

Development of the Orthodox Divine Liturgy from the 4th to the 12th Centuries						
Clementine Liturgy -- Apostolic Constitutions (4th century in Antioch)	During the time of St John Chrysostom (end of 4th century)	During the time of St Maximos the Confessor (7th century) -- Commentaries of Dionysios and St Maximos	After 'Triumph of Orthodoxy' over iconoclasm (9th century) -- Codex Barberini and Commentary of St Germanos	During the 11th century -- Commentary of Nicholas of Andida	Completion of the Liturgy -- <i>Diataxis</i> of St Philotheos (14th century)	Other Notes
People bring gifts of bread and wine and leave them outside church	Gifts brought to skeuophylakion (separate outside sacristy building)	As before -- deacons receive and prepare gifts for later transfer	As before, but presbyter now serves preliminary rite (<i>prothesis</i>) to prepare the gifts -- originally at the time of the Great Entrance but soon before the main service (prayers reflect illustrative symbolism)	<i>Prothesis</i> served during antiphons (if used) or before service, and presbyters taking over responsibility completely from deacons -- service more elaborate with use of incense	Full <i>prothesis</i> rite of today, preceded by prayers for clergy on arrival and vesting (lavabo moved here, except during hierarchical liturgies) <i>Prothesis</i> room connected directly to sanctuary, or table moved into sanctuary itself	
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	<i>Synapte</i> : the 'great litany' moves here from after entrance	<i>Enarxis</i> : service up to the entrance (its secondary nature, along with <i>prothesis</i> , indicated that even in hierarchical liturgy, these are served by a presbyter)
_____	_____	_____	Antiphons: processional psalms sung on the way to the church -- originally Psalms 91. 92 and 94 ("Let us come before His presence with thanksgiving") with refrains ("Through the prayers of the Theotokos, O Saviour, save us", "Alleluia", and "Only-begotten Son", composition attributed to Justinian) Stational processions also include litanies and prayers	In many places, the great litany is used before the antiphons , but it is not fixed there until 13th c. Antiphons have their current form In some places the <i>Typikia</i> are used instead: Psalms 103, 146 followed by "Only-begotten Son" and then the Beatitudes (originally <i>Typika</i> in full form are Palestinian form of the Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts) Refrains ("Remember us, O Lord, when Thou comest into Thy kingdom" or special troparia) are interspersed in the Beatitudes	Prescribes use of <i>Typika</i> Still use of Mount Athos and Slavic Orthodox -- Greek practice is to use (very) abbreviated form of antiphons, with "Only-begotten Son" after the second antiphon as in <i>Typika</i> practice	Antiphons not a fixed part of Liturgy for many centuries -- could be omitted if no processions Even where <i>Typika</i> supplant the original antiphons, on feasts the antiphons return (<i>cf</i> Baumstark's principle)
_____	_____	People wait outside, and on arrival of bishop (patriarch, emperor), prayer of entrance by senior bishop: "Benefactor and Creator of all creation, receive the Church which is advancing..."	Prayer of entrance by bishop on arrival: "O Master Lord our God who hast appointed in heaven orders and hosts of angels..." -- slowly comes to be attached more to the entrance into the sanctuary of the clergy than to the entrance of all into the church	Prayer of entrance and entrance with Gospel	From 14th c., Gospel book kept on holy table, so the entrance becomes a small exit and return into the sanctuary with prayer said quietly (only at hierarchical liturgy does it retain original significance)	Earlier entrance prayer (church ascending, receiving Kingdom) is recorded as St John Chrysostom in Codex Barberini, current one (angels) as St Basil
Service begins with bishop's enthronement in the sanctuary	Bishop preceded by candles and incense and deacon carrying Gospel book enters with people / Gospels placed on holy table	Entrance chant to accompany entry (periods of silence gradually get filled): psalm accompanied by refrain or troparion (three times, doxology then repeat) -- early in the 6th century this refrain is the <i>Trisagion</i> : " Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us" (based on Isaiah 6 + Psalm 41:3) -- was sung in 451 at Chalcedon	Entrance chant: Trisagion displaced (to after the actual entrance) by antiphonal refrains eg "Only-begotten Son"	Antiphonal entrance chant (Great litany, if not at beginning of service) Trisagion	Entrance chant: "O come let us worship..." is remains of old third antiphon Followed by singing of troparia and kontakia related to the day or feast: growing from two in 12th c. to many in the following centuries Trisagion	Episcopal liturgy today preserves traces of the Psalm (79) in between repetitions of the Trisagion Trisagion still used in processions (eg funerals) Other entrance refrains used at other times (eg "As many as have been baptised...") Refrains/troparia -- church no longer resistant to new compositions

