis. 3) The solemn mimetic ritual of the two processions of the burial cortège of Jesus.

4. Today's Offices and Their Components

Let us take some of the most characteristic of these new (i.e., non-Constantinopolitan) offices and see if we can make some sense of their structure and evolution52.

Good Friday Matins

The Holy Thursday evening Service of the Passion (τὰπαίθη) -- actually, anticipated Good Friday Orthros (Matins) - has the following structure (elements not proper to Good Friday but pertaining to the ordinary structure of Orthros are italicized):

Hexapsalmos (Pss 3, 37, 62, 87, 102, 142) Great synapte (litany) Alleluia tone plag. 4

Troparion tone plag. 4: « When the glorious disciples... »

Gospels 1-5, each followed by:

3 antiphons Small synapte Sessional Hymn

Beatitudes with verses intercalated

Small synapte Prokeimenon (responsory

Gospel 7

Ps 50

Gospel 8

Canon, with small synapte after odes 3, 6, 9

Exaposteilarion (refrain)

Gospel 9

Lauds with stichera (refrains)

Gospel 10

« Glory to you who have shown us the light! »

Gloria in excelsis

Kataxioson (« Dignare, Domine... »)

Synapte with aiteseis (biddings)

Prayer of Inclination Gospel 11

Aposticha (refrains)

Gospel 12

Trisagion

« Most Holy Trinity... »

Our Father

⁵⁰ Lenten Triodion, 511-547; full texts in D. GUILLAUME, Triode de carême, vol. 3, Rome 1978, 69-147 [= Triode]

⁵¹ Greek text in *Triodion*, 665-736; English trans. in *Lenten Triodion*, 565-655; French in Triode, 182-353. For those not familiar with the terminology and ordinary structure of these Byzantine hours, there is an outline in TAFT, Hours, 278-282; and Horologion, 141, 374-375 which also be a second of the s 374-375, which also has a glossary of terms, 501-519.

⁵² Greek text in Triodion, 665-736; English trans. in Lenten Triodion, 565-655; in French Triode, 182-353; for an outline of these Byzantine hours see references in the previous note.

Troparion (refrain) Ektene (litany)

This is a typical Sabaitic Orthros with Gospels, antiphons, the Beati-This is a typical Savante Constitution of the Savantial Savantian Savantial tudes, and litanies intercatations the viril was still a stational as the one in Stavrou 43, If we proceed the vigil was still a stational service in from the fact that in Jerusalem the vigil was still a stational service in from the fact that in procession, chanting antiphons, to the which the congregation went in procession, chanting antiphons, to the which the congregation which the city, stopping at six different stations Mount of Olives, then back to the city, stopping at six different stations Mount of Olives, then to Calvary for the last four Gospels (8-11)33. The for Gospels 2-7, then to Calvary for the last four Gospels (8-11)33. The for Gospets 2-1, then to Carron 43^{s4}, in old Constantinople in lections in Jerusalem according to Stavrou 43^{s4}, in old Constantinople in nanuscript Stavrou 40 of the Typikon of the Great Church's, and in today's manuscript station 40 st. 100 specific and the same for the same Gospel Triodions, are basically the same for the same Gospel lections as in the old Jerusalem stational vigil in the Armenian and Georgian lectionaries⁵⁸. There we find only seven (eight) readings. Furthermore, they do not include the entire Passion, as in the later list of eleven (twelve), but only the events of Holy Thursday night, ending with the morning of Good Friday in the Johannine account (Jn 18:28-19:16a): the trials before Caiaphas and Pilate, the scourging and crowning with thorns, the handing over of Jesus to be crucified. Where did the longer list of lections originate? As Janeras has shown, it is a composite Constantinopolitan series resulting from the combination of two separate Jerusalem cycles, the old vigil lections of Holy Thursday night, and those of the Good Friday day hours⁵⁹. Of the twelve Gospels, 1-4 are found as Gospels 1, 6, 5, 7 in the stational vigil lists of two manuscripts of the old Armenian lectionary. Of the rest, 5, 6, 8 are from Prime, Terce, Sext of the hagiopolite Good Friday day hours in Stavrou 4361; 12 is from Holy Saturday Orthros in both earlier and later Jerusalem documents (the Armenian62 and Georgian63 lectionaries and Stavrou 4364); and we can

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recognize the source of Gospel 9 (Jn 19:26-37) in None of Stavrou 43

Originally the Constantinopolitan series, already visible in evangeliary manuscripts from the ninth century, comprised only the first eleven Gospels of the longer list66.

