



## THE PRAYER “THE GOD OF THE SPIRITS...” (an expression that disappeared from liturgical structures: “in Abraham’s, Isaac’s and Jacob’s bosoms”)

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### ABSTRACT

*Although it seems to be a “common prayer” without any characteristic, given her repeated presence in the Funeral ordinances, the prayer “The God of the spirits...” still has a special value, being considered one of the prayers that is representative for the dead. That is why we would like to linger in this short article on some textual forms, including on the expression “in the bosom of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob”, able, in our opinion, to reveal the real difference of the various writings of the prayer “The God of the spirits...”.*

**Keywords:** hymnography; liturgical structures; liturgical manuscripts; prayers for the departed; funeral practices;

### 1. THE PRAYER “THE GOD OF THE SPIRITS...” – TEXT

Before analysing<sup>1</sup> the expression “in Abraham’s, Isaac’s and Jacob’s bosoms”, I consider necessary and useful to present the entire text of the prayer, as it is shown in the (Romanian) *Psalter* from 1818:

“The God of the spirits (Revelation 22, 6)<sup>2</sup> and of every flesh (Numbers 16, 22; 27, 16), who didst trample down death and didst overcome the devil (acc. to Hebrews 2, 14)<sup>3</sup>, bestowing life to this world (acc. to 2 Maccabees 3, 35; John 6, 33<sup>4</sup>); do Thou, O Lord, give rest (acc. to Matthew 11, 28)<sup>5</sup> to the soul of Thy departed servant [name] in a place of light, in a place of green pasture, in a place of refreshment (Genesis 8, 9; Numbers 10, 33 etc.), from whence pain, sorrow and mourning have fled away (acc. to Isaiah 35, 10; 51, 11). Every sin committed by him in thought, word or deed, do Thou as our good and man-befriending God (acc. to Exodus 34, 6; Luke 18, 19<sup>6</sup>) forgive: for there is no man that shall live and not sin (2 Paralipomena 6, 36)<sup>7</sup>, Thou alone art without sin. Thy righteousness is an everlasting righteousness, and Thy law is truth (Psalm 118, 142; John 17, 17)<sup>8</sup>”.

<sup>1</sup> See also I. Stoicu, “Rugăciunea: Dumnezeuul duhurilor și a tot trupul” [“The prayer: The God of the spirits and of every flesh”], in *Mitropolia Banatului (Mitropoly of Banat)* 14/1-3 (1964), pp. 77-82; unfortunately, this article is lacking essential data regarding the origin and age of the prayer.

<sup>2</sup> The biblical references do not appear in the original text, but they are intended to facilitate the analysis of the textual forms.

<sup>3</sup> According to S. Parenti and E. Velkovska, *L’ Eucologio Barberini gr. 336*. Seconda edizione riveduta con traduzione in lingua italiana, BELS 80, Roma: CLV-Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000, p. 235 and Δ. Β. Τζέρπος, *Η Ακολουθία τοῦ Νεκρωσίου Εὐχέλαιον κατὰ τὰ χειρόγραφα Εὐχολόγια τοῦ ἰδ’-ις’ αἰ.*, Ἀθήνα, Ἴδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας. “Λατρευολογήματα 1”, 2000, p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀθηναγόρας (Μητροπολίτης), “Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων”, Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος 36 (1937), p. 189.

<sup>5</sup> Ἀθηναγόρας (Μητροπολίτης), “Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων”, p. 189.

<sup>6</sup> Ἀθηναγόρας (Μητροπολίτης), “Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων”, p. 190.

<sup>7</sup> Ἀθηναγόρας (Μητροπολίτης), “Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων”, p. 189.

<sup>8</sup> According to *Psaltirea (The Psalter)*, Chișinău: În Exarhiceasca Tipografie a Basarabiei, 1818, p. 305r; see



## 2. THE PRAYER “THE GOD OF THE SPIRITS...” – THE EXPRESSION “IN ABRAHAM’S, ISAAC’S AND JACOB’S BOSOMS” – GENERAL REMARKS

A fundamental addition in the prayer “*The God of the spirits and of all flesh...*” is the expression: “*in Abraham’s, Isaac’s and Jacob’s bosoms*”<sup>9</sup>, which, unfortunately, is missing from the current form of the prayer and which has direct and indirect grounds in the Scripture (Luke<sup>10</sup> 16, 22-23<sup>11</sup>; acc. to Matthew 8, 11<sup>12</sup>; Luke 13, 28<sup>13</sup>; 4 Maccabees 13, 17<sup>14</sup>).

Specialists have written a lot about this expression, given the fact that, on the one hand, it is the only one which emphasizes the real difference<sup>15</sup> between various written texts (funerary inscriptions, manuscripts, printed texts), and, on the other hand, because it could

also N. Preda, *Rânduiala rugăciunii ce se face după ieșirea sufletului din trup, conform Psaltirii de la 1818 (Chișinău): noțiuni de liturgică [The Order of Prayer read after the Soul Has Left the Body, according to the Psalter from 1818 (Chișinău): Notions of Liturgics]*, Bucharest: Basilica Publishing House, 2015, pp. 208-209.

