

The Old Testament in the Byzantine liturgy: some remarks on the liturgical celebrations devoted to Constantinople

Abstract: Some of the Byzantine liturgical celebrations devoted to the city of Constantinople were (partially) elaborated through the use of Old Testament lections. Throughout this article, we will analyze the way in which these lections were integrated into a Byzantine Christian context with the purpose of exploring some of the theological and political connotations found within the liturgical celebration of the Empire's capital city.

Keywords: Byzantine liturgy – Old Testament – *Prophetologion* – biblical reception

Resumen: Algunas de las celebraciones litúrgicas bizantinas dedicadas a la ciudad de Constantinopla fueron (parcialmente) elaboradas mediante la utilización de lecciones del Antiguo Testamento. A lo largo de este artículo, analizaremos la forma en que estas lecciones fueron integradas un contexto cristiano bizantino con el propósito de explorar las connotaciones teológicas y políticas que se encuentran presentes en la celebración litúrgica de la capital del Imperio.

Palabras clave: liturgia bizantina – Antiguo Testamento – *Prophetologion* – recepción bíblica

The Byzantine liturgical calendar comprises a number of celebrations devoted to the city of Constantinople. One of them commemorates the dedication of the city by Emperor Constantine I on May 11th, in the year 330, while the others commemorate the city's survival in the face of military attacks or natural disasters.¹ This liturgical celebration of Constantinople is sometimes elaborated through the use of Old Testament lections: the books of Baruch, Daniel, Jeremiah, and, particularly, Isaiah, reappear numerous times in connection with the city and feature prominently in the literary-theological formulation of Constantinople's role in the Empire's history and destiny.² Throughout this article, we will analyze the way in which the Old Testament was integrated into these liturgical celebrations

¹ Other celebrations, like the ones devoted to the relics guarded in Constantinople (the Transfer of John Chrysostom's relics, the Mandilion of Edessa) also involved the city, but in a less direct way. We will not be considering any of those in this work.

² Among all the liturgical celebrations devoted to the military sieges and natural disasters affecting the city, we will only analyze those that comprise Old Testament lections (as attested by the *Prophetologion*). They are the following: the siege commemorated on June 5th (probably referring to an Avar siege in the year 617, cf. Dirk KRAUSMÜLLER, "Making the Most of Mary: The Cult of the Virgin in the Chalkoprateia from Late Antiquity to the Tenth Century", in *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium*, Leslie BRUBAKER and Mary CUNNINGHAM (eds.), pp. 219-245, specially note 140 in pp. 242-243); the siege commemorated in August (probably referring to the Arab siege of 718, cf. KRAUSMÜLLER, "Making the Most of Mary", p. 242); the earthquake commemorated on March 17th (dated between the years 780 and 797 by Sysse Gudrun ENGBERG, "The Greek Old Testament Lectionary as a Liturgical Book", *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* 54 (1987), 39–48, here p. 48, and in 790 by KRAUSMÜLLER, "Making the Most of Mary", note 140 in pp. 242-243); the earthquake commemorated on the Monday after Pentecost, of uncertain date; the earthquake commemorated on October 26th (dated in 740 or 989 by ENGBERG, "The Greek Old Testament Lectionary as a Liturgical Book", p. 48, and in 740 by KRAUSMÜLLER, "Making the Most of Mary", p.242).

of Constantinople with the purpose of exploring the city's theological dimension and its underlying political connotations.

1. Introduction: theoretical elements³

In order to convey a meaning to a Byzantine Christian audience, the Old Testament underwent a process of *decontextualization* and *recontextualization*.⁴ This process involved two main actors: in the first place, a liturgical author, who encoded a certain message through a decontextualization of a text from its original biblical background and a recontextualization of that text into a new liturgical background;⁵ in the second place, a liturgical receiver or

³ This article is based on a more comprehensive study of the Byzantine Old Testament lectionary from the perspective of canonical criticism that was developed as a master's dissertation on Biblical Studies. The analytical categories applied throughout this article, based on narratology and discourse analysis, have been adapted from that previous study. In order to provide a general reference to the methodological approach that will be used in this analysis, we can mention the following works: Wayne BOOTH, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, The University of Chicago Press, 1983; Seymour CHATMAN, *Story and Discourse. Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca-London, 1980; Lyle ESLINGER, "Narrational Situations in the Bible", in Vincent TOLLERS and John MAIER (eds.), *Mappings of the Biblical Terrain: The Bible as Text*, Cranbury, Associated University Press, 1990, pp. 72-92 ; Grant OSBORNE, *The Hermeneutical Spiral*, Downers Grove, InterVarsity Press, 2010; Gerald PRINCE, *Narratology. The Form and Functioning of Narrative*, Berlin-New York-Amsterdam, Mouton Publishers, 1982; *id.*, *A Grammar of Stories*, Mouton, 1973; *id.*, "Notes Toward a Categorization of Fictional 'Narratees'", *Genre* 4 (1971), 100-105; Meir STERNBERG, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading*, Indiana University Press, 1985.

⁴ The text of the lections analyzed within this article has been taken from the Byzantine *Prophetologion* (Carsten HØEG, Günther ZUNTZ and Sysse Gudrun ENGBERG, (eds.), *Prophetologium*, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Lectionaria, Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1939-81). References to the *Septuagint* are based on Alfred RAHLFS' edition (*Septuagint*, Stuttgart, Württemberg Bible Society, 1971) and quotations from the *Septuagint* in English are taken from the *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (Oxford University Press, 2009). Given the limited scope of this article, it will not be possible to approach either the characteristics of our main source (i.e., the *Prophetologion*) or the main topics concerning its production and circulation. We refer, therefore, to some of the main works on the matter: C. HØEG, "Sur le Prophetologium" (Fifth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Rome, 1936), 46-47; *id.*, "L' Ancien Testament dans l' Eglise grecque: quelques aspects de la question" (Sixth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Algiers, 1937): 107-9; C. HØEG and G. ZUNTZ, "Remarks on the Prophetologion", in *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends*, R. P. CASEY et al. (eds.), London, 1937, pp. 189-226; G. ZUNTZ, "Der Antioche Papyrus der Proverbia und das Prophetologion", *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 68 (1956), 124-84; *id.*, "Das Byzantinische Septuaginta-Lektionar (Prophetologion): Memoria Istanbulensis", *Classica et Mediaevalia* 17 (1956), 183-98; S. G. ENGBERG, "Prophetologion Manuscripts in the 'New Finds' of St. Catherine's at Sinai", *Scriptorium* 57 (2003), 94-109; *id.* "Les lectionnaires grecs", Les manuscrits liturgiques, cycle thématique 2003-2004 de l'IRHT, Paris, IRHT, 2005 (Adilis, Actes, 9), n.p. [accessed February 10th 2016] <http://irht.hypotheses.org/612>; *id.*, "Romanos Lekapenos and the Mandilion of Edessa", in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, J. DURAND and B. FLUSIN (eds.), Paris, 2004, pp. 123-42; *id.*, "The *Prophetologion* and the Triple-Lecture Theory—the Genesis of a Liturgical Book", *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, 3rd ser., 3 (2006), 67-91 (other works from this last author have been quoted above, cf. note 2); James MILLER, "The Prophetologion. The Old Testament of Byzantine Christianity?", in *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. Paul MAGDALINO and Robert NELSON, Dumbarton Oaks, 2010, pp. 55-76. Unfortunately, this article will be submitted for printing before I have a chance to see S. G. Engberg's forthcoming publication, *PROFETIE-ANAGNOSMATA-PROPHETOLOGION: The History of a Greek Liturgical Book*. Many aspects of this article will probably have to be reconsidered in the light of the data and the analysis provided by Prof. Engebers' work.

⁵ Speaking of a "liturgical author" does not imply that there is only one author of the text. The category of liturgical author, as used in this analysis, must be understood in terms of the "implied author" (sometimes called "the official scribe" or "the author's second self"), as formulated by narratology. As Booth and Walsh point

listener (that we can identify with the Byzantine liturgical attender), who decoded the message by interpreting that recontextualization.⁶ While developing this process, both the liturgical author and the liturgical attender had to deal with three major aspects of the text: a linguistic one, a temporal one and a theological one. In the following pages, we will analyze the way in which these aspects were approached by the liturgical author/attender when coding and decoding the message contained in the liturgical events devoted to the city of Constantinople. For that purpose, we shall briefly describe the theoretical elements applied in each case.

1.1. Discourse and hermeneutics

Discourse can be considered essential to the process of coding and decoding of a certain message, because liturgical events are, at least to a certain degree, linguistic constructions.⁷ Given that language—in the form of a text unit that we define as a *lection*⁸—is one of the bases for the transmission of an intended liturgical message, it is necessary to consider the way in which an Old Testament passage becomes integrated into a Christian liturgical context, the relationship established between the recontextualized passage and the liturgical attender, and the hermeneutical strategies that the liturgical attender applies in order

out, the “implied author” emerges as a construction based on the elements provided by the text and does not necessarily coincide with any of the traits of the “real author” (cf. W. BOOTH, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, p. 71; WALSH *The Old Testament Narrative*, p. 8). In Walsh’s words: “... the implied author and implied reader... are essentially *constructs made by the (real) reader*. In other words, they are names for parts of the process by which the reader makes sense of the text. Let me unpack the sentence. When an author writes a text, he or she inevitably stamps that text with aspects of the author’s own personality (domains of knowledge and expertise; political, religious, or other ideological opinions; attention to detail; depth and bias of insight into human personalities; and so on); in other words, *implicit in the text* is a subset of the real author’s characteristics. These are the clues the reader uses to construct an idea of what the real author might have been like... This author, presupposed by the reader’s readiness to accept the narrative as coherent, and constructed by the reader out of clues selected as meaningful, is the ‘implied author’” (*The Old Testament Narrative*, p. 8). This “implied author” is not necessarily an individual person. As Chatman has stated (referring to fiction literature), “There is always an implied author, though there might not be a single real author in the ordinary sense: the narrative may have been composed by committee (Hollywood films), by a disparate group of people over a long period of time (many folk ballads), by a random-number generation by a computer, or whatever” (CHATMAN, *Story and Discourse*, p. 149); the same criterion can be applied to biblical literature, as pointed out by Walsh: “It is important to note that this (i.e., the construction of the implied author through the elements provided by the text) is true *even when the text’s real author is composite*, as historical criticism has shown to be the case in almost all biblical writings. In order to read a narrative as a coherent unity, the reader must *posit* a singular authorial mind to explain that coherence. This author, presupposed by the reader’s readiness to accept the narrative as coherent, and constructed by the reader out of clues selected as meaningful, is the ‘implied author’” (WALSH, *The Old Testament Narrative*, p. 8). Since we cannot identify a real author for our source, we can only refer to an implied author (whom we will call the liturgical author and will tacitly understand as a composite), whose characteristics are those that emerge from the reading of the text. The many aspects concerning the liturgical author, in any case, will not be explored any further in the context of this work.

⁶ This receiver (whom we will call the liturgical attender) is, like the liturgical author, also a construct that may not coincide with any of the traits of the “real reader/receiver”. As Walsh puts it: “The ‘implied reader’ (some critics speak of the ‘ideal reader’) is the reader who understands perfectly and precisely what the implied author is saying, and brings nothing extraneous to that understanding. Or, to put it another way, the implied reader has all and only those capacities that the implied author expects” (WALSH, *The Old Testament Narrative*, p. 8).

⁷ All liturgical events involve, certainly, a performative dimension, which will not be considered however in the context of this work.

⁸ The Old (or New) Testament lections are not the only text units found in the liturgy (the hymns, psalms etc. can also be considered as text units), but they are the only ones we will analyze in this work.

to make sense of the text. We shall briefly describe each of these elements under the categories of referent, literary construction and hermeneutical strategies.

1.1.1. Referents

The first elements to consider when analyzing the process of liturgical recontextualization of the Old Testament are the referents of the text. The referents – understood as the person (*personal referent*), object (*substantive referent*), situation (*situational referent*) or context (*contextual referent*) to which a linguistic expression refers –⁹ play in fact a major role in articulating the Old Testament within a certain liturgical context. According to their characteristic, the referents can be classified into three main categories:¹⁰

I. Implicit referent: we can label as *implicit* all those referents that are semantically provided by the Old Testament passage itself.

II. Liturgical referent: we can label as *liturgical* all those referents that are semantically provided by the liturgical calendar.

III. Historical referent: we can label as *historical* all those referents that are semantically defined by the liturgical attender.

In addition to this, it must be pointed out that all *personal* and sometimes even *substantive* referents (whether *implicit*, *liturgical* or *historical*) can become a *referent-interlocutor* (either a *referent-addresser* or a *referent-addressee*) in the context of direct speech (for direct speech, cf. 1.1.2.2. below).¹¹ All *direct speech* involves two interlocutors –the addresser of the message (i.e., the speaker) and the addressee (i.e., the listener)– and each of those interlocutors can be identified with a certain referent, thereby creating a *referent-interlocutor*. As a result of this, the analysis of those Old Testament passages that represent direct speech must establish the role that the referent plays as an interlocutor (i.e., whether the referent is the addresser or the addressee of the message).

1.1.2. Literary construction

Among the many aspects of the complex literary construction of the lections, two are essential to an analysis of the liturgical recontextualization of the Old Testament: the discursive structures, which provide a linguistic structure for the transmission of a certain message, and, specially, the *direct* or *indirect* character of that discourse, which lays the foundations for the hermeneutical decoding of that message.

1.1.2.1. Discursive structure

As a literary construction, the Old Testament comprises a number of discursive structures –understood here as linguistic compositions defined by aspects such as the use of certain tenses or modes, the amount and the role of verbs, nouns and adjectives, the use of certain literary resources and even the prevalent subjects– which are used according to the needs of the different theological formulations. Although these structures will not be specifically analyzed in this work, we will point out the discursive types prevailing in each

⁹ All these types of referent can be found within the three main categories listed below.

¹⁰ We leave aside here another dimension of the referents (such as whether they are internal, external or combined) as this would involve a greater complexity and surpass the scope of this analysis.

¹¹ The substantive referent can become a *referent-interlocutor* when it is personified. In some of the lections, it is possible to find the city of Jerusalem (i.e., a substantive referent) as a personification of its inhabitants and in turn transformed into a *referent-interlocutor*.

lection, i.e., narrative, descriptive, prophetic, expository, exhortative, encomiastic, invocative etc.

1.1.2.2. Direct and indirect speech

The message codified in the discursive structure can be formulated in either a *direct* or an *indirect* way, depending on the liturgical and/or historical attender's involvement as an interlocutor of the speech.¹² The difference between both formulations rests on whether the speech was intended to involve exclusively the people of the Old Covenant (so the people of the New Covenant are only indirect listeners of the message) or if it was intended to involve also (or even to involve exclusively) the people of the New Covenant.

