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The Rites of Betrothal, Coronation and Digamia, according to the Slavo-Romanian Euchologia (16th-17th century)

Abstract

This paper deals with the redactive development of the byzantine rites of Betrothal, Coronation and Digamia according to the 16th-17th c. Slavo-Romanian Euchologia available at the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest (=BAR). For this research 11 manuscripts and 5 printed editions of the Euchologion have been analysed. The oldest Slavo-Romanian redactions of the matrimonial rites have their roots in the liturgical tradition of the South-Slavs. These documents still preserve some archaic particularities (such as the Communion of the spouses, the procession of the newlyweds



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from church to their home, or the rite of blessing the bedchamber – regarding the rite of Coronation), that will be gradually abandoned by the Euchologia of the second half of the 17th century. Based on the conclusions of this survey we will propose some possible liturgical reforms that may be implemented within the practice of the contemporary received tradition, such as the restoration of the Communion of the spouses or the recovery of certain archaic prayers, which were not included in the printed editions of the Euchologion and have been undeservedly forgotten.

Keywords

Slavo-Romanian Euchologion, Byzantine Rite, Sacrament of Marriage, Eucharist, reform

1 Introduction

No complete study of the evolution of the rites of Betrothal, Coronation and Digamia according to the Slavo-Romanian Euchologia has been undergone so far. The previous attempts¹ have the major deficiency of not taking into consideration the extant evidence of the manuscript tradition, focusing mainly on the printed editions of the Euchologion into Romanian language. Because of this, their conclusions must be evaluated with prudence. For the present paper the following documents pre-

¹ For example: C. Cornescu, Rânduiala Sf. Taine a Cununii, Mărturisirii și Maslului în diferitele ediții ale Molitfelnicului slav și român folosit în Biserica noastră, *Mitropolia Olteniei*, 10-12/1962, pp. 602-623; D. A. Vanca, Rânduiala Cununii în Molitfelnicele românești din secolul XVII, *Altarul Reîntregirii*, 3/2010, pp. 63-84.

served at the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest (=BAR) have been taken into account:

Manuscripts

- 1) *BAR sl. 32* (16th c.; Middle Bulgarian redaction; Moldavia): Betrothal (ff. 44^v-46^r) + Coronation (46^v-56^v)²;
- 2) *BAR sl. 241* (16th c.; Middle Bulgarian redaction; Wallachia): Coronation (ff. 81^v-91^r)³;
- 3) *BAR sl. 421* (16th c.; Serbian redaction; Moldavia): Betrothal + Coronation (ff. 1^r-6^v); extremely fragmented⁴⁵;
- 4) *BAR sl. 34* (a. 1635; Middle Bulgarian redaction; Moldavia): Betrothal (ff. 76^r-78^v) + Coronation (ff. 78^v-92^v)⁶;
- 5) *BAR rom. 167* (a. before 1639; Middle Bulgarian redaction; Moldavia): Betrothal (ff. 51^r-53^r) + Coronation (ff. 53^v-66^v)⁷;
- 6) *BAR sl. 727* (a. 1669; Middle Bulgarian redaction; Transylvania): Coronation (ff. 7^r-21^v); lacks the beginning⁸;
- 7) *BAR rom. 5636* (a. 1676; Romanian redaction; Sălaj): Coronation (ff. 23^r-41^v)⁹;

² P. P. Panaitescu, *Manuscisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei R.P.R.* (1st vol., București: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1959), pp. 47-50.

³ *Ibidem*, pp. 343.

⁴ The folia are not linked in their proper order, which should have been: Betrothal: f. 6^v, f. 6^r; Coronation: f. 2^{r-v}, f. 3^{r-v}, f. 4^{r-v}, f. 5^{r-v}, f. 1^{r-v}.

⁵ P. P. Panaitescu, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române și slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, (2nd vol., București: Editura Academiei Române, 2003), pp. 237-242.

⁶ P. P. Panaitescu, *Manuscisele slave...*, 1st vol., pp. 51-53.

⁷ G. Ștrempel, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești, B.A.R. 1 - 1600*, (1st vol., București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1978), p. 51.

⁸ P. P. Panaitescu, Z. MIHAIL, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române și slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, (3rd vol., part 1, București: Editura Academiei Române, 2018), pp. 166-167.

- 8) *BAR rom. 4216* (a. 1688; Romanian redaction; Bihor): Coronation (ff. 26^r-43^v)¹⁰;
- 9) *BAR rom. 288* (end of 17th c.; Romanian redaction; Moldavia?): Coronation (ff. 4^r-9^r; lacks almost half of the ordo) + Digamia (ff. 9^v-12^v)¹¹;
- 10) *BAR rom. 2383* (a. 1698; Slavo-Romanian manuscript; Wallachia): Coronation (ff. 96^r-111^r) + Digamia (ff. 111^v-117^v)¹²;

Printed editions

- 1) *Târgoviște Euchologion* (1545; Serbian redaction)¹³ = *TG 1545*: Betrothal (ff. 19^r-20^v) + Coronation (20^v-26^v)¹⁴;
- 2) *Câmpulung Euchologion* (1635; Middle Bulgarian redaction with Ukrainian influences)¹⁵ = *CL 1635*: Betrothal (ff. 35^r-37^r) + Coronation (ff. 37^r-45^v) + Digamia (ff. 46^r-49^v);
- 3) *Euchologion of Metr. Dosoftei* (Iași, 1689; Romanian redaction)¹⁶ = *DOS 1681*: Betrothal (ff. 32^r-34^r) + Coronation (ff. 34^v-41^v);

⁹ G. Ștrempele, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești, B.A.R. 4414 – 5920*, (4th vol., București: Editura Științifică, 1992), p. 358.

¹⁰ Idem, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești, B.A.R. 3101 – 4413*, (3rd vol., București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1987), p. 380.

¹¹ Idem, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești, B.A.R. 1601 – 3100*, (2nd vol., București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1983), p. 81.

¹² Ibidem, p. 263.

¹³ I. BIANU, N. HODOȘ, *Bibliografia românească veche. 1508-1830*, (1st vol., București: Edițiunea Academiei Române), pp. 27-29.

¹⁴ The ordo of Betrothal and Coronation in TG 1545 are identical to those described in the Serbian ms. Dečani 69, ff. 160^r-161^r and 161^r-166^r, (a. 1395-1400).

¹⁵ Ibidem, pp. 185-186.

¹⁶ Ibidem, pp. 237-240.

- 4) *Bălgrad Euchologion* (1689; Romanian redaction)¹⁷ = *BLG 1689*: Betrothal (ff. 31^r-33^v) + Coronation (ff. 33^v-44^v) + Digamia (ff. 44^v-49^r);
- 5) *Buzău Euchologion* (1699; Slavo-Romanian Euchologion)¹⁸ = *BUZ 1699*: Betrothal (ff. 35^r-37^r) + Coronation (ff. 37^v-45^v) + Digamia (ff. 46^r-49^v);

The purpose of this study is to offer a survey of the evolution of the matrimonial rites mentioned above as witnessed in the Romanian liturgical Euchologia of the 16th-17th centuries. Each rite will be analysed one at a time. Regarding the Ordo of Coronation, the aforesaid Euchologia have been divided into two groups, matching two stages of redactive evolution. Based on the conclusions of this research we will propose some possible liturgical reforms that may be implemented within the practice of the contemporary received tradition, such as the restoration of the Communion of the spouses or the recovery of certain archaic prayers, which were not included in the printed editions of the Euchologion and have been undeservedly forgotten.