<sup>9</sup> “*ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ*”, A. Dumont, “Fragment de l’office funèbre de l’Église grecque sur une inscription d’Égypte”, in Th. Homolle, *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’épigraphie*, Paris, Ernest Thorin, 1892, p. 584.

<sup>10</sup> “*εἰς τὸν κόλπον Ἀβραάμ (...)* ὁρᾷ Ἀβραάμ ἀπὸ μακρόθεν καὶ Λάζαρον ἐν τοῖς κόλποις αὐτοῦ”, *Greek-English New Testament*. Greek text Novum Testamentum Graece, in the tradition of Eberhard Nestle and Erwin Nestle, edited by Barbara and Kurt Aland [et al.]. Eleventh corrected edition, Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2008, p. 215; see also S. Parenti and E. Velkovska, *L’Eucologio...*, p. 236, note e etc., B. Botte, “Les plus anciennes formules de prière pour les morts”, in *La maladie et la mort du chrétien dans la Liturgie*, Conférences Saint-Serge XXI<sup>e</sup> semaine d’études liturgiques, Paris, 1<sup>er</sup>-4 juillet 1974, BELS 1, Roma, Edizioni Liturgiche, 1975, p. 93 and Δ. Β. Τζέρπος, *Ἡ Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Νεκρωσίμου...*, p. 243, note 3 etc.; “*“Κόλπους Ἀβραάμ” Λοκ. 1ΣΤ, 23*”, Αθηνάγορας (Μητροπολίτης), “Ο Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων”, p. 189; “*Saint Luc, Ἐν., XVI, 22*”, A. Dumont, “Fragment de l’office funèbre de l’Église grecque...”, p. 588, note 2.

<sup>11</sup> “*LE SEIN D’ABRAHAM.– L’image du sein d’Abraham, comme celle du rafraîchissement, vient de la parabole de Lazare et du mauvais riche: après sa mort, Lazare est transporté dans le sein d’Abraham (Lc 16, 22-23). L’expression est iconnue de l’Ancien Testament*”, B. Botte, “Les plus anciennes formules...”, p. 93.

<sup>12</sup> “*ὅτι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν ἤζουσιν καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται μετὰ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν*”, *Greek-English New Testament...*, p. 18; see also B. Botte, “Les plus anciennes formules...”, p. 93, S. Parenti and E. Velkovska, *L’ Eucologio...*, p. 236, note f etc. and Δ. Β. Τζέρπος, *Ἡ Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Νεκρωσίμου...*, p. 243, note 3 etc.

<sup>13</sup> “*ὅταν ὀνησθε Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ πάντα τοὺς προφήτας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ*”, *Greek-English New Testament...*, p. 207; see also S. Parenti and E. Velkovska, *L’ Eucologio...*, p. 236, note f etc.

<sup>14</sup> “*οὕτω γὰρ θανόντας ἡμᾶς Ἀβρααμ καὶ Ἰσαακ καὶ Ἰακωβ ὑποδέχονται καὶ πάντες οἱ πατέρες ἐπαινέσουσιν*”, LXX [*Ἡ Παλαιὰ Διαθήκη κατὰ τοὺς Ο’ (Septuaginta)*, Ἀθήνα, Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλικὴ Ἑταιρία, (s. a.): 1176; see also B. Botte, “Les plus anciennes formules...”, p. 93.

<sup>15</sup> “*Il lettore avrà notato che la differenza fondamentale – l’unica d’altronde – di questi quattro testi consiste nella formula Ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Ἰακώβ, contenuta nella lapide di Daninos e che è presente in quasi tutte le stele, di cui si è fatta menzione sopra*”, V. Bruni, *I funerali di un sacerdote nel rito bizantino, secondo gli Eucologi manoscritti di lingua greca*. Pubblicazioni dello Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Collectio Minor n. 14, Jerusalem, Franciscan Printing Press, 1972, p. 156; “*O. V. Bruni καταλήγει στὰ ἐξῆς συμπεράσματα: 1 ον) Στὴν εὐχὴ ἡ μόνη διαφορὰ ποὺ παρατηρεῖται εἶναι ἡ φράση: “Ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Ἰακώβ” ποὺ παραδίδει ἡ δίγλωσση ἐπιγραφή Daninos τοῦ 913 καὶ ποὺ δὲν ὑπάρχει στὰ ἄλλα κείμενα*”, Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία κατὰ τοὺς χειρογράφους κώδικες 10ου-12ου αἰῶνος*. Τόμος Α’. Γενικὴ Εἰσαγωγή, Κατάλογοι, Πίνακες, Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Προφήτου Ἡλίου Θήρας, Ἐκδόσεις Θεοσβίτης, 2005, p. 186; “*La rédaction moderne a, plusieurs fois, altéré le texte tel qu’il était fixé à l’époque de notre épitaphe; la rédaction ancienne est plus pure, plus grecque que celle de la prière actuelle. Il n’y a vraiment qu’une différence importante entre les deux textes; la partie de phrase ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ne figure pas à cette place dans l’office funèbre de l’Église orientale, bien qu’on la trouve souvent, ailleurs, dans le cours de la cérémonie. Il est fort probable que cette adjonction dans la prière ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων était propre à un pays particulier et qu’il faut la supprimer, si on veut retrouver, non une rédaction locale, mais le texte qui était reçu, à cette époque, dans la plus grande partie de l’Orient chrétien*”, A. Dumont, “Fragment de l’office funèbre de l’Église grecque...”, p. 588.