I. Direct speech: we will consider as *direct speech* all of those discursive constructions where the liturgical and/or historical referent is an interlocutor in the process of transmission of the message, thereby becoming a *referent-interlocutor* (cf. 1.1.1. above).¹³ When the text of a certain lection has been identified as direct speech, the analysis must focus on the specific role (addresser or addressee) played by each *referent-interlocutor*. If we classify the speech types according to the addresser, there are two categories:

i. Omfological speech: we can label as *omfological* the speech emitted by the divine voice (ὀμφή).¹⁴ In this type of speech God (i.e., an implicit referent) is the message's addresser and the human being (maybe the people of Israel, i.e., an implicit referent, but also, necessarily, the Byzantine Christians, i.e., a liturgical and/or historical referent) is the addressee.

ii. Audiological speech: we can label as *audiological* the speech emitted by the human voice (ἄυδή).¹⁵ In this type of speech, the human being (a prophet or the people of Israel, i.e., an implicit referent, and/or the Byzantine Christians, i.e. a liturgical and/or historical referent) is the addresser, while the addressee can be either God (i.e., an implicit referent) or other human beings (the people of Israel, i.e., an implicit referent, and/or the Byzantine Christians, i.e., a liturgical and/or historical referent).¹⁶

II. Indirect speech: we will consider as *indirect speech* all of those discursive constructions where the liturgical and/or historical referent *is not* an interlocutor in the process of transmission of the message. The *direct speech* might involve an interlocutor, but that interlocutor will only refer to an implicit referent.

¹² The labels "direct" and "indirect" speech, as they are applied to the Old Testament lections, have no relationship with the traditional categories of direct/reported speech used in speech analysis.

¹³ The implicit referent may also be present, but its presence is not enough to turn speech into *direct speech*. In order to become *direct*, the speech must also have a liturgical and/or historical referent, because it is only then that it can be understood as specifically intended for a Christian audience. When the implicit referent is the only personal/substantive referent of the text, we must understand that the speech was specifically intended for an Old Covenant audience (i.e., the Christian audience may hear the speech, but it is not directly addressed by it).

¹⁴ This label (in common with others that we use in this article) has been developed according to the needs of this kind of analysis. The Greek terms ὀμφή and ἄυδή (introduced below) have been chosen for convenience and have no specific relationship to Byzantine Greek uses or to liturgical uses (they merely point to the "divine voice" and the "human voice", as used in Homeric dialect, cf. Liddell-Scott-Jones English-Greek Lexicon).

¹⁵ Cf. note 14.

¹⁶ The fact that the liturgical attenders (as historical referents) might become interlocutors (specifically, addressers) does not imply that they joined in cantillating the Old Testament lections. They would always participate in this part of the liturgy in a contemplative way (for contemplative participation in liturgy, cf., for example, Hugh WYBREW, *The Orthodox Liturgy*, St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1996, p. 179).

1.1.3. Hermeneutical strategies

The message, to conclude, only emerges when the Old Testament discursive construction is successfully articulated within the liturgical context. This process, which we can describe as a semantic reconfiguration, is initiated by the liturgical author, but requires an active involvement of the liturgical attender in order to be completed. A successful semantic reconfiguration, both on the liturgical author's side and on the liturgical attender's side, depends on the application of certain hermeneutical strategies, which vary according to the *direct* or *indirect* character of the speech.

1.1.3.1. Semantic reconfiguration: *indirect speech*

In *indirect speech*, the process of semantic reconfiguration operates on the basis of a high number of strategies. Given the limited scope of this work, we will only make brief description of their main characteristics:

I. Semantic reformulation: this strategy operates over all the implicit referents of the text, by tacitly reformulating them according to the principles of Christian doctrine; e.g., the implicit referent of the term "God" is tacitly reformulated according to a Trinitarian doctrine.¹⁷

II. Semantic closing: this strategy operates over the concepts that have a semantically ambiguous, implicit referent by closing their meaning around a liturgical referent; e.g., the implicit referent of the term "Messiah" is ambiguous (since the Messiah's identity remains unknown in the Old Testament), so its meaning is closed around the liturgical referent provided by the Christian understanding of the concept (i.e., around Jesus).

III. Semantic transference: this strategy operates over certain concepts by dissociating them from their implicit referent and by referring them to a new liturgical referent; e.g., in certain liturgical contexts, the expression "God's first begotten" does not refer any more to its implicit referent (i.e., Wisdom), but to a liturgical referent (i.e., Jesus).

IV. Semantic unfolding: this strategy operates over certain concepts by adding to their implicit referent a new liturgical referent. This process, crucial for the formulation of *types* and *antitypes*, can be developed in a *literal* or an *allegorical* way.

i. Literal unfolding: in this case, the concept preserves its literal meaning when referring to both an implicit and a liturgical referent; e.g., in certain liturgical contexts, the implicit referent to the formulation "the suffering of the fair" refers both to Job (implicit referent, *type*) and to Jesus (liturgical referent, *antitype*).

ii. Allegorical unfolding: in this case, the concept preserves its literal meaning when referring to an implicit referent, but becomes allegorized when referring to a liturgical referent; e.g., in certain liturgical contexts, the concept "Arc of the Covenant" refers both to the ancient Arc of the Hebrew people (implicit referent, *type*) and to the Theotokos (liturgical referent, *antitype*).

V. Semantic application: this strategy operates over formulations that have a general implicit referent by applying them to a specific liturgical referent; e.g., the implicit referent in the prescription to circumcise all "newborns" is general (since it involved all Hebrew male babies), but it is applied to one specific referent (baby Jesus) in the liturgical context.

¹⁷ *Semantic reformulation* is so widespread in the process of recontextualization of the Old Testament lections into their new Christian liturgical context that we will not be able to analyze this aspect. It must be kept in mind, however, that all major theological concepts and figures of the Old Testament are tacitly reformulated.

VI. *Semantic adaptation*: this strategy operates over certain concepts by adding to their implicit referent a new liturgical referent and by creating a literary motif based on the analogy existing between those (implicit and liturgical) referents; e.g., the motif of the “miraculous birth” is referred to implicit referents such as Isaac and Samson, and, in the liturgical context, is also referred to a liturgical referent such as John the Baptist.

1.1.3.2. Semantic reconfiguration: *direct speech*

In *direct speech*, the process of semantic reconfiguration operates on the basis of a small number of strategies, namely *transference* (one referent is dissociated from a concept and replaced by another referent), *projection* (a new referent is associated to a concept without affecting previous referents already associated with it) or a combination of these two. Given, once again, the limited scope of this work, we will only make brief mention of their main characteristics:

I. *Transference of referent-interlocutor*: this strategy operates through *one* active *referent-interlocutor* that can be either liturgical or historical;¹⁸ in this case, the implicit referent always becomes passive and its semantic connotations are *transferred* to a liturgical or historical referent; e.g., (*omfological speech*): in the liturgical context of Tirofagus, God’s exhortation to repentance and contrition can be understood as addressed to the Byzantine liturgical attender (historical referent¹⁹).

II. *Transference and projection of referent-interlocutor*: this strategy operates through *two* active *referent-interlocutors*, a liturgical one and a historical one—in this case, the implicit referent becomes always passive and its semantic connotations are first *transferred* to a liturgical referent and then *projected* onto a historical referent; e.g., (*audiological speech*): in the liturgical context of the Holy Week, an invocation to God made by his people can be understood as emitted by Jesus’s contemporaries (liturgical referent) and also by the Byzantine liturgical attender (historical referent).

III. *Double projection of referent-interlocutor*: this strategy operates through *three* active *referent-interlocutors*, an implicit one, a liturgical one and a historical one—in this case, the semantic connotations of the implicit referent are first *projected* on the liturgical referent and then *projected* again on the historical referent; e.g., (*omfological speech*): in the liturgical context of the Commemoration of the Siege of Constantinople, God’s exhortation to good behavior can be understood as addressed to the Hebrew people (implicit referent, i.e., the ones who suffered the Siege of the Old Jerusalem), to the contemporaries of the Siege of Constantinople (liturgical referent, i.e., the ones who suffered the Siege of the New Jerusalem) and also to the Byzantine liturgical attender (i.e., historical referent, who might suffer similar sieges in the present or future).

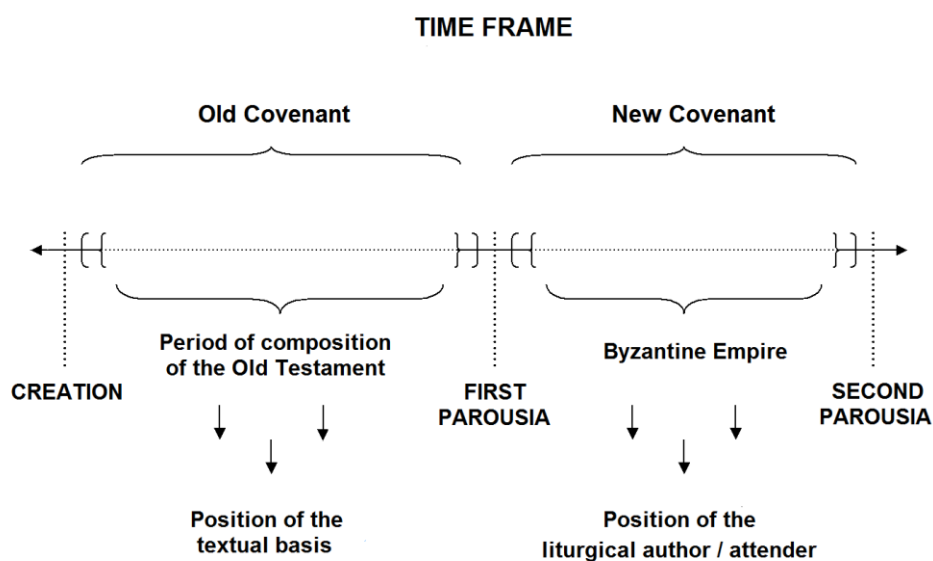
1.2. Time frame

The definition of a time frame plays a major role in the process of liturgical recontextualization of the Old Testament. The liturgical attender, in fact, would always have interpreted the message presented by the text either in a *time context* –i.e., regarding his/her

¹⁸ Referents are considered *active* when they play a role in the transmission of the message. The remaining referents are considered *passive*.

¹⁹ That is to say that the other referents –specifically, the implicit referent (usually the people of Israel), which was the original addressee of the message– remain passive, since their involvement in the message transmission is no longer relevant in the liturgical context.

past, present or future— or in a *timeless context* —i.e., as eternity or undefined time— which was the result of the articulation of the time frame of the textual basis (Old Testament) with the time frame shared both by the liturgical author and the liturgical attender. In Byzantium, such articulation would have been based on the Christian concept of a linear and infinite timeline —that is, a *universal* time frame inherent to God and to divine realities— within which a linear, yet finite timeline —that is, a *historical* time frame, inherent to humanity and to worldly realities— could be defined. This historical time frame was organized according to three main theological events: Creation, which marked the beginning of worldly realities; the First Parousia, which closed the Old Covenant and opened the New one; the Second Parousia, which was bound to mark the end of worldly realities. Within these boundaries, the textual basis (Old Testament) and the liturgical author/attender held relatively fixed positions: the textual basis would always be placed in the times previous to the First Parousia (i.e., in the times of the Old Covenant), while the liturgical author/attender would always be placed in the times after the First Parousia (i.e., in the times of the New Covenant).²⁰ The following diagram represents this historical time frame.



Unlike the (relatively) fixed positions of the textual basis and the liturgical author/attender, the referents (implicit and liturgical) can be considered highly mobile, since they might be found both on the universal time line and at any point (and at more than one point) on the historical timeline. The analysis of a liturgical event needs, therefore, to determine the temporal relationship existing between the textual basis (Old Testament), its referents (implicit and liturgical) and the liturgical author/attender. Given, once again, the limited scope of this work, we will only make brief mention of some of the possible time frame combinations:²¹

I. Time context: the following formulations denote a specific time frame, whether they involve the past, present and/or future of both textual basis and liturgical author/attender.

²⁰ From the point of view of the liturgical author/attender, the end of the Byzantine Empire was also going to be the end of human history (that is to say, it would coincide with the Second Parousia).

²¹ We leave aside here some temporal formulations (like the use of the prophetic perfect) which, although fairly represented in the liturgical context, are too complicated to be described in the context of this brief introduction.

i. Precise past: it refers to an event mentioned by the textual basis as having taken place in a specific moment of its own past, no matter whether it took a short or a long time to develop. These events' development is completed by the time of the composition of the textual basis (i.e., they do never surpass the textual basis' time frame); e.g., the creation of the world.

ii. Durable past: it refers to a prescription mentioned by the textual basis as having started to apply in its own past. These prescriptions are not expired by the time of the composition of the textual basis (i.e., they surpass the textual basis' time frame), but they are always expired by the time they are read in the Byzantine liturgy, e.g., the prescription of circumcision.

iii. Continuous time: it also refers to a prescription mentioned by the textual basis as having started to apply in its own past. These events are not expired by the time of the composition of the textual basis (i.e., they surpass the textual basis' time frame), nor are they expired by the time they are read in the Byzantine liturgy; e.g., the prescriptions for the decoration of God's temples.²²

iv. Closed time displacement: it refers to a prophecy formulated by the textual basis that has already been fulfilled by the time it is read in the liturgy; e.g., the coming of the Messiah.

v. Open time displacement: it refers to a prophecy formulated by the textual basis that has not been fulfilled by the time it is read in the liturgy; e.g., the Apocalypse.

vi. Prophecy in force: it refers to a prophecy formulated by the textual basis that is still being fulfilled by the time it is read in the liturgy, e.g.: the New Covenant.²³

II: Timeless context: the following formulations can be considered as devoid of a specific time, either because they involve an event whose repetition is possible but uncertain (*i* and *ii*), because their referent is eternal (*iii*) or because they apply during the whole length of human history (*iv*).

i. Cycle of events: it refers to a certain event attested by the textual basis that has repeated itself –and might still be repeated– in the time frame of the liturgical attender; e.g., the siege of Jerusalem.

ii. Prophetic cycle: it refers to a prophecy formulated by the textual basis that has been fulfilled more than once –both in the textual basis's time frame and in the liturgical attender's time frame– and that might be fulfilled *again* in the liturgical attender's time frame; e.g., the punishment of the God's people.

iii. Theological statements: these refer to information pertaining to the divinity; e.g., God's love for his chosen people.

iv. Models of behavior: these refer to universal rules of behavior for human beings; e.g., God's exhortation to honesty, faithfulness, truthfulness etc.

