

A Theological Comparison of the Prayers of Ordination of a Bishop in the *Euchologion Barberini* and the *Sacramentarium Veronense*

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For several centuries in the West, the episcopacy was not considered a part of Holy Orders.¹ Scholastic theology from the late Middle Ages until the 1940s emphasized that in the Roman Catholic tradition, the sacrament of Orders culminated in the presbyterate,² while a bishop was considered to be a presbyter who was *consecrated* and given additional powers. Although current liturgical books are clear that the episcopacy is conferred through ordination,³ many today still refer to episcopal *consecration*, which is perceived to be a more “traditional” term. This paper will seek to answer the question of what the process for the “making” of a bishop entails, and investigate the bishop’s functions, relationship to other Orders, and relationship to the Church, using the method of comparative liturgy—specifically,

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1. For instance, the Council of Trent (1545-1563) enumerates the seven Orders: priest (presbyter), deacon, subdeacon, acolyte, exorcist, lector, and doorkeeper. The bishop is not included on this list. “Concilium Tridentinum,” session 23, ch. 2, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols., ed. Norman P. Tanner (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 2:742.
 2. In his *Summa Theologiae*, St. Thomas Aquinas states, “[T]he episcopate is not an Order.” He argues that each of the seven Orders, culminating in the priesthood [presbyterate], is directed to the Eucharist. In contrast, in the celebration of Mass, “the bishop has not a higher power than the priest [presbyter].” *Summa theologiae*, III, q. 40, a. 5, 3 vols., trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1948), 3:2704. In 1947, Pope Pius XII clarified that the episcopacy is an Order. See Apostolic Constitution *Sacramentum Ordinis*, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 40 (1948): 5–7.
 3. The very titles of the post-Vatican II ordination books testify to this. See *De ordinatione diaconi, presbyteri et episcopi*, editio typica (Vatican City: Typis Poliglottis Vaticanis, 1968); *De ordinatione episcopi, presbyterorum et diaconorum*, editio typica altera (Vatican City: Typis Poliglottis Vaticanis, 1990).

by comparing and contrasting some of the most ancient prayers of ordination of a bishop in the Byzantine and Roman traditions.

In these rites, the *Euchologion Barberini* and the *Sacramentarium Veronense* are among the oldest extant liturgical books. They both feature prayer texts and rubrical instructions for carrying out sacramental celebrations, such as ordinations. While several studies have examined the ordination prayers of a bishop in one or both of these sources,⁴ a direct comparison between them has not been done. This paper aims to fill that gap. The first part will introduce these sources. The second will enumerate the prayer texts and elements in the respective episcopal ordination rites. The third will compare their anamnestic sections, while the fourth will juxtapose their epicletic sections. The final part will consider certain theological issues, drawing out some sacramental and ecclesiological conclusions.

Presentation of Sources

As its name suggests, the *Euchologion Barberini* is an example of an euchologion—a codex that contains euchological texts (from the Greek word εὐχῆ, which means prayer) and often also rubrics.⁵ It is a patriarchal book as evidenced by its internal references to the coronation of the emperor and prayers to be said by a patriarch. Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska date its manuscript (cod. Barberini gr. 336) to the second half of the eighth century. They assert that the majority of the euchologion's content is Constantinopolitan due to its reference to the emperor, but the end of the manuscript curiously includes a Latin prayer for the blessing of milk and honey (fol. 279v). Hence, Parenti and Velkovska believe that it was copied and used in an Italian Byzantine monastery in southern Italy.⁶

4. For instance, see Pierre-Marie Gy, "Ancient Ordination Prayers," *Studia Liturgica* 13:2–4 (1979): 70–93; "La théologie des prières anciennes pour l'ordination des évêques et des prêtres," *Review des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 58:4 (October 1974): 599–617; Paul F. Bradshaw, *Rites of Ordination: Their History and Theology*, (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2013); James F. Puglisi, *Epistemological Principles and Roman Catholic Rites*, vol. 1, *The Process of Admission to Ordained Ministry: A Comparative Study*, trans. Michael S. Driscoll and Mary Misrahi (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1996); John Kentos, "Byzantine Ordination Prayers: From Text to Theology," in *Studia Liturgica Diversa: Essays in Honor of Paul F. Bradshaw*, ed. Maxwell E. Johnson and L. Edward Phillips (Portland: Pastoral Press, 2004), 163–161; Antonio Santantoni, "Ordination and Ministries in the West," in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, vol. 4, *Sacraments and Sacramentals*, ed. Anscar J. Chupungco, trans. David Cotter (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2000); Stefano Parenti, "Ordinations in the East," in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, vol. 4, *Sacraments and Sacramentals*, ed. Anscar J. Chupungco, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2000) 205–16; Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, "Introduzione," in *L'Euchologio Barberini gr. 336*, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae. Subsidia 80, 2nd ed. (Rome: Centro Liturgico Vincenziano-Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000), xxiii–xxxii.

5. According to Elena Velkovska, the Byzantine euchologion corresponds to the Roman sacramentary. "Byzantine Liturgical Books" in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, vol. 1, *Introduction to the Liturgy*, ed. Anscar J. Chupungco, trans. Edward Hagman (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1997), 228.