offer us information related to the origin of the prayer<sup>16</sup>.

Although the additional expression “*in Abraham’s, Isaac’s and Jacob’s bosoms*” appears in the prayer “*The God of the spirits and of all flesh...*” only in the texts of the funerary inscriptions<sup>17</sup>, it will not completely disappear from the subsequent liturgical structures of funeral practices. Furthermore, this expression is to be found even today in the content of certain prayers from “*Rânduiala înmormântării preoților și a diaconilor de mir*” (“*Ceremonial regarding the funerals of the departed secular priests and deacons*”)<sup>18</sup>:

“On retrouve encore cette mention dans l’ἀκολουθία νεκρώσιμος εἰς ἰέρα(!) τελευτήσαντα; à l’oraison qui suit l’évangile”<sup>19</sup>.

Noticeable in the aforementioned statement is the consistency of H. Leclercq’s reasoning, which specifies a fact subsequently pointed out in a note<sup>20</sup> in a diversified manner, according to which the prayer mentioned by J. Goar at page 465<sup>21</sup> is an unusual one (an isolated case), and does not follow the reading of the *Gospel*.

On the other hand, this prayer which is recorded, actually, in a codex from the

<sup>16</sup> “On sait que M. Edmond Le Blant a démontré que les types de l’épigraphie funéraire des premiers chrétiens étaient différents selon les pays et qu’il en a proposé un classement géographique. Dans le tableau qu’il a donné deux des invocations que nous trouvons ici sont attribuées à la Nubie et à l’Égypte méridionale, parce qu’on les a constatées principalement à Kalabscheh et à Colasucia: ἀνάπαυσον ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ - ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός. La nouvelle découverte confirme la doctrine de M. Le Blant sur l’attribution de ces formules à la vallée du Nil...”, A. Dumont, “Fragment de l’office funèbre de l’Église grecque...”, p. 585; “E’ perciò da supporre che la preghiera in questione non sia nata nella regione, ma che vi sia stata importata. Passata a far parte dell’epigrafia funeraria ha probabilmente accolto, integrandola, la formula già comune: Ἀνάπαυσον, ὁ Θεός, τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Ἰακώβ. Come principio dobbiamo escludere una eventuale provenienza dal vicino Egitto, perchè i rapporti fra “l’epigrafia sepolcrale nubiana e l’egiziana diventano abbastanza intimi solo più tardi, quando l’uso generale del greco si affievolisce e comincia una più ampia penetrazione del copto: ma ciò ci conduce a parecchi secoli dopo la conversione””, V. Bruni, *I funerali di un sacerdote...*, p. 156; “Cependant nous trouvons dans d’autres provinces l’expression biblique: *in sinu, in gremio Abraham*”, A. Dumont, “Fragment de l’office funèbre de l’Église grecque...”, p. 588, note 3.

<sup>17</sup> “Pour le rite byzantin, les témoins manuscrits (papyrus et euclologes) de la prière “*Dieu des esprits*” omettent le thème d’Abraham, mais la plupart des stèles de Nubie, qui reprennent cette prière, insèrent, avant la mention du lieu de lumière et de rafraîchissement: ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ”, B. Botte, “Les plus anciennes formules...”, p. 94.

<sup>18</sup> *MOLITFELNIC cuprinzând Slujbe, Rânduiești și Rugăciuni săvârșite de preot la diferite trebuințe din viața creștinilor (EUCHOLOGION including Services, Ceremonials and Prayers performed by the priest at various moments in the life of Christians*, Bucarest, Printing House of the Biblical and Missionary Institute of Romanian Orthodox Church, 2006), București, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 2006, pp. 259, 264 and 268; “Et, dans la liturgie byzantine actuelle, si la mention d’Abraham manque dans la prière “*Dieu des esprits*”, elle se retrouve dans les trois autres oraisons prévues pour les funérailles d’un prêtre”, B. Botte, “Les plus anciennes formules...”, p. 94; mention shall be made of the fact that one of the three prayers that B. Botte points out contains the short form of the expression mentioning solely the patriarch Abraham, as it also appears in the prayer “*Rânduiala înmormântării pruncilor*” (“*The ceremonial of infants’ funerals*”) [according to *MOLITFELNIC (EUCHOLOGION)*, București, 2006), p. 253; “*Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος νηπίου. Ὁ Φυλάσσων τὰ νήπια (...) καὶ ἀνεύθυνον τοὺς Ἀβραμαίους κόλπους...*”, J. Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordines Divinae Liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum, consecrationum, benedictionum, funerum, orationum etc.*, Venetiis: Ex Typographia Bartholomaei Javarina, 1730<sup>2</sup>, p. 478].

