

**SIN 319 AND VOSKR 27 AND THE
TRIODION CYCLE IN THE
LITURGICAL PRAXIS IN RUSSIA DURING
THE STUDITE PERIOD**

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O orientador,

Manuel Pedro Figueira

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To my daughter

Taísia

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In order to facilitate the circulation and discussion of this thesis and to make it more accessible to those among the scholarly community in general who may be interested in the subject, as also with regard to one of the supervisors, Christian Troelsgard (Copenhagen University), the decision was taken to write the thesis in Russian, translate it into Portuguese and present the final version in English. This decision accords with the orientations approved by the Scientific Council of the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences at the Universidade Nova in Lisbon, and the costs of the English translation supported financially in part by CESEM and in part by the FCT, within the context of support for award holders, for which I express my gratitude.

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RESUMO

ABSTRACT

SIN 319 E VOSKR 27 E O CICLO TRIODION NO PRAXIS LITÚRGICO NA RÚSSIA NO PERÍODO ESTUDITA

SIN 319 AND VOSKR 27 AND THE TRIODION CYCLE IN THE LITURGICAL PRAXIS IN RUSSIA DURING THE STUDITE PERIOD

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PALAVRAS-CHAVE: música, litúrgia, igreja ortodoxa, manuscritos, Idade Média.

KEYWORDS: music, liturgy, orthodox church, manuscripts, Middle Ages.

A tese é dedicada a dois manuscritos russos que pertencem ao Museu Histórico de Moscovo (Gosudarstvenny Istoricheskiy Musey: GIM) – o Triodion Quaresmal Sinodal 319 (Sin 319) e o Pentekostarion Voskresensky 27 (Voskr 27), ambos do século XII.

Estes livros tinham sido incluídos nas investigações de alguns cientistas, assim na Rússia como no Ocidente. Nesta tese foram corrigidos a atribuição da proveniência de um dos livros e a data da escrita do outro. Na sequência da análise textológica, semiológica e paleográfica, chegou-se à conclusão que ambos os livros foram escritos como um conjunto integral num dos scriptoria de Novgorod. Os dez Sofisky Menaia da Colecção Sinodal do Museu Histórico do Moscovo (nº159-168) foram atribuídos ao mesmo conjunto.

Em relação ao tipo de livro litúrgico que es representam, os Sin 319, Voskr 27 e Sofisky Menaia são códices que incluem diferentes géneros himnográficos. Estes manuscritos estão apontados com a notação znamenny, que na tradição russa pode ser encontrada prioritariamente em livros limitados aos mesmos géneros (singulares), como os Sticheraria e Heirmologia. O facto da presença de textos de contrafacta com a notação znamenny em Sin 319, Voskr 27 e Sofisky Menaia torna estes livros multi-genéricos litúrgicos únicos a este respeito.

Afim de estabelecer a função dos livros GIM-Triodion dentro do contexto histórico da liturgia russa, foram investigados aproximadamente 40 livros notados e

sem notação russos, búlgaros e sérvios. A sua estrutura, conteúdo, particularidades paleográficas e as de notação, em comparação com o ciclo GIM-Triodion, foram comentados numa vasta quantidade das tabelas e exemplos. A análise de vários parâmetros sugere a conclusão, de que Sin 319 e Voskr 27 foram criados como um conjunto de referência (um protótipo para escrita e a guia para a prática de canto), concluindo um dos períodos que podem ser distinguidos no desenvolvimento da arte russa de canto sacro dos séculos XI-XV.

The dissertation concerns two Russian manuscripts which belong to the Moscow Historical Museum (Gosudarstvenny Istoricheskiy Musey: GIM) – the Lenten Triodion Synodal 319 (Sin 319) and the Pentekostarion Voskresensky 27 (Voskr 27), both from the 12th century.

These books have been included in the studies of some scholars, both from Russia and from the West. In this thesis, the attribution of place of writing of one of the books and the date of writing of the other have been corrected. Following textological, semiological and palaeographical analyses, it is concluded that both books were written as an integral part of the same group, in one of the scriptoria of Novgorod. The ten Sofisky Menaia from the Synodal Collection of Moscow Historical Museum (n°159-168) are attributed to the same set.

Regarding the type of liturgical book they represent, Sin 319, Voskr 27 and the Sofisky Menaia are codices which include different genres of hymnody. These manuscripts are notated with znamenny notation, which, in the Russian tradition, can be found mostly in books limited to a single genre, such as Sticheraria and Heirmologia. The fact of the presence of the texts of contrafacta with znamenny notation in Sin 319, Voskr 27 and the Sofisky Menaia makes these multi-genre liturgical books unique.

For the purpose of establishing the role of the GIM-Triodion within the historical context of Russian liturgy, about 40 notated and un-notated Russian, Bulgarian and Serbian books were investigated. Their structure, content, paleographical and notational particularities, in comparison with the GIM-Triodion cycle, has been commented upon in a large number of tables and examples. The analysis of various parameters means that one may conclude that Sin 319 and Voskr 27 were created as a reference set (written prototype and guidelines for chant practice), concluding one of the periods that could be distinguished in the development of Russian art of sacred chant of the 11th-15th century.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The citation of bibliographical sources in the present sources is as follows: the first reference is given in full – author, name of article included in the collection in inverted commas, name of book in italic, place of publication, date of publication and numbers of pages quoted. The language of the source quoted is the original, while the place of publication is given in English (for example: Момина М.А, “Проблема правки славянских богослужебных гимнографических книг на Руси в XI столетии”, *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы*, v.35, St.Petersburg, 1992, pp. 208-215.). All subsequent mentions of the source are given in abbreviated fashion: author's surname and the first words of the name of the article of book; the numbers following correspond to the numbering of the pages quoted (for example, Момина, Проблема правки, 210).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

MMB	<i>Momumenta Musicae Byzantinae</i>
OCA	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
PG	Migne J.P., ed. <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>

Libraries

BAN	Biblioteka Akademii Nauk (Library of the Academy of Sciences), St.Petersburg
BAN, Sofia	Biblioteka Akademii Nauk (Library of the Academy of Sciences), Sofia
GIM	Gosudarstvenny Istorichesky Muzei (The State Historical Museum), Moscow
NBKM	Narodna Biblioteka “Sv.Sv. Kiril e Metodiy” (National Library ST. ST. Cyril and Methodius), Sofia
RGADA	Rossiyskiy Gosudarstvenny Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts), Moscow
RGB	Rossiyskaia Gosudarstvennaia Biblioteka (Russian State Library), Moscow
RNB	Rossiyskaia Natsional´naia Biblioteka (Russian National Library), St.Petersburg

Archives of Russian Libraries

Grig	Grigorovich Collection, RGB
Chil	The Collection of the Chilandari monastery, Mount Athos
Chud	The Collection of the Chudov Monastery of Moscow, GIM

Khud	Khudov Collection, GIM
Pog	Pogodin Collection, RNB
Sin	Synodal Collection, GIM
Sof	The Collection of the Sofisky Cathedral of Novgorod, RNB
Tit	Titov Collection, RNB
Sin Typ	Synodal Typographical Collection (n° 381), RGADA
Usp	The Collection of the Uspensky Monastery of Moscow, GIM
Voskr	The Collection of the Voskresensky “Novo-Ierusalimsky” Monastery, GIM

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GLOSSARY

Agrypnia	All-night vigil.
Anaphora	(Greek, meaning “carrying back”) The offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice at the centre of the Divine Liturgy, corresponding to the Canon of the Roman Mass.
Anti-Pascha	The Sunday following Pascha (literally, “instead of Pascha”).
Asmatike akolouthia	The sung office of the Great Church of Constantinople.
Automelon	A hymn serving as a melodic and structural model in the composition of other texts.
Canon	A sequence of nine (or eight, when the 2 nd ode is omitted) canticles, or odes, each comprising an heirmos and a number of troparia following its model. Originally these troparia were conceived as tropes on the nine Biblical canticles. The Canon is sung at Matins, at Compline, at the Midnight Office on Sundays and during other special services.
Cheesefare Week	The week preceding Great Lent.
Clerus = Kliros	The places at which the chanters stand in church, usually raised, on either side of the iconostasis. The word can also refer to the group of chanters at the kliros.
Contrafactum	A vocal composition supplying new words to a preexisting melody. See prosomoion (definition taken from Schidlovsky, <i>The notated</i> , 213).
Euchologion	The Book of Prayers, containing the sacraments and a number of special prayers and blessings. Its contents are very variable.
Exapostearion	This troparion occurs at the end of the canon at Matins; since it often develops the theme of Christ as the light of the world, it is also known as a “hymn of light” (<i>Photagogikon</i> in Greek, <i>Svetilen</i> in Slavonic).
Hegoumen	Literally meaning “the one who is in charge”, or “the leader”, a title referring to the head of a monastery.
Heirmologion	A liturgical book containing the heirmoi (see Canon) for the canons.
Hypakoe	A troparion sung at Resurrectional and Festal Matins.

Idiomelon	A hymn not modelled on any other hymn in content, metre or melody.
Kanonarion	This word has two meanings; it can refer to the ordo of a Church, such as the 7 th century book for the Church of Jerusalem, or to a penitential book used in monasteries.
Kathisma	This term has two meanings: firstly, the twenty sections into which the Psalter is divided; and, secondly, a troparion chanted during Matins at the end of each Kathisma of the Psalter, known in Slavonic as <i>sedalen</i> .
Koinonikon	The communion hymn, originally a refrain for a psalm antiphon.
Kontakion	Originally a lengthy liturgical poem, comprising of an opening verse (<i>prooimion</i>) and a number of following stanzas <i>oikoi</i> . In time the kontakion was reduced to the <i>prooimion</i> and the first <i>oikos</i> .
Koukoulion	The first stanza, or Prologue, of a Kontakion.
Litany	A prayer form, usually characterized by the announcement of varying invocations or supplications by a leader, each of which is followed by a fixed congregational response. Litanies frequently accompany processions.
Martirikon	A sticheron in praise of martyrdom (definition taken from Schidlovsky, <i>The notated</i> , 214).
Meatfare Week	The second week preceding Great Lent, the last week when meat may be eaten before Lenten abstinence begins.
Menaion	The Menaia (singular <i>Menaion</i>) are the services for the fixed feasts during the twelve months of the year, akin to the Western proper of the saints. These texts normally appear in twelve volumes.
Octoechos	Also known as the Parakletike, the Octoechos contains the variable parts of the daily offices for each week, in eight cycles according to the eight tones (the <i>octoechos</i> , whence the name).
Parakletike	Another name for the Octoechos.
Pentekostarion	Also known in Slavonic as the “Flowery” Triodion: this volume takes up where the Triodion finishes, containing the texts for services from the Resurrection (including or not the Holy Week) until the Sunday of All Saints (that is, the first after Pentecost).

Prokeimenon	Literally, “that which is set forth”, referring to verses from the Psalter chanted before readings from Holy Scripture, specifically, at Vespers, after <i>Phos hilaron</i> , at Resurrectional and Festal Matins before the Gospel, and at the Divine Liturgy, before the Epistle.
Prooimion	See “Kontakion”
Prosomoion (Slavonic: Podoben).	A hymn adopting the metrical structure and melody of an automelon (definition taken from Schidlovsky, <i>The notated</i> , 213).
Sticherarion	A liturgical book containing stichera for the morning and evening services.
Sticheron	A brief stanza used between <i>stichoi</i> , or verses, taken from the Psalms, for example, at <i>Lord I have cried</i> in Vespers, or at the end of the Praises (Lauds) during Matins.
Studite	The Studite rule was developed at the Stoudios monastery of Constantinople, from the 5th century onwards, principally under the aegis of St Theodore the Studite (760-826).
Sunday of the Myrrhbearers	The second Sunday after Pascha, commemorating the women who brought spices to anoint the buried Christ.
Synaxarion	A reading dealing with the life of the saint, or the significance of the mystery, being commemorated. These readings are contained in a book with the same name, <i>Synaxarion</i> .
Synaxis	Literally an assembly for worship; liturgically, this term usually refers to a commemoration occurring on the day following a Great Feast, in honour of a person connected with the theme of the Feast.
Theotokion	A hymn dedicated to the Theotokos, the Mother of God.
Triodion	Literally the “Book of the Three Odes” on account of the fact that many of the canons in the Triodion are composed of only three odes; this book contains the texts proper to the Great Lenten Fast.
Tropologion	A hymn book of the early Church containing various types of hymns
Typikon	The book containing the rules for the ordering of the church services and the manner of their execution throughout the year (the <i>ordo</i>); many versions of this book have come into

existence throughout history, and a Typikon may be proper not only to a national or ethnic Church, but to a monastery or other ecclesiastical establishment.

Znamenny

Pertaining to the notation in the Slavic usage (definition taken from Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 216).

Part I

Introduction

The focus of this thesis are two manuscripts conserved in Moscow, in the Historical Museum – Synodal collection 319 (Sin 319) and Voskresensky monastery collection 27 (Voskr 27). These are two Russian codices containing *znamenny* notation. One of them has been dated in the literature to the end of the 12th century, and has been supposed to come from Novgorod; the other to the 12th century, of unknown origin at the time of writing of this thesis.

As regards their content, both books are of the same type. One is called in Russian catalogues “Triodion”, meaning that it contains hymns of various kinds, in the majority kathismata, stichera and incomplete and complete canons, from the period preparatory to Great Lent, and Great Lent itself. The other book is a “Flowery Triodion”, or Pentekostarion, and included hymns of the same kinds, with some exceptions, to be chanted during Holy Week and the period of Pentecost.

On a first examination, a number of characteristics common to both books draw one's attention. They are similar as far as size, type of parchment and ink, decorative particularities, scribal hand and text are concerned. They both have one characteristic which makes them stand apart from other Russian and also Greek Triodia: in them are notated all the stichera prosomoia and troparia of the canons. In the notation, two hands could be distinguished, which seem to be the same in both books. The great majority of the repertory was notated by the principal hand; another hand wrote the neumes for certain hymns. Considering all these facts together and taking into account the fact that the Pentekostarion begins precisely as the continuation of the Triodion, a strong impression is created that the two codices were written as two parts of the same unit; in other words, that they are a set. The present thesis concentrates on confirming this hypothesis and exploring its consequences.

The examination of the two codices bearing in mind the possibility that they are a set involves the analysis of a number of parameters – historical, textological, palaeographical, codicological and graphic-neumatic. These parameters are examined in the various chapters of the thesis. However, all these parameters are connected to a common context – the liturgy.

Both books have been mentioned a number of times in the literature as being exceptional in Russian practice from the point of view of the notated repertory. The idea that the manuscripts form a set demands an explanation for the object of their

commissioning, and the place of their writing and use. The individual aspect of the commission would depend on particularities of liturgical practice envisaged by the commissioner. The liturgical context conditioned the type of books commissioned, their relationship to other Russian, Slavic and Greek codices, their composition, musical content, type of decoration. In this way, it is the liturgical context that allows the organization of data concerning both manuscripts and to decide whether or not they made up a set. Thus, it is this context that was selected as the basis for the analytical studies carried out in the thesis, determining the methodology employed.

A specialized study that might have placed Sin 319 and Voskr 27 in the same set has not yet appeared. Similarly, no thorough analysis has been made of them. However, some of the aspects have been illuminated by the extant literature.

The first references of the Synodal Triodion and the Voskresensky Pentekostarion appeared in publications from the mid-19th century, which provided descriptions of a number of manuscript collections¹. Pokrovsky, at the beginning of the 20th century, mentions both codices in a study dedicated to books from Pskov and Novgorod². The linguistic particularities of the two manuscripts, as well as others, were described in the 1860s by Sreznevsky³, and, later, those of Sin 319 in the second half of the 19th century – beginning of the 20th century in the description of the collection of the Synodal Library in Moscow by Gorsky and Nevostruev⁴, in which was published one of the canons from Lazarus Saturday. Archimandrite Amfilokhy, in the 1880s, partially published the liturgical material for the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee, for Annunciation and some fragments from Voskr 27⁵. Among the later philological

¹ Sin 319 was described by Archbishop Saba: Савва (Тихомиров), архиепископ, *Указатель для обозрения Московской Патриаршей (ныне Синодальной) библиотеки*, 2nd edition, Moscow, 1858. Some time later this and Voskr 27 were described by Volkov: Волков Н.В. *Статистические сведения о сохранившихся древне-русских книгах XI-XIV вв. и их указатель*, St.Petersburg, 1897. The Pentekostarion was described by Archimandrite Leonid: Леонид, архимандрит, *Описание славяно-русских рукописей книгохранилища ставропигиального Воскресенского, Новый Иерусалим именуемого, монастыря и заметки о старопечатных церковнославянских книгах того же хранилища*, ЧОИДР, v. I, part 5, 1871; and also by Popov: Попов Н.П. *Недавние поступления в Патриаршую библиотеку в Москве*, ЖМНП, v. IX, Moscow, 1909.

² Покровский А.А., *Древнее псковско-новгородское письменное наследие: Обзор пергаменных рукописей Типографской и Патриаршей библиотек в связи с вопросом о времени образования этих книгохранилищ*, Археологический съезд, XV, v. II, Moscow 1916.

³ Срезневский И.И., *Древние памятники русского письма и языка (X-XIV вв.)*, Известия ОРЯС, v. X, St.Petersburg, 1863.

⁴ Горский А.В., Невоструев К.И., *Описание славянских рукописей Московской Синодальной библиотеки*, Moscow, 1855-1869, 1917.

⁵ About Sin 319: Амфилохий, архимандрит, *Палеографическое описание греческих рукописей XI-XVII вв. определенных лет*, v. I-III, Moscow 1879-1880; about Voskr 27: Амфилохий, архимандрит, *Описание рукописей Воскресенского ставропигиального первоклассного, именуемого Новый*

descriptions of one of the manuscripts, Sin 319, is the work of Durnovo⁶. The codices were later described by Shchepkina and Protasieva⁷.

Amongst the first observations concerning the particularities of *znamenny* notation in Russian manuscripts, including Sin 319 and Voskr 27, are books by Razumovsky⁸, Smolensky⁹ and Metallov¹⁰. In the mid-20th century the musical aspects of a number of manuscripts, also including these two, were discussed by Palikariova-Verdeil¹¹.

However, the above-mentioned discussions touch only on selected aspects of Russian manuscripts, both with and without notation, in general, including Sin 319 and Voskr 27 in the group of books from the period between the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 15th.

Only towards the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st did there appear studies in which notated Triodion-cycle manuscripts, including Sin 319 and Voskr 27, were discussed in detail apart from the totality of Russian books. In them are analysed the content, liturgical characteristics and particularities of the neumatic notation. There are three such studies. The first is the doctoral thesis of Schidlovsky, from 1983, which discussed the *znamenny* stichera prosomoia of the Triodion cycle in the Byzantine and Slavic traditions¹². As regards the two manuscripts, he gave more attention to the Triodion Sin 319. Though this source, like Voskr 27, was merely one among many sources and was not central to his study, the fact of the unique presence in it of the prosomoia of St Joseph, with notation, moved him to describe the content of all the prosomoia for Lenten weekdays, and to list the corresponding automela. The organizational aspect of the manuscript was considered within the liturgical context: the

Иерусалим, монастыря, писанных на пергамене и бумаге Известия ОРЯС, v. VII n°4, v.VIII n° 2-3, St.Petersburg, 1859.

⁶ Дурново Н.Н., *Введение в историю русского языка*, 1st ed. Врно, 1927.

⁷ Щепкина М.В., Протасьева Т.Н., *Сокровища древней письменности и старой печати. Обзор рукописей русских, славянских, греческих, а также книг старой печати Государственного исторического музея*, Moscow, 1958.

⁸ Разумовский Д.В., *Церковное пение в России*, n° 1 Moscow 1867, n° 2 Moscow 1868, n° 3 Moscow, 1869.

⁹ Смоленский С.В., *О собрании русских древне-певческих рукописей в Московском Синодальном училище*, Moscow 1893; and, by the same author: *О древнерусских певческих нотациях*, Moscow, 1901.

¹⁰ Металлов В.М., *Богослужбное пение русской церкви в период домонгольский по историческим, археологическим и палеографическим данным*, Moscow 1906; and, by the same author: *Русская семиография: Из области церковно-певческой археологии и палеографии*, Moscow, 1912.

¹¹ Palikariova-Verdeil R., *La musique byzantine chez les bulgares et les russes du IX au XIV siècles*. MMB. Subsidia, v.III), Copenhagen, 1953.

¹² Schidlovsky N., *The Notated Lenten Prosomoia in the Byzantine and Slavic Traditions*, PhD thesis, Princeton University, 1983.

content of the prosomoia was related to the Russian copy of the Studite - Alexian Typikon Sin 330 and the Greek Typikon of the Evergetis monastery, Athens, National Library (EBE) no. 788. Amongst other important conclusions, Schidlovsky makes reference to the fact that, while the Greek Typikon prescribes the singing of prosomoia by two hymnographers, St Theodore and St Joseph, the Russian copy indicates only the prosomoia of the former. In comparing the composition of the manuscripts containing the prosomoia of St Theodore, Schidlovsky describes the main variants of the positioning of these prosomoia in relationship to the stichera idiomela in Sin 319 and Russian Sticheraria, and also noted the rule governing the choice of automela for the prosomoia, upon which the two hymnographers based their work.

Particular attention was paid by Schidlovsky to the comparative analysis of the neumatic notation of the prosomoia of St Theodore and the automela found in a group of Russian and Greek codices, amongst them Sin 319 and Voskr 27. Following this, he arrived at conclusions regarding the adaptation of the Greek technique of contrafact and its evolution in Russian practice, conclusions that made possible the later investigation of unresolved questions. However, Schidlovsky's thesis leaves open for future research the prosomoia of St Joseph and the anonymous cycles of prosomoia which, as has been established during the course of the present study, distinguish Sin 319 and Voskr 27 from all other Russian manuscripts.

The study of the Russian technique of contrafact singing was continued by Artamonova¹³, who, though she did not dedicate her thesis exclusively to the hymns from the Triodion, included them in her analysis. In particular, she discovered 14 models for stichera from the Triodion cycle.

The second investigation, chronologically speaking, dedicated entirely to hymns from Lent and the Pentecostal period, in this case Russian idiomela from the 12th - 17th centuries, appears in Gruzintzeva's thesis from 1990¹⁴. The main result of her work was the compilation of a catalogue of stichera, on the basis of manuscripts from the 12th - 13th centuries, as well as confirmation of the melodic-structural stability of these stichera in the Russian tradition.

The third study in this area, Tutolmina's thesis from 2004, was dedicated exclusively to Triodion-cycle sources from the earliest period of Russian liturgy,

¹³ Артамонова Ю., *Песнопения-модели в древнерусском певческом искусстве 11-18 веков (Os cânticos-modelos na arte de canto da Rússia antiga dos sécs.11-18)*. Candidate's thesis, Moscow, 1998.

¹⁴ Грузинцева Н.В., *Стихиры-самогласны триодного стихираря в древнерусской рукописной традиции 12-17веков*, Candidate's thesis, Leningrad, 1990.

containing *znamenny stichera*¹⁵. Her object was the detailed description of Russian sources from the 12th - 13th centuries, which could then be used as a manual in the study of sources of the Triodion cycle. Most of the manuscripts described by her are *Sticheraria* of the Triodion, called by her simply Triodion. In this list are included Sin 319 and Voskr 27, with a note indicating the existence in them of notated canons. Tutolmina's work ended with a catalogue, based on the *Sticherarion Sof 96*, of 650 incipits of *stichera* of all kinds. One of her important advances was the analysis of certain melismatic passages within the *stichera*.

In all three studies, the sources of the Triodion cycle were analysed within various contexts, including that of music. Furthermore, at the centre of all three is the *sticheron* as a genre. The comparative analysis of the *znamenny* notation of the *stichera*, of their arrangement in the codex and their content was carried out by consulting the greatest number possible of *Sticheraria* of the Triodion. Sin 319 and Voskr 27 were examined together with the *Sticheraria* as being sources with notated *stichera*.

The fact that the *stichera* from the Triodion cycle were described in considerable detail allows one to arrive at certain conclusions with regard to this genre, and to limit the number of *stichera* analysed in the present thesis only to those which differentiate Sin 319 and Voskr 27 from all other *Sticheraria* and Triodia with and without notation. Among the preferred analytical methods in this thesis are those which were developed by Schidlovsky.

Another point which makes Sin 319 and Voskr 27 stand out from the Triodia in general and at the same time, brings them together as a set, is the presence of notated canons. A detailed examination of these, as with the study of some other hymns, generally not notated, but important in that they transmit information concerning the execution of liturgical chant, falls outside the scope of the three theses mentioned above, and has not to this date been undertaken in a thorough fashion.

An analysis of the canons of the Synodal Triodion has been partially carried out in articles published during the course of the writing of this thesis¹⁶. They do not,

¹⁵ Тутолмина С.Н., *Русские певческие Триоди древнейшей традиции*. Candidate's thesis, St Petersburg, 2004.

¹⁶ Poliakova S.Yu., "Certain compositional characteristics in the Heirmoi of the 8th tone, based on Russian sources from the 12th-17th centuries", *The Traditions of Orthodox Music, Proceedings of the First International Conference on Orthodox Church Music* (University of Joensuu and The International Society for Orthodox Church Music, 2007), 130-170; and, by the same author: "О некоторых особенностях в композиции канонов 8 гласа и их отражении в знаменных рукописях 12 века", *Древнерусское песнопение. Пути во времени*, vol.3, St.Peterburg, 2007, pp.17-41; and, by the same author: "Some

however, provide a detailed survey of all the extant questions regarding the singing and written records of *znamenny* notation of the canons in Sin 319 and Voskr 27. Such a study may offer promising directions for a future study of these sources. An important starting point for this is found in the work of Velimirović, dedicated to the comparative analysis of the Russian and Byzantine Heirmologion¹⁷. Further work in this area has been undertaken by Koschmieder¹⁸, Hannick¹⁹, Kazantzeva²⁰, M.Shkol'nik²¹ and Lozovaia²².

Some other avenues of investigation into these sources are provided by the raising of such questions as the historical role of the Synodal Triodion and the Voskresensky Pentekostarion, the process of the creation of the kinds of Byzantine liturgical books that gave rise to these two codices, and the specific characteristics of Russian liturgical practice that conditioned the introduction of distinct new elements in Sin 319 and Voskr 27.

The history of the formation of the Byzantine rite is explored in the work of Taft²³, which covers the Byzantine tradition from its roots to the present day. Significant elements from the Palestinian and Jerusalem traditions have been pointed out by Jeffery²⁴, amongst others, and from the Constantinopolitan by Lingas²⁵. The

Observations on Kanon Organization, Evidence from the Twelfth Century Russian Menaia and Triodion”, *История и мистерия музыки*, Belgrade, 2006, 91-107.

¹⁷ Velimirovic M., *Byzantine Elements in Early Slavic Chant: Hirmologion*, MMB, Subsidia, Studies on the Monumenta Chilandarica Paleoslavica, Copenhagen, 1960.

¹⁸ Koschmieder E., *Die ältesten Novgoroder Hirmologien-Fragmente*, v.I-III, Munchen, 1955.

¹⁹ Hannick Chr., *Das Altslavische Hirmologion : Edition Und Kommentar*, Weiher, 2006.

²⁰ Казанцева М.Г., *История певческого искусства в певческой культуре Древней Руси XII-XVII веков (по книге Ирмологий)*, Candidate's thesis, Ekaterinsburg, 1995.

²¹ Школьник М., *Проблемы реконструкции знаменного распева 12-17веков (на материале Византийского и древнерусского Ирмология)*, Candidate's thesis, Moscow, 1996.

²² Лозовая И.Е., “Типология древнерусских Параклитов и их отношение к действующему литургическому уставу”, *Гимнология*, n°3, Moscow, 2003; and, by the same author: “О системе пения седмичных канонов Октоиха в ранней литургической традиции”, *Гимнология*, n°4, Moscow, 2003 ; and, by the same author: “ ‘Новый Октоих’ св. Иосифа Гимнографа (Grottaferrata, D. g. XIV) и его отражение в древнерусских Параклитах Студийской традиции”, *Средневековые книжные центры: Местные традиции и межрегиональные связи*, Moscow, 2005; and, by the same author: “Состав канонов в древнерусских Параклитах XII – первой половины XV века: таблицы и комментарии”, *Научные труды Московской государственной консерватории имени П. И. Чайковского*, n° 55, Moscow, 2006; and, by the same author: “О литургической функции молебных канонов Параклита”, *Научные чтения памяти А.И.Кандинско*, Moscow 2007; and, by the same author: “О свидетельствах устной певческой практики в письменных источниках”, *Гимнология*, n°5, Moscow, 2008.

²³ Taft R., *The Byzantine Rite. A Short History*, Collegeville, Minnesota, 1992; and, by the same author: *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*, Minnesota, 1993.

²⁴ Jeffery P., “The Earliest Christian Chant Repertory Recovered: The Georgian Witnesses to Jerusalem Chant”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 47, No. 1, 1994; and, by the same author: “The earliest oktoechnoi: the role of Jerusalem and Palestine in the beginings of modal ordering”, *The Study of Medieval Chant, Paths and Bridges, East and West*, ed.by Jeffery P., London, 2002.

²⁵ Lingas A., *Sunday Matins in the Byzantine Cathedral Rite: Music and Liturgy*, PhD thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1996.

studies of Dmitrievsky²⁶, Skaballanovich²⁷, Mansvetov²⁸, N. D. Uspensky²⁹, Arranz³⁰ and Pentkovsky³¹ allow the comparison of processes that took place in the greatest liturgical centres of Byzantium with those that characterize the Studite tradition in Russia. Some questions concerning Russian liturgy were dealt with in articles by Ukhanova³². In the book by Vladyshevskaja³³, the evolution of Russian liturgy is placed within the context of the development of Russian musical art in general.

The majority of the above-mentioned studies, in one way or another, discuss the services of the Triodion. In addition to the authors cited, there are partial or complete studies on these by a number of scholars from Eastern and Western Europe³⁴.

A starting point for the study of the history of liturgy, Byzantine in general and Russian in particular, is provided by written sources, above all liturgical books. Therefore, the question of a concrete reflection of a liturgical practice in the creation of

²⁶ Дмитриевский А.А., *Богослужение страстной и пасхальной седмиц во святом Иерусалиме IX-X век*, Kazan', 1894; *Древнейшие патриархи типиконы: Святогробский Иерусалимский и Великой константинопольской церкви*, Kiev, 1907, and, by the same author: *Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках Православного Востока*, v.I, Kiev, 1895.

²⁷ Скабалланович М., *Толковый Типикон*, v.I, Kiev 1910, v.II, Kiev, 1913; v.III, Kiev 1915, v.III, Kiev, 1915.

²⁸ Мансветов И., *Церковный устав (Типик), его образование и судьба в греческой и русской церкви*, Moscow, 1885.

²⁹ Успенский Н.Д., *Православная вечерня: историко-литургический очерк. Чин всеобщего бдения (Н Αρρηπνια) на православном Востоке и в русской церкви*, Moscow, 2004.

³⁰ Arranz M., *Les grandes étapes de la liturgie Byzantine: Palestine-Bizance-Russie. Essai d'aperçu historique, Liturgie de l'église particulière et liturgie de l'église universelle*. Rome, 1976, pp.43-72.

³¹ Пентковский А.М., *Типикон патриарха Алексия Студита в Византии и на Руси*, Moscow, 2001; and, by the same author: "Лекционари и четвероевангелия в византийской и славянских литургических традициях", *Евангелие от Иоанна в славянской традиции* (приложение I), St.Peterburg, 1998; and, by the same author: "Константинопольский и иерусалимский богослужебные уставы", *Журнал Московской Патриархии*, n° 4, 2001, available at <http://212.188.13.168/izdat/JMP/01/4-01/14.htm> and <http://www.krotov.info/history/09/pent2001.html>.

³² Уханова Е.В., "Особенности богослужения Русской церкви XI-XIV вв.", *Вестник Российского гуманитарного научного фонда*, n° 3, 2000; and, by the same author: "Этапы развития восточно-христианского богослужения XI – начала XV в. в древнерусских списках студийского устава", *Гимнология*, n°2, Moscow, 2000; and, by the same author: "Древнейшая русская редакция Студийского устава: происхождение и особенности богослужения по Типографскому списку", *Типографский Устав с Кондакарем конца XI – начала XII века*, v.3, Moscow, 2006.

³³ Владышевская Т.Ф. *Музыкальная культура Древней Руси*, М., 2006.

³⁴ Скабалланович М., *Христианские праздники. Пятидесятница*, Kiev, 1916; Bertonière, G.O., *The Sundays of Lent in Triodion: The Sundays Without a Commemoration*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 253, Rome, 1997; Παρανικᾶς Μ., "Τό Τριώδιον", *Εκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια*, v.13, 1893; Baldovin I.F.S.J., "A Lenten Sundays Lectionary in Fourth Century Jerusalem", *Time and Community*, Washington, 1990; Τομαδάκης Ε.Ι., "Ἀσμάτα τοῦ Τριωδίου, ἐρανισθέντα ἐκ κωδικῶν τῆς κάτω Ἰταλίας", *Α, Σύλλογος πρὸς διαδοσὶν ωφελίμων βιβλίων*, Athens, 1995; Carpuyns N., *Le Triodion. Étude historique sur sa constitution et sa formation*. Thèse.Rome, 1935; Janeras S., "Le Vendredi-Saint dans la tradition liturgique byzantine. Structure et histoire ede ses offices", *Studia Anselmiana 99, Analecta liturgica*, 12, Rome, 1988; Meester P.de, *Riti e particolarità liturgiche del Triodion e del Pentecostario*, Padova, 1943; Βεργώτης Γ.Θ., *Η Νηστεία της Μεσσαρακοστής*, Thessaloniki, 1983; Stefanos (Alexopoulos), Fr, *The Presanctified Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite: A Comparative Analysis of its Origins, Evolution and Structural Components*, PhD thesis, University of Notre Dame, 2004.

a liturgical book, including Studite, is posed in all the above-mentioned studies. As far as Russian Studite manuscripts in general are concerned, this was the subject of Zabolotnaya's book³⁵. The problems of translating Russian and Slavic books, including the Triodion, from Greek, have been examined in articles by Momina³⁶. Some publications by Bulgarian scholars concentrate on South Slavic codices and on original Slavonic hymnography, including the hymns of the Triodion; these include the work of Popov³⁷. However, a comparative study of the Greek, Slavic and Russian Triodion has only been undertaken in two particular studies.

The first is by Karabinov³⁸, and dates from 1910. In the introduction, the author emphasizes that his objectives do not include a detailed discussion of Lenten liturgy. His study concentrates on the history of the creation of the Triodion as a book. Nevertheless, Karabinov drew attention to a number of highly significant points in the evolution of the Triodion cycle in the Byzantine liturgy. He demonstrated, firstly, the stages of the development of the system of commemorations of the Lenten period, the preparatory weeks and Holy Week; secondly, the provenance of this system – its origins in the Palestinian and Constantinopolitan Gospel readings and paremias; thirdly, the development of various local Byzantine traditions and the dependence of the content of the Triodia, as regards the authorship of the hymns, on these traditions, and fourthly, the local origins of the different ways of numbering the weeks of the Triodion cycle.

Consequently, in Karabinov's book, the classification of the Greek Triodion and the discussion of its Russian and Slavic copies is part of the context of liturgical traditions, of historical processes, of the evolution of hymnography and the Slavonic language.

Karabinov's study went only as far as Holy Week. His work on the Pentekostarion was left incomplete after he was shot in 1937.

Almost 70 years later Momina's book saw the light; this is concerned with the critical edition of one of the Russian Triodia of the Studite period – that of Moisey

³⁵ Заболотная Н.В., *Церковнопевческие рукописи Древней Руси 11-14 веков: основные типы книг в историко-функциональном аспекте*, Moscow, 2001.

³⁶ Момина М.А., “Проблема правки славянских богослужебных гимнографических книг на Руси в XI столетии”, *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы*, v.XLV, pp. 208-215, St.Petersburg, 1992.

³⁷ Попов Г., “О наличии древнеболгарской гимнографической части в Триоди”, *Язык и письменность среднеболгарского периода*, Moscow, 1982, pp.122-131; and, by the same author: “Триодни произведения на Константин Преславски”, *Кирило-Методиевски Студии*, v.2, Sofia, 1985; Славлева Л., “За старословенската Триод”, *Slovo*, n° 22, 1972, pp.93-116; Чифлянов Б.Д., “Триодъ”, *Годишеник на Духовната академия «Св.Климент Охридски»*, n° 19, Sofia, 1971.

³⁸ Карабинов И.А., *Постная Триодъ. Исторический обзор ея плана, состава, редакций и славянских переводов*, S.Petersburg, 1910.

Kiyanin, Sin Typ 137³⁹. In the study she undertook as part of the publication, she continued the main directions of the analysis of the Triodion established by Karabinov. In articles preceding this publication, Momina put forward a classification system for the Greek Triodion, developing and deepening Karabinov's system, and, for the Slavic and Russian Triodia, developed her own system. In certain of her articles she investigated the problem of translating the earliest Russian chant books, including Kontakaria, Sticheraria and Heirmologia⁴⁰. The results at which she arrived were incorporated into her book on the Triodion of Moisey Kiyanin, and new data added. One of the most important of these as far as the present thesis is concerned is the inclusion of the Pentekostaria as well as the Triodia in her classification system. Sin 319 and Voskr 27 were connected with the same type and the same redaction, though they were not presumed to be a set.

Like Karabinov, Momina concentrated on questions to do with the liturgical context, such as the counting of the weeks, up to the period of the Pentekostarion, or the content of the Triodia from the point of view of the commemorations, originating in Palestinian and Constantinopolitan traditions, and reflected in the hymns and titles of the liturgical sequences. Amongst other aspects, she analysed the variations in the organization of the books and the content of the hymns from the point of view of their authorship. Extending this analysis to the Triodion of Moisey Kiyanin, employing other South Slavic and Russian Triodia, Momina devised a range of methods which are of great use in the study of other Triodion and Pentekostarion manuscripts. These methods were, in part, employed for Sin 319 and Voskr 27, and led to the discovery of some fundamental differences between them and Sin Typ 137. An important aspect of the Moisey Kiyanin Triodion, investigated by Momina and her co-author, Gal'chenko, falls outside the scope of the present thesis: this is the discussion of the philological particularities of the Synodal Triodion and the Voskresensky Pentekostarion.

A brief survey of the questions raised by the literature mentioned above leads one to conclude that, though up to the present no study has appeared dedicated especially to Sin 319 and Voskr 27, in the field of the history of liturgy in Byzantine and Russia, the history of Orthodox sacred art (including liturgical chant), of

³⁹ *Triodion und Pentekostarion nach slavischen Handschriften des 11.-14. Jahrhunderts, v.I: Vorfastenzeit, mit einer Einführung zur Geschichte des slavischen Triodions von M. A. Momina*, herausgegeben von M. A. Momina und N. Trunte, *Patristica Slavica*, v.11, Paderborn, München, Wien, Zürich, 2004.

palaeography, philology and the study of the typology of liturgical chant books in general, methods were developed that made possible the discovery of specific characteristics of the two GIM Triodion cycle volumes. These special characteristics, in the particular case of these two manuscripts, are conditioned by their role in the liturgical system, and, more particularly, the musical aspect of the services, fact which led to the liturgical context being given priority over all others.

⁴⁰ A complete list of the articles by Momina may be found in the bibliography of her book: Momina, Triodion, pp.*345-*346.

Chapter 1

The formation of the Triodion cycle tradition until and during the Studite reforms

The periodization of the development of the Byzantine Rite

The Triodion as a book is the result of the development of theology, liturgy and hymnography that began during the very earliest period of Christian worship. In the different steps of the evolution of the liturgy of the Triodion cycle, there was a process of elaboration and choice of those elements which led to the creation of the two Old Russian Triodion books, Sin 319 and Voskr 27 as they are known today. In order, therefore, to understand these two monuments, it is necessary to survey the development of the liturgical system, hymnography, liturgical books and notation in the particular areas of the Byzantine Empire that served as bases in the process of the development of the liturgical celebration of the Triodion cycle in early Russia or underwent the same processes and preserved the same kinds of heritage and may therefore shed light on problems arising during the research.

Christian worship arose and took form over a vast territory from the geographical point of view and multifaceted culturally, ethnically and linguistically. Sources written in Greek, the official language of the Roman Empire, as well as Latin sources, have been known and studied for a substantial period of time. Other sources, however, important for the comparative study of various aspects of liturgical singing in early Russia, principally its hymnography and notation, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian and Georgian, have begun to be studied only relatively recently. Thus far there does not exist a history of Eastern Christian sacred chant, just as there has as yet appeared no study providing a complete approach to the history of Byzantine liturgy⁴¹. As a consequence of this, in accordance with the structural boundaries necessary for the examination of the basic processes of the development of liturgy until the Studite period in early Russia, I have adopted the periodic scheme proposed by Robert Taft in his brief book on the Byzantine rite.⁴²

Taft divides the history of the Byzantine liturgical synthesis into five phases, which sometimes overlap with each other. The earliest period is called by him the palaeo-Byzantine or pre-Constantinian era. This is followed by the “imperial phase”, which extends until Late Antiquity, especially from the reign of Justinian I (527-565) and his immediate successors; this period is called the Patristic period and is connected with the establishment of the Cathedral liturgy, which continued until after the Latin

⁴¹ Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 12-14.

⁴² Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 18-19.

conquest (1204-1261), the third and fourth phases thus overlapping each other. The third phase, the “Dark Ages”⁴³, covers the period from 610 to 850, at the centre of which is the fight against iconoclasm (726-843) and the beginning of the Studite reforms. The next period, the fourth, is marked by the domination of the neo-Sabaitic synthesis, which spread following the sack of Constantinople by the Latins (1204-1261).

In this periodization scheme, Taft avoids the imposition of exact chronological boundaries. Between the pre-Constantinian period and the “imperial” phase, he places no division⁴⁴. Elsewhere⁴⁵, in the chapter “The Formation of the Tradition”, in which he surveys sources from various regions of the Roman Empire in general until the end of the 4th century, his divisions are as follows: after an initial prologue, dedicated to the roots of the Christian prayer rule and its practice, there is a section entitled “Daily Prayer in the Pre-Constantinian Church”, which covers the period from the beginning of the 1st century to the beginning of the 4th. This complementary temporal division has been taken into account in the present work; consequently, “The Imperial Phase” analyzes separately the processes of the 4th century and those of the second half of the 5th century – 6th century. However, the superimposition of the first and second periods is retained: the greater part of the surviving sources reflects liturgical practice in that part of the Roman Empire in which liturgical traditions came about considerably earlier than the rise of Byzantium. The processes begun already in the pre-Constantinian era in these territories appear already in a reasonably developed form in the 4th century, when genuinely Byzantine liturgy, in terms of territory, was still in an embryonic stage. The Palestinian tradition between the 4th and 5th centuries effected the transition from one developed phase to another, which provides scholars with reasons for considering the end of the early period to be pushed further forward, at least until the end of the 4th century – beginning of the 5th⁴⁶.

Taft’s second period covers a period of time that continues until 617. This temporal boundary is retained, but other points were taken into account that make the division between “the Imperial Phase” and “the Dark Ages” somewhat less clear. One

⁴³ The term was introduced by Cyril Mango: Mango C., *Byzantine Architecture*, paperback ed., New York, 1985; quoted in Lingas A., *Sunday Matins*, 47.

⁴⁴ The uncertain character of this division is underlined by the author in his introduction to the chapter dealing with the second period: Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 22.

⁴⁵ Taft, *The Liturgy*, 3-211.

of these is the re-attribution of the date of the development of hymnographic genres, including canon, from the 7th – 8th centuries to a century or a century and a half earlier. The fact of the canon being thus transferred to the previous phase, during which liturgical life flourished in the cathedral at Jerusalem, as well as important processes in Constantinopolitan liturgy, such as the emphasis on the kontakion, for example, brings the possibility of examining anew its origins and whether they lie in the cathedral or the monastic tradition. If hitherto it has been categorically considered a fruit of exclusively monastic hymnography, currently, in the first place, as regards the new dating; secondly, as regards the fixing of certain of its elements in chant books reflecting the cathedral tradition of Jerusalem; and, thirdly, in that it is a composite variant of the troparion genre, the possibility of the canon's origins and area of use in the context of the cathedral tradition cannot be excluded.

The division between the second and third periods does not have the reforming character of that between the third and fourth periods. Taft himself notes its significance as a time of “formation, climax, break-down, realignment, and new synthesis”⁴⁷ and dates the third period in accordance with external historical characteristics – military conflicts, territorial losses and natural disasters; Karabinov and Momina, in their research into the hymnography, join together the 6th and 7th centuries, ending the period in the 8th century. Thus, all these scholars begin the following period in the 9th century and place the Studite reform at its centre.

The palaeo-Byzantine or pre-Constantinian era.

The formation of the annual cycles of liturgical celebration

The formation of the Christian calendar happened in parallel with the development of a series of Old Testament calendar traditions⁴⁸, which directly

⁴⁶ McKinnon and Karabinov end the early period with the 5th century: McKinnon J.W., “Christian Church, music of the early”, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 54.

⁴⁷ Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 19.

⁴⁸ In his article, searching for the origins of the Octoechos as a liturgical system, S. Froyshov mentions the bibliographical sources dealing with the calendrical systems which have influenced the organization of the liturgical year. Among these sources one could find the following: Bacchiocchi, S., *From Sabbath to Sunday. A Historical Investigation of the Rise of Sunday Observance in Early Christianity*, Rome, 1977; Baumstark A., *Festbrief und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jakobiten*, Paderborn, 1910; Baumgarten, J., “The Calendars of the Book of Jubilees and the Temple Scroll”, *Vetus Testamentum*, 37, 1987, pp. 71-78; Daniélou J., *Bible et liturgie. La théologie biblique des sacrements et des fêtes d'après*

influenced it. The ancient calendar systems of the Old Testament were based on annual agricultural cycles; the year was divided into various phases, organized around religious festivals.

According to the views of Lourie, during the period when the Old Testament calendar was being transformed into the Christian calendar, the distinction between the Old Testament feasts and the content related to the agricultural cycles gradually gave way to a tendency towards the universalization of the feast of Hanukkah (164 B.C.) and the formation of a synthetic feast based on the extant feasts of Pasch (Passover), Yom Kippur and Succoth⁴⁹. As a consequence of this early stage of the Christian calendar, the feasts are not distinguished by their content: there was a single feast which brought together the entire significance of Christian salvation history – the feast known as the Pasch (Pascha, Paskha). The timing and frequency of the celebration of this feast varied according to the local practices of early Christian communities. The use of the name Pasch for these feasts, celebrated at various times of the year, is attested to in a number of sources. The term Pasch was used in the Georgian Lectionary of Jerusalem⁵⁰ for the Elevation of the Cross, whose octave began with the feast of Hanukkah⁵¹. The term Pasch was also used to mean the feasts which later came to be called Dormition⁵², Theophany⁵³ and the Meeting in the Temple⁵⁴.

les Pères de l'Église, Paris, 1951; Talley, Thomas J., *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, Collegeville, 1991, Werner E., "The oldest sources of octave and Octoechos", *Acta Musicologica*, 20, 1948, pp. 1-9. Froyshov S., "The Early Development of the Liturgical Eight-Mode System in Jerusalem", *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 51/2-3, 2007, pp. 174-178. The Pharisaic tradition which developed into the Talmudic tradition, however, was not among them: Lourie V.M., "Три типа раннехристианского календаря и одно разночтение в тексте epistola apostolorum", *Traditions and Heritage of the Christian East*, Moscow, 1996, p. 316.

⁴⁹ Лурье, Три типа, 317.

⁵⁰ Tarchnischvili M., *Le grande lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem (V-VIIIe siècle)*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium v.I-II, 188-89, 204-205, Louvain, 1959-1960. According to Walter Ray, the "pentecostad" harvest feasts are reflected in the earlier layer of the Armenian translation of the Jerusalem Lectionary: Ray W., *August 15 and the Development of the Jerusalem Calendar*, PhD thesis (unpublished), University of Notre Dame, Indiana, 2000, cited in: Froyshov, *The Early Development*, 153.

⁵¹ Tarchnischvili M., *Le grande lectionnaire*, CSCO 204, pp. 42-48; CSCO 205, pp.36-40; quoted by Лурье, Три типа, 267.

⁵² The attribution of the name Pasch in this case is characteristic of the Coptic-Ethiopian tradition: Arras V., *De Transitu Mariae apocrypha aethiopica*. II (CSCO v.351), Louvain, 1974, pp. 69,71; (CSCO v.352), p. 53, p. 55; Чернецова С.Б., *Эфиопские хроники 17-18 вв.* Moscow, 1989, p. 96; quoted by Лурье, Три типа, 293.

⁵³ The similarity between the celebration of the Dormition and Theophany and the celebration of the Pasch is evident still today in the Byzantine rite: the celebration of Theophany as one of the annual Paschs is connected to Egyptian tradition: Лурье, Три типа, 299, 301-303.

⁵⁴ Coquin R., "Les origines de l'Épiphanie en Égypte", *Textes et études liturgiques*, 1, Louvain, 1932, pp.141-142; quoted by Лурье, Три типа, 307.

The weeks and weekly cycles stood out as structural units in the calculation of the periods between the great feasts of the year. A week could be considered as a sequence of seven days or as a single feast day, as is the case even today with Bright Week⁵⁵, as well as with pre-Feasts and after-Feasts, which include the week between them, whether or not they include the actual day of the feast⁵⁶. The weekly sequences of the later Old Testament calendar formed units of fifty (pentecostads)⁵⁷. The sequence of units of fifty divided the year in ways that varied according to tradition. One of the ways of calculating the year was that of the sequence of seven cycles of fifty (the equivalent to 350 days); the length of the year in this context was 364 days, and the two weeks left over were counted as two festal days, which were part of one of the seven sequences of fifty⁵⁸. There were also other methods of calculation, for example groups of fifty of eight weeks⁵⁹. At the time of the formation of the Christian calendar, this structuring in groups of fifty attained its most complete form, simultaneous with the counting of the year by months.

A particular characteristic of calendars structured in fifties was the fixed relationship between the number of the day of the month (the date) and the day of the week. The Christian tradition was probably initially based on the calendrical practice according to which the Pasch always occurred on the 14th day of the month of Nisan, and this date always corresponded to a Saturday night⁶⁰. However, already in the first half of the 2nd century, during the process of transition from the old calendars to the new Christian calendars, differences became apparent between the Paschalia of Rome and Asia Minor.

⁵⁵ The week that follows Easter.

⁵⁶ For example, the celebration of the feast of Theophany is followed by seven days of after-feast, after which, on the eighth day, is celebrated the leave-taking of the feast. In the case of the Meeting in the Temple, the day before the feast is the day of the pre-feast; the leave-taking is celebrated on the seventh day counting from the pre-feast.

⁵⁷ In the late Old Testament calendar, found in the Book of Jubilees in Qumran, the writings of the Egyptian Therapeuts and in the Palestinian calendar in general, presupposed the division of the year into "weeks of weeks", with the commemoration of the fiftieth day as the "Sabbath of Sabbaths": Лурье, Три типа, 269. On the division of the year in "pentecostads" in the communities, including the Israelites, which? followed an ancient Amorite calendar, see also: Lewy H. and J., "The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar", *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 17, pp. 1-152; cited in Froyshov, *The Early Development*, 151.

⁵⁸ Лурье, Три типа, 282.

⁵⁹ Лурье, Три типа, 317.

⁶⁰ Лурье, Три типа, 274-275. In monophysite sources no fewer than two systems of Christian calendar whose dates are fixed by the day of the week have been found: Esbroeck M.van, "Un court traité pseudo-basilien de mouvance aaronite conservé en arménien", *Le Muséon*, 100, 1987, pp. 385-395, 392; Esbroeck M.van, "Deux homélies pseudo-basiliennes sur le Dimanche et le Vendredi", *Parole de l'Orient*, 16, 1990-1991, pp.49-71; quoted in Лурье, Три типа, 275-276.

The disappearance of the fixing of the day of the month by the day of the week occurred in parallel with the process of differentiating the feasts according to the solemnity of their celebration (the annual feasts, which included the cycles of fifty, the feasts at the end of each cycle, and the weekly feasts). During this process, a group of Christian feasts were accorded fixed dates in the month, even if the month in question were going to be replaced, and another group were given a particular day of the week. This initially happened with the most important feasts of the year, but soon spread to feasts of other ranks. In this way, the cycles of liturgical celebrations, fixed and moveable, little by little became distinguished from the general system of celebrations.

The formation of the Triodion cycle

As far as the moveable cycle of the Triodion is concerned, during the course of the early period the spring Pasch assumed its own characteristics and position in the cycle of now-differentiated Christian feasts, and during the same period the liturgical cycle dependent on Easter was established on broad lines.

