

Dumitru A. Vanca

The Order of Prothesis in Romanian Hieratikon of the 16th-17th Centuries

Abstract

Being situated between two great liturgical traditions, the Greek and the Slavonic, the Romanian Church has always sought her place in the history of Eastern liturgical tradition. Despite breathing the troubled air of Balkan politics, amid unfriendly imperial Powers, Romania sought to keep the flame of Orthodoxy alive even in the winds of the Reformation, the expansion of Rome, and the restraint of foreign hierarchs. The Romanian liturgy found a sufficiently clear and precise translation to express the truths of faith reserved only to the most sacred language. Even the Theodosius moment (1680) was only an intermezzo, which could not restrain the enthusiasm of translating and perfecting the Romanian liturgical language that had been started by deacon Coresi and polished by Metropolitans Simion Ștefan, Dosoftei and Antim Ivireanul. Beginning in the 16th century, Romanian liturgical practices evolved and adapted to local and contemporary realities. Even if



Rev. PhD Dumitru Vanca is Associate Professor at the Department of Orthodox Theology of „December 1st 1918” University of Alba Iulia, Romania

practices were not fully homogenous in language or liturgical structure, the Romanian Hieratikon carefully followed its own course.

In the present study, I identify the evolution of the Prothesis in the Romanian Hieratikons in the 16th-18th centuries, highlighting additions or adjustments in the rubrics and prayers.

Keywords

Prothesis, Liturgy, Romanian Orthodox Church, slavonic books

1 Introduction

Being situated between two great liturgical traditions, the Greek and the Slavonic, the Romanian Church has always sought her place in the history of Eastern liturgical tradition. Despite breathing the troubled air of Balkan politics, amid unfriendly imperial Powers, Romania sought to keep the flame of Orthodoxy alive even in the winds of the Reformation, the expansion of Rome, and the restraint of foreign hierarchs. The Romanian Church found a sufficiently clear and precise translation of the sacred texts to express the truths of the faith in the local language. (Previous translations had been reserved only to the sacred languages of Greek, Latin, and Slavonic.) Metropolitan Teodosie's refusal to translate the Divine Liturgy in 1680¹ was only an intermezzo that could not restrain the

¹ Hieratikon of Metropolitan Teodosie's motivation regarding his refusal to translate the text of the prayers is known. As he states in the *Predoslovia (Foreword)*: "And we did not want and we did not dare to transpose the whole Liturgy in our language, for many reasons which forced me, for our language is poor, for our lack of teachers (as we

enthusiasm for translating and perfecting the Romanian liturgical language, started by deacon Coresi and polished by Metropolitans Simion Ștefan, Dosoftei and Antim Ivireanul.

Beginning with the 16th century, Romanian liturgical practices evolved and adapted to local and contemporary realities. Even if such practices were not fully homogenous in language or liturgical structure, the Romanian Hieratikon followed its own course, contributing to the understanding and the attachment of the faithful towards their own Church.

In the present study, I identify the evolution of the Prothesis in the Romanian Hieratikons in the 16th-18th centuries, highlighting additions or adjustments among the rubrics or the contents of the prayers. For the purpose of analysis, I did not approach the full historical evolution of this service,² but rather established the Hieratikon of Macarie (Târgoviște, 1508), the first text printed in the Romanian territories, which took over the *Diataxis* of Patriarch Philotheus and spread it in the whole Orthodox world, as an *a quo* beginning of my enquiries. The Hieratikon of Antim Ivireanul (1706; 1713), considered by most Romanian liturgists as the edition that marked the major liturgical evolution in the Romanian Hieratikon, serves as an *ad*

have said) in our people, and for the ignorance of the population as concerns what the mysteries are and what they mean and for the fact that our Church has not had this tradition so far.”

² For the historical evolution of the Order of Prothesis, see Thomas Pott, *La réforme liturgique byzantine. Étude du phénomène de l'évolution non-spontanée de la liturgie byzantine* (cap. *Le rite de la Prothèse et la suspension de son évolution*, p. 169-196), Rome, CLV [Ephemerides Liturgicae, 104], 2000 and G. Descoedres, *Die Pastophorien im syro-byzantinischen Osten. Eine Untersuchung zu architektur- und liturgiegeschichtlichen problemen* (Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa 16), Wiesbaden 1983. For interesting historical and liturgical remarks see: Petre Vintilescu, *Contribuții la revizuirea Liturghierului român. Proscomidia. Liturghia Sfântului Ioan Gură de Aur*, București, 1931.

quem limit to this study, since subsequent editions are confined to minor corrections and interventions.³

As far as it is known, the first books were printed in the Romanian countries shortly after the appearance of the printing press in Europe. In this respect, the *Hieratikon of Macarie*⁴ (Târgoviște, 1508), with all its deficiencies, is not only the first *Hieratikon* in Romania, but also the first printed text of the liturgies in the Orthodox world. It appeared 10 years earlier than the next edition (Venice, 1519) and almost 20 years before the Greek edition (Venice, 1526; Rome, 1526). Although this text might not appear relevant to the current research, it was also taken into consideration because it was an inspiration for many Romanian editions, and illustrates the connection with the *Byzantine Diataxa* of Philotheos Kokkinos, a relationship confirmed by the majority of researchers.⁵

*The Hieratikon of Coresi*⁶ (Brașov, 1570), which has an obvious relationship with the text of Macarie, even though these details have not yet been fully clarified by specialists, is the first Romanian translation of the *Hieratikon*. The text is succinct and simple, including only the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom,

³ Among the editions subsequent to that of Antim, the most important are that of Iacob Putneanul (Iași, 1759), of Veniamin Costache (Iași, 1818) and Sofronie Miclescu (Iași, 1860): acc. Petru Vintilescu, *Liturghierul explicat*, București, IBMBOR Publishing House, 1998, p. 28.,

⁴ For details on this edition, on the scientific controversies etc. see in *Liturghierul lui Macarie, 1508-2008*, Arhiepiscopia Târgoviște Publishing House / The Library of the Academy, Târgoviște/București 2008, p. 12.