<sup>19</sup> H. Leclercq, “Ame”, in *Dictionnaire d’Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, t. I, première partie: A-Amende, pp. 1470-1554, Paris VI, Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1924, p. 1527; see also H. Leclercq, “Ame”, p. 1527, note 7 and J. Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum...*, pp. 452, 453, 465.

<sup>20</sup> <sup>c7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 452, 453, 465”, “Ame”, p. 1527, note 7.

<sup>21</sup> “*Εὐχὴ ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος ἱερέως (...) ΚΥριε Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν (...), καὶ ἀνάπαυσον αὐτὸν ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ...*”, *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum...*, p. 465.



Grottaferrata Abbey (*Grottaferrata gr. G. b. 1*)<sup>22</sup> contains only the short form of the above quoted expression, mentioning solely patriarch Abraham<sup>23</sup>.

### 3. THE EXPRESSION “IN ABRAHAM’S, ISAAC’S AND JACOB’S BOSOMS” – IN THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

As far as the manuscript tradition is concerned, I have to mention that it will not preserve the additional expression “in Abraham’s, Isaac’s and Jacob’s bosoms” in the structure of the prayer “*The God of the spirits...*”; nevertheless, it will not completely disappear, being found in many prayers pertaining to various funeral customs, but not only there. One of the most quoted prayers which records the above-mentioned expression is the one from the *Barberini Codex gr. 336* (8th century)<sup>24</sup>, which was mentioned for the first time by J. Goar<sup>25</sup>: “*Εὐχή ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος. Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ σώζειν (...), ἀνάπαυσον τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων σου (...), εἰς κόλπους Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Ἰακώβ*”<sup>26</sup>.

For a better understanding of this phenomenon in the manuscript tradition, I consider necessary to enumerate below those prayers which truly render this addition:

a) *Barberini gr. 336*: 251r-251v: *Εὐχή εἰς κοιμηθέντα μοναχόν*<sup>27</sup> (...). *Δέσποτα κύριε*

<sup>22</sup> *Grottaferrata gr. G. b. 1* [*Euchologium*, sec. XI (9th century)]: [116a]: *Εὐχή(η) ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος Ἱερέως...*, cf. Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία κατὰ τοὺς χειρογράφους κώδικες 10ου-12ου αἰώνος*. Τόμος Β'. Εἰσαγωγικά, Κωδικολογικά καὶ Παλαιογραφικά Κείμενα, Ἱερὰ Μονὴ Προφήτου Ἡλίου Θήρας, Ἐκδόσεις Θεσβίτης, 2005, p. 484 and M. Arranz, *L'Eucologio Costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI. Hagiasmatarion & Archieratikon (Rituale & Pontificale) con l'aggiunta del Leiturgikon (Messale)*, Roma, Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1996, p. 311; “*oratio capituli inclinationis pro sacerdote (BES)...*”, M. Arranz, *L'Eucologio Costantinopolitano...*, p. 312.

<sup>23</sup> *E.B.E. 662* [*Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα*, sec. XII (12th century)]: [194a]: *Εὐχή ἐπὶ τελευτῆ μοναχοῦ*. ] Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν (...), καὶ ἀνάπαυσον ] αὐτὸν ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ, according to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 491; *Coisl. 213* [*Euchologium Strategii presbyteri*, (a. 1027)]: [91a]: *Εὐχή ἐπὶ τελευτῆ μοναχοῦ*. Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν (...), καὶ ἀνάπαυσον αὐτὸν ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ..., according to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 506; see also M. Arranz, *L'Eucologio Costantinopolitano...*, p. 312 and 312, note 1.

<sup>24</sup> *Barberini gr. 336* [*L' Eucologio*, 8th century]: 249r-249v: *Εὐχή ἄλλη ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος (...). Ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ θεὸς τοῦ σώζειν, ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ σωτὴρ καὶ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν (...), ἀνάπαυσον τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων σου (...), εἰς κόλπους Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ || καὶ Ἰακώβ...*, according to S. Parenti and E. Velkovska, *L' Eucologio...*, p. 236; *Crypt. gr. Γ.β. IV* [*EUCHOLOGION*, saec. XI]: [124a-124β]: Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ σώζειν, ὁ δημιουργὸς ] γὸς καὶ Σωτὴρ καὶ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, ὁ κατάγων (...), ἀνάπαυσον ] σου τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου (...), εἰς κόλπους Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ..., according to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 482.