1.3. Theological message

The process of liturgical recontextualization of the Old Testament integrates a certain discursive construction (cf. 1.1.) and a certain time display (cf. 1.2.) in order to formulate a

²² Some aspects of the decoration of God's temples (like the Cherubim), as prescribed to ancient Israel, were symbolically adopted by the Byzantines (in order to justify the presence of certain kinds of image in Christian churches). The prescription was understood, therefore, as being still in force.

²³ Although the prophecy began to be fulfilled in the past (i.e., with the establishment of the New Covenant), the liturgical attender lived himself/herself under that New Covenant and could consider, therefore, that the prophetic announcement still applied in his/her own time.

theological message. According to their main subject matter, the theological messages formulated by the lectionary can be classified in two main categories:

I. Transcendental theology: we may label as transcendental theology all those statements concerning theological matters that go beyond the sphere of human action. Its two expressions are *mystagogy* –understood here as the revelations pertaining to the divine mysteries²⁴ and *divine economy* –understood here as the divine dispositions leading to human salvation.

II. Nontranscendental theology: we may label as nontranscendental theology all those statements concerning theological matters that involve human action and interaction with divinity. Its three expressions are *liturgy* –understood here as the rules pertaining to the public and institutionalized dimension of religious life–, *works* –understood here as the rules pertaining to the private dimension of the religious life– and the *theological hermeneutics of history* –understood here as the information regarding the theological dimension of past, present (and, potentially, future) events.

These elements will be taken as a theoretical basis for the analysis of the Old Testament lections found in the liturgical celebration of Constantinople. Not all the elements described above will be actually applied (in fact, few of them will), since the lections in question only present a limited number of linguistic, temporal and theological formulations. If we have chosen to present them *in extenso* it is because a comprehensive view of the many resources and strategies involved in the process of liturgical recontextualization of the Old Testament can help us understand, and appreciate, the specific choices that the liturgical author made when shaping Constantinople's celebrations.

2. Analysis: Constantinople in the Byzantine lectionary

In the celebrations devoted to the city of Constantinople, the Old Testament is integrated into the liturgical context through the same three basic referents. There is, in the first place, a *substantive* referent, which is the city itself –i.e., both the city of Jerusalem, provided by the Old Testament as an *implicit* referent, and the city of Constantinople, provided by the liturgical and historical context as a *liturgical* and *historical* referent. There is, in the second place, a *situational* referent, which is the particular situation involving the city –i.e., either the foundation, the siege or other misfortunes, which are all provided both by the Old Testament as an *implicit* referent, and by the liturgical and historical context as a *liturgical* and *historical* referent. There is, in the third place, a *contextual referent*, which is given by the circumstances surrounding each particular situation –i.e., either the circumstances of the foundation, of the siege or of other misfortunes, which are all provided both by the Old Testament as an *implicit* referent, and by the liturgical and historical context as a *liturgical* and *historical* referent.

Besides these basic referents, there are a number of *personal* and *substantive* referents (*implicit, liturgical* and/or *historical*) that play the role of *referent-interlocutors* by becoming either addressers or addressees of certain speech. These referents –usually God and the people of God (from both the Old and the New Covenants)–, which are the key to direct speech, will be pointed out each time they appear in different celebrations, since their presence influences the hermeneutical strategies adopted by the liturgical attender and

²⁴ We use the label *mystagogy* in a very wide sense, which does not necessarily coincide with a theological definition of the word.

remains, therefore, essential to decoding the lection’s message. Having identified the main referents, we may now proceed to an examination of each one of the liturgical celebrations devoted to the city of Constantinople.

2.1. Commemoration of the foundation of Constantinople

The liturgical event that commemorates the foundation of Constantinople is based on the prophetic Book of Isaiah, from which all three lections are drawn. The chapters and verses of each lection are indicated in the following chart:

Liturgical event ²⁵		
Date	Event	Lections
May 11th	Commemoration of the foundation of Constantinople	Isa. 54:9-15
		Isa. 61:10—62:5
		Isa. 65:18-24

2.1.1. Discursive construction and hermeneutics

The foundation of Constantinople is one of the few liturgical events devoted to the city where the lections, all drawn from a prophetic book, are actually prophetic in character. In all three cases, in fact, the message conveyed by the lections contains revelations about the future glory of the New Jerusalem, such as its extreme wealth (“I will make your battlements of jasper, and your gates of crystal stones, and your enclosure of precious stones” etc.), its special place before God (“you shall be a crown of beauty in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God” etc.) and its joyful circumstances (“I am making Jerusalem as gladness, and my people as a joy” etc.). In the second lection, however, part of the message can be described as eulogistic, since it is meant to praise the Lord’s fairness and generosity (“Let my soul be glad in the Lord” etc.).

In all three lections, the prophecy is presented as indirect speech, that is, as speech that does not turn the liturgical/historical referent into an interlocutor: there is, therefore, no need to identify an addresser and an addressee.²⁶ We must analyze, in any case, the strategy of semantic reconfiguration applied to this passage. This strategy, which we can identify as

²⁵ *Prophetologium* II, pp. 101-108; Juan MATEOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église, Tome I: Le cycle des douze mois*, [Orientalia Christiana Analecta 165], Rome, Pontificum Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1962, 1.286.11-290.2.

²⁶ The structure of the lections, which are formulated as speech addressed either by God (**Isa.** 54:9-15; 65:18-24) or by the prophet (**Isa.** 61:10–62:5) to a certain addressee (the city of Jerusalem [personified], the people of Israel), might suggest the existence of *direct speech*. It is important to insist, therefore, on the fact that (in the liturgical context) we shall only consider as *direct* those speeches where the addresser or the addressee can be identified with a liturgical or historical referent (besides, of course, its identification with an implicit referent). In this case, it might be tempting to assume the existence of a *double projection of referent-interlocutor* and to identify the addressee with the people of Israel (i.e., an implicit referent), but also with the Byzantine liturgical attendee in general (i.e., a historical referent), understanding therefore the passages as *direct speech*. This, however, would be semantically incorrect: the Byzantine liturgical attendees in general (i.e., the historical referent) are not interlocutors of God or the prophet in any of the lections. They are witnesses of the fulfillment of the prophecy, but the prophecy was *not addressed to them*: they are indirect listeners of a prophecy that was addressed in the past *to the people of the Old Covenant* (i.e., the implicit referent, which is the only *referent-interlocutor* in the passages). Since the addressee cannot be identified with a liturgical/historical referent, the speech must be considered then as *indirect*.

a *semantic closing*, operates by closing the meaning of a semantically ambiguous referent (the New Jerusalem) around a liturgical referent (Constantinople). As a result, the prophetic announcements regarding the New Jerusalem –i.e., the city’s foundation and its particular qualities of wealth and glory– are understood as having been (and still being) fulfilled through the foundation of Constantinople and its exaltation above all other cities. In the text,²⁷ the opening and closing formulas are underlined.²⁸

Isaiah 54:9-15

⁹ Τάδε λέγει κύριος τῇ πόλει τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ἐπὶ Νωε τοῦτό μοι ἔστιν καθότι ὤμοσα τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ τῇ γῆ μὴ θυμωθήσεται ἐπ’ αὐτῇ ἔτι μηδὲ ἐν ἀπειλῇ μου ¹⁰ τὰ ὄρη αὐτῆς μεταστήσῃ οὐδὲ οἱ βουνοὶ αὐτῆς μετακινηθήσονται οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸ παρ’ ἐμοῦ σοι ἔλεος ἐκλείπει οὐδὲ ἡ διαθήκη τῆς εἰρήνης μου οὐ μὴ μεταστῇ ¹¹ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐτοιμάζω σοὶ ἄνθρακα τὸν λίθον σου καὶ τὰ θεμέλιά σου σάπφειρον ¹² καὶ θήσω τὰς ἐπάλλξεις σου ἴασπιν καὶ τὰς πύλας σου λίθους κρυστάλλου καὶ τὸν περίβολόν σου λίθους ἐκλεκτοὺς ¹³ καὶ πάντα τοὺς υἱούς σου διδασκούς θεοῦ καὶ ἐν πολλῇ εἰρήνῃ τὰ τέκνα σου ¹⁴ καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ οἰκοδομηθήσῃ ἀπέχου ἀπὸ ἀδίκου καὶ οὐ φοβηθήσῃ καὶ τρόμος οὐκ ἐγγιεῖ σοι ¹⁵ ἰδοὺ προσήλυτοι προσελεύσονται σοὶ δι’ ἐμοῦ παροικήσουσί σου καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ καταφεύξονται λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ

Isaiah 61:10–62:5

61 ¹⁰ Ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ ἐνέδυσεν γάρ με ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης περιέβαλεν με ὡς νυμφίῳ περιέθηκέν μοι μίτραν καὶ ὡς νύμφην κατεκόσμησέν με κόσμῳ ¹¹ καὶ ὡς γῆν αὕξουσιν τὸ ἄνθος αὐτῆς καὶ ὡς κῆπος τὰ σπέρματα αὐτοῦ ἐκφύει οὕτως ἀνατελεῖ κύριος δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα ἐναντίον πάντων τῶν ἔθνων **62** ¹ διὰ Σιών οὐ σιωπήσομαι καὶ διὰ Ἱερουσαλὴμ οὐκ ἀνήσω ἕως ἄν ἐξέλθῃ ὡς φῶς ἡ δικαιοσύνη μου καὶ τὸ σωτήριόν μου ὡς λαμπὰς καυθήσεται ² καὶ ὄψεται τὰ ἔθνη τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου καὶ πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς τὴν δόξαν σου καὶ καλέσει σε τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ καινόν ὃ ὁ κύριος ὀνομάσει αὐτό ³ καὶ ἔσῃ στέφανος κάλλους ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου καὶ διάδημα βασιλείας ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ σου ⁴ καὶ οὐκέτι κληθήσῃ καταλελειμμένη καὶ ἡ γῆ σου οὐκέτι κληθήσεται ἔρημος σοὶ γὰρ κληθήσεται θέλημα ἐμόν καὶ τῇ γῆ σου οἰκουμένη ⁵ ὅτι εὐδοκήσει κύριος ἐν σοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ σου συνοικισθήσεται καὶ ὡς συνοικῶν νεανίσκος παρθένῳ, οὕτως κατοικήσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ σου καὶ ἔσται ὄν τρόπον εὐφρανθήσεται νυμφίος ἐπὶ νύμφῃ οὕτως εὐφρανθήσεται κύριος ἐπὶ σοί.

²⁷ Rough breathing, smooth breathing, accents and capital letters have been introduced in all texts according to the use of the *Septuagint*. Musical notation, which is not relevant to this analysis, is omitted in all texts.

²⁸ The formula *Τάδε λέγει κύριος* is, among others, attested from an early date as a way of introducing the Old Testament lections (S. G. Engberg has pointed out their existence as marginal notes in ancient biblical manuscripts that had been adapted for biblical use, cf. ENGBERG, “Les lectionnaires grecs”). This opening formula, as well as the closing formula *λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ*, are widely attested in the *Prophetologion*. In some cases, like the one of **Isa.** 54:9-15, both formulas are semantically integrated into the text, since they frame speech that is actually attributed to the divine voice (in this lection, in fact, the opening formula has been specially adapted to the text through the addition *τῇ πόλει τῇ ἁγίᾳ*, which specifically identifies the [personified] addressee of God’s speech, cf. MILLER, “The Prophetologion”, p. 68, note 39). In cases where the speech is not emitted by the divine voice, however, the opening and closing formulas can create a certain semantic tension (as we will see below).

Isaiah 65:18-24

¹⁸ Τάδε λέγει κύριος ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ποιῶ τὴν Ἱερουσαλημ ἀγαλλίαμα καὶ τὸν λαὸν μου εὐφροσύνην ¹⁹ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσομαι ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλημ καὶ εὐφρανθήσομαι ἐπὶ τῷ λαῷ μου καὶ οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῆ ἔν αὐτῇ φωνῇ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ φωνῇ κραυγῆς ²⁰ καὶ οὐ μὴ γένηται ἔτι ἐκεῖ ἄωρος ἡμέραις καὶ πρεσβύτερος ὅς οὐκ ἐμπλήσει τὸν χρόνον αὐτοῦ ἔσται γὰρ ὁ νέος υἱός ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν ²¹ καὶ οἰκοδομήσουσιν οἰκίας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνοικήσουσιν καὶ καταφυτεύουσιν ἀμπελώνας καὶ αὐτοὶ φάγονται τὰ γενήματα αὐτῶν ²² οὐ μὴ οἰκοδομήσουσιν καὶ ἄλλοι ἐνοικήσουσιν καὶ οὐ μὴ φυτεύουσι καὶ ἄλλοι φάγονται κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς ἔσονται αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ λαοῦ μου τὰ ἔργα τῶν πόνων αὐτῶν παλαιώσουσιν ²³ οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ μου οὐ κοπιάσουσιν εἰς κενὸν οὐδὲ τεκνοποιήσουσιν εἰς κατάραν ὅτι σπέρμα ἠὺλογημένον ὑπὸ θεοῦ εἰσὶ καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα αὐτῶν μετ' αὐτῶν ²⁴ καὶ ἔσται πρὶν ἢ κεκράξαι αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ ἐπακούσομαι αὐτῶν ἔτι λαλούντων αὐτῶν ἐρῶ τί ἔστι λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ

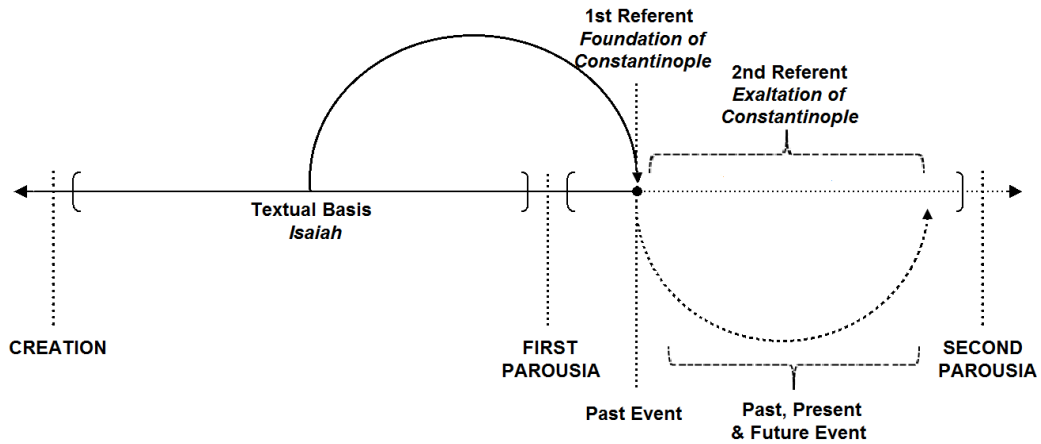
2.1.2. Time frame

The prophetic character of the message presented in the context of this liturgical event involves a time display that articulates the past, the present and the future of the liturgical attender. This way of articulating past and present –i.e., a way that accounts for a prophecy that was formulated and began to be fulfilled in the past of the liturgical attender, but continued to be fulfilled in his/her present and would still continue to be fulfilled in his/her future– can be labeled as a *prophecy in force*: This form of time display is defined by two main characteristics: 1) the prophecy begins to be fulfilled in a period of time that *transcends* its textual basis (i.e., the Old Testament)²⁹; 2) given that the prophecy's fulfilment is developed during an extended period of time, the liturgical attender bears witness only to part of its fulfillment (the one developed in his/her past and present), yet s/he is aware that the process of fulfillment (which has begun in the past) will continue to be fulfilled in the future.