b) The Great Hours

Originally, the well-entrenched Constantinopolitan day service of Tritoekte made the Byzantines reluctant to adopt the hagiopolite system of Great Hours with lections as their Good Friday daytime services. Eventually, however, in a second stage of the evolution of the Triduum, they did just that, which is why Byzantine Good Friday services today have such a burdensome and repetitious series of Passion lections. The fact that these Great Hours are the only element of today's Triduum services not a Constantinopolitan-hagiopolite hybrid, but were simply borrowed as they were found in the Jerusalem books, betrays them as a later addition, inserted alongside an already existing synthesis of the two traditions67.

c) Good Friday Vespers

Already in Stavrou 43, Good Friday Vespers has its present form: hagiopolite Vespers with the old Constantinopolitan lections interpolated almost intact⁶⁸. Here, too, it is obvious what has happened: Constantinople gave to Jerusalem its lections, which inserted them into its own Sabaitic Vespers - and then reciprocated the favour by donating the new synthesis to the Great Church. This, of course, presents for the

⁵³ PK 116-147.

⁵⁴ Loc. cit.

⁵⁵ MATEOS, Typicon II, 76-79

⁵⁶ Triodion, 665-680; Lenten Triodion, 565-600.

⁵⁷ See tables in TAFT, "A Tale of Two Cities", 29-30.

⁵⁸ PO 36:69-281; TARCHNISHVILI, nos. 642-664.

⁵⁹ JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 109-113, 120-124.

⁶⁰ PO 36:269-281; cf. JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 97-98

⁶² PO 36:295.

⁶³ TARCHNISHVILL, no. 707.

⁶⁴ PK 177.

⁶⁵ PK 154.

⁶⁶ JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 112. On the later addition of Gospel 12, see ibid., 123-124; ID., "Vangeli", 66-68.

⁶⁷ JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 120-122.

⁶⁸ Compare Triodion, 702-709; Lenten Triodion, 613-614, PK 158-159, MATEOS, Typicon II, 80-81. I say "almost intact" because in Stavrou 43 lection 3 is abbreviated to Is 52:13-53:12 instead of extending to 54:1 as in Constantinopolitan usage. On the Gospel lections in Stavrou 43, see JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 348-350; ID., "Vespres", 204-205.

⁶⁹ JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 348-350. In the pure tradition of old Constantinople, cathe dral Vespers has none of this Sabaitic vesperal material (Invitatory Ps 103[104], Phos hilaron, Kataxioson). There, Vespers began with the Invitatory Ps 85, followed by one evening psalm only, Ps 140, the entrance of the patriarch, lections with Prokeimena (responsorial psalmody), the Great Ektene (litany), and, on Good Friday, the Presanctified Liturgy. See MATEOS, Typicon II, 312-314; HOEG - ZUNTZ - ENGBERG, Prophetologium (note 11 above) I, 401-409; codex Sinai Gr. 150 (10-11th c.), DMITRIEVSKII, Opisanie liturgicheskix rukopisej

third time the whole Passion story, already told at Orthros and in the third time the whole Passion say, and transforms old Jerusalem Good Friday, Great Hours of Good Friday, and transforms in Mt 27:57-61%, into a Co Great Hours of Good Friday, and the Burnal of Jesus in Mt 27:57-61%, into a Con-Vespers, centered on the burnal of Jesus in Mt 27:57-61%, into a Constantinopolitan-type general Passion anamnesis71.

5. The Hymnody

But it is only in the exquisite ecclesiastical poetry so characteristic But it is only in the Condition of today's Byzantine-hagiopolite offices, especially in the Triodion, that of today's Dyzamuse interpretation, that one can get a true sense of these services. For an essential characteristic one can get a true sense of these services. one can get a true sense of the major role of liturgical poetry in its proclamation of the liturgical anamnesis.

The hagiopolite hymnody of Good Friday Orthros, almost all of it found already in Stavrou 437, keeps pace with the readings as they move toward the climax of Calvary. Though the crucifixion is adumbrated as early as antiphons 5-6, the hymnody that precedes the account in Gospel 4 (In 18:29-19:16: Jesus before Pilate, where he is tried, condemned, and handed over to be crucified) concentrates on the earlier events, from the Last Supper the night before until this trial Good Friday morning. Special attention is given to the betrayal of Judas, a theme that returns time and again. But from antiphon 10 the leitmotif shifts to Calvary, in accord with the crescendo of the readings74.

The chants of Good Friday Vespers resume all the mysteries of the day, especially the crucifixion, and, in the Aposticha refrains, move to the burial and « Harrowing of Hell »75:

Down from the tree Joseph of Arimathea took you dead, you who are the life of all, and wrapped you, O Christ, with spices, in a linen cloth... O redeemer of all, when you were laid in a new tomb for the sake of us all, hell was brought to scorn and, seeing you, recoiled in fear. The bars were broken and the gates shattered, the tombs were opened and the dead arose. Then Adam, in thanksgiving and rejoicing, cried out to you,

xranjashchixsja v bibliotekax pravoslavnago vostoka, I-II, Kiev 1895, 1901, III, Petrograd 1917 - all 3 vols. repr. Hildesheim 1965, I, 191-192 [= DMITRIEVSKIJ, Opisanie]; cf. JANE-RAS, Vendredi-Saint, 355-357; ID., "Vespres", 212-218.