⁵ Marian Vîlcu, *Liturghierul lui Macarie - 1508, prima carte tipărită în Țările Române*, in *Liturghierul lui Macarie 1508-2008*, (Târgoviște/București: Arhiepiscopia Târgoviște Publishing House/The Library of the Academy 2008), p. 216.

⁶ For scientific information on the text, historic, etc. see Alexandru Mareș (ed.), *Liturghierul lui Coresi*, (București: Academia RSR Publishing House, 1969), p. 11.

without other guidance and practical liturgical advice, as it is the case of subsequent Hieratikons. The special importance of this Hieratikon is indicated by its precedence among all the known Romanian translations.

*The Hieratikon of Dosoftei*⁷ (Iași, 1679 and 1683) is the first Romanian Hieratikon in the true sense of the word, having the format and general contents of contemporary Hieratikons. The text of this Hieratikon is rather difficult. Its use of Slavonic words as well as words in various dialects, together with many gaps and errors, indicate the defective composition of the text. However, its contribution to the liturgy in the Romanian language is indisputable. From a liturgical point of view, the fact that the translation is from the Greek, led to a symbiosis of Greek and Slavonic (Serbian) practices in the texts previous to Macarie (and Coresi).

The Hieratikon of Metropolitan Teodosie (Bucharest, 1680), has only the Romanian rubrics, but not the Romanian text of the prayers. It was useful in the evolution of the content and format of the Prothesis. From among the complete Romanian editions printed in Bucharest, I also used the editions published in 1728, 1741 and 1746. Although of great importance for the introduction of the Romanian language in the ministry of the Orthodox Church, *Rânduiala diaconstvelor*⁸ (*Formulary for Deaconry*) (Bălgrad, 1687) was excluded from this study as it contains only the complete translation of the parts referring to deacons and the rubrics, rather than full Order of the Prothesis. These first Hieratikons seem to have a clear affiliation with the Hieratikon of Macarie (even when referring to Greek sources),

⁷ See the critical edition: N. A. Ursu (ed.), *Dosoftei, Dumnezăiasca Liturghie, 1679*, (Iași: Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei Publishing House, 1980).

⁸ Dumitru A. Vanca, *Rânduiala diaconstvelor. Liturghia românilor ardeleni în sec. XVII*, (Alba Iulia: Reîntregirea Publishing House 2009). As I have shown, the basic text used by Ioan Zoba from Vinț for *Rânduiala diaconstvelor* was the one published in Bucharest, in 1680.

which has not yet been completely elucidated by specialists.⁹ Sporadically, and only for the completion of information, I have drawn on other editions, such as those in use in Buzău (1702), Târgoviște (1713), and Râmnic (1733 și 1747).¹⁰

2 Introductory Rubrics

As expected, the typicon directions expanded in time as the number of editions multiplied. In the cases of Macarie, 1508¹¹ and Coresi, 1570,¹² the rubrics were extremely succinct, indicating only reconciliation with everybody and the celebration of Vespers the evening before the Liturgy. However, in DOS, 1679 and Bucharest, 1680, the rubrics develop. Thus, BUC, 1680 specifies:

“The priest that desireth to celebrate the Divine Mysteries must first be at peace with all, have nothing against anyone, and insofar as is within his power, keep his heart from evil thoughts, be continent from the evening before, and be vigilant until the time of divine service. When the time is come, he goeth into the temple, in company with the deacon, and together they make three reverences towards the east before the holy doors” [BUC, 1680, f. 1 r-v; RIM 1747¹³, p. 41].

⁹ Al. Mareș, *Introducere*, in *Litughierul lui Coresi*, p. 32-35.

¹⁰ I would have liked to analyse *Litughierul mitropolitului Antim Ivireanu* but this was not possible on this occasion.

¹¹ See the anniversary edition of *Litughierul lui Macarie, 1508-2008*, Arhiepiscopia Târgoviște Publishing House / The Library of the Academy, Târgoviște/București 2008.

¹² See *Litughierul lui Coresi*, text, introductory study, and index by Alexandru Mareș, Academiei RSR Publishing House, București, 1969.

¹³ Râmnic Edition, 1747. I used the copy that is in the custody of the Archdiocese Alba Iulia.

3 The Preparation of the Ministers

The preparation of the priest for the celebration is summarized in the Macarie and Coresi editions, which only illustrate the required metania (bowings in COR, f.1r) and the prayer

R 1 [Preparation prayer, in the middle of the church]:

“O Lord, stretch forth Thy hand from Thy holy place on high, and strengthen me for this, Thine appointed service; that standing uncondemned before Thy dread altar, I may celebrate the bloodless ministry. For Thine is the power and the glory unto the ages of ages. Amen [MAC, 1508, p. 10¹⁴; COR, 1570, p.1v¹⁵].

At Dosoftei the preparation of clerics for the service turns into an ample order. The former preparation prayer (R1) is found together with other prayers: the Blessing, the Introductory prayers, the troparia and the prayers before the icons of Christ and of the Theotokos.

R 1.1 [Prayer before the icon of the Saviour]:

“We venerate Thine immaculate Icon, O Good One, asking the forgiveness of our failings, O Christ God; for of Thine Own will Thou wast well-pleased to ascend the Cross in the flesh, that Thou mightest deliver from slavery to the enemy those whom Thou hadst fashioned” [DOS, 1679, Proscomidia, f. 2v].