If applied to the foundation of Constantinople, we can see how the liturgical attenders interpreted in Byzantium the time frame of Isaiah's revelation: the textual basis (Isaiah) predicts the foundation of a New Jerusalem, yet that prediction is not fulfilled within the time frame of the Old Testament; the Byzantines, however, considered that the foundation of Constantinople and its development as an exalted city privileged by God –an event of their past that transcended the time frame of the textual basis– was the historical referent of Isaiah's prophecy. As a result, the prophet's announcements regarding the New Jerusalem were understood as partially fulfilled (the city has already been founded) and partially in a process of fulfillment (the city's glory, wealth and military fortune, as promised by God, still remained in force and would remain so for a long time in the future). The following graphic depicts this time articulation in a synthetic way.

²⁹ That is to say, the prophecy is formulated by the textual basis, but the fulfillment of the prophecy (as interpreted by the liturgical attender) happens after the textual basis had been written, and, as a consequence, is not reported in it. This is different from the *vaticinium ex eventu*, where both the prophecy and the fulfillment of the prophecy are reported by the textual basis.

PROPHECY IN FORCE



The reformulation of the textual basis' time frame according to the parameters of the liturgical attender's time frame is a common feature of the recontextualization process. Most of the prophetic passages quoted in the lectionary, in fact, are formulated as unfulfilled (*open*) prophecies, and are only understood as fulfilled (*closed*) or partially fulfilled (*prophecy in force*, *cyclical prophecy*) after the liturgical author has identified a referent for it. Nevertheless, the lectionary also shows that prophetic passages with a specific apocalyptic connotation usually preserve that same sense after their recontextualization, being considered therefore as unfulfilled (*open*) prophecies by the liturgical author/attender. The present example is an exception to that rule. The lections of the commemoration of the foundation of Constantinople are based on passages in Isaiah that, although being clearly apocalyptic in their original context, have been devoid of that connotation in order to be identified with a referent set in the liturgical author/attender's past: the apocalyptic New Jerusalem, as a result, has been identified with the historical city of Constantinople.³⁰ This interpretation is ratified, in fact, by the Commemoration of Saint Constantine and Saint Helena, where one of the lections –*Isa.* 60:1-16–, equally devoted to the apocalyptic New Jerusalem, is applied once again to the city founded by Emperor Constantine I.³¹ The rather unusual transformation of an apocalyptic prophecy into a partially fulfilled prophecy concerning the history of the Empire is quite significant, which must certainly be taken into account when interpreting the way in which Constantinople is theologically formulated by the Byzantine liturgy.

2.1.3. Theological message

In this case, the process of liturgical recontextualization of the Old Testament provides the elements for a *theological hermeneutics of history*, that is to say, for a theological understanding of past, present and even future events or features of reality. By means of the three lections of Isaiah, the Byzantine liturgical attender would have come to know the theological context of the foundation of Constantinople –i.e., a New Covenant

³⁰ This does not mean that all the apocalyptic connotations of the passages are lost, since Constantinople was expected to play a major role in the events leading to the Second Parousia, but the biblical concepts are certainly reformulated.

³¹ For the lections used in the commemoration of Saint Constantine and Helena, cf. Alfred RAHLFS, *Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche, Mitteilungen des Septuaginta Unternehmens*, Göttingen, 1915, p. 152.

brings along a New Jerusalem– and other theological aspects concerning the status and circumstances of the city –i.e., its privileged place before God, the reason of its glory, wealth, welfare etc. The distinctive trait of this theological formulation is, in any case, the fact that the liturgical attender plays a *passive* role vis-à-vis the information provided by the lections: s/he is expected to apply them to an understanding of the past and the present and to anticipate aspects of the future, but not to take them as a basis for a specific course of action. The prophetic revelations contained in the passages express the way in which the absolute will of God shapes human history, and their fulfillment, in that sense, lays beyond the sphere of human action: it cannot be influenced or challenged by human beings.

2.2. Commemoration of the siege of Constantinople

As previously stated, the Old Testament lectionary comprises two liturgical events devoted to commemorate military episodes in Constantinople’s history. The first one, set on June 5th, is based on the prophetic books of Isaiah, Baruch and Daniel, from which the three lections are respectively drawn. The chapters and verses of each lection are indicated in the following chart:

Liturgical event ³²		
Date	Event	Lections
June 5th	Commemoration of the siege of Constantinople	Isa. 36:1; 37:9-10, 14-18, 20-21, 33-37
		Bar. 4:21-29
		Dan. 9:15-19

The second one is based on the prophetic Book of Isaiah, from which all three lections are drawn. The second lection of this commemoration is, in fact, identical to the first lection of the previous commemoration. The chapters and verses of each lection are indicated in the following chart:

Liturgical event ³³	
Event	Lections
Commemoration of the August siege of Constantinople	Isa. 7:1-14
	Isa. 36:1; 37:9-10, 14-18, 20-21, 33-37
	Isa. 49:13-16e

2.2.1. Discursive construction and hermeneutics

Given that the liturgical events devoted to each siege comprise different lections (except for one, which is repeated), we must analyze the discursive construction and the hermeneutical strategies separately. We will consider, in the first place, the June siege and, in the second place, the August siege.

2.2.1.1. June siege

³² *Prophetologium* II, pp. 108-114; MATEOS, *Typicon*, 1.306.3-6.

³³ *Prophetologium* II, pp. 155-157; MATEOS, *Typicon*, 1.373.7-15.

Although all three lectures are drawn from prophetic books, none of them is specifically prophetic in character. The first one can be described as narrative, since it relates the events surrounding Sennacherib's failed attempt to conquer the city of Jerusalem ("And it happened in the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekias, that Sennacherim, king of the Assyrians, came up against the strong cities of Judea, and took them" etc.). The second one can be described as exhortative,³⁴ since it is intended to encourage the people of Israel to resist and overcome the misfortunes that have fallen on them ("Take courage, O children; call out to God, and he will deliver you from domination, from the hand of enemies" etc.). The third one can be described as an invocation, since it represents a plea of the people of Israel (represented by the prophet Daniel) to appease God's wrath and recover his support ("O Lord, because of all your mercy, do let your anger and your wrath turn away from your city Jerusalem" etc.).

In the first lection, the historical account is presented as indirect speech, that is, as speech that does not turn the liturgical/historical referent into an interlocutor: there is, therefore, no need to identify an addresser and an addressee. We must analyze, in any case, the strategy of semantic reconfiguration applied to this passage. This strategy, which we have labeled as *semantic adaptation*, resorts to an analogy to create a new sense: the concept of the siege, which already had an implicit referent (the siege of Jerusalem) provided by the Old Testament, finds a new liturgical referent (the siege of Constantinople) once incorporated into the liturgical context. As a result of the semantic analogy established between the two (implicit and liturgical) referents, the concept is turned into a literary motif ("the siege of the city"), which tacitly involves the idea of repetition.

Isaiah 36:1; 37:9-10, 14-18, 20-21, 33-37

36 Ἐγένετο τοῦ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτου ἔτους βασιλεύοντος Εζεκιου ἀνέβη Σεναχηρειμ βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὰς ὀχυρὰς καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτάς **37** ⁹ καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους πρὸς Εζεκιαν λέγων ¹⁰ οὕτως ἐρεῖτε Εζεκια βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἰουδαίας μὴ σε ἀπατάτω ὁ θεὸς σου ἐφ' ᾧ σὺ πέποιθας ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγων οὐ μὴ παραδοθῆ Ἱερουσαλημ εἰς χεῖρας βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων ¹⁴ καὶ ἔλαβεν Εζεκιας τὸ βιβλίον παρὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀνέγνω αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου καὶ ἠνοιξεν αὐτὸ ἐναντίον κυρίου ¹⁵ καὶ προσηύξατο Εζεκιας πρὸς κύριον λέγων ¹⁶ κύριε σαβαωθ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ ὁ καθηήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβιμ σὺ εἶ θεὸς μόνος πάσης τῆς βασιλείας τῆς οἰκουμένης, σὺ ἐποίησας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ¹⁷ κλῖνον κύριε τὸ οὖς σου καὶ εἰσάκουσον, ἄνοιξον κύριε τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου εἰσβλεψον κύριε καὶ ἴδὲ καὶ ἄκουσον τοὺς λόγους Σεναχηρειμ οὗς ἀπέστειλεν ὀνειδίζειν θεὸν ζῶντα ¹⁸ ἐπ' ἀληθείας γὰρ κύριε ἠρήμωσαν βασιλεῖς Ἀσσυρίων τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην ²⁰ νῦν δὲ κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν σῶσον ἡμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἵνα γνῶ πᾶσα βασιλεία τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅτι σὺ εἶ θεὸς μόνος ²¹ καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ἡασιας υἱὸς Ἀμωσ πρὸς Εζεκιαν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ ἤκουσα ἃ προσηύξω πρὸς με περὶ Σεναχηρειμ βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων ³³ διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ταύτην οὐδὲ μὴ βάλλῃ ἐπ' αὐτὴν βέλος οὐδὲ μὴ βάλῃ ἐπ' αὐτὴν θυρεὸν οὐδὲ μὴ κυκλώσῃ ἐπ' αὐτὴν χάρακα

³⁴ Certainly, this lection contains a prophetic element, since it announces the liberation of the people. The prophecy, in any case, seems subordinated (in the lection, but not necessarily in the original text of the *Septuagint*) to the aim of comforting the people: Israel must take courage *because* God will support it. It is also interesting to note that the prophecy's fulfillment (i.e., God's intervention in favor of Israel) is conditioned by the people's behavior: the prophet exhorts Israel to claim God and to abandon its bad ways in order to regain God's favor and achieve its liberation. For both these reasons, we can consider that the lection is mainly exhortative in character.

³⁴ ἀλλὰ τῇ ὁδῷ ἣ ἦλθεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀποστραφήσεται ³⁵ καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ταύτην οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ λέγει κύριος καὶ ὑπερασιῶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης τοῦ σῶσαι αὐτὴν δι' ἐμὲ καὶ διὰ Δαυιδ τὸν παῖδά μου ³⁶ καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἄγγελος κυρίου καὶ ἀνεῖλεν ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα πέντε χιλιάδας καὶ ἐξαναστάντες τὸ πρῶτῳ εὗρον πάντα τὰ σώματα νεκρά ³⁷ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἀποστραφεὶς καὶ ἀπέστρεψε Σαναχηριμ βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων

In the second lection, the exhortations are presented as direct speech attributed to a human voice (*audiological speech*). The communication process places the human being –in this case, the prophet Jeremiah (through Baruch’s testimony)– as an addresser, and the people of Israel –and, through a *double projection of referent-addressee*, the contemporaries of the siege and the whole of Byzantine Christianity as well– as addressees: the passage has, in this case, one addresser and three active addressees. In the text, the indicators (pronouns, verbs etc.) of the *referent-addresser’s* identity are highlighted in boldface, the indicators of the *referent-addressee’s* identity are highlighted in italics and the opening formula is underlined:³⁵

Baruch 4:21-29

²¹ Τάδε λέγει κύριος *θαρσεῖτε τέκνια βοήσατε* πρὸς τὸν θεόν καὶ ἐξελεῖται *ὕμᾱς* ἐκ δυναστείας ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν ²² *ἐγὼ* γὰρ **ἦλπισα** ἐπὶ τῷ αἰωνίῳ τὴν σωτηρίαν *ὕμῶν* καὶ ἦλθέ **μοι** χαρὰ παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου ἐπὶ τῇ ἐλεημοσύνῃ ἣ ἤξει *ὕμῖν* ἐν τάχει παρὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου σωτήρος *ὕμῶν* ²³ **ἐξέπεμψα** γὰρ **ὕμᾱς** μετὰ πένθους καὶ κλαυθμοῦ, ἀποδώσει δέ **μοι** ὁ θεὸς *ὕμᾱς* μετὰ χαρμοσύνης καὶ εὐφροσύνης εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ²⁴ ὡςπερ γὰρ νῦν ἐωράκασιν οἱ πάροικοι Σιων τὴν ὑμετέραν αἰχμαλωσίαν οὕτως ὄψονται ἐν τάχει τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σωτηρίαν *ὕμῶν* ἣ ἐπελεύσεται *ὕμῖν* μετὰ δόξης μεγάλης καὶ λαμπρότητος τοῦ αἰωνίου ²⁵ *τέκνα μακροθυμήσατε* τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπελθοῦσαν *ὕμῖν* ὀργὴν κατεδίωξέν σε ὁ ἐχθρὸς σου καὶ ὄψει αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἐν τάχει καὶ ἐπὶ τραχήλους αὐτῶν *ἐπιβήση* ²⁶ οἱ τρυφεροὶ **μου** ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς ὁδοὺς τραχείας ἤρθησαν ὡς ποιμνιον ἠρπασμένον ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν ²⁷ **θαρήσατε τέκνα** καὶ **βοᾶτε** πρὸς τὸν θεόν ἔσται γὰρ *ὕμῶν* ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπάγονος μνεῖα ²⁸ ὡςπερ γὰρ ἐγένετο ἡ διάνοια *ὕμῶν* εἰς τὸ πλανηθῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ **δεκαπλασιάσατε** ἐπιστραφέντες ζητῆσαι αὐτόν ²⁹ ὁ γὰρ ἐπάγων *ὕμῖν* τὰ κακὰ ἐπάξει *ὕμῖν* αἰώνιον εὐφροσύνην μετὰ τῆς σωτηρίας *ὕμῶν*

In the third lection, the plea is presented as direct speech attributed to the people of Israel –strictly speaking, to the prophet Daniel, who acts as a representative of the community– (*audiological speech*). In this case, the communication process places human beings –i.e., the prophet, the people of Israel, and, through a *double projection of referent-addresser*, the Byzantine liturgical attenders as well– as an addresser, and God as an addressee: the passage has, therefore, three active addressers and one addressee. In the text, the indicators (pronouns, verbs etc.) of the *referent-addresser’s* identity are highlighted in boldface and the indicators of the *referent-addressee’s* identity are highlighted in italics:

³⁵ In this case, the opening formula Τάδε λέγει κύριος is semantically inconsistent with the text, since the speech is clearly not emitted by the divine voice. We must regard it, therefore, as a simple frame disconnected from the discursive formulation of the message. It remains unclear why the formulae are sometimes connected with the text (as we have seen in **Isa.** 54:9-15), sometimes disconnected from it (as in **Bar.** 4:21-29) and sometimes missing (as in **Dan.** 9:15-19), but this is a matter that we will not be able to approach in this analysis.