6. Parenti and Velkovska, "Introduzione," 21, 27.

The manuscript, a part of the *Barberini* collection, was donated by the Florentine senator Carlo Strozzi (1587-1670) to the Vatican Library, where it remains today. In 1647, the French Dominican, Jacques Goar, employed it in his *Euchologion sive rituale graecorum*, the first textual presentation and study of this euchologion. According to Job Getcha, this edition was influential until the 1800s, when further examinations showed its deficiencies.⁷ Today, the diplomatic editions and translations of Parenti and Velkovska⁸ stand as the most reliable editions of the euchologion. This paper will cite the text and formula numbers from their second edition.

The other source we will consider in this paper is the Roman *Sacramentarium Veronense*. Despite this prevalent label, it is technically not a sacramentary. Rather, it is a collection of *libelli* or leaflets with prayers for various sacramental rites. In fact, Cyrille Vogel states that it is “too haphazardly put together” to be considered a true liturgical book,⁹ and Enrico Palazzo describes it as having “the earmark of a careless compilation.”¹⁰ Nevertheless, it can provide us some information about certain euchological texts used in the past. Following Antoine Chavasse’s assessment, the current scholarly consensus is that the contents of the *Veronense* date to the reign of Pope Vigilius (537-555) or earlier. Roman *libelli* kept in the Lateran archives during this time period were then copied and adapted for presbyteral use in *tituli*.¹¹ The prototype of this compilation has since been lost, but the surviving manuscript (Verona, Biblioteca capitulare, Cod. 85 [olim 80]) was most likely produced in the early 600s outside Rome, probably in Verona, where the codex is

7. Job Getcha, “The Liturgical Books,” in *The Typikon Decoded: An Explanation of Byzantine Liturgical Practices*, trans. Paul Meyendorff, The Orthodox Liturgy Series 3 (Yonkers: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2012), 48.

8. *L’Eucologio Barberini gr. 336*, eds. Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae. Subsidia 80, 1st ed. (Rome: Centro Liturgico Vincenziano-Edizioni Liturgiche, 1995); *L’Eucologio Barberini gr. 336*, eds. Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae, Subsidia 80, 2nd ed. (Rome: Centro Liturgico Vincenziano-Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000). Hereafter *Bar* with the formula number; *Evchologij Barberini 336*, eds. Stefano Parenti and Elena Velkovska, 3rd ed. (Omsk: Sergey Golovanov, 2011).

9. Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. and rev. William Storey and Niels Rasmussen (Portland: Pastoral Press, 1986), 39.

10. Enrico Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1998), 40.

11. John Baldovin defines a *titulus* as a private residence located within the city of Rome that was converted to a church. These churches featured a plaque (“titulus”) with the original owner’s name. See John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 228 (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta della Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1987), 108.

currently kept.¹² Nevertheless, the Roman origin of this source is clear, as all the saints commemorated in it, especially Sts. Peter and Paul and St. Lawrence, were important figures and patrons in Rome.¹³

As mentioned earlier, the *Veronense* is technically not a sacramentary. Although it contains euchological texts, it is more a collection of booklets for various liturgical celebrations.¹⁴ It is also a victim of another misnomer—a faulty attribution to Pope Leo I (440–461) made by Giuseppe Bianchini, who printed its first edition in 1735 under the name *Codex sacramentorum vetus Romanae ecclesiae a sancto Leone papa I confectus*. As Palazzo explains, in 1749, Joseph Assemani would correct this misattribution by publishing his own edition under the title, *Sacramentarium Veronense*, identifying the work instead with the city where the manuscript is located rather than to Pope Leo.¹⁵ In the 1950s and 1960s, Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, Leo Eizenhöfer, and Petrus Siffrin produced two editions of the *Veronense*.¹⁶ This paper will cite the text and formula numbers from their second edition.

Prayer Texts and Elements of Episcopal Ordination

Now let us enumerate the euchological texts and other elements featured in these sources. In Barberini gr. 336, the rite of ordination of a bishop can be found under the label “Χειροτονία ἐπισκόπου” (formularies 157 and 158), derived from the noun “χτερ” or hand, since the rite involves the imposition of hand(s). Regarding structure, liturgical scholars have proposed varying number of elements that make up a Byzantine ordination: Paul Bradshaw identifies seven units,¹⁷ Stefanos

12. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 38; Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, 39; Cassian Folsom, “Liturgical Books of the Roman Rite,” in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, vol. 1, *Introduction to the Liturgy*, ed. Anscar J. Chupungco (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1997), 246–47. In a more recent publication, Folsom explains the importance of Verona as “an important city center, located at the intersection of important roads” as a likely explanation for the *Veronense* being copied there. Cassian Folsom, *Liturgical Books of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, *Books for the Mass*, Ecclesia Orans. Studi e Ricerche 7 (Naples: Editrice Domenicana Italiana, 2023), 42.

13. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, 40.

14. Rather than “sacramentary,” Adrien Nocent prefers the title “Liturgical collection of Verona” (“*Raccolta liturgica di Verona*”), which he finds more precise. See Adrien Nocent, “Storia dei libri liturgici romani,” in *Anamnesis*, vol. 2, *La Liturgia. Panoramico storico generale*, ed. Salvatore Marsili (Genoa: Casa Editrice Marietti, 1978), 149.

15. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, 39.