<sup>25</sup> “*La liturgie dite de saint Marc ne possède pas cette formule dans sa forme la plus ancienne; elle apparaît dans une des additions à cette liturgie que contient le manuscrit Barberini cité par Goar...*”, *Dictionnaire d' Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, t. I, première partie, pp. 1153-1154; see also *Dictionnaire d' Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, t. I, première partie, p. 1153, note 3; “*Une oraison donnée en variante par Goar est ainsi conçue: Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν... ἀνάπαυσον τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων σου (...), εἰς κόλπους Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Ἰακώβ*”, H. Leclercq, “*Ame*”, p. 1527; see also H. Leclercq, “*Ame*”, p. 1527, note 5; “*Εὐχή ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος: Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ σώζειν (...), ἀνάπαυσον τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δούλων σου (...), εἰς κόλπους Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ*”, Αθηναγόρας (Μητροπολίτης), “*Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων*”, p. 187; see also Αθηναγόρας (Μητροπολίτης), “*Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων*”, p. 188, note 11.

<sup>26</sup> *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum...*, p. 434.

<sup>27</sup> *Vat. Barber. 443* [*Eucologio*, 13th century]: [116β-117α]: *Εὐχή ἐν κοιμήσει μοναχοῦ*. Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν, according to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 494; *Messin. Bibl. Univ. S. Salvat. gr. 153* [*“Σχηματολόγιον” τῆς Νοτίου Ἰταλίας*, (XI αἰ.)]: *Εὐχή*. Δέσποτα Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ μόνος ἔχων ] ἀθανασίαν...[69α], according to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 279; *Messin. Bibl. Univ. S. Salvat. gr. 172* [*“Σχηματολόγιον”*, (ἔτ. 1179)]: *Ἐπει(α) ὁ Ἱερε(ὺς) (...), εὐχε(α) τὴν ῥηθεισαν εὐχ(ήν)*. ] Δέσποτα Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸς) ἡμῶν ὁ μόνος ἔ ] χων



ὁ θεός, ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν (...) καὶ ἀνάπαυσον αὐτὸν εἰς κόλπους Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ<sup>28</sup>;

b) *Coisl. 213*: 89r: *Εὐχή ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος ἑτέρα*<sup>29</sup>. Ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ δημιουργὸς καὶ Σωτὴρ τῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, ὁ κατάγων (...), ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου (...), ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ<sup>30</sup>;

c1) *Grottaferrata G. β. X [Eucologio, 10th century]*: 78v: *Εὐχή· Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πλάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα σὴν καὶ ὁμοίωσιν (...), αὐτὸς ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου ὁ δεῖνα ἐν τόπῳ φωτεινῷ (...), ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ [79r] καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ*<sup>31</sup>;

c2) *Grottaferrata G. β. X*: [83β-84β]: *Εὐχ(ή) ἐπὶ μ(ονα)χ(οῦ) κοιμηθ(έντος) πρεσβυτέρου καὶ διακόνου. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν,] ὅτι σοῦ μόνου τοῦ ζῆν ἀθάνα] τον (...), ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ<sup>32</sup> ] καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ ἀνάπαυσον*<sup>33</sup>;

d1) *Messin. Bibl. Univ. S. Salvat. gr. 153*: [75β]: *Καὶ ὁ Ἰερ(εὺ)ς τὴν εὐχὴν*<sup>34</sup> Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πολὺς ἐν] εὐσπλαγχνία (...), καὶ συναρίθμησον αὐτὸν ἐν κόλποις] [76α] Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ<sup>35</sup>;

d2) *Messin. Bibl. Univ. S. Salvat. gr. 153*: [144α]: Ὁ Ἰερεὺς λέγ(ει) τὴν εὐχ(ή)ν:] Ὁ παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ παντὶ τῇ θλίψει ἡ] μῶν ὁ Θεός (...), ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν] τοῦ δούλου σου τοῦδ(ε), ἐν φωτὶ καὶ χώρᾳ] ζώντων, εἰς κόλπον Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσα] ἀκ καὶ Ἰακώβ<sup>36</sup>;

e) *Barb. gr. 431 [Εὐχολόγιον, (XI-XII αἰ.)]*: [132β]: Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ σώζειν· ὁ δημιουργὸς] ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν· ὁ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων (...), ἀνάπαυσον] τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ

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ἀθανασίαν...[111α], according to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 360; *Vat. gr. 1836 [Σχηματολόγιον, (XI-XII αἰ.)]*: (*Εὐχ(ή) Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· ὁ μόνος ] [103α] ἔχων ἀθανασίαν*, according to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 417.

<sup>28</sup> According to S. Parenti and E. Velkovska, *L' Eucologio...*, p. 238; *Crypt. gr. Γ.β.V – Γ.α.XXV [Εὐχολόγιον - Σχηματολόγιον, saec. XI]*: *Εὐχὴ εἰς μο(να)χ(όν), ὁ Ἰερ(εὺς)· ] Δέσποτα Χ(ριστ)ὲ ὁ Θ(εὸς)· ὁ μόνος ἔχων ] ἀθανασίας (...), καὶ ἀνά ] παυσον αὐτὸν ἐν κόλποις Ἀβρα ] ἀμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ*, according to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., pp. 85-86; for features see the notes of Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., pp. 85-86.