2 The Rite of Betrothal

Within the analysed Euchologia one can find the following prayers for the Rite of Betrothal:

- P 1 = “Б҃ЖЕ ВѢЧНЫИ, М҃ЗРТОЉЦМАРИА РОБРАБЫИ ВХ РОДННННННН...”/“Ο Θεός ὁ αἰώνιος, ὁ τὰ διηρημένα συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐνότητα...”¹⁹;

¹⁷ For a critical edition see: A. Dumitran, A. M. Gherman, D. A. Vanca, *Molitǎvnic. Bălgrad. 1689*, (Alba Iulia: Ed. Reîntregirea), 2009.

¹⁸ I. Bianu, N. Hodoș, *Bibliografia românească...*, 1st vol., pp. 377-378.

- P 2 = “Γῶν εἶε ἡμῶν, ὡ ἰαζῶικα πρεδῶεβδχῆνβῆ
ц̄ркокк...”/“Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὴν ἐξ ἔθνῶν
προμνηστευσάμενος Ἐκκλησίαν...”²⁰;
- P 3 = “Εἰκο χ̄λκολεβε γῆ, ἡε π̄ρρεικκ
γῶ...”/“Δέσποτα φιλόνηρωπε Κύριε, ὁ διὰ τῆς
προφητικῆς φωνῆς...”²¹;
- P 4 = “Γῶν εἶε ἡμῶν, ὦτροκχ πατρίάρχα
ἀβραάμα...”/“Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τῶ παιδὶ τοῦ
Πατριάρχου Ἀβραάμ...”²².

¹⁹ The Greek prototype of this prayer is found in the oldest extant byzantine euchologion, Cod. Barberini Gr. 336 (second half of the 8th c.) [S. Parenti, E. Velkowska, *L'Euclologio Barberini Gr. 336*, (col. „Bibliotheca «Ephemerides Liturgicae Subsidia»”, 80, Roma: C.L.V – Edizioni Liturgiche, 1995), p. 205].

²⁰ The Greek prototype of this prayer is found in Cod. Barberini Gr. 336 [S. Parenti, E. Velkowska, *L'Euclologio Barberini*, p. 206].

²¹ The greek version of this non-constantinopolitan prayer appears for the first time in the palestinian euchologion NE/ΜΓ 53 (8th-9th c.) (cf. G. Radle, *The Development of Byzantine Marriage Rites as Evidenced by Sinai Gr. 957, OCP*, 78/2012, p. 137, n. 25).

²² This prayer is a late composition, which, according to Parenti, resulted from joining the Alexandrian prayer of the „monetary gifts”, found in ms. Sin. Gr. 973 (a. 1152-1153) (see A. A. Дмитриевский, *Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках Православного Востока*, (томъ II, Киевъ: Типография Императорского Университета Св. Владимира, 1901), pp 95-96] and another provincial prayer from the 15th century in mss. such as Constantinople, Metochion of Holy Sepulchre 8 (182) and Athos Pantokrator 149 (in A. A. Дмитриевский, *Описание...*, томъ II, p. 459 și p. 488) [see S. Parenti, *The Christian Rite of Marriage in the East*, in A. J. Chupungco (ed.), *Sacraments and Sacramentals* (col. *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, 4th vol., Collegeville Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1997), p. 269].

In the table below we present the basic structures of this rite:

<p><i>TG 1545</i> (/<i>BAR sl. 421</i>²³) Opening blessing</p> <p>Great synapte P 1 Exchange of rings</p> <p>Kefalok-lisia – P 2 Prayer of the common cup from the rite of Coronation</p>	<p><i>BAR sl. 32; BAR sl. 34; BAR rom. 167</i> Opening blessing <i>Trisagion – Our Father</i> Troparion of the day Psalm 50 Great synapte P 1 Exchange of rings <i>Dextrarum iunctio</i> Kefalok-lisia – P 2 P 3 Dismissal</p>	<p><i>CL 1635, BLG 1689</i> Opening blessing</p> <p>Great synapte P 1 Exchange of rings + formula</p> <p>Kefalok-lisia – P 2 Ektene Dismissal</p>	<p><i>DOS 1681</i> Opening blessing</p> <p>Great synapte P 1</p> <p>Kefalok-lisia – P 2 Exchange of rings + formula P 4</p>	<p><i>BUZ 1699</i> Opening blessing</p> <p>Great synapte P 1 Exchange of rings + formula <i>Dextrarum iunctio</i></p> <p>Kefalok-lisia – P 2 Ektene Dismissal</p>
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²³ In ms. *BAR sl. 421*, almost the entire rite of Betrothal has survived (f. 6^v, 6^r). The ordo lacks just the initial rubrics, the opening blessing and the beginning of the great litany. However, enough was preserved in order to argue that the rite is the same as the one described in *TG 1545*.

(if the Coronation does't follow)				
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TG 1545, CL 1635, DOS 1681, BLG 1689 and BUZ 1699 indicate that the couple stays in front of the holy doors of the sanctuary. The priest takes the rings, a golden one – brought by the groom, and a silver one – brought by the fiancée, and places them on the altar. Then, he makes the sign of the cross over the heads of the couple and says the opening blessing („Blessed is our God...”). Moreover, CL 1635, BLG 1689 and BUZ 1699 mention that the priest gives to the couple, or to the witness – according to DOS 1681 – lit tapers.

In TG 1545 and ms. BAR sl. 421 the great synapte is identical for both the Betrothal and Coronation rites, although, it is more suitable for the last one, due to the fact that it contains specific petitions in which God is asked to show the spouses worthy of partaking in Presanctified Gifts.

After P 1, all the documents mention the exchange of rings. After the priest gives the golden ring to the groom and the silver one to the bride, they exchange the rings between each other. CL 1635, BLG 1689, DOS 1681 and BUZ 1699 indicate a formula recited by the celebrant when giving the rings to the couple: “The servant/handmaid of God (N) is betrothed to the handmaid/servant of God (N), in the name of the Father...”. Only in DOS 1681 the exchange of rings follows the prayer at the bowing of the heads – P 2, just as in the current practice, while the other documents suitably place this act between P 1 and P 2.

After the exchange of rings, mss. BAR sl. 32, BAR sl. 34, BAR rom. 167 and BUZ 1699 instruct the celebrant to join the right hands (*dextrarum iunctio*) of the betrothed and to bless the two. A peculiarity of mss. BAR sl. 32, BAR sl. 34 and BAR rom. 167 is

the use of P 3, a very ancient prayer abandoned by the current practice.

Intriguing is the indication present in both TG 1545 and ms. BAR sl. 421, according to which if the rite of Coronation does not follow immediately, then the priest recites the prayer of the common cup²⁴. This could represent a reminiscence of the ancient custom of blessing the first cup of wine at the wedding meal, a domestic tradition which only later has been included into the wedding rite itself, gaining a liturgical valence.

3 The Rite of Coronation

The Slavo-Romanian Euchologia contain the following prayers for the Rite of Coronation:

- P I = “БЖЕ СГ҃И́Н҃, РОЗДА́ВЫИ Ѡ ПѢРСТН ЧЕЛОВѢКА...” / “Ο Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ πλάσας ἐκ χοῦς τὸν ἄνθρωπον...”²⁵;
- P II = “Г҃И БЖЕ НАШИ, КО СП҃ИЧТЕЛНОМЪ ПКО́ЕМЪ МОПРѢН҃И...” / “Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τῇ σωτηριῳ̄δει σου οἰκονομῖα...”²⁶;

²⁴ A similar indication is also found in ms. Vatoped 322 (934) (a. 1468) (A. A. ДМИТРИЕВСКИЙ, *Описание...*, томъ II, p. 420). It should be mentioned that in the Chaldean rite the reception of the common cup is included into the ordo of Betrothal, and not in the rite of Coronation [see N. Preda, La preghiera del «κοινοῦ ποτηρίου» del rito del Matrimonio bizantino (Breve approccio storico-liturgico), in *Misiune, Spiritualitate, Cultură. Simpozion Internațional: Teologie și persoană. Abordare teologică, pedagogică și bioetică. 13-14 noiembrie 2014*, (Târgoviște, Valahia University Press, 2015), p. 248].