« Glory to your self-abasement, O one who loves humankind! ».

It is, of course, this burial theme which is dramatized in the procession at the end of Byzantine Vespers and seems, wrongly, to provide its leitmotif. I shall treat this mimesis in section VI.

HOLY WEEK IN THE BYZANTENE TRADITION

Little Compline in the Slavonic books has retained after the Creed a Canon found also in Greek manuscripts but not in the present Greek Triodion⁷⁶. This "Canon of the Crucifixion of Our Lord and the Lamentation of the Most Holy Theotokos" is a poetic sequence on the theme of Mary's mourning over the dead body of her son. But here, as in Vespers, by the end of the service the note of the coming resurrection is already sounded:

> « Heal now the wound of my soul, my child », cried the holy Virgin, weeping. «Rise and still my pain and bitter anguish. For you have power, O Master, and can do what you will. Even your burial is voluntary ». « How is it that you have not seen the depths of my tender love? » said the Lord... « Because I wish to save my creation, I have accepted death. But I shall rise again, and as God shall magnify you in heaven and on

Holy Saturday Matins, now anticipated on Good Friday evening, is the walk the most popular of the Passion services. It is basically a meditation on the Schools the "Sabbath of the Saviour", the time in the tomb between death and "dogwala resurrection, a time to reflect on the meaning of it all. This is the least "anamnetic" and most dogmatic of the present Byzantine services. Its chants place the entire mystery of salvation within the cosmic scheme of things. Indeed, the entire service is poetry. After the customary opening of Orthros, the Troparia that follow the Great Synapte set the tone:

Going down to death, O life immortal, you have slain hell with the dazzling light of your divinity. And when you had raised up the dead from their dwelling place beneath the earth, all the powers of heaven cried out, « O giver of life, Christ our God, glory to you! ».

The angel stood by the tomb, and to the women bearing spices he cried out, « Myrrh is for the dead, but Christ has shown himself a stranger to

During the chanting of these refrains the ministers exit from the sanctuary in solemn procession and proceed to the "tomb" where the

⁷⁰ PO 36:375; TARCHNISHVILL, no. 702.

⁷¹ JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 349-350.

⁷² PK 116-147. See the table in JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 360.

⁷³ Lenten Triodion, 571-580.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 582ff.

⁷⁵ Here and below I have modified the translation in *Lenten Triodion*.

⁷⁶ Greek text in J.B. PITRA, Spicilegium Solesmense, IV, Paris 1858, 492-495; English trans. in Lenten Triodion, 617-621. Some Greek manuscripts indicate another Threnos Canon for Good Friday Compline: see note 99 below. A Canon, the centerpiece of present-day Byzantine Orthros but also used in other services such as Compline, is a series of refrains, divided into Odes, the number of which varies according to the liturgical season, composed on the basis of themes derived from the nine biblical Canticles once chanted during Sabaitic

Epitaphion, richly decorated with candles and flowers, has been deposed in the center of the nave. The senior priest and deacon incense around the tomb and the whole church, then the concelebrating priests intone, in turn, the three staseis of the Enkomia, a long series of Troparia Prosomoia - i.e. similar, in the same rhythm and melody - with which Ps 118 is farced 77 . The choir sings the psalm verses, three priests chant in turn the refrains of their assigned stasis. It is a poem of exquisite beauty, much beloved of the faithful, who listen to it with profound reverence.

The spirit of this poetry, radically different from that of Mary's Compline lament, is decidedly victorious. The method used is paradox. The one who is life, dies in order to slay death and raise the dead. He who is entombed, opens the tombs and raises the dead. Condemned as a transgressor, he frees all from guilt. The deliverer, he is sold into captivity. He who hung the earth upon the waters, hangs on a cross. The fairest of all becomes a corpse without comeliness, in order to beautify all nature. The light of the world, hidden in a dark tomb, illumines all things. He whom nothing can contain, who holds the earth in his hands, is buried in the bowels of the earth. Uplifted on the cross, he lifts up all. Descending into the earth, he raises all who are buried there. The cornerstone, he is enclosed in rock.

The metaphors and epithets are full of light and joy: sun of justice; morning star; lifegiving seed, sown in the earth with tears; New Adam; source of the river of life; light that knows no evening; giver of life; sweet springtime; bridegroom coming forth from his chamber; daystar without evening; vine of life.