<sup>29</sup> *E.B.E. 662*: [192β]: *Εὐχὴ ἄλλη. Ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ δημιουργὸς κ<αὶ Κύριος> ] τῶν ἀπάντων (...), ἀνάπαυ ] στον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου (...), ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσα ] ἀκ καὶ Ἰακώβ*, according to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 490; see also M. Arranz, *L' Eucologio Costantinopolitano...*, p. 314, note 1 above.

<sup>30</sup> According to J. Duncan, *Coisl. 213. Euchologe de la Grande Eglise. Dissertatio ad Lauream, Romae, Pontificium Institutum Orientale*, 1983, p. 137; see also M. Arranz, *L' Eucologio Costantinopolitano...*, p. 314 and Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 504.

<sup>31</sup> According to E. Velkovska, "Funeral Rites according to the Byzantine Liturgical Sources", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001), p. 47; see also Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 44.

<sup>32</sup> According to Father Themistoclis Hristodoulou's observations, the manuscripts *Grottaferrata gr. G. b. I, E.B.E. 662* and *Coisl. 213* render the short form of the expression mentioning solely the patriarch Abraham (according to *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 61, note 435); see also M. Arranz, *L' Eucologio Costantinopolitano...*, p. 311.

<sup>33</sup> According to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., pp. 60-61.

<sup>34</sup> *Vat. gr. 1836*: (*Εὐχ(ή)· Δέσποτα Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· ὁ πο ] λὺς ἐν εὐσπλαγχνία...[92α]*, according to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 411.

<sup>35</sup> Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., pp. 282-283.

<sup>36</sup> Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 305.



δούλου σου ό δ(εῖνα) (...), ἐν κόλποις Ἀ] [133α] βραάμ και Ἰσαάκ και Ἰακώβ<sup>37</sup>;

f) *Leningr. gr.* 226 [*Eucologio*, 10th century]: [127β-128β]: *Εὐχή ἐτέρα ἐπὶ τελευτησάντων.*] Ὁ Θεός ό δυνατός, ό τῆ σοφία σου κατασκευάσας τόν] ἄνθρωπον (...) και ἀνάπαυσον τὸ πνεῦμα Αὐτοῦ εἰς] κόλπους Ἀβραάμ και Ἰσαάκ και Ἰακώβ<sup>38</sup>;

g) *Vat. gr.* 1970 [*Eucologio*, (12th century)]: 38v: *Εὐχη ὀπισθάμβωνος· εἰς κοιμηθεντας. Ὁ θεος τῶν πνευματων και πάσης σαρκός· ό μεταφέρων (...) και τάξον [39r] αὐτόν ἐν κόλποις ἀβραάμ και ἰσαάκ και ἰακώβ τῶν δικαίων σου*<sup>39</sup>;

h) *Sinai* 973 [*Euchologium*, a. 1153]: 90v: *Εὐχή ἐπὶ κολύβων εἰς κοιμηθέντας. Δέσποτα Κύριε ό Θεός ἡμῶν, ό ἐν τῷ φωτὶ κατοικῶν (...), αὐτός και τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου τοῦδε ἀνάπαυσον ἐν τόπῳ φωτεινῷ, ἐν χώρᾳ ἀγίων, ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ και Ἰσαάκ και Ἰακώβ*<sup>40</sup>;

i) *Grottaf. Gb43* [*Riti della vestizione e della sepoltura*, 11th century]: [112α]: *Και πάλιν εὐχή·] Ἀχραντε Κύριε ό ἐν φωτὶ τὴν] [112β] κατοικίαν ἔχων (...) τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ] δούλου σου τοῦδ(ε), ἀνάπαυ] στον χορῷ φωτεινῷ και δικαί] ω, ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ και] Ἰσαάκ και Ἰακώβ*<sup>41</sup>.

#### 4. THE EXPRESSION “IN ABRAHAM’S, ISAAC’S AND JACOB’S BOSOMS” – IN THE TEXTS OF EKTENES FOR THE DEPARTED

Among the texts including the expression “*in Abraham’s, Isaac’s and Jacob’s bosoms*” there are also the ektenes for the departed:

a1) *Grottaferrata G. β. X:* 77v: *Υπὲρ τοῦ κατατάξαι αὐτόν ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ και Ἰσαάκ και Ἰακώβ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν*<sup>42</sup>;

a2) *Grottaferrata G. β. X:* 81r: *Υπὲρ τοῦ κατατάξαι αὐτόν ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ και Ἰσαάκ και Ἰακώβ, ἔνθα οἱ δίκαιοι*<sup>43</sup>;

b) *Grottaf. Gb43:* [157α]: *Υπὲρ τοῦ ἐνωθῆναι αὐτόν ἐν] τῇ τρυφῇ τοῦ παραδείσου,*

<sup>37</sup> Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 475.