²⁵ The Greek prototype of the prayer is found in Barberini Gr. 336 (S. Parenti, E. Velkowska, *L'Eucologio Barberini...*, p. 207).

²⁶ The Greek prototype of the prayer is found in Barberini Gr. 336 (S. Parenti, E. Velkowska, *L'Eucologio Barberini...*, p. 208).

- P III = “Βλ̄γοσλοβένηζ ζ̄εν̄ γ̄λ̄η β̄ξ̄ε̄ ν̄άσ̄ηζ, ἡ̄ξ̄ε̄ τ̄ά̄η̄νᾱγω
ἡ̄ χ̄ί̄σ̄τᾱγω β̄ρά̄κα
ε̄βᾱσῑεν̄νο̄δ̄ε̄ἡ̄σ̄τ̄β̄ή̄τ̄ε̄λῑο...”/“Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε ὁ
Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τοῦ μυστικοῦ καὶ ἀχράντου γάμου
ιερουργὸς...”²⁷;
- P IV = “Б̄ξ̄ε̄ пр̄ε̄ѣ̄т̄ы̄й, ἡ̄ κ̄ε̄ε̄λ̄ τ̄β̄ά̄ρη̄ ε̄ο̄δ̄ε̄τ̄ε̄λῑο...”/“Ο
Θεὸς ὁ ἀχραντος, καὶ πάσης κτίσεως
δημιουργός...”²⁸;
- P V = “Βλ̄γοσλοβένηζ ζ̄εν̄ γ̄λ̄η β̄ξ̄ε̄ ν̄άσ̄ηζ, ἡ̄ξ̄ε̄ τ̄ά̄η̄νᾱγω
ἡ̄ χ̄ί̄σ̄τᾱγω β̄ρά̄κα ε̄βᾱσῑεν̄νο̄δ̄ε̄ἡ̄σ̄τ̄β̄ή̄τ̄ε̄λῑο...”²⁹;

²⁷ This prayer is a late creation (see the Greek text in Π. ΤΡΕΜΠΕΛΑΣ, *Μικρὸν Εὐχολόγιον*, τ. Α, pp. 56-59). According to Parenti, it is almost unknown even in the late Greek manuscripts, such as Athos Vatopedi 134 (745), from 1538 (Α. Α. Дмитриевский, *Описание...*, томъ II, p. 784). However, Parenti mentions that certain passages in the prayer are traceable to an alternate prayer of the common cup in ms. Athos Lavra 189 (13th c.) (Α. Α. Дмитриевский, *Описание...*, томъ II, p. 183) (S. Parenti, *The Christian Rite of Marriage...*, p. 270 and n. 70).

²⁸ The Greek prototype of this prayer is found in the Palestinian euchologion Sin. Gr. 958 (11th c.) (Α. Α. Дмитриевский, *Описание...*, томъ II, pp. 29-30). G. Radle claims a Palestinian origin for this prayer, which knows a wide diffusion among both Slavic and Greek sources of the Balkan Peninsula [G. Radle, *The Byzantine Marriage Tradition in Calabria: Vatican Reginensis Gr. 75 (a. 982/3), Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, 9/2012, pp. 226-227].

²⁹ The beginning is similar to the one in P III. In fact, this prayer appeared through the junction between two prayers almost identical with P III and P IV. The prayer is a late creation and is found, for example, in the Serbian mss. РНБ *Q.n.I.24*, ff. 12^r-14^v (14th c., first half) and Dečani sl. 69, ff. 162^v-164^v (14th c.). There is no known greek equivalent for the slavic version, although some passages are traceable in another provincial prayer, “Ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, Κύριε Θεὲ Πάτερ παντοκράτωρ, σε ἐπικαλοῦμαι...”, found in ms. Sin. Gr 981 from the 14th c. (Α. Α. Дмитриевский, *Описание...*, томъ II, p. 342). The last petition of the

- P VI = “Γᾶν βῆε νάσιζ, ἦβε ελακοῖ η χῆτιῖ βῆεηαλη
εεη εῖτωα εκοα μῆηικῶ...”/“Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ
δόξη καὶ τιμῆ στεφανώσας τοὺς ἀγίους σου...”³⁰;
- P VII (Prayer of the common cup) = „Бѣе, вѣа
εοηκοβίεкиη крѣпоетїю ηκοію...”/„Ὁ Θεός, ὁ πάντα
ποιήσας τῆ ἰσχύϊ σου...”³¹;
- P VIII (Crown-removal Prayer) = “Бѣе бѣе нάσιζ,
πρηшедыη вх канѣ галіеіекѣю, ἦ тάμοшнїη брѣікх
εῖгоελοбїкыη...”/“Ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν, ὁ
παραγενόμενος ἐν Κανᾶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ τὸν
ἐκεῖσε γάμον εὐλόγησας...”³²;
- P IX = „Гї бѣ нашъ прешедын вх Кана Галїеѣ...”³³;

prayer is important, referring to the Communion of the spouses which once took place within the ordo of Coronation: “...And make them worthy to partake of the Holy Mysteries in the glory of Thy Only Begotten Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord...”.

³⁰ This prayer is no longer part of the current practice. Its origin is Palestinian and appears for the first time in ms. Sin. Gr. 958, f. 83^v (11th c.) [A. A. Дмитриевский, *Описание...*, томъ II, p. 30; see also G. Radle, *The Standardization of Liturgy in the Late Byzantine Period: The Case of the Rite of Marriage in South-Slavic Manuscripts and Early Printed Editions*”, in Bert Groen et alii (eds.), *Studies in Oriental Liturgy. Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, New York, 10-15 June 2014*, (Leuven – Paris – Bristol: Peeters, 2019), p. 286].

³¹ The Greek prototype of this prayer is found in ms. Barberini Gr. 336 (S. Parenti, E. Velkowska, *L’Eucologio Barberini...*, pp. 208-209).

³² The Greek prototype of this prayer of Palestinian origin is found in ms. Sin. Gr. 957 (10th c.) (A. A. Дмитриевский, *Описание...*, томъ II, p. 5).

³³ This prayer was destined to be recited by the priest at the home of the newlyweds, as a domestic blessing. It does not have a known Greek equivalent. The prayer is also found in the Serbian ms. *Погод. 309*, ff. 29^v-30^r (14th c.).