R 1.2 [Prayer before the icon of the Theotokos]:

“As thou art a well-spring of compassion, vouchsafe mercy unto us, O Theotokos. Look upon a sinful people; show forth, as always, thy power. For hoping in thee we cry “Rejoice!” to thee, as once did Gabriel, the Supreme Commander of the Bodiless Hosts” [DOS, 1679, Proscomidia, f. 3r].

These prayers appear for the first time in the Romanian Hieratikons and, most likely, are taken over from the Greek

¹⁴ As the original does not have any system of counting pages, I used the numbering attributed in the 1961 edition of the Romanian Academy, which was subsequently taken over in the 2008 edition.

¹⁵ I have adopted the page numbers attributed to the edition of Al. Mares (1969), as the original does not have any system for counting pages.

tradition, since the author informs us that the translation was made “from the Greek language” [DOS, 1679, p. 5; 11]. The preparation prayer (R 1) was uttered only now, after which, MAC, 1508, COR, 1570, as well as DOS, 1679, continued with the rite of bowing to each choir and entering the sanctuary, together with the utterance of the adequate prayer - R 2:

R2 [Prayer when entering the sanctuary]:

“I shall go into Thy house; I shall worship toward Thy holy temple in fear of Thee. O Lord, guide me in the way of Thy righteousness”.

After entering the sanctuary, there follows the vesting of clerics. However, the rubrics in DOS also specify three bows before the Holy Table, kissing the Holy Gospel and the Holy Table [DOS, 1670, p. 18]. These gestures are found in subsequent editions, as well.

4 The Vesting¹⁶

As in other cases, the brief ritual of the first editions (MAC, 1508; COR, 1570) have become an independent and complex ritual, with a blessing formula (DOS, 1679). Macarie mentions only the blessing of the deacon’s sticharion and orarion by the priest and putting them on during the adequate prayer (R3), followed by putting on the epimanikia and saying the prayers (R4.1 și R4.2).

R 3 [Prayer when putting on the sticharion]:

“My soul shall rejoice in the Lord, for He hath clothed me in the garment of salvation, and with the vesture of gladness hath He covered me; He hath placed a crown upon me as on a bridegroom, and He hath adorned me as a bride with comeliness.” (Is. 61: 10).

¹⁶ For the role, historic and symbolic, of the holy vestments see: Vasile A. Goga, *Veșmintele liturgice: istoric, semnificație, simbolism*, (Alba Iulia: Reîntregirea Publishing House, 2011).

R 4.1 [Prayer when putting the epimanikia on the hands – the right cuff]:

“Thy right hand, O Lord, is glorified in strength; Thy right hand, O Lord, hath shattered enemies, and in the multitude of Thy glory hast Thou ground down the adversaries” (Exodus 15: 6-7).

R 4.2 [Prayer when putting the epimanikia on the hands – the left cuff]:

“Thy hands have made me and fashioned me; give me understanding and I will learn Thy commandments”(Ps 118: 73).

It is important to note that, although the orarion is a distinct piece of important dimensions, it does not have its own prayer. This might be due either to the fact that initially, the deacon’s orarion was not a piece of garment, or to the fact that the ritual of vesting was first applied to priests, and then extended to deacons, but no prayer was added, as it was no longer suitable as a text for the function of the deacon.

After vesting and uttering the prayer for each item, the deacon goes to the table of oblation, where he prepares the holy vessels, and the priest continues the ritual of vesting, uttering specific prayers:

R 5 [Prayer when putting on the epitachelion]

“Blessed is God Who poureth out His grace upon His priests, like unto the oil of myrrh upon the head, which runneth down upon the beard, upon the beard of Aaron, which runneth down to the fringe of his raiment” (Ps. 132: 2).

R 6 [Prayer when putting on the zone]:

“Blessed is God, Who girded me with power, and hath made my path blameless, Who maketh my feet like the feet of a hart, and setteth me upon high places”(Ps. 17: 35-36).

In DOS, 1679, the use of the nabadrennik is mentioned for the first time. The typicon provides the following direction: *“if he has the blessing to wear the nabadrennik, he girds himself with it*

and says the respective prayer.” This direction suggests the reason why this piece is absent in the Hieratikon of Macarie:¹⁷ the nabadrennik was a distinction that the patriarch extremely seldomly gave, and so, it did not need to be mentioned in the text.¹⁸ In the fifty years until Dosoftei’s edition, practices must have changed (as was the case of other items, such as the sakkos or the mitre¹⁹), and the right to grant such distinctions extended to metropolitans, bishops, etc. As a result, Dosoftei considered it appropriate to introduce this liturgical instruction into the vesting order.

(R 7) [*Prayer when putting on the nabadrennik*]:

“Gird Thy sword upon Thy thigh, O Mighty One, in Thy comeliness and Thy beauty, and bend Thy bow, and proceed prosperously, and be king, because of truth and meekness and righteousness, and Thy right hand shall guide Thee wondrously, always now and ever, and unto the ages of ages. Amen”(Ps 44. 6-7); [DOS, 1769, f.5r].

R 8 [*Prayer when taking the phelonion*]:

“Thy Priests, O Lord, shall be clothed with righteousness, and Thy saints with rejoicing shall rejoice” (Ps. 131: 9).

Unlike Macarie’s book, Dosoftei describes putting on the vestments as a much more complex ritual, with more rubrics and prayers. Thus, the priests and deacons make three reverences, uttering three times *O God, have mercy on me, the sinner*, then the deacon comes to the priest, the priest blesses the deacon’s sticharion and orarion, and the latter says the

¹⁷ Marian Vilciu, *Liturgierul lui Macarie - 1508, prima carte tipărită în Țările Române*, in „Liturgierul ui Macarie 1508-2008”, (Târgoviște/București: Archbishopric of Târgoviște Publishing House /The Library of the Academy, 2008), p. 219.