<sup>38</sup> Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 477.

<sup>39</sup> According to H. W. Codrington, *The Liturgy of Saint Peter*, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen, Heft 30, Münster in Westfalen, Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1936, pp. 144-145; “Ὁ Θεός τῶν πνευμάτων και πάσης σαρκός, ό μεταφέρων (...) και τάξον αὐτόν ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαάκ και Ἰακώβ τῶν δικαίων σου”, Ἀθηναγόρας (Μητροπολίτης), “Ὁ Θεός τῶν πνευμάτων”, pp. 182-183.

<sup>40</sup> According to A. Дмитриевский, *Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках Православного Востока. Томъ II. Εὐχολόγια*, Κίεβ, Типографія Императорскаго Университета Св. Владимира, 1901, p. 110.

<sup>41</sup> According to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 169.

<sup>42</sup> According to E. Velkovska, “Funeral Rites...”, p. 46; *Grottaferrata G. β. X:* [77β]: *Υπὲρ τοῦ κατατάξαι αὐτόν ἐν κόλποις Ἀ] βραάμ, και Ἰσαάκ, και Ἰακώβ, τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.*, cf. Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 40; see also Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume I)..., p. 654.

<sup>43</sup> According to E. Velkovska, “Funeral Rites...”, p. 49; *Grottaferrata G. β. X:* [81α]: *Υπὲρ τοῦ κατατάξαι αὐτόν ἐν κόλποις Ἀβρα] άμ, και Ἰσαάκ και Ἰακώβ, ἔνθα οἱ δίκαιοι.*, according to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 51; see also Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume I)..., p. 660.



έν] κόλποις Ἀβραάμ μετὰ πάντων] τῶν Δικαίων τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.]<sup>44</sup>;

c) *Messin. Bibl. Univ. S. Salvat. gr. 153*: [68β]: Ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταταγῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν κόλποις] Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, τοῦ Κυρίου (δεηθῶμεν).]<sup>45</sup>;

d) *Sinai 963 [Euchologium, saec. XII]*: [3α]: Ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν μερίδα καὶ κλῆρον ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ ζωῇ, με] τὰ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰα] κῶβ τοῦ Κ(υρίου)υ δεηθ(ῶμεν).]<sup>46</sup>;

e) *Sinai 973*: [90α]: Ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταξιοθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τρυφῇ πα] ραδείσου, ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσα] ἀκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, μετὰ πάντων τῶν δικαί(ων). ]<sup>47</sup>;

f) *Messin. Bibl. Univ. S. Salvat. gr. 172*: [183β]: Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θε(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν· τὸν προλαβόντα] δοῦλόν σου ἀνάπαυσον· ἐν κόλ] ποις Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰα] κῶβ, καὶ τοὺς πενθοῦντας,] καὶ ἐν λύπῃ ὄντας παραμύ] θησον· καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐλέησον· νῦν] καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.]<sup>48</sup>;

g) *Halki 126 [Εὐχολόγιον, (IC' αἰῶνος)]<sup>49</sup>*: Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Τρισαγίου παραλλάσσουσα τῆς ἐν χρήσει, ὡς ἀκολουθῶς: Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς (...). Ὡπως Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν κατατάξῃ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ (Τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον τρίς)<sup>50</sup>.

Noticeable is the fact that the expression “in Abraham’s, Isaac’s and Jacob’s bosoms” is encountered even today in some ektenes for the departed, as for instance the “ectenia răposatilor” (“the ectene for the departed”)<sup>51</sup>, as part of the service “Parastasului”<sup>52</sup>

<sup>44</sup> According to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 218; see also Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume I)..., p. 656; Unfortunately, this text includes only the short form of the expression mentioning solely the patriarch Abraham.

<sup>45</sup> According to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 278; see also Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume I)..., pp. 656-657.

<sup>46</sup> According to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 324; see also Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume I)..., pp. 656-657; *Sinai 963*: Ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν μερίδα καὶ κλῆρον ἐν τῇ μελλούσῃ ζωῇ μετὰ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, according to A. Дмитриевский, *Описание литургических рукописей...*, p. 136; Unfortunately, this text does not include the words “in bosoms”.

<sup>47</sup> According to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 352; see also Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume I)..., pp. 656-657; *Sinai 973*: Ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταξιοθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τρυφῇ παραδείσου, ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ μετὰ πάντων τῶν δικαίων, according to A. Дмитриевский, *Описание литургических рукописей...*, p. 110.

<sup>48</sup> According to Θ. Στ. Χριστοδούλου, *Ἡ νεκρώσιμη ἀκολουθία* (volume II)..., p. 398.

<sup>49</sup> Ἀθηναγόρας (Μητροπολίτης), “Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς ἐν Χάλκῃ Μονῆς τῆς Παναγίας”, in Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 12 (1936), p. 302.