The presence of the sequence of seven weeks in the cycle of the group of fifty after Easter, or, as it would later be called, the Pentekostarion, was already an established tradition thanks to the annual reckoning of the calendar in groups of fifty⁶¹. Less stable was the reckoning of the fasting period before Easter, Great Lent.

The existence of this fast was a natural consequence of the tradition of fasting in the Old Testament, in which the fasting period separated Passover from the previous festal day and corresponded to a time unit in the reckoning of the annual calendar. The multiplicity of practices in the reckoning of the periods, into which the year was divided, together with other factors, influenced the instability of the length of the fast in the early period.

In the pre-paschal feast there are in fact two periods, which in most cases were separate. To Easter were directly connected the days of the pre-paschal fast, before which there was the fast of Great Lent (Tessaracost).

In several Christian communities, the number of fast days before Easter oscillated for some time between one and two, until the establishment, at the end of the

⁶¹ A detailed exposition of the contents of the commemorations of this period is to be found in Chapter 4 of the present thesis.

3rd century, of the period of one week (Holy Week)⁶². However, differences in the number of fast days before Pascha would continue to be evident in local traditions for a long time to come.

During the early period, this instability was also to be found in the distribution of commemorations during Holy Week, one of the reasons for this being the superimposition of different calendrical systems. This affects, in the first place, the celebration of the Last Supper, which historians have determined as being either on Tuesday night or on Thursday night. This latter calculation came into use later than the first⁶³, and continues to the present day. Sources for this celebration display both traditions.

In the Egyptian liturgical tradition, the celebration of the Last Supper and the order for the Washing of the Feet were transferred from Tuesday to Thursday of Holy Week only in the 10th century, under Syriac influence⁶⁴.

In Jerusalem the celebration of the first three days of Holy Week was established in such a way that it became part of the late Byzantine moveable cycle, at least in the 4th century. This fact is attested to by the order of Gospel readings contained in the description of Holy Week in Jerusalem made by the pilgrim Egeria (Aetheria, Sylvia)⁶⁵. In other liturgical centres this occurred later; for example, in Constantinople, by the evidence of the readings for Holy Week, the commemorations of Holy Monday, Holy Tuesday and Holy Wednesday developed only in the 9th-10th centuries⁶⁶.

In the Russian tradition, instability in the commemorations of Holy Week is reflected in the playing of the sequence of the twelve troparia for the Passion either on Tuesday or Friday. The most widespread tradition in the manuscripts from the end of the 11th century – beginning of the 14th century places this sequence during the Hours of

⁶² In the 2nd century, St Irenaeus of Lyons wrote to Victor, Bishop of Rome, that “in the opinion of some, the fast should be kept for one day, in the opinion of others, for two, and in the opinion of yet others, even more; however, some consider as a measure of their day 40 diurnal and nocturnal hours.”: Евсевий Памфил, *Церковная история*, Москва, 2001, V, p. 24; quoted in: Н.Д.Успенский, *Православная литургия: историко-литургические исследования. Праздники, тексты, устав*, Т.3, Москва 2007, p. 239.

⁶³ Jaubert A., “La date de la Cène: calendrier biblique et liturgie chrétienne”, *Etudes bibliques*, Paris, 1957, pp. 96-97; quoted in Лурье, Три типа, 309. For the first time the celebration of the Last Supper on Holy Thursday is mentioned (and evaluated negatively) by Apollinarius, bishop of Hierapolis in around 165; the first approving reference is made by St Irenaeus of Lyons: Adv. Haer. II, 22,3. In the 2nd century it continued to be usual to celebrate the Last Supper on the night of Holy Tuesday; indications of the same structure for Holy Week are found in the order of readings from the Old Testament in the Georgian Lectionary of Jerusalem: Лурье, Три типа, 309.

⁶⁴ Лурье, Три типа, 309.

⁶⁵ *Egeria's Travels*, СПСК, London, 1971, p. 85, quoted in: Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 7.

⁶⁶ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 8.

Holy Friday. It appears on this day in all the surviving Russian and South Slavic Triodia (two redactions of the Orbelsky Triodion, two of the Shafarik Triodion, the Evergetis type Triodion, the Argirov Triodion)⁶⁷ and in the majority of Russian *znamenny* Sticheraria. The sequence has continued to be prescribed for this day until the present. However, the Russian copy of the Studite-Alexian Typikon Sin 330, as well as the two Russian Sticheraria Sof 96 (end of 12th century- beginning of 13th)⁶⁸ and Usp 8 (13th century)⁶⁹ prescribes the Hours with the twelve troparia for Holy Tuesday.⁷⁰

The prolongation of the fast on account of the extension of the pre-paschal fast backwards into the previous period of the weekly fast led to the appearance of Great Lent. The formation of this period was also gradual; the establishment of it as a rule may be seen in sources from the end of the 3rd century – beginning of the 4th century⁷¹. The reckoning of the fast days of Lent was carried out in different ways in different communities. In the 4th century in the East in general there were a number of different traditions. For example, according to one variant of the tradition found in Palestine, Greece, in the West, in Egypt and in Lybia⁷², the fast comprised six weeks, including Saturdays and Sundays, as well as the first days of Holy Week, leaving for the pre-paschal fast probably only Holy Friday and Holy Saturday. The Antiochian tradition⁷³, extant in Asia Minor and in Constantinople, had a whole week for the pre-paschal fast, and a further six weeks for Lent. In both cases the pre-paschal period included seven weeks, which represented one of the annual cycles⁷⁴.

In Jerusalem, the development of the pre-paschal period is characterized by mixing of two different systems of counting. One of them consisted of seven weeks, and the other of eight. According to Froyshov, the seven-week Lent (six weeks independent

⁶⁷ Questions of the classification of the Russian and South Slavic Triodia are discussed in Chapters 2 and 5 of the present thesis.

⁶⁸ The dating of this manuscript is discussed in Chapter 3 of the present thesis.

⁶⁹ It is possible that the Sticherarion Sin 278, which as a rule follows exactly to the copy of the Studite-Alexian Typikon Sin 330, also has this sequence for Holy Tuesday. However, this cannot be confirmed because the section of the manuscript containing the end of Matins for Tuesday, after which the Hours should follow (f.81) and Vespers for Saturday of All Saints, is lost.

⁷⁰ The inclusion of the twelve troparia of the Passion in the Hours is discussed in the work of Lisitzin (Лисицин М. *Первоначальный славяно-русский Типикон*, St.Petersburg, 1911, pp. 125-139, p. 160, p. 210), Momina (Momina, *Triodion*, *15).

⁷¹ On the basis of the letter of St Athanasius the Great, it may be concluded that in the 4th century almost the entire Christian world observed Lent: PG, 26, col.1413; Lent as a well-established rule is borne out by the 5th rule of the First Ecumenical Council in Nikea: Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 9.

⁷² Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 10-13.

⁷³ This is found in the Apostolic Constitutions: *Constitutiones Apostolicae*, V, 13 and in the works of St John Chrysostom: In Genes.hom. XI et XXX; quoted in Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 13.

of Holy Week) is attested in a text written by St Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem about 350 AD⁷⁵. On the other hand, in her report Egeria testified that the fast in Jerusalem lasted seven weeks, during which one had to fast from Monday to Friday, leaving out Saturday and Sunday; to these 35 days was joined the eighth week – Holy Week, up to Holy Saturday, and thus the total number of days was 41. Froyshov suggests that between c. 350 (St Cyril) and c. 380 (Egeria) there took place an extension of the duration of the pre-paschal fast in Palestine from seven to eight weeks's fast⁷⁶. This organization of fasting days was preserved in various areas of the East until the 8th-9th centuries, and accompanied by polemical discussions with the defenders of the seven-week fast⁷⁷. The influence of both traditions – both that of seven weeks and that of eight, in Russian and South Slavic sources, is reflected in the counting system of the weeks and Sundays of Lent, to which a chapter of the present thesis is dedicated.

Supposedly, none of these traditions counted on a precise total of forty days of fasting, just as the old groups of fifty were not reckoned according to a precise counting of physical days, but of weekly cycles interpreted in various ways.

As well as the commemorations of Holy Week, during the first period of Christian liturgical celebration there appeared commemoration of saints, distributed amongst the Saturdays and Sundays of Great Lent and corresponded to a fixed cycle – the Menaion. Testimony of the transference of these commemorations from Lenten weekdays, when the Eucharistic Liturgy could not be celebrated, to fast-free days, is found in sources at least from the 4th century⁷⁸. To the end of this century is attributed the establishment of the commemoration of St Theodore of Tyre, which appears in all Russian and Slavic Triodia of the Studite period, and is still today celebrated on the Saturday of the first week of Lent. The number of commemorations from the Menaion cycle within the Triodion during this early period was greater than that to be found in the late Byzantine rite.

⁷⁴ Froyshov, *The Early Development*, 153; Froyshov, on the basis of Ray's study, assumes that "the Church of Jerusalem, like the communities following the sectarian calendar, and like East- and West-Syrian Churches, at some early stage knew cycles of seven weeks."

⁷⁵ Froyshov, *The Early Development*, 154-155.

⁷⁶ Froyshov, *The Early Development*, 171.

⁷⁷ *Egeria's Travels*, SPCK, London, 1971, p. 78; quoted in Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 15-16; Froyshov, *The Early Development*, 155.

⁷⁸ The Ecumenical Council in Laodicea in 364 established the rule according to which the complete Liturgy could be celebrated during Lent only on Saturdays and Sundays: Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 31; Momina, *Triodion*, *30. The transference of the commemorations to Saturday and Sunday probably happened under the influence of old calendrical systems with the fixing of the dates to the weekdays; Karabinov gives examples of these transferences in the Armenian, Nestorian and Monophysite Syriac calendars, in which they occur not only during Lent, but throughout the year.

*The formation of the daily cycle of liturgical commemorations. The main
hymnographical forms*

The gradual development of celebrations of the moveable cycle during the early period reflected the process of differentiating feasts according to their degree of solemnity. The whole Triodion cycle was centred on Easter, an annual feast; the next festal level was made up of two cycles of fifty – the period of the Pentekostarion and the fasting period in general, which functionally fulfilled the role of the fifty. The commemorations of the Sundays of Lent and of the Pentekostarion cycle were of the next festal level – weekly. The development of feasts of this level did not happen in a uniform fashion throughout the Church; the earliest feasts, which concluded the weekly sequences of Lent, were Saturday of St Lazarus and the Entry into Jerusalem⁷⁹, which separated Lent from Holy Week⁸⁰.

The distinction of the weekly cycles aiming towards Sunday occurred in parallel with the formation of the daily cycle of liturgical commemorations. Little is known of the daily celebrations and hymnographical forms of the earliest Christian period. The extant information deals largely with Palestine, and is generally indirect in character, obliging the researcher to work largely with suppositions.

Concerning domestic prayer, it is known that Christians met at the house of one of their number in order to pray in the morning and in the evening, but it is not known whether they occurred at a precise hour. However, some elements of future liturgical celebration began to appear already at this early period, for example, the ritual of the lighting and blessing of the evening candles, which became the *lucernarium* of Cathedral Vespers⁸¹ and became an integral part of Studite Vespers, including in Russian practice.

The evening prayer included the ritual of the evening supper, extant in Jewish practice and accepted in a modified form by the Christians – the “meals of love” or “agape”, during which there took place the fraction of the bread, in which the origins of

⁷⁹ According to the sources, studied by Karabinov, in the East the feast of the Entry into Jerusalem began to be celebrated only around the year 500: *Biblioth. orientalis*, I, 23; quoted in Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 7; at the same time, in Jerusalem this feast was witnessed by Egeria in the 4th century: *Egeria's Travels*, , СПСК, London, 1971, p. 78; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 7.

⁸⁰ In the mature Byzantine rite, Lent covers precisely 40 days, from Monday of the first week to Friday of the sixth week, leaving Saturday and Sunday of the sixth week as festal days. However, even today there remain vestiges of the inclusion of the first three days of Holy Week within the Lenten period which can be seen in the ceremony of forgiveness for sins committed during the whole of Lent, which took place on Holy Wednesday: *Титикон*, Moscow, 1906, p. 447.

the Eucharist may be found. In the middle of the 2nd century, the Eucharist was moved from the vesperal supper on Saturday to Sunday morning, which was already at the end of the 1st century considered as the basis of the weekly cycle. This newly transformed morning sequence may be seen as the first phase of the development of the Eucharistic Liturgy. Though in the earliest written sources the description of the Liturgy varies, they all share the same general structure. For example, in the Apology of Justin Martyr there is included a description of the Liturgy of the mid-2nd century according to the following sequence:⁸²

Readings

Preaching

Common prayers

Kiss of peace

Transfer of gifts

Prayer over the gifts (anaphora)

(fraction)

communion

(dismissal)

It is not certainly known if at this period singing was part of a special pre-Eucharistic section⁸³. The sources speak of the use by Christians of psalms, hymns and spiritual songs, but there remain many unanswered questions, among them the performance method of the musical elements and the possibility of considering them as being a part of the synaxis of the early Liturgy.

The introduction of the singing of psalms into liturgical practice must have occurred gradually. The process of standardization of the prayer rule, which began in the 3rd century, included the selection of psalms and appointed them to be said at certain

⁸¹ Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, 26.

⁸² Taft R., "The Evolution of the Byzantine 'Divine Liturgy' ", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* XLIII, Roma 1977, pp. 8-30, available online at http://www.myriobiblos.gr/texts/english/taft_evolution.html; Lingas, *Sunday Matins*, 23.

⁸³ McKinnon considers this possibility: McKinnon J., "Christian Antiquity", *Music and Society: Antiquity and the Middle Age*, Basingstoke and London, 1990, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1991, p. 72; Lingas discounts it: Lingas, *Sunday Matins*, 23. The questions related to psalmody are revised in Chapter 8 of Bradshaw's book, which was published after the present thesis had been suggested for the defense and, consequently, was not available to me: Bradshaw P., *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship*, London: SPCK, 2009.

points. In the treatise by Origen (d. ca. 254) “On Prayer”⁸⁴ Psalm 140 is already mentioned as an element of evening prayer; later, this psalm would become one of the most important elements of Cathedral Vespers and, later still, as a constructive element of this office, incorporated into the monastic-cathedral synthesis, inclusively, Studite. It remains at Vespers to this day.

One of the important moments that stimulated the systematic inclusion of psalmody was the reaction to non-Biblical psalms, the so-called *πσαλμοι ιδιοτικοι*, which had spread during the 3rd century⁸⁵. One of them survives in a manuscript from the second half of the 3rd century⁸⁶. It is the oldest Christian hymn with notation (the alphabetical notation of Ancient Greece, which seems not to have had any continuity in the development of Christian chant) – the Hymn to the Holy Trinity, discovered at Oxyrhynchus in Lower Egypt in about 1920 by Grenfell and Hunt.

Signs that probably represent another early system of notation, called punctual, are present in a fragment of a Greek Psalter dating from the 3rd – 4th centuries, written on papyrus⁸⁷, as well as in the oldest sources not directly connected with Christian worship. During the course of several centuries this kind of notation is found in a group of Coptic⁸⁸ and Syriac⁸⁹ manuscripts. It is also possible that this notation could have been found in earlier sources, in that it goes back to the pre-Christian era; study of these sources may also be of relevance to more recent sources, Russian and Bulgarian included⁹⁰.

“The Imperial Phase”

4th century – 1st half of the 5th century. General characteristics

⁸⁴ Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, 16.

⁸⁵ Tertullian protests several times against the heretical psalms of Valentine, Bardaisan of Edessa and other authors of the 3rd century: McKinnon J.W., “Christian Church, music of the early”, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

⁸⁶ For a modern transcription and commentary, see West M. L., *Ancient Greek Music*, Oxford, 1992, pp. 324-326.

⁸⁷ *GB-Lbl* Inv.230; Jourdan-Hemmerdinger considers that the *puncta* found in this papyrus are independent of accentuation and punctuation and, therefore, represent musical notation symbols: Jourdan-Hemmerdinger D., “Nouveaux fragments musicaux sur papyrus (une notation antique par points)”, *Studies in Eastern Chant, IV*, Crestwood, 1979.

⁸⁸ Robertson-Wilson M., “Coptic church music”, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

⁸⁹ Husmann H., Jeffery P., “Syriac church music”, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

⁹⁰ This opinion has been communicated to me in person by a number of researchers working on these sources.

The flourishing of the second, “imperial” phase corresponds to the years during which the processional character of cathedral liturgy reaches its high point. This did not occur simultaneously in all liturgical centres; for example, in this case, Jerusalem was substantially in advance of Constantinople. The beginning of this period may be dated to the moment when, by force of historical circumstance, there arose conditions suitable for the development of the cathedral rite. These conditions were the legalization of Christianity in 313 and the end of the persecution of the Christian Church.

The proclamation of the independence of the Church has as a consequence the organization of ecclesiastical life in the cities, the construction and decoration of Christian buildings, the foundation of various kinds of monasteries and the activation of theological thought, in part as a response to the appearance of many heresies. After the division of the Roman Empire into East and West in the year 293⁹¹, the Church of the Eastern Roman Empire extended its influence thanks to the acceptance of Christianity as the official religion of Armenia (301)⁹² and Georgia (337)⁹³. In 330 there occurred an event which in great part determined the development of Eastern Christian liturgy: a small port called Byzantium was chosen to be the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire by the Emperor Constantine.

In the realm of liturgy, after the multiplicity of ritual variants that could be seen throughout the first three centuries of Christianity, there began “the period of the unifications of rites...; what was once one loose collection of individual local churches each with its own liturgical uses, evolved into a series of intermediate structures or federations (later called patriarchates) grouped around certain major sees. This process stimulated a corresponding unification and standardizing of church practice”⁹⁴.

In general, the development of liturgy during the second period is represented by three different kinds of service, covering three distinct areas of ecclesiastical life: cathedral-rite services⁹⁵, the monastic services of Egypt and monastic-urban liturgy⁹⁶. Cathedral and Egyptian monastic liturgy progressed simultaneously from the 4th century

⁹¹ The final separation occurred only after the death of Theodosius I in 395.

⁹² Hannick Chr., “Armenian rite, music of the”, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, v. 1, 1980, p. 596.

⁹³ Hannick Chr., Dolidze D., “Georgia. Orthodox Church Music”, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>

⁹⁴ Taft R., *The Evolution*.

⁹⁵ The term “cathedral” is explained thus by Taft: “The office of the secular churches is called “cathedral” rather than “parochial” because for centuries it was the bishop’s church that was the center of all liturgical life”: Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, 32.

⁹⁶ Mateos J., “The Origins of the Divine Office”, *Worship* 41, 1967, pp. 477-485; quoted in Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, 32.

onwards; urban monasticism came about as a synthesis of these two and flourished from the last quarter of the 4th century⁹⁷.

Cathedral rite liturgy from the 4th century to the first half of the 5th century

Liturgy in the cathedrals developed apace in the great Christian centres of the Eastern Roman Empire. One of the earliest liturgical centres to be formed was Jerusalem. The city was a destination for pilgrims, monks, and ascetics from the four corners of the Christian world⁹⁸, who participated in ceremonies celebrated in the official language, Greek, or in others, such as Syriac⁹⁹. The fact that the city and its suburbs bore witness to the Life, Passion and Resurrection of Christ determined one of the principal characteristics of the services – their processional character.

However, as well as demonstrating that cathedral-style services formed its basis, the liturgy included at the same time some monastic elements¹⁰⁰. In general, the liturgy of Jerusalem was different from that of Antioch¹⁰¹. Our knowledge of liturgy in Antioch, which was part of the Roman province of Syria, and was, at the same time as Jerusalem, one of the oldest centres of theological and liturgical influence, is owed to St John Chrysostom (c.347-407). The anaphora of what is now known as the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom was created within the Antiochian liturgical context¹⁰². Amongst other cathedral centres of the Eastern Roman Empire, there survives documentation

⁹⁷ The differentiation between “cathedral” and “monastic” is conditional, a mental construction or conceptual frame, because these two determinant elements never existed separately. According to the opinion of Robert Taft, exposed in his book in 1993, the value of such a distinction has been proven by scholars such as Mateos, Arranz, Winkler, Bradshaw, Taft: Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, 32. However, the debate over the question whether the cathedral-monastic distinction has a historical basis or is simply a heuristic tool of modern scholarship, was renewed in some recent works, including that of Robert Taft (I would like to thank A. Lingas for advising me on the matter and giving me the following references: Taft R., “Cathedral vs Monastic Liturgy in the Christian East: Vindicating a Distinction”, *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, III s. 2, 2005, pp. 173–219; Taft R., *Through Their Own Eyes: Liturgy as the Byzantines Saw It*, Berkeley, CA: InterOrthodox Press, 2006; Taft R., “The Liturgical Enterprise Twenty-Five Years After Alexander Schmemmann (1921–1983): The Man and His Heritage”, *St Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly*, 53, 2–3, 2009, pp. 139–63; Frøyshov S., “The Cathedral-Monastic Distinction Revisited Part I: Was Egyptian Desert Liturgy a Pure Monastic Office”, *Studia Liturgica*, 37, 2007, pp. 198-216. The same question is dealt with in Chapter 7 of Bradshaw’s book: Bradshaw P., *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship*, London: SPCK, 2009. In the present thesis, the distinction between the cathedral-rite and monastic services was maintained as a useful conceptual tool.

⁹⁸ One of them was the pilgrim Egeria, who visited the Holy Land in the late 4th century and left detailed descriptions of the liturgical celebrations. *Egeria’s Travels*, SPCK, London 1971.

⁹⁹ Jeffery P., “The Earliest Christian Chant Repertory Recovered: The Georgian Witnesses to Jerusalem Chant”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, v. 47, n° 1, 1994, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hour*, 50.

¹⁰¹ Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, 50.

concerning Cyprus, Caesarea, Alexandria and Cappadocia, which was the birthplace of St Basil the Great.

Concerning Constantinople, liturgical references at this early period are scarce. The city belonged to the ecclesiastical sphere of Antioch, and its liturgy for the most part in the 4th century was Antiochian in character. Only in the last two decades of the century did there occur changes in the ecclesiastical life of Constantinople. The elevation of its status to that of New Rome contributed to the increase of its influence in Church matters: the bishops consecrated for the Constantinopolitan see exercised an important role in the hierarchical organization of the Church, particularly after the nomination of St John Chrysostom, thanks to whom we have available data concerning the liturgy in Constantinople between the 4th and 5th centuries.

At the end of the 4th century, in Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor and Constantinople, the general lines of the liturgical system were established, though each cathedral centre had its own local variations. Matins, Vespers and the Eucharistic Liturgy made up the basis of the daily cycle. The ceremonial character of the liturgy was intended to be assigned to various ranks, including the parishioners, readers, chanters, deacons, priests and bishop, and included elements such as light, incense and processions. These liturgical particularities created their structure. In Jerusalem, on account of the processional route, liturgical services included specific moments. A very important characteristic of the cathedral centres was the linking of liturgical elements, including Biblical and non-Biblical canticles, to a particular moment of the day or event commemorated. Some elements of the liturgical sequences of the Cathedral rite which were established in this period become a part of the later Studite synthesis¹⁰³.

Amongst the essential characteristics of Vespers was the *lucernarium*, or the ceremony of lamp-lighting, which already in the 4th century was probably accompanied

¹⁰² Other sources containing data concerning Antiochian liturgy are, firstly, *The Apostolic Constitutions*, written in around 380 in Greek by a Syriac who lived on the outskirts of Antioch, and,

¹⁰³ This is also true regarding hymnography. Froyshov distinguishes two successive stages in the hymnography, fixed in the Georgian translation of the Jerusalem Hymnal, or Iadgari (about this book see pp. 35-36 of the present thesis). Replacement of the Ancient Hymnal by the New presumably took place in the first half of the 7th century. The new stage is to a large extent identical to the ancient Palestinian layer, preserved in the Studite and New-Sabaitic sources. As for the old stage, at least 5% of the hymns of the Ancient Hymnal are retained in the new: Froyshov, *The Early Development*, 143-144. Concerning the age of some of the canticles of the Ancient Hymnal, Renoux (the editor of one of the manuscripts of the Ancient Iadgari) places them in the 4th-5th centuries: Renoux A.C., ed., *Le hymnes de la resurrection. I. Hymnographie liturgique géorgienne. Introduction, traduction et annotation de textes du Sinai 18*, Paris, 2000, pp.44-49; cited in Froyshov, *The Early Development*, 166.

by the hymn Φῶς ἱλαρόν¹⁰⁴, and Psalms 140-141 (Κύριε ἐκέκραξα), whose content included that of the lighting of lamps (“as incense before Thy sight”) and “the evening sacrifice”.

Included in Matins was the penitential Psalm 50, Psalm 62, which later became part of the Hexapsalmos, Psalms 148-150, or Lauds, and the Great Doxology (Gloria in excelsis). In addition, in both services were used litanies, the first indication for which is found in the Apostolic Constitutions¹⁰⁵, related to the Antiochian liturgy.

The character of the earliest hymns, whether to Biblical or non-Biblical texts such as, for example, Φῶς ἱλαρόν, was close to that of the troparion. The troparion represents the oldest hymnological layer, and its origins are believed to be in the cathedral rather than the monastic liturgy¹⁰⁶.

The formularies of the Divine Liturgy, in various versions, amongst them the most frequently used in most of the Byzantine Empire – the Liturgies of St John Chrysostom, St Basil the Great and St James – were also in a state of evolution. To an initial, already established sequence of prayers for the Eucharistic canon, with the passing of time, were added other elements of the Divine Liturgy. In the 4th century there were already sung selected psalm verses with a refrain at various points in the liturgy. From the middle of the 4th century, in the sources there begin to appear indications for the singing of a psalm during communion, which later became the koinonikon (Psalm 33 with the appropriate verse 8, ‘Taste and see that the Lord is good’¹⁰⁷). From the beginning of the 5th century was introduced the responsorial singing of the whole psalm as a structural element of the readings in the Divine Liturgy, which later became the prokeimenon¹⁰⁸. At the beginning of the 5th century there are references to the responsorial singing of the Alleluia¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁴ McKinnon, Christian Church.

¹⁰⁵ *Apostolic Constitutions* (VIII, vi. 4, 9): Huglo M., Foley E., “Litany”, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

¹⁰⁶ Troelsgard Ch., “Troparion”, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>. Some studies were recently done, suggesting the origin of the incomplete forms of the canon, a genre which may be considered a kind of troparion (about the canon see page 41 of the present thesis) in 5th century, attributing these hymns to the Hagiopolite cathedral hymnography: Froyshov, *The Early Development*, 171; Василик В.В. *Происхождение канона: Богословие, история, поэтика*. Санкт-Петербург, 2006, глава 1;

¹⁰⁷ McKinnon, Christian Church.

¹⁰⁸ Troelsgard Ch., “Prokeimenon”, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

¹⁰⁹ Froyshov refers to the presence of the prokeimenon-psalms and alleluia-psalms as well as hymns for the Washing of Hands and for the Entrance of the Gifts, reflecting the system of the eight modes, in the Ancient pre-7th century Iadgari: Froyshov, *The Early Development*, 162.

Other moments in the Divine Liturgy, important musically, would appear slightly later, when the Constantinopolitan liturgy reached its maturity, which explains, firstly, why, in the words of Taft, “the Byzantine Divine Liturgy can be characterized as the Eucharistic service of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia”¹¹⁰, and, secondly, the fact that Constantinopolitan liturgy became properly “Byzantine”¹¹¹ only from the reign of the Emperor Justinian the Great.

Monasticism in Egypt. The mixed services of urban monasticism

In the 4th century, following the cessation of the persecution of the Church, in Egypt, the Thebaid, Mesopotamia, Syria and Cappadocia there occurred a dramatic growth in monasticism. Millions from the furthest points of the Roman Empire settled in the desert. The expansion of monasticism in Egypt took on unprecedented dimensions, clearing the way for the future development of monastic liturgy and conferring on Egypt the status of the birthplace of monasticism.

In general, liturgy in the various monastic centres formed two families – “pure” monastic liturgy, as found in the Egyptian desert, and the hybrid liturgy of urban monasticism¹¹². Both families existed for several centuries.

In the mid-4th century, St Anthony the Great and St Pachomius the Great established the basis for the development of Christian monasticism in its two variants – eremitical, or solitary, and coenobitic, or community.

The eremitical style of monasticism developed in Lower Egypt, to the South of Alexandria, in three great monastic centres – Nitria, Kellia and Scetis¹¹³. The greatest coenobitic centre, in Upper Egypt, was that founded in around the year 320 in Tabennesi in the Nile Valley by St Pachomius.

Pure monastic liturgy, whether eremitic or coenobitic, had only two sequences per day, as was the case in the contemporary cathedral rite. Neither in the cathedral nor in the monastic liturgy were regular night vigils held. The main differences between them were, firstly, the fact that monastic services were not ceremonial, but were limited to communal reflection on Holy Scripture, which occurred at the same time as manual

¹¹⁰ Taft R., *The Evolution*.

¹¹¹ Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 28.

¹¹² Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hour*, 57.

labour; secondly, the fact that there was no distinction made between private and communal prayer and, thirdly, the monastic liturgical cycle had no relation at all with any daily or festal symbolism – there were no readings or hymns chose according to such criteria, and the Psalter was used as a book for continuous reading.

At the end of the 4th century, to pure monastic and cathedral liturgy in Palestine, Mesopotamia, Syria and Cappadocia were added mixed services. Their origins lay in the constant contacts between monks who lived near urban centres with secular churches. In their celebrations they combined continuous monastic psalmody, inherited from the Egyptian tradition, with elements of the cathedral rite.

The synthesis achieved by the monks of the urban centres had an important role in the evolution of the liturgy. Already at the end of the 4th century, to the daily services were added the third, sixth and ninth hours and Compline; in Vespers and Matins, to the continuous monastic Psalter were added elements of selected Psalms and hymns, as well as some ceremonial particularities from the cathedral rite.

*“The Imperial Phase” : the Second half of the 5th century
– 6th century. Constantinople*

After the first synthesis of monastic and cathedral elements had opened the way for the future development of the liturgy, in terms of the content as well as the structure of the services, there began the active development of psalmody and hymnography, with the gradual selecting of its elements with a view to unifying the structure of the services.

The centre of the domination of the cathedral rite began to be Constantinople. In the year 537 was built the Cathedral of the Holy Wisdom (Great Church-of Hagia Sophia), which directly influenced the structure of the liturgy. Its building represented a change in the understanding of the ritual act and its symbolisms. While hitherto the principal function of the church was limited to that of a meeting place for the processions, Hagia Sophia began to be associated with the House of God and the symbolism of the sacraments held within.

¹¹³ Of these three, most information has survived relating to the centre at Scetis, thanks to a detailed description of monastic customs made by St John Cassian, who came from Egypt to Romania in the second half of the 4th century: Taft, *The Liturgy of s the Hours*, 58.

From the first celebrations in Hagia Sophia, Byzantine liturgical processions were imperial in character. The entrances and exits of the Patriarch, Emperor, clerics and people taking part in the processions played an essential role. A direct consequence of the processional character of the services was the introduction of antiphons, including those at the beginning of the Divine Liturgy, as well as the hymns intended for the small and great entrances. It was thus that the Trisagion was introduced into the Liturgy in 630s¹¹⁴, Ὁ Μονογενῆς Υἱός¹¹⁵ in the 6th century by the Emperor Justin II, the Cherubic Hymn¹¹⁶ in 511 and the Creed¹¹⁷. In genres based on psalmody, the prokeimenon, the alleluia and the koinonikon, between the 5th and 6th centuries the responsorial singing of the whole psalm was reduced to selected verses, which were interspersed with refrains. It is supposed that this occurred as a consequence of the development of a more complex musical style in the cathedrals, as well as being a result of the replacement of congregational singing with a professional choir.¹¹⁸

One of the most representative genres of the time of the first flourishing of Byzantine hymnography was the kontakion. This genre, in its initial phase, underwent considerable influence from Syriac poetry, especially that of St Ephrem the Syriac (306-373). The earliest information concerning the kontakion comes from the 6th century. In its complete form, the initial prooimion or koukoulion was followed by between 18 and 30 oikoi, which differed from the prooimion in their metrical structure¹¹⁹, and were added according to an acrostic: the connection between the oikoi and the prooimion was made by means of a common refrain¹²⁰. Early noted kontakion manuscripts do not survive, but the dimensions and the structure of the kontakion lead to the supposition that the melos must have been syllabic¹²¹, which matches its function of instructing the laity at popular cathedral vigils¹²². At the end of each structural unit of the kontakion,

¹¹⁴ According to K. Levy e McKinnon, no later than the year 451: K. Levy, McKinnon, "Trisagion", *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>; according to Taft, in 438-439: Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 29.

¹¹⁵ Specifically, in 535-536: Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 29.

¹¹⁶ Conomos D., "Cheroubikon", *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>; according to Taft, in 573-574: Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 29.

¹¹⁷ Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 28.

¹¹⁸ Troelsgard, Prokeimenon

¹¹⁹ Thodberg Chr., "Kontakion", *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

¹²⁰ Lingas, *Sunday Matins*, 55.

¹²¹ Lingas A., "Византийская Империя. Церковное пение", *Православная энциклопедия*, v. 8, Moscow, 2004, p. 352; Thodberg, Kontakion.

¹²² Grosdidier de Matons J., *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse a Byzance*, Paris, 1977, p. 104; quoted in Lingas, *Sunday Matins*, 56.

performed by a soloist, the refrain, commenting on the kontakion's main theme, was sung by all¹²³.

The annual moveable cycle during the Studite period included a number of old kontakia, which may have been written already in the 5th century¹²⁴; however, one of the most notable authors of kontakia was St Romanos the Melode, probably Palestinian, and who lived in Palestine during the reign of the Emperor Anastasios (491-518) and then, from the 5th century, in Constantinople.

Of his many kontakia, 42 were written for the Triodion period; Studite and later usage retained only 11 of them¹²⁵. The themes of St Romanos's kontakia show that, by the end of the 5th century, commemorations of the Triodion had already been established that came to form part of Studite and later sources. With regard to Holy Week¹²⁶, in St Romanos's kontakia are mentioned the commemorations of Holy Monday (St Joseph), Holy Tuesday (the Ten Wise Virgins), Holy Wednesday (the Penitent Woman), Holy Friday (the Passion of Christ) and Easter (the Resurrection)¹²⁷. For the periods of Great Lent and Pentecost he wrote kontakia on the Last Judgement, the Prodigal Son¹²⁸, the Cross¹²⁹, Repentance¹³⁰, the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, St Thomas, the Ascension and Pentecost. Two of these commemorations – the Last Judgment¹³¹ and St Thomas – are probably of Constantinopolitan origin. The others display principally Palestinian characteristics¹³².

¹²³ Thodberg, Kontakion.

¹²⁴ For example, that in the eighth tone, “μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων”, placed in Studite sources on Meatfare Saturday, and whose acrostic is the name Anastasios: this kontakion served as a model for Romanos the Melode: Pitra J.B. *Analecta Sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, v.I-IV, Paris, Tusculi, Venetiis, 1876-1884, v.I, pp. 242-249; Tripanis C.A., *Fourteen early Byzantine Cantica*, Wiener Byzantinische Studien, band V, Wien, 1968, pp. 51-64; quoted in Momina, *Triodion*, *52.

¹²⁵ Momina, *Triodion*, *53.

¹²⁶ On the origins of particular elements in the celebration of Holy Week, see Part Four of this present thesis.

¹²⁷ The commemoration for Holy Thursday, marked by a kontakion of St Romanos, does not appear in Studite sources.

¹²⁸ This commemoration is present in the Constantinopolitan Gospel readings as well as those from Jerusalem, but corresponds to different Sundays during Lent; the Jerusalem tradition that places this commemoration on the Second Sunday is older than the Constantinopolitan, which prescribes the reading of the Prodigal Son for the week preparatory to Lent.

¹²⁹ The commemoration was established in memory of the translation of part of the Holy Cross from Ampea in the second half of the 6th century: Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, *Ιεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, τ.Π. Ἐν Πετροπόλει 1894, p. 483; quoted in: Momina, *Triodion*, *31; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 33.

¹³⁰ «Ψυχή μου», tone .6; in Studite and later Triodia this appears in the Great Canon of St Andrew of Crete on Thursday of the Fifth Week of Lent; Momina, *Triodion*, *54.

¹³¹ Momina, *Triodion*, *23.

¹³² The commemoration of St Joseph is mentioned in the Typikon of the Cathedral of the Resurrection in Jerusalem in a copy dating from 1122 (Jerusalem, Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Hagios Stauros MS43, edited in Αθανάσιος Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, *Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἐκκλησίας* [Typikon of the church in Jerusalem; in Greek], in *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*

Jerusalem

The Jerusalem cathedral tradition continued to develop in parallel with that of Constantinople. As regards the increase in commemorations in the Triodion cycle, the Church of Jerusalem still occupied the dominant position.

As well as the kontakia of St Romanos, this fact is borne out by other sources that reflect the use of Jerusalem: this are chiefly sources containing the readings or indications of the readings from the Old and New Testaments, accompanied various hymns or their incipits. These sources include the Prophetologion¹³³, Psalter, Gospel and Epistle, books called by the collective name of Lectionary.

Early lectionaries in the Jerusalem tradition¹³⁴, as well as those from pre-
iconoclastic Constantinople¹³⁵, included both Old Testament and New Testament

[Collections of gleanings from Jerusalem; in Greek], St. Petersburg, 1894; reprint, Brussels 1963): Дмитриевский, *Богослужение страстной*, 35; quoted in Momina, *Triodion*, *16; two other commemorations are associated with Monday – the Sermon on the Mount, which appeared in the Triodion in the Iadgari (*Древнейший Иадгари*, 2-е изд., подгот. текста Метревели Е.П., Чанкиевой Ц.А., Хевсуриани Л.М., Tbilisi, 1980, pp. 177-178) and the fig tree in later Constantinopolitan sources, mentioned in the Jerusalem Typikon of 1122: Дмитриевский, *Богослужение* 41, quoted in Momina, *Triodion*, *16. For Holy Thursday in the Jerusalem Kanonarium there is indicated the continuation of the commemoration of the Sermon on the Mount: Кекелидзе К.С., *Иерусалимский Канонарь (Грузинская версия) VII в.*, Tbilisi, 1912, p. 73, quoted in Momina, *Triodion*, *17; the same commemoration is mentioned in the Iadgari: *Древнейший Иадгари*, 180-182; quoted in Momina, *Triodion*, *17.

¹³³ The books containing the readings from the Old Testament (Paremia).

¹³⁴ Pentkovsky mentions the following sources of the Jerusalem tradition: the complete Lectionary from the 7th-8th centuries with readings from the Old and New Testaments exists in Georgian: Tarchnischvili M. *Le grande lectionnaire*; Кекелидзе К. С. *Иерусалимский канонарь*; the Georgian Tetraevangelion from the year 979, Sin. georg. 30, 38, corresponds to the Jerusalem system of readings; indications for readings in accordance with the lectionary system of Jerusalem are found in Arabic Tetraevangelia of the 9th-10th centuries: Garitte G., “Un index georgien des lectures evangeliques selon l'ancien rite de Jerusalem”, *Museon* 85, n° 3-4, 1972, pp. 337-398; Garitte G., “Les rubriques liturgiques de quelques anciens tetraevangelies arabes du Sinai”, *Melanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. Dom Bernard Botte O.S.B.*, Louvain, 1972, pp. 151-166; two Greek Lectionaries are based on the Jerusalem system – the uncial Greek Lectionary of the mid-9th century, Sin. gr. 210: Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 25-26, and the 10th century Greek-Arabic Lectionary Sin. ar. 116: Garitte G., “Un evangeliaire grec-arabe du X siècle (cod. Sin. ar. 116)”, *Studia codicologica*, (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur, 124), Berlin, 1977, pp. 207-225; Sin. georg. 30, 38; Пентковский, Константинопольский. The supplementary Lectionary section is included in some Georgian Hagiopolite Euchologia, or Prayer Books, used by the principal liturgical ministers such as bishop, priest or deacon. About these books see Outtier B., “Un témoin partiel du lectionnaire géorgien ancien (Sinai géorgien 54)”, *Bedi kartlisa*, 39, 1981, pp. 76-88; Outtier B., “Un nouveau témoin partiel du lectionnaire géorgien ancien (Sinai géorgien 12)”, *Bedi kartlisa*, 41, 1983, pp. 162-74; Gehin P. and Froyshov S., “Nouvelles découvertes sinaitiques: à propos de la parution de l'inventaire des manuscrits grecs”, *Revue des études byzantines*, 58, 2000, pp. 167-184; cited in Froyshov, *The Early Development*, 142. Some Liturgical Manuals, such as Sinai Georgian 47 and Sinai Georgian 53, also contain the Lectionary sections: Froyshov, *The Early Development*, 143.

¹³⁵ There are very few of these sources: Pentkovsky mentions archaic Prophetologia and Homiliaria with patristic commentaries on the Gospel readings and the kontakia of St Romanos the Melode, considered as sermons in poetic form: Hoeg C., Zuntz G., “Remarks on the Prophetologion”, *Quantulacumque. Studies presented to Kirsopp Lake by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends*, ed. by Casey R.P., Lake S. and Lake A.K., London, 1937, p. 221; Ehrhard A. *Überlieferung und Bestand der*

readings. Both traditions in the early state were characterized by a similar system of distribution of the readings during Lent, a system that prescribed readings from the Gospel of St Luke. However, the Jerusalem system had its own particular characteristics, including some which arose on account of the differences between the calendars of the two traditions¹³⁶.

The version of the Lectionary which at present seems to be the oldest as regards the Cathedral rite in Jerusalem has survived in two later copies, in Armenian, dating from between 417 and 439. The translation into Armenian was made after Cathedral-style services began to be celebrated in Armenia. The book contains the Biblical readings for the entire year, as well as incipits for the prokeimena and alleluia, including those of the Triodion, which is the earliest example of the written fixing of these genres in the history of Christianity¹³⁷. Some Lectionaries which reflected the Jerusalem system of Gospel readings, dating from before the written fixing of the tradition, have survived in Greek¹³⁸, Georgian¹³⁹, Syriac and Arab¹⁴⁰ copies written between the 7th and 9th centuries. The distribution in these manuscripts of the Sunday readings of the Gospel during Lent had a direct influence on hymnography: not only the kontakia of St Romanos, but the anonymous hymns contained in Georgian copies of the Lectionary and the Kanonarium, or in an early chant book containing the variable texts for Vespers, Matins and the Divine Liturgy – the Tropologion.

hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts. T. I. Die Überlieferung. B. II. S. Leipzig, 1938. pp. 65–91, pp. 109–112, pp. 134–186; Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Melode*, 74–93; Arranz M., «Romanos le Melode», *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, T. XIII. Fasc. 89–90. Col. 898–908, Paris, 1988; Sin. georg. 30, 38: Пентковский, Константинопольский.

¹³⁶ Пентковский, Константинопольский.

¹³⁷ Renoux A.C., ed., *Le Codex arménien Jerusalem 121*, 2 vols., *Patrologia Orientalis* 35/1, 36/2, Turnhout, 1969–71; Baldovin J.F., “A Lenten Sunday Lectionary in Fourth Century Jerusalem”, *Time and Community: In Honor of Thomas Julian Talley, Studies in Church Music and Liturgy*, Washington, D.C., 1990, pp. 115–22; Sin. georg. 30, 38: Jeffery, *Early Chant*, 9–10.

¹³⁸ For example, the Greek Lectionary from the mid-9th century, Sin. gr. 210: Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 25–26; Momina *Triodion* *10; Скабалланович М., *Толковый Типикон*, 36; Пентковский, *Лекционарии и четвероевангелия*, 10; Пентковский, Константинопольский.

¹³⁹ Tarchnischvili, *Le grande lectionnaire*; Momina, *Triodion*, *9; Пентковский, Константинопольский; Jeffery, *Early Chant*, 10–13. Кекелидзе, *Иерусалимский канонарь*: Momina, *Triodion*, *9; Пентковский, Константинопольский и иерусалимский богослужебные уставы; The Georgian Tetraevangelion from the year 979, Sin. georg. 30, 38, corresponds to the Jerusalem system of readings: Пентковский, Константинопольский и иерусалимский богослужебные уставы.

¹⁴⁰ Скабалланович, *Толковый Типикон*, в. III, 37; cit. por Momina, *Triodion*, *9. 10th century Greek-Arabic Lectionary Sin. ar. 116: Garitte, *Un evangeliare grec-arabe*, 207–225; Sin. georg. 30, 38: Пентковский, Константинопольский. Arabic Tetraevangelia from the 9th–10th centuries: Garitte, *Un index georgien*, 337–398; Garitte, *Les rubriques liturgiques*, 151–166; quoted in Пентковский, Константинопольский.

The Tropologion is the oldest kind of un-noted chant book, containing hymns whose number varies considerably from copy to copy. The hymns belong to various genres, written either completely or as incipits¹⁴¹. Some fragments of old Tropologia survived in papyrus copies, preserving a repertoire dating from the 6th and 7th centuries¹⁴². This book also survived in the Georgian tradition, with the name Iadgari, of which two copies survive. The first copy¹⁴³ probably reflects the practice of the 5th – 7th centuries¹⁴⁴; the second represents a later tradition. The oldest copy of the Iadgari¹⁴⁵ contains the hymns for the Triodion cycle, including the triodion¹⁴⁶ for Holy Monday, commemorating the Sermon on the Mount¹⁴⁷, the triodion for the same commemoration on Holy Tuesday¹⁴⁸, the triodion for Holy Tuesday on the Ten Virgins and the Parable of the Talents¹⁴⁹ and the triodion for Holy Wednesday, on the Penitent Woman¹⁵⁰. In all, the oldest copy of the Iadgari contains 129 hymns from the Triodion, of which 73

¹⁴¹ Levy K., Conomos D., “Liturgy and liturgical books. Byzantine rite”, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

¹⁴² P.Vindob.G 19.934 (6 or 6-7th cent.): Treu K., Diethart J., *Griechische Literarische Papyri christlichen Inhaltes II* (Textband und Tafelband), Vienna 1993 = Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer), Neue Serie, XVII Folge. P.Berol.21319 (6th-7th cent.): P. Sarischouli (ed.), *Berliner griechische Papyri, Christliche literarische Texte und Urkunden aus dem 3. bis 8. Jh.n.Chr.*, = *Serta Graeca* 3, Wiesbaden 1995.

P.Vindob.G 41.261 (6th-7th cent.): published as no. 44 by Diethart-Treu, *Griechische Literarische Papyri*. P.Amherst I.9 (7th-8th cent.): Grenfell B.P. and Hunt A.S. (edd.), *The Amherst Papyri, Being an Account of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney, Vol. 1, The Ascension of Isaiah and Other Theological Fragments Nos. 1—9*, London 1900. P.Ryl.466 (7th-8th cent.): C.H. Roberts (ed.), *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Ryland's Library, Manchester, Vol. III. Theological and Literary Texts (Nos. 457-551)*, Manchester 1938, quoted in Troelsgard Chr., *A New Source for the Early Octoechos? Papyrus Vindobonensis G 19.934 and its musical implications*, forthcoming.

¹⁴³ Megreveli E., Cankievi C., Xevsuriani L, eds., *Ujvelesi iadgari [The oldest Iadgari; in Georgian]*, Jveli kartuli mcerlobis jeglebi 2, Tbilisi 1980.

¹⁴⁴ In the opinion of Jeffery, 6th-7th centuries: Jeffery, *The earliest Oktoeχοι*, 201; some studies place the date as 5th century: Wase A., *The Oldest Iadgari: The Jerusalem Tropologion, V-VIII c.*, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, v.50, 1984, pp. 451-456; quoted in Василик В.В., “Новые материалы по истории канона и палестинской гимнографии”, *Традиции и наследие Христианского Востока*, Moscow, 1996, pp. 181-182.

¹⁴⁵ See the footnote 103 of the present thesis.

¹⁴⁶ A variety of canon.

¹⁴⁷ *Древнейший Иадгари*, 177-178; the commemoration of St Joseph on this day is mentioned in the Jerusalem Typikon of 1122: Дмитриевский, *Богослужение*, 35; quoted in Momina, *Triodion*, *16; the third commemoration of Holy Monday, of the fig tree, is indicated in the Jerusalem Typikon of 1122: Дмитриевский, *Богослужение*, 41; quoted in Momina, *Triodion*, *16.

¹⁴⁸ *Древнейший Иадгари*, 180-182; the same commemoration is found in the Jerusalem Kanonarium: Кекелидзе, *Иерусалимский канонарь*, 73; quoted in Momina, *Triodion*, *17.

¹⁴⁹ *Древнейший Иадгари*, 183; the same commemoration is mentioned in the Jerusalem Typikon of 1122: Дмитриевский, *Богослужение*, 63; quoted in Momina, *Triodion*, *17.

¹⁵⁰ *Древнейший Иадгари*, 183-184; the same commemoration is found in the Jerusalem Kanonarium: Кекелидзе, *Иерусалимский канонарь*, 73; quoted in Momina, *Triodion*, *17.

later entered into Studite and neo-Sabaitic sources¹⁵¹; 22 of these later are from Holy Friday¹⁵².

The order of readings typical for Jerusalem at this period is also reflected in the hymnography in the majority of Russian copies of the sources corresponding to the Triodion cycle, including Sin 319 and Voskr 27.

At the same time in Constantinople another system of Lenten Gospel readings was assimilated, later to be replaced by the Jerusalem system and did not appear in the hymnography of the Studite sources.

The “Dark Ages”

The third phase – the “Dark Ages”, covers the period from the year 610 until approximately the middle of the 9th century. It began with a wave of battles which led to the separation of Byzantium from Syria, Palestine, Egypt and North Africa. In addition to the wars, Constantinople suffered great losses through natural disasters and epidemics. Also difficult was the situation of the Orthodox patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, exhausted by the struggle against monophysism. However, the worst of these events was the iconoclast controversy, between 726 and 843.

All these phenomena certainly influenced the development of liturgy, but this influence was quantitative rather than qualitative. The liturgy of the 7th and 8th centuries continued to develop along the lines established between the 4th and 6th centuries. At the end of the 7th century – beginning of the 8th century, Matins, Vespers and Divine Liturgy as celebrated in the Great Church in Constantinople had practically reached their fully-developed form¹⁵³. As far as hymnography is concerned, comparison of the second and third periods reveals a process both of composition of new hymns and revision of those already extant. Continuity of development also characterizes the genres preferred: in both periods there existed refrain structures, preferred in cathedral rite celebrations, as well as genres such as the through-composed troparia, whose origins and initial usage are not yet entirely clear, and which were the result of the continual modification of the monastic-cathedral synthesis. The commemorations within the Triodion cycle at this period were still being both added to and selected;

¹⁵¹ *Древнейший Иадгари*, 646-650, 14; quoted in Momina, *Triodion*, *50..

¹⁵² *Древнейший Иадгари*, 186, 191-205; quoted in Momina, *Triodion*, *50.

¹⁵³ Taft, *The Evolution*.

however, the organization of these commemorations, based on Lectionaries, did not in general change in Constantinople or Jerusalem until the period of the Studite reforms.

A more important factor, which prompts considering the 7th – 8th centuries as a separate period, is the fact that the main processes that characterized the liturgical system at this time reached their maturity and formed a basis for the future Studite reforms. This process was influenced by the turbulently violent disturbances experienced by the Byzantine Empire, which gave rise to the development of many aspects of Byzantine liturgy.

The monastic tradition of Jerusalem. The Lavra of St Sabas the Sanctified

In 614 Jerusalem and its Christian population suffered enormously as a result of the invasion and sack of the city by the Persian troops of Khosroï. From this point the processional cathedral liturgy of Jerusalem began little by little to lose its grandeur and give way to the Greek-speaking monasteries of Palestine.

The Palestinian monastic tradition was flourishing, a fact that became especially apparent after Palestine recovered from the Persian invasion. A group of Palestinian monasteries continued to develop a synthesis of cathedral and monastic liturgy, enriching it with further hymnography.

A detailed description of the monastic liturgical celebrations of the end of the 6th century – beginning of the 7th century is found in the report of the visit of the Palestinian hegoumen John¹⁵⁴ and Sophronios, later Patriarch of Jerusalem¹⁵⁵, to the anchorite hegoumen Nilus of Sinai¹⁵⁶. The general shape of the nocturnal agrypnia celebrated on Saturdays, in which visitors took part, is practically identical to that of Matins of the Studite tradition, and as a consequence manifest clear signs of synthesis. The service included the Six Psalms, followed by the entire Psalter (all 150 psalms), divided into three sections, each one of which was followed by the Our Father, Κύριε ἐλέησον 50 times and lessons. After the readings from the Psalter there were nine Biblical canticles, with the Our Father and Κύριε ἐλέησον after the third and sixth odes. To this sequence were added elements of Cathedral Matins: Psalms 148-150 (Lauds), the

¹⁵⁴ Died 619 or 634; ODB, s.v. «Moschos, John.,» p.1415: Lingas, *Sunday Matins*, 134.