¹⁸ Nicodim from Tismana receives the right of wearing a nabadrennik only after the consecration of the Monastery of Tismana (1377), from patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos: Tit Simedrea, *Viața și traiul Sfântului Nifon, Patriarhul Constantinopolului*, București, 1937, p. 30.

¹⁹ These pieces of vesting were given by the archbishop to bishops, as a distinction and acknowledgment of some merits.

appropriate prayer for each piece; then, the priest, blessing each of his own vestments, puts them on, saying the appropriate prayers (*v.supra*).

At Macarie and Coresi, although the ritual of washing is known and *indicated*, the respective prayer does not appear, whereas Dosoftei renders its full text.

R 9 [Prayer when the priest washes his hands]:

“I will wash my hands in innocency and I will compass Thine altar, O Lord, that I may hear the voice of Thy praise and tell of all Thy wondrous works. O Lord, I have loved the beauty of Thy house, and the place where Thy glory dwelleth. Destroy not my soul with the ungodly, nor my life with men of blood, in whose hands are iniquities; their right hand is full of bribes. But as for me, in mine innocence have I walked; redeem me, O Lord, and have mercy on me. My foot hath stood in uprightness; in the congregations will I bless Thee, O Lord” (Ps. 25: 6-12); [DOS, 1679, f. 5r].

5 Prothesis

The ritual proper of the Prothesis begins both in Macarie and Coresi with three metania (reverences in Coresi), accompanied by the stichera “*O God, cleanse me a sinner*”, after which the following prayer is uttered:

R 10: “Thou hast redeemed us from the curse of the law by Thy precious Blood. Having been nailed to the Cross and pierced with a spear, Thou hast poured forth immortality upon mankind. O our Savior, glory to Thee.”

Even though Macarie does not render the complete text of the prayer, Coresi does. Subsequently, (DOS, 1679 and BUC, 1680), the text becomes larger, through the introduction of the dialogue between the deacon and the priest: “*Bless, Master!*” and the priest: “*Blessed is our God, always, now and ever, and unto the ages of ages.*”

6 The holy particle which is The Lamb

[MAC, 1508, p.15-18; COR, 1570, f.3v-4v]

Then the priest takes the prosphoron and makes the sign of the Cross thrice over the seal, uttering the stichera: *“In remembrance of our Lord and God and Savior, Jesus Christ”* and cuts it starting with the right side of the seal. As the priest cuts it into four parts, the deacon utters: *Let us pray to the Lord*, and the priest said the sticheras:

1. He was led as a sheep to the slaughter (right); 2. And as a blameless lamb before his shearer is dumb, so He openeth not His mouth (left); 3. In His lowliness His judgment was taken away (the upper side); 4. And who shall declare His generation? (the lower side) (Is. 53: 7-8).

Although in the latest edition of the Hieratikon (Bucharest, 2012), this text was corrected in the sense that the lamb is cut and the sheep is sheared, it is important to note that all of the previous editions of the Romanian Hieratikon kept this succession, apparently illogical (sheep – cut, lamb - sheared), in order to remain faithful to the text of the Septuagint. This is why the correction in the last edition of the Hieratikon can be called into question.

After Dosoftei, the ritual of taking the Lamb out of the prosphoron is extended with the words of the deacon: *“Take away, Master!”*, and the priest utters the stichera *“For His life is taken away from the earth”* (Is. 53: 8), at the moment that the cubic piece of bread is taken from the prosphoron [DOS, 1679, p. 24].

The Lamb is then laid with the seal downwards. And when the deacon says: *Sacrifice, Master*, the priest cuts it crosswise, saying: *Sacrificed is the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world, for the life and salvation of the world* (Jn. 1:29).

Macarie’s rubrics explains why the lamb is laid downwards:

“And he turns it upward with the other side, which has the Cross (seal), because it is still warm and steaming. Thus it should lie on the sign, so as not to make moisture down” [MAC, 1508, p. 17].

Certainly, we can speculate that the prosphoron was made on the same day (since it steams and produces moisture). Being fresh, especially in the cold season, it could steam the metal disks, which justifies the practical remark. Coresi, for example, introduces the conditional instruction: “Only if it is warm and steams” [COR, 1570, f.4v]²⁰, which explains and clarifies Macarie’s rubrics. Then the priest pierces the Lamb with the spear saying: “One of the soldiers with a spear pierced His side, and forthwith came there out blood and water. And he that saw it gave testimony and his testimony is true”.

Other directions given in the typicon must have caused confusion. For example, cutting/piercing the prosphoron with the spear “in the right side” of the seal [COR, 1570, f. 4v]. Which right side? The seal’s? The priest’s? The right side of the seal turned upward? My hypothesis is that being turned upward, the Lamb was pierced in the right side from the perspective of the priest. Naturally, the indication “it should lie on the sign, so as not to make moisture down” [COR, 1570, f.4v], suggests that the Lamb was kept like this for a while (maybe until the end of the Prothesis). What leads us to the conclusion (that the right side is from the perspective of the priest) are also the rubrics regarding the particle for the Theotokos (*vide infra*), which is placed on the right side of the Lamb, where, according to Macarie, must also be placed the particles of the categories of the mentioned saints (*infra*).

²⁰ This supplementary indication, when compared to the text of Macarie, as well as the translation in Greek of the word *copie* (=spear, f. 3v), provides support for the hypothesis that deacon Coresi used a Greek text for the translation. The text could have been *Liturghierul lui Macarie* or another Slavonic text, as most researchers are incline to think; however, in this case, nothing explains preservation of an untranslated word in Greek.



Figura 1: Prothesis, Dosoftei, 1679

Trying to clarify the situation, BUC 1680 adds the following in the rubrics after the piercing:

“And he turneth upward the other side, which hath the sign of the Cross and the Deacon saith: Pierce, Master. And the priest, piercing also in the right side with the spear, saith: One of the soldiers...” [BUC, 1680, f.4r].