16. *Sacramentarium Veronense (Cod. Bibl. Capit. Veron. LXXXV [80])*, 1st ed., eds. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, Leo Eizenhöfer, and Petrus Siffrin, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Series Maior. Fontes 1* (Rome: Herder, 1956); *Sacramentarium Veronense (Cod. Bibl. Capit. Veron. LXXXV [80])*, 2nd ed., eds. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, Leo Eizenhöfer, and Petrus Siffrin, *Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta. Series Maior. Fontes 1* (1966; repr. Rome: Herder, 1994). Hereafter *Ve* with the formula number.

17. (1) Proclamation of election and people’s assent; (2) bidding for the people to pray for the ordinand; (3) the people’s prayer; (4) signing of the cross on the ordinand’s forehead; (5) prayer while laying on of hand; (6) exchange of peace; and (7) celebration of the Eucharist. Paul F. Bradshaw, *Rites of Ordination: Their History and Theology*, (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2013), 83.

Alexopoulos and Maxwell Johnson six,¹⁸ John Klentos four,¹⁹ and Pierre-Marie Gy two.²⁰ Although there are various ways of identifying the structure, it is undeniable that other than the rubrics, there are four prayer texts listed:

1. the “Divine grace” prayer (Ἡ θεία χάρις) (157, no. 3)
2. the first ordination prayer: “Sovereign Lord” (Δέσποτα κύριε) (157, no. 8).
3. a litany described as a “prayer of the deacon” (εὐχή τοῦ διακόνου) (158, nos. 1-12)
4. the second ordination prayer: “Lord our God” (Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν) (158, no. 14)

The “Divine Grace” prayer, read from a scroll (χάρτης), expresses God’s initiative in choosing the person for ministry. It is a prayer that appears in all three levels of orders (episcopate, presbyterate, and diaconate) and, as Gy explains, is common among most Eastern rites of ordination.²¹ Bernard Botte once pointed to this prayer as the sacramental “form” of ordination, but the current consensus disputes this claim, instead identifying this as the proclamation of election and/or bidding for the people to pray for the ordinand.²²

The first (“Sovereign Lord”) and second (“Lord our God”) ordination prayers are both consecratory formulas with anamnestic and epicletic sections. Together with the “Divine grace” formula, I will focus on these two prayers in my examination of the Barberini text and will not examine the litany, which, according to Klentos, is more like the Great *Synapte* or litany of the Divine Liturgy rather than an ordination prayer.²³ Interestingly, the Byzantine rite is not alone in featuring more than one prayer of ordination.²⁴ Gy accounts for such multiplication of prayers to the “confluence of different liturgical traditions” and the Eastern inclination “to

18. Alexopoulos and Johnson provide a list similar to Bradshaw’s, except that they combine the bidding and the people’s prayer into one unit. Stefanos Alexopoulos and Maxwell Johnson, *Introduction to Eastern Christian Liturgies* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2022), 251.

19. (1) The “Divine grace” prayer; (2) the first ordination prayer; (3) a litany “almost identical to the Great Synapte”; and (4) the second ordination prayer. John Klentos, “Byzantine Ordination Prayers,” 154–55.

20. (1) The election or choice for the commission and (2) the ordination or commission itself. Gy, “Ancient Ordination Prayers,” 78.

21. Gy, “Ancient Ordination Prayers,” 74. He argues that this prayer is of Antiochene or Hagiopolite origin. See also, “La théologie des prières anciennes pour l’ordination,” 601. Bradshaw states that other Eastern rites had their own bidding prayers before they adopted the Byzantine “Divine grace” prayer. *Rites of Ordination*, 88.

22. Gy, “Ancient Ordination Prayers,” 77-78; Bradshaw, *Rites of Ordination*, 85; Alexopoulos and Johnson, *Introduction to Eastern Christian Liturgies*, 253.

23. Klentos, “Byzantine Ordination Prayers,” 155.

24. Bradshaw reports the number of ordination prayers in various liturgical traditions: The Byzantine rite has two, the oldest Armenian rites had two, the East Syrian rite has two (one even before the bidding), and the Georgian rite has three. Bradshaw, *Rites of Ordination*, 93.

express things abundantly, and to multiply epicleses.”²⁵ Meanwhile, the litany is prayed while the second prayer of ordination is being recited by the main celebrant.

Regarding the people involved, the *Euchologion Barberini* lists the archbishop (ἀρχιεπίσκοπος) as the principal ordaining minister. The identity and diocese of this archbishop was not specified. We can surmise that in its original context, this archbishop referred to the Ecumenical Patriarch, who served as the ἀρχιεπίσκοπος of Constantinople, although it was not his sole prerogative to ordain bishops, as other metropolitans also had the power to do so. The presence of other bishops was also called for in the rite,²⁶ since they were supposed to touch the Book of Gospels as it was laid on the head and neck of the ordinand (157, no. 6). Another bishop then prayed the litany while the archbishop silently recited the second ordination prayer (158, no. 1). Moreover, the first ordination prayer mentions the involvement “of fellow bishops” (“συνεπισκόπων”) (157, no. 8). As for the ordinand himself, a “presbyter” (πρεσβύτερος) is mentioned in the “Divine grace” formula (157, no. 3) and does not address the issue of a deacon being ordained a bishop *per saltum*.