¹⁵⁵ Died 638; Arranz, *Les grandes étapes*, 48; Lingas, *Sunday Matins*, 134.

¹⁵⁶ Longo A., *Il testointegrale della Narazione degli abati Giovanni e Sofronio attraverso le Hermêneiai di Nikon*, *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* n° 12-13, 1965-1966, pp. 223-267.

Gloria in excelsis, Creed, Our Father, Κύριε ἐλέησον 300 times and the final prayers¹⁵⁷.

Vespers, discussed in the same document, are also extremely close to Studite Vespers, with the exception of Psalm 103, hymns and some prayers. Vespers were made up of the Doxology (*Gloria Patri*), Psalm 1 (Μακάριος ὁ ἀνὴρ), Psalm 140 (Κύριε ἐκέκραξα / Lord I call upon Thee) without troparia, Φῶς ἱλαρόν (Hail gladdening light), Καταξίωσον (Vouchsafe o Lord), Κύριε ἐλέησον, *Nunc dimittis* and the rest.

The same document mentions the discussion which occurred following Nilus's description of this Palestinian celebration. His opponents, hegoumens John and Sophronios, point out the absence in this service of elements that were already part of the hybrid monastic rite: the refrains or troparia on Lord I call upon Thee at Vespers, the responsorial chanting of Θεὸς Κύριος (God is the Lord), the Sunday kathismata, refrains for the Biblical canticles, the responsorial chanting of the πασα πνοί before the treading of the Gospel and the troparia after the *Gloria in excelsis* at Matins.

St Nilus brings a number of arguments against the inclusion of the new hymnography, amongst which is the question of the lack in the monastery of an appropriate clerus, organized into priests, deacons, readers and chanters, which would be necessary for the singing of these hymns¹⁵⁸, as well as the fact that this hymnography would not provide an adequate means of prayer for the monks. However, at the beginning of the 7th century non-Biblical hymnography had already developed considerably, enough for it to be incorporated into the liturgy of various local centres as a canonical element.

A period of active development in non-Biblical hymnography began within the context of the growth of Palestinian monastic centres. Already in the Jerusalem Kanonarion the hymnographical genres that had developed in the monastic tradition are fixed: genres such as the troparia (stichera) on the Praises, on Lord I call upon Thee and the aposticha¹⁵⁹. The future growth of hymnography would take place closely connected with the evolution of liturgical systems.

A fundamental role in the development of the Byzantine liturgical and hymnographical synthesis was played by the Lavra of St Sabas the Sanctified (439-

¹⁵⁷ Taft, *Liturgy of Hours*, p.274, pp. 198-199.

¹⁵⁸ Lingas, *Sunday Matins*, 136-137.

532). It was founded in 478 and so corresponds to the earlier period of Byzantine liturgy, but the importance of what took place there was determinant both for the liturgy of the time discussed here and for the whole of the later history of Eastern Christian liturgy. The Lavra was situated on the outskirts of Bethlehem, and was a multinational centre of asceticism from the very beginning, organized on the model of the monasteries of Lower Egypt of the 4th century. The monks of the Lavra prayed in solitude during the week, coming together on Sundays and great feasts for agrypnia and the Eucharist. Already in the 5th century, the Lavra had become an important link in the mutual influence of the Jerusalem cathedral and the Palestinian monastic traditions.

In 614, following the invasion of Jerusalem by the Persians, the Lavra was also attacked. Shortly afterwards, however, monastic life was re-established, and at the Lavra there began a magnificent flourishing of creativity in sacred art, marked particularly by the activity of a circle of hymnographers of the Palestinian school – St Andrew of Crete (720), St John of Damascus (749), St Kosmas, Bishop of Maiouma (787) and probably many others whose names have remained unknown.

The achievements of the monastic school of Saint Saba regarding the evolution of hymnographic genres.

A series of achievements is attributed to this school, amongst them, in first place, the development of hymnographical genres: as a result of the abundant growth of hymnography during the 6th – 8th centuries probably the greater part of the repertory for the main feasts of the fixed and moveable annual cycles was created, which would later be included in the Studite synthesis and its liturgical books. The genres in which the Sabaitic hymnographers worked in general had their origins in the troparion – troparia themselves, stichera, kathismata, exaposteilaria¹⁶⁰ and canons.

The hymnographical heritage of the Sabaitic school was significantly different from the earlier non-Biblical psalmody and poetry of the urban tradition both in structure and in content¹⁶¹.

¹⁵⁹ Кекелидзе, *Иерусалимский канонарь*, 324-335; quoted in Momina, *Triodion*, *50.

¹⁶⁰ Troelsgard Chr., “An Early Constantinopolitan Sticherarion - MS Leukosia, Archbishopric of Cyprus, Mousikos 39, and its notated Exaposteilaria Ansatasima”, *Paleobyzantine Notations II*, 29, pp. 159-72, 1999.

¹⁶¹ Lingas, *Sunday Matins*, 138.

As far as content is concerned, the new hymnography may be considered a kind of homily, or theological interpretation in poetic form. From the point of view of the language of the hymns by the new hymnographers, “the Sabaites generally eschewed the vivid naturalism found in the kontakia of Romanos, preferring instead a relatively formal linguistic idiom laced with the Christological terminology established by the Ecumenical Councils”¹⁶².

As regards structure, monastic hymns, used in urban monastic centres in Palestine, Cappadocia and Antioch, were characterized by a preference for strophic structures rather than melodic refrains¹⁶³ which characterized the *asmatike akolouthia* of the cathedral rite.

In comparison with the extant troparia, the new troparia tended towards structural complexity and functional differentiation, which resulted in the creation of new generic groups. Each group was linked to a particular position in the liturgical sequence, usually in Vespers or Matins. Thus, to the *kathismata*, or sessional hymns, was attributed the function of the hymns which separated the continuous reading of the Psalter at Matins; troparia were introduced into the final section of Vespers (the *apolytikion*) and after God is the Lord at Matins. *Stichera*, which also arose from the troparion, began to take their place in Vespers and Matins between Psalm verses, for example, Psalms 148-150, the Lauds Psalms of Matins.

Other varieties of the troparion genre appeared in the liturgy as a result of the multi-structural development of the canon, one of the largest and most structurally complex Studite genres, occurs at Matins, between Psalm 50 and Lauds. Its structure is composed, in its complete form, of nine sections, called odes. The first troparion of each ode, from the 7th century onwards, came to be called *heirmos*¹⁶⁴; it is followed by three or four troparia, though in some cases, such as the Great Canon of St Andrew of Crete, there can be several dozen of them. The incomplete forms of the canon include the *diodia*, the *triodia* (its name gave rise to that of the annual *Triodion* and *Pentekostarion*), and *tetraodia* for Lent, Holy Week and the period between Pascha and Pentecost. A very old stratum of the incomplete canon, as has been mentioned above¹⁶⁵, is found in the

¹⁶² Lingas, *Sunday Matins*, 142; Meyendorff J., *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trend and Doctrinal Themes*, New York, 1979, pp. 122-123; Grosdidier de Matons J., “Liturgie et Hymnographie: Kontakion et Canon”, *DOP*, 34/35, 1980-1981, pp. 36-37, 41-43; quoted in Lingas, 1980, *Sunday Matins*, 142.

¹⁶³ Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, 54; Lingas, *Sunday Matins*, 139.

¹⁶⁴ Velimirovic M., “Kanon”, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

¹⁶⁵ See the footnote 106 of the present thesis.

Iadgari¹⁶⁶; fragments of canons are also found in other copies of the Tropologion¹⁶⁷. Following the development of the Byzantine rite, this type of canon continued to be the centre of attention. The triodia found in the books of the Studite and neo-Sabaitic period come, for the most part, from the Studite school of hymnography and appear in the services for all the weekdays of the Fast; however, the process of the use of triodia for all the days of the week during Lent began already in the period under discussion, of the flourishing of Palestinian hymnography.

The development of the Triodion cycle: commemorations

The Palestinian school influenced the formation of the yearly moveable cycle by means of the development of the system of commemorations and the creation of a vast number of hymns relating to them; however, in neither case can one speak of the exclusivity of monastic tradition.

In Palestine there developed the oldest commemoration for the days before Lent, which, in Studite sources, as well as in later sources, were organized into four weeks: the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee, the Sunday of the Prodigal Son, Saturday and Sunday of Meatfare and Cheesefare Week.

The first two Sundays became established in Constantinople; though the Sunday of Meatfare is found in at least one source from Jerusalem – the Kanonarion from the 7th century¹⁶⁸ – the Gospel reading mentioned in this source does not correspond to the commemoration of the Last Judgement which appeared in Constantinople and found its way into Studite sources. However, the week closest to the beginning of Lent, that of Cheesefare, was established in the 7th century in Jerusalem. The origin of this week had to do with the arguments, which continued for several centuries, concerning the length of the Lenten fast¹⁶⁹. The commemoration of the Sunday before Lent has the Gospel reading concerning forgiveness and fasting, and in the hymnography the expulsion of

¹⁶⁶ Some authors, such as Froyshov and Vaslik, suggest the fact that the incomplete forms of the canon were the oldest. See Василий В.В. *Происхождение канона: Богословие, история, поэтика*. Санкт-Петербург, 2006; Froyshov suggests that the extension of the incomplete forms of the canon to nine odes took place in the 6th century: Froyshov, *The Early Development*, 167.

¹⁶⁷ Troelsgard Chr., *A New Source for the Early Octoechos? Papyrus Vindobonensis G 19.934 and its musical implications*; forthcoming.

¹⁶⁸ Кекелидзе, *Иерусалимский Канонарь*, 56; Момина, *Triodion*, *23.

¹⁶⁹ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 16-22.

Adam from Paradise is recalled. With these week, in accordance with the majority of the Jerusalem sources until the Studite reforms, the preparatory period ends¹⁷⁰.

The Constantinopolitan tradition of the same period fixed the commemoration accompanying the Great Canon of St Andrew of Crete on the Thursday of the 5th Week of Lent (the earthquake which occurred in 790 in Constantinople or in 526 in Antioch)¹⁷¹, and the commemoration of the Akathistos to the Mother of God on the Saturday of the 5th week of Lent (the war with the Persians in 626, and with the Arabs in 672-678 e 716)¹⁷².

The development of the Triodion cycle: Palestinian hymnography

Amongst the authors of the hymns included in the Studite Triodia, no fewer than 10 represented the Palestinian school. At least three of these, of Melkite-Syriac origin¹⁷³, St Andrew of Crete, St John of Damascus and St Kosmas of Maiouma, wrote the greater part of these hymns.

St Andrew of Crete (c. 660-740)¹⁷⁴, being a monk of the Cathedral of the Holy Resurrection in Jerusalem and, later, Bishop of Crete, was certainly one of the most famous of the early authors who worked on the composition of canons. He wrote triodia, tetraodia and complete canons for the Tessaracost, Holy Week and the period of Pentecost. His canons have some particular characteristics: his irmoi are extremely close to the texts of the Biblical canticles, and include quotations; the number of odes in the complete canons is in most cases nine rather than eight; some odes are doubled; the distribution of troparia in the odes is assymetrical; each ode, in general, is made up of many troparia, and they did not make use of acrostics. His canons cover the period from Cheesefare Week, Thursday of the Fifth Week (the Great Canon), Saturday of St Lazarus, all the days of Holy Week, Pascha, Anti-Pascha, the Sunday of the Myrrhbearers¹⁷⁵ (the canon) and Wednesday of Mid-Pentecost. The commemorations

¹⁷⁰ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 22.

¹⁷¹ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 35; Momina, *Triodion*, *31.

¹⁷² Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 35-50; Momina, *Triodion*, *31.

¹⁷³ Jeffery, *The earliest Oktoechoi*, 179.

¹⁷⁴ See bibliograohy in Momina, *Triodion*, *54.

¹⁷⁵ In the system of Gospel readings in Jerusalem during the period of the Pentekostarion there was no special reading for the Myrrhbearing Women; data on the early Constantinopolitan system are too scarce to allow certainty with regard to the existence of this reading in the 7th – 8th centuries; in the late Constantinopolitan system the commemoration does appear. The Tone 2 Canon of St Andrew of Crete, with the first troparion “Ἐσταυρωθῆς σαρκί” came into Studite and neo-Sabaitic sources in the week of the Myrrhbearers. However, it is improbable that it was written by St Andrew for the commemoration of

reflected in his canons, complete and incomplete, clearly show the Jerusalem system of Gospel readings. In Slavic sources of the Studite period not all these canons appear; the authorship of some of them is only attributed to St Andrew¹⁷⁶. In addition to the canons, St Andrew of Crete was also the author of a number of stichera.

At the same time as St Andrew of Crete, for the same days in the Triodion cycle were being written canons, triodia and tetraodia by two other famous Palestinian hymnographers who were monks at the Lavra of St Sabas – St John of Damascus (675-749 or 753/754)¹⁷⁷ and St Kosmas of Maiouma (c. 675- c.752)¹⁷⁸. Many hymns by St Andrew of Crete were replaced by the work of these authors. Amongst the commemorations covered by St John of Damascus are those for Cheesefare Saturday, the First Saturday of Lent, St Theodore the Martyr, Lazarus Saturday, Palm Sunday, all the days of Holy Week (stichera), Pascha, Anti-Pascha, Ascension and Pentecost Sunday; thus, in his work too the Jerusalem cycle is in evidence.

The same may be seen in the stichera and complete and incomplete canons by St Kosmas of Maiouma; most of his are for Lazarus Saturday, Palm Sunday, Holy Week and Pentecost. In terms of content, the hymns of Sts John of Damascus and Kosmas of Maiouma are mutually complementary, and it is possible that their work was so planned¹⁷⁹.

Other Palestinian hymnographers who left material for the Triodion cycle include Andrew of Pyrgos¹⁸⁰, who wrote many stichera *idiomela* for Lent, Patriarch Ilias and Stephanos the Sabaite¹⁸¹.

the Myrrhbearers: the troparia of the canon from 7 to 17, in the Russian copy Voskr 27 (ff.87-96) for each ode (11 troparia for most odes), are dedicated to the theme of the Sermon on the Mount, the Passion and Resurrection of Christ; nevertheless, to the Myrrhbearers who witnessed the Resurrection are dedicated 1-2 troparia (though none in the 8th ode). On the other hand, though in smaller quantities, these troparia exist, just as in another canon by St Andrew, for Mid-Pentecost in the 8th tone, “Εθνη κροτησατε” there are troparia dedicated to Mid-Pentecost, troparia on the Samaritan Woman and the Water of Life, combined with troparia on the Paralytic (in the Jerusalem system of readings, Mid-Pentecost coincided with Wednesday after the week of the Samaritan Woman, while in the late Constantinopolitan system, and, perhaps, in that before the reform, after the week of the Paralytic.

¹⁷⁶ Momina, *Triodion*, *56-57.

¹⁷⁷ See bibliography in Momina, *Triodion*, *57.

¹⁷⁸ See bibliography in Momina, *Triodion*, *59.

¹⁷⁹ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 114, Momina, *Triodion*, *60.

¹⁸⁰ Much is unclear as regards this hymnographer, beginning with the graphic form of his name and ending with the question of whether he belonged to the Constantinopolitan or Jerusalem school; however, the thematic material of the works associated with him reflects the Jerusalem cycle of commemorations: Momina, *Triodion*, *61.

¹⁸¹ Momina, *Triodion*, *63.

The development of the Octoechos system

As well as the contribution of the hymnographers of the monastery of St Sabas to the development of two yearly cycles, the Triodion and the Menaion¹⁸², the school of hymnographers of this monastery also had a vital role in the development of the third yearly cycle – that of the Octoechos. For a long time it was Sts John of Damascus who was traditionally considered the creator of the Octoechos. The hymns, written by Palestinian hymnographers became the substantial part of Studite and New-Sabbaite repertory. However, the origins of the Octoechos seem to be significantly older.

The meaning of the Octoechos is not limited to a purely liturgical structural role. From the first moment of its existence, the Octoechos was understood as the incarnation of theological thought, motivated by the symbolism of Sunday as the 8th day, that is, Sunday as the replacement of the Sabbath in early Christian worship¹⁸³.

According to Froyshov, “the first elements of the eight-mode liturgical system appeared...within the public (and not monastic) part of the cathedral liturgy of Jerusalem, possibly in the second half of the 4th century, certainly in the 5th. By the 6th century, most elements of the complete non-musical system had been created...”.¹⁸⁴ The first indications of tone as part of the Octoechos liturgical system could probably be dated to the 5th century¹⁸⁵. They appear also in the Tropologia of the 6th-7th centuries¹⁸⁶. Regular references to the Octoechos system appear from the 8th century onwards in Jerusalem sources. It is this century to which Jeffery dates the beginning of the musical-

¹⁸² The formation of this cycle is a theme in itself of huge dimensions and importance, and lies outside the scope of the present discussion.

¹⁸³ Daniélou J., “Le dimanche comme huitième jour”, *Le dimanche*, ed. by Botte, Bernard et al., 1965, pp. 61-89; cited in Froyshov, *The Early Development*, 150. According to Cody, the system of eight tones was “...a creative product of the Hellenistic Syriac mind, the practical expression, probably, of the Hellenistic Christian speculation on Sunday as the eighth day, and its passage across linguistic and cultural frontiers in Syria was associated with the passage of Greek canons and stichera into Syriac, first for use in Melkite churches using that language, and then beyond the frontiers to the other Syriac-speaking communities like Jacobites, who, due to theological and other differences, were less open to Greek influence»: Cody A., “The early history of the octoechos in Syria”, *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, ed. Nina Garsoian et al., Dumbarton Oaks Symposium 1980 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1982), pp. 89-113; p. 103; quoted in Jeffery, *The earliest Octoechos*, 180-181. In his article, Froyshov searches the origins of the Octoechos as a liturgical system consisting in cycles of the eight weeks which cover all the year. According to him, the Judeo-Christian “eighth day” symbolism (the addition of one day to a series of seven days) was the operative motif for the replacement of annual sequences of seven weeks by the system of eight-week cycles, resulting in the emergence of the eight-week fast in Jerusalem: Froyshov, *The Early Development*, pp. 150-152, 171.

¹⁸⁴ Froyshov, *The Early Development*, 173.

¹⁸⁵ The diodia of the Sunday hymnody of the Ancient Iadgari codex Sinai Georgian 41 were attributed to this time by Froyshov: Froyshov, *The Early Development*, 171.

¹⁸⁶ Troelsgard Chr., *A New Source for the Early Octoechos? Papyrus Vindobonensis G 19.934 and its musical implications*, forthcoming

liturgical Octoechos, considering it, as Froyshov does, of Palestinian provenience¹⁸⁷. In the 9th century, the Octoechos spread through several Byzantine provinces – Palestine, Constantinople, Syria, Alexandria, Armenia, Georgia, in Slavic lands as well as in the West. Concerning the musical processes linked to the development of the Octoechos system, Jeffery affirms that the Octoechos was not a system that grew organically from established norms for the development of the repertoire. On the contrary, in the local centres that preserved written evidence of this process, there is evident a programmed projection of the Octoechos system over the extant repertoire, which occurred independently in each local tradition¹⁸⁸, which provoked significant melodic changes as well as changes in the theoretical understanding of the modes¹⁸⁹. In the next stage began the process of composition of hymns in accordance with the Octoechos system¹⁹⁰. The establishment of the poetical-melodic norms of the Octoechos is considered an achievement of the Palestinian school¹⁹¹.

The contribution of the Palestinian school to the development of the synthesis of liturgical forms, the creation of new hymnographical genres, of a group of hymns for the annual cycles, within its own Octoechos cycle, had direct consequences for the evolution of liturgy in the following period, marked by the Studite reforms.

Byzantine Liturgy: The Studite Reforms

The Palestinian and Constantinopolitan traditions were never isolated. The exchange of influences was evident in various ways during the period of the formation of Byzantine liturgy. However, Palestinian liturgy until 1009 shows the continuity of its own system, fixed by the systems of the Lectionary, Euchologion¹⁹² and Synaxarion¹⁹³. This period may be called the early period of Palestinian liturgy¹⁹⁴. At the same time, in the Constantinopolitan tradition there occurred a break, with the advent of iconoclasm,

¹⁸⁷ The Earliest Oktoechoi, 186.

¹⁸⁸ Jeffery, The Earliest Oktoechoi, 199.

¹⁸⁹ Jeffery, The Earliest Oktoechoi, 161.

¹⁹⁰ Jeffery, The Earliest Oktoechoi, 200.

¹⁹¹ Analyzing the theoretical treatise *Hagiopolites*, Jeffery suggests that its author is quoting the decisions of the Ecumenical Council of 692, and considers that modes began to be used not much before the year of the Council, and that they are present in the works of the hymnographers of the Sabaitic school – St Andrew of Crete, St John of Damascus and St Kosmas of Maiouma, amongst others; the author of *Agiopolites* notes that his compositions are in accordance with the Octoechos, unlike the works of Constantinopolitan hymnographers, which are not: Jeffery, The Earliest Oktoechoi, 186.

¹⁹² Book of services.

¹⁹³ The compilation of commemorations of the fixed and moveable annual cycles.

¹⁹⁴ Пентковский, Константинопольский.

which ended with the carrying-out of the Studite reforms. If before iconoclasm the dominating force in the ecclesiastical life of Constantinople had been Hagia Sophia, the Studite reforms gradually brought to the forefront of Byzantine liturgy in the capital and its peripheries the tradition of urban monasticism, whose content was a synthesis of the Constantinopolitan cathedral and Palestinian monastic traditions. In bringing together these two traditions, the Studites used as a basis certain elements of the Constantinopolitan Euchologion and Synaxarion; however, the system of readings underwent more significant changes. The Palestinian system of the daily monastic cycle was adapted to the prayers, litanies and other elements of Constantinopolitan liturgy, arising from the processional character of Vespers, Matins and the Eucharistic Liturgy of the Cathedral rite.

The Studite Monastery

Just as the flourishing of hymnography at the monastery of St Sabas was a consequence of the reconstruction of the monastery after the Persian invasion, the Studite reforms represented a response to the earlier period of the “Dark Ages”.

The formation of the Studite liturgical tradition began in a monastic centre in Bithynia. The monasteries of this centre followed various kinds of monastic life. Some adopted the Constantinopolitan rule of the Akoimetes. This movement was based on the teachings of St Alexander of Constantinople (ca 430), who had established the Egyptian rule of continuous prayer, in a literal fashion. The daily cycle in Akoimite communities consisted of 24 liturgical sequences, one for each hour, given alternately to three choirs. The pinnacle of this movement was reached in the pre-iconoclastic period, but it became decadent following the increase in spiritual authority of monks who followed Palestinian monastic practice¹⁹⁵.

The traditions of eremitic monasticism were followed by numerous monasteries in Bithynia, a fact which was conditioned in great part by the presence in the region of Palestinian monks and by connections with Palestine. In 782-783 the Sakkudion monastery of St John the Baptist was founded in Bithynia. Its first hegoumen was Platon, the uncle of St Theodore the Studite. St Theodore himself became a monk in this monastery and in 794 became hegoumen. No certain information survives concerning

liturgy at the monastery. However, its proximity to Constantinople, and the high authority of Palestinian monasticism whose direct representatives lived in the monastery suggest the possibility that it was here that the Studite synthesis began.¹⁹⁶

In 798, St Theodore, together with a number of monks from the Sakkudion monastery, moved to the monastery of St John the Baptist in Constantinople, which had been founded in the 5th century and abandoned by the 8th century.

Since the main interest of St Theodore was the struggle against iconoclasm, he called to the Studios monastery a number of monks from the monastery of St Sabas, then in the midst of a great flourishing of hymnography. Sabaitic liturgical poetry was considered by St Theodore as a firm guide for the Orthodox against the heretics.

The significance accorded to the Palestinian monastic tradition by the monastery of St Theodore meant that, rather than the Akoimite rule followed by the Constantinopolitan monastery before the arrival of St Theodore, the Sakkudion liturgical tradition was introduced, with some modifications to accord with the conditions prevailing in the capital.¹⁹⁷

In 815, St Theodore was exiled to Bithynia for having resisted iconoclasm, and died there in 826. After the final restoration of the veneration of the icons in 843, the Studite monks returned to the monastery in Constantinople, to which the relics of St Theodore were translated in 844: it was at this point that the monastery was dedicated to him. The commemoration of the Saint was brought into the Studite Synaxarion, then being gradually put together with other commemorations, such as the Sunday of Orthodoxy, celebrated on the first Sunday in Great Lent, fixed in all Russian Triodia and Sticheraria of the Triodia. The victory over the iconoclasts was essentially a monastic victory, which significantly enhanced the authority of monasteries in the Church hierarchy¹⁹⁸. The pre-eminence of the monasteries of the capital over the secular parishes after the Triumph of Orthodoxy led to the growth and enrichment of monasteries, whose numbers increased greatly in comparison with the parish churches under construction.

¹⁹⁵ Concerning the Akinite tradition, see: Φουντουλης Ι., “Η εικοσιτετράωρος ἀκοίμητος δοξολογία” Athens, 1963; quoted by Lingas, *Византийская Империя*, 352.

¹⁹⁶ Пентковский, Константинопольский.

¹⁹⁷ Пентковский, Константинопольский.

¹⁹⁸ Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 52.

The victory over the iconoclasts marked a turning point in the liturgical tradition of Constantinople. Begun before the end of the iconoclastic period, the fullness of the liturgical reform was felt in the mid-9th century.

The Cathedral rite in Constantinople and the Studite synthesis

The Euchologion. Lectionary. The Synaxarion

The Constantinopolitan Cathedral rite underwent changes during the period of the Studite reforms, and the synthetic monastic liturgy of the capital absorbed these tendencies.

Information concerning the pre-iconoclastic Constantinopolitan Euchologion is found in the earliest liturgical book – the South-Italian Euchologion from the mid-8th century, Barberini gr. 336¹⁹⁹. According to this source, the principal versions of the Divine Liturgy are those of St Basil the Great and St John Chrysostom, whereas the Palestinian tradition used only that of St Jacob. These Liturgies became the basis of the Studite tradition, but the Liturgy of St Basil the Great became much less frequently celebrated than it had been in the Constantinopolitan Cathedral rite. However, the Anaphora of St John Chrysostom was revised during the period of the Studite reforms, as well as a number of other liturgical texts²⁰⁰.

According to the indirect testimony of the Barberini Codex, and to the wealth of information contained in the so-called “Typikon of the Great Church”, dating from the year 950²⁰¹, another version of the Divine Liturgy, that of the Presanctified Gifts, was used extensively in the Constantinopolitan Cathedral rite, not being restricted to Lent, but used also on other days of the liturgical year. The tradition of the frequent celebration of the Liturgy, though on a smaller scale than that of the Cathedral tradition, entered the Studite rule, while the Palestinian tradition restricted its use to the minimum²⁰². However, the introduction of this rule took some time, and Russian Studite liturgical books show the presence of Palestinian customs of the period of transition²⁰³.

¹⁹⁹ *L'Eucologio Barberini gr. 336. A cura di S. Parenti e E. Velkovska*, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae, Subsidia 80, Roma, 1995.

²⁰⁰ Пентковский, Константинопольский.

²⁰¹ Mateos J., *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise*, v.1-2, OCA 165-166, Rome, 1962-1963.

²⁰² Alexopoulos, 22.

²⁰³ This question is discussed in Chapter 6 of the present thesis.

The 8th century Euchologion also fixed the prayers of the daily liturgical cycle which formed the basis of the Studite daily cycle. During the process of the adoption of the Constantinopolitan Euchologion by the Studites, several different versions of it were developed – cathedral, parochial, monastic, mixed, pontifical or presbyteral – depending on liturgical need, and various redactions – Constantinopolitan Italo-Greek and Byzantine-Palestinian²⁰⁴. The gradual appearance of different redactions of the Euchologion, however, did not mean great changes in its content, as happened with the modification of the lectionary system of the Byzantine liturgy at the time of the transition from the early period to post-reform period.

Information concerning the Constantinopolitan lectionary system in the post-iconoclastic period is much less scarce than from the previous period; it is found in the indices for the liturgical reading of the Epistle and Gospel, as well as the Typikon of the Great Church.

The main corrections were made to the order of Gospel readings. While in the early Constantinopolitan liturgy during Lent the readings were from the Gospel of St Luke, during the period under discussion there were introduced readings from St John, St Matthew, St Luke and St Mark, the cycle beginning with Pascha and ending with Lent, resulting in the replacement of the readings from St Luke by the those of St Mark²⁰⁵; this order was retained in the later Byzantine liturgy.

The limited number of surviving sources makes a detailed survey of the early Synaxarion difficult. In principle, during the transition to the post-reform period, the changes in the Synaxarion were limited to the introduction of new feasts, rather than the recomposition of already extant feasts²⁰⁶, in other words, the Constantinopolitan Synaxarion, as well as the texts from the Euchologion mentioned above, did not undergo any significant changes during the passage from one period to another.

The foundations of the moveable cycle of Byzantine commemorations in general were laid in the 9th – 10th centuries, principally on the basis of the Constantinopolitan tradition. The commemorations for Cheesefare Week, for the Sundays of Lent, for Lazarus Saturday, for the Entry into Jerusalem and Holy Week, which had originated in Jerusalem in the earlier period and transferred to the Studite Synaxarion, together with the commemorations of the great feasts of the moveable cycle – Pascha, Mid-Pentecost,

²⁰⁴ Parenti , *Influssi*, 153-155; id. *Osservazioni*, 151-153; Thiermeyer, *Ottoboni gr.434*, 85-94; cit.por Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 53.

²⁰⁵ Пентковский, Константинопольский.

²⁰⁶ Пентковский, Константинопольский.

Ascension and Pentecost, which developed in Jerusalem as well as in Constantinople, were completed with the commemorations of the three preparatory weeks before Lent, some Lenten commemorations and some for the Sundays of the period between Pascha and Pentecost, originating in the Constantinopolitan liturgy.

The commemorations of the whole Triodion-cycle period can be seen in Table I. In the first column are the commemorations in accordance with the Jerusalem Gospel readings, on the basis of the Armenian, Syriac and Greek sources (Sin Graec 210)²⁰⁷ examined by Skaballanovich and quoted by Momina²⁰⁸. In the second are placed the commemorations of the Constantinopolitan Gospel readings according to the Typikon of the Great Church²⁰⁹. In the third column are the commemorations which appear in the names of the Sundays of the Typikon of the Great Church. The fourth column contains the Gospel reading commemorations mentioned in the Russian copy of the Studite Typikon of Patriarch Alexios Sin 330, based on the mid-10th century Synaxarion; these commemorations correspond exactly to the post-reform Constantinopolitan readings. To these are added in the fifth column those that can be deduced from the names of the Sundays and the dedications of the hymns mentioned in the Russian copy of the Typikon: in the cases when these indications are insufficient for the reconstruction of the hymns²¹⁰, data from the late-12th century Russian Triodion Sin 319 are employed.

Table 1.

²⁰⁷ Скабалланович, *Толковый Типикон*, v. III, 37-39; cit. por Momina, *Triodion*, *26.

²⁰⁸ Momina, *Triodion*, *26-27.

²⁰⁹ Mateos J., *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise*, v.1-2, OCA 165-166, Rome 1962-1963.

²¹⁰ For example, for Matins, in the stichera aposticha of the 5th Sunday of Lent, Sinod. 330, in addition to the Sunday stichera or those dedicated exclusively to the Cross, which have an incipit and an indication of Tone, prescribes an automelon, but with no indication of Tone, no incipit and no dedication; in Sinod. 319 and all the Russian Sticheraria of the Triodion have a single hymn for the day, an automelon in the 8th Tone, dedicated to the Publican and the Pharisee.

Sunday	Jerusalem Gospel readings	Constantinopolitan Gospel readings	Typikon of the Great Church, commemorations	Studite Typikon, Gospel readings	Studite Typikon, hagiography
SPPH	-	Luke 18, 10-14 The Publican and the Pharisee	-	The Publican and the Pharisee	The Publican and the Pharisee
SPS	-	Luke 15, 11-32 Prodigal Son	-	Prodigal Son	Prodigal Son
MS	Luke 7:5-36-50 Supper at the house of Simon	Mat. 25, 31-46 Last Judgement	-	Last Judgement	Last Judgement
ChS:	Mat. 6, 16-33 Repentance and fasting	Mat. 6, 14-21 Repentance and fasting	Cheesefare Sunday; Saints Flavian and Leontius, Marcian and Pulcherima, Apostles;	Repentance and fasting	Repentance and fasting; the expulsion of Adam from Paradise
1 st S	Mat. 6, 1-15 Repentance and fasting	John 1, 43-51 The followers of Christ	Prophets Aaron and Moses	The followers of Christ	Prophets; Triumph of Orthodoxy
2 nd S	Luke 15, 11-32 Prodigal Son	Mark 2, 1-12 Paralytic	St martyr Polycarp	Paralytic	Prodigal Son; About fasting
3 rd S	Luke 18, 9-14 The Publican and the Pharisee	Mark 8, 34 - 9, 1 Paralytic	To Cross	Paralytic	To Cross; The Publican and the Pharisee
4 th S	Luke 10, 25-37 The one who fell amongst thieves	Mark 9, 17-31 The cure of the demoniac	St Domitius	The cure of the demoniac	The one who fell amongst thieves
5 th S	Luke 16, 19-31 Rich man and Lazarus	Mark 10, 32-45 Profecy of the Passion; The followers of Christ	St martyr Zenobius	Profecy of the Passion; The followers of Christ	St Mary the Egyptian; Rich man and Lazarus
6 th S	Mat. 21, 1-17 Entry into Jerusalem	John 12, 1-18 Supper at Bethany; Entry into Jerusalem	Entry into Jerusalem	Supper at Bethany; Entry into Jerusalem	Supper at Bethany; Entry into Jerusalem
Easter, 1 st S	Mat. 28, 1-20 Resurrection	John 1, 1-17 The incarnation of the Word	Resurrection	The incarnation of the Word	Resurrection

2 nd S/P	John 1, 1-11 The incarnation of the Word	John 20, 19-31 St Thomas	Sunday of Anti-Pascha, 19-31	St Thomas	Jesus between the disciples; St Thomas; Resurrection
3 rd S/P	John 2, 2-11 The wedding at Cana	Mark 15, 43 – 16, 8 Myrtibearers	St Joseph, Maria Magdalena and the other followers of Christ; -there are no troparion;	Myrtibearers	Resurrection; Myrtibearers; São Josef da Animatea (to Holy Saturday)
4 th S/P	John 4, 1-42 Samaritan Woman	John 5, 1-15 for the Paralytic	-there are no troparion;	Paralytic	Resurrection; Paralytic
5 th S/P	John 6, 27-40 Bread of Life	John 4, 5-42 Samaritan Woman	-there are no troparion;	Samaritan Woman	Resurrection; Samaritan Woman
6 th S/P	John 6, 47-51 -continuation	John 9, 1-38 Blind Man	-there are no troparion;	Blind Man	Resurrection; Blind Man
7 th S/P	John 8, 12-20 Conversation at the Feast of Succoth	John 17, 1-13 The prayer of Christ	318 Holy Fathers of Nikea and the fathers of the other Councils	The prayer of Christ	Resurrection; Ascension; Holy Fathers
Pentecost	John 14, 15-24 The reception of the Holy Spirit	John 7, 37-42; 8, 12 The reception of the Holy Spirit	Sunday after Pentecost	the reception of the Holy Spirit	The reception of the Holy Spirit
S/Pent	Matt. 4, 12-25 The first apostles	Matt. 10, 32-33; 37-38, 19, 27-30 The followers of Christ	All the martyrs	Mt. 10, 32-33; 37-38, 19, 27-30; The followers of Christ	Resurrection; All the Saints

The abbreviations used in the Table are as follows:

SPPh: Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee

SPS: Sunday of the Prodigal Son

MS: Meatfare Sunday

ChS: Cheesefare Sunday

1stS: 1st Sunday

2ndS: 2nd Sunday

3rdS: 3rd Sunday

4thS: 4th Sunday

5thS: 5th Sunday

6thS: 6th Sunday

Easter, 1stS: Easter, 1st Sunday

2ndS/P: 2nd Sunday after Pascha

3rdS/P: 3rd Sunday after Pascha

4thS/P: 4th Sunday after Pascha

5thS/P: 5th Sunday after Pascha

6thS/P: 6th Sunday after Pascha

7thS/P: 7th Sunday after Pascha

Pentecost

S/Pent.: Sunday after Pentecost

The numbering of the Sundays of Lent and after Pascha corresponds to one of the two systems of reckoning, which are discussed in Chapter 4.

The preparatory weeks before Lent

The two first weeks preparatory to Lent, which appeared in Constantinople²¹¹, contain the commemorations, in post-reform Constantinopolitan and Studite sources, that in Jerusalem were attributed to the second and third weeks of Lent (the Prodigal Son and the Publican and the Pharisee, respectively). The Gospel texts for Sundays, read during the forty-day fast at Liturgy in Jerusalem, did not appear in the Studite rite; in addition, even in the late Jerusalem tradition, as a consequence of the influence of the Studite reforms, they were replaced by the Constantinopolitan readings.

²¹¹ Momina, *Triodion*, *22.

Nevertheless, the commemorations of the early system of Jerusalem Gospel readings were preserved in Sunday hymns and dedications. Thus, in the Studite tradition, these two commemorations began to be observed twice, with the duplication of some hymns.

The development of the commemorations of the two preparatory weeks occurred at different times – the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee appeared later than the Sunday of the Prodigal Son; the presence of the former is not consistent in sources until the middle of the 11th century. This Sunday does not appear in the Typikon of Hagia Sophia; in all the Russian copies of the Studite Typikon made in the 12th – 13th centuries this week is also missing, though all of them lack their initial folios²¹², for which reason it is difficult to be certain as to the inclusion of otherwise of this commemoration. It would seem that only in the 12th century did the inclusion of the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee become obligatory in the annual moveable cycle in Byzantium and its provinces²¹³.

The Sunday following these two, Meatfare Sunday, already existed, as mentioned above, not only in Constantinopolitan sources (the majority), but also in the 7th century Jerusalem Kanonarium; however, it was in Constantinople that to this Sunday the Gospel reading concerning the Last Judgement became attached, and which later became part of Studite sources.

In addition to Meatfare Sunday, during this period here was also introduced the Saturday of the Departed. This commemoration, in this form or slightly modified, originated early in a number of local traditions; however, its appearance as Meatfare Saturday is late, from the 11th century onwards²¹⁴; the canon for the departed by St Theodore was probably written by him for the Saturday before Pentecost, which has the same commemoration and shares, in Studite sources, some hymns with Meatfare Saturday²¹⁵.

Cheesefare Sunday, originating in Jerusalem, also appeared in Constantinopolitan tradition; on the same day was read the Gospel speaking of repentance and fasting. The contribution of the Studite school was the development of the whole week of Cheesefare: for each day of the week there were written Triodia,

²¹² The presence of the week of the Publican and the Pharisee at the beginning of the 15th century Typikon Sinod. 905, which is a copy of the 12th century Typikon Sinod.330, may be explained as a late inclusion, made at a time when this tradition was already several centuries old and could not be omitted.

²¹³ Момина, *Triodion*, *25.

²¹⁴ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 51.

including those of St Joseph the Hymnographer, which replaced the extant triodia; for Cheesefare Sunday there exists the canon by St Theodore Studite, written for the Constantinopolitan commemoration of all holy people, ascetics, hierarchs and hierarch-martyrs²¹⁶. This commemoration began to be fixed in Constantinopolitan sources in the 9th – 10th centuries, and probably appeared not much before this, though its roots must go back to the earlier tradition of Palestinian monasticism, with its reference to the ascetics of the Lavra of St Sabas, who had the tradition of going into the desert shortly before the beginning of Lent²¹⁷.

The Sundays of the Pentecostal period

As regards the Sunday commemorations of the Pentecostal period, its cycle developed in accordance with the system of Gospel readings of the Great Church. In the Typikon published by Mateos, for the Sundays after Pascha there are given the readings for St Thomas (2nd Sunday after Pascha), for the Myrrhbearers (3rd Sunday after Pascha), for the Paralytic (4th Sunday after Pascha), for the Samaritan Woman (5th Sunday after Pascha), for the Blind Man (6th Sunday after Pascha), for the prayer of Christ (St John 17, 1-13) (7th Sunday after Pascha, the reception of the Holy Spirit (Pentecost) and for the followers of Christ (Sunday after Pentecost). All these readings are found in the Studite Typikon, as a Russian copy, Sin 330, testifies. At the same time, in the Jerusalem system of readings at the time of the Constantinopolitan revisions, the cycle of Gospel readings for the period of the Pentekostarion was different; the readings either do not correspond thematically to those of Constantinople, or, as is the case with the commemoration of the Samaritan Woman, they were given to other Sundays. These commemorations, for the Pentecostal period, were also not reflected in the hymns.

Menaion-type commemorations.

In addition to the commemorations indicated with the Gospel readings, the Typikon of the Great Church has Menaion-type commemorations apparent in the names given to certain Sundays (on the Third Sunday after Easter, together with the reference

²¹⁵ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 52-53.

²¹⁶ Дмитриевский *Описание* т.1, 112; quoted in: Momina, *Triodion*, *22.

²¹⁷ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 51-52.

to Mary Magdalene and the other women disciples of Christ, after whom this week is called, the first name mentioned is that of St Joseph of Arimathea; the Seventh Sunday is dedicated to the Fathers of the Ecumenical Council at Nikea and other Councils; the First Sunday after Pentecost to All Saints). These commemorations also appeared in other Studite Typika, but in varying numbers, according to local tradition; the same may be said of the Menaion-type commemorations for Lent (Saints Flavian and Leontius, the Monarchs “of good faith”, Marcian and Pulcherrima, Apostles, on Cheese-fare Sunday; the Prophets Aaron and Moses, on the First Sunday of Lent; the martyr Polycarp, on the Second Sunday; St Domitius, on the Fourth; the martyr Zenobius on the 5th)²¹⁸.

One of the late commemorations to appear in the Synaxarion of the Triodion from the 11th century was that of St Mary the Egyptian, prescribed in the Studite tradition for the Fifth Sunday of Lent²¹⁹. The commemoration of the Triumph of Orthodoxy, or the restoration of the icons, was established in 843, and is one of the first properly Studite commemorations, on account of the contribution of the Studite monks to the victory over iconoclasm.

The commemorations of Bright Week

The sequence of commemorations during Bright Week became established relatively late. The different local Studite variants contained various means of organizing the relevant hymnography. One of these arose from the Jerusalem habit of the reading of the Sunday Matins Gospels at all celebrations of Matins during the week; this is reflected in the Studite hymnography in that the canons for Bright Week, by St Theodore and St Joseph, found in some Greek sources²²⁰, are arranged in order of tone, one for each day, and thematically connected with the aforementioned Sunday Gospels. However, this method of organizing the week was not the only one, according to the testimony of a number of sources, Russian included.

²¹⁸ For example, in one of the Russian copies of the Studite Typikon, “Typografsky Ustav” K-5347, are preserved the commemorations of the Holy Hierarchs Flavian and Leonty, the Holy Monarchs Marcian and Pulcheria (f.1v.), the Holy Martyr St Polycarp (f.2r.), St Domitius (f.2v.); the other Russian copy of the Studite Typikon, Sinod.330, does not contain these commemorations, but it does have the commemoration of the Holy Prophets on the First Sunday of Lent (they may also have been present in the Typografsky Ustav, but the relevant folios have not survived).

²¹⁹ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 50; Momina, *Triodion*, *32.

²²⁰ Vat.graec.771, f.201r.-222v.: Πεντεκοστάριον. Romae, Ph.Vitali, 1738, pp. 323-365; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *20.

Table I, which contains, amongst others, the data concerning the preparatory Sundays before Lent and before Pentecost, shows the correspondence between the Studite, Jerusalem and post-reform Constantinopolitan sequences of commemorations.

The parameters of Constantinopolitan liturgical chant. The liturgical books

In considering the parameters of the chant of the Constantinopolitan Cathedral rite at the time when the Studite synthesis took place, one needs to remember that the influences between monastic and cathedral traditions had been in the process of emerging for some centuries previously. As was already mentioned, the genres and chanting styles practiced in Constantinople were enriched by the Palestinian monastic and cathedral traditions, and vice-versa. However, Constantinopolitan liturgical chant, developed in conditions of continual synthesis, had by the second half of the 8th century become basically established²²¹ as a liturgical-chanting phenomenon distinguished by its own unique set of the characteristics.

From the 9th century there survive the first Byzantine liturgical books containing the readings from the Old and New Testaments in ekphonic notation. Amongst these are included lectionaries reflecting the practice of Hagia Sophia. From this time onwards, and until the 14th century, ekphonic notation, both in its classical form and in archaic variants²²², is found in sources from the capital and its peripheries, including in Armenian²²³, Georgian²²⁴, Coptic²²⁵ and Slavic copies. The roots of this notation come from the earlier period of Christian liturgy, probably from the 7th century, or possibly even earlier, from the end of the 4th – 5th century²²⁶.

The oldest Psalters of the rite of the Great Church date from the 9th century; they contain the daily and weekly cycles of Psalms and Biblical canticles, together with their refrains.

The two types of books, preserved in copies reflecting the synthesis of Studite tradition and that of the Great Church, include collections of hymns from *asmatike*

²²¹ Lingas, *Византийская Империя*, 352.

²²² Engberg G., “Ekphonic notation, Greek”, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, v. 3, 1980, p.101-103.

²²³ Pahlevanian A., Керовпян А., “Armenia. Notation”, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>

²²⁴ Hannick Chr., Dolidze D., “Georgia”, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>

²²⁵ Robrtson-Wilson M., “Coptic church music”, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>

akolouthia with melodic notation – the Asmatikon, used by the choir, and the Psaltikon, for the soloist, which had appeared slightly later. These books do not appear in Greek sources before the end of the 12th century²²⁷. All the Asmatika with diastematic Byzantine notation, with the exception of one, were copied for the monastic liturgy of southern Italy; some manuscripts including sections from the hymnody of the Psaltikon come from the monastery of San Salvatore di Messina, which followed the Studite tradition²²⁸; the Russian notated copies of the Asmatikon date from the 9th – 12th centuries. As regards the Psaltikon, this is known in two versions – the “short tradition” and the “long tradition”. The first survived in 12 manuscripts from the end of the 12th century to the 14th century, from various places; the second, more melodically elaborate, appears only in South Italian copies from the monastery of San Salvatore di Messina²²⁹. The repertoires of hymns in these two books were complementary, but the Psaltikon contain more melismatic versions.

The chant book repertory

Normally the Psaltikon contained the prokeimena, the verses of the great troparia, alleluia verses, hypakoai, kontakia for the year, and, in a singular case, the full Akathistos Hymn; the Asmatikon contained the koinonika, the choral refrains of the prokeimena and great troparia; *Pasa pnoē* in the eight modes; hypakoai and the kontakia; some Proper chants for the Dedication; some Ordinary chants of the Divine Liturgy, including the eisodikon, the three Trisagia and the Cheroubikon²³⁰.

The fact that a large number of books belonging to the tradition of the Great Church originated in monasteries, Russian and South Italian, as well as their content, proves the great influence that the asmatike akolouthia had on the Studite reforms. As far as the genres of the hymns are concerned, for the most part they were intended for Studite liturgy. Some of them appear in the form of indications in the Typika, though they are missing from monastic books; others appear in the monastic books, but without notation and frequently merely as incipits.

²²⁶ Arvanitis, “Византийская нотация”, *Православная энциклопедия*, т. 8, Moscow, 2004, p. 363.

²²⁷ Lingas, *Византийская Империя*, 353.

²²⁸ The South Italian Asmatika are described by Bartolomeo di Salvo: Asmatikon, *Bolletino delta Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 16, 1962, pp. 139-153; quoted in Lingas, *Sunday Matins*, 58.

²²⁹ Lingas, *Sunday Matins*, 60.

²³⁰ Levy K., Conomos D., Liturgy and liturgical books. Byzantine rite, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

The style of chanting. The Prokeimenon and the Alleluarion

In turning to the question of the performance in the Studite tradition of some chants which had developed before the mature stage of the rite of the Great Church, it is important to take into consideration, in addition to their use in the *asmatike akolouthia*, the contest of their use in the earlier period.

The general tendency of the melodic style of those hymns that were introduced into the liturgy from the 4th century onwards, and that initially were syllabic in aspect, was a process of elaboration of melismatic versions, finishing in the 11th century, when they were brought into the Russian chant system²³¹.

An example of the generic modification of hymns is the prokeimenon, the alleluia and the kontakion.

The structure of the prokeimenon and the alleluia in Studite tradition had already been reduced to one, two or three verses of the Psalm interspersed with the verse of the prokeimenon of the repetition of the word “Alleluia”. Reflection on the method of their performance gives rise to a number of doubts. On the one hand, it is known that the abbreviation of the Psalm to a few verses occurred in parallel with the advent of a more melismatic style. The earliest examples of melismatic prokeimena and alleluias are found in the *Psaltika* and *Asmatika* from the 12th and 13th centuries, which, however, reflect an earlier tradition²³². At the same time, in the *Psaltika* there arose side by side with the “long tradition” another melodic version – the “short tradition”²³³, simpler, in which for some tones the same melody was used for different prokeimena and verses, and certain characteristics in the way the material is set out suggest the possibility of syllabic style at least for some sections. In a third group of books from the Cathedral tradition, which began to appear in the 14th century, *akolouthiai* manuscripts, both types of prokeimenon are found, as well as the great prokeimenon from Vespers (these latter were also part of Studite Vespers) – long and abbreviated²³⁴.

As regards books of the Studite tradition, the texts of the prokeimena and their verses and of the Alleluias and verses are found, including in Sin 330, in their complete form, but because they are not notated, it is not clear whether the Studites used the verses as they are found in sources of the Cathedral tradition, or used abbreviated

²³¹ Lingas, *Византийская Империя*, 353.

²³² Troelsgard, *Prokeimenon*.

²³³ Lingas, *Sunday Matins*, 60.

²³⁴ Troelsgard, *Prokeimenon*.

verses. In addition, one or other of these types could be used depending on the festal nature or otherwise of the celebration. In favour of the possible Studite use of Cathedral rite liturgical books is the fact that in some Byzantine Asmatika and their Russian versions, the Kontakaria, were recorded chants belonging exclusively to the monastic liturgy – one of these Kontakaria is part of a set with an example of the Studite Typikon²³⁵ – as well the above-mentioned fact that all except two Byzantine Asmatika with diastematic mid-Byzantine notation were copied for monasteries in Southern Italy²³⁶.

The style of chanting. Kontakion

The question as to which version of the kontakion came to be part of Studite tradition may also be answered in a number of ways. At the time of the inclusion of the kontakion, in the Studite synthesis, in Matins after the 6th ode of the Canon, the form of the kontakion had already been reduced to a prooimion and, generally one oikos²³⁷; an exception of the Akathistos to the Theotokos included in Matins of Saturday of the Fifth Week of Lent. This structural reduction occurred, as in the case of the prokeimenon, in parallel with the increasingly melismatic character of the genre from the 10th century onwards²³⁸. From the first moment of the inclusion of the kontakion in the Cathedral rite books, it appeared in both long and short versions. The possibility that both versions may have been used in Studite practice is indirectly indicated by the fact that, later, from the 13th century, there began to appear collections of syllabic kontakia used as models for troparia²³⁹. Since syllabic hymns generally survive orally for a long period and only appear notated much later, this could have happened with the syllabic kontakia, whose use in daily monastic services would have been very appropriate.

Palestinian hymnography and the Studite synthesis

²³⁵ Typografsky Ustav s Kondakarem, K-5349, Moscow.

²³⁶ Lingas, *Sunday Matins*, 58.

²³⁷ Thodberg, Kontakion; however, in liturgical books of the Studite tradition there are examples of kontakia with various oikoi, for example, the Evergetis Typikon has in some places the instruction for the singing of “as many oikoi as time will allow” (information communicated to me by Christian Troelsgard) or, in the Greek Triodion РНБ греч.712, on Holy Friday, the kontakion of St Romanos the Melode in the 8th tone, Τὸν Διημέας σταυρωθέντα, has 12 oikoi: Момина М.А., Фонкич Б.Л., *Греческая Триодь X-XI вв. Государственной публичной библиотеки Салтыкова - Щедрина*, Tbilisi, 1989, pp. 56-110; quoted in Momina, *Triodion*, *102.

²³⁸ Troelsgard, Prokeimenon.

²³⁹ Thodberg, Kontakion.

The Studite synthesis took as its basis a number of parameters of the Palestinian monastic tradition. One of the most important was the structure of the daily liturgical cycle. To this cycle belong Matins, Hours, Vespers, Typika and Compline²⁴⁰, normally found in the Horologion²⁴¹. The hymnographical tradition begun by Palestinian monasteries continued alongside the structuring of the Studite monastic daily cycle.