Daniel (TH) 9:15-19

¹⁵ Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὃς ἐξήγαγες τὸν λαόν σου ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐποίησας σεαυτῷ ὄνομα ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη ἡμάρτομεν ἠνομήσαμεν ¹⁶ κύριε ἐν πάσῃ ἐλεημοσύνη σου ἀποστραφήτω δὴ ὁ θυμὸς σου καὶ ἡ ὀργή σου ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεώς σου ὅτι ἡμάρτομεν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ ὁ λαός σου εἰς ὄνειδισμόν ἐγένετο ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς περικύκλω ἡμῶν ¹⁷ καὶ νῦν εἰσάκουσον κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν τῆς προσευχῆς τῶν δούλων σου καὶ τῶν δεήσεων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπίφανον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ τὸ ἅγιάσμα σου ἕνεκέν σου κύριε ¹⁸ κλῖνον ὁ θεὸς μου τὸ οὖς σου καὶ ἐπάκουσον ἄνοιξον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου καὶ ἰδέ τὸν ἀφανισμόν ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεώς σου ἐφ' ἧς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα σου ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ ταῖς δικαιοσύναις ἡμῶν ἡμεῖς ῥηπτοῦμεν τὸν οἰκτιρμόν ἡμῶν ἐνώπιόν σου ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμούς σου τοὺς πολλούς ¹⁹ κύριε καὶ μὴ χρονίσης ἕνεκέν σου ὁ θεὸς μου ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα σου ἐπικέκληται ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν σου καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου

2.2.1.2. August siege

As in the commemoration of the June siege, none of the lections of the August siege is prophetic in character, although they are all drawn from the prophetic Book of Isaiah. We are not going to consider here the second lection, which, as we have seen, is identical to the first lection of the June siege and has been already analyzed above. Of the two remaining lections—the first one and the third one—, one can be described as historical, since it narrates the events surrounding Aram's and Ephraim's failed attempt to conquer the city of Jerusalem (“King Raasson of Aram and King Phakee son of Romelias of Israel went up against Jerusalem to wage up against it but could not besiege it” etc.), while the other one can be described as exhortative and eulogistic, since it is intended to reassure the people of Israel and to thank God for his support in times of misfortune (“Rejoice, O heavens; and let the earth be glad; let the mountains break forth with joy, and the hills with righteousness, because God has had mercy on his people and he has comforted the humble of his people” etc.).

In the first lection, the historical account is presented as indirect speech, that is, as speech that does not turn the liturgical attender into an interlocutor: there is, therefore, no need to identify an addresser and an addressee. The strategy of semantic reconfiguration applied to this passage is, as in the case of **Isa.** 36:1; 37:9-10, 14-18, 20-21, 33-37, one of *semantic adaptation* (cf. 2.1.1.).

Isaiah 7:1-14

¹ Ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Αχαζ τοῦ Ἰωαθαν τοῦ Ὀζιου βασιλέως Ἰουδα ἀνέβη Ραασημ βασιλεὺς Ἀραμ καὶ Φακεε υἱὸς Ρομελίου βασιλεὺς Ἰσραηλ ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλημ πολεμήσαι αὐτήν καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν πολιορκῆσαι αὐτήν ² καὶ ἀνηγγέλη εἰς τὸν οἶκον Δαυιδ λεγόντων συνεφώνησεν Ἀραμ πρὸς τὸν Εφραῖμ καὶ ἐξέστη ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ ὃν τρόπον ὅταν ἐν δρυμῷ ξύλων ὑπὸ πνεύματος σαλευθῆ ³ καὶ εἶπε κύριος πρὸς Ἡσαΐαν ἔξελθε εἰς συνάντησιν τῷ Αχαζ σὺ καὶ ὁ καταλειφθεὶς Ἰασουβ ὁ υἱὸς σου πρὸς τὴν κολυμβήθρα τῆς ἄνω ὁδοῦ τοῦ ἀγροῦ τοῦ γναφέως ⁴ καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτῷ φύλαξαι τοῦ ἡσυχάσαι καὶ μὴ φοβοῦ μηδὲ ἡ ψυχὴ σου ἀσθeneίτω μηδὲ φοβηθῆς ἀπὸ τῶν δύο ξύλων τῶν δαλῶν τῶν καπνιζομένων τούτων ὅταν γὰρ ὀργὴ θυμοῦ μου γένηται πάλιν ἰάσομαι ⁵ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ρομελίου κατὰ σοῦ λέγοντες ⁶ ἀναβησόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ κακώσωμεν αὐτήν καὶ συλλαλήσαντες αὐτοῖς ἀποστρέψωμεν αὐτούς πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ βασιλεύσωμεν αὐτῆς τὸν υἱὸν Ταβεηλ ⁷ τάδε λέγει κύριος σαβαωθ οὐ μὴ μείνη ἡ βουλή αὕτη οὐδὲ ἔσται ⁸ ἀλλ' ἡ κεφαλὴ Ἀραμ Δαμασκὸς καὶ ἡ

κεφαλή Δαμασκοῦ Ρασιμ καὶ ἔτι ἐξήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἔτη καὶ ἐκλείπει ἡ βασιλεία Εφραὶμ ἀπὸ λαοῦ ⁹ καὶ ἡ κεφαλή Εφραὶμ Σομορων καὶ ἡ κεφαλή Σομορων ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ρομελίου καὶ ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσητε οὐδὲ μὴ συνήτε ¹⁰ καὶ προσέθετο κύριος λαλήσαι τῷ Αχάζ λέγων ¹¹ αἴτησαι σεαυτῷ σημεῖον παρὰ κυρίου θεοῦ σου εἰς βάθος ἢ εἰς ὕψος ¹² καὶ εἶπεν Αχάζ οὐ μὴ αἰτήσω οὐδὲ μὴ πειράσω κύριον ¹³ καὶ εἶπεν Ησαΐας ἀκούσατε δὴ οἶκος Δαυιδ μὴ μικρὸν ὑμῖν ἀγῶνα παρέχειν ἀνθρώποις καὶ πῶς κυρίῳ παρέχετε ἀγῶνα ¹⁴ διὰ τοῦτο δώσει κύριος αὐτὸς ὑμῖν σημεῖον.

In the third lection, the exhortation and eulogy are presented as direct speech attributed to God (*omfological speech*). The communication process places God as an addresser, and human beings –i.e., the people of Israel, and, through a *double projection of referent-addressee*, the contemporaries of the siege and the whole of Byzantine Christianity as well– as addressees; the passage has, in this case, one addresser and three active addressees.³⁶ In the text, the indicators (pronouns, verbs etc.) of the *referent-addresser's* identity are highlighted in boldface, the indicators of the *referent-addressee's* identity are highlighted in italics and the opening formula is underlined:³⁷

Isaiah 49:13-16

13 Τάδε λέγει κύριος εὐφραίνεσθε οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ γῆ ῥηξάτω τὰ ὄρη εὐφροσύνην καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ διακαιοσύνην ὅτι ἠλέησεν κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ταπεινοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ παρεκάλεσεν ¹⁴ εἶπεν δὲ Σιών ἐγκατέλιπέν με κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐπελάθετό μου ¹⁵ μὴ ἐπιλήσεται γυνὴ τοῦ παιδίου αὐτῆς ἢ τοῦ μὴ ἐλεῆσαι τὰ ἔκγονα τῆς κοιλίας αὐτῆς εἰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιλάθοιτο γυνὴ ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐπιλήσομαί σου λέγει κύριος ¹⁶ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν μου ἐξωγράφησά σου τὰ τείχη καὶ ἐνώπιόν μου εἶ διὰ παντός.

2.2.2. Time frame

Different discursive constructions and hermeneutical strategies lead to different time frame formulations. The lections relevant to the commemorations of the June and August sieges of Constantinople provide the elements for two time display structures that we can label as a *cycle of events* and as *models of behavior*. We will consider each of them briefly.

2.2.2.1. Cycle of events

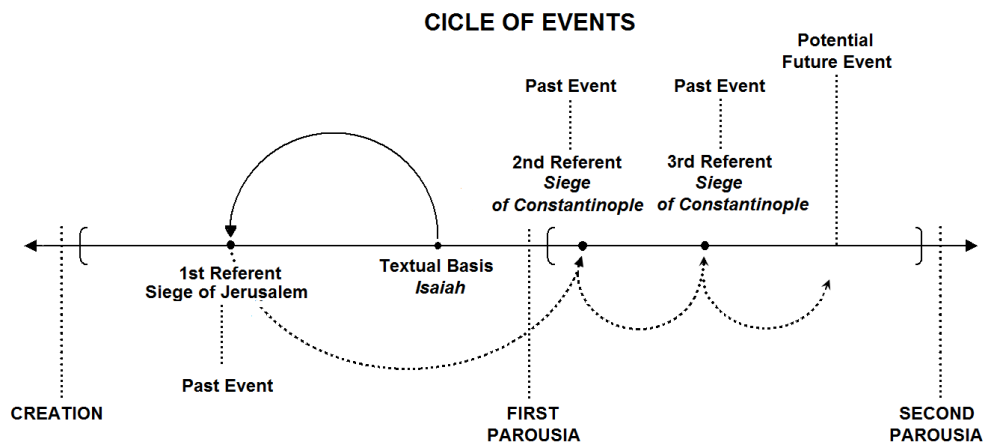
The narrative character of the message presented in the lections of **Isa.** 36:1; 37:9-10, 14-18, 20-21, 33-37 and **Isa.** 7:1-14 denotes an imprecise time display. In both cases, the process of semantic reconfiguration creates an implicit parallel between events that happened in the past of the liturgical attender and can happen again in his/her present or future: in terms of time display, such a parallel can be defined as a *cycle of events*. This form of time display

³⁶ It is dubious whether an expression such as εὐφραίνεσθε οὐρανοὶ could be considered as addressed to a (personified) substantive *referent-interlocutor*. The passage allows for different hermeneutical approaches, so we have not identified the referent οὐρανοὶ as an interlocutor.

³⁷ In this case, the opening formula Τάδε λέγει κύριος is semantically integrated into the text, since it introduces speech emitted by the divine voice. Unlike the lection of **Isa.** 54:9-15 (where the formula has been adapted to fit that specific discursive construction), however, it remains unclear whether that integration was deliberate. The existence of certain allusions to God in the third person (“because *God* has had mercy on *his* people, and he has comforted the humble of *his* people”, underlined in the text) must not be regarded as inconsistent with *omfological* speech, since that same detail is found in the original context of the *Septuagint*, where the speech is clearly attributed to the divine voice.

is defined by two main characteristics: 1) we can speak of a *cycle* because the events, always defined by similar characteristics, repeat themselves on numerous occasions; 2) the time frame of the cycle remains imprecise, to the point of being *timeless* in character: some of the events have certainly happened in the past (of the textual basis and/or of the liturgical attender), and *might* happen again in the present and/or the future (one or numerous times), but there is no certainty that such a repetition will actually occur.

If applied to the commemoration of the siege of Constantinople, we can see how the liturgical attenders interpreted in Byzantium the accounts of the siege of Jerusalem: the textual basis (Isaiah) narrates the attacks on Jerusalem, laying down the foundation for the emergence of a literary motive –the siege of the city– that finds its first referents in different episodes of Hebrew history: the siege by Senaquerib, in one case, and the siege by Aram and Ephraim, in another case; the Byzantines, for their part, considered that the same motive had found new referents in their own recent history: the siege of Constantinople by the Avars, in one case, and by the Arabs, in another case. Although set in different times, all the referents match the same prototypical event: they are integrated, therefore, on a cycle that has been developing in a temporal *continuum* –the Old and New Jerusalem are different versions of the same city– and, most importantly, that conveys the possibility of further development. The following graphic depicts this time display in a synthetic way.

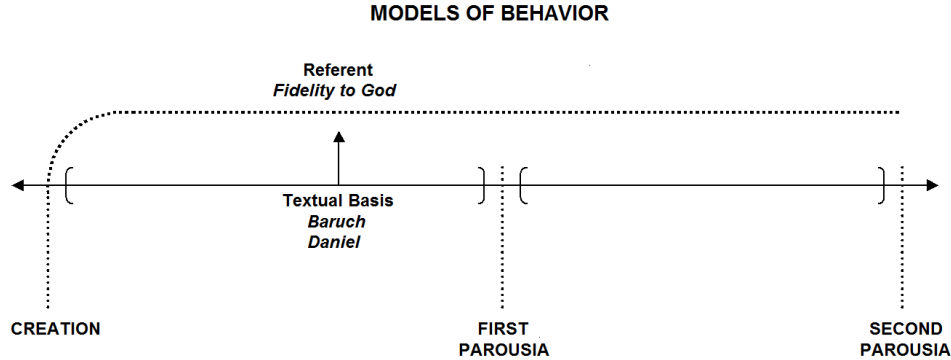


2.2.2.2. Models of behavior

The exhortative or invocative character of the message presented in the lections of **Bar.** 4:21-29 and **Dan.** 9:15-19 also denote an imprecise time display. In both cases, the text states universal rules and parameters to regulate and evaluate the actions of human beings: in terms of time display, such statements can be labeled as *models of behavior*. This form of time display is defined by its lack of any temporal connotation: the models of behavior established by the textual basis are the same for all human beings, from the time of Creation to the time of the Second Parousia.