The Enkomia are followed by the customary Eulogitaria of the Resurrection, the Troparia of the Myrrh-bearers sung on Sundays with Ps 118:1278. Their presence here testifies to the victorious, paschal character of the day:

The radiant angel standing within the tomb cried out to the myrrh-bearing women, «Why do you lament and mingle tears with the spices, O women disciples? Look upon the tomb and rejoice, for the savior has risen from the grave! ».

Early in the morning the myrrh-bearing women hastened to your tomb, lamenting. But the angel stood by them and said, « The time of mourning is over! Do not cry, but announce the resurrection to the apostles! ».

The Canon⁷⁹, which follows Ps 50 immediately, provides a paradoxical meditation on Jesus' stay in "the happy tomb":

HOLY WEEK IN THE BYZANTINE TRADITION

O Lord my God, I shall sing to you a funeral hymn, a song at your burial. For by your burial you have opened for me the gates of life, and by your death you have slain death and hell.

You have stretched out your arms and united all that was separated before. Wrapped in a winding-sheet and buried in a tomb, O Savior, you have loosed the prisoners...

Today you keep holy the seventh day, which of old you blessed by resting from your works. You bring all things into being and you make all things new, my Savior, observing the Sabbath rest and restoring your

Hell is king over mortals - but not forever. Laid in the sepulchre, mighty Lord, with your life-giving hand you burst asunder the bars of death. To those from every age who slept in the tombs you proclaimed true deliverance, O Savior, you who have become the firstborn from among

After the Canon, the tomb is incensed. Then, during the Trisagion at the end of the Gloria in excelsis, the Epitaphion and Gospel book are borne around the church - outside, where possible - and then returned to the tomb (Slavic usage) or placed on the altar (Greek usage), in imitation of Jesus' burial cortège. The lections, concluding litanies, and dismissal follow, after which, in Slavic usage, all come to venerate the tomb.

This mimetic ceremonial is the final question to which we must now turn. For, indeed, there are presently not one but three mimetic elements in the Byzantine Triduum services that we must account for. And the logic of their placement is not immediately apparent.

6. The Via Crucis and Burial Cortège Processions

What is one to make of this duplication and seeming chronological incongruity? Why two burial cortèges, and where did they originate? At the present state of our knowledge, I am not sure there is a satisfactory answer to any of those questions. But let us take the services one at a time.

a) Mimesis on Good Friday

In old Jerusalem usage according to codex Stavrou 43th, after Gospel 11 (the final one) of Good Friday Orthros, the Johannine burial account

Thenten Triodion, 623-644

⁷⁸ Cf. TAFT, Hours, 280.

⁷⁹ Cf. ibid., 282-283.

⁸⁰ PK 146-147.

(In 19:38-42), followed by Ps 91(92), the Trisagion, and the Ektene, the (In 19:38-42), followed by 13 Alexander and accompanied by the faithful, carries patriarch, led by the archdeacon and accompanied whehind Colored the Religious Chapel whehind Colored the Religious Chapel whehind Colored the Religious Chapel when the Re patriarch, led by the archicacon and Chapel which the Costs in procession from the Reliquary Chapel which the cross in procession from the Reliquary Chapel which the cost of the cross in procession is a companied by the chapting of to the Chapter of the Arching of stichera the atrium. The procession is accompanied by the chanting of stichera the atrium. The procession is accompanied over to Pilate This the atrium. The procession being handed over to Pilate. This dramatic on Judas' betrayal and Jesus being handed over to Pilate. This dramatic on Judas Deliayar and Judas or Judas Organization of Via Crucis with the patriarch acting in persona Christi is reminiscent of Via Crucis with the patriarch acting in persona Christi Egeria's comment on the Palm Sunday procession: « episcopus in eo typo, quo tunc Dominus deductus est » (Diary 31:3)82. But this Jerusatypo, quo tunc Dominus deductus est » typo, quo tune Dominio the cross than the sepulchre, and at any rate, lem service concerns more the cross than the sepulchre, and at any rate, the service in Stavrou 43 is not a burial rite mimesis, which would be misplaced at Good Friday Matins. And although there was once an adoration of the cross in Hagia Sophia – Arculf describes it ca. 670 AD83 – and in Italo-Greek documents⁸⁴, there is no trace of it in later, hybrid Constantinopolitan-hagiopolite sources⁸⁵. Later Greek and Melkite usage, however, has introduced during antiphon 15 of Good Friday Orthros a procession with a large cross, accompanied by candles and incense, to the center of the nave, where it is enthroned and remains for veneration until Holy Saturday86. This practice entered Greek Orthodox usage officially only in 186487. But none of this is early, and none of it is Constantinopolitan, where the church building, not the cross, was washed⁸⁸, and where the lance (cf. Jn 19:34), not the cross, was vener-

HOLY WEEK IN THE BYZANTINE TRADITION So there is nothing like today's burial processions in Egeria (Diary

37-38) or the later hagiopolite sources⁵⁰, and the Byzantine liturgical books, as Janeras remarks, « long resisted - some right up until our day - the inclusion of rubrics relating to the ceremony of the burial of Christ *91.

b) Mimesis in Holy Saturday Orthros

So incongruous as it might seem, it is to Holy Saturday Orthros, not Good Friday Vespers, that we must turn to find our first traces of a burial cortège mimesis in Byzantine triduum services.