The hymnographical creativity of the Studite monks developed particularly quickly on account of the resistance to iconoclasm. Palestinian hymnography was known in Constantinople at least from the first half of the 8th century through the Palestinian hymns of St Germanos, Patriarch of Constantinople (715-730). In continuing to add to extant Palestinian hymnography, the Studite hymnographers filled in the gaps in the three annual cycles, and also composed their own cycles of hymns for feasts which already had their own hymnography. On account of this, many liturgical sequences of the Triodion and Menaion in the 12th century had many alternative hymns. The development of the Palestinian genres adopted took place within the Octoechos system worked out in Palestine; the Studies added to the repertory by creating new forms of the Octoechos chants.

The contribution of the Studite monks to the development of the hymnography of the Triodion

With the beginning of the development of the Studite tradition of hymnography there opened a new period in the process of the organization of the content of the Triodion²⁴², connected with the name of the founder of a new Byzantine monastic tendency, Theodore the Studite²⁴³ (759-826). A great number of hymns, ranging from Meatfare Saturday to the period of Pentecost, belong to him. He was the first well-known author to compose systematically the triodia and tetraodia cycles for the weekdays of Lent, Holy Week and the Pentecostal period. To each triodion he added a sticheron prosomion and a kathisma. Amongst his canons are those for Monday to

²⁴⁰ Пентковский, Константинопольский.

²⁴¹ An analysis of the process of the adaptation of the Palestinian Horologion by the Studite monks may be found in: Arranz, *Les grandes étapes*, 45-67; quoted by Lingas, *Sunday Matins*, 41.

²⁴² Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 77; Момина, *Triodion*, *49.

²⁴³ Christ Hrsg.von W., Paraniakas M., *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum*, Leipzig, 1871, pp. 43-44; Филарет (Гумилевский), архиепископ, *Исторический обзор песнопевцев и песнопений греческой церкви*, St.Petersburg, 1902, 249-256; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 122--135; Доброклонский А., *Преподобный Федор Исповедник и игумен студийский*, в.1-2, Odessa 1913, Beck

Saturday of Bright Week, arranged according to the order of the tones; the canons of Meatfare and Cheesefare Sundays, Meatfare Sunday and the Sunday of the Cross. As models for his canons, both complete and incomplete, he used the corresponding Palestinian kathismata and stichera. The Triodion chants by St Theodore the Studite for weekdays reflect the weekly commemorations of the Octoechos²⁴⁴, which was probably put together at the same time as its hymnography.

His complete output, covering a number of genres, is too vast to fit into the Tropologion; as a consequence, his hymns were preserved in their own book, which was probably considered part of the Tropologion, which came to be known as the Triodion. Thus, the name of St Theodore the Studite is associated with the appearance of the first liturgical book to reflect exclusively the content of the annual moveable cycle²⁴⁵. The Triodion of St Theodore has not survived in its original version, but one of the Triodia, written in the monastery of Grottaferrata in the 11th century²⁴⁶, includes a more complete set of his hymns. The Triodion of St Theodore must have included, as well as his own works, hymns by other Constantinopolitan and Palestinian authors, since his own did not cover the entire moveable cycle. It is possible that in the early stages of the Studite monastery, St Theodore's Triodion was the only book of its kind²⁴⁷.

The name of Joseph is linked to a large number of hymns of the Triodion, Menaion and Octoechos of the Studite period. There is, however, some confusion as regards attributions to St Joseph²⁴⁸, brother of St Theodore²⁴⁹ (762-832), monk of the monastery of Stoudion and, later, from 807, Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, and Holy

H.-G., *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munchen, 1971, pp. 491-495; ODB III, 2044-2045; cit.por Momina, *Triodion*, *65.

²⁴⁴ Momina, *Triodion*, *65.

²⁴⁵ The most complete group of canticles of St Theodore the Studite could be found in the Greek Triodion Vat.graec.771, written in Grottaferrata monastery in the 11th century.

²⁴⁶ Vat. graec. 771.

²⁴⁷ Momina, *Triodion*, *66.

²⁴⁸ Various points of view, from (a) the attribution of the hymns to two authors to (b) the attribution of all of them to St Joseph the Hymnographer, are given in: (a) Архиепископ Филарет. Исторический, 256; Флоринский И.И., *История богослужебных песнопений Православной Восточной церкви*, Москва, 1860, pp. 168-169; Οικονομος ο εξ Οικονομων, Υμνωνδον ανεκδοτα. Εκ των απογραφων τη Βιβλιοθηκης του Μεγαλου Σπαιλιου. Αθηνησιν, 1840, pp. 1-88; Καλλιςτος (Μηλιαρας), αρχ., "Ιστορικη επισκοπησις του Τρυωδιου", *Νεα Σιωη*, N 29, 1934, pp. 55-57; Τωμαδακη Ε.Ι., *Ιωσηφ ο Υμνογραφος. Βιος και εργων*. Athens, 1971, pp. 89-91; Beck, *Kirche*, 601, (b) Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 136-137; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *67-81 (this book contains a detailed description of various opinions regarding the authorship of the hymns attributed to Joseph).

²⁴⁹ Архиепископ Филарет, *Исторический*, 256-257; *Anthologia Graeca* 43-44; Krumbacher, *Geschichte*, 322; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 135-137; Beck, *Kirche*, 505, 601; ODB III, 2207; cited by Momina, *Triodion*, *67.

Joseph Ceciliano the Hymnographer²⁵⁰ (813 (816) – 883 (886)) or 812 (818) – 886). The question of the authorship of these hymns goes beyond the limits of the present work; however, a palaeographic analysis of the two 12th century Russian books, Triodion Sin 319 and Pentekostarion Voskr 27, suggests that the basis for its compilation was a Triodion the greater part of whose hymnography was the work of St Theodore, while the hymns by St Joseph were introduced from another, complementary source²⁵¹. The Russian Sticheraria of the moveable cycle, which bear witness to a practice considerably earlier than their date of compilation, do not contain St Joseph's stichera prosomia, which suggests that these must have been introduced into Russian practice somewhat later. The possibility that the hymns of St Joseph were introduced later means that it is possible that their author was in fact St Joseph the Hymnographer, who was active a little later than St Theodore and St Joseph the Studite.

The Triodion hymns attributed to St Joseph cover the period from the Sunday of the Prodigal Son to Pentecost. Amongst them are two sets of triodia, covering the period from Monday of the First Week to Friday of the Sixth Week of Lent. The first set contains no acrostics, and to it are added two stichera prosomia and kathismata; it is known from many Greek Triodia and also appears in Sin 319. The second set contains acrostics and is found much more rarely; it was not translated into Slavonic. In addition to these two sets, St Joseph wrote two sets of triodia for Cheesefare Week; one of them is found in Slavic Studite sources. For the Pentecostal period, from Monday of the Second Week until Friday before the Sunday of Pentecost, he wrote a set of triodia and tetraodia with acrostics. There are also complete canons by St Joseph: six for each day of Bright Week, ordered by tone, as are St Theodore's for the same week, canons for the Saturdays and Sundays for the preparatory weeks before Lent; and for Lent and the Pentecostal period, including canons for the Sundays of the Paralytic, the Samaritan Woman and of the Blind Man which found their way into Slavic Studite sources. In addition to complete and incomplete canons, there are two groups of stichera prosomia in the 4th and 8th tones for Holy Week, and also other stichera and kathismata²⁵².

According to Momina, St Joseph did not write hymnography for days that had earlier hymnography from the Palestinian school, but he duplicated hymns by authors

²⁵⁰ Krumbacher, *Geschichte*, 676; Архиепископ Филарет, *Исторический*, 125-308; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 149-168; Colonna M.E., "Biografie di Giuseppe innografo", *Annali Facultà Lett. E Fil.Univ.Napoli*, 3, 1953, pp. 105-112; Beck, *Kirche*, 601-602; Ξυδης Θ., "Ἰωσήφ ὁ ὑμνογράφος", *Ὁ Εφημεριος*, 1955, Α, II; Τομαδακης, *Ἰωσηφ*; ODB III, 1074; cited by Momina, *Triodion*, *73.

²⁵¹ Further detail on this may be found in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

closer to him in time; many of his hymns, with the passage of time, replaced those of St Theodore. The complexity of his hymnographical approach justified the composition of an entire book, the Triodion of St Joseph, whose original, as is the case with the Triodion of St Theodore, has not survived. An early example of the bringing together of the triodia of individual authors is found in the above-mentioned Triodion of the monastery of Grottaferrata²⁵³, which includes the three Triodia – of St Joseph (for weekdays, one kathisma, two stichera prosomia, triodion without acrostics, triodion with acrostics), of St Clement the Studite (one triodion for weekdays) and St Theodore (Triodion, one kathisma, one sticheron prosomion)²⁵⁴.

While many of the cycles of hymns by St Theodore and St Joseph formed part of the Slavic Studite liturgical books, the work of Clement the Studite²⁵⁵, one of the many followers of St Theodore, a defender, like his master, of Orthodoxy against iconoclasm until his death in exile in 842, is not so well-represented and was only partly translated into Slavonic. He composed triodia from the Monday of the First Week of Lent to the Friday of the Sixth Week, also known from Slavic sources²⁵⁶, each one of which is accompanied by two stichera prosomia which were not translated²⁵⁷, as well as another two of his canons²⁵⁸.

Amongst other hymnographers of the Studite school are known the names of Anthony²⁵⁹ and Stephanos the Studite²⁶⁰ and the Studite monks Peter, Gabriel, Nicholas, Daniel, Basil, Cyprianos²⁶¹ and Simeon²⁶². Hymns by some of these authors appeared in Slavic sources²⁶³, but not in any great quantity²⁶⁴.

²⁵² Momina, *Triodion*, *73-77.

²⁵³ Vat. graec. 771.

²⁵⁴ Momina, *Triodion*, *103.

²⁵⁵ Αρχιεπίσκοπος Φιλαрет, *Исторический*, 258-259; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 138-147; cited by Momina, *Triodion*, *71.

²⁵⁶ The triodia appeared in the Bitolsky type, Jeravinsky type and, in part, in the Orbelsly type codices for Wednesday and Thursday of the First Week of Lent: Momina, *Triodion*, *72; the list of manuscripts of the kinds of Slavic Triodion mentioned is found in Momina, *Triodion*, *132-133.

²⁵⁷ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 140-144; cit. por Momina, *Triodion*, *72.

²⁵⁸ Momina, *Triodion*, *72.

²⁵⁹ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 168-170; Beck, *Kirche*, 584; Παπαδοπουλος-Κεραμευς Α., “Αντωνιος Στουδιτης και τινα συμμεκτα”, *Νεα Σιωη*, 2, 1905, 807-815; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *77-78.

²⁶⁰ Emereau C., “Hymnographi graeci”, *Echos d’Orient*, 24, 1925, 174; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 170-171; PAS, I, XLIII; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *78.

²⁶¹ Mariangela Cappelli Arata supposes that Cyprianos was from the monastery of St Saba: Cappelli Arata M., “Some Notes on Syriac the Hymnographer”, *Studies in Eastern Chant*, ed. Conomos D., New York, 1990, v. V, pp. 123-137.

²⁶² Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 186; cit. por Momina, *Triodion*, *79-80.

²⁶³ Amongst the hymns which came into the Slavic Triodia are the canon in Tone 5 for the Sunday of the Prodigal Son, possibly written by Petros, the canon in Tone 6 for Compline of Holy Saturday, attributed to Gabriel, the 2nd tone sticheron *Εκ βαιων και κλαδων (Οτ ветвий и вай)*, attributed to Cyprianos the

The Constantinopolitan school of hymnography was enriched not only by monks of the Studite monastery. Amongst the names of hymnographers are found those of the Holy Hierarchs Ignatius, Metropolitan of Nikea²⁶⁵ (d. after 845), Patriarch Methodius I (843-847)²⁶⁶, the Emperors Leo VI The Wise (866-912)²⁶⁷ and Theophilus (829-842)²⁶⁸; these authors, as well as two others of whose lives very little is known (Christopher²⁶⁹ and George²⁷⁰), left a very small number of hymns²⁷¹.

A far deeper impression on the hymnography of the Triodion was made by the nun Cassia²⁷², who lived in the 11th century. She wrote the tetraodion of Holy Saturday²⁷³, whose troparia were replaced in the same century by those of Mark of Otranto²⁷⁴; however, Cassia's irmoi remained intact²⁷⁵. Cassia's tetraodion²⁷⁶, which is found relatively rarely in Greek manuscripts, appears in all the Slavic Triodia, even those Athonite in type²⁷⁷. There also survive some stichera of her authorship, for Holy Wednesday²⁷⁸ and on the Publican and the Pharisee²⁷⁹.

One of the most productive hymnographers of the Constantinopolitan school was Theophanes Γραπτος (778-845)²⁸⁰, monk of the Lavra of St Sabas who from 813

Studite and six troparia for the Hours of Holy Friday attributed to Symeon the Studite: Momina, *Triodion*, *79-80.

²⁶⁴ Αρχιεπίσκοπος Φιλαрет, *Исторический*, 260; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 186; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *80.

²⁶⁵ Αρχιεπίσκοπος Φιλαрет, *Исторический*, 276-280; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 184-185; Beck, *Kirche*, 511-512; ; ODB II, 984; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *82-83.

²⁶⁶ Beck, *Kirche*, 496-498; ODB II, 1355; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 184; cited by Momina, *Triodion*, *82.

²⁶⁷ ODB II, 1210-1211; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 191; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *84.

²⁶⁸ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 185-186; ODB III, 1266; Beck, *Kirche*, 499; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *82.

²⁶⁹ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 188-189; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *85.

²⁷⁰ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 189; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *85.

²⁷¹ Momina, *Triodion*, *80, *82-86.

²⁷² Αρχιεπίσκοπος Φιλαрет, *Исторический*, 272-275; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 184; Krumbacher K., *Κασσία*, *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und der hister. Klasse der K. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Munchen, 1897, pp. 303-370; Beck, *Kirche*, 519; ODB II, 1109-1110; Rochow I., *Studien zu der Person, den Werken und dem Nachleben der Dichterin Kassia*, Berlin 1967; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *83.

²⁷³ ἅο τὸν Ἀφρών γηραλέε (Безумне старе); cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *83.

²⁷⁴ 1st troparion Κύριε Θεε μου (Господи Боже мой); cited by Momina, *Triodion*, *83.

²⁷⁵ Κυματι θαλασσης (Волною морскою); cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *83.

²⁷⁶ In the Russian copy, Sinod.330, it is wrongly described as a “work of Mark” (“марково творение”): Sinod. 330, f.34; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *84.

²⁷⁷ Momina, *Triodion*, *84. On the various types of Slavic Typikon see Part 3 of the present thesis.

²⁷⁸ Κύριε η εν πολλαις αμαρτιας (Господи иже во многия грехи); in the Slavic Triodia this follows the Athonite model (neo-Sabaitic rule), and does not appear in Studite sources: Momina, *Triodion*, *84.

²⁷⁹ These stichera in the 8th tone, Παντοκράτορ Κύριε (Вседержителю Господи) and Ταῦς ἐξ ἐργῶν καυχῆσεσι (От дел хваленъми) are attributed in some manuscripts to Stephanos the Sabaite: Momina, *Triodion*, *84-85.

²⁸⁰ Αρχιεπίσκοπος Φιλαрет, *Исторический*, 262-271; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 192-194; Ευστρατιᾶδης Σ., Θεοφανῆς ὁ Γραπτός, *Νεα Σίτων* 1936 (31): pp. 339-344, 403-416, 467-478, 525-540, 666-673; 1937(32), pp. 60-67, 81-96, 187-195, 252-259, 401-408, 569-579; 1938(33) pp. 317-322, 516-

lived in Constantinople and from 842 occupied the Episcopal throne of Nikea. All told, 19 stichera idiomela and 162 canons are attributed to him; his hymns for the Triodion cover the period from Meatfare Sunday to Holy Week, as well as the three canons for the period of Pentecost.

Notation

The earliest documented type of notation, inherited by the Studite synthesis, is characterized by the presence of just a few signs rarely used during the course of a chant generally not notated. These chants would either have been performed by heart, or improvised in accordance with their style, heirmologic or sticheraric. Neumes were placed above the melismatic parts of otherwise syllabic hymns. Graphically, the neumes were a sign placed above a syllable in the form of the Greek letter Θ θ, which gave its name to this kind of notation, or, in neumatic form, “oxeia”; as well as isolated signs, these neumes could be found in combination, also placed above one syllable and fulfilling the same function²⁸¹. This kind of rudimentary notation appears in Greek, Slavic and Syro-Melkite manuscripts; the oldest surviving fragment dates from the year 800²⁸². The roots of *theta* notation and its variants date to even earlier, and may be found in Greek, Syriac²⁸³ and Coptic²⁸⁴ papyri and parchment fragments.

While the Studite synthesis was being carried out, there was inherited from the Palestinian tradition, as well as genres of chants and the Octoechos system, one of the early kinds of adiastrumatic melodic notation – *Coislin palaeo-Byzantine*; its other variant, *Chartres* notation, was probably developed in Constantinople or on Mount Athos, where various kinds of monasticism had begun to develop from the time of the foundation of the Great Lavra in 963²⁸⁵. Both types of notation were named after the places where sources containing them were first discovered and examined before other written sources²⁸⁶. The earliest manuscripts containing *Coislin* and *Chartres* notation,

523, 618-623; 1939 (34); Ξυδης Θ., Ο υμνογραφος Θεοφανης ο Γραπτος, *Νεα Εστια* 599, 1956, 155-160; Beck, *Kirche*, 516-517; ODB II, 2062, cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *80.

²⁸¹ Levy, Troelsgard, Byzantine chant.

²⁸² Арванитис, Византийская нотация, 367; Levy, Troelsgard, Bizantine chant.

²⁸³ Husmann, Jeffery, Syriac church music.

²⁸⁴ Robertson-Wilson, Coptic church music.

²⁸⁵ Strunk O., “The Notation of the Chartres Fragment”, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World*, ed. by Strunk, New York, 1977, pp. 108-110.

²⁸⁶ 11th – 12th century Irmologion, Paris.Coislin.gr.220 and the Triodion fragment from the beginning of the 11th century, Laur.Г.67: Chartres 1754; Tillyard H.J.W., *The Stages of the Early Byzantine Notation*,

both of which have variants, belong to the 10th century. Both notations have some notation signs in common. A few of their neumes are similar to that of ekphonic notation, which otherwise follows different principles. This closeness gave rise to two possible explanations: either both notations were inspired by ekphonic notation which was in existence earlier, or both kinds of notation developed at the same time and in parallel with (ekphonic) lectionary notation, deriving from a common source which retained similar signs for reading and chanting²⁸⁷. At the beginning of the 12th century, Coislin notation began to move towards a kind of diastematic notation, while Chartres notation began to disappear in the mid 11th century²⁸⁸.

A new kind of liturgical book. Books containing exclusively one kind of hymn

The continuation by the Studites of the Palestinian tradition of hymnography within the realm of hymns for the annual moveable cycle took place within the context of the compilation of new kinds of liturgical books, both noted and un-noted. This reflected, firstly, the liturgical structure of the Palestinian Horologion, inherited by the Studites; its construction owed as much to Studite monks as to the Palestinian hymnographers.

From the 10th century, various kinds of Tropologion began to be replaced generally by two noted books covering single genres – the Sticharion and the Heirmologion.

The Sticheria that contained in this early phase *Coislin* and *Chartres* notation²⁸⁹, were intended to contain stichera idiomela, built on their own melodies, and stichera automela, which served as models for stichera prosomoia (contrafacta); these latter followed exactly the melodic and metrical structure of their models, and thus had no need to be notated in their original Greek versions, though they did appear sporadically. The contents of the early Sticheria may include stichera for only one of the annual cycles, or combine a number of cycles, most often those of the Octoechos and the Triodion; the choice of stichera also varies from manuscript to manuscript.

Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XLV, 1952, pp. 29-42; Tillyard H.J.W, "Byzantine Music about A.D.1100", *MusicalQuarterly*, XXXIX, 1953, pp. 223-231; Strunk, *The Notation*, 69-70.

²⁸⁷ Арванитис, Византийская нотация, 362-363.

²⁸⁸ Levy K., Troelsgard Chr., "Byzantine chant", *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

²⁸⁹ Wolfram, *Sticharion*; Velimirovoc, *Heirmologion*.

The early Heirmologia, of which fewer survived than the Sticheraria, were also characterized by a multiplicity of variants. Two main kinds of organization of heirmoi within each of the eight tones appear in the early Heirmologia. The majority of Greek Heirmologia follows the practice of placing the heirmoi of certain canons one after the other; in other words, for each tone there first appear all the odes of one canon, then all the odes of another, and so on; in the literature this method has received the name KaO type²⁹⁰. In a very small number of Greek Heirmologia, and in all the Russian Heirmologia, the arrangement of the heirmoi follows another order: within a given tone there first appear the heirmoi of all the first odes, then of all the second odes, and so forth; the order of the canons, however, is not preserved. This is called the OdO type. Exceptionally there appear other means of organizing the heirmoi, for example, respecting the order of the canons but not the order of tones²⁹¹.

Both the Sticherarion and the Heirmologion followed a similar path in terms of the development of their content. Neither included a standard repertory in the early stages. In the Sticherarion, at the time of the change to diastematic middle-Byzantine notation, near the end of the 12th century, one may note a drastic reduction in the quantity of hymns and a standardization of the repertory; the new version which resulted came to be called the “standard abridged version”. In the Heirmologion the content was also reduced from the second half of the 12th century²⁹².

The new multi-genre books of the three annual liturgical cycles

While the principle of organization in collections of the same genre was inherited by the Studites from the earlier Palestinian tradition, the creation of a new set of books which distributed hymns of various kinds from a single annual cycle according to the daily liturgical order may be seen as a result of the activity of Studite monasticism. These books are the Triodion and the Pentekostarion, Menaion and Octoechos.

The daily services have significant differences in the distribution of their hymnography. The Hours and Compline normally limited themselves to a troparion and kontakion, and for this reason their ordo was not set out in the liturgical books intended

²⁹⁰ Koschmieder, *Die altesten*, v.II, p. 69.

²⁹¹ *GR-AOml* 95: Velimirovoc, Heirmologion.

²⁹² Velimirovic M., Heirmologion, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, v. 8, 1980, p. 447-448.

for the chanters, but in the Horologion. Exceptions are, for example, cases such as the Hours of Holy Friday, which include a series of troparia dedicated specifically to this day and which are therefore found in the Triodion. The order for the Divine Liturgy was also recorded in the Triodia and Menaia only when the feast presupposed the use of specific hymns, such as the three introductory antiphons.

However, the main services which form part of the Triodia, Pentekostaria, Menaia and Octoechoi are Vespers and Matins, which include the majority of the variable chants. Each of these books places the hymns within the sequence for the liturgical day, which is followed by another day and so on. Each day includes the material for Vespers and Matins. However, the morning and evening hymns for the same day may or may not follow the liturgical order. This depends on the period during which the codex was written and on its position in the table of classification²⁹³. During the early stages of the existence of Triodia, Pentekostaria, Menaia and Octoechoi, they did not necessarily cover all the variable hymns used in practice.

Chant books following (partially or completely) the liturgical order were normally not noted in the Greek Byzantine tradition, because their main hymnographical content – the stichera and the canons, and, to a lesser extent, troparia and kontakia – were sung according to the notation of the Sticheraria, Heirmologia and Kontakaria. The surviving oldest Triodia, Pentekostaria, Menaia and Octoechoi following liturgical order came to be used during the 11th century, though their organization may date from the 10th century²⁹⁴ or even earlier. The most recent studies date the oldest extant Greek Triodion, preserved in St Petersburg, to the end of the 9th century – beginning of the 10th century²⁹⁵. From approximately the same period come the oldest Sticheraria and Heirmologia. From the traditional point of view, the single-genre chant book comes from the earlier stages of the book's development, and followed by the later multi-genre books following liturgical order²⁹⁶. Another opinion has been put forward by Peter Jeffery: on examining the Palestinian sources, he has suggested that both types of book organization, by genre and by liturgical order, were

²⁹³ An overview of the Greek Triodia and questions relating to their classification may be found in Chapter 5 of the present thesis.

²⁹⁴ Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 58, 64; Taft R., Menaion, *ODB*, v.II, p. 1338.

²⁹⁵ БАН, РАИК, 109; the manuscript was dated by М.А.Момина: Momina, *Triodion*, *91.

²⁹⁶ Follieri E., Strunk O. *Triodium Athoum*, ММВ, Pars Suppletoria, IX, Copenhagen, 1975, p.46-52; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 206-207; Hannick Chr., “Dimanche-Office selon les huit tons”, *La prière des Églises de Rite Byzantin*, 3, Chevetogne, 1972; Petrovic D., *Osmoglasnik u muzickoj tradiciji juznih slovena*, Belgrade 1982, p. 42; Шеламанова Н., “Славяно-русский Октоих (ненотированный) 12-

used more or less concurrently, but in different situations: on the one hand, in Greek Palestinian monasteries, and, on the other, in the urban rite in Jerusalem²⁹⁷. The hypothesis of Karabinov, followed by Momina, which attributes the origins of the Triodion as a multi-genre book with its material organized according to the daily services of the annual moveable cycle, to the hymnographical activity of St Theodore the Studite, moves the origins of the book to the first half of the 9th century, which calls into question the possibility of the later appearance of this kind of book in comparison with single-genre books.

Liturgical books reflecting the order of the services provide a source of precious information concerning the kind of liturgy that characterized the liturgical centre in which it was created and used. In this respect they are richer than the single-genre books. As well as exemplifying the organization of liturgical material for certain days, Triodia, Pentekostaria, Menaia and Octoechoi frequently include commentaries from the Typika which clarify details of liturgical order regarding Sticheraria, Heirmologia and Kontakaria.

The expansion of the Studite synthesis. The Studite Typika

Studite Typika appeared in the 9th - 10th centuries, reflecting the process of the expansion of the Studite synthesis in the capital city of Byzantium and its outposts²⁹⁸.

At the end of the 10th century was written the Studite Hypotyposis – the first short exposition of some disciplinary matters and services based on regulatory texts then extant in the monastery of Stoudion. It survived in copies made at different times for monasteries on the periphery of Studite tradition²⁹⁹.

Three of the surviving Studite Typika from the capital are of particular importance.

14вв.”, *Методические рекомендации по описанию славяно-русских рукописей для Сводного каталога рукописей, хранящихся в СССР*, в. II, part 2, Moscow, 1976.

²⁹⁷ Jeffery, *The earliest Oktoechoi*, 202.

²⁹⁸ The Project of English translation with the commentaries and annotations of all of the founders' documents drawn up for medieval Byzantine monasteries, the texts of which were published previously, was accomplished in Dumbarton Oaks: Thomas J. and Constantinides Hero A. ed., with the assistance of Constable G., *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founder's Typika and Testaments*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C., 2000; available online at:

http://www.doaks.org/publications/doaks_online_publications/typikaPDF/typ00.pdf

²⁹⁹ PG XCIX. Col. 17041720: Leroy J. *La Vie quotidienne du moine studite, Irenikon*, v. 27, 24–25, 1954.; Sin. gr. 401: Дмитриевский, *Описание*, v. I, pp. XV, XXXI; cited in Пентковский, Константинопольский.

The first is linked to the monastery of the Dormition of the Theotokos founded by Patriarch Alexios in 1034-1043, in Constantinople. Elevated to Patriarch of Constantinople in 1025, he had previously been a tonsured monk, and then hegoumen of the monastery of Stoudion, and was thus the direct heir of the Studite tradition established by him at the monastery he had founded. The Typikon to which he probably contributed included both a section dealing with details of the services of the Triodion and Menaion and one dealing with the rule of monastic life. In the composition of his Typikon, Patriarch Alexios was guided by the version of Studite Synaxarion made in the second half of the 10th century³⁰⁰. The original text of the Typikon has not survived, but following its adoption as the basis of the coenobitic monastic rule in Early Russia in the second half of the 11th century, various Russian copies survived³⁰¹.

The second Typikon belongs to the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Pantocrator, founded in the first half of the 12th century. It reveals many similarities with that of Patriarch Alexios, and it must be supposed that common Studite sources were used for the composition of both.³⁰² However, some particularities of the Typikon of the Pantocrator monastery indicate that it was compiled later, and bring it closer to Southern Italian Typika, especially that of the monastery of San Salvatore di Messina, written in the 1130s³⁰³.

The third Studite Typikon from the capital was that of the monastery of the Holy Theotokos Evergetissa³⁰⁴, founded in 1048. It survives in a copy from the 12th century, and also contains both the rule and the liturgical rubrics. Some chapters from the rule, composed in the third quarter of the 11th century, include a description of the particularities of the daily cycle of services. This Typikon is one of many witnesses to the modifications that Studite habits underwent outside the monastery of Stoudion. The changes in Typika composed in various Byzantine centres and their outskirts had to do principally with the structure of the daily services and with the particularities of services from the Menaion in accordance with local tradition.

³⁰⁰ Пентковский, Константинопольский.

³⁰¹ A detailed description of the Russian copies of the Studite Typikon is found in Chapter 2 of the present thesis.

³⁰² Пентковский, *Типикон*, 95.

³⁰³ Agranz M., *Le typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine. Codex Messinensis gr.115* (OCA, 185), Roma, 1969; cited in Пентковский, *Типикон*, 50.

³⁰⁴ The Project based at Queens University Belfast was dedicated to the edition, translation and annotation of the documents associated with the monastery of Evergetis: Mullett M. and Kirby A. ed., *The Theotokos Evergetis and the Eleventh-Century Monasticism*, Belfast, 1994.

The Studite tradition became widely disseminated in Asia Minor, Palestine, South Italy, Bulgaria, Georgia and on Mount Athos. In the monasteries of Mount Athos, the Studite tradition spread during the course of the 10th century. It was the Studite tradition that guided St Athanasius of Mount Athos when he founded the Great Lavra in 963, on the coenobitic model. Studite norms became the starting point for the Diatyposis he wrote³⁰⁵. However, on the basis of the Athonite-Studite Typikon there appeared a version of the Synaxarion outside the monastery of Stoudion, possibly compiled in Thessaloniki³⁰⁶. As far as other Athonite monasteries are concerned, a Georgian translation of the Greek copy of the Studite Typikon is known, made in 1038-1042 by Georgios Mtatzmindeli for the Iveron monastery where he was hegoumen³⁰⁷.

From the end of the 9th century there is a group of manuscript sources of various kinds which demonstrate the influence of Studite tradition in the South of Italy³⁰⁸; amongst them is an archaic version of the Hypotyposis. Later dissemination elsewhere, however, was slow, especially on the outskirts. A visible acceleration occurred only after the 11th century.

The Byzantinization of the Palestinian tradition

After the finalization of the reform, approximately in the mid-9th century, the Studite tradition, which came out of Palestinian influence, initially monastic, began to regulate the Constantinopolitan Cathedral rite liturgy as much as the liturgy of the neighbouring patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. The process of Byzantinization³⁰⁹ occurred gradually over several centuries in different regions; in Alexandria and Antioch the process ceased only at the end of the 13th century³¹⁰.

The liturgy of Jerusalem, at least from the 9th century, began slowly to adopt the Studite Euchologion, Synaxarion and Lectionary, including the order of Gospel

³⁰⁵ Leroy J., "La conversion de saint Athanase l'Athonite a l'ideal cenobitique et l'influence studite", *Le Millenaire du Mont Athos. 963-1963. Etudes et Melanges*, v. I, Chevetogne, 1963, pp. 113-120; cited in Пентковский, Константинопольский.

³⁰⁶ Пентковский, Константинопольский.

³⁰⁷ A detailed description of the Synaxarion of this Typikon was made by Kekelidze: Кекелидзе К.С., *Литургические грузинские памятники в отечественных книгохранилищах и их научное значение*, Tiflis, 1908, pp. 228-313; cited in Пентковский, *Типикон*, 115.

³⁰⁸ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 49-50.

³⁰⁹ Дмитриевский А. А., "Богослужение страстной и пасхальной седмиц во Святом Иерусалиме IX-X веков", *Византийский временник*, v. II, St.Petersburg, 1895, pp. 641-642; cited in Пентковский, Константинопольский.

³¹⁰ Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 57.

readings for the Lenten and Pentecostal periods. Traces of Byzantine influence may be seen in one of the older extant copies of the Liturgy of St James of Jerusalem, from the 9th century³¹¹, as well as in the Typikon of the Holy Sepulchre from the year 1122, which reflects the liturgy of the 10th century.

After the sack of the Cathedral of the Holy Sepulchre at the beginning of the 11th century by the Arabs, Cathedral rite services in Jerusalem practically ceased to exist, though some traces, such as in the Liturgy of St James, were preserved at the Patriarchate of Jerusalem for a long time³¹².

The changes were reflected in the liturgical customs of the monastery of St Sabas in Palestine. The Sabaitic tradition, which had an active role in the formation of the Studite synthesis, in its turn found itself under Studite influence on account of the close contacts between Palestinian monasteries and those in Constantinople during the iconoclastic period and later, as well as the continuous relations between the Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Constantinople³¹³.

The neo-Sabaitic tradition

The Lavra of St Sabas the Sanctified and the new liturgical rule

After adopting, probably in the 10th century³¹⁴, the liturgical characteristics of the Studite synthesis in terms of readings, the euchological texts and the Synaxarion, the liturgical tradition of the monastery of St Sabas continued to develop in its own way. While Studite liturgy gradually spread in Byzantium and its provinces, in Palestine a new neo-Sabaitic synthesis was being developed, which followed, chronologically, the Studite synthesis³¹⁵. The result of this was the so-called “Jerusalem Typikon”, which shows the adaptation of the Studite rite to the norms of Palestinian coenobitic monasteries³¹⁶.

The neo-Sabaitic synthesis, which spread throughout Byzantium and its provinces between the 11th and the 14th centuries, became a regulating force of the late

³¹¹ Vatican Gr. 2282: Mercier B.Ch. ed., *La Liturgie de S.Jacques. Édition critique avec traduction latine*, Patrologia Orientalis 26.2, Paris, 1946, pp. 115-256; cited in Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 57.

³¹² Пентковский, Константинопольский.

³¹³ Успенский, *Православная вечерня*, 219.

³¹⁴ Пентковский, Константинопольский.

³¹⁵ The term comes from Taft: Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 79.

³¹⁶ Пентковский, Константинопольский.

Byzantine tradition until the present day³¹⁷. The oldest description surviving of the neo-Sabaitic liturgy comes from Nikon of the Black Mountain (1025 – after 1088)³¹⁸. This document bears witness to the fact that the differences between the neo-Sabaitic and Studite Typika were not hugely significant as far as the structure of the daily services was concerned: Vespers as well as Matins followed the same outline, but in the neo-Sabaitic rule were introduced Little Vespers, which anticipated Great Vespers celebrated as part of a Vigil together with Matins on festal days, including Sundays; on the same festal occasions the text of the Great Doxology differed from that used during the week, and the Matinal stichera aposticha for feasts were joined with the stichera of the Lauds³¹⁹; in addition, the introduction of the Vigil led to some modifications to the structure of both Vespers and Matins.

The implantation of the new rule, however, as with the Studite rule, was not abrupt, and in its early stage had to exclusively with some elements of the earlier Studite system. For example, the influence of the neo-Sabaitic synthesis is clearly evident in the Typikon of the Evergetis monastery, essentially Studite³²⁰. The same process may be seen in a group of Bulgarian Triodia, probably linked to Athonite liturgy.

Mount Athos, which became prominent at this time as a spiritual centre of Orthodoxy, fulfilled an extremely important role in the dissemination of the Jerusalem Typikon, which gradually came to be used on Mount Athos during the 11th – 12th centuries. The new rule corresponded to the needs of the many idiorythmic Athonite monasteries, whose history had begun at the end of the 7th century, when the Peninsula was given to the Patriarch of Constantinople for the monks who had fled from the Arab invasions in various areas of the Empire³²¹. Initially, the Studite norms already in place were combined with those of the new rule by various means. For example, the Typikon of the Chilandari monastery, written in 1199, preserves a Serbian version of the neo-Sabaitic rule, with elements of the Athonite-Studite tradition.

³¹⁷ On the reasons for the replacement of the Studite Typikon by the neo-Sabaitic Typikon, see, amongst others, Uspensky and Taft: Успенский, *Православная вечерня*, 219-222, Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 81.

³¹⁸ Beneshevich V.N. (ed.), “Taktikon Nikona Chernogortsa: Grecheskij tekst po rukopisi No.441 Sinajskago monastyrja sv.Ekateriny”, *Zapiski Ist.-Filol.Fakul'teta Petrogradskago Universiteta, chast' 139*, v. I, Petrograd, 1917; Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 79-80.

³¹⁹ Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, 80.

³²⁰ Taft, *The Byzantine Rite* 81.

³²¹ Епископ Порфирий Успенский, *Первое путешествие в Афонские монастыри и скиты*, в. II, Киев, 1877, p. 233; cited in Успенский, *Православная вечерня*, 241.

In the 12th century, the neo-Sabaitic Typikon began to influence the Constantinopolitan Studite Typika. At the beginning of the 13th century, following the invasion of Constantinople by the Crusaders, which was accompanied by the destruction of the monasteries of the capital, including that of Stoudion, and the move of the Patriarchate to Nikea, the neo-Sabaitic Typikon which allowed liturgical celebration with more modest means than those of the Studite Typikon and much more so than those of the Typikon of the Great Church, began to prevail in the capital. After Constantinople, in the 13th century the new Typikon was disseminated throughout the Eastern Orthodox territories.

A significant element in the spread of the neo-Sabaitic Typikon was the hesychastic movement. Its roots went back centuries, before the rule even existed. With the 14th century, the movement reached its highest point and was officially recognized by the Church, in great part on account of the activity of St Gregory Palamas. He began to be commemorated in the neo-Sabaitic Triodion on the Second Sunday of Lent.

The spreading of hesychasm and the neo-Sabaitic tradition was also the work of another 14th century saint, Gregory of Sinai. His teaching was particularly influential on the Southern Slavs. Amongst his pupils were Euthimios of Turnovo, who was Patriarch of Bulgaria from 1375. The writing school of Turnovo, which he established, profoundly influenced the literature of Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania and Russia, chiefly on account of the redaction of Slavic liturgical books, carried out by members of the school, in the period of transition to the neo-Sabaitic or the Jerusalem Typikon.

The hymnography of the final period

The hymnography of the Triodion cycle that appeared in the 10th – 15th centuries is considered to be related to the third period of hymnographical evolution, which, unlike the first period, did not create new forms, and is not so luminous poetically as that of the second period³²²; its principal function was the creation of material, following the example of that already extant, for new feasts and liturgies, which had appeared as a consequence of the change from the Studite Typikon to that of Jerusalem. One of these was the commemoration of St Gregory Palamas, newly incorporated into

³²² Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 77; Момина, *Triodion*, *49.

the Triodion, and written by the Patriarch Philotheus Kokkinos³²³. In addition to new celebrations, the authors of this period duplicated earlier hymns; these include two canons to the Martyr Theodore of Tyre, written by John Euchaites (Mauropus)³²⁴ in the 10th century, and the canon to the same saint by the 11th century author Bartholomew³²⁵, a follower of Nilus, who founded the monastery of Grottaferrata. Other authors of the time include St Simeon Metaphrastes (second half of the 10th century)³²⁶, to whom are attributed the stichera of the Great Canon of St Andrew of Crete³²⁷, Constantine Porphyrogenitus³²⁸ (905-959) and Nikiphoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos³²⁹ (1256?-1335).

Conclusion

Having examined various points in the development of Eastern Christian liturgy up to the Studite synthesis, it may be noted that many of its characteristics appeared rather early. Already during the first period, the commemorations of Pascha, Pentecost, Holy Week and Lent were established.

During the second period the general outlines of the cathedral and monastic liturgies were set out, both of them still undergoing a process of reciprocal influence. The main genres of chant were established, whether based on Biblical or non-Biblical texts. During the 5th and 6th centuries there appeared more varieties of troparion, including those that gave rise to the sticheron and the canon; the kontakion developed more or less at the same time. The system of Gospel readings and corresponding commemorations was being worked out at the same time, and is reflected in the hymnography; a large part of this lectionary and hymnological system became part of the Studite synthesis.

³²³ Momina, *Triodion*, *87-88; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 200; Прохоров Г.М. “К истории литургической поэзии: гимны и молитвы патриарха Филофея Коккина”, *ТОДОРЛ*, v. 27, Leningrad, 1972, pp. 120-149.

³²⁴ Архиепископ Филарет, *Исторический*, 320-336; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 199, Beck, *Kirche*, 555-556; ODB II, 1319; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *87.

³²⁵ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 199; Momina, *Triodion*, *87.

³²⁶ Архиепископ Филарет, *Исторический*, 313-315; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 198, Beck, *Kirche*, 570-571; ODB III, 1983-1984; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *86-87.

³²⁷ Momina, *Triodion*, *87; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 198.

³²⁸ Архиепископ Филарет, *Исторический*, 312-313; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 197, Beck, *Kirche*, 551-552; ODB I, 502-503; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *86-87.

³²⁹ Архиепископ Филарет, *Исторический*, 363-365; Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 203-204; Beck, *Kirche*, 705-706; ODB III, 2207; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *88.

In the third period, what had occurred during the second period essentially reached maturity. This is true as much of the structure of the liturgy of both Cathedral and monastic rites as it is of the system of commemorations of the Triodion cycle, whose construction, with rare exceptions, was completed. During the course of the Studite reforms, the already-extant commemorations of the Triodion cycle were merely chosen from and re-located. During this period were active three of the greatest hymnographers: St Andrew of Crete, St John of Damascus and St St Kosmas of Maiouma, whose hymns form the basis of the Studite repertory.

Thus, in the mid-9th century, the major part of the liturgical system, commemorations and hymnography that would be absorbed into the Studite synthesis was composed. More or less at the same time, no later than the 9th century, a number of Russian tribes came under Christian influence, as will be shown in the following chapter. Russia began to assimilate Byzantine culture in its unreformed state. The implantation of the Studite synthesis after the official baptism had an earlier history, as was the case in Byzantium. This fact leads to the hypothesis that the influence of the Palestinian liturgical tradition could have penetrated into Russian liturgical usage not only through the Studite synthesis, but also in the previous phase, at least during the course of the creation of this synthesis, if not earlier. This influence will be noted in the analysis of liturgical books undertaken in subsequent chapters.

The Studite synthesis that characterizes the fourth period saw the creation of the liturgical system which became established in Russian sacred culture between the 11th century and the mid-15th century. Together with the Studite system, distinctively Studite parameters entered Russian practice, having to do with styles of chant, including the versions found in the Asmatika, notational systems, Studite hymnography (and also Palestinian, which became part of the synthesis) and the kinds of liturgical books, two of whose representatives are central to this thesis – manuscripts Sin 319 and Voskr 27.

The Studite synthesis manifested itself in many local variants, recorded in Typika or in the rubrics of the Typika noted in liturgical books from Constantinople, Mount Athos, Southern Italy, Georgia, Russia and the Southern Slavic countries. The continuous contacts between the greatest Studite centres directly influenced liturgical rules and the books written in these various regions. One of the consequences of these contacts was the great number of redactions of chant books. As far as Russian codices are concerned, including Sin 319 and Voskr 27, the determinant significance of these processes will be shown in the following chapters.

The gradual disappearance of Studite practice that may be observed to a greater or lesser degree, throughout the territory of Byzantium and its provinces, also had an affect on Russian books. In them are found variants of the coming together of the Studite and neo-Sabaitic practices that took place in Constantinopolitan, Palestinian, Athonite and South Slavic monastic centres. It is probable that many processes that took place in Russia were very similar to those that took place in Southern Italy. With this in mind, a future comparative study of the trajectory of these two peripheral centres may bring to light important information.

Chapter 2

The Liturgy and liturgical books of the Studite Period in Russia

The dissemination of Christianity in Slavic lands and the formation of the Slavonic language

Kievan Rus', "a magnificent and strong state"³³⁰, was the result of the coming together in the 9th century of various Slavic tribes, whose roots may be traced back to the Scythian tribes. During the course of the centuries Slavic tribes had come together and formed more or less stable states. With the arrival of the 9th century, the lands of the Slavic tribes between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea were divided into two areas: the Khazars- Magyarok, the Magyars, in the South, and the Varengians in the North. The joining of the North and South of Russia under the power of Oleg, who had conquered the throne of Kiev in 878, opened a new chapter in the history of Russia – the period of Kievan Rus'³³¹.

From at least the 860s, some of the Russian tribes – those of the South-East and those of the West – remained under the influence of Christian thought³³². In Kiev, Christianity had existed at least from the mid-10th century³³³. The constant traffic of goods between Byzantium and Scandinavia, passing through Kievan Rus', and commercial contacts with Czechs and Moravians in the 9th century, and the Latin-rite Poles in the 10th century³³⁴, meant that there was considerable awareness of Christianity even before its official acceptance. In 988 the Grand Duke, Vladimir, (died 1015), who reigned in Kiev from around the year 980, received Christianity from the Byzantines. The official liturgical language, however, from the beginning, was not Greek, but Slavonic³³⁵.

The pre-history of Slavonic-language Christian culture in early Russia was part of the process of the expansion of Christianity in Southern and Western Slavic lands, during which the bases of liturgical Slavonic were established.

³³⁰ Тихомиров М.Н., *Русская культура X-XVIII веков*, Moscow, 1968, p. 187.

³³¹ Вернадский Г.В. *Древняя Русь. История России*, Moscow, 1999, v.1, available at http://avorhist.narod.ru/publish/index_oldrus.html; Келдыш Ю.В., *История русской музыки*, v.1, Moscow, 1983, p. 23.

³³² Вернадский, *Древняя Русь*

³³³ A number of factors attest to this; for example, the baptism of the Grand Duchess Olga in 955 (Владышевская, *Музыкальная культура*, p. 22), or the evidence of a community with a church at the time of Count Igor, where in 945 the Count's troops made a contract with the Greeks (Успенский Н.Д., *Древнерусское певческое искусство*, Moscow, 1965, p. 21).

³³⁴ Владышевская Т.Ф., *Музыкальная культура Древней Руси*, Moscow, 2006, p. 21.

³³⁵ Хабургаев Г.А., Старославянский как язык средневековой славянской культуры, *Актуальные проблемы славянского языкознания*, Moscow University ed., Moscow, 1988, pp. 5-49.

Church Slavonic is the written language that was created as part of the process of translation by Saints Cyril³³⁶ (in the world Constantine, 826 or 827 – 869), and Methodius (original name unknown, probably Michael, before 820-885)³³⁷ and their pupils in the period 863-893.

The linguistic experience of the Slavic peoples is part of the development of the rules of any literary language. Its history meant the periodic redefinition of the relationship between written literary norms, on the one hand, and the phonetic and grammatical categories of the everyday language on the other. While the spoken language, being a means of everyday communication, tends to evolve independently of the creative initiative of those who speak it, changes in the literary language are the result of deliberate and organized activity. The need for a literary language, which is not absolutely necessary in terms of society, comes about as part of the establishment of state organizations. The language of the liturgy unites, whereas everyday language separates³³⁸.

The social conditions which facilitated the appearance of Church Slavonic and its later history provide a classical example of the expansion of a literary language in the Middle Ages.

The idea of the creation of a literary language, which would be used by people who spoke related Slavic languages, to facilitate liturgical celebration in Slavic lands, was in accordance with the tendencies of countries which adapted the language of liturgical celebration to that of the country, such as Armenia and Georgia. The creation of a learned Slavic language is associated with the activity of a circle of Christian adepts under the leadership of Constantine the Philosopher (826/827 – 869) to whom are traditionally attributed the first Slavic alphabet and translations. Recent investigations indicate that the alphabet was based on the dialect of the Slavs who lived in the area of Thessaloniki³³⁹, a language well understood by Constantine and his brother and fellow missionary, Methodius, both having been born in Thessaloniki³⁴⁰.

It is usually said that 863 was the year of the beginning of the two brothers' missionary activity in Slavic lands, when they left, either at the behest of Byzantium or the Count of Moravia, or on their own initiative, for foreign parts. It is probable,

³³⁶ Baptismal name; 50 days before his death he was tonsured a schema-monk with the name of Cyril: *Христианство, энциклопедический словарь*, т. I, Moscow, 1993, p. 751.

³³⁷ *Христианство*, 751.

³³⁸ Хабургаев, *Старославянский*, 6

³³⁹ Хабургаев, *Старославянский*, 9.

however, that there was a preparatory period before this mission³⁴¹, which must have begun soon after Constantine's discovery of the relics of St Clement, Pope of Rome (1st – 2nd centuries), in 861. The people of the Balkan Peninsula were the first to receive these initial attempts at the creation of an alphabet and translation³⁴².

The Balkan lands were part of the Metropolia of Rome, where native Slavic peoples were able to receive Christianity as early as the 5th or 6th centuries³⁴³. During the course of several centuries following, until Bulgarian received Christianity from the Byzantines in 865, Christianity in the Balkans suffered considerable persecution, and was also subject to Latin as well as Greek influences. Even before St Cyril there were carried out some initial experiments in translating a number of readings and prayers, which were recorded using simple Greek minuscule, and it was this script that St Cyril developed in to Glagolitic³⁴⁴.

As had been the case in the Balkans, Pannonia and Moravia, where the brothers travelled in 863, had already been Christianized before their arrival. The spread of Christianity amongst the Slavs in Moravia and Pannonia occurred in the 8th – 9th centuries, and is usually linked to the activity of Irish missionaries, who must have used in their sermons and prayers the native language of the Slavic peoples³⁴⁵. At the time of the missionary activity of Sts Cyril and Methodius, for political reasons religious life in these lands was organized by representatives of the Roman and German Churches, who argued against the Slavonic liturgy. However, support from the pope for the legalization of services and the recognition of the Scriptures in Slavonic was obtained after the relics of St Clement were given to Rome in 867. During their preparation for the journey to Rome, probably between 863 and 867, the entire Slavonic text of the short Aprakos Gospel was finalized, considered the first book in the old Slavonic language³⁴⁶.

After the death of Cyril in 869, and after the nomination of Methodius as bishop of Moravia, Methodius's circle continued the work of translating and the development of the Slavonic language, which by this point was far more than a local dialect of

³⁴⁰ *Христианство*, 751.

³⁴¹ Leskien A., *Grammatik der albulgarischen (altkirchen-slavischen) Sprache*, Heidelberg, 1919, p. XX-XXI, cit.por Хабургаев, Старославянский, 15.

³⁴² Leskien, *Grammatik* p. XXI; Kurz J., *Vyznam cinnosti slovanskych apostolu Cyrila a Metodeje v dejinach slovanske kultury, Slavia*, 1963, v.XXXII, p.315, cit.por Хабургаев, Старославянский, 15.

³⁴³ Соколов М.И., *Из древней истории болгар*, St.Petersburg, 1879, pp. 118-120, cited in Хабургаев, Старославянский, 15.

³⁴⁴ Kurz, *Vyznam*, pp.316-318, cited in Хабургаев, Старославянский, 16.

³⁴⁵ Исаченко А.В., “К вопросу об ирландской миссии у паннонских и моравских славян”, *ВСЯ*, 1963, v.7, p.48-51; cited in Хабургаев, Старославянский, 11.

³⁴⁶ Хабургаев, Старославянский, 31.

Thessaloniki. However, the Slavonic mission continued to encounter resistance and persecution, and after the death of Methodius in 885, it was practically extinguished in Pannonia and Moravia, but found its continuation in Bulgaria, where the disciples of Sts Cyril and Methodius fled to escape the persecutions, and where the evolution of the Slavonic literary language passed on to its next stage of development.

From 886 occurred the reform of written Slavonic, beginning in Western Macedonia, part of Bulgaria since 864, in the circles known as the “Okhrid School”. Thanks to this activity, in 893 Slavonic was recognized as the official language of the Church in Bulgaria³⁴⁷. The language was written in a new script, Cyrillic, based on Greek majuscule, with the addition of some Glagolitic letters. Thus, Cyrillic was an adaptation of Glagolitic, created by St Cyril, to the cultural conditions of Bulgaria where, following the reception of Christianity, the official liturgical and literary language had been Greek, and Slavonic texts were written in Greek letters. In parallel with the introduction of Cyrillic, Glagolitic continued to be used in Bulgaria. Both were known in Russia, which was in the process of assimilating Slavonic script in its East Bulgarian redaction³⁴⁸.

The beginning of the organization of liturgical life in Russia. The founding of the Metropolitanate of Kiev

At the time of her baptism, Russia had already witnessed the development of the Christian liturgy in Byzantium, in the West and in Slavic lands, celebrated in a number of languages. Greek-Slavic linguistic contacts had arisen as a consequence of constant commercial, cultural, religious and political contact with Byzantium. The tradition of the Slavonic literary language came into Russian culture even before the official baptism³⁴⁹, through the Southern Slavic lands, and this made possible the introduction of the Slavonic liturgy. Moreover, the Russians had knowledge of Latin Christian culture, as is shown by the Missal from the end of the 10th century- first half of the 11th

³⁴⁷ Хабургаев, Старославянский, 34-35.