- P X (Crown-removal Prayer) = “Γᾶν ἐξῆε ἡάσῃ, κῆκῆεζ λῆτα κῆλοκῆκῆ...”/“Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὸν τοῦ στέφανον εὐλογῆσας...”³⁴;
- P XI = “Γᾶν ἐξῆε ἡάσῃ, πῆετῆ εᾶ μῆμῃ πῆρηη ηᾶ ρᾶκῃ πῆολᾶ...”/“Σὲ ἱκετεύομεν, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους σου...”³⁵;
- P XII = “Γᾶν ἐξῆε ἡάσῃ, γῆκῆν πῆρῆδᾶ...”/“Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἐν προφῆταις λαλῆσας...”³⁶;
- P XIII = (Prayer “for adorning the bride”) “Γᾶν ἐξῆε ἡάσῃ, χῆτῆογῆ κῆλοκῆπῆ...”/“Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ θάλαμον εὐπρεπείας...”³⁷;

³⁴ This prayer is first found in the most ancient Constantinopolitan extant euchologion, ms. Coislin 213 (a. 1027) [M. Arranz, *L'Euclologio Constantinopolitano agli Inizi del Secolo XI*, (Rome, Editrice Pontifica Università Gregoriana, 1996), p. 331; A. Pentkovsky, *Le Cérémonial du Mariage dans L'Euclologe Byzantin* du XI^e-XII^e Siècle, in A. M. Triacca, A. Pistola, *Le Mariage. Conférences Sait-Serge LX^e Semaine d'Études Liturgiques. Paris, 29 Juin -2 Juillet 1993*, (Roma, C.L.V. – Edizioni Liturgiche, 1994), p. 281].

³⁵ The Greek version of this prayer is found in ms. Sin. Gr. 968 (a. 1426) (A. A. Дмитриевский, *Описание...*, томъ II, p. 405). The Slavic version is also found in the Bulgarian euchologion НБКМ 960 (14th c.), f. 27^r.

³⁶ The greek prototype of the prayer is first found in Cod. Barb. Gr. 336, where it is entitled: “Prayer for binding up (the head of the head) of the woman” (S. Parenti, E. Velkowska, *L'Euclologio Barberini...*, pp. 297-299). Gabriel Radle, argues that initially this prayer was used as an adolescent coming-of-age rite, priests reciting it over young women when they had their hair bound up a symbol of assuming a virtuous life (G. Radle, *The Veiling of Women in Byzantium: Liturgy, Hair, and Identity in a Medieval Rite of Passage*, *Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies*, 94, 4/2019, p. 1114). However, in the Slavic tradition the prayer is intended as a post-nuptial rite, linked with a woman's entry into the church building after consummation (G. Radle, *The Veiling...*, pp. 1111-1114).

- P XIV (Crown-removal prayer) = “Ἐν ἐκκλῆσιᾷ ἡμετέρῃ
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκτεταμένῃ καὶ ἀσπασμένῃ...³⁸”;
- P XV = “Ὁ πατήρ, ὁ υἱός, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα...”³⁹.

3.1 First redaction

<i>TG 1545</i>	<i>BAR</i> <i>sl.</i> 241	<i>BAR sl. 32,</i> <i>BAR sl. 34</i> Troparion and kon- takion of St Con- stantin and Helen	<i>BAR rom.</i> 167 Troparion and kon- takion of St Con- stantin and Helen	<i>BAR sl.</i> 727 <i>L A C U</i> <i>N A</i> Troparion and kon- takion of St Con- stantin and Helen
Opening blessing Great synapte P I	Great synapte Trisagion Readings	Great	Great	

³⁷ Actually, this is an ancient Palestinian prayer for the blessing of the bedchamber, as found in ms. Sin. Gr. 957 (10th c.) (see A. A. Дмитриевский, *Описание...*, томъ II, p. 4; for more details on this prayer see G. Radle, *The Development of Byzantine Marriage Rites...*, pp. 139-144).

³⁸ The prayer is also found with the same purpose in the Serbian ms. РНБ Погод. 309 (16th-17th), f. 30^v. In fact, the prayer is a Slavonic reworking of a late Greek prayer for the blessing of the crowns before the coronation of the spouses which appears in the ms. Athos Lavra 21 (an. 1536): „Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντων ἡμῶν, ὁ πάντοτε καὶ πανταχοῦ παρών, ὁ ἐκ ποικίλων καὶ διαφόρων ἀνθέων στεφανῶν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων...” (for the entire Greek text see A. A. Дмитриевский, *Описание...*, томъ II, pp. 760-761).

³⁹ This is, in fact, an exhortation addressed by the priest to the couple. It is a late creation which is found beginning with the 16th c. (see, for example, ms. Constantinople, Holy Sepulchre 68 in A. A. Дмитриевский, *Описание...*, томъ II, p. 814).

<p>Psalm 20 + Crowning (v. 3-4) Kefalok- lisia – P VI Dex- trarum iunctio Readings Ektene P V Kiss of peace Kefalok- lisia – P II „Our Fa- ther” Call to Commun- ion + Commun- ion P VII + Recep- tion of the com- mon cup Pauline exhorta- tion Proke-</p>	<p>Ektene P V P I Crowning + Ps 8, 5-6 Proke- imenon P VI Dex- trarum iunctio P II „Our Fa- ther” Call to Commun- ion + Commun- ion P VII + Recep- tion of the com- mon cup Proke- imenon P X +</p>	<p>synapte P I Readings Ektene Psalm 20 P VI + Crowning Dex- trarum iunctio P V Kefalok- lisia – P II „Our Fa- ther” Call to Commun- ion + Commun- ion P VII + Recep- tion of the com- mon cup “Liturgical dance” + Proke- imenon</p>	<p>synapte P I Readings Ektene Psalm 20 P VI + Crowning Dex- trarum iunctio P V Kefalok- lisia – P II „Our Fa- ther” Call to Commun- ion P VII Commun- ion Recep- tion of the com- mon cup “Liturgical dance” + Proke- imenon Litany</p>	<p>Opening blessing Great synapte P I Kefalok- lisia – P 2 P I Proke- imenon Crown- ing Kefalok- lisia – P VI Dex- trarum iunctio Readings Ektene P V Kiss of peace Kefalok- lisia – P II „Our Fa- ther” Call to Commun- ion +</p>
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<p>imenon + Troparion P VIII + Removal of crowns The priest goes to the home of the newly- weds P XIII Ektene Dismissal</p>	<p>Removal of crowns Dismissal</p>	<p>Litany with aiteseis Proces- sion to the home of the new- lyweds + Troparia P XI Kefalok- lisia – P IX Dismissal After 8 days – P XIV (+removal of crowns)</p>	<p>with aiteseis Proces- sion to the home of the new- lyweds + Troparia Removal of crowns P XII Dismissal At the home of the new- lyweds– P 1</p>	<p>Commun- ion P VII + Recep- tion of the com- mon cup Pauline exhorta- tion “Liturgical dance” + Proke- imenon + Troparia P VIII + Removal of crowns The priest goes to the home of the new- lyweds P XIII Ektene Dismissal</p>
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3.1.1 Initial Rites

According to mss. BAR sl. 32, BAR sl. 34 și BAR rom. 167 the rite of Coronation begins immediately after the Divine Liturgy. All the documents (except BAR sl. 727 which has a lacuna at the

beginning of the ordo), mention that the priest places the crowns on the altar. The couple stays in front of the holy doors of the sanctuary (acc. mss. BAR sl. 32, BAR sl. 241, BAR sl. 34, BAR rom. 167), or even in front of the doors of the church (acc. TG 1545).

The opening blessing is mentioned only in four documents: TG 1545, ms. BAR sl. 421 and ms. BAR sl. 727 have the formula "Blessed is the Kingdom...". In mss. BAR sl. 32, BAR sl. 34, BAR rom. 167 and BAR sl. 727 the service begins with the troparion and the kontakion of St Constantine and Helen, which is explicable considering the traditional association of the holy Emperors with the ordo of Coronation, inspired in part by the imperial ceremonial⁴⁰.

According to ms. BAR sl. 727 after the great synapte the priest recites P 1 and P 2 from the rite of Betrothal. This is an interesting attempt to combine the rite of Betrothal with the ordo of Coronation. However, there is no mention of the exchange of rings.