If applied to the commemoration of the siege of Constantinople, we can see how liturgical attenders interpreted in Byzantium the passages found in the lections of Baruch and Daniel: in the first case, the textual basis (Baruch) formulates an exhortation to repent, to look for God and to abandon the bad ways; in the second case, the textual basis (Daniel) formulates an invocation that expresses the regret of those who abandoned God and their wish to regain God's support; as a result, both lections agree in highlighting the importance

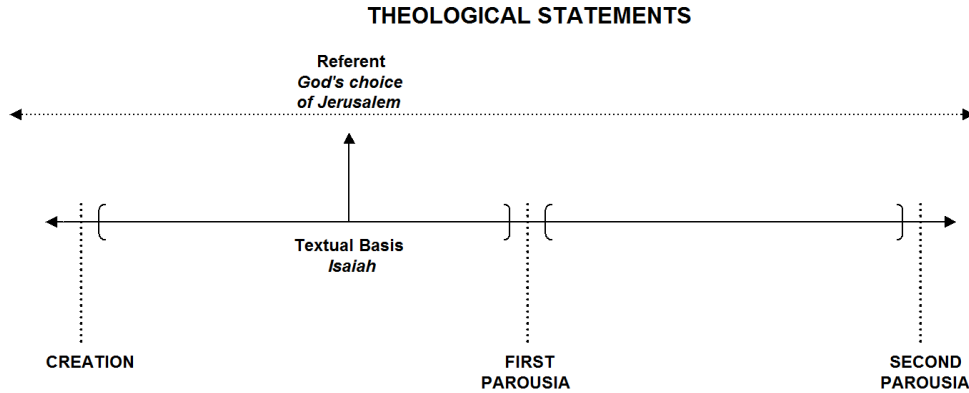
of the *fidelity to God* as a basic rule of conduct for the faithful’s life. Both Baruch and Daniel, in addition, make specific reference to the undesired consequences that come from an infraction of the norm they have just formulated: in the original context of both passages, people’s infidelity is punished by God and results in exile and dispersion. Once the passages have been liturgically recontextualized, however, the new semantic context implies that the people’s infidelity has actually resulted in the siege of the capital city: the attack on Jerusalem (both Old and New) was due to the people’s failure to uphold certain norms of behavior. Due to its timeless character, in addition, the model of behavior formulated by both lections remained in force and was, therefore, to be observed by all Byzantines in order to avoid the same divine punishment in the future. The following graphic depicts this time display in a synthetic way.



2.2.2.3. Theological statements

The exhortative and eulogistic character of the message presented in the lection of *Isa.* 49:13-16 denotes, once again, an imprecise time display. In this case, the text reveals theological features inherent to the divinity that can be labeled as *theological statements*. This form of time display is defined by its lack of any temporal connotation: given the timeless character of the referent (i.e., God, the Heavenly Kingdom), the theological statements can be considered eternal.

If applied to the commemoration of the siege of Constantinople, we can see how liturgical attenders interpreted in Byzantium the passages found in this lection: the textual basis (Isaiah) formulates certain aspects concerning the special relationship between God and the city of Jerusalem. For the Byzantine liturgical attender, who listened to this passage in the general context of the commemoration of the siege of Constantinople, the parallel emerges by itself: due to the timeless tie between God and his chosen city, the New Jerusalem now held the same exalted place that Old Jerusalem had once enjoyed. The following graphic depicts this time display in a synthetic way.



2.2.3. Theological message

Here, the process of liturgical recontextualization of the Old Testament provides, once again, the elements for a *theological hermeneutics of history*, although its construction is more complicated than the one we have seen in the commemoration of the foundation of Constantinople (cf. 1.3.). One of the lections of Isaiah (**Isa.** 49:13-16) makes, in the first place, certain statements about God –i.e., his love for Jerusalem and his special relationship with his chosen city– that could be labeled as a *mystagogy*, since they guide the liturgical attender towards the understanding of a divine mystery.³⁸ In the general context of the siege of Constantinople, however, it is pertinent to consider that those statements are less intended as a key to the knowledge of God (i.e., as a *mystagogy* in a strict sense) than as a key to the understanding of the city's historical development (i.e., as *hermeneutics of history*): consequently, the Byzantine liturgical attender would have come to know certain theological aspects concerning the status and circumstances of the city (once again, the reason of its glory, wealth, welfare etc.).

The remaining lections of Isaiah (**Isa.** 36:1; 37:9-10, 14-18, 20-21, 33-37 and **Isa.** 7:1-14), in the second place, do not have any other connotation than the *hermeneutics of history*. By providing the situational referents for the construction of a *semantic adaptation*, the process of liturgical recontextualization creates a parallel between the sieges endured by the Old and the New Jerusalem: consequently, the Byzantine liturgical attender would have understood the sieges as part of a cycle that had affected (and could still affect) the capital city. The lections of Baruch and Daniel (**Bar.** 4:21-29; **Dan.** 9:15-19), in the third place, present certain rules of behavior for the faithful's life –i.e., the importance of fidelity to God– that could be labeled as *works*, since they indicate to the liturgical attender those actions that lead to individual salvation. In the general context of the siege of Constantinople, however, it is pertinent to consider that those statements are less intended as a key to the achievement of individual salvation (i.e., as *works* in the strict sense) than as a key to the understanding of the city's historical development (i.e., as a *hermeneutics of history*): consequently, the Byzantine liturgical attender would have come to know the theological dimension of certain episodes of the city's history (the sieges were a divine punishment for the people's infraction of a basic rule of behavior, such as fidelity to God).

The distinctive trait of this theological formulation is, in any case, the fact that the liturgical attender plays an *active* role vis-à-vis the elements provided by the lections: s/he is

³⁸ We must underline, once again, that the label *mystagogy* and the term “mystery” are used here in a wide sense, as referring in general to information pertaining to the divinity.

not only expected to apply them to an understanding of the past and the present and to anticipate aspects of the future (as we have seen with the foundation of Constantinople), but also to take them as the basis for a specific course of action. The association between Jerusalem’s sieges (as described by Isaiah) and divine punishment for the people’s infidelity (as described by Baruch and Daniel) creates a relationship of cause-effect, which not only serves to understand events of the past (the reason for the city’s sieges), but also *to operate over the present in order to influence it*: by knowing that a certain cause (misbehavior towards God) brings along a certain effect (divine punishment), the liturgical attender would have had the possibility to adjust his/her behavior in order to avoid undesired consequences. Far from the case of the foundation of Constantinople, where God’s decisions could only attend fulfillment, this theological formulation gives the liturgical attender the opportunity to influence the shaping of the city’s destiny.

2.3. Commemoration of the earthquake of Constantinople

As previously stated, the Old Testament lectionary comprises three liturgical events devoted to commemorate natural catastrophes affecting the city of Constantinople. The first one, on March 17th, is based on the prophetic Books of Isaiah, Baruch and Daniel, from which the three lections are respectively drawn. The second and third lections, in fact, are identical to the second and third lections established for the commemoration of the siege of Constantinople celebrated on June 5th. The chapters and verses of each lection are indicated in the following chart:

Liturgical event³⁹		
Date	Event	Lections
March 17th	Commemoration of the earthquake of Constantinople	Isa. 63:15—64:4, 7-8
		Gen. (lection of the day) Bar. 4:21-29
		Dan. 9:15-19

The second one, set on the day after the mobile celebration of Pentecost, is based on the prophetic Book of Jeremiah. The chapters and verses are indicated in the following chart:

Liturgical event⁴⁰		
Date	Event	Lectionary
Monday after Pentecost	Commemoration of the earthquake of Constantinople	Jer. 1:1-8
		Jer. 1:11-17
		Jer. 2:2-12

The third one, on October 26thth, is based once again on the prophetic Books of Isaiah and Jeremiah. The first lection, in fact, is almost identical to the first lection established for the commemoration of the earthquake of March 17th (and, consequently, to the commemoration of the siege of Constantinople celebrated on June 5th) and the second lection

³⁹ *Prophetologium* II, pp. 82-87; MATEOS, *Typicon*, 1.248.25—250.3.

⁴⁰ *Prophetologium* I, pp. 559-565; Juan MATEOS, *Le typicon de la Grande Église, Tome II: Le cycle des fêtes mobiles* [Orientalia Christiana Analecta 166], Rome, Pontificum Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1963, 2.140.10-12.

is identical to the post-Pentecost commemoration of the earthquake. The chapters and verses of each lection are indicated in the following chart:

Liturgical event ⁴¹		
Date	Event	Lectionary
October 26th	Commemoration of the earthquake of Constantinople	Isa. 63:15—64:4
		Jer. 2:2-12
		Jer. 3:22-25; 4:8; 5:3, 5, 22; 14:7-9

2.3.1. Discursive construction and hermeneutics

The fact that the liturgical events devoted to the commemoration of each earthquake comprise different lections requires us to analyze the discursive construction and the hermeneutical strategies separately. We will consider, in the first place, the March commemoration and, in the second place, the post-Pentecost commemoration.

2.3.1.1. March commemoration

Since the second and third lections established for the March commemoration are identical to the ones established for the commemoration of the siege of Constantinople celebrated on June 5th –and have thus been analyzed in the context of that liturgical event–, we are only going to consider here the first lection, drawn from the Book of Isaiah. Although it comes from a prophetic book, the message presented by the lection is not prophetic in character. It can actually be described as an invocation, since it is intended to regain God’s favor for his people (“Why, O Lord, did you make us stray from your way and harden our hearts so that we would not fear you? Turn back on account of your slaves, on account of the tribes of your inheritance” etc.). In this lection, the plea is presented as direct speech attributed to the people of Israel (*audiological speech*). The communication process places human beings –i.e., the prophet, the people of Israel, and, through a *double projection of referent-addresser*, the contemporaries of the earthquake and the whole of Byzantine Christianity as well– as addressers, and God as an addressee: the passage has, therefore, three active addressers and one addressee. In the text, the indicators (pronouns, verbs etc.) of the *referent-addresser’s* identity are highlighted in boldface, the indicators of the *referent-addressee’s* identity are highlighted in italics and the closing formula is underlined:⁴²

Isaiah 63:15—64:4, 7-8

63 ¹⁵ *Ἐπίστρεψον* ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ *ιδέ* ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ ἁγίου σου καὶ δόξης ποῦ ἐστὶ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου καὶ τῶν οἰκτιρῶν σου ὅτι ἀνέσχου **ἡμῶν** ¹⁶ *σύ* γὰρ **ἡμῶν** εἶπατήρ ὅτι Αβρααμ οὐκ ἔγνω **ἡμᾶς** καὶ Ἰσραὴλ οὐκ ἐπέγνω **ἡμᾶς** ἀλλὰ *σύ* κύριε πατήρ **ἡμῶν** ῥύσαι **ἡμᾶς**, ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐφ’ **ἡμᾶς** ἐστὶν ¹⁷ τί *ἐπλάνησας* **ἡμᾶς** κύριε ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ σου *ἐσκήρυνας* τὰς καρδίας **ἡμῶν** τοῦ μὴ φοβεῖσθαί σε *ἐπίστρεψον* διὰ τοὺς δούλους σου διὰ τὰς φυλάς τῆς κληρονομίας σου ¹⁸ ἵνα μικρὸν **κληρονομήσωμεν** τοῦ ὄρου τοῦ ἁγίου σου οἱ ὑπεναντίοι **ἡμῶν** κατεπάτησαν τὸ

⁴¹ *Prophetologium* II, pp. 40-45; MATEOS, *Typicon*, 1.78.16-20.

⁴² In this case, the closing formula λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ is semantically inconsistent with the text, since the speech is clearly not emitted by the divine voice. We must regard it, as in previous cases, as a simple frame disconnected from the discursive formulation of the message (cf. **Bar.** 4:21-29).

ἀγίασμά σου ¹⁹ ἐγενόμεθα ὡς τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὅτε οὐκ ἠρξας ἡμῶν οὐδὲ ἐπεκλήθη τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐὰν ἀνοίξῃς τὸν οὐρανὸν τρόμος λήψεται ἀπὸ σοῦ ὄρη καὶ τακῆσονται **64** ¹ ὡς κηρὸς τήκεται ὑπὸ πυρὸς καὶ κατακαύσει πῦρ τοὺς ὑπεναντίους σου καὶ φανερὸν ἔσται τὸ ὄνομα σου τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις σου, ἀπὸ προσώπου σου ἔθνη ταραχθήσονται ² ὅταν ποιῆς τὰ ἔνδοξα τρόμος λήψεται ἀπὸ σοῦ ὄρη ³ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν οὐδὲ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν εἶδον θεὸν πλην σοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου ἀληθινὰ καὶ ποιήσεις τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν σε ἔλεος, ⁴ συναντήσεται γὰρ ἔλεος τοῖς ποιούσι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τῶν ὀδῶν σου μνησθήσονται ⁷ καὶ νῦν κύριε πατὴρ ἡμῶν σύ εἶ ἡμεῖς δὲ πηλὸς καὶ σύ ὁ πλάστης ἡμῶν ἔργα χειρῶν σου πάντες ⁸ ἡμεῖς μὴ ὀργίζου ἡμῖν κύριε ἕως σφόδρα καὶ μὴ ἐν καιρῷ μνησθῆς ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν καὶ νῦν ἐπίβλεπον κύριε ὅτι λαὸς σου πάντες ἡμεῖς λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ

2.3.1.2. Post-Pentecost commemoration

The first and second lections of Jeremiah can be considered a semantic unity, since they complete each other's sense: the first one, descriptive and narrative in character, is aimed at introducing Jeremiah's figure and setting a context for his prophetic revelations ("The dictum of God which came to Ieremias the son of Chelkias, of the priests, who was living in Anathoth in the land of Beniamin" etc.), while the second one presents the revelations themselves ("And the Lord said to me: From the north evil shall flare up against all the inhabitants of the land" etc.). The third lection can be considered as partially prophetic in character ("Therefore once more I will go to law with you, says the Lord, and I will go to law with your sons' sons" etc.), but also as accusatory, since it is bound to express God's wrath as a result of Israel's misbehavior ("This is what the Lord says: What error did your fathers find in me that they stood far from me and went after worthless things and became worthless themselves?" etc.), and, implicitly, as exhortative, since it attempts to inspire a change in Israel's attitudes towards God ("See if such things have happened; will nations change their gods?" etc.).

In the first and second lections, the message is presented as direct speech attributed to a human voice (*audiological speech*), which can be partially identified as the prophetic voice of Jeremiah (1:4-8) and partially as the voice of an omniscient narrator (1:1-3), which should perhaps be identified with Jeremiah (speaking about himself in the third person).⁴³ The communication process, therefore, places a human being –the prophet Jeremiah– as the addresser, and other human beings –the people of Israel, and, through a *double projection of referent-addressee*, the contemporaries of the earthquake and the whole of Byzantine Christianity as well– as the addressees:⁴⁴ the passage has, in this case, one addresser and three active addressees. In the texts, the indicators (pronouns, verbs etc.) of the *referent-addresser's* identity are highlighted in boldface (the indicators of the *referent-addressee's*

⁴³ The expression λέγει κύριος, attested in both cases by the *Septuagint*, should not be considered here as a closing formula, but rather as a way of specifying the identity of the speaker in the context of a dialogue. We can see, in fact, that the expression (formulated in slightly different ways) is actually used throughout the texts to articulate the discursive interaction between the prophet and God.