The confusion might be even greater now. Which is the right side in which the priest must pierce in order to imitate the gesture of the Roman soldier? Things began to be clarified after the Bucharest Hieratikon, in 1680. Here the order of the Prothesis is accompanied not only by rubrics, but also by an explanatory drawing [BUC, 1680, f.4v]. Unlike the text and drawing in DOS, here we are told that the priest places the particle of the Theotokos on the right of the Lamb, but the drawing makes it clear that it is the left side of the priest (the left of the accompanying drawing). Upon uttering the words “and forthwith came there out blood and water”, the deacon pours wine and water in the chalice, after having previously asked for the blessing of the priest: “Bless, Master!” [MAC, 1508, p. 18; COR, 1570, f. 5r]. In Dosoftei’s Hieratikon the phrase is more ample: “Bless, Master, the holy union”, and it is followed

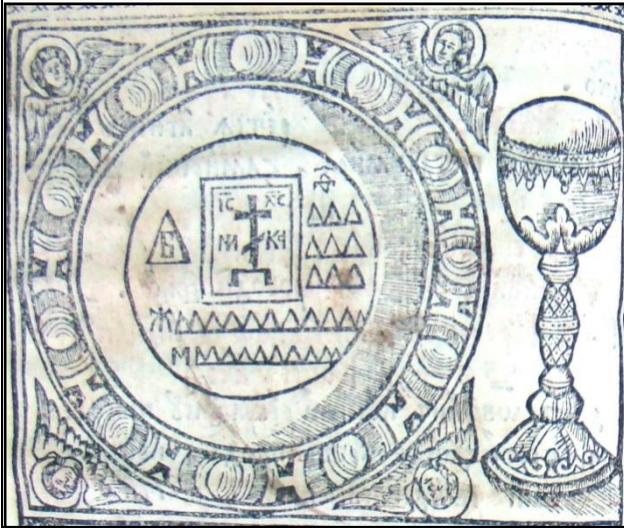
by the words of the priest: “Blessed is the union of Thy Holy Ones, Lord” [DOS, 1679, p. 25²¹]. These texts are not found in Macarie or Coresi, but they will be kept in the subsequent Hieratikons.

7 The particle for the Theotokos **[MAC, 1508, p. 18; COR, 1570, f. 5r]**

Taking the second prosphoron, and uttering the words: “In Honor and remembrance of our most blessed Lady, the Theotokos and Ever-Virgin Mary, through whose intercessions do Thou, O Lord, receive this sacrifice upon Thy most heavenly altar”, the priest places a particle “on the left of the Holy Bread”. It seems that until the 18th century, “the left side of the Holy Bread” meant the right side of the drawing (the part towards the chalice), because subsequently, explaining the position of the particle for the saints, it indicates: “Thus, taking the particle, he places it on the same left part, lower and...” (v.infra). Coresi has the same rubrics for the particle (particles?) for the saints – “on that part, on the left, low, and then others in turn to place” [COR, 1570, f.6r] as does the Hieratikon published in Târgoviște in 1713.²²

²¹ I have used the page numbers in the anniversary edition of the volume of Neculai A. Ursu (Iași, 1980). The page numbers faithful to the original text are confusing.

²² Copy found in the Library of the Archdiocese in Alba Iulia. I would like to thank Mr Bogdan Urdaș and Mr Matei Cristian who offered me the reproductions of several editions of the ancient Romanian Hieratikons.

Prothesis; București, 1680; Buzău, 1702

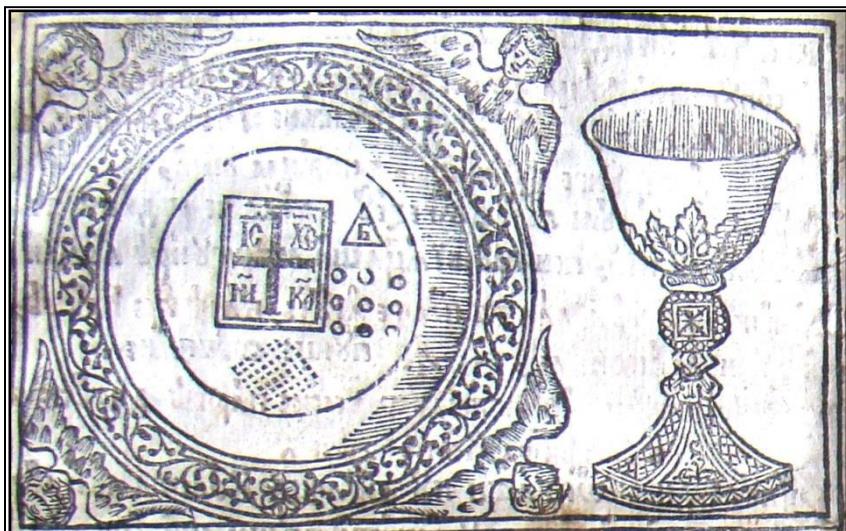
The Hieratikon published in Bucharest in 1728 includes an explanatory drawing, in which the particle for the Theotokos is placed again on the right of the Lamb. Until the second half of the 18th century, the position of this particle was in the part towards the chalice, together with the saints, which were placed lower. Thus, although several editions with explanatory rubrics and many editions with drawings had appeared, the situation remained confused: some placed the particle for the Theotokos on the left, others on the right. This seems to be the conclusion after considering the fact that the Hieratikons published in Bucharest in 1741 and 1746 still maintain the drawing with the particle for the Theotokos on the right part of the Lamb, even though there were editions in which the drawing placed it in the opposite part.