3.1.2 The scriptural readings

In mss. BAR sl. 32, BAR sl. 241 and BAR rom. 167 the readings are placed before the crowning of the couple. A peculiarity of ms. BAR rom. 167 consists in opening the series of readings with a lecture from the Old Testament, namely from Gen. 2, 20-3, 20.

In all the documents the Apostle reading is from 1 Cor. 7, 7-14, proper to the Slavic tradition⁴¹, and the Gospel pericope is Jn. 2,

⁴⁰ A. Pentkovky, *Le Cérémonial du Mariage...*, pp. 275-276.

⁴¹ See: М. С. Желтѳв, Чины обручения и венчания в древнейших славянских рукописях, *PALAEOBULGARICA* / *СТАРОБЪЛГАРИСТИКА*, 1/2010, pp. 38-39.

1-11. The reading from the Apostle is preceded by a Prokeimenon and that from the Gospel by Aliluiaria with verses, as shown below:

Documents	Prokeimenon + Verse	Aliluiarion: Verse(s)
TG 1545, BAR sl. 421	Ps 20, 3b + Ps 20, 4	Ps 132, 1a; Ps 127, 3a
BAR sl. 32, BAR sl. 34	Ps 8, 5b – Ps 8, 6a + Ps 8, 6b	Ps 20, 3b
BAR sl. 241	–	Ps 20, 4a
BAR rom. 167	Ps 8, 5b + Ps 8, 6b	Ps 20, 3b; Ps 20, 1a
BAR sl. 727	Ps 20, 3b + Ps 20, 4	Ps 123, 3a; Ps 127, 3b

3.1.3 The crowning and joining of the right hands

In TG 1545 and ms. BAR sl. 421 the crowning is preceded by the recitation Psalm 20, until verses 3b-4, when the priest sets the crowns on the heads of the spouses. The joining of the right hands follows the prayer for bowing the heads – P VI, without any formula. According to mss. BAR sl. 32, BAR sl. 34 and BAR rom. 167, Psalm 20 is recited entirely. Afterwards P VI is recited by the priest while he sets the crown on the head of the groom, and again when he crowns the bride.

Ms. BAR sl. 241 prescribes that the priest blesses the couple with the crowns and then he places them on their heads, reciting Ps 8, 5b, respectively Ps 8, 5b-6a. After the crowning, the

singers chant a remnant of a *Prokeimenon*⁴², with the refrain – Ps 20 3b and the verse – Ps 20, 4. Then the priest recites P VI and performs the *dextrarum iunctio*. A *Prokeimenon*, consisting in the refrain - Ps 20, 1 and the verses: Ps 20, 3b și Ps 20, 4, is also mentioned in ms BAR sl. 727, preceding the crowning. Once completed, the priest crows the spouses, recites R VI and joins their right hands.

3.1.4 The kiss of preace

The kiss of peace appears only in TG 1545 and in ms. BAR sl. 727. It is preceded by the *Pax*, the admonition: “Let us love one another...” and the response: „The Father, the Son...”. The priest then kisses the spouses and they kiss each other, saying: „Christ is in our midst – He is and shall be”.

3.1.5 The call to Communion and the Communion of the spouses

In all the documents the call to Communion is: “Let us attend! The Presanctified Holy Gifts for the holy!”, followed by the response “One is Holy...”. Only ms. BAR rom. 167 mentions the kinonikon “The cup of salvation...”. Mss. BAR sl. 32 și BAR sl. 34 prescribe a Communion formula: “Receive the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, given for the remission of sins”, which appears abbreviated in ms. BAR rom 167 (“Receive the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, given to you for the remission of sins”). In this manuscript, the Communion takes place after the prayer for the common cup, but before the spouses taste from it. Also, after Communion, the couple receives the antidoron.

⁴² By the term “*Prokeimenon*” one must understand the responsorial manner of chanting.

3.1.6 The Pauline exhortation

Only in TG 1545 and ms. BAR sl. 727 the following exhortation for the newlyweds is found: "Rejoice in the Lord always. I say it again: rejoice! Let your gentleness be evident to all and the God of peace shall be with you always". This is an adapted version of *Philippians* 4, 4-6⁴³.

3.1.7 The common cup

All the documents contain the present prayer for the common cup. Moreover, mss. BAR sl. 32 and BAR sl. 34 indicate the following formula recited by the priest when giving the spouses the cup: "Drink the strength of the Holy Trinity, in the name of the Father...". In ms. BAR rom. 167 there is a similar formula: "Drink the strength of the Holy Trinity to happiness and the remission of sins". In ms. BAR sl. 727 before the reception of the common cup there is the Pauline exhortation. When the priest gives the spouses the cup he says: „Drink the strength of the Holy and undivided Trinity”.

3.1.8 The final Prokeimenon and the “liturgical dance”

After the reception of the commun cup, TG 1545, BAR sl. 32, BAR sl. 34, BAR rom. 167 and BAR sl. 727 mention the chant of a Prokeimeon, with the refrain - Ps. 79, 15-16 and the following

⁴³ According to G. Radle the Pauline exhortation is mentioned for the first time in ms. Sin. NF/M10, f. 33^v (11th c.), but within the ordo of Betrothal (G. Radle, *The Standardization...*, p. 281, n. 15). Within the Coronation rite it is found in ms. E.B.E. 662, f. 158^v (13th c.) (M. Arranz, *L'Euchologio Constantinopolitano...*, p. 330) and, in an extended version in ms. Lavra 189 (13th c.) [A. A. Дмитриевский, *Описание...*, томъ II, p. 184], as in some other late Greek manuscripts (α se vedea Π. Τρεμπέλας, *Μικρόν Εύχολόγιον*, (τ. Α, "Εκδοσις δευτέρα, Αθήνα: Ἀδελφότης Θεολόγων «Ὁ Σωτήρ», 1998), pp. 75-77].

verses: in TG 1545: Ps. 111, 1a; Ps. 111, 2a; Ps. 111, 2b-3a; in ms. BAR sl 32: Ps. 127, 1a; Ps. 127, 3a; Ps. 127, 6a; in mss. BAR sl. 34 și BAR rom. 167: Ps. 127, 1a; Ps. 127, 2a; Ps. 127, 3a; Ps. 127, 6a; in ms. BAR sl. 727: Ps. 127, 2a; Ps. 127, 2b. In ms. BAR sl. 241 another Prokeimenon is prescribed, namely Ps. 8, 5b-6a. The “liturgical dance” is explicitly mentioned during the Prokeimenon in mss. BAR sl. 32, BAR sl. 34, BAR rom. 167. In TG 1545 and ms. BAR sl. 727 a rubric instructs the priest turn the spouses “to the right pew”, while in ms. BAR sl. 241 it is prescribed that the couple is seated on a bench.

After the Prokeimenon TG 1545 adds “Glory... Now and ever...” and the theotokion “O Virgin, who only are pure and undefiled...”⁴⁴. Besides this one, ms. BAR sl. 727 has two more troparia: “Glory to Thee, O Christ God...”, “O holy Martyrs, who fought the good fight...”.

3.1.9 The procession to the home of the spouses and the concluding rites

TG 1545 and ms. BAR sl. 727 indicate that after the removal of the crowns the priest goes to the home of the newlyweds where he performs a nuptial-chamber blessing rite, setting the crowns in their bedchamber and reciting a prayer “for adorning the bride” – P XIII, followed by a final ektene.