Today, as we have already seen in section V above, Holy Saturday Orthros is characterized by the Enkomia. There is none of this poetry in the Armenian lectionary of Jerusalem92, which indicates as proper to the service Ps 87 with the Responsory, « They have laid me in a deep pit, in the darkness and in the shadow of death » (Ps 87:6), a text eminently suited to the day of Jesus' rest in the tomb. The Gospel is Mt 27:62-66, on Pilate's ordering the tomb sealed and guarded. The later Georgian lectionary93, as well as the Typikon of the Great Church94, retain the same Gospel, but are equally bereft of poetry. Stavrou 4395, like today's rite, has the Constantinopolitan lections. The Canon is also hagiopolite, most of it found in the latter manuscript. There are no Enkomia, however; only six Troparia with Ps 118. Where, then, does this Holy Saturday Orthros and its characteristic poetry and burial cortège come from?

A satisfactory answer to this question must await a definitive study of the history of Byzantine Holy Saturday offices. But some of the elements this response will comprise have already been identified. Literary and iconographic evidence points to a sharper emphasis on Jesus' burial and Mary's mourning in Triduum services from the twelfth century on %. XII 94 And early, if embryonic indication of the new emphasis can be found in Patriarch St. Germanos II (1222-1240), Oratio in dominici corporis sepultura, delivered at a Holy Saturday service, or so it would seem from

⁸¹ Or so the ms tells us, which Janeras identifies with Egeria's "post crucem". JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 286-287 note 24.

⁸² P. MARAVAL (ed.), Égérie, Journal de voyage (Itinéraire), 296:274; cf. D.I. PALLAS, Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus - das Bild, (= "Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia", 2), Munich 1965, 18 [= PALLAS].

⁸³ Adamnani de locis sanctis libri tres, III, 3:5-10, CCL 175, 228; cf. JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 290.

⁸⁴ JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 292-296

⁸⁵ Ibid., 291-292.

⁸⁶ Lenten Triodion, 587

⁸⁷ Cf. Janeras, Vendredi-Saint, 297.

²⁵ This is witnessed to ca. 1200 AD by the Russian pilgrim ANTHONY OF NOVGOROD: Kniga palomnik, ed. X.M. LOPAREV, «Pravoslavnyj palestinskij sbornik » 51 (1899) 29; French trans, in Mme. B. (SOFUA P.) DE KHITROWO, Itinéraires russes en Orient, Geneva 1889, 105 On the whole notion of "washing the church", see D.I. PALLAS, H 'Θάλασσα των έκκλησίως (= "Collection de l'Institut français d'Athènes", 68), Athens 1952.

MATEOS, Typicon II, 72-73, 78-79; De ceremoniis I, 43 (34), ed. VOGT I, 168. Abundant 34-37, 44-45, 132-133, 138-141, 160-161, 182-183, 186-191, 216-218, 343-344, 368-370, 378.

⁹⁰ Armenian lectionary, PO 36:295; Georgian lectionary, TARCHNISHVILI, no. 703, and Appendix I, nos. 162-167; cf. JANERAS, "Vespres", 226-230; Stavrou 43, PK 156-161, Cf. TAFT, "In the Bridegroom's Absence", 82.

⁹¹ JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 350.

⁹² PO 36:295.

⁹³ TARCHNISHVILI, nos. 706-707; Appendix I, nos. 168-176.

⁹⁴ MATEOS, Typicon II, 82-85.

⁹⁶ PALLAS, 38-66; H. BELTING, "An Image and its Function in the Liturgy: The Man of Sorrows in Byzantium", in « Dumbarton Oaks Papers » 34-35 (1980-1981) 1-16 + 22 plates, 5-12 [= BELTING].

Though it is not certain just what ritual Athanasius is talking about%, there is no doubt that the letters describe a service that seems to devote a novel attention to the mystery of Jesus' burial, which the participants witnessed and venerated while sharing in the mourning of Mary. Indeed, the very insistence of the patriarch on this service could mean it was an innovation. More than that cannot be safely affirmed, especially since the references to Mary's lament would go better with the Threnos Canon of Good Friday Apodeipnon (Compline), first seen at Constantinople in the twelfth-century Typikon of Evergetis 100.