Regarding time and place, Barberini gr. 336 only mentions these aspects in relation to the Divine Liturgy. The ordination of a bishop takes place after the singing of the Trisagion at the entrance (“μετὰ τὸ τρισάγιον”) and on a step in front of the altar (“εἰς τὴν κρηπίδα ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης”) (157, no. 2). The implication of the placement of ordination so early in the liturgy suggests that the new bishop would preside at the Eucharist, though this is not explicitly expressed in the rite featured in the *Euchologion Barberini*, as it only states that after the ordination rites, “τελεῖται λοιπὸν πᾶσα ἡ λειτουργία” (158, no. 17).

Meanwhile, in the *Veronense*, the “Consecratio episcoporum” (section 28) involves six Mass formulas:

1. an opening collect (“Exaudi, domine”) (942)
2. the prayer over the gifts (“Suscipe, domine”) (943)
3. the “Hanc igitur” insertion during the Canon (944)
4. the first preparatory prayer (“Adesto”) (945)
5. the second preparatory prayer (“Propitiare”) (946)
6. the prayer of ordination (“Deus honorum omnium”) (947).

This paper will focus on the last of these, which is the consecratory formula with a structure akin to an anaphora, with anamnestic and epiclesis sections.

25. Gy, “Ancient Ordination Prayers,” 78.

26. This seems to be in conformity to canon 4 of the First Council of Nicaea (325), which ordered that the ordination of a bishop should take place with bishops from the province, with at least three bishops present. See “Concilium Nicaenum I,” can. 4 (Tanner, 1:7).

Unlike in the Barberini text, the formulary in the *Veronense* is completely devoid of rubrics; one would have to consult an *ordo* for a description of how the rite was supposed to be carried out. Because of the absence of directives, the sacramentary does not specify the time and place of the ordination, except that it is in the context of Mass. In fact, even the placement of the ordination prayer is misleading, since it is listed after the “Hanc igitur” insertion and two preparatory prayers, giving the impression that prayer of ordination is recited near the end of the liturgy, whereas medieval ordines stipulated that the ordination of a bishop take place after the reading of the epistle and before the Gospel.²⁷ The theological significance of this timing is not clear, and as James Puglisi notes, the *Veronense* text does not even state that the new bishop would preside at the rest of the Eucharist.²⁸

Regarding the people involved, the Roman consecration formula (*Ve* 947) does not identify the main celebrant of the sacrament, though presumably, it was a bishop. On the other hand, the euchological text is clear that priests—referred to in this case as *sacerdos* rather than *presbyters*—are being ordained bishops. The epiclesis of the consecratory prayer asks God to complete “in sacerdotibus tuis mysterii tui summam” Similar to the Byzantine text, this mention of priests suggests that ordination takes place only one order at a time, though other medieval sources such as *Ordo* 34 seemed to allow for *per saltum* ordinations.²⁹ Concerning gestures, the prayer of ordination employs three images that evoke actions: the vesting of mystical robe (“mystico amictu uestiri”), a heavenly anointing (“caelestis unguentum”) and the granting of the episcopal chair (“Tribuas eis cathedram episcopalem”). However, these images do not necessarily involve *physical* gestures. In fact, as we shall see later, the prayer text takes great pains in emphasizing the *spiritual* nature of these symbols when applied to the bishop, as opposed to the external symbolism of Old Testament priesthood.³⁰

27. For example, the mid-eighth century *Ordo* 34 states that the ordination of a bishop takes place on a Sunday (“die dominica”), during Mass after the reading (from chapter three of the First Letter of St. Paul to Timothy) and the singing of the gradual. See “Ordo XXXIV, 32, 36-37,” in *Les Ordines Romani du haut Moyen Âge*, vol. 3, *Les Textes (Ordines XIV-XXXIV)*, ed. Michel Andrieu, Études et Documents 24 (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1951), 611–12. Hereafter *OR* 34.

28. Puglisi, *Epistemological Principles*, 1:114.

29. Although this issue is not addressed in the *Veronense*, which we are examining, Santantoni points to the questioning, “Quo honore fungitur?” in *Ordo* 34 as proof that *per saltum* ordinations of deacons to the episcopate did take place. “Ordination and Ministries in the West,” 219. See also *OR* 34, nos. 22 and 27.

30. Regarding the Old Testament image of Aaron’s vesting and anointing invoked in the prayer of ordination, Puglisi writes: “[W]ithout being the reality, [the typological reference] indicated symbolically (or prophetically) the realization of the divine plan of salvation in the institution of the new priesthood.” Puglisi, *Epistemological Principles*, vol. 1, 111. Likewise, Santantoni sees the symbol of the cathedra as metonymy for episcopal authority more than as a literal throne. See “Ordination and Ministries in the West,” 222.

Anamnesis

Now let us compare the anamnestic portions of these prayers of ordination of a bishop. In particular, we will discuss two important questions: How do these prayers address God? And what typological images from Scripture are employed in these prayers?

Addressing and Describing God

As mentioned earlier, the *Euchologion Barberini* involves two ordination prayers after the “Divine grace” formula. The first prayer (*Bar* 157, no. 8.) addresses God as “Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν”—the one who established the hierarchy of ranks and orders (“ὁ νομοθετήσας... βαθμῶν καὶ ταγμάτων τάξιν”). The second prayer addresses God in a more generic way: “Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν.” In this case, “Κύριος” refers to Christ, the true shepherd, whom the bishop must imitate. In contrast, the *Veronese* features only one consecratory prayer (*Ve* 947). It addresses the Lord as “Deus honorum omnium, deus omnium dignitatum quae gloriae tuae sacratis famulantur ordinibus.”³¹ We can thus see a common theme here: Both sources acknowledge God as the source of ranks and orders. The former employs the Greek terms “βαθμός,” “τάγματα,” and “τάξις,” while the latter uses the Latin words “honor,” “dignitas,” and “ordo.”