⁴⁴ The fact that the lections reproduce a conversation between God and Jeremiah does not mean that Jeremiah's addressee is God: the conversation is only being reported as a past event, which allows Jeremiah to explain to his real addressee –the people of Israel, or, through a *double projection of referent-addressee*, the Byzantines– the way in which he obtained his knowledge of the future events he was going to announce. The message's

identity are not explicit in any case) and the passages reporting the dialogue between the prophet and God are indicated in angle brackets:⁴⁵

Jeremiah 1:1-8

¹ Τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ ὃ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Ἱερεμῖαν τὸν τοῦ Χελκίου ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων ὃς κατώκει ἐν Αναθωθ ἐν γῆ Βενιαμίν ² ὡς ἐγένετο λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰωσίου υἱοῦ Ἀμώς βασιλέως Ἰουδα ἔτους τρισκαιδεκάτου ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ ³ καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἰωακείμ υἱοῦ Ἰωσίου βασιλέως Ἰουδα ἕως συντελείας ἑνδεκάτου ἔτους Σεδεκίου υἱοῦ Ἰωσίου βασιλέως Ἰουδα ἕως τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τῷ πέμπτῳ ⁴ καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς **με** λέγων ⁵ <πρὸ τοῦ με πλάσαι σε ἐν κοιλίᾳ ἐπίσταμαί σε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ σε ἐξελεῖν ἐκ μήτρας ἡγίακά σε προφήτην εἰς ἔθνην τέθηκά σε ⁶ καὶ εἶπα ὃ ὢν δέσποτα κύριε ἰδοὺ οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι λαλεῖν ὅτι νεώτερος ἐγὼ εἰμι> ⁷ καὶ εἶπεν κύριος **πρὸς με** <μὴ λέγε ὅτι νεώτερος ἐγὼ εἰμι ὅτι πρὸς πάντας οὓς ἂν ἐξαποστελῶ σε πορεύσῃ καὶ κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐὰν ἐντείλωμαί σοι λαλήσεις ⁸ μὴ φοβηθῆς ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἐγὼ εἰμι τοῦ ἐξαιρεῖσθαί σε> λέγει κύριος

Jeremiah 1:11-17

¹¹ Ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς **με** λέγων <τί σὺ ὄρᾳς Ἱερεμῖα> καὶ **εἶπον** <βακτηρίαν καραυῖνην ἐγὼ ὄρω> ¹² καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς **με** <καλῶς ἐώρακας διότι ἐγρήγορα ἐγὼ ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους μου, τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτούς> ¹³ καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς **με** ἐκ δευτέρου λέγων <τί σὺ ὄρᾳς> καὶ **εἶπα** <λέβητα ὑποκαίμενον ἐγὼ ὄρω καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ προσώπου βορρᾶ> ¹⁴ καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς **με** ἀπὸ προσώπου <βορρᾶ ἐκκαυθήσεται τὰ κακὰ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν γῆν ¹⁵ διότι ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ συγκαλῶ πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τῶν βασιλειῶν ἀπὸ βορρᾶ> λέγει κύριος <καὶ ἦξουσιν καὶ θήσουσιν ἕκαστος τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ πρόθυρα τῶν πυλῶν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ τείχη τὰ κύκλω αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ πάσας τὰς πόλεις Ἰουδα ¹⁶ καὶ λαλήσω μετὰ κρίσεως πρὸς αὐτούς περὶ πάσης τῆς κακίας αὐτῶν ὡς ἐγκατέλιπόν με καὶ ἔθυσαν θεοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις καὶ προσεκύνησαν τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν ¹⁷ καὶ σὺ περιζῶσαι τὴν ὄσφύν σου καὶ ἀνάστηθι καὶ εἰπὸν πρὸς αὐτούς πάντα ὅσα ἂν ἐντείλωμαί σοι μὴ φοβηθῆς ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν μήποτε πτοήσωσιν σε ἐναντίον αὐτῶν ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἐγὼ εἰμι τοῦ ἐξαιρεῖσθαί σε> λέγει κύριος

In the third lection, the message is presented as direct speech attributed to a divine voice (*omfological speech*). The communication process, therefore, places God as the addresser and human beings –i.e., the people of Israel and, through a *double projection of referent-addressee*, the contemporaries of the earthquake and the whole of Byzantine Christianity as well– as the addressees: the passage has, in this case, one addresser and three active addressees. In the text, the indicators (pronouns, verbs etc.) of the *referent-addresser's* identity are highlighted in boldface, the indicators of the *referent-addressee's* identity are

addressee (i.e., Jeremiah's interlocutor) is not made explicit, but can be tacitly identified with a personal referent (as we have said, the people of Israel).

⁴⁵ We indicate the dialogue passages in this way in order to avoid any confusion when identifying the addresser of the speech, since some pronouns or verbs contained in those dialogues might be wrongly taken as indicators of the *referent-addresser's* identity.

highlighted in italics, the passages reporting the dialogue between God and the people are indicated in angle brackets⁴⁶ and the opening formula is underlined:⁴⁷

Jeremiah 2:2-12

2 *Τάδε λέγει κύριος ἐμνήσθη*ν ἐλέους νεότητός σου καὶ ἀγάπης τελειώσεώς σου τοῦ ἐξακολουθήσαι σε τῷ ἁγίῳ Ἰσραηλ λέγει κύριος ³ ὁ ἅγιος Ἰσραηλ τῷ κυρίῳ ἀρχὴ γεννημάτων αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ ἐσθιοντες αὐτὸν πλημμελήσουσιν κακὰ ἤξει ἐπ' αὐτούς λέγει κύριος ⁴ *ἀκούσατε* λόγον κυρίου *οἶκος Ἰακωβ καὶ πᾶσα πατριὰ οἴκου Ἰσραηλ* ⁵ τάδε λέγει κύριος τί εὔροσαν οἱ πατέρες *ὑμῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ* πλημμέλημα ὅτι ἀπέστησαν μακρὰν *ἀπ' ἐμοῦ* καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ὀπίσω τῶν ματαίων καὶ ἐματαιώθησαν ⁶ <καὶ οὐκ εἶπον ποῦ ἐστιν κύριος ὁ ἀναγαγὼν ἡμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ καθοδηγήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐν γῆ ἀπείρῳ καὶ ἀβάτῳ ἐν γῆ ἀνύδρῳ καὶ ἀκάρπῳ καὶ σκιά θανάτου ἐν γῆ ἐν ἧ οὐ διώδευσεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ κατώκησεν υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐκεῖ> ⁷ καὶ εἰσήγαγον *ὑμᾶς* εἰς τὸν Κάρμηλον τοῦ φαγεῖν τοὺς καρπούς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ *εἰσήλθατε* καὶ *ἐμίνατε* τὴν γῆν μου καὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν μου ἔθεσθε εἰς βδέλυγμα ⁸ οἱ ἱερεῖς οὐκ εἶπον <ποῦ ἐστιν κύριος> καὶ οἱ ἀντεχόμενοι τοῦ νόμου μου οὐκ ἠπίσταντό με καὶ οἱ ποιμένες ἠσέβουσιν εἰς ἐμέ καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἐπροφήτευσαν τῇ Βααλ καὶ ὀπίσω ἀνωφελοῦς ἐπορεύθησαν ⁹ διὰ τοῦτο ἔτι **κριθήσομαι** πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγει κύριος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν υἰῶν *ὑμῶν κριθήσομαι* ¹⁰ ὅτι *διέλθετε* εἰς νήσους Χεττιμ καὶ *ἴδετε* καὶ εἰς Κηδαρ *ἀποστείλατε* καὶ *νοήσατε* σφόδρα καὶ *ἴδετε* εἰ γέγονεν τοιαῦτα ¹¹ εἰ ἀλλάζονται ἔθνη θεοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ εἰσιν θεοὶ ὁ δὲ λαός μου ἠλλάξατο τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἧς οὐκ ὠφελήθησονται ¹² ἐξέστη ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἔφριξεν ἐπὶ πλεῖον σφόδρα λέγει κύριος

2.3.1.3. October commemoration

Since the first lection established for the October commemoration is almost identical to the one established for the commemoration of the earthquake of March 17th (and, consequently, to the commemoration of the siege of Constantinople celebrated on June 5th) and the second lection is identical to the one established for the post-Pentecost commemoration of the earthquake, we are only going to consider here the third lection, drawn from the Book of Jeremiah. Although it comes from a prophetic book, the message presented by the lection is not prophetic in character. It would be better described as a combination of various discursive types, since it comprises elements of an exhortation (“Return, O sons who are given to turning” etc.), a lamentation (“We lay down in our shame, and our dishonor

⁴⁶ We indicate, once again, the dialogue passages in order to avoid any confusion when identifying the addresser/addressees of the speech, since some pronouns or verbs found in these dialogues might be wrongly taken as indicators of the *referent-addresser's/addressee's* identity.

⁴⁷ Here, once again, the opening formula *Τάδε λέγει κύριος* is semantically integrated into the text. The expression *λέγει κύριος* at the end of the passage, attested in the *Septuagint*, was not intended in its original context to play the role of a closing formula, but certainly has that effect after the edition operated by the liturgical author. We may notice, in fact, that the expression *λέγει κύριος* is used many times during the text. Here, unlike the previous passages, this expression does not articulate a dialogue, but actually ratifies throughout the text the identity of the speaker (i.e., the fact that the message must be understood as a divine oracle or revelation). This sort of repetition, found frequently within prophetic texts, is probably related to the process of composition of the original text (it might have been composed by piecing together individual oracles, each of which contained their own individual introductory formula). The literary effect created in the lection is, in any case, the one of ratifying the divine identity of the addresser (already pointed out by the general opening formula).

covered us” etc.), an admonishment (“Will you not fear me?, says the Lord” etc.) and an invocation (“... your name has been called upon us; do not forget us!”).

In this lection, the various discursive types are mostly presented as direct speech attributed either to God (*omfological speech*) or to the people of Israel (*audiological speech*), and articulated as a dialogue (or, at least, a discursive interaction) between them. In the first part of 3:22 and in 5:22, the communication process places God as an addresser and the people of Israel –and, through a *double projection of referent-addressee*, the contemporaries of the earthquake and the whole of Byzantine Christianity as well– as addressees: these passages have, therefore, one addresser and three active addressees. In the second part of 3:22, in 3:23-25, 14:7-9, the communication process places the human being –i.e., the people of Israel and, through a *double projection of referent-addresser*, the contemporaries of the earthquake and the whole of Byzantine Christianity as well– as an addresser and God as an addressee: these passages have, therefore, three active addressers and one addressee. There, two remaining passages, however, must be considered separately. In one of them (4:8), which also uses direct speech, the identity of the addresser remains unclear: it could be either God speaking to the people (*omfological*, provided that God is referring to himself in the third person) or the prophet speaking to the people (*audiological*). In any case, the addressee can be clearly identified with the people of Israel –and, through a *double projection of referent-addressee*, with the contemporaries of the earthquake and with the whole of Byzantine Christianity as well–, such that there are three active *referent-addressees*. In the other case (5:3, 5), it is not possible to consider speech as direct.⁴⁸

In the text, the indicators (pronouns, verbs etc.) of the *referent-addresser's* identity are highlighted in boldface, the indicators of the *referent-addressee's* identity are highlighted in italics and the opening formula is underlined.⁴⁹ The different parts of the lection are separated by an asterisk in order to distinguish those fragments that articulate a discursive interaction between God and the people (3:22-25; 5:22, 14:7-9) from those fragments that remain dubious (4:8) or cannot be classified as direct speech (5:3, 5):

Jeremiah 3:22-25; 4:8; 5:3, 5, 22; 14:7-9

3²² – Τάδε λέγει κύριος ἐπιστρέφητε υἱοὶ ἐπιστρέφοντες καὶ **ιάσομαι** τὰ συντρίμματα ὑμῶν

– ἰδοὺ, οἶδε **ἡμεῖς ἐσόμεθά σοι** ὅτι *σύ κύριε* ὁ θεὸς **ἡμῶν** εἶ²³ ὄντως εἰς ψεῦδος ἦσαν οἱ βουνοὶ καὶ δύναμις τῶν ὀρέων πλὴν διὰ κυρίου θεοῦ **ἡμῶν** ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ²⁴ ἡ δὲ αἰσχὺνη κατανάλωσεν τοὺς μόχλους τῶν πατέρων **ἡμῶν** ἀπὸ νεότητος αὐτῶν²⁵ **ἐκοιμήθημεν** ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ **ἡμῶν** καὶ ἐπεκάλυψεν **ἡμᾶς** ἡ ἀτιμία **ἡμῶν** διότι ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ **ἡμῶν** **ἡμάρτομεν ἡμεῖς** καὶ οἱ πατέρες **ἡμῶν** ἀπὸ νεότητος **ἡμῶν** ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης καὶ οὐχ **ὑπηκούσαμεν** τῆς φωνῆς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ **ἡμῶν**

⁴⁸ In 5:3, 5, there are, certainly, two interlocutors (the prophet, apparently, as an addresser, and God as an addressee), but the liturgical/historical referents are not involved directly.

⁴⁹ In this case, the opening formula Τάδε λέγει κύριος is only partially integrated into the text from a semantic point of view. We can see that it becomes well-articulated with the first fragment of speech, emitted by the divine voice, but remains dissociated from most of the remaining fragments. It should be regarded, therefore, as a simple frame disconnected from the discursive formulation of the message.