Was there a burial procession during the service Athanasius deanalysis scribes? Both Pallas and Belting cite his Letter 70, « let us go out with bare feet, especially the monks, to hold a procession in contrition with the holy icons »101, as evidence of a procession with Passion and "Man of Sorrow" icons in the context of this rite102. But nothing indicates that this letter and its procession refer to Holy Week ceremonies¹⁰³. So we HOLY WEEK IN THE BYZANTINE TRADITION

can say no more than that the developments in iconography traced by Belting, and the contemporary evolution of the Triduum services in continuity with the gradually developing synthesis of hagiopolite and Constantinopolitan elements in the monastic Typika of the capital, all seem to move in the direction of the burial mimesis that emerges in the textual evidence of the fourteenth century. It is only then, however, that we find clear evidence of a dramatization of Jesus' burial by means of a funeral cortège, as we shall see in the next section (6.c). Surprisingly, it is there, too, that we first see the Epitaphios Sindon in Holy Saturday Orthros.

c) The Epitaphios Sindon Relic

There is considerable historical evidence for a burial sindon relic at Constantinople, venerated as the authentic winding sheet of Jesus¹⁰⁴. But in the entire dossier of documents concerning this relic, analyzed most recently by A.-M. Dubarle¹⁰⁵, there is no mention of it being used in any Paschal Triduum rites. The traditional Constantinopolitan Good Friday services in Theotokos Pharos were associated not with the sindon relic but with the Sacred Lance, and with the Holy Saturday eucharist which the emperor attended there 106.

The only witness to any liturgical or devotional use of the sindon relic is the French chronicler of the Fourth Crusade, Robert of Clari. Writing in 1204, Robert locates the relic at Theotokos Blachernai¹⁰⁷, where, he says, it was exposed for veneration every Friday 108.

But somewhat earlier, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, artistic representations of the threnos scene depicting the taking down of Jesus' body from the cross begin to appear, first as icons and miniatures, later as the Epitaphion or threnos image embroidered in cloth¹⁰⁹. The custom

⁹⁷ Patrologia Graeca 98:244-289. On the authenticity of the homily see H.-G. BECK, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich, Munich 1959, 668. More on this mily in TAFT, "In the Bridegroom's Absence", 83-84.

⁹⁸ The letters are edited by PALLAS, Anhang I, 299-307, and, with English trans. and commentary by A.M.M. TALBOT (ed.), The Correspondence of Athanasius I Patriarch of Constantinople. An Edition, Translation, and Commentary, (= "Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae", 7, "Dumbarton Oaks Texts", 3), Washington D.C. 1975, text 116-125, 176-179, commentary 363-365, 392 [= TALBOT]. (TALBOT, Letters 52-55, 70-71 = PALLAS, Letters 1-4, 5-6). I cite and analyze the relevant passages from Talbot's version in TAFT, "In the Bridegroom's

⁹⁹ See the thorough discussion in TAFT, "In the Bridegroom's Absence", 85-87.

¹⁰⁰ DMITRIEVSKII, Opisanie I, 554. The Canon in question, attributed to Symeon Metaphrastes, is not the same as the one referred to in note 75 above. The Greek text is edited anonymously in "Un'ufficiatura perduta del Venerdi santo", in « Roma e l'oriente » 5 (1912-13) 302-313.

¹⁰¹ TALBOT, 177.

¹⁰² PALLAS, 305, BELTING, 5.

¹⁰³ Cf. TALBOT, 392-393. Penitential stational processions were a frequent element of Constantinopolitan liturgy throughout the year. See MATEOS, Typicon II, 304-305 (Attn II); BALDOVIN 167-226; ID., "La liturgie stationelle à Constantinople", in LMD 147 (1981) 85-94.

¹⁰⁴ Full discussion of this issue and the relevant sources in R.F. TAFT, "In the Bridegroom's Absence", 87-90.

¹⁰⁵ See A.-M. DUBARLE, Histoire ancien du linceul de Turin jusqu'au XIIIe siècle, Paris 1985 [= DUBARLE].

¹⁰⁶ De ceremoniis I, 43-44 (34-35) ed. VOGT I, 168, 171-172.