However, in Moldova, in Dosoftei's drawing, the particle for the Theotokos was placed on the left, opposite the saints, and the interpretation *on the right* must be understood not as referring to the one who looks (the priest), but on the right of the Lamb

(the left of the person who looks). In order to make the gesture of placing the particle more solemn, there appeared a stichera from Psalm 44:11: “At Thy right hand stood the queen, arrayed in a vesture of inwoven gold, adorned in varied colors” [DOS, 1679, p. 26]. This was kept in the subsequent liturgical practice.

8 The particles for the saints

For the nine ranks of saints, the Hieratikon of Macarie has a rather different and reduced list when compared to subsequent Hieratikons:



**Târgoviște, 1713; București, 1728; București 1741;
București 1746**

“With the power of the Precious and Life-giving Cross, of the honourable bodiless Powers of heaven. Of the honorable glorious Prophet, Forerunner and Baptist John. Of the holy glorious and all-praised Apostles and of our fathers among the saints, the holy hierarchs: Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and John Chrysostom, Athanasius and Cyril; Nicholas of Myra in Lycia,

Sabbas the Serbian and of all holy hierarchs, of the holy Apostle, Protomartyr and Archdeacon Stephen; the holy Great-martyrs Demetrius, George, Theodore and of all the holy martyrs; of our holy and God-bearing fathers: Anthony, Euthymius, Sabbas, Onuphrius, Athanasius of Athos, of Symeon the Serbian, and of all the holy fathers, of the saints and wonderworkers, the Unmercenaries: Cosmas and Damian, Panteleimon and of all the holy Unmercenaries. Of the holy and righteous Ancestors of God, Joachim and Anna; of Saint(s) N. (N.), whose day it is, and all the saints, through whose intercessions do Thou visit us, O God" [MAC, 1508, p. 19-20; cf. COR, 1570, f.5r-6v].

Macarie and Coresi seem to recommend taking out only one particle: after they mention the saints to be remembered, they add: "And thus, taking the particle he places it on the same left part (as of the Theotokos: v. Supra), lower and farther arranging in order". Nevertheless, the support for this conclusion is rather weak. Coresi, for example, translates the text of Macarie more clearly: "to place it in that part, on the left, low and the others arranging in order" [COR, 1570, f.6v]. Undoubtedly, the others refer to the other particles for the saints.

The names of the saints mentioned were fewer than those in the Hieratikons today; various saints have been added depending on local interest or the particular interest of the editor. DOS, 1679 adds the prophets Moses and Aaron, Elijah and Elisha, hierarchs John the Merciful and Spyridon – the wonderworker, as well as the unmercenaries Cyr and Hermolaus, but eliminates Sabbas and Symeon the Serbian.²³ With few exceptions, until the 16th century, saints were mentioned without toponyms (of Caesarea, of Constantinople, etc.). Starting with Dosoftei, all the Romanian Hieratikons eliminate the presence of the Cross from the particles of saints, beginning instead with John the Baptist.

²³ This presence of some Serbian saints in MAC, 1508 and COR, 1570, is likely a clue as to the source of the edition (the translation).

The opinion regarding only one particle in this case cannot be supported. However, the lack of concern for the number of the ranks of saints is remarkable. This is a clue that the symbolic variant of *the nine ranks* appeared after the 16th century, when it also became customary to mention the author of the Liturgy which was celebrated on the respective day [cf. DOS, 1679, p. 29]. The first Hieratikon which mentions the nine ranks, indicating them distinctly, is that of Dosoftei [DOS, 1679, p. 26-29].

MAC, 1508; COR, 1570	DOS, 1679	BUC, 1680 (s.u.)
Holy Cross, Holy Angels		
1. <u>Prophets: John the Baptist</u>	1. Prophets: John the Baptist, Moses, Aaron, Elijah, Elisha	1. Prophets: John the Baptist
2. Apostles: Holy Apostles,	2. <u>Apostles: Peter, Paul, the 12 Apostles, the 70</u>	2. Moses and Aaron, Elijah <u>and</u> Elisha, <u>David and Jesse, The Holy Three Children, Daniel the Prophet</u>
3. Hierarchs: Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom, Athanasius, Cyril, Nicholas and <u>Sabbas the Serbian</u>	3. Hierarchs: Basil, Gregory, John Chrysostom, Athanasius, Cyril, John the Merciful, Nicholas, Spyridon,	3. Apostles: Peter, Paul, the 12 Ap. And the 70
4. Martyrs: St. Stephen, George, Demetrius, Theodore	4. Martyrs: St. Stephen, George, Demetrius, Theodore	4. Hierarchs: Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom, Athanasius, Cyril, Nicholas,
5. Holy Fathers: Anthony, Euthymius, <u>Sabbas, Onuphrius</u> , Athanasius At., <u>Symeon</u> the Serbian	5. Holy Fathers: Anthony, Euthymius, <u>Sabbas, Onuphrius, Arsenius,</u>	5. Martyrs: St. Stephen, George, Demetrius, Theodor the Tyro and Theodore <u>Stratelates</u>
6. <u>Unmercenarys:</u> Cosmas, Damian, <u>Panteleimon,</u>	6. <u>Unmercenarys:</u> Cosmas, Damian, Cyr, <u>Panteleimon, Hermolaus</u>	6. Holy Fathers: Anthony, Euthymius, <u>Sabbas, Onuphrius, Athanasius At.,</u>
7. Joachim and Anna.	7. Joachim and Anna.	7. <u>Unmercenarys:</u> Cosmas, Damian, Cyr, John, <u>Panteleimon, Hermolaus</u>
8. St. of the day	8. St. of the day	8. Joachim and Anna and St. of the day
	9. Author of the Liturgy	9. Author of the Liturgy

It is also worth remarking on the lack of female saints in the lists. Until the Bucharest edition (1680) – where female saints are mentioned only in a general way, [BUC, 1680, f. 5v-6r] – the editors did not pay female saints any attention.