Use of Biblical Images

The first Byzantine prayer (*Bar* 157, no. 8) recounts God establishing orders through his Apostle Paul. More specifically, the hierarchy of ranks and orders listed are: “πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεύτερον προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους”—almost a direct quote from 1 Corinthians 12:28. It also makes an Old Testament reference to the triple *munera* of prophet, king, and priest. The second Byzantine prayer (*Bar* 158, no. 14), then, exclusively employs New Testament imagery, most of which are Christological. As a consequence of being an imitator of Christ, the bishop is also exhorted to give his own life for God’s flock, be a guide to the blind, light to those in darkness, correction to the ignorant, and a lamp in the world (“τιθέντα τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων σου, ὁδηγὸν τυφλῶν, φῶς τῶν ἐν σκότει, παιδευτὴν

31. Anscar Chupungco provides succinct definitions of these Latin terms borrowed from Roman imperial culture: *Dignitas* “denoted the worth or value of a public office as well as the importance of its holder.” *Honor* “is the respect and esteem given by the people to those who hold public office” as well as “consequence of being promoted to a clerical dignity.” *Gradus* “or rank indicated the various steps a person had to ascend in the course of a public career.” *Ordo*, “which belonged not to the religious vocabulary of ancient Rome but to its civil institutions, designated the clergy as a group distinct from the faithful.” “The Early Cultural Setting of Ordination Rites,” in *Worship: Progress and Tradition* (Beltsville: Pastoral Press, 1995), 45–47.

ἀφρόνων, φωστῆρα ἐν κόσμῳ”).³² The second prayer also makes a reference to the Christ’s judgment seat (“τῷ βήματί σου”) and giving people their great reward (“τὸν μέγαν μισθὸν λήψηται ὃν ἠτοίμασας”)—a reference to the eschatological judgment scene and the Parable of the Talents in Matthew 25.

In contrast, the Roman text (*Ve* 947) exclusively alludes to Old Testament imageries—specifically from Exodus and Leviticus. It recounts God speaking to Moses with familiarity (“deus qui Mosen famulum tuum, secreti familiaris adfatu”) and speaks about God commanding Aaron to wear a mystical robe at his ordination (“electum Aharon mystico amictu uestiri inter sacra iussisti). Here, there is a clear sense that Old Testament images were mere figures (“enigmata figurarum”) of what was to come.³³ Disappointingly, there are no obvious references to the New Testament in this prayer—this seems to be a common trait among the three consecratory prayers (for the bishop, presbyter, and deacon) in the *Veronense*.

Epiclesis

Now let us compare the epiclesis sections. In particular, we will examine (1) what is being asked for the ordained, and (2) the functions of the bishop.

What is Being Asked for the Ordinand

In Barberini gr. 336, the epiclesis of the first ordination prayer (157, no. 8) features the main imperative verb “ἐνίσχυσον”—“strengthen”—with the new bishop being the direct object. It entreats God to grant the ordinand a blameless high priesthood (“ἀνεπίληπτον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀπόδειξον”) and adorn him with all sanctity (“καὶ πάση σεμνότητι κατακοσμῶν”), so that he may be worthy (“ἄξιος”) to carry out his ministry of prayer and thus be heard by God. The formula attributes this strengthening to two different causes: (1) through human action symbolized by the imposition of the hands of the archbishop (self-proclaimed as a sinner) and of all the bishops and those present “liturgizing” together (“διὰ τῆς χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ τῶν συμπαρόντων λειτουργῶν καὶ συνεπισκόπων”) and (2) through the coming, power, and grace of the Holy Spirit (“τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει καὶ δυνάμει καὶ χάριτι τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος”).

32. Two strong references that stand out here are those from John 10:15 and Romans 2:19-20. According to Paul Bradshaw, these are also present in the ordination prayers of other Eastern traditions. He finds it “inconceivable” that they all came to make this reference independently, especially since these passages are not explicitly related to ordination or ministry. Thus, he posits the possibility of a common source: a nucleus “as old as some of the patristic sources and was in established use before the divisions that took place in the Eastern churches during the fifth century.” Bradshaw, *Rites of Ordination*, 94-95.

33. For instance, the prayer states: “Illius namque sacerdotii anterioris habitus nostrae mentis ornatus est, et pontificalem gloriam non iam nobis honor commendat uestium, sed splendor animorum: quia et illa, quae tunc carnalibus blandiebantur obtutibus, ea potius quae in ipsis erant intellegenda poscebant.” *Ve* 947.

The second prayer (158, no. 14) employs the imperative “ποίησον”—“make” the ordinand an imitator of Christ “the true shepherd... guide of the blind light for those in darkness, corrector for the ignorant, lamp in the world.” Unlike the first prayer, this formula does not invoke the Holy Spirit and instead addresses Christ.³⁴ It cautions that holiness is not automatically given upon ordination; rather, only the successful imitation of Christ can lead to positive divine judgment—standing without shame before Christ’s tribunal (“παραστῆ τῷ βήματι σου ἀκατασχύντως”)—and receiving the great reward (“τὸν μέγαν μισθὸν λήψηται”) for proclaiming the Gospel.