_____	_____	_____	<i>Synapte</i> : the 'great litany' moves here from after the readings and dismissal of the catechumens -- then moves to before the Trisagion	_____	_____	The move of these prayers (and placement of litany of fervent supplication) obscures earlier category of those 'incapable of prayer'
	"Peace be with you all" by bishop from synthronon	"Peace be with you all" by bishop from synthronon	Peace as before	Peace	Peace	
Readings (Law, Prophets, Epistles, Acts and Gospels) from ambo in centre of the nave Readings interspersed with psalms	Readings (OT, Epistle, Gospel) from ambo (joined to sanctuary by solea, with protective barriers) Responsorial psalms (with refrain - prokeimenon) between readings	Readings (OT, Epistle, Gospel) from ambo Responsorial psalms as before	Readings (Epistle and Gospel only) from the ambo Responsorial psalms as before, though slowly shortened until only prokeimenon refrain remains	Readings (Epistle and Gospel) from the ambo	Ambo no longer projects very far into nave, so Epistle read from middle of nave, Gospel from ambo (in front of iconostasis) Censing for the Gospel (holy table only to begin with, during Alleluia verses) gets elaborated and overshadows the Epistle	
Homilies (bishop last, preaching sitting from his throne)	Homilies (St John Chrysostom sometimes preached from chair on ambo)	Homilies (though begin of decline in preaching <i>cf Penthekte</i> or Quinisext Council aka <i>In Trullo</i> of 692 reminds bishops to preach)	Homily	Homily	Homily (though not everywhere -- sometimes omitted or moved to end of service)	
			<i>Ektene</i> , or litany of fervent supplication (addressed directly to God)	Litany of fervent supplication	Litany of fervent supplication In modern Greek practice, omitted along with everything until the Great Entrance	
Prayers over then dismissal of four groups incapable of prayer (catechumens, energoumenoi -- those troubled with unclean spirits, <i>photismoï</i> - those preparing for illumination, and penitents) then closing of doors	Prayers over then dismissal of catechumens and penitents (no mention of <i>energoumenoi</i>) and closing of doors	Litany and dismissal of catechumens (no longer dismissal of penitents as that discipline had fallen into disuse) and closing of doors	Litany and dismissal of catechumens	Litany and dismissal of catechumens	Litany and dismissal of catechumens	Wybrew: catechumenate an anachronism from 8th c.-- no, persists until 13th century (though most catechumens are toddlers)
Intercessory prayers of the faithful, followed by prayer of the bishop for all the faithful	Intercessory prayers of the faithful for empire, church, peace, anyone in trouble	Intercessory prayers of the faithful as before, called <i>synapte</i>	Two prayers of the faithful (accompanying litany shortened from earlier <i>synapte</i>) and opening of the <i>eileton</i> (large cloth) -- these are prayers of the clergy, indicated in the Codex Barberini to be prayed "mystically" (never intended to be prayed aloud)	Prayers of the faithful, opening of the <i>eileton</i>	Prayers of the faithful, Introduction of the <i>antimension</i> (within the <i>eileton</i>) -- eventually partially opened during litany of fervent supplication and fully during litany and dismissal of catechumens	
_____	_____	Great entrance (moved to before peace/kiss): more solemn procession from outside church into nave along solea to the sanctuary -- accompanied by singing, initially Psalm 24 (with Alleluia refrain) but by end of 6th c. Cherubic Hymn is decreed by emperor to be sung	Great entrance -- during Cherubic Hymn, prayer by bishop/presbyter for himself (only "I" prayer) given in Codex Barberini with text close to current rite -- deacons still bring gifts forward, escorted by candles, incense and fans	Great entrance as before	Great entance: now presbyters take part in the procession, gradually "commemorations" during the procession take place (originally Philotheos prescribes just one: "May the Lord God remember us in His kingdom") - <i>cherubikon</i> divided into two parts	
_____	_____	Lavabo by bishop