9 Special particles

The Slavonic liturgical tradition introduced special particles – subsequently they also grew in size – for certain categories of believers. Taking over this model, the Romanian Hieratikons developed an even larger ritual than the Slavonic one.

Until the end of the 17th century, in the Romanian liturgical formularies there did not exist special particles, and if we take into consideration the accompanying drawings, all editions published until the middle of the 18th century indicate only one cluster of particles for the living and the dead. In MAC and COR, the rubrics do not specify special particles for any categories of believers, even if the bishop and the abbot are mentioned individually, by name, but not the emperor:

“For all the Orthodox bishops, for our bishop (Name) and for the honorable priesthood, the deaconate in Christ and all the priestly order. For our Orthodox and pious emperors. For the servant of God, Abbot (Name) and all our brethren whom in Thy compassion, Thou has called into Thy communion, O All-good Master.” [MAC, 1508, p.30].

BUC, 1680 is the first to recommend a special particle for the local bishop (*“whose diocese it is”*), although it is not clear whether it is a special particle or it is the first of a new group:

“And taking the particle he placeth it below the holy bread. Then he commemorateth the ruler (of the country), saying this” [BUC, 1680, f.6v].

However, when corroborating the text with the accompanying drawings, no edition in the 17th century has special particles (bishop, ruler, Church founders, as in the contemporary Hieratikons). A thorough reading reveals the fact that the

editor's intention was not that of extracting special particles, but of giving precedence in mentioning the names of the most important people: the bishop, the emperor/ruler, etc.

10 The particles for the living and for the departed

The other believers for whom the Liturgy was celebrated are mentioned individually, with their respective names: "Then he commemorateth those that are living, by name, and he taketh out a particle." It seems that the position of these particles was not clear either, since in the same Hieratikon (DOS, 1679), the text indicates for these to be placed under the lines of the nine ranks of saints: "And he commemorate those that are living, putting them under the three rows of saints" [DOS, 1679, p. 30]. This practice would locate these particles in the place in which today we put the particles for the departed, whereas the drawing indicates for these to be put under the Lamb (supra). The first mention regarding a difference between the particles for the bishop and for the ruler of the country (as compared to the other faithful mentioned), seems to be indicated in the Hieratikon in Târgoviște (1713) where, after it notes where to place the particle for the local bishop and for the ruler, it mentions:

"Then he commemorateth others that are living and dead, whom he wants, by name, and for each name he taketh a very small particle, saying: Remember, O Lord, N." [TRG 1713, p. 59].

As the rubrics specify taking out a particle for each name, both for the living and for the dead, the instruction to take a very small particle must be understood as a precaution against filling the holy diskos with particles, and not as a smaller size compared to that of the particle for the bishops and for the ruler, as it is practiced today.

The rubrics also did not mention special particles for the departed, nor was there a special prayer for the departed. The

first mentioned were the departed founders, the hierarch who ordained the priest and then all the other departed:

“In commemoration and for the remission of sins of the blessed founders of this holy temple. Then he commemorateth the bishop that ordained him and whomsoever he will, by name, departed. And finally he saith this: And of all our Orthodox fathers and brethren who have departed in the hope of resurrection, life eternal, and communion with Thee, O Lord, Lover of mankind.”

Although MAC and COR use the word *particle* in the singular, Dosoftei introduces the plural, which suggests that until the 16th century, they took out only one particle for each list of names, and not a particle for each name. In the second half of the 18th century, when asked about this practice, Saint Paisios Velicikovsy of Neamț answered flatly:

“At the Holy Prothesis, the particles taken out for the living and for the dead are united with the holy Mysteries of Christ and His Blood, partaking at once of the holiness and gift of the Holy Spirit, and they become both benefit and gift for those for whom they were celebrated, both to the one for whom was taken out a particle and for the many for whom the particle was taken. And this can be seen better in the Order of the Prothesis: ‘The priest takes the fourth prosphoron for the whole sanctified rank that is in the entire Church of Christ, taking out only one particle. The same from the fifth prosphoron, he takes out a particle for all the Orthodox Christians departed.’ The Catholic Church believes and confesses that, although at the bloodless sacrifice only one particle is brought for all living Orthodox Christians and only one part for the departed Orthodox Christians, the benefit is the same, with the gift and consecration of the Most Holy Spirit, as if a particle were put for each Christian in particular at the bloodless sacrifice.”²⁴

Probably, the line of particles for the departed was placed under the line for the living, as one can see in the drawing

²⁴ Saint Paisie of Neamț (Velicikovsky), *Cuvinte și scrisori duhovnicești*, (Letter to some pious servants of God in Russia, answers to some questions), translated by V. Pelin, (Iași: Doxologia Publishing House, 2010), pp. 150-151.

published in DOS, 1679, as well as in BUC, 1680, or even mixed, as shown in the drawings of the Bucharest editions in the 18th century.

11 The role of the deacon in the ritual of the Prothesis

Analyzing the texts printed in the 16th century, one can draw various conclusions about the importance attributed to deacons. Deacons have a dialogue with the priest, but also perform certain liturgical works and even take out particles [COR, 1570, f. 7r; cf. MAC, 1508, p. 22-23]. Nevertheless, the small size of Romanian churches, especially that of the table of oblation, suggests that the description of a dialogue between priest and deacon may be reminiscence from the old Byzantine Diataxis, rather than a practical reality. However, if this existed, it must have been respected primarily in monasteries and cathedrals:

“The deacon, too, should take a prosphoron and the holy spear and say”

R 11 [The Prayer of the deacon and of the priest for himself]:

“Remember, O Lord, also mine unworthiness, and pardon me every transgression, both voluntary and involuntary. He should commemorate whomsoever he wants, living, and in another part, the departed, too. [COR, 1570, f. 7r]

He should place particles below the Holy Bread, just like the priest, and taking the sponge he should gather the particles together on the diskos below the Holy Bread, so that they be secure and none of them fall off.”