4⁸ – ἐπὶ τούτοις *περιζώσασθε* σάκκουσ καὶ *κόπτεσθε* καὶ *ἀλαλάξατε* διότι οὐκ ἀπεστράφη ὁ θυμὸς τῆς ὀργῆς κυρίου ἀφ' ὑμῶν

5³ – *κύριε* οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ σου εἰς πίστιν *ἐμαστίγωσας* αὐτούς καὶ οὐκ ἐπόνεσαν *συντέλεσας* αὐτούς καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, δέξασθαι παιδείαν ἐστερέωσαν τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ πέτρων καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἐπιστραφῆναι 5⁵ διότι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ὁδοὺς κυρίου καὶ κρίσιν αὐτῶν

5²² – ἢ ἐμὲ οὐ *φοβηθήσεσθε* λέγει κύριος ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου μου οὐκ *εὐλαβηθήσεσθε* τὸν τάξαντα ἄμμον ὄριον θαλάσσης πρόσταγμα αἰώνιον καὶ οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται αὐτό καὶ ταραχθήσεται καὶ ὀδυνηθήσεται καὶ ἠχήσουσι τὰ κύματα αὐτῆς καὶ οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται αὐτά

14⁷ – αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ἡμῶν ἀντέστησαν ἡμῖν, *κύριε* *ποίησον* ἔλεος τοῦ ὀνόματος σου ὅτι πολλαὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ἡμῶν ἐναντίον σου σοὶ *ἡμάρτομεν*⁸ ὑπομονὴ Ἰσραὴλ *κύριε* *σώζεις* ἐν καιρῷ κακῶν ἵνα τί *ἐγενήθη*ς ὡς πάροικος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὡς αὐτόχων ἐκκλίνων εἰς κατάλυμα⁹ μὴ *ἔση* ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὑπνῶν καὶ ἀνὴρ μὴ δυνάμενος σώζειν καὶ σὺ ἐν ἡμῖν *κύριε* καὶ τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐπικέκληται ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μὴ *ἐπιλάθῃ* ἡμῶν

2.3.2. Time frame

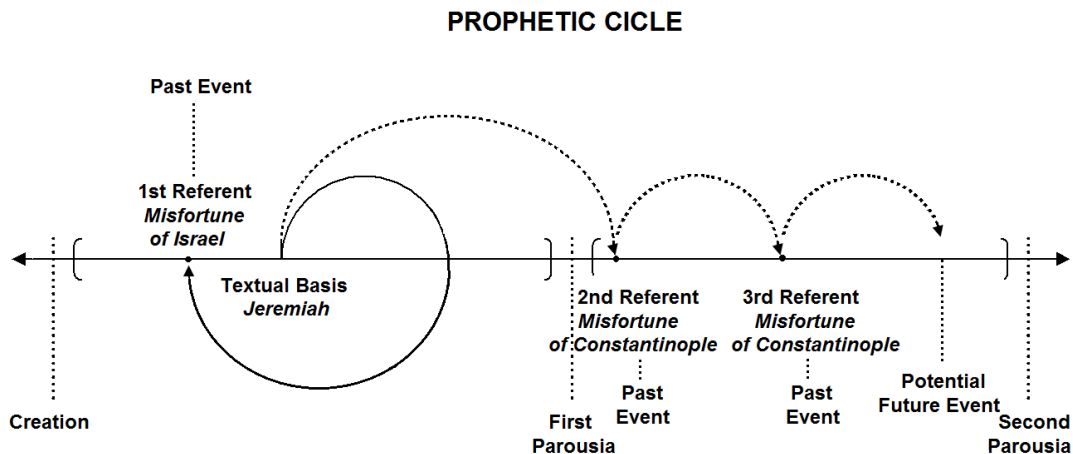
As we already know, different discursive constructions and hermeneutical strategies lead to different time frame formulations. The lections found in the commemorations of the earthquakes of Constantinople provide the elements for two time display structures that we can label as a *prophetic cycle* and as *models of behavior*. We will consider each of them briefly.

2.3.2.1. Prophetic cycle

The prophetic character of the message presented in the lections of **Jer.** 1:1-8 and 1:11-17 denotes an imprecise time display. In this case, the text formulates a recurrently fulfilled prophecy that can be labeled as a *prophetic cycle*. In this case, the text presents a prophecy that was *formulated* and *fulfilled* in the past of the liturgical attender, but remains susceptible to being *fulfilled again* (one or more times) in the present or the future. This form of time display is defined by three main characteristics: 1) the prophecy formulated by the liturgical basis (i.e., the Old Testament) consists of a *vaticinium ex eventu*: the prophetic language makes use of the future tense to announce an event that, in fact, has already taken place, thereby creating the literary effect of a prophecy that has been fulfilled within the time limits of the textual basis; 2) the fulfillment of the prophecy does not turn it into a closed prophecy, because the liturgical contextualization implies that the same prophecy has had a second fulfillment (in the time frame of the liturgical attender, i.e., in a time frame that *transcends* the textual basis) and *might* have further fulfillments in the present and/or in the future, although there is no certainty that this will actually occur; 3) that fact that the prophecy has numerous fulfillments creates a *cycle*, which, as we have seen when considering the *cycle of events*, has no precise time frame and, therefore, remains *timeless*; the *prophetic cycle* is

actually the same as the *cycle of events*, except for the fact that it begins with a prophetic announcement.

If applied to the commemoration of the earthquake of Constantinople, we can see how the liturgical attenders interpreted in Byzantium the announcement of the misfortunes of Israel: the textual basis (Jeremiah) predicts (*ex eventu*) the hardship that was to be endured by God’s people and such a prediction finds its first referent in an episode of Hebrew history: the attack on Juda and its capital, Jerusalem; the Byzantines, for their part, would have considered that the same prophecy had found new referents in their recent history: that is, the different natural disasters that affected Constantinople. Although set in different times, all the referents can be understood as fulfillments of the same prophecy: they are, therefore, integrated in a cycle that has been developing in a temporal *continuum* –as we have previously mentioned, the Old and New Jerusalem are different versions of the same city–, and, most importantly, that conveys the possibility of further development. The following graphic depicts this time articulation in a synthetic way.



2.3.2.2. Models of behavior

The exhortative or invocative character of the message presented in the lections of **Bar.** 4:21-29, **Dan.** 9:15-19 (both identical to the ones quoted for the Commemoration of the siege), **Isa.** 63:15–64:8, **Jer.** 2:2-12 and **Jer.** 3:22-25; 4:8; 5:3, 5, 22; 14:7-9 denotes, once again, an imprecise time display. The text states universal rules to regulate and evaluate the actions of human beings, which have been labeled above (cf. 2.2.2.) as *models of behavior* and essentially defined as timeless. As in the case of the commemoration of the siege of Constantinople, all these lections agree in highlighting *fidelity to God* as a basic rule of conduct for the faithful’s life, as well as the undesired consequences that come from an infraction of that norm. The way in which such passages are recontextualized into the commemoration of the earthquake of Constantinople is the same as that described for the commemoration of the siege, so there is no need to consider it here in further detail (cf., once again, 2.2.2.).

2.3.3. Theological message

The process of liturgical recontextualization of the Old Testament provides here, once again, the elements for a *theological hermeneutics of history*, although its construction is

slightly different from the ones we have seen in the foundation of Constantinople (cf. 1.3.) and the commemoration of the siege (cf. 2.3.). By means of two of the lections of Jeremiah (**Jer.** 1:1-8 and 1:11-17), the Byzantine liturgical attender would have understood the earthquake as part of the cyclical fulfillment of a prophecy, which remained in force in his/her present time. The remaining lection of Jeremiah (**Jer.** 2:2-12) and the lections of Baruch and Daniel (**Bar.** 4:21-29; **Dan.** 9:15-19), for their part, present certain rules of behavior for the faithful's life –i.e., the importance of fidelity to God– that could be labeled once again as *works*. As we have pointed out in the case of the siege of Constantinople, however, it is pertinent to consider here that those statements are less intended as a key to the achievement of individual salvation (i.e., as *works* in a strict sense) than as a key to the understanding of the city's historical development (i.e., as a *hermeneutics of history*): consequently, the Byzantine liturgical attender would have come to know the theological dimension of certain episodes of the city's history (the earthquakes and other catastrophes were a divine punishment for the people's infraction of a basic rule of behavior, such as fidelity to God).

The distinctive trait of this theological formulation is, as in the case of the commemoration of the siege, the fact that the liturgical attender plays an *active* role vis-à-vis the elements provided by the lections: s/he is not only expected to apply them to an understanding of the past and the present, and to anticipate aspects of the future, but also to take them as the basis for a specific course of action. The association between the announcement of a catastrophe (like the one made by Jeremiah) and divine anger over the people's infidelity (as transmitted by Jeremiah, Baruch and Daniel) creates a relationship of cause-effect, which not only helps to understand events of the past (the reason for the city's misfortunes), but also *to operate over the present in order to influence it*: by knowing that a certain cause (misbehavior towards God) leads to a certain effect (divine punishment), the liturgical attender would have had the possibility to adjust his/her behavior in order to avoid undesired consequences. This case is slightly different from the commemoration of the siege, because here the city's punishment had been specifically announced by God through his prophet Jeremiah. Yet, the prophecy's fulfillment –or, strictly speaking, the *repetition* of the fulfillment– was not unavoidable: through this theological formulation, in fact, the liturgical attender was given the opportunity to avoid a new fulfillment and have a positive influence on the city's destiny.

3. Final remarks and conclusions

The liturgical representation of Constantinople through its Old Testament lections is significant in many ways. The choice and disposition of those lections participate in a theological formulation in which Constantinople, identified with the New Jerusalem, emerges as a key element in the unfolding of the Empire's destiny within the principles of Divine Economy. The relationship between the Old and New Jerusalem, as presented (directly or indirectly) by most of the lections, could be understood at first sight as one of *type/antitype*; yet, at a closer examination, this statement can be qualified.⁵⁰ It is interesting

⁵⁰ As Miller has pointed out, “The lections, regardless of the part of the Old Testament from which they are excerpted, perform a prophetic function, viz., they are read as prophetic or typologically significant of Christ, of events or persons associated with his life, or of the Church” (MILLER, “The Prophetolgia”, p. 60, note 8). In certain cases, however, the *type/antitype* relationship does not explain (or at least, does not fully explain) the theological message contained in the text. The lections related to Constantinople can provide, in fact, an example of a different semantic articulation between the Old Testament lections and their Christian liturgical context.

to notice, to begin with, that the liturgical author chose to present the foundation of Constantinople as the fulfillment of a prophecy: if the aim had been to create a *type/antitype* relationship between both cities, it would have been simpler –and even more adequate– to quote a description of David’s conquest and occupation of Jerusalem,⁵¹ but that was not the case. Constantinople, as the referent of Isaiah’s announcement, was presented as a *continuation* of a previous reality –the Old Jerusalem– but also as an *overcoming* of that reality, none of which are characteristics of the *type/antitype* relationship. Just as the New Covenant was a continuation, yet also an overcoming, of the Old one, so the New Jerusalem, founded on the basis of God’s renewed alliance with his people, was to be understood as an accomplished replacement of the Old one.

Although far more glorious, the New Jerusalem was no less susceptible to suffering God’s punishment than the Old one. Yet, the numerous (military or natural) misfortunes suffered by both cities do not seem intended to formulate a *type/antitype* relationship between the Old and New versions of Jerusalem either. It must be highlighted, in fact, that the discourse found in the lections is intended not just to inform, but also to *involve* the liturgical attender. The introduction of *direct speech* remains the key to this theological formulation. If the liturgical author had meant to use the lections for the sole purpose of explaining (Old and New) Jerusalem’s misfortunes in terms of God’s punishment for the people’s offences – according to a *type/antitype* logic–, he would have probably preferred passages formulated in *indirect speech*:⁵² yet, he chose to introduce a speech type, which would raise the public’s awareness about their own involvement in the events described by the lections. In that way, the misfortunes of Old Jerusalem are less a prophecy of what *would* happen to the New Jerusalem (i.e., a *type*) than a warning of what *might* happen to it if the offences were repeated: the fate of Constantinople was to be understood as the responsibility of its own people. Certainly, we cannot deny that there is a prophetic element involved in this formulation –God, or the prophets, had announced certain future events–, but the conditional clause remains the key –those events would only take place *if* the people behaved in a certain way. By speaking directly to the liturgical attender, the Old Testament lections were functional to a wide involvement of Constantinopolitans in their city’s destiny.

But, were Constantinopolitans the only ones to be involved? The fact that the *Prophetologion*, where these lections are attested, was used in several regions of the Empire during various centuries suggests, at least, the possibility of a wider use of these liturgical readings. The fact that certain celebrations devoted to Constantinople happen to be in the *Prophetologion* is not, of course, proof that those celebrations were performed outside the capital –the *Prophetologion* was only intended to provide the Old Testament lections, but that information could be adapted to the needs of every local church or monastery–, yet the wide (direct or indirect) presence of the city within this lectionary remains suggestive. Would it be possible that the liturgical author of the *Prophetologion* –probably a Constantinopolitan

⁵¹ Ex., 2 Kings 5:6-12. Curiously enough, this passage is not used either in the commemoration of Constantine and Helena, although David’s actions, as described by the passage (conquest of the city, building of a wall and building of a palace), resemble those attributed to Constantine I in Constantinople. Two of the lections chosen for the commemoration of Constantine and Helena (61:10–62:5 and 60:1-16) are also aimed, in fact, at presenting Constantinople as the prophesized New Jerusalem.

⁵² The Books of Kings and Paralipomena contain several passages, which illustrate the relationship between an “offence to God” and “divine punishment” in *indirect speech* structure. Cf., for example, 4 Kgs. 23:36–24:4; 24:8-16; 24:18–25:7; etc.

author, as argued by C. Høeg and G. Zuntz⁵³—deliberately sought to enhance the city’s presence within the liturgical at a certain point during the book’s development?⁵⁴ If that was the case, the Constantinople-related celebrations and the Old Testament lections that were part of them would have been instrumental to a symbolic centralization of the Empire around its capital city: not just the inhabitants of Constantinople, but all Byzantine Christians would have become engaged in shaping the capital’s destiny. Given the uncertainty that remains around the *Prophetologion*’s creation, circulation and use, it would be unwise to make any assertions. But, the possibility of a political goal underlying the theological formulation of Constantinople can be kept in mind as a possibility.

⁵³ “Remarks on the Prophetologion”, pp. 221-222.

⁵⁴ The date and circumstances of the creation of the *Prophetologion* remain uncertain. According to Høeg and Zuntz, “a comparatively fixed type of *Prophetologion*” would have been created at some point during the eighth century as part of a wider reform developed during the late phase of iconoclasm (HØEG and ZUNTZ, “Remarks on the Prophetologion”, pp. 221-223). This possibility is not supported by Engberg, who rejects both the iconodule background of the *Prophetologion* and argues for an earlier date of production. She has pointed out that the Feast of the Restoration of Images has a minor place in the manuscript tradition of the *Prophetologion*, which makes it difficult to ascribe an iconodule origin to the source. In fact, she suggests that the Old Testament lections system might go back to the fourth century (ENGBERG, “Triple-Lecture”, pp. 89-91). Miller does not seem to explicitly support any of these positions, although he mentions that the hypothesis advanced by Høeg and Zuntz is consistent with the emergence of the manuscript tradition (there does not seem to be any *Prophetologion* manuscripts datable before the ninth century, cf. “The Prophetologion”, p. 63, note 20). Given the lack of agreement among the specialists, all suggestions about the political role played by the *Prophetologion* remain highly speculative. Hopefully, further studies on this source will provide more elements to analyze its relationship with a particular social and political context.