Meanwhile, the ordination prayer in the *Veronense* (no. 947) features the imperative “conple”—“fill” or “complete”—“in sacerdotibus tuis mysterii tui summam.” Curiously, the Holy Spirit is mentioned only in the dependent clause expressing result: “Hoc, domine, copiosae in eorum caput influat, hoc in oris subiecta decur- rat, hoc in totius corporis extrema descendat, ut tui spiritus uirtus et interiora hor- tum repleat et exteriora circumtegat.” Puglisi questions the pneumatic character of this epiclesis since this prayer does not actually ask for the gifts of the Holy Spirit; instead, these are requested as a result of the heavenly anointing.³⁵ Rather than attributing the effectiveness of sacrament to the action of the Holy Spirit, this prayer instead asks God for the celestial unction to flow and cover the ordinands, which would then allow the Spirit to act.

Five other petitions flow from the central request of the epiclesis: The first calls for “constantia fidei, puritas dilectionis, [et] sinceritas pacis” to abound in the ordinands. The second requests God to grant the episcopal throne to the new bishops (“Tribuas eis cathedram episcopalem”).³⁶ The third asks God to be their “auctoritas,” “potestas,” and “firmitas.”³⁷ The fourth bids God to multiply blessing and grace on them (“Multiplices super eos benedictionem et gratiam tuam”). The fifth supplicates for the ordinands to be devoted through God’s grace (“tua gratia possint esse deuoti”).

34. Bradshaw sees the lack of pneumatic reference in this prayer as possibly being proof of its antiquity. See *Ordination Rites*, 52.

35. Puglisi, *Epistemological Principles*, 1:107.

36. Regarding the episcopal throne in the *Veronense*, Puglisi writes, this symbol “can evoke the image of authority and power... [and] also suggest the image of a pastor.” Chupungco adds the interpretation of the episcopal chair as expressing “the episcopal office of preaching.” *Epistemological Principles*, 1:109; Chupungco, “The Early Cultural Setting of Ordination Rites,” 52.

37. In both the first and third petitions mentioned in this paragraph, we see examples of the Roman tendency to multiply terms, usually employing three. Another example of this can be found in the Roman anaphora, which mentions “haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata” as well as “hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam.” See Eizenhöfer and Pahl’s edition of this Eucharistic Prayer: “Canon Missae,” in *Prex Eucharistica. Textus e Variis Liturgiis Antiquioribus Selecti*, eds. Anton Hänggi and Irmgard Pahl, 2nd ed. (Fribourg Suisse: Éditions Universitaires, 1968), 424–38.

Functions of the Bishop

The first ordination prayer in *Barberini* (157, no. 8) surprisingly relates only one function of the bishop: to pray for the salvation of God's people ("αἰτεῖν σε τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῦ λαοῦ"). On the other hand, the second prayer (158, no. 14) mentions three broad roles: First, the ordinand is called to be an imitator of Christ, including its theological consequences. Second, the ordinand is expected to form souls in this life ("καταρτίσας τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς ἐμπιστευθείας αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς παρουσίας ζῶῆς")—a condition for him to be able stand without shame before Christ's eschatological judgment. Third, he is entrusted with the task of proclaiming the Gospel³⁸—another function that serves as a condition for receiving his great reward ("τὸν μέγαν μισθὸν λήψηται ὃν ἠτοίμασας τοῖς ἀθλήσασιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου σου").

The consecratory prayer in the *Veronense* (no. 947) lists two functions: First, the bishop is tasked to rule the church and the entire people ("ad regendam aeclesiam tuam et plebem uniuersam")—a charge connected to the symbol of the episcopal chair. Second, he is given the responsibility of always asking for God's mercy, presumably for the people entrusted to him ("ut ad exorandam semper misericordiam tuam"). Hence, we can see that these two roles present a very limited description of the life and ministry of a bishop. An attempt would be made to fill in this lacuna in the text through a Gallican insertion appearing in the mid-eighth century *Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus* and would be reproduced in later me-

38. This seems to be a point of convergence between the Byzantine and Roman rites: the association of the Gospel with the bishop. In both traditions, the Book of the Gospels is opened and placed over the head (and shoulders) of the ordinand during prayer(s) of ordination. Moreover, it seems significant that in both rites as described in the Barberini text and in *Ordo 34*, the ordination of a bishop took place *before* the proclamation of the Gospel. See "Ordo 34," in *Les Ordines Romani du haut Moyen Age*, 5 vols., ed. Michel Andrieu, Études et Documents 24 (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1951), 3:601–13. In the post-Vatican II reformed liturgies, however, all celebrations of sacraments and sacramentals were moved to after the Liturgy of the Word, reflecting a different idea that sacraments come as a response to God's Word and initiative.

dieval pontificals.³⁹ This lengthy addition contains richer Scriptural references, especially from the New Testament, and was perhaps an attempt to theologically enrich the Roman ordination prayer. It refers to other aspects of episcopal ministry, such as evangelization, reconciliation, and preaching.