Although in MAC and COR this prayer is attributed to the deacon, Dosoftei attributes it to the priest, but also maintains it for the deacon, in case he was present at the service. Subsequently, Romanian Hieratikons attribute it only to the priest.

12 Censing and the final rites

After the particles were taken out, the censing and the final rites followed. The deacon invites the priest to say the prayer of the censer.

R 12 [The prayer of the Censer]:

“Incense do we offer unto Thee, O Christ our God, as an odor of spiritual fragrance; accepting it upon Thy most heavenly altar, do Thou send down upon us the grace of Thy Most Holy Spirit.”

What follows is the censing of the star-cover (induced by the deacon) and the stichera “And the star came and stood over where the young Child was.”(Mt. 2:9). Macarie does not render completely the prayer of the first veil, over the diskos: “The Lord is King, He is clothed with majesty, [...] unto length of days”, considering that priests know it by heart. At the second veil, the one over the chalice, he said: “Thy virtue hath covered the heavens, O Christ, and the earth is full of Thy praise” (Ps. 47:9). The prayer of the great veil, also called the aer: “Shelter us with the shelter of Thy wings, and drive away from us every enemy and adversary. Make our life peaceful, O Lord, have mercy on us, and on Thy world, and save our souls, for Thou art good and the Lover of mankind” was followed by a short blessing: “Blessed is our God Who is thus well pleased, glory to Thee” and by the Prayer of Oblation

R 13 [The prayer of oblation]:

“O God, our God, Who didst send forth the Heavenly Bread, the food of the whole world, our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, the Savior and Redeemer and Benefactor Who blesseth and sanctifieth us: Do Thou Thyself bless this offering, and accept it upon Thy most heavenly altar. As Thou art good and the Lover of mankind, remember those that offer it, and those for whose sake it was offered; and keep us uncondemned in the ministry of Thy Divine Mysteries. For hallowed and glorified is Thy most honorable and majestic Name, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now and ever, and unto the ages of ages. Amen”[MAC, 1508, p. 27-28].

The Dismissal, although indicated in MAC, COR and DOS, was not specified as a text. The first that introduces it explicitly is the Hieratikon in Bucharest, where the dismissal varies between week days and Sunday. If the Divine Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great is being celebrated, there are additions as well.

Then the priest censes the holy offerings, censing only the table of oblation; the deacon continues to cense the Holy Table and the whole church, while uttering the troparion "*In the grave bodily...*" and "Ps. 50" (COR renders the whole Psalm 50). With few variations, this final is the one specified in all the subsequent Hieratikons.

Conclusions

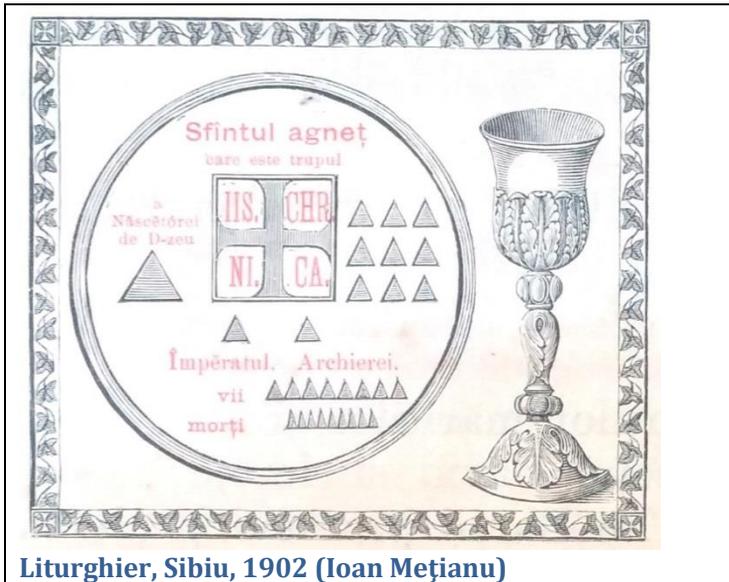
The Romanian liturgical formularies have been in continuous evolution as concerns the order of the Prothesis. Even if this evolution is hardly noticeable during a generation, it was constant and continuous, with the hierarchy and the editors seeking to offer the clergy the best models, after analyzing as many editions as possible. In 1679, Dosoftei, the metropolitan of Moldavia, tried to persuade the clergy in his eparchy of the quality of the text published:

"Having identical copies of the usual holy prayers, as well as the ones translated in anthologies well compiled with the help of Greek texts. Having as sources well known and untainted prayers, directly translated from Greek works" [DOS, 1679, p. 11].

The present historical study demonstrates that the Order of the Prothesis has changed some over the years in Romanian Hieratikons, with rubrics explaining the liturgical gestures, but also with words or names of saints, in an attempt to enrich the liturgy, to clarify the Romanian liturgical language, or the meaning of the respective liturgical act.

Among the aspects which have hardly found a stable form, I mention:

- *The content and the number of prayers* when entering the church and regarding the preparation of the servants for the Holy Liturgy (Kairos);
- *The accompanying text and the position of the particle for the Theotokos.* Early texts have the position of the particle in a different location than more contemporary texts;



Liturgier, Sibiu, 1902 (Ioan Mețianu)

- *The number and categories of saints mentioned in the nine ranks.* In their Hieratikons, Macarie and Coresi mention only one particle, the Hieratikon in Bucharest (1680) establishes nine. However, through successive additions, the number of saints has increased;
- *The special particles* for bishops, rulers and founders acquired their shape, dimension and number relatively late, in the beginning of the 20th century. The Hieratikon of Metropolitan Ioan Mețianu (Sibiu, 1902) still recommends

only two particles: one for the bishop and one for the political power.

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