³⁴⁸ Хабургаев, Старославянский, 40-41.

³⁴⁹ Медынцева А.А., “Письменность на Руси периода от рубежа IX и X вв. до первой половины XI в. (по данным эпиграфики)”, *Труды V Международного конгресса славянской археологии*, Moscow, 1987, v.3-2b), section VI, pp. 12-18; cited in Рождественская Т.В., “Развитие грамотности и книжной культуры в Новгороде”, *Книжные центры Древней Руси XI-XVI веков*, St Peterburg, 1991, p. 21.

century³⁵⁰, which survives in a Russian source. However, traces of the influence of Latin-rite Christianity were quickly expunged soon after Russia's acceptance of her faith from Byzantium.

One of the most significant events for the development of liturgy in Russia was the establishment of the Metropolitanate. For a long time the beginning of the Metropolitanate of Kiev was dated to the year in which construction of the stone cathedral began, and to the first reference to the Metropolitan of Kiev, Theopempt, which occurs in the Russian Chronicle in the year 1039³⁵¹. The dating of the beginning of the Metropolitanate to the late 1030s gave rise to the idea that the Kievan Metropolitanate belonged to the jurisdiction not of Constantinople, but to that of Okhrid during the period between the official baptism and the arrival of Metropolitan Theopempt³⁵². Indeed, the Laurentian Codex of the Primary Chronicle for the year 1037, says the following concerning the activity of the Grand Duke Yaroslav the Wise (c. 978 – 1054), the son of Vladimir: “Yaroslav laid the foundations of this magnificent city, and the city has gates of gold; he also began the building of St Sophia, the Metropolitanate and then the church of the Golden Gates, that of the Holy Theotokos of the Annunciation, and then the monastery of St George and that of St Irene”³⁵³. However, this text is probably not intended to specify the moment of the establishment of the Metropolitanate, but merely indicates that fact of its possessing the stone cathedral under construction. In the opinion of Shchapov, who compared a number of primary historical sources³⁵⁴, including Russian chronicles and Byzantine lists from the Metropolitanates indicate that the foundation of the Kievan Metropolitanate took place between 996 and 998, and after this came the foundation of the cathedral, dedicated, like that of Constantinople, to the Holy Wisdom (“St Sophia”). The first building must have been wooden, and, according to the chronicles, was burnt in 1017-1018. The church was rebuilt, again in wood, in the same year, and after 1037, on account of the

³⁵⁰ Kievan Glagolitic folios (Киевские глаголические листки), or Kievan Missal, CNB AN USSR, DA/P. 328; *Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. XI-XIII вв.* (SK; see p.113 of this thesis), Moscow, 1984, n°1, p. 27-30.

³⁵¹ Шахматов А. А., *Разыскания о древнейших русских летописных сводах.* St.Petersburg, 1908. p. 44, cited in Щапов Я.Н. *Государство и Церковь в Древней Руси XI-XIII вв.*, Moscow, 1989, available at <http://www.sedmitza.ru/index.html?did=5495>.

³⁵² Приселков М. Д., *Очерки по церковно-политической истории Киевской Руси X—XII вв.* St.Petersburg, 1913, p. 84, cited in Щапов, *Государство*.

³⁵³ *Русские летописи XI-XVI веков. Избранное., Повесть временных лет (по Лаврентьевскому списку)*, pp. 22-174, St.Petersburg, 2006, p. 108.

³⁵⁴ Щапов, *Государство*.

enlargement of the city, it was once again rebuilt, in stone and in a new location, where it still stands, in a somewhat modified state.

After the establishment of the Metropolitanate of Kiev, soon after the official baptism, and until the 13th century, many Russian cities acquired episcopal thrones. The first, already at the end of the 10th century, were Belgorod, Polotzk and Novgorod. To the 11th century belong at least six more thrones – in the first half of the century Chernigov and Pereiaslavl', in mid-century Yuriev, in the second half Vladimir Volynsky and, at the end of the century, Turov. During the 12th century the tendency was to create large new counties, politically independent of, or partially dependent on, Kiev. The capital of each county desired its own episcopal seat, and the Metropolitanate endeavoured to respond, understanding that an increase in the number of cathedrals would lead to the strengthening both of the Church and the state. As a consequence of this process, in the 12th century Smolensk became independent of Kiev, with its own bishop, and Suzdal' likewise became independent of Pereiaslavl'. In the 12th – 13th centuries, Peremyshl', Zvenigorod and Galich were at various times joined together as part of the same county, or administratively separate and ecclesiastically independent; at the turn of the 12th century, a cathedral was built in Riazan', and in the 13th in Vladimir Suzdal'sky.

In addition to the first metropolitanate in Kiev as the centre of ecclesiastical organization in Russia, there is evidence of the existence in the 11th century of metropolitanates in two other cities – Chernigov and Pereiaslavl'³⁵⁵.

Sacred architecture

The foundation of the cathedrals was preceded by the construction of churches in wood or stone, very often erected in the years following the official baptism of Rus' and the organization of liturgical life in these churches.

Even before the baptism, in Kiev there existed a church dedicated to St Ilias which in the Primary Chronicle was called “the cathedral church, because there were many Varengian Christians”, in which the emissaries of Duke Igor in 945 had solemnized a contract with Byzantium³⁵⁶. In the same Chronicle, further on, in a description of the baptism of Kiev by Vladimir, it is recorded that “he had churches

³⁵⁵ Щапов, *Государство*.

³⁵⁶ *Повесть временных лет*, 52; Успенский, *Древнерусское певческое*, 21.

built and placed where previously there had been idols. And he placed the church dedicated to St Basil on the hill... and other cities also began to build churches and equip them with priests, and to bring people to be baptized in all the cities and towns”³⁵⁷.

The first stone cathedral in Kiev, according to the references in the Chronicles, was the church of the Theotokos built by the Grand Duke, which served as a symbol of the process of Christianization carried out by means of the power of the Grand Duke and the reforms associated with him. The beginning of its construction is dated to 990 or 989, and the end to 996³⁵⁸; it was of great size, as may be seen from the foundations which have survived to the present day, and was built under the supervision of a Greek master. The unofficial name of the church was “desiatinnaia” (the tithe”), because for its maintenance the Grand Duke intended a tenth of all his income. The church was connected with the victory of Vladimir over Kherson, after which there were brought to it books, icons and other liturgical items, as well as priests from Kherson. The most holy objects in the church were the relics of St Clement, as mentioned in one of the Russian historical sources, “Words concerning the miracle of Clement of Rome”; the same document mentions the clerus that had existed since the church’s foundation³⁵⁹ and which probably included, as well as priests, deacons and other clergy, also readers and chanters. The economic and political status of the church of the Dukes “of the Tithe” allows one to see one of the early centres in which the liturgy, including its chant, bore similarities to that of the Byzantine court.

In other episcopacies, the organization of church life also included the regular building of sacred monuments, the number of which, as the 12th century approached, had increased significantly³⁶⁰. Built principally on the initiative of the Dukes, the city cathedrals were, as in Byzantium, the seats of the bishops. Their cleruses³⁶¹ assured that there were daily celebrations, unlike other urban churches.

³⁵⁷ *Повесть временных лет*, 89.

³⁵⁸ *Повесть временных лет*, 92.

³⁵⁹ Бегунов Ю. К., “Русское слово о чуде Климента Римского и кирилло-мефодиевская традиция”, *Slavia*. v. 42, Praha, 1974, pp. 34—36, cited in: Щапов, *Государство*.

³⁶⁰ According to the Chronicles, in the fire of Vladimir in 1184 there were burnt 32 churches: *ПСРЛ (The Complete Collection of the Russian Chronicles)*, v.1, col.391, Moscow, 1962; v.15, col. 270, St. Petersburg, 1963; cited in: Щапов, *Государство*.

³⁶¹ The oldest references to cleruses in Russia come from the Cathedral of the Holy Wisdom in Kiev; later references come from the Cathedrals in Novgorod (1156), Smolensk (1136), Vladimir Volynsky (1240s), Rostov (1230— 1231); as well as in cathedrals, cleruses existed, at least from the 12th century, in no-cathedral churches; cited in: Щапов, *Государство*.

Indications of general culture

Already during Vladimir's rule the teaching of letters to the people had begun; this the Grand Duke considered of national importance: "he sent out to collect the sons of the best people, for them to be taught letters"³⁶². By order of the Duke, to churches and cathedrals was given the role of centres of learning, which served, in addition to their other functions, as a means of fulfilling the needs of the increasing numbers of cleruses in Russian cities. In one of the chronicles reference is made to what was probably the first school in early Russia, where, as well as other subjects, there was taught the art of church singing *доместиковый двор* (from the position of the *domestikos*); this was near the Church of the Tithe³⁶³. As part of the cathedrals, libraries began to appear, initially containing books from the capital, and later including books produced in local scriptoria³⁶⁴.

Under the rule of Yaroslav the Wise, the son of Grand Duke Vladimir (c. 978 – 1054), Kiev enjoyed a cultural flowering, becoming one of the greatest and richest cities of the Europe of the 11th – 12th centuries. Byzantine masters were invited to the capital in order to share with Russian masters the art of monumental architecture, the technique of mosaic, fresco, the painting of icons, the making and decoration of manuscripts and neumatic notation³⁶⁵.

This period is connected with the birth of Russian literature, which was disseminated throughout the Eastern Slavic territories, irrespective of the local centres in which the codices were written, all of them forming part of a single literary output³⁶⁶. To the development of Russian literature contributed a huge dissemination throughout the lands of Kievan Rus' of literary genres originating in Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Italy and other countries. This literature came to Russia initially by means of Bulgarian translations, but from the time of the rule of Yaroslav, also directly from Byzantium³⁶⁷.

³⁶² *Повесть временных лет*, 89.

³⁶³ Владышевская, *Музыкальная культура*, 23; Келдыш, *История русской музыки*, 79; Успенский, *Древнерусское певческое*, 22.

³⁶⁴ Дмитриева Р.П., "От редактора", *Книжные центры Древней Руси*, St.Peterburg, 1991, pp. 8-9.

³⁶⁵ Владышевская, *Музыкальная культура*, 23.

³⁶⁶ Лихачев Д.С., *История древнерусской литературы*, Leningrad, 1980, p.14, cited in: Владышевская, *Музыкальная культура*, 25.

³⁶⁷ Успенский, , *Древнерусское певческое*, 23.

Birch bark documents and epigraphic codices help to provide a fuller picture of the level of literacy in Early Russia³⁶⁸. The earliest birch bark documents date from the turn of the 10th century, or from the earliest part of the 11th century³⁶⁹, while the graffiti found in Eastern Europe date from the 9th – 10th centuries³⁷⁰. Their roots, and the context in which they were used, go back to urban populations in which members of many social circles were literate. Amongst the authors of birch bark manuscripts and graffiti found on the walls of the cathedrals in Kiev and Novgorod, and in some other churches, are found craftsmen, masters, counts, archbishops, pilgrims, bakers of proshpora, the count's soldiers and a woman from a ducal family³⁷¹. The greater part of these inscriptions is in Cyrillic, though there may also be found Glagolitic, in fact more typical, in epigraphs as well as in manuscripts³⁷², in the North-Western tradition the incidence is smaller; the oldest example is found on a spindle from the mid-10th century³⁷³. In birch bark documents Glagolitic has not been found, which may perhaps be explained by the practical nature of the texts recorded³⁷⁴.

Monasteries

The introduction of Christianity during the mature period of the Russian state determined the powerful role of the dukes in Church matters, both as regards the way

³⁶⁸ Palaeographic and linguistic analysis of birch bark documents has been carried out by Zalizniak and Ianin: Янин В. Л., Зализняк А. А., *Новгородские грамоты на бересте: (Из раскопок 1977-1983 гг.)*, Moscow, 1986; Янин В. Л., Зализняк А. А., *Новгородские грамоты на бересте: (Из раскопок 1990-1996 гг.)*, Moscow, 2000; epigraphic codices have been analysed by the following: Медынцева А. А., *Древнерусские надписи новгородского Софийского собора*, Moscow, 1978; Медынцева А. А., “Древнерусские надписи из церкви Федора Стратилата в Новгороде”, *Славяне и Русь*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 440-450; Рождественская Т. В., “Новгородские надписи-граффити как материал для истории языка”, *Грамматика русского языка*, Irkutsk, 1972, v.I, pp. 34-38; Рождественская Т. В., “О некоторых графико-палеографических особенностях новгородских надписей-граффити”, *Новое в археологии Северо-Запада СССР*, Leningrad 1985, pp. 116-119; Рождественская Т. В., “Эпиграфика и книжная культура древнего Новгорода”, *Труды V Международного конгресса славянской археологии*, Moscow, 1987, v.3-2b), section VI, pp. 92-99; Яйленко В. П., “Древнерусские граффити Нередицы как источник бытовой истории Новгорода XIII-XVII вв. ”, *Труды V Международного конгресса славянской археологии*, Moscow, 1987, v.3-2b), section VI, pp. 153-163; Рождественская, Развитие, 17-28.

³⁶⁹ Рождественская, Развитие, 19.

³⁷⁰ Amongst the early epigraphic codices are found leaves in Slavonic as well as in Scandinavian languages, Arabic and Greek, thereby attesting to the great number of international contacts of Early Russia: Рождественская, 20.

³⁷¹ Рождественская, 21.

³⁷² Amongst the Russian Cyrillic manuscripts including fragments of Glagolitic are the 13th century Festal Menaion SK 176; the Menaion SK 41 and the Typikon SK 50.

³⁷³ Носов Е. Н., Рождественская Т. В., “Буквенные знаки на пряслице середины X в.с «Рюрикова» Городища: (Вопросы интерпретации)”, *Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины*, Leningrad, 1987, v. 18, pp. 45-55; cited in Рождественская, Развитие, 24.

the cathedrals functioned economically and the internal organization of the larger monasteries from the 11th century onwards.

Though the possibility of idiorhythmic monasteries in Russia before the official baptism, both in the wilderness and in urban centres, is not excluded³⁷⁵, references to such are extremely rare in the primary historical sources of the pre-Studite and Studite period, perhaps because monastic life in such institutions did not require written documents regarding the entire community³⁷⁶.

From the first half of the 11th century, the chronicles begin to make mention of monastic communities in Kiev³⁷⁷, from the time of the reign of Vladimir. The number of references increases in those parts of the chronicles dealing with the reign of Yaroslav³⁷⁸. However, these references do not allow one to form a fixed opinion with regard to the type of monastic life adopted in these monasteries.

More informative in this regard are the references to the rules of the monasteries of the Russian counts, the first mention of which is found in the description of the works of Grand Duke Yaroslav previously mentioned, in the first half of the 11th century. These two monasteries, of St George and St Irene, were intended to serve the needs of the Duke's family and were entirely maintained by his court, independently of the centralized tithing system. Family monasteries were also erected by Yaroslav's children, especially in Kiev – that of St Dimitri by his oldest son, Iziaslav, that of St Simeon by his second son, Svyatoslav, and two by his third son, Vsevolod-Andrey: those of St Andrew, near the Church of the Tithe, and of St Michael, far from Kiev, in Vyduhichi, behind the Kiev-Pechersky monastery.

³⁷⁴ Рождественская, 25-26.

³⁷⁵ Уханова, Этапы развития, 109; Уханова, Древнейшая, 248.

³⁷⁶ Ukhanova considers that the oldest reference to idiorhythmic monasteries in Russia is found in the Festal Menaion from 1175-1185 (RGADA, Sin Typ 131, f.136v.), in which the scribe Iliia describes himself as “бывый попин церкви святого Вознесения у братии”: Уханова, Древнейшая, 248.

³⁷⁷ Hilarion, in his Eulogy of Vladimir, amongst the merits of the Duke makes mention of the fact that during his reign these monasteries had been built: Молдаван А. М., «Слово о законе и благодати» Илариона, Kiev, 1984, p. 93. The existence of monks in Vladimir's government is noted in the “Memory and Eulogy of Monk Yakov”: Зимин А. А., “Память и похвала Иакова Мниха и Житие князя Владимира по древнейшему списку”, КСИС, Moscow, 1963, v. 37, p. 70; cited in Щапов, Государство.

³⁷⁸ *Повесть временных лет*, p.108; in this Chronicle under the year 1051, it is said that Anthony, returning to Mount Athos, and before going to his cave near Berestov, which had remained uninhabited since Hilarion's nomination as Metropolitan, was in Kiev looking for a place to live, and visited various monasteries: *Русские летописи*, p.111; various references to monasteries are found in the Chronicle of the Life of Theodosy: Щапов, *Государство*.

According to the chronicles, the number of monasteries increased hugely until the 13th century³⁷⁹. Monasteries passed from one heir to another, and the fact of owning one was considered as a sign of connection to the power of the Grand Duke.

The Kiev-Pechersky Monastery

The institution which had the most important role in the dissemination of Christian culture in Russia was the Kiev-Pechersky monastery. It still stands in the southern outskirts of Kiev, on the banks of the River Dnieper. Its origins have to do with the first Russian-born metropolitan, Hilarion, elected by the council of bishops in 1051 during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise. According to the Primary Chronicle³⁸⁰, at some time before this date, being priest of the village of Berestov, Hilarion had the custom of retiring to the upper bank of the Dnieper, covered by woods, to pray, having dug out for himself a cave, which gave rise to the “distant caves”. Probably during the same period, if not earlier, this area may have been inhabited by hermit monks. When Hilarion was chosen for the episcopal throne, his abandoned cave was taken over by the Russian monk Anthony, who had come from Mount Athos; he soon became a teacher of the monks who lived near him, amongst whom was Theodosius. Some time later, Anthony, accompanied by a group of monks, moved to the “Near caves”, on the next hill, leaving the direction of the rest of the brotherhood in the charge of Varlaam, who thus became the first hegoumen of the monastery.

After the foundation of the monastery of St Dimitri by Count Izyaslav, and Theodosius’s move there as hegoumen, in 1062 Theodosius became hegoumen of the Kiev-Pechersky monastery. Thanks to Count Izyaslav’s donation of land and money, according to the Chronicle of the Life of St Theodosius³⁸¹, he built the church of the Holy Theotokos and cells for the brothers who had lived until then in the caves³⁸², thus establishing the basis of the Kiev-Pechersk monastery.

When he became hegoumen, Theodosius began organizing monastic life in Russia, one of the most important aspects of which was the move to the coenobitic rule

³⁷⁹ According to Golubinsky’s reckoning, in the first half of the 13th century there were known some 70 monasteries, with a considerable presence in large cities: Kiev and Novgorod had 17 or 18 each, and there were four or more in Vladimir Suzdal’sky, Smolensk, Chernigov and Galich: Голубинский Е. Е., *История русской церкви*, Moscow, 1904, 2nd ed., p. 566.

³⁸⁰ *Повесть временных лет*, 111.

³⁸¹ This Chronicle was composed in 1079-1088 by Nestor, who lived after the death of St Theodosius in the Kiev-Pechersk monastery: Шахматов, 1896, 3, cited in Пентковский, *Титикон*, 155.

of the Kiev-Pechersky monastery and other monasteries supported by the dukes. The contacts of these monasteries with cathedrals in the Russian counties, in which liturgy was more Byzantine in style, led them to seek out a Byzantine Typikon, based on the conjunction of the monastic and cathedral rites. The synthesis of the cathedral tradition of St Sophia in Constantinople with the Palestinian tradition, which characterized the liturgy of the monasteries of the capital and of some Byzantine provinces which followed the Studite rule, determined the choice of this kind of Typikon for the Kiev-Pechersk monastery. The choice from among the varieties of Studite rule was determined by another criterion important for the Russian capital: the Byzantine prototype should correspond not only to a royal monastery (of the Emperor), or of the Grand Duke in the case of Russia, but also to a monastery that depended directly on the higher powers of the Church³⁸³. This rule was the Studite Typikon, and from among various versions of it was chosen the Typikon written by Patriarch Alexios for his monastery of the Dormition, situated in Constantinople.

There exist two accounts of how this Typikon appeared in Russia³⁸⁴. One of them, recorded in the Primary Chronicle in the “Story of why the monastery is called Pechersk”, for the year 1051, and also in the monastery’s Paterikon, says that the Studite Typikon was found amongst the effects of the Greek monk Michael of the Studite monastery, who had come to Kiev together with Metropolitan George³⁸⁵. This version, however, is considered to be later and less reliable than the second³⁸⁶. This second version, which appears in the Life of St Theodosius, tells of how Theodosius sent one of the monks from the monastery in Constantinople to the eunuch Ephrem³⁸⁷ in order for him to copy the Typikon of the monastery of Stoudion and send it, by means of a monk, to the Kiev-Pechersky monastery.

Theodosius’s choice of the eunuch Ephrem can probably be explained by the fact that during the time that they lived at the Kiev-Pechersk monastery, he must have found in Ephrem, who was tonsured there, an extraordinary spiritual illuminator for Russia. Between 1061 and 1062, Ephrem moved from Kiev to one of the monasteries

³⁸² Попов, 1879, 12; cited in Пентковский, *Типикон*, 155.

³⁸³ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 163.

³⁸⁴ A detailed description of both versions may be found in Pentkovsky, 155-164.

³⁸⁵ *Повесть временных лет*, 113

³⁸⁶ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 157.

³⁸⁷ Попов А.Н., “Житие преподобного отца нашего Феодосия, игумена печерского, списание Нестора (по харатейному списку Московского Успенского собора)”, *Чтения в Обществе истории и древностей российских при Московском Университете*, Moscow, 1879, f. 10 v.; Поппэ А.В.,

of Constantinople³⁸⁸; in the 1070s, after returning to Russia, he was named Metropolitan of Pereyaslavl' and became known not only as an ecclesiastical administrator and builder of churches³⁸⁹, but also as an author of various kinds of sacred literature. It was he who occupied himself with the selection of Greek service books, including the chant books, necessary for the practical realization of the Typikon.

Translation of the liturgical books in Russia in the 11th century

Though there survives no information in the chronicles confirming the arrival in Kiev of a set of books including the Studite-Alexian Typikon or the making of its translation in the same city, this would seem to be a more plausible hypothesis than the other two possibilities – either that it was translated in Constantinople, whence came South-Slavic books, traces of which philologists have found in the earliest copies of Russian liturgical books, or in a third place, such as Mount Athos³⁹⁰.

In favour of the first possibility is one of the fragments of the Life of St Theodosius, relating to the time when the Typikon was chosen and preparations made for the translation of the liturgical books. This fragment tells of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem of Varlaam – who was hegoumen firstly of the Kiev-Pechersky monastery, and then of another monastery in the capital, St Demetrius, organized in a fashion similar to that of Kiev-Pechersk – and subsequently to Constantinople³⁹¹. The route to Jerusalem went through the Byzantine capital, and, therefore, the order for necessary liturgical objects and books was probably made in Constantinople during the first journey, and then taken, by a caravan of horses, to the monastery in Kiev, possibly in 1067; details of this second journey are given in the Life of St Theodosius³⁹². It is more than probable that during his stay in Jerusalem Varlaam was able to acquire some liturgical books, which became a direct source for the multiple influences of the liturgical tradition of Jerusalem in Russian chant books, complementing Palestinian elements which had entered by means of Constantinopolitan manuscripts.

“Русские митрополии Константинопольской патриархии в XI столетии”, *Византийский временник*, Moscow, 1968, v.XXVIII, p.106; cited in Пентковский, *Типикон*, 156.

³⁸⁸ Попов, *Житие*, ff. 10r.-10v., cited in Пентковский, *Типикон*, 156.

³⁸⁹ *Повесть временных лет*, 140.

³⁹⁰ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 159.

³⁹¹ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 162-163.

³⁹² Пентковский, *Типикон*, 163.

The general cultural conditions in Russia during the reign of Yaroslav meant the existence, and not only in Kiev, but probably in other centres, of scriptoria, where translations from the Greek³⁹³ were made of historical, homiletic and biographical works³⁹⁴. Thus, in Russia the conditions existed for the translation of the liturgical books, which cannot possibly have been the first example of this kind of work.

Together with the Greek books, Slavonic books were used in the translation of Studite sources for the Kiev-Pechersky monastery. These books testify to multiple redactions made during the process of the evolution of Byzantine books. Constant comparisons between Slavonic books and the Greek originals, from the time of the circle of Sts Cyril and Methodius, and during the entire Studite period in Slavic lands explains the diversity of the Triodia, Pentekostaria, Menaia, Octoechoi and Horologia as regards the composition and organization of the chants contained in them³⁹⁵. However, it must be noted that, in speaking of the use of South Slavic sources in the translation of liturgical books in Russia in the 11th century, the work was undertaken by Russians without the participation of South Slavic translators³⁹⁶, as a series of facts shows.

As far as liturgy is concerned, Russian copies of the Typikon of Patriarch Alexios Stoudites differ substantially in their content from South Slavic sources which contain rubrics from the Typikon. For example, the liturgical particularities of the rules in Russian Typika have significant differences from those quoted from a now no-longer extant South Slavic Studite Typikon in the Bulgarian Orbelsky Triodion from the 13th century. Many discrepancies in rubrics may also be seen between South Slavic and Russian Menaion and Triodion sections³⁹⁷. The basic liturgical similarity between Russian codices, even though there is some variation, and their distance from South Slavic sources, provide reason to suppose that Russian copies of the Typika were made without Bulgaria as an intermediary.

This supposition is also confirmed by philological investigations: linguistic analysis of Russian copies of the Typikon proves that they were made by Russian, rather than South Slavic masters³⁹⁸.

³⁹³ Мещерский Н.А., "Искусство перевода Киевской Руси", *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы*, Moscow, Leningrad, 1958, v.15, p.55.

³⁹⁴ Момина М.А., "Проблема правки славянских богослужебных гимнографических книг на Руси в XI в.", *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы*, St.Petersburg, 1992, v. 35, p. 200.

³⁹⁵ Момина, Проблема правки, 200.

³⁹⁶ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 166.

³⁹⁷ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 166-168.

³⁹⁸ Соболевский А. И., *О древних русских переводах в домонгольский период*, Moscow, 1897, pp.2-4; Дурново И. И., *Введение в историю русского языка*, Moscow, 1969, p.105; Ищенко Д. С.,

It is accepted that the date of the translation of the Studite Typikon for the Kiev-Pechersky monastery must have been between 1062 (1067) and 1074³⁹⁹. Consequently, the first liturgical books must date from the same period, and these became the source for all the books of the Studite period. In the opinion of philologists, despite the multiplicity of later copies, they all come from the same Russian redaction.

Thus, Momina made a study of textological variants of chants in Slavonic included in different kinds of liturgical books. Slavonic variants were compared with their Greek prototypes, the study based on the texts of kontakia, stichera, automela and heirmoi⁴⁰⁰.

On the one hand, she discovered that the redaction of the texts of kontakia in Kontakaria and Triodia of the so-called Gim-type, found exclusively in Russian copies⁴⁰¹ and in Menaia published by Yagich⁴⁰² coincide. The texts of the kontakia in South Slavic copies, however, differ significantly from the Russian texts. Apart from the textological aspect, the differences affect the use of the kontakia that in Russian chant books correspond to the indications found in copies of the Typikon of Patriarch Alexios Stoudites, but in the South Slavic books do not⁴⁰³.

On the other hand, similar results were obtained in the comparison of stichera automela, whose textual redactions allow them to be grouped with Russian Triodia, Menaia and Sticheraria, rather than South Slavic sources.⁴⁰⁴

The third genre of hymns to shed light on the Russian textual redaction is the heirmos. Momina analysed the complete texts as found in the two Russian Octoechoi⁴⁰⁵. Following a comparison of these heirmoi with those found in Russian Heirmologia, it was concluded that the redaction is the same. Koschmieder, analyzing the Novgorod

“Старейший русский список студийского устава”, *Исследование источников по истории русского языка и письменности*, Moscow, 1966, pp. 140-142; Ищенко Д. С., *Древнерусская рукопись XII в. «Устав студийский»*: abstract of PhD thesis, Odessa, 1968, pp.13-14; Ищенко Д.С., “Устав студийский по списку XII в.(Фрагменты)”, *Источники по истории русского языка*, Moscow, 1976, p.110; cited in Момина М. А., “Проблема правки славянских богослужебных гимнографических книг на Руси в XI в.”, *Труды Отдела Древнерусской Литературы*, St.Petersburg, 1991,pp. 207-208. Соболевский А. И., “Материалы и исследования в области славянской филологии и археологии”, *Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности Императорской Академии наук*, v.LXXXVIII, n°3, St.Peterburg, 1910, p.168; Пичхадзе А. А., “Языковые особенности древнерусских переводов с греческого”, *Славянское языкознание: 12 Международный съезд славистов, (Краков 1998). Доклады российской делегации*, Moscow, 1998, p. 482; cited in Пентковский, *Типикон*, 166.

³⁹⁹ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 165.

⁴⁰⁰ Момина, Проблема, 200-219.

⁴⁰¹ The types of Triodion are described in Chapter 4 of the present thesis.

⁴⁰² RGADA Sin Typ 84, 89, 91.

⁴⁰³ Момина, Проблема, 204-210.

⁴⁰⁴ Момина, Проблема, 212-214.

⁴⁰⁵ RNB Sof 122 e Sof 123.

Heirmologion in his edition of it, also affirms its Russian redaction⁴⁰⁶. Hannick surveyed the Russian redaction of the heirmoi of the 12th century, discussing textual variants in Russian and South Slavic copies⁴⁰⁷.

In addition to the correspondences in the redactions of the heirmoi found in the two Octoechoi and Heirmologia, Momina notes the coincidence in the redaction of the kontakia (called in this case kathismata) in the Octoechoi and other Russian sources – Yagich’s Kontakaria and Menaia and GIM-type-Triodia⁴⁰⁸.

Thus, the comparison of the redactions of various hymns made by Momina brought to light a significant group of books – Kontakaria, Triodia, Menaia, Octoechoi and Heirmologia – initially written (at the end of the 11th century) in a single centre⁴⁰⁹. The close connection between these books and the Typikon of Patriarch Alexios Stoudites leaves no doubt as to the fact that the Typikon was introduced into liturgical use at the same time, since the oldest copies of these books correspond to the beginning of the latter’s circulation – the second half of the 11th century. The Russian origin of these books is proved by the specifically Russian linguistic peculiarities detected in them, in the use of words, phonetics, morphology and syntax⁴¹⁰.

The Russian provenance of these chant books has been affirmed by musicologists as well as philologists. Given the independent copying of Russian South Slavic liturgical books, it has been noted that the Southern Slavs did not know *kondakarian* notation, or *znamenny* of any kind, until they appeared in Russia, on account of the fact that these notations were taken directly from Byzantium, without the mediation of Bulgaria⁴¹¹.

Summarizing, then, the process of the first Russian translation in the later 11th century and the consequent copying of liturgical books, it may be said that the first

⁴⁰⁶ Koschmieder, *Die altesten*.

⁴⁰⁷ Ханник Х., “Текстолошки развитак ирмоса у старословенским литургијским рукописима”, *Научни састанак слависта у вукове дане*, Belgrade, 1984, v.14, p.40; cited in Момина Проблема, 201.

⁴⁰⁸ Момина, Проблема, 214.

⁴⁰⁹ Момина, Проблема, 215

⁴¹⁰ Дурново Н.Н., *Введение в историю русского языка*, Moscow, 1969, p. 105.

⁴¹¹ This is affirmed by Keller in his analysis of *kondakarian* notation: Keller F., “Die Russisch-kirchenslavische Fassung des Wiehnachtskontakion und seiner Prosomia”, *Slavica Helvetica*, 1977, v.9, pp. 203-204; Koschmieder and Hannick in their analyses of Heirmologia: Koschmieder E., “Zur Herkunft der slavischen Krjuki-Notation”, *Festschrift für Dmytro Cizevskij zu 60 Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1954, pp.146-147; Koschmieder E., *Die altesten Novgoroder Hirmologien-Fragmente*, München, 1955, v.II, p.11; Koschmieder E., “Wie haben Kyrill und Method zelebriert”, *Anfänge der Slavischen Music*, Bratislava, 1966, pp.7-22; Ханник Х., “Текстолошки развитак ирмоса у старословенским литургијским рукописима”, *Научни састанак слависта у вукове дане*, Belgrade, 1984, v.14, p. 40; cited by Момина, Проблема, 201.

translation gave rise to a new version of each type of book. The codices of the first group were not a completely original translation, but were composed of chants previously translated by South Slavic masters, but not redacted yet, hymns already extant in South Slavic versions that were redacted, and hymns that were translated directly from Greek sources. The order of the Russian books corresponded to that of the Greek manuscript⁴¹².

The Greek originals which were used for correction were quite archaic. This may be seen from the selection and organization of the hymns. For example, the Greek Triodia with hymns order according to the GIM-type date from the 10th – 11th centuries⁴¹³; the structure of the Octoechoi RNB Sof 122 e 123 is found in the 10th century Greek Octoechos fragments contained in the lowest layer of the palimpsest RNB greg 70⁴¹⁴.

*Copies of the Typikon and particularities of liturgical celebration in Studite-period
Russia*

The organization of Russian church life, beginning in the second half of the 11th century, around the metropolitan basilicas and larger churches and monasteries, sustained by the princes, meant a joining of the cathedral and monastic traditions. The rule of the Typikon of Patriarch Alexios Stoudites which was chosen began its life in the context of the monastery of the capital, Kiev, which possessed every means to put it into practice, including chorally. The spread of coenobitic monasteries in great principalities, whose bishops were often monks tonsured in the Kiev-Pechersky monastery, led to the creation of local variants in the practical use of the rule. As a consequence, various copies of the Typikon were made in Russia, of which there survive six complete manuscript copies, dating from the end of the 11th – beginning of the 12th century to the 15th century, and some fragments from the 12th-16th centuries. Each of the various redactions, as with the Byzantine and South Italian examples, or those from Mount Athos, provides a particular local version of the monastic or cathedral service, displaying different interconnections between cathedral and monastic practice.

⁴¹² Момина, Проблема, 215.

⁴¹³ On the correspondence between the Greek and Slavic types of Triodion, see Chapter 4 of the present thesis.

⁴¹⁴ Момина, Проблема, 217.

The differences between copies, in functions and origins, are at times extremely significant.

Pentkovskiy, following textological and historical-liturgical principles, considers the eleven complete and fragmentary copies to be nine independent Russian redactions of the Typikon of Patriarch Alexios Stoudites, which appeared as a result of deliberate corrections, introduced into the original text; however, from his point of view, none of the redactions is a copy of the original translation. “A similar situation may be seen in the South Italian tradition, in which, given general similarities, conditioned by a single archetype, not only each group of Typika (Grottaferrata, Otranto and Calabro-Sicilian), but also many of the Typika in each group, have their own particularities, brought about by the practice of liturgical celebration whose rules they codified and whose reflection they present”⁴¹⁵.

The copies make up two groups, in accordance with the disposition of the Triodion and Menaion sections. In the first group, the Triodion precedes the Menaion, and is linked to it by a brief paragraph. This group includes three complete copies: two from the 12th century (RNB Sof 1136 and Sin 330), and one from the 14th century (Sin Typ 144), each of which represents an autonomous redaction, as well as a fragment from the 13th century (GIM Bars 1153), which may be related to the redaction of Sin 330.

The second group, whose organization is later than the first in relation to the prototype, places the Menaion section before that of the Triodion. In this group are six redactions: that of the Typografsky Typikon and Kontakarion (whose name comes from the place where it was long kept – the Synodal Typography collection; the current catalogue numbers are those of the Tretyakov Gallery State Museum GTG K- 5349) from the end of the 11th century – beginning of the 12th century; a 15th century copy, GIM Sin 905, which combines the same redaction with the fragment containing quotations from the rule and Synaxarion of the Typikon of Patriarch Alexios Stoudites, contained in the 16th-century Sbornik (RNB Kiril-Beloz 275/532); the copy from the year 1398, GIM Sin 333; two fragments of a single redaction, from the last quarter of the 13th century, GIM Khlud 16-d and the 14th century, RNB Pog 48⁴¹⁶; the Zographou

⁴¹⁵ ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, *Типикон*, 194.

⁴¹⁶ The setting of the date corresponds to that of the Pentkovskiy's book; Ukhanova regards Khlud 16d and Pog 48 as parts from the same manuscript from the end of 13th – beginning of the 14th centuries: Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. XI-XIII вв. Appendix I,

fragments from the 13th century, previously held in the Zographou monastery on Mount Athos, now lost, but known thanks to the description made by Dmitrievsky⁴¹⁷; and the last redaction of all, the ninth, the Kursky fragment, from the 12th century (KOKM 20359). Opinions concerning the origins of this last copy are various. Some think it was part of the codex Sof 1136⁴¹⁸. On the other hand, Pentkovsky considers it as a fragment of another code originating in the same scriptorium as Sof 1136⁴¹⁹. The Triodion section is found in six complete copies and two fragments – Bars 1153 e Pog 48.

Some copies, as Pentkovsky observes⁴²⁰, show particularly strong marks of the influence of the Typikon of the Great Church. Firstly, these examples are related to the Typografsky Typikon, whose rubrics originating in the Typikon of the cathedral of the Byzantine capital may have their origins in Slavonic Epistles and Lectionaries. Secondly, amongst these copies are Khlud 16-d and Pog 48, belonging to the same redaction and containing additions from the late Typikon of the Great Church⁴²¹. At the same time, these two fragments show the influence of the Typikon of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, a characteristic which links them to the Typikon of Evergetissa, neo-Sabaitic Typika and some South Slavic Triodia⁴²². Thirdly, a further copy, Sin 333, contains elements of the late cathedral rite, such as the Matins Gospel readings after the sixth ode of the canon⁴²³.

The proximity of the Typografsky Typikon and Pog 48 to the Typikon of the Great Church has been frequently noted. Lisitsin excluded the possibility of these two Typika belonging to the monastic tradition, and considered them as representing the

Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в России, странах СНГ и Балтии. XIV век, р.587.

⁴¹⁷ Archive of A. A. Dmitrievsky, RNB Dmitr 137, ff.1-2; cited in Пентковский, *Типикон*, 179-180.

⁴¹⁸ SK, 135, 161; Князевская О. А., “Отрывок древнерусской рукописи конца XII-начала XIII века”, *Litterae slavicae Medii Aevi, Francisco Venceslao Mares Sexagenario Oblatae*, Munchen, 1985, pp.167-168, cited by Пентковский, *Типикон*, 178.

⁴¹⁹ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 178

⁴²⁰ A detailed description of all the copies is to be found in his book: cited in Пентковский, *Типикон*, 177-194.

⁴²¹ Дмитриевский А. А., *Древнейшие патриаршие типиконы: Святогробский Иерусалимский и Великой Константинопольской Церкви*, Kiev, 1907, pp. 254-347; Bertonière G., *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 193)*, Rome, 1972, pp.114-115, cited by Пентковский, *Типикон*, 190.

⁴²² Пентковский, *Типикон*, 192.

⁴²³ According to Pentkovsky, attention was called for the first time to this peculiarity by Mansvetov: Мансветов И. Д., *Церковный устав (Типик), его образование и судьба в Греческой и Русской церкви*, Moscow, 1885, p. 395; Пентковский, *Типикон*, 188.

cathedral tradition⁴²⁴. As for the Typografsky Typikon, his opinion was shared for some time by Ukhanova, whose analysis was based on textological methods⁴²⁵.

According to Ukhanova, the Typikon of the Great Church came into Russia by means of South Slavic peoples before or during the country's baptism. After this, in the first half or in the mid-11th century, the Studite Typikon was introduced; nevertheless, the version adopted in Russia was that which anticipated the Typikon of Patriarch Alexios Stoudites. The Greek original of this pre-Alexios Typikon may be found in the Russian copy Sin Typ 144⁴²⁶, the translation of which, according to Ukhanova, was made either during the time of Theodosius at Kievo-Pechersk, or later, in the 14th century, when liturgical books were redacted with the intention of bringing them into conformity with Greek sources⁴²⁷. The next step was the introduction in the second half of the 11th century in the Kiev-Pechersky monastery of the Studite Typikon of Patriarch Alexios, of which the oldest surviving copies are Sin 330 and Sof 1136. This text was widely disseminated⁴²⁸ in the South and North of Russia, and came into Mount Athos, through the monastery of St Panteleimon, in the 1170s. Two copies survive – Bars 1156 and the Zographou fragment⁴²⁹. Bars 1153, as well as Sin 333 and Sin 905, are, according to Ukhanova, redactions based on both sources – the Typikon of Patriarch Alexios Stoudites and the pre-Alexian Typikon.

In a later study devoted to the analysis of the liturgical characteristics of the Typografsky Typikon, after the source was published, Ukhanova revised her opinion, considering the Typografsky Typikon to be a copy of the Studite Typikon, whose Greek prototype did not coincide with the Greek original of the Russian copies of the redaction of Patriarch Alexios. Thus, in her opinion, the Typografsky Typikon is probably a translation of one of the Greek Studite versions dating from before the Typikon of Patriarch Alexios Stoudites. Given the fact that the Triodion section of the Typografsky Typikon is drastically reduced, almost by half, in comparison with the copies of the Typikon of Patriarch Alexios Stoudites, it has been suggested that this copy may be the

⁴²⁴ Лисицин М., *Первоначальный славяно-русский Типикон*, St.Petersburg, 1911, p. 137.

⁴²⁵ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 108.

⁴²⁶ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 106.

⁴²⁷ Pentkovsky, in analyzing Sin Typ 144, notes that the title of the Menaion section, as is the case with the Grottaferrata Typika and the Mtatzmindeli copy, is related to the original title of the Studite Synaxarion; however, he considers that this copy belongs to the Studite-Alexian group of Typika on account of the close relationship with the redaction of Sin Typ 144 and Sof 1136: Пентковский, *Типикон*, 184.

⁴²⁸ Уханова, *Древнейшая*, 251; Pentkovsky pointed out that in the writing of Sin 330 the objective was attained of creating a book to serve monastic communities in general: Пентковский, *Типикон*, 183.

⁴²⁹ Уханова, *Древнейшая*, 251.

result of a commission from one of the Russian hermitages, shows number must have increased significantly after the death of St Theodosius and the decrease in the coenobitic rule, even in his own monastery⁴³⁰.

Liturgical books from the Studite period. Notation

Corresponding to the various redactions of the Studite Typikon, the Russian liturgical chant books from the period in question also reflect different liturgical practices. The kind of service for which the chants were intended determined in large part the kind of notation used.

In Russian chant books there are found three kinds of notation: *kondakarian*, *theta* notation and *znamenny* notation.

Theta notation, typical of South-Slavic manuscripts (Serbian and Bulgarian), has two functions in Russian manuscripts. In the first case, chiefly found in the oldest Russian codices, copied from South-Slavic originals⁴³¹, probably notated in the same way, this is the only notation employed in the manuscript. The “theta” neumes found in these books appear either on their own or in conjunction with various other neumes. Many chants of the Studite period are recorded in a kind of abbreviated notation, in which, instead of “theta” are used neumes, or groups of them, which are similar graphically to *znamenny* neumes, or appear as groups of “oxeia” and “bareia” of different sizes⁴³². The second case of the use of partial notation consists in its juxtaposition with *znamenny* notation, which appears exclusively in Russian sources.

Theta notation characterizes multi-genre books organized according to liturgical order, reflecting monastic tradition. Manuscripts with this kind of notation were written throughout the Studite period, beginning at the end of the 11th century and ending with some examples from the 15th century.

Non-diastematic *znamenny* neumatic notation developed from Coislin notation, similarly present in sources from the end of the 11th century, and also generally belonging to the monastic rite. It has various levels of complexity, which are reflected

⁴³⁰ Голубинский Е. Е., *История Русской Церкви*, Moscow, 1881, v. I, second half, pp. 522-524, cited in Пентковский, *Типикон*, 176; Уханова, *Древнейшая*, 248.

⁴³¹ For example, Triodion RGADA Sin Typ 135 “Moisey Kiyarin”.

⁴³² Pletneva analyzes examples with various kinds of partial notation in Russian Octoechoi: Плетнева Е.В., *Певческая книга «Октоих» в древнерусской традиции (по рукописям XI-XV веков)*, Candidate’s thesis, St Petersburg, 2008.

in the neumatic content⁴³³. The most frequent type of *znamenny* notation is syllabic or syllabic-melismatic, found in heirmoi, troparia and stichera. Another, rarer, type uses unusual symbols and appears in more complex melismatic chants. Some of these hymns introduce *kondakarian* neumes into the main *znamenny* notation. These cases are associated with melismatic stichera compositions dedicated to Russian saints, which, when they were written down had not yet attained the stability of a written tradition⁴³⁴; an example is the sticheron to the first Russian martyrs, Boris and Gleb, in the Sticheria of the Menaion, Russian National Library, Sof 384. In addition to the Menaion, the books of the Triodion cycle (including Sin 319 e Voskr 27) contain hymns written in highly developed *znamenny* notation, for both monastic and cathedral rites. An example is the hymn *Ἀγγελοὶ σκιρτήσατε*. In its complete form as a troparion, it was sung at the Divine Liturgy in the Church of the Resurrection as the koinonikon of Pascha and during the whole of Bright Week to the Sunday of Thomas⁴³⁵. At the same time, this hymn appears as a sticheron idiomelon for St John of Damascus, in Chartres notation, in the 10th – 11th century manuscript Laura Γ 67⁴³⁶. The same idiomelon, *Ἄγγελοι възгρaйтeся*, appears in Voskr 27⁴³⁷ and in various Russian Sticheria⁴³⁸. Its notation reveals it as being highly melismatic, which makes it possible that this hymn could have been used as a koinonikon in services greatly under the influence of the Cathedral Rite in the Russian tradition of the 12th century⁴³⁹.

Kondakarian notation⁴⁴⁰, though having Byzantine roots, is not precisely similar to any kind of notation. It appeared at the end of the 11th century, and continued to exist until the 13th century, falling into disuse before the end of the Studite period. Its name derives from the fact that most examples of its use appear in Kontakaria, which gave rise to the Slavonic version of the Byzantine Asmatikon. This small group of books

⁴³³ Заболотная Н.В., *Церковно-певческие рукописи Древней Руси XI-XIV веков: основные типы книг в историко-функциональном аспекте*, Moscow 2001, p.105.

⁴³⁴ Заболотная, *Церковно-певческие*, 102.

⁴³⁵ Παλαδοπουλος-Κεραμευς Α., *Αναλεκτα ιεροσολυμιτικης σταχυολογιας*, II, St.Petersburg, 1984, p.202; cited in Conomos D., *The Late Byzantine and Slavonic Communion Cycle: Liturgy and Music*, Washington, D.C., 1985, pp. 43-44.

⁴³⁶ According to Conomos, 1st plagal mode, f.47: Conomos, 43.

⁴³⁷ Vespers of Monday after Pasch, Κυριε εκεκραξα, tone 8; f. 64v.

⁴³⁸ A folio that belonged to the codex Chilandari 307 is now preserved as RNB Q.π.I.39; Sof 96, tone 5 f.106; Sof 85, tone 8 f.141; RGADA Sin Typ 147, tone 5 f.111; Sin Typ 148, tone 5 f.167.

⁴³⁹ Comparison of the two noted versions (the Russian sources and Chartres in Γ.67) may be found in the thesis by Tutolmina; she attributes the stiecheron to the Emperor Leo the Wise: Тутолмина С.Н., *Русские певческие Триоди древнейшей традиции*. Candidate's thesis, St.Peterburg, 2004, pp. 223-232.

⁴⁴⁰ Myers Gr., *A Historical, Liturgical and Musical Exploration of Kondakarioie Pienie*, Sofia, 2009.

represent the versions closest to the liturgy according to the rite of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

Elements of the Cathedral Rite liturgy as reflected in Russian chant books

Some characteristics of the Russian Kontakaria, such as the generic origins of the book, the presence in them of hymns from the *asmatike akolouthia*, the type of notation and the probable melodic style, bring them Russian Kontakaria close to the cathedral rite. However, there are a number of points that allow one to hypothesize the use of these books within the liturgical system of the Studite Typikon.

Firstly, the oldest manuscript of a Kontakarion is the second complete part of a liturgical book *Typografsky Ustav s Kondakarem*, the first part of the book being, as we have seen, a copy of the Studite Typikon. Some surviving Kontakaria include genres which are part of the monastic rite – some parts of the Octoechos chant, the stichera for the Litia⁴⁴¹ in the *Typografsky Kontakarion*, photogogika and Gospel stichera in the *Blagoveschensky Kontakarion* and in the *Kontakarion* fragment in the Russian National Library⁴⁴² and some other chants. In addition, the genre of the kontakion itself belongs to both liturgical traditions.

Secondly, a further element of the Kontakaria that leads one to suppose that these books may have been used monastically is the notation. As well as the main type of notation – *kondakarian* - the *Typografsky* and *Blagoveschensky* Kontakaria contain *znamenny* notation, the main notation for hundreds of Russian liturgical books of the Studite period⁴⁴³, from the monastic rite. On the other hand, amongst these, one finds, albeit very rarely, fragments with *kondakarian* notation. Three of these books come from the 12th century and three from the 13th⁴⁴⁴.

Thirdly, the fact that the translation and redaction of these books must have been carried out at the same time as the first redaction of the other Russian books, at the time

⁴⁴¹ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 186.

⁴⁴² RNB Pogod 43, ff.38r.-39 v., SK, 151.

⁴⁴³ The information from surviving Russian and other Slavic manuscripts contained in this thesis is in accordance with catalogues of purely Russian sources. Amongst the reasons for this are the fact that it is in Russia that most of the books are kept, and the lack of a general catalogue of Slavic manuscripts in libraries throughout the world.

⁴⁴⁴ SK n° 54, 94, 98, 219, 284 e 303.

of the introduction of the Studite rule in Russia, also suggests the possibility of the Kontakaria having been used in monasteries⁴⁴⁵.

Some characteristics of possible monastic use, found in the Kontakaria, bear witness to the reality of celebrations in Russia in the period immediately after the official conversion, when the principal monasteries were received by the Russian princes, and monastic celebrations came to be closer to those of the cathedrals of the princes' courts.

Wherever the Kontakaria were used, they continued to be the most important means of transmission of information concerning local elements of celebrations according to the rite of the Byzantine cathedrals in Russia. However, there exists another, relatively small, group of Studite chant books, either un-noted or with only *znamenny* notation, which reveals the influence of these celebrations. One example may be found in an anthology from the 14th-15th century⁴⁴⁶ (Festal Menaion, Triodion and Pentekostarion), in which there may be seen the indication for the reading of the Gospel after the sixth ode of the canon, according to the normal practice of Byzantine cathedral rite celebrations⁴⁴⁷.

Apart from these cases of the influence of the Byzantine cathedral rite, the majority of Russian liturgical chant books from the Studite period have a direct relationship with the Studite monastic rite, though with different local variations.

The norms of Studite liturgy. The three annual cycles

Liturgical celebrations according to the Studite rule in Russia, as in Byzantium, were organized into three annual cycles - from the Menaion, Triodion and the Octoechos, one weekly cycle and one daily.

In Table 2, a hypothetical reconstruction of the celebrations according to the three annual cycles is presented. The information presented in the Table were not taken only from one manuscript; rather, it reflects the situation in a more general fashion, as evidenced in the bringing together of elements typical of various sources. For this reason, and also because of limitations of space, a particular set of conditions was followed: thus, in the table, only the commemorations for the Sundays of the Triodion,

⁴⁴⁵ Момина, Проблема, 208-215.

⁴⁴⁶ RGADA, Sin Typ 135.