Theological Conclusions

Now that we have examined and compared the anamnestic and epicletic sections of the prayers of the ordination of a bishop in the *Euchologion Barberini* and the *Veronese Sacramentary*, we will conclude this paper by discussing four theological points: (1) Who appoints the person to be ordained a bishop; (2) what the bishop's relationship is with other orders of ministry; (3) how the bishop is related to the Church; and (4) why this comparative study of ancient Byzantine and Roman rites of ordination matters.

Who Appoints the Person to be Ordained

The Byzantine rite of ordination in the Barberini codex makes it clear that it is God who chooses. The bidding formula (*Bar* 157, no. 3) before the two ordination prayers ascribes to “divine grace” (“*Ἡ θεία χάρις*”) the prerogative of appointing (“*προχειρίζεται*”) the ordinand. Meanwhile, the first ordination prayer (157, no. 8) credits some capacity to human participation, identifying in particular the laying on of hand by the archbishop and by other bishops present (“*διὰ τῆς χειρὸς ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ τῶν συμπαρόντων λειτουργῶν καὶ συνεπισκόπων*”). John Klentos affirms the first prayer's attribution to a later theological development, stating that in the more ancient bidding prayer, it is clear that God's grace not only chooses but also heals and supplies.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, despite the apparent conflict between

39. “XCVIII. Orationes de episcopis ordinandis,” nos 769–770, in *Liber sacramentorum Romanae Aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli* (*Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 316 / Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56*) (*Sacramentarium Gelasianum*), eds. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, Leo Eizenhöfer, and Petrus Siffrin, RED. Series Maior. Fontes 4 (Rome: Herder, 1960), 120–21: “Sint speciosi munere tuo pedes horum ad euangelizandum pacem, ad euangelizandum bona tua. Da eis, domine, ministerium reconciliacionis in uerbo et in factis et in uirtutes signorum et prodigiorum. Sit sermo eorum et praedicacio non in persuasibilibus humanae sapienciae uerbis, sed in ostensione spiritus et uirtutis. Da eis, domine, clauis regni caelorum; utantur ne[c] gloriatur potestatem, quam tribues in aedificacionem, non in destructionem. Quodcumque ligauerint super terram, sint ligata et in caelis; et quodcumque soluerint super terram, sint soluta et in caelis. Quorum retenerint peccata, detenta sint; et quorum demiserint, tu demittas. Qui benedixerit [eis], sit benedictus; et qui maledixerit eis, maledictionibus repleatur. Sint fideles serui prudentes, quos constituas tu, domine, super familiam tuam, ut dent illis cibum in tempore necessario, ut exhibeant omnem hominem perfectum. Sint sollicitudinem impigri, sint spiritum feruentes. Odiant superbiam, diligant ueritatem, nec eam umquam deserant, aut lassitudinem aut timore superati. Non ponant lucem ad tenebras nec tenebris lucem, non dicant malum bonum nec bonum malum. Sint sapientibus [et insipientibus] debitores et fructum de profectu omnium consequantur.” Hereafter *GeV* with the formula number. For the ordination prayer in the tenth century *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*, see “LXIII. Ordinatio episcopi,” no. 35, in *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, vol. 1, *Le Texte* (nn. I–XCVIII), ed. Cyrille Vogel. Studi e Testi 226 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963), 218–19.

40. Klentos, “Byzantine Ordination Prayers,” 157–58.

these two elements (divine election and ecclesiastical approbation), Stefanos Alexopoulos and Maxwell Johnson explain that God's will is discerned and manifested through the election as there is "no dichotomy between action 'from below' and 'from above.'"⁴¹

Similarly, the Roman prayer for the ordination of a bishop (*Ve* 947) points to God as the one who has chosen the servants to be ordained. The epiclesis of this formula uses the verb "deligo," that denotes choice or selection,⁴² in the statement "his famulis tuis, quos ad summi sacerdotii ministerium deligisti." In the *Veronese Sacramentary*, there is also no conflict between divine election and human involvement. In fact, one of the preparatory formulas before the ordination prayer itself (*Ve* 945) implores God for harmony between the actions of our service and divine blessing.

The Bishop's Relationship to Other Orders

It is remarkable that all three prayers of ordination (the two Byzantine and one Roman formulas) provide a consistent description of the bishop as being a high priest: in Greek "ἀρχιερεύς" and in Latin "summus sacerdos." The first Byzantine prayer (*Bar*, 157, no. 8) articulates that the ordinand has been elected to undertake the Gospel and the high-priestly dignity ("ὑπεισελθεῖν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ καὶ τῇ ἀρχιερατικῇ ἀξίᾳ"). It also asks God to grant him a blameless high priesthood ("ἀνεπίληπτον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀπόδειξον"). The second Byzantine prayer (*Bar* 158, no. 14) acknowledges that the ordinand has been made a "steward of high priestly grace" ("οἰκονόμον τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς χάριτος"). In the same way, the epiclesis from the Roman formula (*Ve* 947) recognizes that God has chosen the ordinands for the ministry of high priesthood ("ad summi sacerdotii ministerium") and in turn petitions God to complete in these priests the heights of God's mystery ("mysterii tui summam"). Interestingly, in later sacramentaries such as the *Gelasianum Vetus*, the word "mysterii" would be changed to "ministerii," thus describing the episcopate as the "summa" of ministry.⁴³ Although these texts do not directly address the bishop's relationship with presbyters and deacons, the use of the label "high priest" suggest that the bishop is above these other orders.