and presbyters preparing to receive the offerings	Lavabo by bishop and presbyters preparing to receive the offerings (still take no part in procession)	Lavabo by bishop and presbyters preparing to receive the offerings (still take no part in procession)	Bishop at hierarchical liturgy still receives gifts as before: otherwise placed by presbyters and deacons on holy table Deposition of gifts of holy table accompanied by Scriptural quotes and "Noble Joseph" troparion that reflect illustrative symbolism of burial of Christ	

Bishop: "The peace of God be with you all" / People: "And with thy spirit"	Bishop: "The peace of God be with you all" / People: "And with thy spirit"	After gifts placed on holy table, the prayer of <i>proskimidia</i> , <i>and</i> the bishop gives the peace as before	After gifts placed on holy table, the prayer of <i>proskimidia</i> , <i>and</i> the bishop gives the peace as before	After gifts placed on holy table, the prayer of <i>proskimidia</i> , <i>and</i> the bishop gives the peace as before	Litany with "Grant It, O Lord" biddings eventually interpolated here (duplicated) by imitation of Presanctified Liturgy -- proskimidia (access) prayer said quietly during the litany	
Holy kiss (no creed) -- linked with Eucharist now rather than end of prayers	Deacon: "Greet one another with a holy kiss"	Kiss of peace as before	Kiss of peace (still exchanged by everyone, and a significant part of service)	Kiss of peace as before	Kiss of peace will eventually be confined to the sanctuary between ranks of clergy	
Deacon: "Let us with fear and trembling stand upright before the Lord to offer", then transfer of gifts in silence, presented to bishop in the sanctuary	Deacons transfer gifts from skeuophylakion -- still no chant or ceremonial -- but in Mopsuestia, Theodore mentions increasing ritual and allegorises as death and burial of Christ	The Symbol of Faith (Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed) is sung (introduced in early 6th c.)	"The doors, the doors, in wisdom let us attend" then the Symbol of Faith	"The doors, the doors, in wisdom let us attend" then the Symbol of Faith	"The doors, the doors, in wisdom let us attend" then the Symbol of Faith	"The doors, the doors" -- interpreted from 10th/11th c. as the sanctuary (holy) doors rather than the original main (royal) doors of the church -- then allegorised
Lavabo -- washing of hands by bishop and presbyters (sometimes before kiss)	Lavabo -- and prayers of approach (called <i>proskimidia</i>)	_____	_____	_____	_____	
Anaphora (has become fixed rather than <i>ex tempore</i>) -- as with all prayers, still public/aloud (though bishop and presbyters may have prayed private devotional prayers) Opening dialogue begins with (from 2 Cor 13): "May the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God the Father and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all" Then: "Lift up your minds" (not hearts) "Let us give thanks to the Lord" Then great prayer of thanksgiving (very long), including sanctus, and institution of the Eucharist followed by <i>epiklesis</i>	Anaphora (probably that of St Basil from 379 when St Gregory becomes Patriarch of Constantinople), incorporating new emphasis on Holy Spirit and Trinitarian theology Same introductory dialogue	Anaphora (usually St Basil, less frequently St John Chrysostom) Opening dialogue now with "Lift up your hearts" Note: <i>Novella</i> of 565 by Justinian: prayers must be said aloud (addressing creeping Nestorian practice of "silent" prayers)	Anaphora (still St Basil mainly) -- prayers said quietly and punctuated by certain phrases said out loud --but people could still <i>see</i> because the chancel barrier / iconostasis is still low and open until late 11th/12th c.	Anaphora (St Basil mainly)	Anaphora of St John Chrysostom has become the normal practice apart from 10 times per year (but with any different prayers said quietly, lay people would not have particularly noticed) Philotheos prescribes additional dialogue with deacon (eg "Bless, master, the holy bread...") and actions for consecration/epiklesis Much later, a prayer for the invocation of the Holy Spirit (from the Third Hour) is interpolated	
After the consecration, comprehensive intercession for church, episcopate, emperor, civil authorities, departed, congregation present, city, needy, those reasonably absent, etc	Inclusion of the diptychs into the intercession (St Cyril of Jerusalem first to mention commemoration of deceased in diptychs -- living soon followed, then ecumenical councils from 518)	Intecessions, dipytchs	Intecessions, dipytchs	Intecessions, dipytchs	Intecessions, but dipytchs less important (except at hierarchical and especially primatial liturgies)	