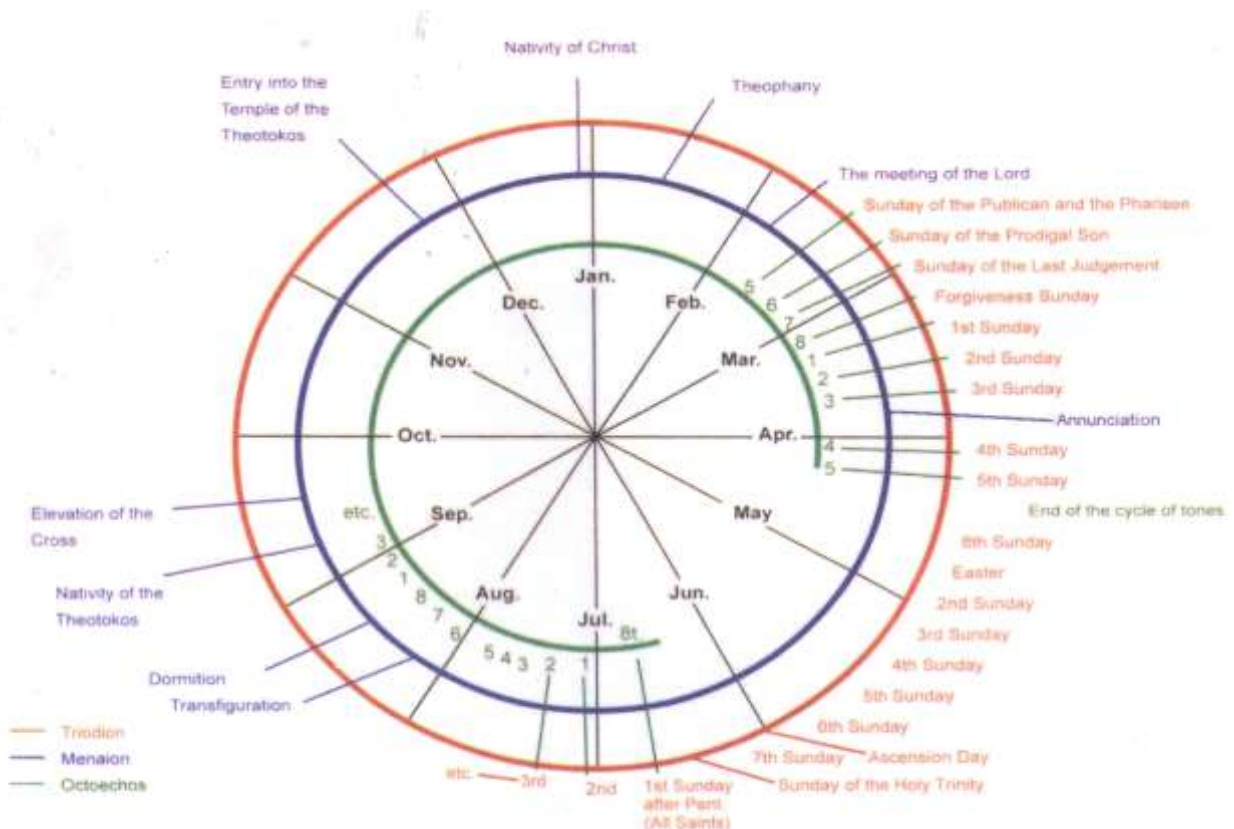
⁴⁴⁷ According to Pentkovsky (p.208), cf. RGADA Catalogue, 1988, part II, 176-181.

the most important feasts of the Menaion and the Sundays of the Octoechos have been used.

In order to construct the table, it has been supposed that Pascha falls on 23rd April. In this case, the Triodion services in the weeks before Lent would begin on 12th February (Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee), when the hymns from this cycle begin to be used. The second part of the chant book of the Triodion (“Flowery Triodion” in Slavonic, corresponding to the Greek Pentekostarion) ended in the week following Pentecost, that of All Saints. Between this feast and the beginning of the week of the Publican and the Pharisee of the following year, the Triodion cycle continued with the order of readings, coinciding with those of the Menaion and Octoechos cycles.

The listing of the Sundays of Lent and of the Pentekostarion appears in the table according to the number which appears in the majority of the manuscripts (for example, «неделя вторая...поста»). The Triodion commemorations which were transferred to this moveable cycle of the Menaion, coinciding with the Sundays, do not appear, firstly for reasons of space, and, secondly, because they differ significantly from one manuscript to another in the Lenten period. For example, for

Table 2.



the Second Sunday of Lent, the Typografsky Typikon prescribes the commemoration of St Polycarp⁴⁴⁸, for the fourth, that of St Domentios⁴⁴⁹. Sin 330 and the Triodia and Pentekostaria of the GIM-type do not contain these commemorations of the Great Church of Constantinople; Sin 330 specifies no commemoration at all⁴⁵⁰, while Triodion Sin 319 gives the canon for the Prodigal Son for the Second Sunday⁴⁵¹, and names the title “Sunday of the One who was captured by Robbers” to the Fourth Sunday⁴⁵². The list of commemorations for the Pentecostal period is identical in the manuscripts (Sin 330 and Voskr 27 indicate all commemorations; in the Typografsky Typikon mention is made of the Third Sunday, as being that of the Myrrhbearers; the Fourth, as that of the Ascension; the Sixth, of the Fathers of the First Ecumenical Council; Pentecost; the Sunday of All Saints and Monday of the Holy Spirit).

On Sundays, to the Menaion commemorations preserved in the Triodion from previous centuries were added those proper to the fixed cycle. These commemorations are not included in the table for reasons of space, amongst others.

The restoration of the Russian practice of joining together the fixed and moveable cycles in the Studite period presents difficulties not easily resolved even when one examines manuscripts of the same set, as is the case with the ten Sofisky Menaia⁴⁵³ and the Sin 330⁴⁵⁴.

As regards indications for the fixed cycle, the Sofisky Menaia contain troparia, stichera and canons, in different quantities, for each day. At the same time, the copy of the Typikon for March, for example, is limited to nine days. On account of this, it is only possible to make suppositions concerning correspondence or discrepancies in services for the remaining days of the month on the basis of these sources for this period.

Indications in the Triodion section of the Typikon are not always clear for those Sundays when priority is given to the moveable cycle, and consequently the hymns from the Menaion are not used. For example, on Meatfare Sunday the Typikon clearly prescribes that the commemoration from the Menaion be transferred to Cheesefare

⁴⁴⁸ GTG K- 5349, f.2r.

⁴⁴⁹ GTG K- 5349, f.2v.

⁴⁵⁰ GIM Sin 330, f.13v.-14r.

⁴⁵¹ GIM Sin 319, f.131r.-134v.

⁴⁵² GIM Sin.319, f.202v.

⁴⁵³ GIM Sin 159-168.

⁴⁵⁴ The attribution of these manuscripts to the same scriptorium is made by Ukhanova: Уханова, К вопросу о новгородских, 32.

Monday⁴⁵⁵. Less clear is the situation of Cheesefare Sunday: for this day, the sequence of hymns indicated in the Typikon includes no reference to the commemoration from the Menaion, though it also does not suppress it. A similar situation occurs on the Third Sunday of Lent, when the Menaion commemoration is replaced by that of the Cross, which is combined with the Sunday sequence from the Octoechos⁴⁵⁶; nothing is said concerning the Menaion commemoration which must fall on this day.

The lacunae in the rubrics for the Menaion cycle on the days of the Triodion mentioned above, as well as on numerous other occasions, may seem natural and be explained by the fact that for the creators of the copy of the Typikon it was not necessary to record something that was for them obvious. However, for the weekdays, Sin 330 regularly includes rubrics for the inclusion of material from the Menaion. For example, for all Vespers on Fridays and Matins on Saturdays during Lent there are indicated stichera from the Menaion for Lord I call upon Thee and the canon of the Saints⁴⁵⁷.

The third annual cycle, that of the Octoechos, began on Sunday of All Saints with the attribution of the 8th tone. In Sin 330⁴⁵⁸, in the description of Matins for Monday after the Sunday of All Saints, the beginning of the daily use of the Octoechos is recorded with the following rubric: “From this day are sung stichera from the Octoechos, as well as the triadika kathismata and the canon”.

On the following Sundays the tones rotate repeatedly from 1 to 8. On the preparatory days before Lent, there begins the gradual process of the suppression of the Octoechos, beginning with the weekdays and then on Sundays. On Cheesefare Monday, after the description of Vespers of Sunday night, Sin 330 has the following note: “It should be known that from this day until Pascha the Stichera of the Octoechos are not sung, except those for the Resurrection and penitential stichera sung at Vespers on Saturday and Sunday”. A little further down, on the page for the same day is written the following for weekdays: “for all weeks from Cheesefare until the Fifth Week of Lent are sung six verses on Lord I call upon Thee and there are sung as many penitential stichera from the Octoechos as many as are written there, without the martyrikon; the martyrikon is sung, as has been said, together with the idiomelon”⁴⁵⁹. The singing of

⁴⁵⁵ GIM Sin 330, ff.4v.-5v.

⁴⁵⁶ GIM Sin 330, ff.14r.-15r.

⁴⁵⁷ GIM Sin 330, ff..13r.-13v.

⁴⁵⁸ GIM Sin 330, f.165v.; ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, *Типикон*, 275.

⁴⁵⁹ GIM Sin 330, ff.4v.-5v., ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, *Типикон*, 236.

canons from the Octoechos is frequently mentioned in Sin 330; for example, in the above-mentioned rubrics for the Saturdays of Lent, as well as the hymns from the Menaion there are indicated stichera and the canon from the Octoechos. In certain cases the singing of the Octoechos, according to Sin 330, is even continued during Holy Week, at times when it would later be suppressed – the triadika at Matins of Holy Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday⁴⁶⁰.

The use of the Octoechos on Sundays finished with the Fifth Sunday of Lent: the rubrics for the Sixth Sunday, Palm Sunday, say: “Let it be known that on this Sunday, nothing is sung for the Resurrection”⁴⁶¹. Throughout Bright Week, as well as on the Sundays of the period of Pentecost until the Sunday of All Saints, the Sunday hymns are introduced according to a particular system (or several systems); however, this system differs from that set out in the Octoechos⁴⁶².

The daily and weekly cycles in Russian Studite Liturgy

Each of the eight tones of the Octoechos ran for an entire week. Each day of the week, however, had its own dedication or dedications. These dedications were not definitively fixed almost until the neo-Sabaitic or “Jerusalem” Typikon came into force in Russia. The same phenomenon may be seen in the books of the Southern Slavs. Table 3 shows the differences between the dedicatory systems, as shown in the Matins canons from two Russian Parakletike⁴⁶³ and the Serbian Octoechos.

Table 3

⁴⁶⁰ GIM Sin 330, ff.22v., f.23v., f.25v., Пентковский, *Типикон*, 248, 250.

⁴⁶¹ GIM Sin 330, f.21v., Пентковский, *Типикон*, 247.

⁴⁶² Em pormenor sobre o sistema de tons durante o período de Pentecostas ver cap.4 da tese

⁴⁶³ On one of them (Sin Тур 80), see Лозовая И., *Древнерусский нотированный Параклит XII века*, Moscow, 2009; on the other (Sin Тур 81), see Крашенинникова О., “Ранневизантийские источники славянского Октоиха XIII-XIV вв.”, *Гимнология. Материалы Международной научной конференции «Памяти протоиерея Димитрия Разумовского» (к 130-летию Московской консерватории) 3-8 сентября 1996.*, Moscow 2000, v.1, part 1, p.123.

	RGADA, Sin Tip 80, 2 nd half of the 12 th cent., Russian, 1 ^o tone ff.1r.-71r.	RGADA, Sin Tip 81 13 th cent., Russian, all tones	GIM, Uvar.521 End of the 13 th cent., Serbian 1 ^o tone, fol.50v.-61v.
Sun.	Anastasimos Stavroanastasimos The Theotokos	Anastasimos (2)	Anastasimos (2)
Mon.	Angels Repentance	Angels	Repentance Angels
Tue.	Repentance St John the Baptist	St John the Baptist	St John the Baptist
Wed.	The Cross The Theotokos	The Theotokos	The Cross
Thu.	The Apostles St Nicholas	The Apostles	The Apostolos
Fri.	The Cross The Theotokos	The Cross	The Cross
Sat.	The Prophets and Martyrs The Dead	The Prophets and Martyrs	The Theotokos The Prophets The Dead

The dedications for the weekdays, as well as those of the commemorations of the Menaion and Triodion cycles, were applied to the cycle of daily liturgical services. Russian manuscripts contain the following services: Matins, First Hour, Third Hour, Sixth Hour and Ninth Hour, the Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, the Divine Liturgy of St. Basil, The Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, Typika, Vespers and Compline. A detailed description of the daily order may be found in Sin 330 for Monday of the First Week of Lent⁴⁶⁴: *“for consolation after the previous day, we arise later, at the beginning of the seventh hour of the night. And there are sung the three kathismata [from the Psalter]. [There follows a detailed description of Matins.] The first hour is sung after Matins when days is dawning, and the people are called to the other hours thus: for the third, at the beginning of the third; for the sixth, at the beginning of the fifth; for the ninth, at the beginning of the seventh hour. Vespers are announced during the reading of the ninth hour⁴⁶⁵. When the Beatitudes⁴⁶⁶ and the litany are finished, the small simantron is struck and thus begin Vespers⁴⁶⁷, and when they are finished, the brothers go to the refectory at the beginning of the tenth hour, singing, as usual, “I will extol Thee, my God” (Psalm 144)⁴⁶⁸. When they have got up*

⁴⁶⁴ GIM Sin 330, ff. 9r.-9v., Пентковский, *Типикон*, 239.

⁴⁶⁵ Thus, the entire afternoon sequence, from the ninth hour to the meal, occurred with no break.

⁴⁶⁶ The sequence of Typika begins with the Beatitudes during the period of Lent.

⁴⁶⁷ According to the many indications elsewhere in the Typikon, Vespers ended with the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified Gifts.

⁴⁶⁸ The ceremony of the Panagia, held in monasteries during the meal.

from the trapeza, and sat for a while, Compline is announced before sunset. This rule for the hours and other services is to be followed throughout Lent...”

Vespers and Matins, which include the greater part of the variable hymns from the cycles of the Octoechos, Menaion and Triodion, are preserved on a large number of surviving sources, some with notation. In Table 4, one may see the composition of Vespers, a more compact service than Matins, in three festal cases: the Afterfeast of the Birth of the Theotokos and Sts Joachim and Anna on Tuesday, the same feast on Sunday, and Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee.

Table 4. Vespers

<i>9 September, Afterfeast of the Birth of the Theotokos and Sts Joachim and Anna Tuesday, 6th tone, Sin 330, Uvar 521</i>	<i>9 September, Afterfeast of the Birth of the Theotokos and Sts Joachim and Anna Sunday, 6th tone, Sin .330, Uvar 521</i>	<i>Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee, 6th tone, 12 February, Our Holy Father Meletios, Archbishop of Antioch, Sin 330</i>
Opening blessing Psalm 103 Great Litany	Opening blessing Psalm 103 Great Litany	Opening blessing Psalm 103 Great Litany
		1st antiphon of the 1 ^a kathisma Blessed is the man (Psalms 1,2,3) Small Litany 2nd antiphon of the 1st kathisma (Psalms 4,5,6)) Small Litany 3rd antiphon of the 1st kathisma Small Litany
Lord I call upon Thee (Psalms 140, 141, 129, 116) Stichera, on 6: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 from Menaion, 4th tone • 3 from Menaion, 1st tone • Glory and now Menaion 	Lord I call upon Thee (Psalms 140, 141, 129, 116) Stichera, on 9 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 from Octoechos, 6th tone • 3 from Menaion, 4th tone • 3 from Menaion, 1st tone • Glory and now Menaion 	Lord I call upon Thee (Psalms 140, 141, 129, 116) Stichera, on 9 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 from Octoechos, 6th tone • 3 from Triodion, 8th tone • 3 from Menaion, 4th tone • Glory and now Octoechos, 6th tone
Entrance Evening Hymn Prokeimenon, 4 th tone (of Tuesday, independent of tone) Augmented Litany Vouchsafe, O Lord Litany of supplication Exclamation	Entrance Evening Hymn Prokeimenon, 6 th tone (Sunday, independent of tone) Augmented Litany Vouchsafe, O Lord Litany of supplication Exclamation	Entrance Evening Hymn Prokeimenon, 6 th tone (Sunday, independent of tone) Augmented Litany Vouchsafe, O Lord Litany of supplication Exclamation
Aposticha: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 from Octoechos, for St John Baptist, 6th tone • Martyrikon from 	Aposticha: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 from Octoechos, Sunday, 6th tone • Glory and now: Menaion, 2nd 	Aposticha: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2 from Octoechos, Sunday, 6th tone • 1 from Triodion, 6th tone

Octoechos, 6th tone	tone	• Glory and now: Octoechos, 6th tone
• Glory and now: Menaion, 2nd tone		Song of Simeon
Song of Simeon	Song of Simeon	Trisagion
Trisagion	Trisagion	Most Holy Trinity
Most Holy Trinity	Most Holy Trinity	Our Father
Our Father	Our Father	
Exclamation:	Exclamation:	Exclamation:
Apolytikion from Menaion, for the Birth of the Theotokos, 1 st tone	Apolytikion from Menaion, for Birth of the Theotokos, 1 st tone	Apolytikion <i>Baptizer of Christ</i>
Blessing of the bread	Blessing of the bread	Blessing of the bread
Blessed be the name of the Lord	Blessed be the name of the Lord	Blessed be the name of the Lord
Psalms 33, 144	Psalms 33, 144	Psalms 33, 144
Worthy it is	Worthy it is	Worthy it is
Dismissal	Dismissal	Dismissal

Matins is a more extensive service, made up of several sections. One of the largest and most important sections is the canon, which includes, apart from readings, no less than nine kinds of canticles. The attempt to reconstruct the execution of the canon in detail in Studite practice gives rise to a number of doubts, given the fact that the Russian Typika of the time do not aim to explain but simply to remind the reader of what is obvious. For this reason, in Table 5 an attempt at such a reconstruction is made. The canon chosen is that of the Feast of St Sabas, on 5th of December. The reconstruction was made using the Sofia Menaia⁴⁶⁹ and the Sin 330 copy of the Typikon. It was necessary to suppose that the celebration fell on a Monday in the 12th century, and that this Monday was in the week of the 1st Tone of the Octoechos. The use of the Octoechos is prescribed by Sin 330, which indicates for this situation a combination of two canons: first one from the Octoechos, and then that for St Sabas, whose stikhi (the Typikon must here be referring to the troparia) are doubled. The way in which the ode is to be divided is not mentioned for this day, but a division into ten has been used, as prescribed in many similar festal situations. The counting of the troparia was done with reference to the above-mentioned Parakletike Sin Typ 80. The katabasias are rarely indicated in Sin 330, and then only for great feasts, so they have not been included in the table. The same may be said of the presence of the verse Holy is the Lord our God after the 9th ode. The litanies, though never mentioned by Sin 330, would seem to be obligatory after the 3rd, 6th and 9th odes.

Table 5.

⁴⁶⁹ GIM Sin 162.

1 st ode	3 rd -9 th odes
<p>1st ode Тῶ Κυρίῳ ἄσωμεν (1st Biblical Canticle, verses 1-12) <i>On 10</i> Heirmos (Canon of Octoechos, 1st tone, Monday. The Angels) Bibl.c, verse 13 1 troparion Bibl.c verse 14 2 troparia <i>On 8</i> Bibl.c verse 15 3 troparia Bibl.c verse 16 1 trop x 2 (Canon of Menaion, <i>On 6</i> 5th December, 8th tone) Bibl.c verse 17 2 trop x 2 Bibl.c verse 18 3 trop x 2 <i>On 4</i> Bibl.c verse 19 4 trop x 2 Glory... 5 trop nine 5 trop</p> <p>3rd ode (The heirmos of the 1st canon and the troparia of both canons are intercalated in 10 sections with the verses of the 3rd Biblical Canticle). Small litany Sedalen, 8th tone, podoben “ΠΡΕΜΟΥΔΡΟΣΤΗ”(Menaion)</p> <p>4th ode (The heirmos of the 1st canon and the troparia of both canons are intercalated in 10 sections with the verses of the 4th Biblical Canticle).</p>	<p>5th ode (The heirmos of the 1st canon and the troparia of both canons are intercalated in 10 sections with the verses of the 5th Biblical Canticle).</p> <p>6th ode (The heirmos of the 1st canon and the troparia of both canons are intercalated in 10 sections with the verses of the 6th Biblical Canticle). Small litany Kontakion, 1st tone, podoben “ΛΗΚΑΝΓ-ΒΛΥΣΚ” (Menaion, without notation, or Kontakarion) Oikos, podoben “ΚΒΟΓΟΡΟΔΗΤ-ΨΠΗ”(Menaion, without notation)</p> <p>7th ode (the heirmos of the 1st canon and the troparia of both canons are intercalated in 10 sections with the verses of the 7th Biblical Canticle).</p> <p>8th ode (the heirmos of the 1st canon and the troparia of both canons are intercalated in 10 sections with the verses of the 8th Biblical Canticle). <i>We praise, we bless...</i></p> <p>9th ode (the heirmos of the 1st canon and the troparia of both canons are intercalated in 10 sections with the verses of the 9th Biblical Canticle, the Canticle of the Theotokos [Magnificat] and the Canticle of the Prophet Zacharias). Small litany Exapostearion “ΗΒΟΖΒ-ΒΖΔΑ” (Sticherarion)</p>

Manuscript Collections in Russia

Moving on to an examination of the general characteristics of Russian and Slavic liturgical books of the Studite era, it is useful to recall the principal sources of information concerning them.

Firstly, there is the Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. 11-13 вв. (Catalogue of Slavic-Russian Manuscripts Preserved in the USSR, 11th-13th centuries, or SK). It was published in Moscow in 1984, and includes information on 494 manuscripts, of which 78 have notation. The initial project was to include books from the 14th century, as one may see from Предварительный список славяно-русских рукописей XI-XIV века (Preliminary List of Slavic-Russian

Manuscripts from the 11th-14th Centuries), published in Moscow in 1966, which continues to serve as the main source of information on books from the 14th century in general. The number of books mentioned in the Preliminary List is 1,493, amongst them 1,017 from the 14th century. Of these, however, only six of the latter have notation. Even examining superficially the proportion of notated to non-notated manuscripts from the 14th century, one arrives at the conclusion that the data in the Preliminary List is incomplete, something confirmed several times by scientific publications discussing different aspects of the manuscript tradition.

The time that elapsed between the mid-1960s and the first decade of the 21st century brought many corrections of the descriptions, attribution of dates of the manuscripts catalogued in these two publications, and showed the need for continuing the project of publishing the catalogue for the 14th and later centuries. In 2002 there appeared the first volume of Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в России, странах СНГ и Балтии. XIV век (Summary Catalogue of Slavic-Russian Manuscripts preserved in Russia, in the countries of the CIS and Baltic countries from the 14th Century), with information on the books listed in alphabetical order from A to L. In Appendices I and II there was added information concerning books from the 12th-13th centuries that had not been included in the previous Catalogue, and corrections to the material published therein, relating to bibliography, dating of the books or sections of them, more exact information concerning their composition, and identification of the various scribes. With regard to the manuscripts of the 15th century, the main summary source was published in 1986, Предварительный список славяно-русских рукописных книг XVв., хранящихся в СССР (Для Сводного Каталога рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР”) (Preliminary List of 15th Century Slavic-Russian Manuscripts Preserved in the USSR [Towards a Summary Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the USSR]).

Survey of Russian and Slavic Liturgical Books of the Studite Period

The entire corpus of liturgical books recorded with *znamenny*, *theta* and *kondakarian* notation may be separated into two large groups.

The first group comprises collections of hymns of the same genre. The most numerous in this group are the *Sticheraria*, which in Russian tradition are divided into two types according to the two annual cycles, fixed and moveable. Thus, the *Sticheraria*

of the Menaion and those of the Triodion were written in different codices. As regards the stichera of the Octoechos, Russian Sticheraria for the Menaion and Triodion of the early period, unlike some Greek sources⁴⁷⁰, do not contain a complementary section including the stichera anatolika, alphabetika and anabathmoi.

An example of the joining together of all three kinds of Sticheraria is found in one of the *znamenny* manuscripts of the 15th century (GIM Khlud 59). This kind of book was very common at the time of the Jerusalem Typikon in Russia, and the idea of including the stichera of the three annual cycles in Khlud 59 may be considered an early experiment. However, the structure of the Sticherarion for the Triodion⁴⁷¹ and that for the Octoechos⁴⁷² in this codex has led scholars to attribute them to the Studite Typikon.

Groups of some stichera from the Octoechos are found, in addition to Khlud 59, in the two Kontakaria (the stichera eothina, together with the Sunday exaposteilaria in the Blagovestchensky Kontakarion, the stichera of the litia and six automela of the Octoechos⁴⁷³ in the Typografsky Kontakarion; all these hymns are recorded in *znamenny* notation), in the *znamenny* Sticherarion of the Menaion (the stichera eothina in the 12th century manuscript GIM Sin 279), in the Shestodnef and Izborny Octoechoi, in several cases with only partial notation (together with hymns from the Octoechos representing other kinds of troparia).

The Sticheraria of the Menaion are represented by 8 complete Russian manuscripts from the 12th - 13th centuries⁴⁷⁴. Another five complete examples and a fragment from the 14th - 15th centuries have *znamenny* notation; however, the PS catalogue does not specify their content, or shed light on whether they are a Studite or Jerusalem redaction, a problem relevant also to the few un-noted Sticheraria of this period. This group of manuscripts is completed by a Bulgarian fragment for the feast of the Dormition from the mid-13th century, in *theta* notation. Also from the 14th - 15th centuries are three complete Sticheraria and a fragment; the question of notation is not discussed in PS, and neither is the attribution of its contents to the annual cycles.

⁴⁷⁰ Follieri, Strunk, Triodium Athoum, 7-9.

⁴⁷¹ Грузинцева Н.В., *Стихиры-самогласны триодного стихираря в древнерусской рукописной традиции XII-XVII веков*. Candidate's thesis, Leningrad, 1990, pp. 64-65.

⁴⁷² Плетнева Е.В., "Нотированные песнопения древнерусского Октоиха Студийской редакции в составе Стихирарей Постных XII-XIII века", *Древнерусское песнопение. Пути во времени.*, St.Peterburg, 2004, p. 207.

⁴⁷³ Владышевская, Типографский, 180.

⁴⁷⁴ RNB Sof 384, BAN 34.7.6., GIM Sin 572, GIM Sin 589, RNB Q.п.I.15, RGADA Sin Typ 145 and 152, GIM Sin 279 and two fragments from the same manuscript in RGB and CNB AN USSR, RGB OR 740.

The Sticheraria of the Triodion assemble the stichera of the Lenten Triodion and the Pentekostarion in the same book. At least 8 complete Russian *znamenny* manuscripts survive, written between the 12th and the 15th century⁴⁷⁵. Fragments from one of them, the Sticherarion of the 12th century for the moveable cycle, which belonged to the Chilandari monastery on Mount Athos, are preserved in St Petersburg and Prague⁴⁷⁶.

As far as their content is concerned, the Sticheraria differ substantially, especially in the case of the Sticheraria from the Menaion, whose variety is due as much to the change of position of the stichera within the sections of the services as it is to the introduction of the new hymns dedicated to the Russian saints that appeared during the 11th-15th century⁴⁷⁷. The level of variety tends to increase for the great feasts. Another factor that contributed to the compositional instability of the stichera is the introduction in some of them of complementary genres, such as the sedalen (kathisma), the svetilen (exapostelion) and troparia.

The heirmoi of the canons are found collected in the Heirmologia. All the neumatic Heirmologia surviving in Russian libraries are of Russian origin, and contain exclusively *znamenny* notation. From the 12th century there is the “Voskresensky” Heirmologion (GIM Voskr 28)⁴⁷⁸, the “Novgorodsky” Heirmologion (in two parts, both of them in Moscow, RGADA Sin Typ 149-150)⁴⁷⁹, and the Chilandari Heirmologion from the 13th century, represented by 3 fragments: a section of 72 folios is in the Chilandari monastery on Mount Athos, and was published in MMB⁴⁸⁰, a section of 100 folios is preserved in Moscow, RGB Grig 37; and in St Petersburg there are a further eight folios of the same manuscript. One more Heirmologion, from the 14th century, has survived in a fragment of two folios⁴⁸¹.

All the surviving manuscripts from the time at which the Russian Heirmologia appeared, from the 12th and 13th centuries, are neumatic. From the 14th century

⁴⁷⁵ Having Chud 59 of the 15th century been discovered not long ago, there are chances of future discoveries of manuscripts of the 15th century, which are described only partially in the existent catalogues.

⁴⁷⁶ These codices are discussed in detail in Chapter 4 of the present thesis.

⁴⁷⁷ Заболотная, 62-63.

⁴⁷⁸ This is described, with some copies from the manuscript, by Smolensky: Смоленский С.В., *Краткое описание древняго (XII-XIII века) знаменного ирмолога, принадлежащаго Воскресенскому, «Новый Иерусалим» именуемому монастырю*, Kazan, 1887.

⁴⁷⁹ Published by Koschmieder: Koschmieder, *Die altesten*

⁴⁸⁰ Published as *Fragmenta Chilandarica Palaeoslavica: B.Hirmologium Codex Monasterii Chilandarici 308 MMB, Série principale*. (Facsimilés). V.b. Copenhagen, 1957.

⁴⁸¹ The Russian Heirmologia have been studied in detail by Velimirovic: Velimirovic, M., *Byzantine Elements*.

onwards, with the exception of the fragment mentioned above, all the Heirmologia (three complete Russian books, one Russian fragment and one Serbian fragment) are un-noted.

The Kontakaria already mentioned mix variable kontakia of the three cycles with fixed hymns in their first section; the composition of the second section is much freer and includes groups of hymns of various genres, whose content varies from codex to codex.

Russian hymns from the Octoechos cycle are included in two kinds of Russian collections – the Parakletike and the Izborni Octoechos. Russian Izborni Octoechoi were normally made up of sections of stichera, sedalny and the Beatitudes, grouped by tone; other hymns might be contained in appendices. In the Parakletike were recorded the weekly and Sunday canons of all the tones. The distribution of the hymns in two generic sections is typical of the oldest Byzantine Octoechoi, and the composition of Russian Octoechoi is in many cases similar to that of the Tropologia of the Palestinian tradition, including the Iadgari⁴⁸².

According to Krasheninnikova⁴⁸³, amongst the codices of Studite redaction from the 12th - 15th centuries, complete and fragmentary, kept in Russian libraries, there are ten Izborny Octoechoi, of which eight contain partial notation⁴⁸⁴, and 18 Parakletike, including five noted examples⁴⁸⁵, of which one is *znamenny*. The oldest exemplar of the noted Russian Izborny Octoechos is from the 13th century (RNB Sof 122), though this kind of book may have existed earlier in Russia. The most complete information concerning its notation is to be found in the Octoechos RGADA Sin Typ 67, in which 54 hymns are noted⁴⁸⁶. The Octoechoi without notation are, similarly, not older than the 13th century. From the 14th century to the first half of the 15th century the quantity of Russian Izborny Octoechoi grew rapidly.

A similar situation occurs with the Russian Parakletike. The only book with notation, in this case *znamenny*, is the oldest surviving copy; it comes from the 2nd half of the 12th century⁴⁸⁷. It is a fragment which contains troparia for the odes of the two

⁴⁸² Крашенинникова, Ранневизантийские источники, 117.

⁴⁸³ Крашенинникова О.А., *Древнерусский Октоих XII–XIV веков как памятник средневековой гимнографии*, Candidate's thesis, Moscow, 1996, pp. 71-72, 74-75.

⁴⁸⁴ Плетнева Е.В., *Певческая книга «Октоих» в древнерусской традиции (по рукописям XI-XV веков)*, Candidate's thesis, St.Petersburg, 2008, p. 175.

⁴⁸⁵ Плетнева, *Певческая*, 175.

⁴⁸⁶ Плетнева, *Певческая*, 180.

⁴⁸⁷ SK dates it to the late 12th – early 13th century; the dating was recently corrected by Lozovaia: Лозовая, *Древнерусский нотированный Параклит*, p.15.

canons for all the weekdays and Sundays from Tones 1 to 3 (RGADA Sin Typ 80). This manuscript has been grouped, as mentioned above, with the ten Sofia Menaia from Novgorod, the Typikon Sin 330 and, probably, the Triodion Sin 319 and Pentekostarion Voskr 27. Apart from the Russian Parakletike, there also survive two Serbian fragments, from the 13th century and the 13th - 14th centuries, without notation.

Apart from the books dedicated entirely to the order of the Octoechos cycle, hymns from this cycle with notation may be found in other books. The stichera and exaposteilaria included in the Kontakaria and Sticheraria have already been mentioned, as well as the fact of the presence of various genres of Octoechos hymns in the second sections of the Kontakaria. The most complete representation of these generic groups is found in the Typografsky Kontakarion. In the surviving part for Tones 1 to 5 there appears *God is the Lord* with its troparion and theotokion, alleluia and respective triadika, verses for the kathismata with alleluia, anabathmoi and *Let everything that hath breath...*; there follow the alleluias for various feasts in Tones 1, 5, 2, 6, 4 and 8, the automela of the Menaion, Triodion, Pentekostarion and Octoechos in the numerical order of the Tones, the stichera for the Litia and an appendix with some kontakia. This sequence has even led scholars to believe that the second parts of these books fulfilled the function of the Octoechos during this period⁴⁸⁸, or a collection including, as well as the Kontakarion, the Octoechos and elements of the Obikhod, a frequent layout for such a book (excluding the Kontakarion) for the post-Studite period⁴⁸⁹.

Multi-genre books in liturgical order

The second group is made up of books organized according to the daily liturgical sequence.

Amongst the Studite redaction books of the Octoechos cycle are 17 *Shestodnev*⁴⁹⁰, of which 14 have partial-notation neumes⁴⁹¹.

The *Shestodnev*, frequently bound together with other books, includes stichera, troparia and Sunday canons in the eight tones, arranged in liturgical order, and also contains the weekday services, having the hymns of a single tone for each one.

⁴⁸⁸ Артамонова Ю.В., *Песнопения-модели в древнерусском певческом искусстве XI-XVIII веков*, Candidate's thesis, Moscow, 1998, p.23.

⁴⁸⁹ Владышевская, *Типографский*, 201.

⁴⁹⁰ Крашенинникова, *Древнерусский*, 79-80.

⁴⁹¹ Плетнева, *Певческая*, 176.

As for the South-Slavic Octoechoi, they, like the Russian examples, are not older than the 13th century, when the surviving five Bulgarian fragments and single complete manuscript were written. To the end of the 13th century or beginning of the 14th belong one complete Bulgarian manuscript and one fragment, and two Serbian fragments. From the 14th century to the first half of the 15th century the quantity of South-Slavic, as well as Russian, Octoechoi grew rapidly: no fewer than 22 complete and fragmentary manuscripts are mentioned in the PS Catalogue, though the question of whether or not they are a Studite redaction has not so far been answered.

The majority of surviving books is made up of Menaia. Amongst these there is a group of Festal Menaia, belonging to the older liturgical tradition, which had not yet established the sequences of hymns for each day. In accordance with the most archaic examples of the Studite rule, on the Sundays during this period the stichera of the Octoechos were sung, with the exception of great feasts. An example of this kind of Menaion is the 12th – century *znamenny* Festal Menaion containing the hymns from September to February, from the Typografsky Collection 131 of the RGADA. In early Russian liturgical practice, these ancient types of Menaion coexisted with complete Menaia, which contain the hymns for all the days of each month of the year, and are therefore made up of twelve volumes. Each of the multiple surviving separate volumes was conceived as part of a set.

Of the total number of surviving Menaia, complete or fragmentary, most of those that contain *znamenny* or *theta* notation were written between the end of the 11th century and the end of the 12th (the sets include 22 Russian manuscripts). There are 18 books without notation from the same period, of which one is Bulgarian (the fragment of the Festal Menaion from the RNB Collection). From the 13th century to the 15th, the number of notated books diminished suddenly (one Russian manuscript and two Bulgarian), while the number of books without notation increased (more than 100 complete manuscripts, Russian, Bulgarian and Serbian).

The next-most numerous liturgical book after the Menaia, in terms of the number of surviving Russian and South-Slavic exemplars, is the Triodion. The compilation of these books presents a peculiarly complex and multifaceted problem. The manuscript copies of the Triodion are so different from each other that it is difficult to find even two that are identical. From the end of the 19th century, there were various attempts at classification of the Triodia of the Studite tradition. In recent times a

classification scheme was suggested which distinguished eight such types⁴⁹², which differ in particularities of tradition, choice of texts and the order of the hymns within the service. Two of these 8 types characterize Russian Triodia, three the Bulgarian books, two the Bulgarian and Serbian and one – the Serbian⁴⁹³.

The overall picture of the temporal distribution of Triodia and Pentekostaria manuscripts in Russian libraries, both with and without notation, duplicates the situation of other liturgical books: from the 11th-12th centuries only notated copies have survived, the notation being either *znamenny* or *theta* – seven books in all; the number of manuscripts with and without notation from the 13th century is more or less identical (six of the former and seven of the latter); from the end of the 13th century to the beginning of the 15th century there has not survived a single Triodion with notation, while the number of books without notation – 33 Russian, 13 Bulgarian and 10 Serbian – is significantly larger than in the early period.

Centers of book production in Russia. Kiev

The study of a large number of surviving Russian chant books of the Studite period was undertaken during a considerable time on the basis of the characteristics of a codex or a group of codices closely related either generically or temporally. In recent decades, the tendency has been to bring together codices hitherto viewed as separate, including those covering different hymnographical genres, according to the criterion of their geographical proximity. Data collected as a consequence of the comparison of sources from the same scriptorium enable both the formation of a more concrete idea of the regional development of chant and the deeper understanding of the particularities of one codex in relation to another from the same scriptorium.

The beginning of book production in Russia is linked to the establishment of see cathedrals in county centres. In the earliest stage, during the 11th century — beginning of the 12th century, scriptoria probably existed in the Southern centres – Kiev, Belgorod, Chernigov, Perejaslavl', Yuriev; in the South-East – Vladimir Volynsky, Turov and Galich; in the West – Polotzk and Smolensk; in the North-East – Rostov; and in the

⁴⁹² Momina, Triodion, p.*131-*133; though in the book the eight types of Triodion are not separated from the total number of 11, further on, on p. *135, the author notes the division of Triodia according to Athonite, Nikonian and Kievan types, in accordance with liturgical rules later than the Studite Typikon.

⁴⁹³ A survey of Russian and Slavic Triodia is found in Chapter 5 of the present thesis.

North-West – in Novgorod⁴⁹⁴. However, the implantation of book production in professional centres must have taken a certain time, and passed through a number of phases. The first books to be copied were brought from established centres, for example, from Constantinople to Kiev, or from Kiev, the oldest capital, to other county centres. The art of working on the basic material of books, the writing, decoration, binding, and other aspects of the finishing of codices must initially have been taught from masters from outside. During the initial stage of the functioning of the scriptorium, its output would not have been distinguished by its high quality, and would not have possessed its own codicological and calligraphic characteristics⁴⁹⁵. Thus, manuscripts kept for centuries in a cathedral far from the centre may not have come from a local scriptorium, but have been commissioned and prepared in another centre. These suppositions demonstrate the difficulties that appear in any attempt to establish the output of the scriptoria, aggravated by the scarcity of earlier material.

It is known that books were produced in Kiev from the mid-11th century. The oldest scriptorium of the capital was that of the Grand Duke, connected with the cathedral of St Sophia. Thanks to the support of the Grand Duke Yaroslav, the cathedral possessed a library and a book workshop. It is possible that the translation of the first set of liturgical books was carried out there, firstly because the Kievo-Pechersk monastery may not yet have been sufficiently prepared for such work, and, secondly, because this translation must be considered an act of state, not merely local, and this initial set was intended to serve as the primary example, in all senses.

Some older codices that came from the Kiev scriptorium are notable for their enamel decoration⁴⁹⁶, added in the scriptoria of Constantinople, especially those of the Emperor and the monastery of Stoudion. The luxurious decoration of Byzantine manuscripts is also reflected in the output of the book workshops of Georgia and Armenia. This style was brought to Kiev directly from Byzantium, without the intermediary of the Southern Slavic peoples, and appears in a series of codices from the

⁴⁹⁴ Уханова, О становлении.

⁴⁹⁵ Уханова, О становлении.

⁴⁹⁶ Попова О.С., “Остромирово евангелие. Миниатюры и орнаменты”, *Остромирово Евангелие (1056-1057) и рукописная традиция новозаветных текстов. Виртуальная выставка манускриптов на сайте Российской национальной библиотеки посвящена 950-летию юбилею Остромирова евангелия*, St.Peterburg, 2007; available at: <http://www.nlr.ru/exib/Gospel/ostr/popova.html>. Frantz A., “Byzantine Illuminated Ornament. A Study in Chronology”, *The Art Bulletin*, 1934. v. XVI/1, pp. 43–76; Weitzmann K., “Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts”, 2. Aufl., Wien, 1996, v. I. pp. 22–32.

second half of the 11th century⁴⁹⁷. Amongst these is the Ostromir Gospel from the years 1056-1057⁴⁹⁸, written by the dyak Gregory for the appointed governor of Novgorod Ostromir. The text of the Gospel was written in Kiev, and finished, it is supposed, in Novgorod⁴⁹⁹. However, the head-piece, miniatures and decoration of the initials with enamel was carried out in Kiev, in the scriptorium of the Grand Duke. The Gospel bears signs of ekphonic notation⁵⁰⁰. The Mstislav Gospel⁵⁰¹ commissioned by the Duke of Novgorod, Mstislav, who probably intended it for the Church of the Annunciation in Gorodishche, built by him in 1103, is of fine quality and has excellent calligraphy. In spite of the Novgorodian provenance of the commission, the codex was written in the scriptorium of the Grand Duke in Kiev at the turn of the 11th century⁵⁰² or approximately in the year 1106⁵⁰³.

Some other manuscripts, such as, for example, the Izbornik of Svyatoslav from the year 1073, whose decoration suggests a relationship with the scriptorium of the Kievan Grand Duke. However, the style of the enamel, which is often of the greatest help in the attribution of manuscripts to particular scriptoria, was used no later than the end of the 12th century; its following history in Russia is not yet clear.

The parameters of the style have been considered by scholars as the most trustworthy in the process of attribution of date and place of origin of codices. “The date from any source, when they contradict the rules of stylistic development, whether in terms of history, artistic life, (...) palaeography, or aspects concerning the study of materials or techniques, may not be considered completely viable (...) until this discrepancy is resolved”⁵⁰⁴. Stylistic criteria were used to date one of the books

⁴⁹⁷ Пуцко В.Г., “Эмальерный стиль в художественном оформлении киевских рукописей XIв. ”, *Книжные центры Древней Руси XI-XVI вв.*, St.Peterburg, 1991, p. 29.

⁴⁹⁸ RNB Ф.п.1.5; SK n°3, p. 33-36.

⁴⁹⁹ Мельников Е.И., “К проблеме происхождения Остромирова Евангелия”, *Slavia*, 1968, v.37, pp.537-547; Пуцко, Эмальерный стиль, 33.

⁵⁰⁰ A more recent study on ekphonic notation in the Ostromir Gospel is found in: Рамазанова Н.В., “Остромирово Евангелие и древнерусское церковное пение”, *Остромирово Евангелие (1056-1057) и рукописная традиция новозаветных текстов, Виртуальная выставка манускриптов на сайте Российской национальной библиотеки посвящена 950-летнему юбилею Остромирова евангелия*, St.Petersburg, 2007, available at: <http://www.nlr.ru/exib/Gospel/ostr/ramazanova.html>

⁵⁰¹ GIM Sin 1203; SK n° 51, 90-92.

⁵⁰² Жуковская Л.П., “Гіпотези й факти про давньоруську писемність до XII ст.”, *Літературна спадщина Київської Русі і українська література XVI-XVIII ст.*, Kiev, 1981, pp. 17-27; cited in Пуцко, Эмальерный стиль, 42.

⁵⁰³ Уханова Е.В., “Мстиславово евангелие в древнерусской культуре конца XI-начала XII в.: история, кодикология, текстология рукописи”, *Palaeslavica*, v. XIV, 2006, pp. 14-24.

⁵⁰⁴ Лифшиц Л.И., Сарабянов В.Д., Царевская Т.Ю., *Монументальная жизнь Великого Новгорода. Конец XI-первая четверть XIIв.* St.Peterburg, 2004, p.13; cited in Уханова, О становлении.

containing *theta* notation, the Putyatina Menaion⁵⁰⁵, dated in SK to the 11th century with no details, and, elsewhere, attributed to Novgorod. Ukhanova dates the codex to the last third of the 11th century and places it amongst the output of the Kievan scriptorium, not only on the basis of the similarity of the hand to that of the Ostromir Gospel, but also as a consequence of the supposition that in Novgorod a codex of high calligraphic quality could not have been produced at this time, and because amongst the books produced in Novgorod none has been found whose details correspond to those of this codex⁵⁰⁶. At the same time, the presence of some linguistic particularities, suggesting the possibility that the scribe was of Novgorodian origin, may be explained by the fact that a native of Novgorod may have been working in Kiev. The opposite case apparently obtained in the process of the writing of another Russian liturgical book, the Triodion Sin Typ 137 “Moisey Kiyarin”⁵⁰⁷. In the opinion of Sobolevsky, it was written by a native of Kiev who lived in Novgorod⁵⁰⁸.

None of the liturgical books has any scribe's indication that would specify their Kievan origin. According to R. Jakobson, the Chilandari Heirmologion was written in the Kievan region⁵⁰⁹; Ukhanova suggests that the Pentekostarion Sin Typ 138 came from Kiev, as it was mentioned above; accepting Metallov's opinion, *znamenny* December Menaion Sin Typ 96 could be among the Kievan codices⁵¹⁰.

The Rostov codices

Interest in the artistic decoration of books was also a characteristic of the scriptorium of Rostov⁵¹¹.

The episcopal see of this city was established relatively early. Some sources date this to the 11th century, but the possibility that the first bishop of Rostov was St Leonty⁵¹², who had been tonsured in the Kiev-Pechersky monastery, is not excluded. The political and ecclesiastical-administrative situation in the city was complicated as a result of Rostov not being the centre of a county, and the role of the bishop included

⁵⁰⁵ RNB Sof 202; SK n°21, p.63.

⁵⁰⁶ Уханова, О становлении.

⁵⁰⁷ RGADA Sin Typ 137.

⁵⁰⁸ Гальченко М.Г., Триодь Моисея Киянина – Палеографический и графико-орфографический анализ, *Triodion*, *285.

⁵⁰⁹ ММВ, v. 5, А, p. 9.

⁵¹⁰ Металлов, *Богослужбное*, 196, 220; cited in SK, 174-175.

⁵¹¹ Дмитриева Р.П., “От редактора”, *Книжные центры*, 10.

⁵¹² Щапов, *Государство*.

compensating for the unsatisfactory exercising of power on the part of the count. The people of the lands of Rostov were not easily brought under the capital's administration, and opposed the process of Christianization, which led to a pagan rebellion in the years 1071 – 1073. The appointment of Leonty to the see was considered a means of strengthening the authority of the Church and the power of the Duke. He was assassinated by the pagans, probably soon after his appointment.

After Leonty, the see was occupied by Bishop Isaiah and Bishop Ephrem, both also tonsured at the Kievo-Pechersk monastery⁵¹³. During the tenure of Ephrem and the rule of Vladimir Monomakh in the county of Pereyaslavl' (1094-1113), to which Rostov was subject at the time, the Cathedral of the Dormition was built, and it was a copy of the stone cathedral of the Kievo-Pechersk monastery⁵¹⁴. To this cathedral Pentkovsky links the sixth redaction of the Studite-Alexian Typikon (Sin 333), in which influences of the Byzantine cathedral rite have been detected⁵¹⁵, probably characteristic of Rostov until the end of the Studite period, if not even later. This copy includes mention of the celebration of the discovery of the relics of St Leonty in 1164, and details of the service written for him after his local canonization in 1190⁵¹⁶.

The connection between liturgy in Rostov and that of the cathedral rite is also evident in two Kontakaria written there – the Uspensky, from the year 1207 (GIM Usp 9) and the Lavrsky Troitsky, from the end of the 12th century — beginning of the 13th century (RGB Tr-Serg 23), attributed to the Rostov scriptorium by Turilov in 1970⁵¹⁷. The activity of the episcopal or episcopal-county scriptorium of Rostov may be followed throughout a significant period, some fifty years into the 13th century. Amongst other codices from this scriptorium are four Gospels⁵¹⁸. In 2002 Turilov attributed to the same scriptorium the Festal Menaion RNB F.п.1.37, changing its date from the second half of the 14th century to the year 1220, when the scriptorium produced the Epistle GIM Sin 7⁵¹⁹.

Some manuscripts from the Rostov scriptorium have characteristics similar to the hand seen in the Serbian codices, notably the calligraphy of the first half of the 13th

⁵¹³ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 202.

⁵¹⁴ Абрамович, *Патерик*, 9; cited in Пентковский, *Типикон*, 202.

⁵¹⁵ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 207.

⁵¹⁶ Голубинский, *История канонизации*, 60-61; cited in Пентковский, *Типикон*, 210.

⁵¹⁷ Турилов А.А., “К истории ростовского владычного скриптория XIII в.: старые факты и новые данные”, *Средневековые книжные центры: местные традиции и межрегиональные связи*, Abstract of the conference paper (Moscow, 5-7 September 2005), Moscow, 2005, p. 30.

⁵¹⁸ NB MGU 2 AG.80, YaMZ, inv.15690, GIM Arkh 1.e Orshansky Gospel, traditionally considered a Ukrainian or Belorussian book: CNB AN Ukr DA/P.555: Турилов А.А., К истории ростовского, 30-31.

century of the scribe Budil, who took part in the writing of the Gospel Vatican slav 4 and the Kareisky Typikon of St Sabas the Serbian (Mt Athos, Chilandari, AS 132/134). There are also a number of other examples of the work of Russian masters in various regions of the Balkans in the 13th century⁵²⁰.

The Scriptoria of Vladimir and Pskov

Many scriptoria appeared in Russian cities that aroused after the weakening of Kiev by internal military disputes.

In the 12th century, the centre of administrative and ecclesiastical power moved to the county of Vladimir-Suzdal'. The heritage of governmental power was strengthened with a heritage of culture. Together with the Cathedral of the Dormition in Vladimir, built in 1160, a library was founded which contained manuscripts brought from Kiev and Vyshgorod. This collection disappeared in the fire which destroyed the cathedral in 1185, after which Bishop Simon, who had previously been tonsured at the Kievo-Pechersk monastery, and was one of the authors of the Kievo-Pechersk Paterikon, began the second library. This was destroyed in its turn by the Tartars in 1238. In the same year was destroyed another centre of books in Vladimir – that of the monastery of the Saviour. The Tartar invasion in Vladimir led to the loss of many precious cultural artefacts, of which, according to Vzdornov, there survived a single book from the pre-Mongol period, the 13th century Menaion for the month of May, RGADA Sin Typ 113⁵²¹.

In Pskov, the centre of book production may have been in the Spasso-Miroysky monastery, founded by Nifont, bishop of Novgorod (1130-1156). This monastery has a library which was initially filled with Novgorodian books. However, it soon established its own scriptorium, as evidenced by the 12th century Sticherarion for the Menaion, written by the paramonarios of the Church of St Nicholas, Jacob, whose lay name was Tvorimir, for the Church of St Blasius. In the opinion of Pokrovsky, the Church of St Blasius was situated in Pskov, in the market square⁵²². Another manuscript, whose origins have been considered to be in Pskov, is the Octoechos RGADA Sin Typ 67,

⁵¹⁹ Турилов, К истории ростовского, 31.

⁵²⁰ Турилов, К истории ростовского, 31.

⁵²¹ Дмитриева Р.П., “Введение”, *Книжные центры Древней Руси*, 8-9.

⁵²² Tikhomirov considers the two parts, RGADA Sin Typ 145 and RGADA Sin Typ 152 as belonging to a single Sicherarion codex: SK n° 103 e n° 104, 132-134.

which contains a rare kind of partial neumatic notation⁵²³. There may have been more scriptoria, from which some surviving liturgical books may have come. However, the process of attributing liturgical books to specific scriptoria is still in an early phase and many difficulties have to be overcome. Novgorod is the least problematic in this regard, and the most representative centre, in terms of its substantial production.

The Scriptoria of Novgorod

The majority of surviving manuscripts in Russian collections are thought to have originated in Novgorod.

Novgorod was the ancient historical centre of northern Russia. After the union of the North with the South into one state, Kievan Rus', in the 9th century, and the consequent founding of the metropolitanate of Kiev, was founded in Novgorod the episcopal see, under Bishop Joachim, a Greek brought by Grand Duke Vladimir from Kherson after the military conquest of that city⁵²⁴. The construction of the first cathedral, in wood, took place probably at the end of the 990s. The stone cathedral was built in the 1050s, on the model of the Cathedral of St Sophia in Kiev.

The Christianization of the northern Russian territories was fraught with difficulties, much greater than those of the southern territories. As in the case with Rostov, the activity of the Bishop of Novgorod included the dissemination of Christianity not only amongst the Russian peoples, but also amongst other tribes. The episcopal mission throughout the 11th century and the first half of the 12th century took place within the context of the constant struggle between the local organ of power, the veche, and the centralized power of the Duke of Kiev, embodied in the posadnik sent to the city. In 1102 the city won the right to elect its count, and in 1136 the power of the Count in the governing of Novgorodian territories was limited even further as a consequence of the reaffirmation of the veche⁵²⁵. The Church established itself in Novgorod with the expansion of central power, which explains the fact that, as in Rostov, there occurred in 1071 a pagan rebellion, in the course of which the Novgorodians supported the volkhv, the shaman, and rejected the bishop. The instability of the Church at the end of the 11th century in Novgorod hardly suggests the

⁵²³ Плетнева, *Певческая*, 177.

⁵²⁴ Щапов, *Государство*.