41. Alexopoulos and Johnson, *Introduction to Eastern Christian Liturgies*, 252.

42. In the *Gelasianum Vetus*, the word used in the ordination prayer is changed to "elegisti" from the verb "eligo," adding a greater sense of election. *GeV* 769.

43. For instance, see *GeV*, 769. Chupungco reflects on the word "summa" in the Roman ordination epiclesis, stating that it denotes the "highest point," alluding to heights (connected again to grade and rank) more than to plenitude or completeness. Chupungco, "The Early Cultural Setting of Ordination Rites," 49. Benjamin Gordon-Taylor laments this fact, stating that mystery is supposed to express the "moreness" of God, yet the "summam mysterii" here is limited to rank. Benjamin Gordon-Taylor, "Mystery and Revelation in Ordination Rites: Towards a Liturgical Theology of Ordination," *Studia Liturgica* 22:1 (2003): 124.

The Bishop's Relationship to the Church

There is a strong intercessory character in the bishop's relationship to the Church in all three ordination formulas. The first Byzantine prayer (*Bar* 157, no. 8) states that one of the bishop's functions is to pray for the salvation of the people (“αἰτεῖν σε τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῦ λαοῦ”). The second prayer (*Bar* 158, no. 14) expresses the bishop's role of offering sacrifice and oblation for all of God's people (“εἰς τὸ ἀναφέρειν σοι θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου”). The Roman prayer (*Ve* 947) likewise confirms the bishop's responsibility of imploring God's mercy always (“ut ad exorandam semper misericordiam tuam”).

These consecratory formulas also delineate other ways the bishop relates to the people under his care. As mentioned earlier, the second prayer in the Barberini text (158, no. 14) describes him as a “steward of the high priestly grace” (“οἰκονόμον τῆς ἀρχιερατικῆς χάριτος”) and declares the bishop's task of forming souls entrusted to him in this present life (“καταρτίσας τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς ἐμπιστευθείας αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς παρουσίας ζωῆς”). It concludes by pointing to the reward awaiting him for preaching the Gospel (“ὑπὲρ τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου σου”). Meanwhile, the consecratory formula in the *Codex Veronensis* (no. 947) implies that the bishop ought to serve the Church with “constancy of faith, purity of love, and sincerity of peace.”⁴⁴ It articulates the bishop's duty to rule the Church and the entire people (“ad regendam aeclesiam tuam et plebem uniuersam”) as symbolized by the episcopal chair granted to him, though Anscar Chupungco interprets the cathedra as a symbol for the ministry of preaching, not just of ruling.⁴⁵

Why This Issue Matters

This comparative analysis has sought to articulate the theology of the episcopate expressed in the prayers of ordination of a bishop in the oldest surviving Byzantine and Roman euchological collections. In Barberini gr. 336, the word “χειροτονία” describes the ordination of a bishop, presbyter, and deacon.⁴⁶ Indeed, the rites of ordination for these three orders have the same structure even though the ordinations themselves occur at different points in the Liturgy. In contrast, the *Veronense* employs the term “consecratio” concerning the “making” of a bishop—a reference to the long anaphora-like formula featured in the rite. This word is also used for the ordination of a presbyter (*Ve* 952-954). Meanwhile, the heading for diaconal ordination is “Benedictio super diaconos” (*Ve* 948-951). Thus, the use of the terms “consecratio” and “benedictio” does not deny that these rites involve an ordination. In fact, Santantoni claims that initially these three terms were used interchangeably.⁴⁷ Overall, “ordina-

44. Puglisi notes that these qualities requested of God taken from the Pastoral Epistles are virtues needed not for the bishop's personal benefit but for service. Puglisi, *Epistemological Principles*, vol. 1, 113.

45. Chupungco, “The Early Cultural Setting of Ordination Rites,” 52.

46. It also applies this term to the subdeacon (ὑποδιακόνος) in *Bar*, 165, but this is a topic for another day.

47. Santantoni, “Ordination and Ministries,” 221n16.

tion” seems to be a more precise and appropriate term for the “making” of a bishop, since it brings unity to the sacrament received by the deacon, the presbyter, and the bishop and emphasizes the episcopacy as the culmination of Orders. While a bishop is *consecrated*, he is not merely a presbyter who is set apart or empowered to do more.

In this comparative study, the two ordination prayers from the *Euchologion Barberini* reflect a richer and more varied theology of the episcopacy compared to the one in the *Veronense*. The Byzantine prayers allude to both the Old and the New Testaments, while the Roman prayer focuses exclusively on the Old. The Byzantine prayers also paint a more multifaceted picture of the bishop’s functions and relation to the Church. It is no wonder that in the post-conciliar *Pontificale Romanum*, the ordination prayer from the *Veronense* was replaced by the one from the *Traditio Apostolica*.⁴⁸ Ultimately, the ordination of a bishop is an important moment in the life of the People of God. I hope this modest study has shown a glimpse of the depth of the theology expressed in the ordination prayers.

48. Annibale Bugnini recounts that prayer of ordination of a bishop based on the *Veronense* was considered by *Coetus 20* of the Consilium to be “completely inadequate for expressing the teaching on the episcopate given by the Second Vatican Council,” and hence was replaced by the consecration formula from the *Traditio Apostolica*. Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy 1946-1975*, trans. Matthew J. O’Connell (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1990), 713.