Anaphora concludes with Trinitarian doxology and great Amen	Doxology and Amen	Doxology and Amen	"And grant that with one mouth and one heart..." doxology and Amen	"And grant that with one mouth and one heart..." doxology and Amen	"And grant that with one mouth and one heart..." doxology and Amen	
Peace offered by bishop	"Grace and peace be with you" / "And with thy spirit"	"Grace and peace be with you" / "And with thy spirit"	Blessing by bishop as in the modern rite ("And the mercies of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ shall be with you all")	"And the mercies of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ shall be with you all"	"And the mercies of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ shall be with you all"	
Litany (including old "Roman" prayer for the gifts to be received on God's heavenly altar)	Litany	Litany	Litany with "grant it, O Lord" biddings (originally from Vespers/Mattins)	Litany	Litany	Confusion from Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (where this bidding litany from Vespers is after the Great Entrance) leads to its duplication after Great Entance
_____	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer	
_____	_____	_____	Peace and prayer at the bowing of heads (same prayers as present rite)	Peace and prayer at the bowing of heads	Peace and prayer at the bowing of heads	

Invitation ("Holy things for the holy") with response a longer form of "There is one holy, one Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father..."	"Holy things for the holy" with response	"Holy things for the holy" with response	Private prayer of bishop/presbyter before: "Holy things for the holy" which is now accompanied by raising of the gifts	Private prayer of bishop/presbyter before: "Holy things for the holy"	Private prayer of bishop/presbyter before: "Holy things for the holy"	
_____	_____	<i>Zeon</i> : addition of hot water to consecrated cup (though not universal until 14th c.)	Prayers accompany fraction, putting particles into cup, pouring of <i>zeon</i>	Prayers accompany fraction, putting particles into cup, pouring of <i>zeon</i>	Prayers accompany fraction, putting particles into cup, pouring of <i>zeon</i>	
_____	<i>Koinonikon</i> -- communion hymn: "Praise the Lord from the heavens" (whole of Psalm 148)	<i>Koinonikon</i> : "Praise the Lord from the heavens"	<i>Koinonikon</i> : "Praise the Lord from the heavens" (shortened, variations of this for feasts)	<i>Koinonikon</i> : "Praise the Lord from the heavens" (shortened, variations of this for feasts)	<i>Koinonikon</i> : "Praise the Lord from the heavens" (shortened, variations of this for feasts)	
Distribution of communion with Psalm 33 -- communion received separately, in crossed hands "The body of Christ" and from cup "The blood of Christ" -- clergy receive first in sanctuary	Distribution of communion as before	Distribution of communion as before (note canon of <i>Pentekthe</i> Council of 692 commands how to receive in hands, not into cloth or receptacle)	Distribution of communion by spoon: unknown beginning, but criticised by western writers in the 9th c. -- still accompanied by singing of psalm (note: clergy still receive as before in sanctuary)	Clergy communion, then distribution of communion by spoon	Clergy communion, then distribution of communion by spoon	
_____	_____	"Let our mouths be filled with Thy praise, O Lord..." (from 624)	"O God save Thy people" followed by "Let our mouths be filled"	"O God save Thy people" followed by "Let our mouths be filled"	"O God save Thy people" followed by troparion (usually "We have seen the True Light" from Pentecost, but varied in some places for centuries), then "Let our mouths be filled"	
Prayer of thanksgiving by bishop after communion	Prayer of thanksgiving	Prayer of thanksgiving	Litany and prayer of thanksgiving (as present rite)	Litany and prayer of thanksgiving	Litany and prayer of thanksgiving	
_____	Prayer "behind the ambo"	Ambon prayer	"Let us depart in peace..." then ambon prayer (like current one, though also 40 variations for feasts and commemorations)	"Let us depart in peace..." then ambon prayer	"Let us depart in peace..." then ambon prayer (variations eventually die out)	Importance of ambon prayer -- Nicholas of Andida in 11th c.: when people can no longer hear anything of the other prayers, this is the "recapitulation" that they can participate in
Dismissal by bishop (people bowing heads)	Dismissal	Dismissal	Dismissal	Dismissal	Dismissal	