⁴⁴ According to the definition of J. Mateos, the Prokeimenon is a psalmic verse placed at the beginning of a psalm and which, unlike an antiphon, does not conclude with „Glory...” [J. Mateos, *La Célébration de la Parole dans la Liturgie Byzantine. Étude historique*, (OCA, 191, Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1971, pp. 12-13)]. The insertion of „Glory...” and a troparion at the end of the Prokeimenon is an example of the process of partial “antiphonalization” [for details: J. C. Anderson, S. Parenti, *A Byzantine Monastic Office, 1105 A.D. Houghton Library, MS gr. 3* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2016, p. 312)].

Mss. BAR sl. 32, BAR sl. 34 and BAR rom. 167 prescribe that during the procession to the home of the spouses some troparia are sung: "Glory to Thee, O Christ God...", "O holy Martyrs, who fought the good fight...", "Through the intercessions of the Theotokos, reconcile our life...". Mss. BAR sl. 32 and BAR sl. 34 add the theotokion „Rejoice, spiritual church...". According to these last two mss., at the home of the newlyweds the priest recites P XI and P IX. Although not clearly stated, the removal of the crowns seems to take place after eight days from the wedding, when the priest recites P XIV.

Ms. BAR rom. 167 prescribes that after the removal of the crowns and the dismissal, the priest blesses the couple and goes to the home of the newlyweds where he recites P 1, the traditional prayer of Betrothal⁴⁵.

3.2 Second redaction

<i>CL 1635</i>	<i>DOS 1681</i>	<i>BLG 1689</i>	<i>BAR rom.</i>
Psalm	Psalm 127	Psalm 127	2383
127	Opening blessing	Opening blessing	Psalm
Opening	Great litany	Great litany	127
blessing	P IV	P I	-
Great	P III	P IV	Great
litany	P I		litany
P I	Crowning + for-	Crowning +	P IV
P IV	mula	{Ps 8, 5b + Ps 20,	P III
		3b}	P I

⁴⁵ P 1 is found in the same position in the Serbian ms. Belgrade, Patriarchal Museum 3.I.71 (15th c.). G. Radle tries to explain its inclusion as a domestic blessing by the fact that this ms. does not contain the Betrothal prayer (G. Radle, *Veiling...*, pp. 1111-1112). However, this is not the case here.

<p>Crown- ing + {Ps 8, 5b + Ps 20, 3b} Dex- trarum iunctio P VI Readings Ektene P III Litany with aiteseis Kiss of peace Kefalok- lisia - P II „Our Fa- ther” Call to Commun- ion + Commun- ion P VII + Recep- tion of the common</p>	<p>P VI Readings Ektene P II Litany with aiteseis</p> <p>„Our Father” P VII + Reception of the common cup</p> <p>“Liturgical dance” + Proke- imenon+Tropario n Removal of crowns + Exhortations Kefaloklisia - P VIII P XV</p> <p>Dismissal</p>	<p>Dextrarum iunc- tio P VI Readings Ektene P III Litany with aiteseis Kiss of peace Kefaloklisia - P II „Our Father” Call to Commun- ion + Communion P VII + Recep- tion of the common cup</p> <p>Proke- imenon+Tropari a Removal of crowns + Exhortations P VIII</p> <p>P XIII Ektene Dismissal</p>	<p>Crown- ing + formula</p> <p>Dex- trarum iunctio P VI Readings Ektene P II Litany with aiteseis</p> <p>„Our Fa- ther” Call to Commun- ion + Commun- ion P VII + Recep- tion of the common cup Pauline exhorta-</p>
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<p>cup Pauline exhortation Proke- imenon + Troparia P VIII + Removal of crowns The priest goes to the home of the newly-weds. P XIII Ektene Dis- mis- sal</p>			<p>tion “Liturgi- cal dance” + Proke- imenon + Troparia Removal of crowns P VIII P XIII Ektene Dis- mis- sal</p>
<p><i>BAR rom.</i> 5636 Request of consent Dex- trarum iunctio Psalm 127 Great</p>	<p><i>BAR rom.</i> 4216 Request of con- sent Dextrarum iunctio Psalm 127 Opening blessing Great litany P I P IV <i>L</i></p>	<p><i>BAR rom.</i> 288 L A C U</p>	<p><i>BUZ</i> 1699 Psalm 127 Opening blessing Great litany P IV</p>

<p>litany P I P IV P III Crown- ing + formula</p> <p>P VI Readings Ektene P II Litany with aiteseis „Our Fa- ther”</p> <p>Call to Commun- ion</p> <p>P VII + Recep- tion of the common cup “Liturgi- cal dance” + Proke- imenon +</p>	<p>A C U N A Readings Ektene P II Litany with aiteseis „Our Father”</p> <p>Call to Commu- ion</p> <p>P VII + Reception of the common cup “Liturgical dance” + Prokeimenon + Troparia Removal of crowns + Exorta- tions</p> <p>P VIII P XV Dismissal P X</p>	<p>N A Ektene P III Litany with aiteseis „Our Father” Kefaloklisia - P II</p> <p>P VII + The re- ception of the common cup</p> <p>Proke- imenon+Tropari a Removal of crowns + P VIII Dismissal <i>After 8 days: P X</i></p>	<p>P III P I Crown- ing + formula Dex- trarum iunctio P VI Readings Ektene P II Litany with aiteseis „Our Fa- ther”</p> <p>P VII + Recep- tion of the common cup Proke- imenon + Troparia Removal of crowns + Exhor- tations</p>
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<p>Troparia Removal of crowns + Exhortations P VIII P XV Dismissal P X</p>			<p>P VIII Dismissal</p>
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3.2.1 Initial rites

CL 1635 and BLG 1689 and BUZ 1699 indicate that the rite of Coronation follows the Divine Liturgy. All the documents, except DOS 1681 and ms. BAR rom. 288, mention that the priests places the crowns on the altar at the beginning of the service. With the exception of mss. BAR rom. 5636 și BAR rom 4216, the other Euchologia specify the incensation of the couple, icons and all those who are present. Psalm 127 gains a fixed position at the beginning of the service, although its responsorial interpretation with the refrain “Glory to Thee, O our God...” is explicitly stated in DOS 1681 și BLG 1689. Only mss. BAR rom. 5636 și BAR rom. 4216 indicate that the priest asks for the consent of the couple, „according to the custom”, but no details are further provided. Moreover, these two mss. instruct the priest to perform the joining of the right hands at this point of the rite and to tie them. The opening blessing is always “Blessed is the Kingdom...”, which is missing only from mss. BAR rom. 5636 and BAR rom. 2383.

3.2.2 The abandonment of R V

In this stage of redaction one can witness the abandonment of R V and its replacement or, better said, its division into two prayers: R III and R IV, which will gain a permanent role in the rite of Coronation. Even if their position in the ordo is not uniform in all the documents, in DOS 1681, ms. BAR rom. 2383 and BUZ 1699 the two prayers appear in their current sequence.

3.2.3 The crowning and joining of the right hands

According to CL 1635 and BLG 1689 the priest takes the crowns and sets the first on the head of the groom and the second on the head of the bride, saying Ps 20, 3b. Then he joins their right hands, without saying anything, and blesses the couple.

DOS 1681 indicate that the priest takes the first crown and says the present formula “The servant of God (N) is crowned for the handmaid of God...”; then he makes the sign of the cross first over the head of the groom and sets it on his head. After crowning the bride in the same way, the witness exchange the crowns three times between the groom and the bride. No mention of the *dextrarum iunctio* is made.

Mss. BAR rom. 2383, BAR rom. 5636, BAR rom. 4216 and BUZ 1699 contain a shorter crowning formula than DOS 1681: “The servant/handmaid of God (N) is crowned in the name of the Father...”. After the crowning follows the joining of the right hands and, according to ms. BAR rom. 2383 and BUZ 1699, the priest blesses the couple.