¹⁰⁷ On this sanctuary, see JANIN, 161-171. The shroud relic disappeared during the

¹⁰⁸ ROBERT DE CLARI, La conquête de Constantinople, ed. Ph. LAUER, Les classiques français du Moyen-Age, Paris 1924, ch. 42, cited in DUBARLE, 34 note 2. The English version, ROBERT OF CLARI, The Conquest of Constantinople, trans. E. MCNEIL, New York 1936,

¹⁰⁹ See the recent studies of DUBARLE, 42-50; BELTING, 13-15; K. WEITZMANN, "The was not available to me. Origins of the Threnos", in ID., Byzantine Book Illumination and Ivories, Variorum Reprints, London 1980, no. IX; and the older references I give in note 112 below.

of using embroidered vestments and textiles in Byzantium dates back to the Paleologan period (13-15th c.)110. The first embroidered cloth images of the dead body of Jesus appear around the fourteenth century on the aer or great veil, carried in the Great Entrance or transfer of gifts procession of the eucharistic liturgy, and used to cover the gifts after their deposition on the altar. This cloth will soon evolve into the Epitaphion, depicting the full threnos scene based on the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus¹¹¹. As I have shown elsewhere¹¹², its development results from the symbolism of the Great Entrance as the burial cortège of Jesus, an interpretation that, in turn, can be traced back to Theodore of Mopsuestia, Homily 15, 25-29 (ca. 388-392)113.

Eventually this image becomes associated with the Gospel procession of Holy Saturday Orthros in the following manner. In the old rite of Constantinople according to the Typikon of the Great Church, festive Orthros ended with a reading of the Gospel, followed by the customary concluding litanies and dismissal¹¹¹. This reading was preceded by the solemn entrance of the patriarch and clergy, bearing the evangeliary, during the Great Doxology or Gloria in excelsis and the Trisagion that follows it115. By the fourteenth century, we see a new development, as this common entrance of the clergy with the Gospel acquires on Holy Saturday a mimetic character. The Typikon of codex Athos Vatopedi 954 (1199), dating from 1346, has the priest bear the Gospel book not resting on his breast, as customarily, but on his right shoulder, wrapped in the aer like a sindon, in imitation of Joseph of Arimathea bearing Jesus' body to the tomb (In 19:17), while the Trisagion is sung in the funeral dirge melody 116.

The first witness to the Epitaphion borne, as today, like a baldachin over the priest carrying the Gospel, is in a sixteenth-century manuscript of the Slavonic Trebnik, Moscow Synod Slav 310 (377)117. But Janeras has shown that early Greek printed books long ignore this procession, until it finally appears in Constantine Protopsaltes' 1838 Constantinople edition of the Typikon¹¹⁸. And as late as the 1879 Roman Triodion¹¹⁹. there is no mention of either of today's two burial cortège processions.

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7. Conclusion

Today's Byzantine Holy Week services climax on Holy Saturday morning with the ancient Easter Vigil anticipated 120, whereas Easter Sunday Matins, now celebrated at midnight Holy Saturday comprises in effect the actual vigil celebration. But the vagaries of the Byzantine Easter Vigil have been thoroughly studied already¹²¹, and there is no space to discuss that special problem here.

What this brief study shows is that liturgy also has its history, and history is the story of change. It was once thought that eastern liturgical traditions were somehow exempt from this universal law of cultural history. But the popular myth that would consider Eastern liturgies a living museum of early Christian usages preserved intact is belied by the facts. During the period of Late Antiquity practically every liturgical innovation except the December 25 Nativity feast originated in the East. This creativity remained characteristic of the Byzantine Rite until the Late Byzantine Period, when Turkish incursions into Asia Minor in the 1170s ultimately forced the Byzantines to give priority to the struggle for the survival of empire and church.

In the case of the Byzantine Paschal Triduum rites, this creativity as I have tried to depict it has been the story of a gradual shift from a sober, Constantinopolitan scriptural anamnesis of the Passion mysteries concentrated in Good Friday Vespers; to a hagiopolite-influenced system that spreads the scriptural anamnesis throughout the services in a more historicizing manner, gives far greater play to the expression of religious emotions and theological reflection via a massive infusion of liturgical poetry so characteristic of the Byzantine neo-Sabaitic books, and, finally, allows free play to the mimetic ceremonial so dear to Medieval and later piety in both East and West.

But that truism, that the history of liturgy is the story of changing liturgy, far from disconcerting, is a source of freedom, a freedom that

¹¹⁰ P. JOHNSTONE, The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery, London 1967, 10.

¹¹¹ On the whole question of the development of this cloth and its use in the liturgy, see my study cited in the following note.

¹¹² R.F. TAFT, The Great Entrance, OCA 200, 2nd ed., Rome 1978, 216-219: "Excursus: The Aer-Epitaphion".

¹¹³ R. TONNEAU - R. DEVREESSE (eds.), Les homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste, (= "Studi e testi", 145), Vatican 1949, 503-11. Cf. R.F. TAFT, "The Liturgy of the Great Church: An Initial Synthesis of Structure and Interpretation on the Eve of Iconoclasm", in « Dumbarton Oaks Papers » 34-35 (1980-81) 55, 62-66, 72-75; reprinted in TAFT, Liturgy, no. I.