⁵²⁵ Уханова, *О становлении*.

existence of a developed sacred culture, including, obviously, the production of books. In discussing the late development (approximately half a century's delay) of ecclesiastical institutions in Novgorod in comparison with those of Kiev, Ukhanova singles out the following factors: the consecration of the first stone church in Kiev took place in 996, while in Novgorod this happened in 1052; the first monasteries of the counts in Kiev were founded in 1037, while in Novgorod the monastery of St George was founded in c.1119; the urban coenobitic monastery of Kievo-Pechersk dates from 1062, while the monastery of the Nativity of the Theotokos was founded by St Anthony (Anthony Rimlianin, born in Rome) in 1117⁵²⁶.

In accordance with these data, the activity of the first scriptoria in Novgorod must have begun not before the end of the 11th century⁵²⁷. The oldest is considered to be the Lazorevsky, within the monastery of St Lazarus. The first ten codices from this scriptorium were classified by Yanin⁵²⁸: they are two Menaia with *theta* notation from the years 1095-1096, for the months of September and October⁵²⁹, un-noted Menaia for the months of January, February, April, July and August from the 11th-12th centuries from the Typografsky Collection⁵³⁰; a Pentekostarion with *theta* notation⁵³¹, a *znamenny* Sticherarion⁵³² and the Milyatin Gospel. These codices were considered by Stolyarova as a set⁵³³, originally comprising 16 books, written by no fewer than 12 scribes. She added to the set the Menaion for November from the year 1097 with *theta* notation, but excluded the Gospel, which in her opinion is a copy from the end of the 12th century of the 11th century original; it is this dating which is used in SK.

Some conclusions regarding the Lazorevsky scriptorium have been questioned, such as, for example, the possibility of it being part of a monastery or a church⁵³⁴, or whether the number of scribes really was as high as 12⁵³⁵. Even more contentious, and rightly so, I believe, is the inclusion in the set of the Sticherarion of the Triodion Sin

⁵²⁶ Уханова, О становлении.

⁵²⁷ The opinion of Rozhdestvenskaia concerning the possibility of the opening of the Duke's scriptorium in the mid-11th century, associated with the Cathedral of St Sophia, has been criticized by Ukhanova: Рождественская, Развитие грамотности, 17; Уханова, О становлении.

⁵²⁸ Янин В.Л., "Новгородский скрипторий XI-XII вв. Лазорев монастырь", *АЕ*, 1981, Moscow, 1982, p.53-63.

⁵²⁹ RGADA Sin Typ 84, 89.

⁵³⁰ Sin Typ 99, 103, 110, 121 and 125.

⁵³¹ Sin Typ 138.

⁵³² Sin Typ 147.

⁵³³ Столярова Л.В., *Древнерусские надписи XI-XIV вв. на пергаменных кодексах*, Moscow, 1998, p.201, cited in Гиппиус А.А., *К вопросу о новгородском Лазоревском скриптории рубежа XI-XII в.*, available at http://www.drevnyaya.ru/vyp/stat/s1_27_4.pdf

⁵³⁴ This opinion is supported by Gippius: Гиппиус А.А., *К вопросу о новгородском*

Typ 147; consequently, Ukhanova dates this book afresh to the second half of the 12th century⁵³⁶. She also excluded from the set the Pentekostarion Sin Typ 138, which came into the collection of the Synodal Typography in the 17th century from the Lazorev monastery, and which was considered by Pokrovsky to have belonged to it⁵³⁷. In the opinion of Ukhanova, the Pentekostarion, though no younger than the Lazoresvky Menaia, in accordance with its palaeographical and codicological characteristics, could not have come from the Lazoresvky scriptorium. She considers it to be a product of one of the scriptoria of the South of Russia. At the same time, she attributes to the Lazorev masters the Typografsky Typikon and a further three Menaia without notation dating from the beginning of the 12th century, for the months of March⁵³⁸ and April⁵³⁹, and a fragment for October⁵⁴⁰, as well as fragments of the Parakletike which in SK is dated to the end of the 13th century⁵⁴¹. As to the question of the dating and place of origin of the Milyatin Gospel, Ukhanova agrees with Yanin, adding it to the set and reconsidering the date given to it in SK⁵⁴². In general, in her opinion, given the present state of research, 14 codices may be attributed to this Novgorod scriptorium.

The work of the next great scriptorium of Novgorod, that of the Archbishop, distinguished by its own particular calligraphy, is evident in manuscripts from the last quarter of the 12th century-beginning of the 13th century. The books of this scriptorium were mentioned in the communication delivered by Ukhanova at the congress Средневековые книжные центры: местные традиции и межрегиональные связи in Moscow in September 2005, an abstract of which has been published⁵⁴³. The manuscripts mentioned in this abstract are directly connected with the two books upon which the present thesis concentrates: the copy of the Typikon, Sin 330, the set of 10 *znamenny* Menaia of the Cathedral of St Sophia in Novgorod, Sin 159-168, and the *znamenny* Parakletike, Sin Typ 80, amongst others, not specified in the abstract. These latter books, in the opinion of Ukhanova, communicated personally to the present author, include the *znamenny* Triodion Sin 319 and the Pentekostarion Voskr 27.

⁵³⁵ These matters are discussed in detail in Ukhanova's article: Уханова, О становлении.

⁵³⁶ Уханова, О становлении.

⁵³⁷ SK, 87.

⁵³⁸ RGB M.1337, SK n° 20, 63.

⁵³⁹ RNB Sof 199, SK n° 88, 125

⁵⁴⁰ BAN 16.13.54, SK n° 38, 79.

⁵⁴¹ Ukraine, National Museum in Lvov, Ms.Q.404/31333, SK n° 369, 308.

⁵⁴² Уханова, О становлении.

⁵⁴³ Уханова Е.В., "К вопросу о новгородских скрипториях XI-XII вв.", *Средневековые*, 31-32.

In the present thesis a number of studies were carried out, supporting the conclusion that the Triodion and Pentekostarion belong to the same set of books, written at the archiepiscopal scriptorium.

Part II

Chapter 3

*Sin 319 and Voskr 27 as a set: questions of dating, locality and
palaeography*

In 2004 was published the excellent research of Momina, on one of the oldest Russian liturgical books of its type, containing the liturgical material for the Triodion cycle – the complete copy, including Triodion and Pentekostarion, known as the Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin⁵⁴⁴. This book is unique in many of its characteristics. It cannot, therefore, always serve as an indicator of common practice in the Russia of the Studite period. In this regard, a number of complications become apparent in comparison with other Russian sources, for example, the Sticheraria.

Two other manuscripts, the Triodion Sin 319 and Pentekostarion Voskr 27, which are considered in this thesis to be a set, reflect a more common praxis for Russia. This fact is referred to more than once by Momina, who compares the Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin with a large number of other Slavic and Russian copies, including the Triodia and Pentekostaria of the so-called GIM-type, whose name arose from the place in which the set central to this thesis is kept.

To understand the place, function and specific traces of Sin 319 and Voskr 27 in Russian liturgical practice, Momina's methods of working with Russian Triodion sources, such as the classification of Slavic and Russian Triodia and Pentekostaria, their relation to Greek Triodion sources, peculiarities of the composition of sources and the way in which their material is ordered, the relation of Russian Triodia and Pentekostaria to Russian Sticheraria and Heirmologia, will be used in this chapter.

As shall be seen, the conclusions made by Momina as a result of the investigation of the Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin in the context of Russian sources, partly correspond to the results of the contextualization of Sin 319 and Voskr 27. However, on many occasions, the two sources relate to the reality of Russian liturgy in a way that distinguishes them significantly from the Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin. In particular, this chapter deals with understanding the history of the writing of the GIM codices.

Sin 319 and Voskr 27: time and place of creation.

Before commencing the examination of the different parameters of composition and function of these two manuscripts, there follows a survey of more general information about their dating and geographical attribution, as found in published research and catalogues.

⁵⁴⁴ Momina, *Triodion*; the complete publication as it stands is limited to the weeks preparatory to Lent.

The proximity of the two sources of Triodion hymns, which are complementary, has frequently attracted scholarly attention⁵⁴⁵. However, until now, to the present writer's knowledge, the fact of their having been written for use as a set within the context of early Russian liturgical practice has not been confirmed by anyone. Likewise, SK does not link Sin 319 and Voskr 27 as a set, even though, in the cases of other manuscripts, whenever possible, such a link is made⁵⁴⁶. Moreover, in order for them to be considered as a set, the information indicated in the SK for both sources is insufficient. It is therefore necessary to apply the information relating to one source to another, and also to examine which possibilities there are of completing lacunae in information using other sources.

SK dates Sin 319 to the 12th century, just as Gorsky and Novostruev, Sreznevsky, Momina and Tutolmina do⁵⁴⁷. Metallov, in *Bogosluzhebnoe Penie*, dates it more specifically to the end of the 12th century, and Schidlovsky⁵⁴⁸ agrees with this. Shchepkina and Protas'eva⁵⁴⁹ propose a date in the 13th century. Thus, the dating is balanced between the 12th and the 13th centuries, closer to the second half – end of the 12th century.

The available literature does not discuss where the manuscript might have been written. However, the fact that the manuscript, according to the Inventory of the 1773rd year, belonged to the Patriarchal library⁵⁵⁰, in which were preserved a great many Novgorodian codices, including the *znamenny* Menaia, which belonged to the Cathedral of St Sophia in Novgorod⁵⁵¹, does not invalidate the possibility that the manuscript also entered the Synodal Collection from Novgorod. It is known that most of the books came to the Patriarchal library from the collection of Patriarch Nikon, having come chiefly from monasteries of the diocese of Novgorod, where Nikon was metropolitan until his appointment to the patriarchal throne⁵⁵².

⁵⁴⁵ Schidlovsky, *A new folio*, 108-109; Momina, *Triodion*, *142; Тутолмина, *Русские певческие Триоди*, 42.

⁵⁴⁶ For example, every volume of the Sofia Menaia is marked as “from the set of the Sofia Menaia of Novgorod” (see n^o...): SK n^o78, 80, 81, 83-85, 87, 89, 91, 94.

⁵⁴⁷ ГИМ Sin 319, 12th cent., SK n^o 106, 135; Горский, Невоструев, *Описание*, III, v.1, 494; Срезневский И.И., *Славяно-русская палеография. XI-XIV вв.*, St.Petersburg, 1885, p.160; cited in SK 135; Momina, *Triodion*, *132; ; Тутолмина, *Русские певческие Триоди*, 41.

⁵⁴⁸ Metallov, *Богослужебное*, 209-210; Schidlovsky, *A new folio*, 116.

⁵⁴⁹ Щепкина М.В., Протасьева Т.Н., *Сокровища древней письменности и старой печати. Обзор рукописей русских, славянских, греческих, а также книг старой печати Государственного Исторического музея*, Moscow, 1958, p.15; available at http://www.shm.ru/manuscript_22_01.html.

⁵⁵⁰ SK, 135.

⁵⁵¹ Щепкина, Протасьева, *Сокровища*.

⁵⁵² Щепкина, Протасьева, *Сокровища*.

Voskr 27 is dated in SK to the late 12th century, and Metallov and Tutolmina accord it the same date⁵⁵³. On the last page of the manuscript, Sreznevsky⁵⁵⁴ wrote: “12th or beginning of the 13th century”, Momina dates it to the 12th century⁵⁵⁵, Volkov⁵⁵⁶ to the 13th century. Shchepkina and Protas’eva⁵⁵⁷ also indicated the 13th century, but the most recent dating by Shchepkina and her colleagues is to the end of the 12th century⁵⁵⁸. As can be seen, the time of the writing of this manuscript, as well as Sin 319, is fairly well balanced between the 12th and 13th centuries, but most probably closer to the end of the 12th century, which does not exclude the possibility of their having been written simultaneously.

As for the place of writing of Voskr 27, there is far more certainty. In its binding there is a note of the 1502nd year, saying that “on 18th March of the 7010th year, the Archbishop of Novgorod took the book from the church of St John Chrysostom and gave it to the deacon of the church of The Theophany...”⁵⁵⁹. On the 1st folio there is a note saying that in the 1857th year the manuscript belonged to Resurrection-New Jerusalem monastery, whose collection was begun by Patriarch Nikon and included books from monasteries in Novgorod and Pskov. Metallov⁵⁶⁰ considered that the manuscript was from Novgorod, having noted the proximity of both copies, and confirmed it with the dating of the Triodion Sin 319 also to the end of the 12th century, when the Pentekostarion was written.

Thus, there is, *a priori*, no reason to reject the possibility that the manuscripts were written at the same time and in the same place. Confirmation of the suggestion, firstly, of their origin and existence as a set, and secondly, of their belonging to the Scriptorium of the Archbishop of Novgorod, will be attempted further on.

Sin 319 e Voskr 27 in the Russian Triodia cycle

⁵⁵³ GIM Voskr 27, fim do séc.12, SK n° 136; Metallov, *Богослужебное*, 213; cites in Schidlovsky, *A new folio*, 116; Тутолмина, *Русские певческие Триоди*, 41.

⁵⁵⁴ SK, 159.

⁵⁵⁵ Momina, *Triodion*, *132

⁵⁵⁶ Волков Н.В., *Статистические сведения о сохранившихся древнерусских книгах XI-XIV вв. и их указатель*, St.Petersburg, 1897, p. 73

⁵⁵⁷ Щепкина, Протасьева, *Сокровища*, 24.

⁵⁵⁸ Щепкина М.В., Протасьева Т.Н., Костюхина Л.М., Гольщенко В.С., "Описание пергаменных рукописей Государственного исторического музея, ч.I. Рукописи русские", *Археографический ежегодник за 1964 год*, Moscow, 1966, p. 152.

⁵⁵⁹ SK, 159.

⁵⁶⁰ Metallov, *Богослужебное*, 213.

The place occupied by the two GIM sources in the liturgical execution of the Triodion cycle in Russia is quite apparent in their relationship with other sources of the same kinds of book.

A list of all Russian Triodia and Pentekostaria is found in Table 6. Information concerning manuscripts from the 11th – 14th centuries was taken from SK, and for those of the 14th – 15th centuries, from PS. Some of the 14th- and 15th- century books have not been attributed to a particular type of Typikon.

Sin 319 is one of the oldest Russian Triodia, together with the Triodion of Mosey Kiyarin⁵⁶¹. Both sources come from the 12th century and are noted. In the case of the Typografsky Triodion, the notation is *theta*, complemented by *znamenny*, placed later above certain stichera⁵⁶². Sin 319 is a Triodion with *znamenny* notation consistently placed above all stichera and complete and incomplete canons. As has already been mentioned in Chapter 2, the placing of neumes above the troparia of the canons did not occur in Greek sources⁵⁶³, which makes Russian copies with completely noted canons entirely exceptional.

The information in SK and PS includes no mention of any further noted Russian Triodion; however, *theta* notation has been found in a further two 14th-century Triodia: Pog 41⁵⁶⁴ e Sof 84⁵⁶⁵.

Table 6.

⁵⁶¹ The “Moisey Kiyarin” Triodion and Pentekostarion, with *theta* notation and partly *znamenny* notation, end of 12th century, RGADA Sin Typ 137; SK, 123.

⁵⁶² In SK information concerning the notation of this Triodion is limited to observing the presence of *znamenny* notation on three folios. This information needs to be completed: the Triodion contains 6 complete stichera and a fragment of a sticheron with *znamenny* notation (ff. 201r., 161r., 225v., 226r. and 233v. and 11 “thetas” on ff.174v.,175r., 233r.-235r., 244r.).

⁵⁶³ It should be remembered that, in Greek sources, the melodic-textual structure of the troparia corresponded completely to that of the heirmoi noted in separate codices, which obviated the need for the canons to be completely noted in books organized according to the liturgical sequence.

⁵⁶⁴ RNB Pog 41. This Triodion is dated in SK and in Tutolmina’s thesis to the 13th-14th centuries: SK 488; Momina dates it to the 14th century: Momina, *Triodion*, *132. The date given in SK was changed to the second half of the 14th century: Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. XI-XIII вв. Appendix I, *Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в России, странах СНГ и Балтии. XIV век*, p.591. On the presence of “thetas” in this codex, see Tutolmina: Туголмина, *Русские певческие Триоды*, 52-53.

⁵⁶⁵ 14th century Triodion, RNB Sof 84. the present writer knows of no published reference to the presence of *theta* notation in this source.

Without notation	With notation
<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Triodia and Pentecostaria:</u> <u>11th-12th cent.</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>12th cent.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pentecostarion, beg. 12th, end 12th-beg. 13th and 14th cent., in znam. Collection RGADA Sin. Typ. 139; SK 64. <p style="text-align: center;"><u>2nd half of the 12th cent.</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>13th cent.</u></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Triodia and Pentecostaria:</u> <u>11th-12th cent.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pentecostarion, theta-not., 11th-12th and 13th cent., RGADA Sin. Typ. 138; SK 49. <p style="text-align: center;"><u>12th cent.</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>2nd half of the 12th cent.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triodion, znam., 70th of the 12th cent., GIM Sinod. 319; SK 106. • Pentecostarion, znam., 70th of the 12th cent., GIM Voskr. 27; SK 136. • Triodion and Pentecostarion «Moisei Kijarino», theta-not., partly znam., end 12th cent., RGADA Sin. Typ. 137; SK 123. • Pentecostarion, fragm. 4ff., znam., 1 theta, 12th-13th cent., RNB Pogod. 46; SK 171. <p style="text-align: center;"><u>13th cent.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pentecostarion (only canons and kath.), znam., theta-not., 1st half 13th cent., in Collection RNB Sof. 385; SK 218. • Pentecostarion fragm. 30ff., theta-not., 2nd half-(last 1/3?) 13th cent., in Menaion RGADA Sin Typ. 133.; SK 14, Append. II, d36. • Canons of the Holy Week, theta-not., 13th cent., in Collection RNB Sof. 397; SK 303.

<u>13th-14th cent.</u>	<u>13th-14th cent.</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triodion, fragm. 4 ff., 1st half 14th cent., BAN 4.9.15 (Inl.15): SK 403. • Triodion, fragm. 1f., end 13th-beg. 14th, BAN 4.5.9 (Syrku 1): SK 485. <p style="text-align: center;"><u>14th cent.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triodion, 1352, fragm. 19ff. in Menaion GIM Sinod. 895; SK 176. • Pentecostarion, fragm., 1st half 14th cent., BAN..., PS 620. • Triodion mid. 14th cent., RNB F.n.I.124; PS 662. • Triodion, 2 fragm. 8ff., 2nd half 14th cent., RGB Nikit. 693; RGB Undol. 1196; PS 757 and 758. • Triodion, 2nd half 14th cent., RNB F.I.680; PS 760. • Triodion, end 14th cent., NB LGU, MSE III 78; PS 882. • Pentecostarion, fragm. 12ff., end 14th cent., GIM Bars. 1241; PS 883. • Canons from the Triodion and Pentecostarion, 14th cent., GIM., Uvar. 451; PS 1040. • Triodion 14th cent., fragm. 2 ff., BAN..., PS 1251. • Triodion 14th cent., RGB, Volog. 241; Momina *132. • Triodion 14th cent., fragm. 4 ff., BAN..., PS 1252. • Triodion 14th cent., GIM Voskr. 21; PS 1258. • Triodion and Pentecostarion 14th cent., GIM Voskr. 26; PS 1259. • Triodion 14th cent., fragm. 1f., GIM Mus. 3069; PS 1260. • Triodion 14th cent., RNB F.n.I.30; PS 1261. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>14th cent.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triodion 14th cent., RNB Sof. 84; PS 1262. • Triodion, 2nd half cent., RNB Pogod. 41; SK 488.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triodion 14th cent., Kremenez; PS 1263. • Triodion 14th cent., fragm. 2 ff., BAN; PS 1264. • Triodion 14th cent., fragm. 1f., RNB; PS 1265. • Pentecostarion 14th cent., fragm. 8ff., RNB Pogod. 44; PS 1266. • Pentecostarion 14th cent., RNB Sof. 116; PS 1267. <p style="text-align: center;"><u>14th-15th cent.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triodion and Pentecostarion fragm., end 14th-beg. 15th cent., in Collection 1-2 vol. RGB Rum. 285 and 286; PS 1343. • Triodion incompl., end 14th-beg. 15th cent., RGB MDA 116 and F.304 n°26; PS 1404 and 1408. • Triodion end 14th-beg. 15th cent., fragm. 6ff., RGB Popov 102/ M.2573; PS 1405. • Triodion end 14th-beg. 15th cent., RGB f.304 n° 25; PS 1407. • Triodion end 14th-beg. 15th cent., GIM Voskr. 23; PS 1409. • Triodion 14th cent., fragm. 2 ff., RGADA; PS 1410. • Triodion 14th cent., fragm. 6 ff., RNB Pogod. 52; PS 1487. <p style="text-align: center;"><u>15th cent.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triodion 15th cent., IRLJ, svdV. 232; Monina *132. 	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>14th-15th cent.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pentecostarion, end 14th-beg. 15th cent., RNB Sof. 110. <p style="text-align: center;"><u>15th cent.</u></p>
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Un-noted Russian codices date from no earlier than the 14th century. To this century are dated nine copies⁵⁶⁶ (complete)⁵⁶⁷, to the 14th – 15th centuries four complete or almost complete copies⁵⁶⁸, and to the 15th century, one copy⁵⁶⁹, preserved in collections in Moscow and St Petersburg. In addition to these, there survives a Sbornik without notation, with the canons of the Triodion and the Pentekostarion, from the 14th century⁵⁷⁰, as well as an un-noted fragment of a Triodion, together with a Festal Menaion, with *theta* notation⁵⁷¹.

From these sources were chosen for comparative study the following: RGADA Sin Typ 137; RNB Pog 41, RNB F.I.680 e RNB Sof 84.

As far as noted Pentekostaria are concerned, a few more have survived than notated Triodia. The oldest book of the Triodion cycle, the Pentekostarion Sin Typ 138, contains many “thetas”; to this book joins part of the Pentekostarion of the above-mentioned Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin. Some of the sources include the canons of Pentecost with notation – a *znamenny* codex from the first half of the 13th century, Sof 385⁵⁷² and a collection of canons for Holy Week with *theta* notation⁵⁷³. Another book, a fragment of the Pentekostarion containing the Great Feasts, found in the same codex as the Festal Menaion, is dated in PS to the 15th century, with no mention of notation. This codex was dated by Tikhomirov to the second half (last third?) of the 13th century; in addition to this adjustment, the presence of *theta* notation was announced, including in the Pentekostarion section⁵⁷⁴. A further Pentekostarion dated to the 14th century and listed in PS as being un-noted, contains many “thetas”⁵⁷⁵. However, there exists only

⁵⁶⁶ SK 488. Triodion mid.14th cent., RNB F.п.I.124; PS 662. Triodion, 2nd half 14th cent., RNB F.I.680; PS 760. Triodion, end 14th cent., NB LGU, MsE III 78; PS 882. Triodion 14th cent., GIM Voskr 21; PS 1258. Triodion and Pentekostarion 14th cent., GIM Voskr 26; PS 1259. Triodion 14th cent., RNB F.п.I.30; PS 1261, PS.1262; Triodion 14th cent., Kremenetz; PS 1263. Triodion 14th cent., RGB Volog 241; Momina *132.

⁵⁶⁷ Information concerning the incomplete copies may be found in Table 6.

⁵⁶⁸ Triodion and Pentekostarion fragments, end 14th-beginning of 15th cent., in Collection 1-2 vol. RGB Rum 285 and 286; PS 1343; Triodion incomplete, end 14th-beginning 15th cent., RGB MDA 116 and Tr-Serg 26; PS 1404 and 1408; Triodion end 14th-beginning 15th cent., RGB Tr-Serg 25; PS 1407; Triodion end 14th-beg.15th cent., GIM Voskr 23; PS, 1409.

⁵⁶⁹ Triodion 15th cent., IRLI, Svdv 232; Momina *132.

⁵⁷⁰ Canons from the Triodion and Pentekostarion, 14th cent., GIM., Uvar 451; PS 1040.

⁵⁷¹ Triodion, 1352, fragment 19ff.in Menaion GIM Sin 895; SK, 176.

⁵⁷² Russian Pentekostarion (only canons and kathiskmata), *znamenny*, *theta* notation, 1st half of 13th cent., in Collection RNB Sof 385; SK, 218.

⁵⁷³ Canons of Holy Week, Russian, *theta* notation, 13th cent., in Collection RNB Sof 397; SK, 303.

⁵⁷⁴ RGADA Sin Typ133, ПС № 817, 15в., Рукописи XII-XIII вв., не вошедшие в «Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. XI-XIII вв.», Appendix II, *Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в России, странах СНГ и Балтии. XIV век*, pp.623-624.

⁵⁷⁵ Pentekostarion end 14th-beginning 15th cent., RNB Sof 110.

one Pentekostarion with the canons and stichera completely set to *znamenny* notation, as with the Triodia, and that is Voskr 27.

Amongst the un-noted Pentekostaria are three codices. The oldest of these, Sin Typ 139, includes the liturgical sequence for the most important feasts of the Menaion and Triodion cycles⁵⁷⁶. This codex was put together and bound between the 12th and 14th centuries. According to the description in SK, services were put together in the following manner: “from the Sticherarion of the Menaion, in (*znamenny*) notation, from the 12th century, were chosen the stichera for one of the great feasts or for one of the saints, and then, above the rest of the text of the same 12th century Sticherarion, were written the canons, kathismata, kontakia and oikos, subsequently erases; in other words, they completed the liturgical sequence”⁵⁷⁷. The Triodion part is arranged in the following way: on the five folios after the liturgy for the Feast of St Nicholas are written in a 14th-century hand the hymns and readings for the Epistle and Gospel for Pascha; afterwards, there follows (though the beginning is lost) the service for Lazarus Saturday, the Pentekostarion taken from an unknown codex of the 12th century. It finished with the Sunday of All Saints, which is followed by *znamenny* stichera from the 12th century Sticherarion for the Nativity, completed by the remaining hymns in the 14th century hand, over the erased stichera of the 12th century; thus, the services from the Festal Menaion were also recorded in this codex.

Two other un-noted Pentekostaria are: a complete codex from the 14th century, and the above-mentioned Collection of canons of the Triodion and Pentekostarion⁵⁷⁸. From the noted and un-noted Pentekostaria were chosen for the purposes of comparative study Sin Typ 138, Sin Typ 137, Sof 110.

It should be mentioned that the information concerning 14th and 14th-15th century sources in PS may in the future undergo some modification, including as regards notation, and particularly partial notation, as was the case with Sof 84 e Sof 110. In addition, it is possible that the data in PS are incomplete as regards the number of 14th-15th-century manuscripts in Russian collections.

⁵⁷⁶ Pentekostarion rus., beginning 12th, end 12th-beginning 13th and 14th century, in *znamenny*. Collection RGADA Sin Typ 139; SK, 64.

⁵⁷⁷ SK p.107; in other words, in the place of the erased 12th-century *znamenny* stichera were written the hymns of the Pentekostarion which, according to SK, were not noted. However, Zabolotnaya notes the presence of notation in the Triodion section: Заболотная, О соотношении певческих, 518-159; cited in Туголкина, *Русские певческие Триоды*, 57-58.

⁵⁷⁸ Pentekostarion 14th century, RNB Sof 116; PS 1267. Canons from the Triodion and Pentekostarion, 14th century, GIM Uvar 451; PS, 1040.

A brief survey of Russian Triodia and Pentekostaria reveals that, in the midst of multi-genre books for the Triodion cycle, Sin 319 and Voskr 27 are unique as far as their use of *znamenny* notation for the stichera and complete canons is concerned.

The fact that each codex is unique of its kind places them both on the same level, and suggests that they may have occupied a special position, beyond the normal practice for written codices for the Triodion cycle.

Sin 319 and Voskr 27 in relation to Russian znamenny books (excepting Sticheraria and Heirmologia)

The same situation as regards the method of notation in the Triodia and Pentekostaria may be found in other kinds of liturgical books. As was mentioned in Chapter 2, amongst quite a large number of Octoechos books from the early period with various kinds of notation, only one codex, of which a fragment of sufficient size has survived that one may arrive at a number of conclusions concerning its original appearance (Tones 1-3), Sin Typ 80. In this book, as in Sin 319 and Voskr 27, the troparia of the canons are systematically notated with *znamenny* notation. As Lozovaia points out, this fact distinguishes the Parakletike Sin Typ 80 from all Byzantine, Slavic and Russian surviving Parakletike⁵⁷⁹.

This Parakletike is dated in SK to the end of the 12th century – beginning of the 13th century⁵⁸⁰. Lozovaia, on the basis of the palaeographical and orthographical particularities of the Parakletike dates it to the 2nd half of the 12th century⁵⁸¹, which would make it contemporary with Sin 319 e Voskr 27. The place of writing is not mentioned in SK, but Ukhanova ascribes it to a group of Novgorodian books, written, according to her, in the last quarter of the 12th century – beginning of the 13th century in the archiepiscopal scriptorium⁵⁸². She places the *znamenny* Sofisky Menaia in the same group of manuscripts⁵⁸³. Lozovaia agrees with the local attribution⁵⁸⁴ and with the fact of the proximity of the Parakletike and Sofisky Menaia⁵⁸⁵.

⁵⁷⁹ Лозовая, *Древнерусский нотированный Параклит*, р. 83.

⁵⁸⁰ RGADA Sin Typ 80, SK n°160, 175.

⁵⁸¹ Лозовая, *Древнерусский нотированный Параклит*, р.15.

⁵⁸² Уханова Е.В., “К вопросу о новгородских скрипториях XI-XII вв.”, *Medieval book Centres: Local Traditions and Inter-Regional Connections (Средневековые книжные центры: местные традиции и межрегиональные связи)*, abstracts of conference paper, Moscow, 2005, pp. 31-32.

⁵⁸³ Уханова, К вопросу, 31-32.

These ten surviving codices, since the moment at which they began to attract scholarly interest, have always been considered as a group. This is reflected in SK⁵⁸⁶; there they are dated to the 12th century. Metallov placed them, together with Sin 319, at the end of the 12th century⁵⁸⁷. As part of a group of books from the Cathedral of St Sophia in Novgorod, they came into the Synodal collection⁵⁸⁸, though Pentkovsky considers the hypothesis that they were written for the monastery of the Annunciation at Novgorod⁵⁸⁹. This difference of opinion concerning the original destination of these Menaia reinforces the idea that they were written as a group in Novgorod at the end of the 12th century or between the 12th and 13th centuries.

As far as notation is concerned, this group shows the same coherent way of placing the *znamenny* neumes above stichera and canons as the set of GIM sources for the Triodion cycle, and this makes the group stand out from other books. SK notes that, in addition to the Sofia set, there are a further 11 daily and festal Menaia, complete and fragmentary, written between the 12th and 13th centuries, with *znamenny* notation. However, the majority are noted only partially. If fragments with very few surviving folios, making the reconstruction of their original appearance extremely difficult, are excluded, in the remaining Menaia the presence of *znamenny* notation is as follows: in the Daily Menaion from the beginning of the 12th century RNB Sof 188, in 251 folios notation is found on only one, and some folios have notation from the 14th – 15th centuries⁵⁹⁰; of the 145 folios of the Festal Menaion from the end of the 11th century – beginning of the 12th century, RGADA Sin Typ 131⁵⁹¹, six folios are noted⁵⁹²; in the 12th-century Daily Menaion RNB Sof 206, the notation found on some folios is partial⁵⁹³; in the Daily Menaion from the second half of the 12th century RNB Q.п.I.12,

Уханова Е.В., “К вопросу о новгородских скрипториях XI-XII вв.”, *Medieval book Centres: Local Traditions and Inter-Regional Connections (Средневековые книжные центры: местные традиции и межрегиональные связи)*, abstracts of conference paper, Moscow, 2005, pp. 31-32.

⁵⁸⁴ Лозовая, *Древнерусский нотированный Параклит*, p.16.

⁵⁸⁵ Лозовая, *Древнерусский нотированный Параклит*, p.15, 16, 84, 112.

⁵⁸⁶ SK n° 78, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87, 89, 91, 94.

⁵⁸⁷ Металлов, *Богослужбное*, 211-212.

⁵⁸⁸ Щепкина, Протасьева, *Сокровища*

⁵⁸⁹ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 200.

⁵⁹⁰ SK n° 63.

⁵⁹¹ SK n° 76; the manuscript is dated there to the 12th century; the date was corrected in *Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. XI-XIII вв. Appendix I, Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в России, странах СНГ и Балтии. XIV век*, pp. 565-566.

⁵⁹² SK n° 76.

⁵⁹³ SK n° 92.

of 169 folios, 14 have notation⁵⁹⁴; in the Festal Menaion from the end of the 12th century – beginning of the 13th century GRADA Sin Typ 130 four folios have notation⁵⁹⁵; in the Festal Menaion from the end of the 12th century – end of the 13th century, GRADA Sin Typ 98 – 10 folios are noted⁵⁹⁶, in the Festal Menaion for the year 1260 from the Collection GIM Sin 895 – 2 folios.

Of all the Menaia, only one is noted in as regular a fashion as the Sofisky Menaia. This is a fragment of 55 folios of the Daily Menaion for December, RGADA Sin Typ 96⁵⁹⁷, whose composition, arrangement of hymns and textual and graphic-neumatic redaction are, with rare exceptions, very similar to those of the December volume of the Sofisky set. This date of this fragment, like that of the Typografsky Parakletike is close to that given to Sin 319 by Metallov and Voskr 27: the 12th – 13th centuries. A general analysis of the quality of the parchment, size and neumatic script gives the impression that Sin Typ 96 was written in the same place, and, if it was not copied from the Sofisky volume, then it was made from the same source, and the notation written by the same group of scribes⁵⁹⁸. These deductions cannot, however, be considered conclusive before a more detailed study is carried out, especially since Metallov dates the manuscript to the first half of the 12th century and places it in Kiev⁵⁹⁹.

Sof 385 is also of the Festal Menaion type. In it are contained the canons of the Menaion and Pentekostarion, completely noted in *znamenny* neumes; the stichera do not appear in this codex. Thus, among the Daily Menaia, which include liturgical sequences for every day, the set of *znamenny* Sofisky Menaia have no parallels.

However, the specific trail of *znamenny* books following liturgical order, intended for daily use, such as the Sofisky Menaia, the Typografsky Parakletike and the GIM Triodion books, which include regularly noted stichera and canons (or only canons) links these codices into a set and makes them stand out as an innovative liturgical-musical project of their time⁶⁰⁰. This project was probably not limited by

⁵⁹⁴ SK n° 126.

⁵⁹⁵ SK n° 155.

⁵⁹⁶ SK n° 207.

⁵⁹⁷ RGADA Sin Typ 96, SK n°159.

⁵⁹⁸ The consistent substitution of $\sigma\upsilon$ for ζ above the erased letters leads one to suppose that Sin Typ 96 was written later than the Sofisky volume.

⁵⁹⁹ Metallov, *Богослужбное*, 196, 220; SK, 174-175.

⁶⁰⁰ Referring to Sin 319 and Voskr 27, Schidlovsky wrote: “Like the ten Menaia of the Moscow Synodal Collection in GIM, these two manuscripts are remarkable for their notation of the complete canons with the troparia of each ode and the numerous prosomoia not usually found in the Sticherarion. Although none of the authors mention this, for many other reasons both Sin 319 and Voskr 27 are apparently

practical liturgical considerations, but also had a didactic element, and, being the first fruits of the project, as has become obvious after the preceding survey of liturgical books, was intended to be multiplied by means of copies.

Sin 319, Voskr 27, Sofisky Menaia, Sin Typ 80: a unique type of Russian znamenny book

Noted Greek books, as Schidlovsky has pointed out, functioned as “a reference anthology and not as a constant vehicle for performance”⁶⁰¹. These books – in the Studite tradition the *Sticheraria* and *Heirmologia*⁶⁰² – contained models which were to be memorized and serve as examples for *stichera prosomoia* and the *troparia* of the canons. The technique of *contrafact*, however, was not a mechanical transfer of one poetic-musical structure to another; singers constantly came up against the need to adapt the model to the new text, since such discrepancies between the structures always appeared⁶⁰³.

Stichera prosomoia and the *troparia* of the canons were preserved in multi-genre books, generally without notation. Amongst these books were some intended for festal use, such as the *Festal Menaia*, and some for daily use. The GIM *Triodion* books and the *Sofisky Menaia*, were they not noted, would belong to this latter category of books.

As has been seen, a reasonable number of Russian books of this Byzantine type has survived, without notation or only partly notated, written in the period preceding the *znamenny* set mentioned above. Conditions for the use of these books, without any detailed notation, had existed in practice since the first Russian books. During the development of the art of chanting un-noted texts in accordance with their models, in the context of oral tradition, chanters could make use of noted models. The *znamenny automela* of the *Typografsky Kontakarion* may serve as an example of such models.

Schidlovsky considers that these *automela*, which appeared in the early period of sacred chanting, served two purposes. Firstly, they were a manual that illustrated the

closely related to the 12th –century early Slavic *Menaion* cycle from GIM, and together with these manuscripts they comprise a *summa* of Slavic liturgical singing from the period of the earliest notation.”: Schidlovsky, *A new folio*, 109. The unique presence of notation in the canons, which unifies *Sin 319* and *Voskr 27*, was noted by Zabolotnaya: *Заболотная, Церковно-певческие рукописи*, p. 58.

⁶⁰¹ Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 4.

⁶⁰² The *kontakia* are not noted in the *Triodion* codices in GIM or in the *Sofisky Menaia*, and therefore the question of their relationship to the *Kontakaria* does not currently arise.

⁶⁰³ Raasted, *Some reflections*, 57-66; cited in Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 7.

basic elements of the new technique. Secondly, they set out a graphic model for the notation of texts as yet un-noted⁶⁰⁴.

Artamonova, in her analysis of this group of automela, concluded that they differed significantly from the corresponding graphic versions found in Russian Sticheraria. This led her to doubt that this section of the Typografsky Kontakarion ever really functioned as a point of reference⁶⁰⁵.

The contradiction between these two opinions may be resolved either by the possibility of graphical differences from the Greek models used during the writing of the Typografsky automela and the Sticheraria, or by the fact that, even had there been a common Greek source, between these automela and the majority of the Russian Sticheraria there were fifty to a hundred years.

It would seem possible that this group of automela did indeed serve the needs of Russian masters in the art of contrafact. But, if in the relatively stable conditions of the relationship between model and contrafacta in Greek there appeared situations in which the chanter was obliged to improvise, the problem for a Russian chanter would have been much greater. The complexity of the technique presupposes a professional training, the acquisition of which must have taken a considerable time. To this one may add geographical vastness, which conditioned the appearance of a great variety of contrafacta locally. In this context there may have been a significant difference between the structure of the Typografsky automela and prosomoia from geographically distant traditions. Further, in accordance with Schidlovsky's conclusion, in the process of the adaptation of Byzantine practice in Russia, there took place a significant transformation in musical norms which is reflected in the notation⁶⁰⁶.

As was mention in the previous chapter, the cleruses in Russia appeared in cathedrals which were built soon after the official baptism of the country, or even a little before. These cleruses, however, were composed of Greek singers. Opened after the reception of Christianity, schools or workshops of sacred art, including singing, contributed to an advance in the adaptation of Greek chanting to the reality of Russian speech and aesthetic-musical concepts. In Kiev the production of codices began, including chant books. The Kievan books were sent throughout Russia, forming the basis of the libraries that opened in liturgical centres in various localities. A priori, this

⁶⁰⁴ Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 145-146.

⁶⁰⁵ Артамонова, *Песнопения*, 13.

⁶⁰⁶ Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 209.

fact must have contributed, at least in part, to the preservation of Kievan chant books during the Mongol invasion. Nevertheless, very few chant books from the first Russian capital have survived. Even Rostov is better-represented, but the books are all of later date. The majority come from Novgorod.

As Ukhanova affirms, the development of centres of book production in Novgorod was later than that in Kiev, some fifty years later; and the first Novgorodian scriptoria distinguished for their high level and calligraphic quality appeared only in the mid-12th century. The majority of Russian *znamenny* chant books are dated to no earlier than the second half of the 12th century. The reason for the smaller number of surviving books from before this date (amongst which those with partial notation are predominant) may not only be connected with external factors, such as the Tartar invasion. The abundance of books from the second half of the 12th century onwards leads one to believe that precisely at that moment, when Kiev began to lose ecclesiastical and administrative ground, Russia acquired the conditions for mass production of books with *znamenny* notation. In other words, from the mid-12th century, *znamenny* chant became a national phenomenon, taught and disseminated everywhere. The development of the technique of *contrafacta* occurred in parallel with the evolution of the chant books: the stage of oral adaptation, implying a multiplicity of variants, is evident in the preference for partial notation; subsequently, after the gradual establishment of the technique of *contrafacta*, *znamenny* notation became dominant. This process of the evolution of musical rules found its natural continuation in the increasing dependence on the recording of the chant in neumatic notation, as Schidlovsky affirms⁶⁰⁷. The period of greatest activity of the highly professional archiepiscopal scriptorium coincided with the need to record in written form examples of the technique of *contrafacta*. It became necessary to have an example, which could be then followed and could guarantee the preservation of the chosen method of applying the model to the texts of *prosomoia* and the *troparia* of the canons, whether during actual liturgical performance, or in neumatic notation. The idea of fixing and unifying the technique of *contrafacta* led to the creation of a new kind of book, applied to all three annual liturgical cycles. The new books were not to be only study manuals, but were intended to be used in the liturgy⁶⁰⁸, setting out the “official” version, unifying all the *contrafacta*, whose number is frequently higher than that of the models. This group of

⁶⁰⁷ Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 209.

⁶⁰⁸ Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 62-63.

exemplary books, which set out the troparia of the canons as well as the stichera prosomoia⁶⁰⁹, included, in the opinion of the present writer, the Sofisky Menaia, the Typografsky Parakletike and the Triodion and Pentekostarion of the GIM.

Sin 319 and Voskr 27 in the context of znamenny Heirmologia and Sticheraria of the Russian Triodion cycle

From the suggestion that the GIM Triodion and the Sofisky Menaia and Parakletike could form a group two possibilities arise.

Firstly, it is possible that the person who commissioned the set limited it to these three groups of books and, on account of the fact that its principal objective was the notation of stichera prosomia and troparia, that were recorded only in Daily Menaia, the Triodion and Pentekostarion and in the books of the Octoechos cycle. These latter, in Russian practice, as has already been observed, appear in the Parakletike and the Izborny Octoechos, and though only the Parakletike survives as a noted book, it is logical to suppose that the noted Octoechos with stichera prosomia, which has not survived, must have been written at the same time⁶¹⁰.

In practice, this set would have been used together with the Collections of hymns – the Sticheraria and Heirmologia. The books containing the models, and the group of books with noted contrafacta, may have had two different kinds of relationship when they were written: either they were written according to a common noted source, or the sources were different. These sources would have been either Byzantine, brought to Russia with the first books imported by the Kiev-Pechersky monastery, if not before, or Russian and Byzantine, the latter serving as confirmation of the former.

The second possibility is that the multi-genre *znamenny* books and noted collections were written at the same time as a set; the origins of the sources for these are the same as for the first possibility.

⁶⁰⁹ The structural proximity and exclusivity of the content of the notated canticles in both codices of the Historical Museum were noted by Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 57-58; Stefanovic D., *The Tradition of the Sticherarion Manuscripts*, PhD dissertation, Oxford, 1967, pp. 74-75: cited in Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 63; Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 62-63.

⁶¹⁰ As was mentioned above, this supposition was made by E.V. Pletneva.

In order to determine which of these possibilities is more viable, it makes sense to compare in different contexts the group from the archiepiscopal scriptorium with the *Sticheraria* for the Triodion and Herimologia⁶¹¹.

Sticheraria for the Triodion cycle: questions of dating and place of origin

As has been mentioned, the oldest exemplar with a set of *znamenny* stichera which includes, as well as the stichera automela of the Menaion and Octoechos, the stichera of the Triodion, dates from the turn of the 11th century, and is found in the Typografsky Kontakarion, as an independent section. In SK, to the 12th century are dated a groups of *Sticheraria*, all for the Menaion, and none is dated to the first half of the century⁶¹². The *Sticheraria* of the Triodion, all *znamenny*, are also dated in SK to no earlier than the second half of the 12th century.

From this period come also the *Sticherarion* GIM Sin 278; Metallov and Schidlovsky propose for this the same date, the second half of the 12th century, as does Tutolmina⁶¹³. Sreznevsky considers that it was written before 1200⁶¹⁴, Gorsky and Nevostruev date it to the 13th century⁶¹⁵. As for the place where the manuscript was written, there is no concrete evidence; however, it appears in a group of books from the Patriarchal Library⁶¹⁶, which suggests the possibility that it may be of Novgorodian origin. Metallov, indeed, considered it a Novgorodian book.

The Chilandari *Sticherarion* n°307 is also dated to the 12th century in SK; Bogdanović is in agreement⁶¹⁷. In MMB, in which the main part of it was published, it is dated to the 12th century, as also by PS and Tutolmina⁶¹⁸. Thus, the manuscript would seem to be more or less contemporary with Sin 278, and is also considered to be from

⁶¹¹ The main subject of this thesis concerns the celebrations of the Triodion cycle and, consequently, an examination of the *Sticheraria* of the Menaion cycle is beyond its scope.

⁶¹² One fragment (4 folios, SK n° 48) of the *Sticherarion* from the Menaion from the end of 11th-beginning of the 12th century is partly notated.

⁶¹³ SK, 135, p.158; Metallov, *Богослужбное*, 210; Schidlovsky, *A new folio*, 109; Тутолмина, *Русские певческие Триоди*, 38-39.

⁶¹⁴ Срезневский, *Памятники*, 38.

⁶¹⁵ Горский, Невоструев, *Описание*, отд. III, ч.2, 375-384.

⁶¹⁶ SK, 158.

⁶¹⁷ The main part, preserved in the Chilandari monastery (Chil 307), was published in MMB: *Fragmenta Chilandarica Palaeoslavica*, A. *Sticherarium*, v.V, Copenhagen, 1957; two fragments of one folio each, are preserved in St.Petersburg (BAN, Dmitr 44, SK n°133; RNB Q.п.I.39, SK n° 134, published in Schidlovsky, *A new folio*, 110-113, Schidlovsky proposed to adopt it as *StichChil-Petrop folio 41 A*), three folios are conserved at the National Museum in Prague (207, see about them: Mares, *Fragments*, Gardner, *Einige*, pp.171-174, cited in Schidlovsky, *A new folio*, p.117). Богдановић, *Каталог*, p.131.

⁶¹⁸ MMB, v.V, 7; PS n° 129; Тутолмина, *Русские певческие Триоди*, 27.

the Novgorod area in the opinion of Roman Jacobson, whose conclusions are based on an analysis of the writing and pronunciation⁶¹⁹.

The Sticherarion of the Typografsky Collection No. 147⁶²⁰ dates from the 12th century, or the beginning of the 13th, according to SK. Pokrovsky, as has already been mentioned in Chapter 2, considered that this Sticherarion belonged to the set of books from the monastery of St Lazarus in Novgorod; however, a large number of scholars subsequently disagreed with this, including Ukhanova, who dated it to the 12th century⁶²¹, which would seem much more likely. Schidlovsky points out that the calligraphy of this manuscript is reminiscent of that in Chil 307, thus bringing the two manuscripts closer chronologically⁶²². Sreznevsky dates the Sticherarion to around 1250⁶²³, Volkov to the 13th century⁶²⁴.

No single opinion exists concerning the origin of the codex. Pokrovsky considered that the request for prayers made in this Sticherarion by the hand of Father Auxentios of “St Lazarus” (the calligraphy seems to be of the 13th-14th century)⁶²⁵ came from the same person who made a note in one of the Menaia of the 11th – 12th centuries from the monastery of St Lazarus in Novgorod. However, the change in dating also affects the manuscript’s supposed provenance. However, Schidlovsky’s opinion concerning the similarity of the script to that of the Chilandari Sticherarion suggests that one cannot exclude the possibility of Novgorodian origin.

The fourth Sticherarion of the Triodion, Sin Typ 148, also suggests the end of the 12th century. SK dates it to the 12th-13th centuries, and Tutolmina agrees⁶²⁶. Volkov and Sreznevsky, who placed it amongst the manuscripts of the year 1200⁶²⁷, also date it to the end of the century. Metallov dates it to a little before, to the mid-12th century⁶²⁸. Schidlovsky notes the strong similarity of the script to Chilandari 307; thus, the time-frame would move further towards the end of the century.

This sticherarion is apparently of Novgorodian origin, an opinion supported by Metallov. Pokrovsky established, by means of the register of the holdings of the

⁶¹⁹ MMB, v. V, 7.

⁶²⁰ RGADA Sin Typ 147; SK, 168.

⁶²¹ Уханова, О становлении.

⁶²² Schidlovsky, *A new folio*, 114.

⁶²³ Срезневский, *Памятники*, 2-е изд., стлб.121.

⁶²⁴ Волков, *Статистические*, 73.

⁶²⁵ SK, 188.

⁶²⁶ GRADA Sin Typ 148; SK 169; Тутолмина, *Русские певческие Триоди*, 37.

⁶²⁷ Волков, *Статистические*, 73; Срезневский, *Памятники*, 2-е изд., стлб.77.

⁶²⁸ Металлов, *Богослужбное*, 209.

Typography, that the manuscript came into the library from Pskov, in the year 1679⁶²⁹; this, however, does not exclude the possibility of it having been written in Novgorod for Pskov, or that it appeared later in Pskov. Schidlovsky's comments on the manuscripts similarity to that of Chilandari speak in favour of the Novgorodian origins of Sin Typ 148.

The dating of the Sticherarion of the Triodion Sof 96⁶³⁰ differs greatly according to the author. In SK it is considered as belonging to the first half of the 13th century; Lisitsin thought it more recent, from the 14th century⁶³¹. Many scholars consider it to be older. Kupriyanov, Karabinov, Granstrem and PS⁶³² date it to the 12th century; Sreznevsky to before 1100⁶³³. Metallov places it between the second half of the 2th century and the beginning of the 13th century, and Tutolmina also ascribes it to the 12th – beginning of the 13th centuries. Schidlovsky adheres to the dating of Metallov⁶³⁴.

The fact that it belonged to the library of the Cathedral of St Sophia in Novgorod at least until the 19th century⁶³⁵ may give a clue as to the origin of the manuscript. However, neither SK, nor Metallov, nor Schidlovsky confirm this; only Tutolmina⁶³⁶ says so unreservedly.

There is far more certainty regarding the dating and provenance of the Sticherarion of the Triodion Sof 85⁶³⁷. SK dates it to the 13th century, but some researchers consider, basing themselves on writings left by the scribe Savva, that the book was written for the church of Sts Constantine and Helen⁶³⁸ in Novgorod between 1224 and 1226⁶³⁹. These data also form the basis for the opinions of Durnovo, Karabinov, Schidlovsky and Tutolmina⁶⁴⁰. The manuscript belonged to the cathedral of St Sophia in Novgorod.

⁶²⁹ Покровский, *Псковско-новгородское*, 242, 258-259; cited in SK, 190.

⁶³⁰ RNB Sof 96; SK, 220.

⁶³¹ Лисицин, *Типикон*, X, 88, 125-137, 221, cited in SK, 239.

⁶³² Куприянов, *Обозрение*, 61-62; .PS, n° 128; Карабинов, *Постная*, VI; Гранстрем, *Описание рукописей ГПБ*, 21.

⁶³³ Срезневский, *Памятники*, 21.

⁶³⁴ Металлов, *Богослужебное*, 177-178; Тутолмина *Русские певческие Триоды*, 29-30; Schidlovsky, *A new folio*, 115.

⁶³⁵ SK, 239.

⁶³⁶ Тутолмина, *Русские певческие Триоды*, 29.

⁶³⁷ RNB Sof 85; SK, 316

⁶³⁸ SK, 283.

⁶³⁹ Куприянов, *Обозрение*, 41, cited in Тутолмина, *Русские певческие Триоды*, 34.

⁶⁴⁰ Дурново, *Введение*, 42; Карабинов, *Постная*, VI; Schidlovsky, *A new folio*, 115; Тутолмина, *Русские певческие Триоды*, 33-34.

SK dates the Sticherarion for the Triodion Usp 8⁶⁴¹ to the 13th century. Metallov is more precise, placing it at the beginning of the century⁶⁴². Its provenance is unknown. Metallov notes its distance from sources of Novgorodian tradition.⁶⁴³ It is interesting that in the margins in a 15th century hand, the stichera of the Menaion for St Leonty of Rostov have been added⁶⁴⁴.

In the manuscript collection of the Cathedral of the Dormition of the Kremlin in Moscow, there are books which came from Rostov, for example, a Kontakation from the year 1207, Usp 9, and also Usp 4, the so-called Uspensky Sbornik – a Menaion with readings for the month of May, from the end of the 12th century, which possibly dates back to the library of Archbishop Cyril of Rostov, at the end of the 12th century – beginning of the 13th.