3.2.4 The scriptural readings

In CL 1635, BLG 1689, BUZ 1699 and ms. BAR rom. 2383 the Prokeimenon of the Apostle is Ps 8, 5b, being accompanied by verse – Ps 8, 9. The Apostle reading is from 1 Cor. 7, 7-14 while in ms. BAR rom. 2382 it is from 1 Co. 6, 20b-7, 12. For the

Aliluiarion, the first three Euchologia prescribe the verses: Psalm 127, 3a and Psalm 127, 3b.

In DOS 1681 Psalm 20, 3b is indicated as the Prokeimenon of the Apostle, no further verses being mentioned. In ms. BAR rom. 5636 the refrain of the Prokeimenon is Ps. 20, 3b-4a and its verse is Ps.20, 1. For the reading from the Apostle DOS 1681, BAR rom. 5636 and BAR rom. 4216 indicate Eph. 5, 20-33, proper to the Greek tradition. For the Aliluiarion these three Euchologia prescribe Ps. 11, 7. All the documents contain the traditional Gospel.

3.2.5 The kiss of peace

Only CL 1635 and BLG 1689 retain the kiss of peace, which is preceded by the litany with aiteseis. The rite is identical with the one described previously in TG 1545 and ms. BAR sl. 727.

3.2.6 The call to Communion and the Communion of the spouses

One can observe a gradually abandonment of the communion of the spouses in this stage. The reception of the Presanctified Gifts is explicitly stated only in three Euchologia: CL 1635, BLG 1689 and ms. BAR rom. 2383, although in BLG 1689 it has an optional status – if the Divine Liturgy is not celebrated before the rite of Coronation, then the priest gives the spouses only the common cup.

Although mss. BAR rom. 5636 and BAR rom. 4216 contain the call to Communion, during it the priests elevates the common cup and places it on the altar. No explicit mention of the reception of Communion is made. Therefore, in these two mss. the call to Communion and the response “One is Holy...” are just reminiscences of the ancient practice.

An ambiguous situation appears in ms. BAR rom. 288; after the kefaloklisia – R II, a rubric instructs the priest to bring the cup

of wine and to bless it. Then, o rubric in Slavonic states: „И ТѢЛО ГИА” („and the Lord’s Body”), after which P VII is prescribed. Then, the priest communes the spouses from the common cup, saying: “Drink the strenght of the Holy Trinity” (marginal note). Do we have here an Eucharistic understanding of the common cup, whose content is sanctified through the prayer of blessing (P VII) and the addition of the consecrated Bread (immixtio and consecratio)⁴⁶? The silence of the rubrics does not help us give a decisive answer. However, we may assume this hypothesis with prudence and with the assertion that this may have been only an isolated case.

3.2.7 The exhortations

After the reception of the comun cup, only CL 1635 and ms. BAR rom. 2383 contain the Pauline exhortation. BAR rom. 5636, BAR rom. 4216, DOS 1681, BLG 1689 and BLG 1699 have instead other exhortations recite by the priest when removing the crowns: “Be exalted, O bridegroom, like into Abraham...” and

⁴⁶ The opinion that the common cup contained the Eucharistic Gifts was previously stated by K. Ritzer, *Le Mariage dans les Églises chrétiennes du 1^{er} au XI^e siècle*, (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1970), pp. 202-206; G. Passarelli, La cerimonia dello Stefanoma (incoronazione) nei riti matrimoniali bizantine secondo il Codice Cryptense Γ.β. VII (X Sec.), *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 93/1979, pp. 386-387; M. Arranz, La Liturgie de Présanctifiés de l’ancien euchologe byzantin, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 47/1981, p. 380. However, this opinion was expressed with regard to the use of the common cup in Cod. Barberini Gr. 336, where the recitation of P II precedes the Communion of the spouses. But recent research proved this interpretation wrong (see A. Pentkovski, *Le Cérémonial du Mariage...*, pp. 263-264; S. Parenti, *The Christian Rite of Marriage...*, pp. 258-259; G. Radle, *The Development of Byzantine Marriage Rites...*, pp. 136-138). Although the function of the common cup is not “Eucharistic”, one cannot completely deny that in particular cases there has not been such an understanding.

“And you, O bride, ne exalted like into Sarah...”, which are still in use today. P XIII, in fact, another exhortation, appears just in BAR rom. 5636, BAR rom. 4216 and DOS 1681 where it is preceded by the Pax and the bowing of the heads.

3.2.8 The final Prokeimenon, the Troparia and the “liturgical dance”

The rubrics in CL 1635, BLG 1689 and ms. BAR rom. 2383 instruct the priest to turn the spouses toward the right pew, while Ps 79, 15-16 is being sung in a responsorial manner with the following verses: Ps. 111, 1a; Ps. 111, 2a and Ps. 111 2b-3a. Afterwards three additional troparia are being chanted: “O holy Martyrs, who fought the good fight...”, “Glory to Thee, O Christ God...” and “O Virgin, who only are pure and undefiled...”.

In BUZ 1699 and in ms. BAR rom. 288, after the reception of the common cup, the same Prokeimenon is sung three times, but only one verse is provided, namely Ps. 111, 22. In BUZ 1699 the Prokeimenon is followed by the three troparia from above, while in BAR rom. 288 only by the first two. No “liturgical dance” is mentioned in BUZ 1699, but in BAR rom. 288 a marginal note instructs the priest to lead the couple around the small table placed in the middle of the church⁴⁷.

According to mss. BAR rom. 5636 and BAR rom. 4216 the priest untied the hands of the spouses and leads them thrice around the table in the nave, while Ps. 79, 15-16 is being sung (without other verses) and also the three troparia. The “liturgical dance” is also indicated in DOS 1681 during which only “Glory to Thee, O Christ God...” is being chanted.

⁴⁷ ***ТРЕБНИК Митрополита ПЕТРА МОГИЛИ, КИЇВ, 1646, (т. I, Київ: Інформаційно-видавничий центр Української Православної Церкви, 1996), р. 424.

3.2.9 The blessing of the nuptial bedchamber

This rite is retained only in CL 1635 and is identical with the one described by TG 1545. Although P XIII is also present in BLG 1689, there is no allusion about the priest going to the home of the newlyweds. Also, a rubric instructs the celebrant to set the crowns in “an appointed place”, instead of the bedchamber. Therefore, P XI is nothing else but a reminiscence of the initial practice.

3.2.10 The role of P X

In this stage one can witness the loss of the initial purpose of P X as a crown removal prayer. It is still found in mss. BAR rom. 5636 and BAR rom. 4216, but placed after the dismissal and entitled: “Prayer of dismissal”. In ms. BAR rom. 288 it is found in the same position, having the title: “Prayer for untying the crowns on the eight day [after the Coronation]”. However, a marginal note “corrects” the precedent rubric, instructing the priest to recite this prayer immediately after the dismissal.

4 The rite of Digamia

Of all the documents analysed in this paper, the rite of Digamia is found in only five Euchologia from the 17th century: CL 1635, BLG 1689, BAR rom. 2383, BAR rom. 288 and BUZ 1699. The rite comprises the following three prayers:

- P (a) = “Бл̀ко гл̀н бж̀е н́шш, кр̀кхх шадл̀н, ѡ кр̀кхх промышл̀л̀л̀н...”/“Δέσποτα Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πάντων φειδόμενος, καὶ πάντων προνοούμενος...”⁴⁸;
- P (b) = “Гл̀н ѡнне хр̀т̀е, л̀ове бж̀її, кознееїїїєл̀ на ѡтнїк̀мх н̀ жнкоѡтворл̀цемех кр̀т̀її...”/ “Κύριε, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, Λόγε τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ ὑψωθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ Σταυροῦ...”⁴⁹;
- P (c) = “Гл̀н бж̀е н́шш, ѡвраама др̀гом назкв̀л̀...”/“Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ φίλον καλέσας...”⁵⁰.