¹¹⁴ MATEOS, Typicon I, xxiii.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., II, 82-83, cf. 312. 116 PALLAS, 40-41.

¹¹⁷ M. LISKYN, Pervonachal'nyj slavjano-russkij tipikon. Istoriko-arxeologicheskoe izsledovanie, St. Petersburg 1911, 150-51; cf. PALLAS, 42.

¹¹⁸ JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 395-396, 401.

¹¹⁹ Triodion, 707, 709.

¹²⁰ Lenten Triodion, 655-660.

¹²¹ See BERTONIÈRE; M. ARRANZ, "Les sacrements de l'ancien Euchologe co tinopolitain (9), IVe partie: L'« Illumination » de la nuit de Pâques", in OCP 55 (1989) 33-62.

has been experienced in recent liturgical reforms in the West, but a freedom needed also, I think, in the Churches which have inherited the Byzantine-hagiopolite uses of Holy Week. For a combination of factors the contemporary romance with Eastern Christianity; the beauty of the pageantry and chants of Byzantine Holy Week, especially in comparison with the sterility of some other traditions; and the celebration of these rites in a language the people no longer understand - have contributed to camouflage the fact that these services, in their present state, are a patchwork of several disharmonious elements and burdensome repetitions, especially with regard to the lections - the inevitable "loose ends" of a long and complex history.

From the lections alone it is obvious that we are faced here with a composite tradition that has been subjected to little attempt at homogeneity or coordination. The entire Passion story is recounted three times, at Matins, in the Great Hours, and at Vespers - indeed, lections from the twelve Passion Gospels of Friday Matins are repeated immediately thereafter, in the Great Hours. In addition to duplications in the readings, there are also two burial processions, one, understandably, at Good Friday Vespers; the other, out of sequence, at Holy Saturday Matins. Furthermore, the introduction of the Constantinopolitan lections into Jerusalem Good Friday Vespers has transformed that service, formerly centered on the burial of Jesus in Mt 27:57-61, into a Constantinopolitan-type general Passion anamnesis¹²². That change, in turn, accords ill with the burial cortège procession which, as we have already noted, is now a part of this service.

These problems are widely recognized. The simple proof of that is the fact that in actual parish usage, attempts are made to abbreviate the services, especially the readings123, while leaving the official editions of the liturgical books intact. This poses less difficulty with regard to the poetic chants, a large anthology of material from which selection, according to need, can easily be made. But the problem of the lections is more complex. It is not enough just to cut short the existing readings or to suppress a few of them. For the problem is not just too many or too lengthy pericopes. The actual Byzantine Holy Week Triduum readings present us with the interference of two distinct lection systems based on two opposing formative principles. The Constantinopolitan system was unitary, concentrating the entire Passion anamnesis in the lessons of a single service; the hagiopolite system was sequential, distributing the readings throughout the Triduum according to the chronological sequence of the Passion as narrated in the Gospels. The combination of the two systems results in a lection series that is neither sequential nor unitary, but a hodgepodge that satisfies neither organizational principle.

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A further problem, of course, is the dislocation of the cursus, with Good Friday and Holy Saturday Matins anticipated in the evening, and the old Easter Vigil - Vespers with the vigil lections and the Liturgy of St. Basil - celebrated Holy Saturday morning, as was true of the Roman Rite before the 1951 reform of Pius XII.

So the problems are many. Some of the solutions are obvious, others less so. One thing is certain, however: private tinkering by those whose confidence and daring is not matched by any visible competence is no substitute for a more general reordering of these services and their readings, officially mandated by the authorities of the respective Byzantine Churches, and planned by persons with recognized authority in the field. I have already suggested elsewhere what shape might such a revision might take¹²⁴. A further, much more radical revision, has been proposed (and justified in a lengthy introduction) by the monks of New Skete, a monastery of the Orthodox Church in America (USA)125. This book appeared too late to be dealt with in this paper, and besides, it merits much more than the summary treatment it could be given here: it deserves a study in its own right. But regardless of the judgements that may be passed on it in the future, the monks of New Skete merit our gratitude and respect for having the courage to engage in self-criticism and to take action.

¹²² JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 349-350.

¹²³ See, for instance, the popular book of Greek Orthodox Protopresbyter Fr. GEORGE L. PAPADEAS, Greek Orthodox Holy Week & Easter Services, New York 1967, which gives the Greek text, with facing English translation, of the Holy Week services in abbreviated form.

¹²⁴ R.F. TAFT, "In the Bridegroom's Absence", 93-95.

¹²⁵ Passion and Resurrection, New Skete, Cambridge, New York 1995, 256 pp. I am grateful to the authorities of New Skete for sending me a complementary copy of this important publication.