<sup>50</sup> “Τὴν δέησιν ταύτην ἀπηντήσαμεν ἐν τῷ 126 χειρογράφῳ εὐχολογίῳ τῆς ἐν Χάλκῃ Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τῆς Παναγίας, ἐν τισὶ παραλλάσσουσιν πρὸς τὴν τετυπωμένην, ὡς ἐξῆς: “Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς (...) ὅπως Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν κατατάξῃ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ. (Κύριε ἐλέησον τρίς.)””, Ἀθηναγόρας (Μητροπολίτης), “Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων”, pp. 197-198.

<sup>51</sup> “Apoi ectenia răposatilor” (“Then the ectene of the departed”), *Octoih Mare care cuprinde in sine Slujba Invierei pe opt glasuri*, București, Tipografia „Cărților Bisericesci”, 1890 (*Great Octoechos that includes the Service of the Resurrection in 8 voices*, Bucarest, Printing House of „Ecclesiastic Books”, 1890), p. 764.

<sup>52</sup> “PARASTAS (REQUIEM) (παράστασις, ἢ – *parastasis* = appearance in front of someone, mediation) – as the people call the commemorative service performed for the deceased after their funerals and which in the service books is called *Panihida* (Panahida) *mare* (*Great panahida*), corresponding to the *Requiem* in the Roman-Catholic cult...”, Fr. Prof. PhD. E. Braniște and Prof. Ecaterina Braniște, *Dicționar enciclopedic de cunoștințe religioase (Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Religious Knowledge)*, Caransebeș: Diocesan Publishing, 2001, p. 345.



pentru morți, și mai ales pentru ctitori” (“Requiem for the departed and especially for the founders”)<sup>53</sup>: “For them to be counted in Abraham’s, Isaac’s and Jacob’s bosoms, let us pray to the Lord”<sup>54</sup>.

## 5. THE LINK BETWEEN THE PRAYER “THE GOD OF THE SPIRITS...” AND THE EXPRESSION “IN ABRAHAM’S, ISAAC’S AND JACOB’S BOSOMS”

In conclusion, I would like to remind the statement of metropolitan bishop Athenagoras concerning the close link between the prayer “*The God of the spirits...*” and the expression “*The God of the spirits...*”, which seems more than meaningful:

“Αναμφιβόλως ἡ Δέησις αὕτη εἶναι ἀρχαιοπρεπεστέρα τῆς ἐν χρήσει ὡς περιέχουσα μάλιστα τό: “ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ” ὅπερ, ὡς εἶδομεν, δὲν λείπει ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς εὐχῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐν ταῖς θείαις Λειτουργίαις, ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφαῖς καὶ ἐν ὄλαις ταῖς νεκρικαῖς δεήσεσιν”<sup>55</sup>.

## CONCLUSIONS

Among the hymnography compositions and prayers from the *Funeral Practices* we also find the prayer “*The God of the spirits...*” on which it has been previously written, and, even if it seems to be a “common prayer”, voided of any feature, given its repeated presence among the *Funeral Practices*, it has, nevertheless, a special value, being considered one of the most significant prayers for the departed.

In terms of the expression “in Abraham’s, Isaac’s and Jacob’s bosoms”, the specialists wrote a lot because, on the one hand, it is the only one which emphasizes the real difference between the various written forms of the prayer “*The God of the spirits...*” (such as funeral inscriptions, manuscripts, printed texts) and, on the other hand, because it could even offer us data related to its origin.

Even if the expression (more precisely the addition) “*in Abraham’s, Isaac’s and Jacob’s bosoms*” appears in the prayer “*The God of the spirits and of the whole body...*” only in the texts of the funeral inscriptions, it will not disappear completely from the subsequent liturgical structures of the *Funeral Practices*.

Furthermore, this expression can still be found today in the content of some prayers from the “Funeral service of the departed secular priests and deacons”; unfortunately, the manuscript tradition will not keep the addition “*in Abraham’s, Isaac’s and Jacob’s bosoms*”, in the structure of the prayer “*The God of the spirits...*”.

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- [2] Arranz, M. *L’Euclologio Costantinopolitano agli inizi del secolo XI. Hagiasmatarion & Archieratikon (Rituale & Pontificale) con l’aggiunta del Leiturgikon (Messale)*, Roma, Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1996
- [3] BELS = Bibliotheca *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, Subsidia
- [4] Botte, B. “Les plus anciennes formules de prière pour les morts”, in *La maladie et la mort du chrétien dans la Liturgie*, Conférences Saint-Serge XXI<sup>e</sup> semaine d’études liturgiques, Paris, 1<sup>er</sup>-4 juillet 1974, pp. 83-99, BELS 1, Roma, Edizioni Liturgiche, 1975

<sup>53</sup> *Octoih Mare (Great Octoechos)*... (București, 1890), pp. 764-767.

<sup>54</sup> *Octoih Mare (Great Octoechos)*... (București, 1890), p. 764.

<sup>55</sup> “Ο Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων”, p. 198.





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