The five Euchologia already mentioned describe an almost identical ordo:

- ❖ Opening blessing (“Blessed is our God...”);
- ❖ Trisagion – Our Father;
- ❖ Troparion + Kontakion of the day;
- ❖ Great litany;
- ❖ P (a);
- ❖ Kefaloklisia – P (b);

⁴⁸ This prayer is a late creation. The Greek version is found in ms. Konstamonitou 19 (20) (15th c.) (A. A. Дмитриевский, *Описание...*, томъ II, p. 499).

⁴⁹ As in the case of the previous prayer, the Greek version of this one is also found in ms. Konstamonitou 19 (20) (15th c.) (A. A. Дмитриевский, *Описание...*, томъ II, p. 499).

⁵⁰ This was, in fact, the original prayer of this rite. It is found for the first time in ms. Coislin 213 (a. 1027), where it is the single element of the ordo, without any additional rubrics (see also A. PALMIERI, *The second marriage service in the Orthodox Church, Marriage, Families and Spirituality*, 14.2/2008, p. 172). Unfortunately, this prayer has been left out of the current redaction of the rite.

- ❖ Crowning of the spouse who has never been married before;
- ❖ Readings: Apostle – Eph. 5, 25-33⁵¹; Gospel – Mt. 19, 3-12⁵²;
- ❖ P (c);
- ❖ Ektene;
- ❖ Dismissal.

The differences between this rite and the current ordo are important. First of all, the prayers of Betrothal and the exchange of the rings are omitted. The priest is instructed to lay the crown only on the head of the spouse who has never been married before, saying: “The servant/handmaid of God is crowned in the name of the Father”. The Gospel reading from Mt. 19, 3-12 recounts Jesus’s strong opposition to divorce and remarriage (except for the case when the separation of the married couple is determined by the immorality of one of the spouses). The most ancient prayer of this rite, P (c), is still part of the service. The absence of the common cup (not to mention the reception of Holy Communion) also contributes to the overall sober, less festive and penitential tone of the rite⁵³.

5 Conclusions and proposed reforms

At the end of this survey, one can draw the following conclusions:

⁵¹ Prokeimenon of the Apostle: Ps. 8, 5b; verse: Ps. 8, 9.

⁵² Verses for the Aliluiarion of the Gospel: Ps. 127, 3a and Ps. 127, 3b.

⁵³ D. A. Vanca, *Rânduiala Cununiei...*, pp. 81-83.

Regarding the rites of Betrothal, Coronation and Digamia, the Slavo-Romanian Euchologia from the 16th-17th depend mostly on the liturgical tradition of the South-Slavs;

1. Throughout the 16th-17th centuries the rite of Betrothal suffered minor variations. P 1 and P 2 are the most constant elements of the ordo, while the presence of the ancient P 3 in some mss. is a interesting peculiarity, despite its additional character. In the received rite its place has been taken by P 4, a more recent creation;
2. Of the three rites, the ordo of Coronation has the highest degree of diversity of its structure; for this reason, one can distinguish two stages of redactive evolution. At the opposite pole is the rite of Digamia which has the same structure in all the documents which contain it;
3. The main characteristic of the first stage of redaction of the rite of Coronation is the Communion of the spouses from the Presanctified Gifts; in the second stage, the reception of Holy Communion is gradually abandoned until it was no longer an integral part of the rite. Also, the documents of the first stage have other archaic peculiarities, among which the most important are: the presence of the presidential prayer P I alone before the crowning, the festive procession to the home of the newlyweds, the removal of the crowns at the home of the spouses and the rite of blessing the bedchamber. All these will be gradually atrophied in the 17th century;
4. The rite of Digamia was not known by the Romanian liturgical documents until the first half of the 17th century, when it first appears in CL 1635, an Euchologia influenced by the Ukrainian tradition. The less festive and penitential tone of the rite, determined mainly by omission of the Betrothal, by the fact that the spouse previously married is not crowned and by the absence of the common cup, is suitable with the Church's perception of the second marriage.

The most important challenge for the current liturgical practice is the restoration of the link between Marriage and the Eucharist. Although the year 2011 was dedicated by the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church to the Sacrament of Holy Baptism and the Sacrament of Holy Marriage, the issue of restoring the reception of Holy Communion by the spouses within the rite of Coronation was entirely ignored by the Synodal authority. Perhaps in the context of the year 2020, dedicated by the Romanian Holy Synod to the Pastoration of parents and children, this discussion can be resumed.

Fr. Schmemmann rightly argued that: “The common cup given to the couple after the crowning is explained today as a symbol of «common life», and nothing shows better the «desacramentalization» of marriage, its reduction to a «natural happiness». In the past this was communion, the partaking of the Eucharist, the ultimate seal of the fulfillment of marriage in Christ. Christ is to be the very essence of life together. He is the wine of the new life of the children of God, and communion in it will proclaim how, by getting older and older in this world, we are growing younger and younger in the life which has no evening”⁵⁴. Moreover, N. Milošević stated that in the Church through the Eucharist the spouses are restored in their original state and Marriage fulfils its eschatological purport⁵⁵.

The historical evolution of the byzantine rite of Coronation has its vicissitudes. The multiplication of prayers, the exclusion of Communion, the exaggeration of the symbolic role of the com-

⁵⁴ A. Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World: Sacraments and Orthodoxy*, (New York, Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1973), p. 91.

⁵⁵ N. S. Milošević, *Dumnezeiasca Liturghie – Centrul cultului în Ortodoxie. Legătura indisolubilă a Sfințelor Taine cu Dumnezeiasca Euharistie*, trans. Ioan Ică sr. (Sibiu: Deisis, 2012), p. 144.

mon cup, the reduction of the procession of the newlyweds to a “dance” performed in the middle of the church building are still unresolved issues. Although there are some attempts for a “reformed” rite of Marriage⁵⁶, the results are debatable. Although it is true that one cannot just simply reenact the past and ignore centuries of liturgical evolution, the past can provide models for a rite adapted to the present liturgical and pastoral necessities. In the table below we offer a brief presentation of the received rite of Coronation and our proposal for a revised version, hoping for an official Synodal debate and decision in this matter:

<i>Received Rite</i>	<i>Revised Rite</i>
Ps 127	Ps 127
Opening blessing	Opening blessing
Great synapte	Great synapte
P IV	P I
P III	Crowning + Ps 8, 5
P I + Dextrarum iunctio	Kefaloklisia – R VI
Crowning + formula	Dextrarum iunctio
Prokeimenon (Ps 8, 5)	Readings
Readings	Ektene
Ektene	P II + Ekphonesis: “And grant us, Master, with boldness...”
P II	“Our Father”
Litany with aiteseis	“Let us attend! The Presanctified Holy Gifts for the holy!”
„Our Father”	“One is Holy...”
Kefaloklisia – P VII + the reception of the common cup +	Communion of the spouses +
Kinonikon (Ps. 115, 4)	

⁵⁶ For some examples see N. Milošević, *Dumnezeiasca Liturghie...*, pp. 144-151.

“Liturgical dance” + Troparia Removal of crowns + Exhortations P VIII Kefaloklisia – P XV Dismissal	Kinonikon (Ps. 115, 4) Litany with aiteseis P VIII + Removal of crowns Kefaloklisia – P X Dismissal
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