Ancient copies are limited to these seven Sticheraria of the Triodion. It is possible, with time, that this set will be completed not only by the Sticherarion, which includes a part of the Triodion, Chud 59, but also by other *znamenny* Sticheraria of the Studite tradition, written in the 14th and 15th centuries. However, Chud 59 and other possible Sticheraria do not fall within the range of the present study as do Sin 319 and Voskr 27, which were written later and reflect a period of transition in sacred chant. Thus, concerning the seven oldest Sticheraria of the Triodion, and their date and provenance, it is known that for of them – Sin 278, Chil 307, Sin Typ 147 and Typ 148 – may have been written in the second half, possibly towards the end, of the 12th century, being therefore close in date to the GIM Triodion and Pentekostarion. None of them has a guaranteed place of origin, but in all four cases there are reasons to suppose that they came from Novgorod. In other words, theoretically, they may have come from the scriptorium of the Archbishop of Novgorod together with Sin 319 and Voskr 27.

Taking into account certain disagreements of opinion, Sof 96 is more probably from the end of the 12th century – beginning of the 13th, and everything points to its being a Novgorodian manuscript, but it seems younger than the GIM Triodion sources. Only the Sticherarion Sof 85 may be considered definitely Novgorodian, and the only one with certain dates, the 1220s, which distances it from the possible date of Sin 319 and Voskr 27. Usp 8, of unknown origin (Rostov?), is also datable to the 13th century.

⁶⁴¹ GIM Usp 8; SK, n° 315, 282.

⁶⁴² Металлов, *Богослужбное*, 217; cited in Schidlovsky, *A new folio*, 114.

⁶⁴³ Металлов, *Богослужбное*, 209; cited in Schidlovsky, *A new folio*, 114.

⁶⁴⁴ SK, 282.

Heirmologia

The Russian Heirmologion has survived in three relatively complete copies from the 12th – 13th centuries, two noted folios from a 14th-century codex⁶⁴⁵ and some complete and incomplete copies without notation from the 14th and 15th centuries⁶⁴⁶.

From the 12th century, when the GIM Triodion sources were written, there are two Heirmologia, the “Novgorodsky” Heirmologion⁶⁴⁷ and the “Voskresensky”⁶⁴⁸ Heirmologion.

The “Novgorodsky” Heirmologion is preserved in two parts, in the same library. The two parts, written by two different hands, were considered to be one codex by Koschmieder and Tikhomirov⁶⁴⁹. It is dated by SK, Koschmieder and Metallov to the end of the 12th century⁶⁵⁰, Sreznevsky places it among sources written before 1200⁶⁵¹, and some scholars date it simply to the 12th century⁶⁵². For the second part of the manuscript, dating carried out before the two parts were considered to be one codex, vary between the 11th – 12th centuries and the 14th century⁶⁵³. In the present study, the date proposed by SK, Koschmieder e Metallov is assumed to be correct.

The Novgorodian provenance of the manuscript was affirmed by Koschmieder and Metallov. SK quotes the 17th-century note made in the codex, which states that the book entered the Typographical Services of the monastery of the Annunciation, which, in Pokrovsky’s opinion, was situated in Novgorod or Pskov, where there are monasteries so dedicated. If it is admitted that it was the Novgorod monastery, then it becomes possible that it is the same for which, in the 1170s, according to Pentkovsky, there was written, amongst other liturgical books, the Studite-Alexian Typikon Sin 330⁶⁵⁴.

⁶⁴⁵ RNB Q.п.I.65; PS n° 1036.

⁶⁴⁶ Two complete Russian copies were regarded in the PS catalogue as being from the 14th century, one from the 14th-15th century, and two fragments from the 14th century. This list, however, over the course of time could be completed by unknown manuscripts or by the correction of dating and the introduction of information concerning the presence of notation in some others.

⁶⁴⁷ RGADA, Sin Typ 149-150; SK, 121-122.

⁶⁴⁸ GIM, Voskr 28, SK, 120.

⁶⁴⁹ SK, 149.

⁶⁵⁰ SK: the end of the 12th (or the end of the 12th – beg. of the 13th ?), 148-149; Koschmieder, *Fragments*, .37-38; Metallov, *Богослужбное*, 210-211.

⁶⁵¹ Срезневский, *Памятники*, 2-е изд. стб. 78.

⁶⁵² Волков, *Статистические*, 72; Орлов, *Библиотека*, ч.1, вып.1, р. II; Шумилов, *Обзор*, 59 (12th cent.: SK, 121); cites in SK, 149; Школьник, *Проблемы реконструкции*, 300.

⁶⁵³ Шумилов, *Обзор*, 59 (14th cent.: SK 122); PS n° 1037(14th cent.); Хорват, *К изучению палеографии*, 247 (11th-12th cent.).

⁶⁵⁴ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 199-200.

The “Voskresensky” Heirmologion is also dated by SK to the end of the 12th century; other dates proposed are the 12th – 13th centuries⁶⁵⁵ and the 13th century⁶⁵⁶. Nowhere is the book directly attributed to Novgorod, but, in accordance with the data in SK, the manuscript came to the monastery of the Resurrection of New Jerusalem after that of Patriarch Nikon in 1661⁶⁵⁷, which provides a basis for associating it with Novgorod.

The third Heirmologion, the most complete, the Chilandari Heirmologion, is the most recent, and everything indicates that it does not coincide in date or place of origin with Sin 319 and Voskr 27. As was mentioned, the manuscript survived in two large sections which are now preserved in the monastery of Chilandari on Mount Athos⁶⁵⁸ and in RGB, in the Grigorovich Collection, to which must also be added a fragment of eight folios in St Petersburg⁶⁵⁹. The Chilandari part has been published in the MMB series. In the preface to the edition of another codex from the same collection, the *Sticherarion Chilandari* 307, Jacobson opines that the Heirmologion was written at the beginning of the 13th century in the district of Kiev⁶⁶⁰. The same date is given to the Moscow and St Petersburg fragments in SK and in the thesis of Marina Shkol’nik⁶⁶¹. All other datings are between the 12th and 14th centuries⁶⁶².

*Sin 319 and Voskr 27: palaeographic description. Parchment, inks, hand*⁶⁶³

Following this panoramic survey of the dating and localization of the seven *Sticheraria*, three Heirmologia, the *Parakletike Sin Typ* 80 and the *Sophisky Menaia* in

⁶⁵⁵ Леонид, *Описание*, 57; Смоленский, *Краткое описание*.

⁶⁵⁶ Волков, *Статистические*, 72; Школьник, *Проблемы реконструкции*, 301.

⁶⁵⁷ SK, 148.

⁶⁵⁸ Chilandari n° 307.

⁶⁵⁹ RGB, Grig.37, SK, 202; RGB Q.п.I.75, SK, 203.

⁶⁶⁰ *Fragmenta Chilandarica Palaeoslavica B. Sticherarium*. MMB V, Copenhagen, 1957, p.9.

⁶⁶¹ SK, 225, 226; Школьник, *Проблемы реконструкции*, 301.

⁶⁶² PS, n° 97 (12th cent.); Гранстрем, *Описание*, 19 (12th cent.); Хорват, К изучению древнерусских, 207-234 (12th cent.); Хорват, К изучению палеографии, 247-253 (13th cent.); Виктор, *Собрание рукописей Григоровича*, 32-33 (12th – 13th cent.); Соболевский, *Очерки*, Прибавление II, 16-18 (12th – 13th cent.); Тихомиров, *Каталог*, 104 (13th cent.); Радојичић, Сп.Григоровичева, 265-268 (13th cent.); cited in SK, 226-227; Koschmieder, *Fragmente*, 71 (13th – 14th cent.).

⁶⁶³ A detailed palaeographical description of the text lies outside my professional competence, and is not presented here.

the extant scientific literature, these sources will now be compared with the GIM sources for the Triodion cycle palaeographically⁶⁶⁴.

A complete palaeographical analysis of Sin 310 and Voskr 27, or of other manuscripts which would seem to come from the same group, being beyond the scope of the present thesis, certain characteristics will nevertheless be considered, insofar as they may shed light on the conditions, time and place of writing of the codices or the fact of them having been conserved as a group.

The GIM Triodia are parchment codices. They are beautiful manuscripts, carefully prepared, quite regular in their rulings, feature “ustav” (uncial) script, are folio size, and have one column per folio. Both have survived in a good state, and the text may be easily read, with the exception of the first folios, in both codices, even when the outside margins are dirty or there are traces of candle wax.

The quality of the parchment in both manuscripts is similar, and may be considered as average. The parchment has been worked on gradually (the same in all parts of the folio), well enough so that the inks have not become damaged, but not so well that there is not a visible difference between the colour of the ink on recto and verso. The parchment in general is quite stiff, and only occasionally are folios or parts of folios slightly thinner than others (Voskr 27 ff.142r., 158r.). The colour of the folios varies between dark, almost beige (Voskr 27 ff.86r.-87v.); Sin 319 ff. 7, 16), and almost white (Voskr 27 ff. 87v. e 88r.; Sin 319 ff. 6v., 15v.).

Amongst the defects which may be seen today, only the holes, sometimes very small, as though they were insect bites, sometimes larger, appeared before the course of writing⁶⁶⁵, can be original; other damage, such as tears caused by the rulings⁶⁶⁶, torn margins, other tears and cuts repaired with thread⁶⁶⁷, fragments of damaged folios repaired with white paper⁶⁶⁸ etc., are later. The margins of both manuscripts were initially cut straight; in the vertical margin may be seen the remains of the holes made for the ruling.

⁶⁶⁴ Unfortunately, the administrative service of RGADA did not provide access to the original *Typografsky Parakletike* and *Novgorodian Heimologion*. Consequently, the basis for the comparative analyses in the present thesis was the microfilm of Sin Typ 80 and the publication of two folios of the first part and two folios from the second part of the *Heimologion* by Koschmieder: Koschmieder, *Fragmente*, v.1, Table 1-3, pp.99-101.

⁶⁶⁵ Sin 319, ff. 101, 109, Voskr 27, f. 21.

⁶⁶⁶ Sin 319, ff.15r.-15v., 18, 27, 30, 34, 78; Voskr 27, ff.162, 167.

⁶⁶⁷ Sin 319, ff.7, 25, 75, 120; Voskr 27, f.120.

⁶⁶⁸ Sin 319, f.1v.; Voskr 27, f.164r., 167r., 184v.

The inks in both codices are brown, of three different shades – pale, darker (these are the most frequent) and almost black. The lettering is straight and proportional. SK indicates various hands for Sin 319, but the question does not arise in the case of Voskr 27. Not being the field of the present author, no attempt will be made to assess the number of hands that worked on the texts of these codices; however, it seems that the lettering is very regular. Some differences between letters, in size or positioning, and other, larger differences which may be seen, may be explained either by the presence of two scribes or by slight changes in the work of a single scribe recommencing his work after a pause⁶⁶⁹. In general, the calligraphy is quite proportional and regular, and errors caused by distraction are rare.

In comparing the palaeographical characteristics of the two GIM manuscripts of the Triodion cycle with the other chant books, one may see that Sin 319 and Voskr 27 represent a common, rather than an exceptional, pattern, and belong to a rather large group of codices similar to them.

Common to many manuscripts is the parchment of the GIM Triodia⁶⁷⁰; more or less identical material, with thick folios, which nevertheless have not broken and have retained their shape, with original holes around which words have been written, may be found in the Sofisky Menaia for June, August and September, in the Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin, in the Sticheraria Sin Typ 147, Usp 8, Sof 85 and the Voskresensky Heirmologion, which were written at different times and places. Thinner parchment, worked so that it attained a velvety quality, with easily bent folios, is found in the Menaion for January (ff.1-54). However, this quality of parchment changes from f.55, and in the entire second half of the codex it is more like that of Sin 319 and Voskr 27; in the Menaion for April, the parchment quality is also variable. In the Sticherarion Sin Typ 148 is found slightly thinner parchment than in the GIM Triodia, and of the same thickness as the leaf. In the colour of their inks, the Triodion and Pentekostarion under discussion also do not stand out. Amongst the codices which differ from them are the Pentekostarion from the end of the 11th century – beginning of the 12th century Sin Typ 138, in which the greater part of the text is written with light inks, with a golden sheen. A similar kind of ink is found in the Typografsky Typikon and the Kontakarion and Sticherarion Sof 96. In some codices, such as, for example, Sin Typ 147, on the other hand, the ink is more black than brown.

⁶⁶⁹ The question of the hands of the neumatic line will be discussed in Part 3 of this thesis.

⁶⁷⁰ In liturgical books, parchment of rather better quality was normally used for Gospels.

All the Russian manuscripts under discussion were written in uncial script (“ustav”), with the exception of Sof 96, written in half-uncial (“poluustav”). The presence of various hands is noted in SK in the codices Sin 167, 168, 319 and Sin Typ 148.

In the opinion of the present author, the hand which would appear to be the same – of Sin 319 e Voskr 27, is also to be found in Sin Typ 80, though the examination of this manuscript was made by means of a microfilm of less than excellent quality. To this group may be added the Sofisky Menaion for April. The script of the Menaia for August and September is very similar, but in this case the hand does not appear to be the same. The hand of Chilandari 307 is also similar to that of the GIM codices, but the size of the letters is smaller, and this may affect the style of writing, if one admits that the scribe was the same as that of the Triodion and Pentekostarion: the letters in the Sticherarion are not so straight, the inclination is nor always regular, and the extent to which certain letters (X, 3, P etc.) go below the line is less than that in Sin 319 and Voskr 27.

The scribal hand of the Sticherarion Sin 278 and the Menaion for June is slightly further removed from that of the above-mentioned sources⁶⁷¹. It is to be hoped that the scribal hand of these codices will shortly be analysed by professional palaeographers.

The visual organization of the text on the folio

As far as the visual aspect of the text and the neumatic notation is concerned, Sin 319 and Voskr 27, on the one hand, are very similar to each other, and on the other, seem close to one group of manuscripts, yet also differ significantly from certain codices.

Folios, in both Sin 319 and Voskr 27, have dual vertical lines which separate the lower from the outer margin. The number of horizontal lines equates to the number of lines of text, which is always the same throughout the manuscript (while, for example, in Sin Typ 137, the number varies from 24 to 36)⁶⁷². The horizontal lines do not spill over into the margins, with the exception of one pair of lines at the bottom and another at the top.

⁶⁷¹ Unfortunately, during the study of the palaeographic characteristics of the manuscripts, neither later, the two Sticheraria from the Synodal Typography were not permitted by the GRADA administrative services to be consulted.

⁶⁷² Гальченко, Триодъ, *Triodion*, *285-286.

The same kind of ruling is found, in addition to Sin 319 and Voskr 27, in all the volumes of the Sofisky Menaia, Chil 307, Chil 308⁶⁷³, Sof 96, Sof 84, Sticherarion Sin 278⁶⁷⁴, Sin Typ 80 and Sof 385. It is significant that, with the exception of Sof 385 and Sof 84, whose provenance is as yet unknown, all the manuscripts must be from Novgorod, the majority written at more or less the same time as Sin 319 and Voskr 27⁶⁷⁵.

There existed in Russia other types of rulings⁶⁷⁶, no fewer than five; examples are given in Table 7 (A-F)⁶⁷⁷.

Table 7 A:

Sin 319, (Voskr 27, Sofisky Menaia, Chil 307, Sof 96, Sof 84, Sin 278, Sin Typ 80, Sof 385).

The diagram illustrates a manuscript page layout. It features a central column of 14 horizontal lines, which are evenly spaced. This central column is bounded by two vertical lines, one on each side. Above and below the central column, there are pairs of horizontal lines, representing the top and bottom margins of the page. The overall structure is symmetrical and typical of a medieval manuscript page.

Table 7 B:

Sof.85 (Sin Typ 148, Usp 8, RGB Tr-Serg 23)

⁶⁷³ The example correspond to the folio n° 5v. of the MMB publication. .

⁶⁷⁴ While SK do not refer the locality of the writing of the manuscript, Metallov considered it as being from Novgorod: *Металлов, Богослужбное*, 210. The distance between horizontal lines and the height of the space for neumes in this manuscript completely corresponds to the Triodion and Pentekostarion from GIM and to the Sofisky Menaia.

⁶⁷⁵ The question of the dating of the Sofisky Menaia will be considered below; Sof 84, as it was already mentioned, belongs to the 14th century.

⁶⁷⁶ It is difficult to consider the particularities of ruling in the Novgorodsky Heirmologion on the basis of Koshmieder's publication. The respective four folios do not represent regularity; the number of lines ballances between 14 and 15, what is not normal for the GIM znamnenny set. In the last folio two vertical lines and the pair of the horizontal lines outstanding at the margins could be clearly noticed. However, it is possible, that the sistem of rulings corresponds to the first example of the Table.

⁶⁷⁷ In the Table, the number of the lines of the ruling corresponds to the manuscripts, indicated without parenthesis.

of the 12th century)⁶⁷⁸, which was attributed by Turilov to the Rostov scriptorium, and the *Sticherarion Usp 8*, from the same century.

The relationship between the measurements of various parameters of the organization of the text differs slightly from folio to folio, and, in some cases, even within the same folio. Therefore, the comparative measurements in codices *Sin 319* and *Voskr 27* and one of the volumes of the *Sofisky Menaion (Sin 163)*, shown in Table 8, are relative. Thus (for example), on f.132 in *Sin 319* the text is written in a more compact way than in the majority of the codex: the distance between the horizontal lines is approximately 1 cm, the height of the space between neumes is 0,65cm, and the height of the letters is 0,35cm, while the standard measurements for these heights are 0,75cm and 0,35cm. Spatial distribution in the text of a number of folios in *Sin 319* and *Voskr 27* is not completely homogeneous: the width of the margins oscillates between 2,5 cm and 3,5 cm, and that of the outer margin between 6 cm and 6,5 cm.

Table 8

	<i>Sin 319, f. 5</i>	<i>Voskr 27, f. 2</i>	<i>Sin 163, f. 9</i>
Dimensions of the folio	27,5 x 21	30 x 23, 5	28,5 x 22,5
The written part of the page ⁶⁷⁹	21,5 x 14,5	23,8 x 16	18,7x14,7
Number of lines on the folio	21	23	19
Distance between horizontal lines	1,1	1,1	1,1
Height of the space for neumes	0,75	0,75	0,75
Height of letters	0,35	0,35	0,35

In comparing dimensions, three things are worthy of note. Firstly, the first two parameters do not coincide entirely, but this seems natural, since they are not fixed within a single manuscript; these differences are also not large. Secondly, the number of lines in the three codices differs only by two; this difference, next to the dimensions and general proportions of the codices is almost invisible. In other words, the manuscripts display a visual similarity. Thirdly, the three last parameters, which have to do directly with the scribal hand of the text and the author of the neumatic notation, coincide completely⁶⁸⁰.

The same relationship between the space of the text and the space for the neumes characterizes all the other nine volumes of the *Sofisky Menaia*. In Table 9 may

⁶⁷⁸ SK, n° 204, p. 227.

⁶⁷⁹ The distance between the vertical lines.

be seen an approximate count, shown as percentages, of the relationship between the height of the letters and the distance between lines⁶⁸¹, as well as other parameters listed in SK. The manuscripts are listed in order of folio size, from largest to smallest.

Table 9.

<i>Manuscript</i>	<i>Height of letters / distance between lines</i>	<i>Type of ruling</i>	<i>Format</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>N° of lines</i>	<i>Local</i>	<i>Date</i>
Voskr 27	32-34 %	A	1°	30 x 24	23	Novg.	end 12 th
Sin 159 sept		A	1°	27,5 x 21,5	19	Novg.	12 th (end 12 th)
Sin 319	32-34 %	A	1°	27,5 x 21	21	?	12 th (end 12 th)
Sin 278	36 %	A	1°	26,6 x 20	17	Novg.	2 nd half 12 th
Sin 168 aug	33 %	A	1°	25,8 x 21	20	Novg.	12 th (end 12 th)
Sin 165 apr	33 %	A	1°	25 x 21	18	Novg.	12 th (end 12 th)
Sin 167 june	36 %	A	1°	25 x 20,4	18	Novg.	12 th (end 12 th)
Sin Typ 80	32 %,	A	4°	24,5 x 19	18	Novg?	end 12 th beg.13 th
Sof 85	26 %	B	4°	24 x 19	15	Novg.	1224-1226
Usp 8	30 %	B	4°	24 x 13,2	14	Rost?	beg 13 th
Chil 307 ⁶⁸²	31 %	A	4°	22,5 x 18	15	Novg.	end 12 th
Sin Typ 148	29 %	B	4°	22,5x16-17	14	Novg.	12 th /13 th
Sof 96	16,5 %	A	4°	18,5 x 14,5	15	Novg?	1 st halh 13 th
Sin Typ 150	33 %	A?	4°	17,8 x 14	14/15	Novg.	end 12 th
Sin Typ 149	26 %	A?	4°	17,5 x 14	14/15	Novg.	end 12 th
Voskr 28	25 %,	F	4°	17 x 13,5	11	?	end 12 th
Chil.308 ⁶⁸³	26 %	A	4°	15,5 x 11,1	10	Kiev.	beg 13th

As may be seen in the table, Sin 319, Voskr 27, the Sofisky Menaia and the Typografsky Parakletike show similarities, and in the same group can be included the Sticherarion Sin 278; in the table, these codices appear at the beginning and are separated by a double line. They were all written at the end of the 12th century (first half of the 12th century/beginning of the 13th, in one case), and all, with the exception of Sin 319, according to the data given in SK, can be determined as originating in

⁶⁸⁰ The method of ruling is similar in a significant number of manuscripts. However, exactly the same relationship between the distance between horizontal lines and the height of the space for neumes, as indicated in the Table, could be found only in Sin 278.

⁶⁸¹ The counting of these two parameters permits the comparison of the manuscripts not only in the originals, but in the digital or microfilm copies. The results represented here correspond to the comparison of media of 5-6 folio of each manuscript. However, the numbers in the Table are not absolute values, because they vary, sometimes significantly, from line to line in the codices.

⁶⁸² The size of the folio corresponds to the description of Strunk (MMB, v.5 A, 8) and SK (n°133, p. 157).

⁶⁸³ The size of the folio corresponds to the description of Strunk: (MMB, v.5 A, 9) and SK (n°202, p. 225).

Novgorod⁶⁸⁴. The type of ruling used is the same, and the number of lines has the same proportion in relation to the size of the folio: this latter varies very little, taking into account the fact that the edges of the folios were cut over the course of time. All the manuscripts, except Sin Typ 80, are of folio size, even the Sticherarion, which is quite unusual for this kind of book; Sin Typ 80, though a quarto volume, is close in its proportions to the folio-sized codices. The relationships between the distances between lines and the height of the letters are also similar.

A second group is made up of smaller, quarto codices. The differences between their dimensions are greater, the types of ruling used are different, and there are manuscripts which were not written in Novgorod. As far as the relationship between the height of the letters and the space for neumes is concerned, the latter is much greater in comparison with the codices of the first group. In manuscripts such as the Sticherarion Sof 96 or the Chilandari Heirmologion, this is substantially reflected in the scribal hand, which is quite different between these two, as well as between these two and the others.

However, in this group there are five codices which were probably written in Novgorod near the end of the 12th century. Therefore, one cannot exclude the possibility that one or more of them were part of the same set together with the GIM Triodion sources. All the codices which probably made up the set are marked in blue in the table. The following comparison of certain decorative elements of this “blue” group allows one to make further divisions which bring manuscripts closer to, or distance them further from, Sin 319 and Voskr 27.

Decorative elements.

Both manuscripts are characterized by a rather discreet kind of decoration, in common with the majority of service books⁶⁸⁵. However, the actual interpretation of this modest design varies from one manuscript to another. Nevertheless, in the case of Sin 319 and Voskr 27, the decorative style is identical, to the extent that there can be no possible doubt that they were created as two parts of the same volume. For this reason, in describing the books, the same information is obviously valid for both.

⁶⁸⁴ The dates in the parenthesis correspond to the dating of Metallov.

⁶⁸⁵ Gospel books were decorated with far greater elaboration, as is well known.

The decorative elements include initials, illustrated separators, drawings placed before the titles, illustrated frames for letters or words that did not fit into the line and overflowed into the lower margin, rare drawings in the margins and, in two cases, uniquely in Voskr 27, an ornamented ending with a drawing in the margin.

The initials fulfil two functions: 1) they may be the first letter of the hymn (Example 1.1, 1.4, 1.5, 1.6, 1.9, 1.10); 2) they may form a group that covers an entire line and which begins the name of a large section, generally that of a new day (Example 1.2, 1.7); and 3) they may begin a line indicating a smaller section, found within the sequence of the liturgical day – for example, the stichera for *Lord, I have cried*, a canon, etc (it may be just the first letter or word) (Example 1.3, 1.8). In all three cases the initials are drawn, in general, in the same way, as one contour, simple or slightly decorated, similar in size (approximately the distance between the rules lines, or slightly larger), always with the inside of the contour left empty, the ink being of the same colour as that of the text. Example 2 compares initials in Sin 319 (the lower line) and Voskr 27 (the upper line).

The illustrated separators are placed at the beginnings of smaller titles that indicate a section within a daily sequence and use the same ink as the text. In general, these separators come before a line with a title, of the size and kind of lettering of the majority of the text of the book. Sin 319 and Voskr 27 contain two types of designs:

An inclined cross, with four points between angles, sometimes with small modifications (the introduction of semicircles, for example): Example 1.3, 1.4, 1.7, 1.8, 1.9;

A figure that recalls a bell lying on its side, whose tongue is represented by a stroke or a tilde; to the bell may be added a handle with a cross or petals seen from the side: Examples 1.5, 1.10.

The drawings before the titles that indicate the beginning of the liturgical day may be divided into two categories.

The first category includes the simpler figures, which occur in the ornamentation of the illustrated separators – the cross and the bell. It is interesting to note that, in spite of the rather large number of these drawings within the manuscript, they exist in many variant forms. In Examples 3 and 4 are shown versions of the inclined crosses, in Example 5, the variants composed of a series of bells on their sides, as may be seen in Sin 319, Voskr 27 and some other manuscripts.

The second category of drawings before titles includes more complex figures, for the most part achieved through the ornamentation of the cross; they are shown in Example 6.

Another kind of ornamentation found in both Sin 319 and Voskr 27 is represented by the illustrated frames for letters or words that end the hymns, and, unable to fit in the last line of the folio, are written outside the text's normal space, in the lower margin; these are shown in Example 7.

In both manuscripts there exist drawings made with a quill: in Voskr 27 on the last folio there has survived a fragment of the image of a warrior, and in Sin 319 on folio 86r. there is a drawing of a dragon, and on folio 305v. a drawing made with quill, black and red ink, barely visible on account of its bad condition, of an archer fighting with a dragon, with a superscription in red ink below the drawing.

In two cases, on folio 183r. and the final folio of Voskr 27 there is an ornamental ending, made with a quill and ink similar to that of the text (the end of folio 183r. is included in Example 5.6, below).

A comparison of the particularities of decoration of Sin 319 and Voskr 27 with a number of other manuscripts proves that these two volumes make up a group, on the basis of similarities with the Sofisky Menaia and Parakletike and the Chilandari Sticherarion (Example 8 shows some details of the decoration of the books).

The volumes of the Sofisky Menaia differ from each other in some details. For example, the June volume is particularly close to the GIM Triodion cycle books: red ink was also not used in it; the initials, both simple and more elaborate, consist of an outline in ink with no filling-in; the figures that precede the title appear, in the GIM codices in both simple and elaborate forms; the Menaion also has illustrative frames in the lower margins. Though, to judge by the style of writing, this Menaia volume is one of the most distant from Sin 319 and Voskr 27, in terms of decoration it is practically identical to them, which may indicate the simultaneous decoration of the three codices by the same team.

The April volume uses, as a rule, initials of a different type: they are not ornamented, but outlined in black and filled in with red. These same initials may be found in the Typografsky Parakletike. In the Chilandari Sticherarion, of the two titles that have survived, one employs red ink, like the April Menaion volume, and the other has no red ink, like the Triodion volumes. Another characteristic is shared between the Parakletike, the Chilandari Sticherarion and the GIM codices, including some of the

Menaia volumes: they have identical decorative separators and figures preceding the titles (Example 8; a separator of the second type, “a bell”, in Sin Typ 80, may be seen in Example 4.14).

If the Parakletike and the Chilandari Sticherarion were really created and decorated by the same hand or hands as the April volume from the Menaia, they therefore belong to the same group as Sin 319 and Voskr 27.

As for the use of initials, some volumes of the Sofisky Menaia are inconsistent, in general using one kind, but at times introducing another. For example, in the Menaion for August, red ink is used only on the first folio and for the sequence for the Beheading of St John the Baptist (ff.166v.-167r.). Throughout the rest of the manuscript the initials are drawn with a dark outline and no filling-in. Parameters such as drawings before the titles, the decorative frames for words in the margins, the ornamentation of the second type, more elaborate in the figures before the title lines, vary from volume to volume. However, these variations do not alter the impression of uniformity in the artistic element of the Sofisky Menaia.

If even in these books the variety of decorative means does not prevent them being understood as a set, then the identical form of decoration of Sin 319 and Voskr 27 practically eliminates any doubt concerning the same date and place of origin of the two books.

While the Menaia, Parakletike, Triodion, Pentekostarion and the Chilandari Sticherarion make up one group as far as decoration is concerned, two other manuscripts close to these in terms of time and place of origin, the Voskresensky Heirmologion and the Sticherarion Sin 278 differ from this group quite markedly. Both codices, each in its own way, are very richly ornamented.

The basic decorative element in the Voskresensky Heirmologion is found in particularities of the design of the initials. They are rarely simple. The decoration of the initials is much more complex than in the group of manuscripts discussed above: the letters are transformed into human faces, plants, animals and so forth. In the majority of cases, the initials are drawn with red ink with no filling-in. Some of them have traces of dark ink within a red outline. Others – fewer – have a black outline including some traces of red within the letter; in some cases, instead of these internal traces the letter is entirely or partially filled with red. Such a variety can be found in no other manuscript covered by the present thesis.

In addition to these initials, great decorative importance resides in the figures placed before the title lines. As far as their style of drawing is concerned, they resemble the June volume of the Menaia set, and the two GIM Triodion cycle codices, though here filled in with red ink. Black and white copies of these figures, all that were accessible for the present discussion, and, for purposes of comparison, similar figures from other manuscripts, may be seen in Example 6⁶⁸⁶.

The decoration of the Sticherarion Sin 278 is much more uniform in comparison with the Heirmologion. Most of the initials and decorative figures which begin the title lines of both kinds consist of a red outline with ornamented filling-in. Slightly rarer are the medial title lines, which designate the names of sections within a particular day; these are done with normal lettering, but in red. The style of the separators (of both the first and second kinds), also in red, as well as the figures preceding the title lines, is close to that of the GIM codices (they may be seen in Example 4). However, the great variety evident in the GIM codices, ostensibly more modest, is not to be found here, or in Sin 278. In general, the details of the Synodal Sticherarion give an impression of a colourful, neat and stylistically balanced manuscript.

In spite of the particularities of the Voskresensky Heirmologion and the Synodal Sticherarion, their special characteristics should be explained together with the reason for their commissioning. Their characteristics, similar to other Novgorodian manuscripts from the end of the 12th century, are also evident in these two books, but graphically they follow an ideal which sets them apart. Consequently, their different context implies a personal element in their creation. The possibility that, after a professional analysis by art historians or palaeographers, Voskr 28 and Sin 278 may be considered to belong to the same group of manuscripts prepared in the archiepiscopal scriptorium of Novogorod, whether at the same time or not, cannot be excluded.

⁶⁸⁶ Unfortunately, the manuscript is badly preserved, and the figures lose much of their quality when reproduced in black and white.

Example 1.

III ОМЪИШ АМЪАНА О ПЪМЪА СЪ ПЪА ДЪ
 ЦЕЛЪА КЪ СЪ ПЪА ХЪМЪИ СЪ ПЪА ЖЪИ ПЪА ПЪА
 А ПЪОУ ОУ АМЪОУ СЪ ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА
 ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА

1.1 Sim 319, f. 14r.

X ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА
 ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА

1.2 Sim 319, f. 14r.

X ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА
 ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА

1.3 Sim 319, f. 2v.

X ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА
 ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА

1.4 Sim 319, f. 3r.

III ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА
 ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА

1.5 Sim 319, f. 3r.

III ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА
 ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА

1.6 Voskr 27, f. 76r.

X ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА
 ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА

1.7 Voskr 27, f. 76r.

X ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА
 ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА

1.8 Voskr 27, f. 57r.

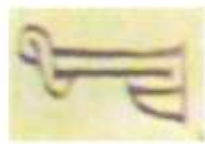
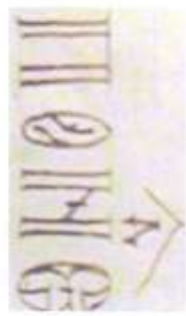
X ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА
 ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА

1.9 Voskr 27, f. 3r.

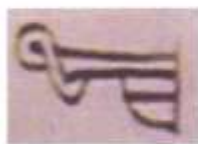
III ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА
 ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА ПЪА

1.10 Voskr 27, f. 2v.

Example 2



Voskr 27



Sin 319

Example 3.



3.1 Voskr 27, f. 76 r.



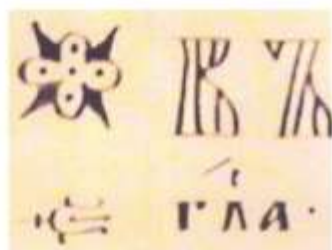
3.2 Sin 319, f. 14 r.



3.3 Typ 80, f. 137 r.



3.4 Voskr 27, f. 17 r.



3.5 Voskr 27, f. 80 r.



3.6 Sin 319, f. 65 v.



3.7 Sin 319, f. 75 v.



3.8 Voskr 27, f. 71 v.

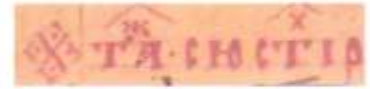
Example 4.



4.1 Sin 319, f. 60 v.



4.2 Voskr 27, f. 65 r.



4.3 Sin 278, f. 45 v.



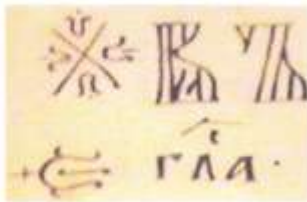
4.4 Sin 278, f. 12 v.



4.5 Sin 278, f. 28 v.



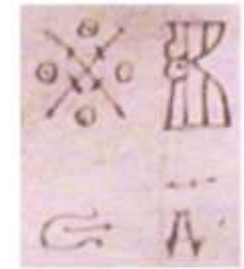
4.6 Sin 319, f. 105 v.



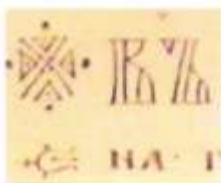
4.7 Voskr 27, f. 195 r.



4.8 Sin 168, f. 35 v.



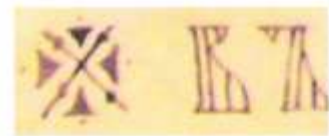
4.9 Sin 319, f. 196 r.



4.10 Voskr 27, f. 77 r.



4.11 Sin 278, f. 38 r.



4.12 Voskr 27, f. 82 v.



4.14 Sin Typ 80



4.13 Sin 278, f. 37 v.

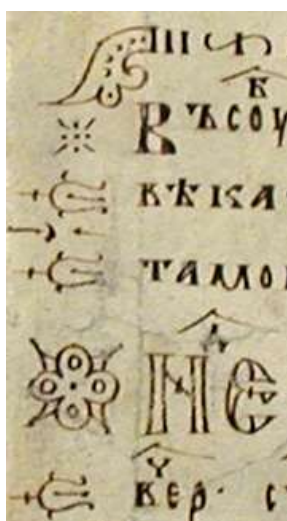


4.15 Voskr 27, f. 87 r.

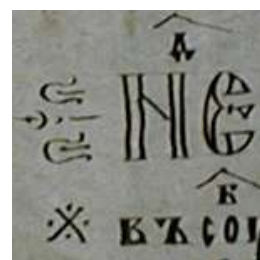
Example 5.



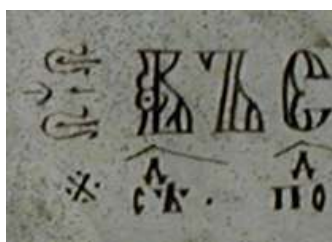
5.3 Sin 319, f. 38 v.



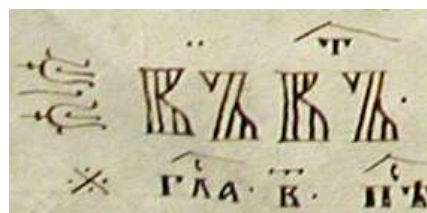
5.1 Voskr 27, f. 183 r.



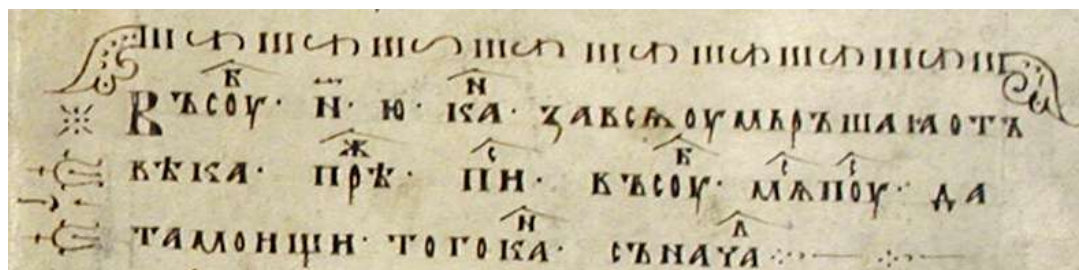
5.2 Sin 319, f.



5.4 Sin 319, f. 114 r.



5.5 Voskr 27, f. 177 v.



5.6 Voskr 27, f. 183 r.

Example 6.



6.1 Sin 319, f. 206 r.



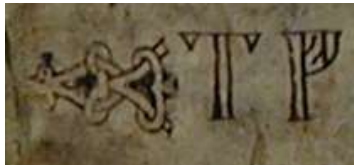
6.2 Voskr 27, f. 96 r.



6.3 Voskr 27, f. 60 r.



6.4 Sin 319, f. 149 v.



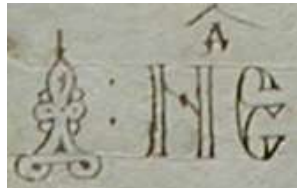
6.5 Sin 319, f.1 r.



6.6 Sin 319, f. 123 v.



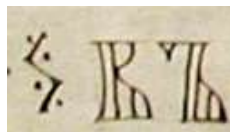
6.7 Menaion,
Sin 167, f. 43 r.



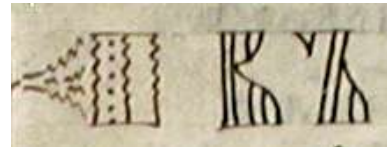
6.8 Sin 319, f. 275 r.



6.9 Menaion,
Sin 167, f. 56 r.



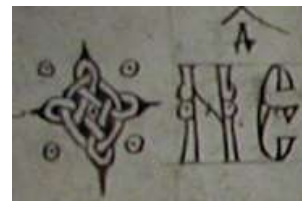
6.10 Voskr 27, f.143 v.



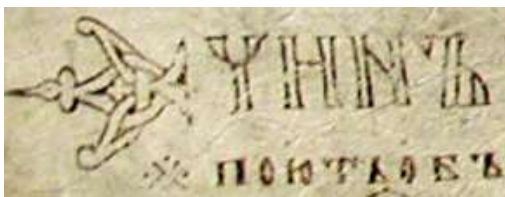
6.11 Voskr 27, f.196 r.



6.12 Voskr 27, f. 31 v.



6.13 Sin 319, F. 202 v.



6.14 Voskr 27, f. 30 v.



6.15 Sin 319, f. 118 v.



6.16 Voskr 27, f. 103 r.



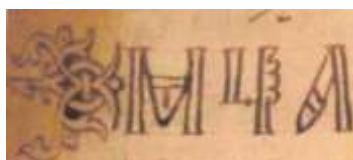
6.17 Heirmologion,
Voskr 28, f.36 r.



6.18 Sin 319, f.187 r.



6.19 Sticherarion, Sin 278, f. 2 v.



6.20 Menaion, Sin 159, f. 237



6.21 Menaion, Sin 167, f.6 v.

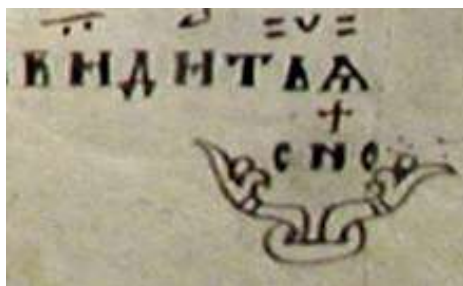


6.22 Heirmologion,
Voskr 28, f. 176 r.

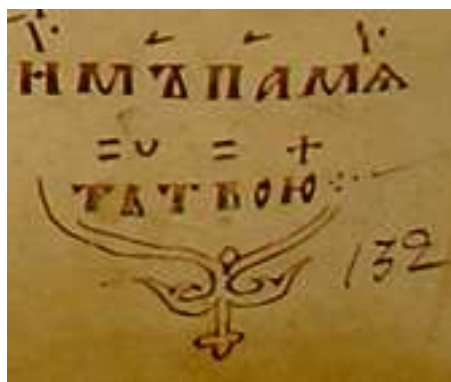


6. 23 Menaion, Sin 167, f.50 v.

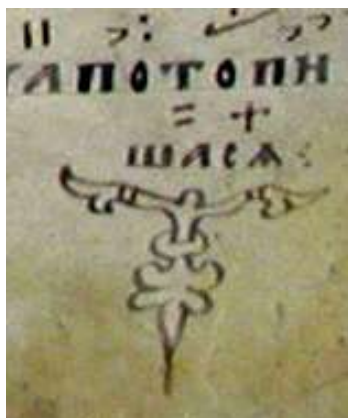
Example 7.



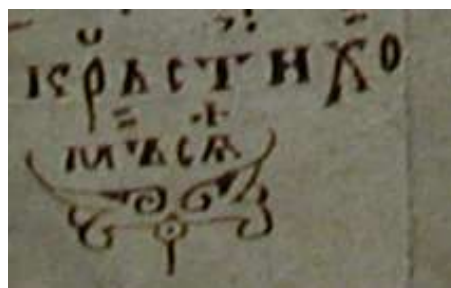
7.1 Menaion, Sin 168, f. 98 r.



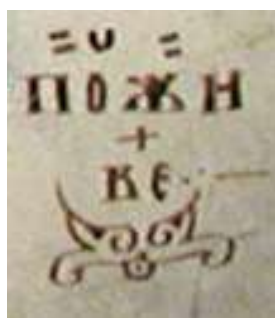
7.2 Menaion, Sin 167, f. 132 r.



7.4 Menaion, Sin 168, f. 68 r.

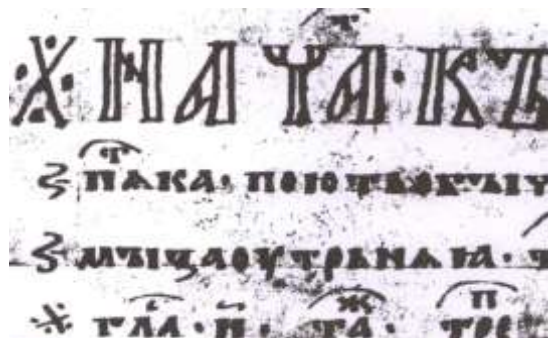


7.3 Sin 319, f. 163 v.



7.5 Voskr 27, f. 156 r.

Example 8.



8.1 Sticheron, Chil 307, f. 27 r.



8.2 Parakletike, Sin Typ 80, f. 6 v.



8.3 Menaion, Sin 165, f. 7 v.

Chapter 4

Sin 319 and Voskr 27 as a set: the content of commemorations

The GIM-type Triodion set: their connections with old Russian Typikon copies

The fact that the GIM-type manuscripts of the Triodion cycle were created as a set can be confirmed not only on the basis of separate palaeographical features but also on the basis of their composition. The compositional aspects are revealed in three main ways: in the cycle of the commemorations, in the contents of the hymns and in the placing of the material. This chapter deals with the aspects of the system of commemorations.

The content of the feasts and their distribution, starting from the weeks preparing the Lent and ending at the Sunday of All Saints, as already related in the context of the Byzantine tradition in the first two chapters, may reveal variation. However, in the production of the Triodion and the Pentekostarion, the people who ordered and created them were oriented in a certain chosen tradition, one variant, which applies to the Lenten as well as the Easter part of the set. In the context of philology, it is often not easy to associate with certainty the Lenten part with the Easter part not only as one set but also as one redaction.⁶⁸⁷ The bringing of the books into a liturgical context creates one more criterion for defining the common or separate traditions represented by the two codices.

The liturgical tradition is most notably reflected in the Typikon, although its elements may be defined also on the basis of other liturgical books. However, when turning to the Typikon, it is necessary to take two aspects into account.

Firstly, as a book, the Typikon is designed for the preservation and the continuance of tradition, thus being less liable to innovations than other liturgical books. Therefore, there may occur variation between the Typikon rubrics and their concrete embodiments in the singing codices, even within one liturgical system. It is important to distinguish carefully the difference, on one hand, between the variants which in practice do not seem to be in contradiction but rather as fruits of one and the same tradition, and on the other hand, between the variants which reflect distinct traditions and thus the use of distinct Typika.

Secondly, it may prove challenging to find the one Typikon which has guided the particular liturgical books. In the case of Sin 319 and Voskr 27, they are oriented to a Typikon which mainly complies with a monastic tradition. This becomes apparent on the basis of the character of these books itself, and also of some other features. Among

these is the design to unify the chant and to fix the singing in graphic form on the prosomoia genres of the stichera and the canons, which may be regarded as typically monastic, at least on the basis of Byzantium and its provinces in the 9th – 12th centuries, i.e., during the time to which the copied Greek and South Slavic books may have belonged.

According to Pentkovsky, all Typika preserved to our days are of the Studite-Alexian style. Other scholars regard some copies either as belonging to the Cathedral tradition, or, while being monastic, as greatly resembling the Cathedral tradition. The Typografsky Typikon is one of these objects of disagreement. It is obviously of Novgorod origin, preceding Sin 319 and Voskr 27, and thus in principle might have served as a guide to these chanting codices. However, its great similarity to the liturgical tradition of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, revealed, for instance, in the notable inconsistency in the composition of commemorations with a majority of singing books, including Sin 319 and Voskr 27, gives a reason to doubt that the Typikon might have served as a guiding source for the Novgorod set which is the object of this research.

Two other complete copies, Sof 1136⁶⁸⁸ and Sin 330, and a fragment KOKM 20351⁶⁸⁹ (the Kursky fragments) were created no later than the GIM-type Triodion sources. Both of these copies are of Novgorod origin⁶⁹⁰. We leave the Kursky fragment aside, since it does not contain enough information for a comparative analysis. We shall concentrate on the two complete copies.

Pentkovsky associates Sof 1136 with the first redaction of the Studite-Alexian Typikon text's old Russian translation, and Sin 330 with the second redaction of the same translation. By comparing them, he points out that the main difference between these two copies is that while Sof 1136 closely follows the Russian translation of the Byzantine Typikon, Sin 330 seems to have been created for a wider use in any Russian monastery. The comparison with the original Byzantine source shows that Sin 330 presents a different selection of main feasts – Annunciation and Epiphany – since it was created for the use of the Annunciation monastery of Novgorod, thus differing from the

⁶⁸⁷ Momina, *Triodion*, *137.

⁶⁸⁸ RNB, Sof 1136, SK, 107: 12в.; Куприянов *Обозрение*, 63-66 (13th cent.); Срезневский *Памятники*, 38 (before 1200.); Волков *Статистические*, 80 (12th /13th cent.), cited in SK, 136.

⁶⁸⁹ SK, 139, the end of 12th (or the beginning of 13th?) century; the fragment is regarded by Pentkovsky as an independent redaction, by Knyazevskaya (SK) and Ukhanova as part of Sof 1136.

⁶⁹⁰ Sof 1136 contains inscriptions from 1855 that attribute the manuscript to the Novgorod Cathedral of St Sophia: SK, 136.

feasts celebrated in the monastery of Patriarch Alexios Studite and in the Kievan Caves monastery (the Falling asleep of the Mother of God and the Birth of St John the Baptist). These changes concern the Menaia commemorations and not the Triodion part, and so they play no significant role in the comparative analysis of Sin 319 and Voskr 27 with other old Russian sources. All the same, the Sin 330 copy enables a more thorough study than Sof 1136, since it is preserved in a more complete form. Besides, the fact that the copy belonged to the Annunciation monastery creates a possibility of associating it with the Novgorod Heirmologion⁶⁹¹.

Thus, Sin 330 was chosen as the primary copy of the Studite Typikon. Scholarly literature proposes the following information about this copy. In SK, it is dated to the end of the 12th century,⁶⁹² while a number of other scholars see its origin in between the whole of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th.⁶⁹³ Ischenko gives a more precise date: the 1170s⁶⁹⁴.

The evidence of the place in which and for whose needs the copy was produced can be found in the registration of the offering of this manuscript by Patriarch Nikon to the Voskresensky New Jerusalem monastery in 1661, in the entry from the late 12th century concerning the building of the Annunciation monastery in Novgorod by Archbishop Ilias and his brother Gavriil in 6678 (1170), and also in some notes that concern Archbishop Ilias and Gavriil, dating back to the 13th century. On the basis of these writings, SK attributes the codex to the Annunciation monastery⁶⁹⁵.

Looking at the development of this monastery, Pentkovsky relates that the first monastery buildings were made of wood, and that after 9 years, in 1179, a stone church was built; in 1180 was laid the foundation and in 1182 concluded the building of the stone church of Epiphany, the second main annual feast of the monastery. On the basis of the writing “Concerning the building of the Annunciation church”, which deals with the guaranteeing of the necessary income for the monastery in the form of landowning, for instance, Pentkovsky comes to a conclusion that a set of liturgical books must also have been created for the monastery. He considers Sin 330 to have certainly been

⁶⁹¹ As already noted in Chapter 4, Sin Typ 150 contains an inscription pointing to its belonging to the Annunciation monastery in the 17th century. According to Pokrovsky, this may refer to Pskov or Novgorod. However, the quality of the calligraphy and the ruling in the Heirmologion and the Menaia gives rise to doubts upon their origin as a set.

⁶⁹² GIM SIN 330, SK, n° 138, p.159.

⁶⁹³ Волков, *Статистические*, 80 (12th cent.); Срезневский, *Памятники*, 36 (after 1193); Горский, Невоструев, *Описание*, отд. III, ч. 1, 239-270; cited in SK, 160.

⁶⁹⁴ Ищенко, *Старейший*, 140-161.

⁶⁹⁵ SK, 159-160.

among these books, and suggests the inclusion of the Sofisky Menaia in them, too, arguing that there is not enough proof of the creation of these Menaia precisely for the Sophia Cathedral and not the Annunciation monastery⁶⁹⁶.

The answer whether the Sofisky Menaia were ordered for the Sophia Cathedral or for the Annunciation monastery is, to our view, revealed in Sin 319 and Voskr 27. The fact that these Menaia and Sin 330 were originated in the same scriptorium, as Ukhanova points out, does not necessarily attribute them anywhere as a set. In other words, the common features in handwriting in Sin 330, Sin 310 and Voskr 27 may refer to their creation as a set and to the work of one scribe; however, there may have been separate orders for the needs of different ecclesiastical centres.

We shall now turn to the comparison of Sin 330, Sin 319 and Voskr 27 in the liturgical context, using also other sources when needed.

The Content of Commemorations

In Table 10, we have listed the commemorations in three sources – Sin 330, Sin 319 and Voskr 27. The information from the Typikon is divided into two columns; in the first, the commemoration based on the Triodion and the Pentekostarion is named, while in the second, the type of the service is given, as written in the Typikon. This is necessitated by the fact that the composition of services varies on different days, not to mention that not every day is noted. The rubrics in Sin 330, which are of a general character and which point to longer period of the Lent, are not indicated in the scheme; they will be analysed in detail in the context of the composition of the daily order.

Table 10.

<i>folio</i>	<i>Sin 319, Voskr 27</i>	<i>folio</i>	<i>Sin 330, the title</i>	<i>Sin 330, liturgical indications</i>
1r	Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee	-	Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
-	(Sunday of the Prodigal Son)		Sunday of the Prodigal Son	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
15r	Saturday of Meatfare, memory of dead	1v	<i>Friday</i> of Meatfare evening, (Saturday of Meatfare)	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
14r	Sunday of Meatfare, Last Judgement	3v	Sunday of Meatfare	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.

⁶⁹⁶ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 199-200.

27r	Monday of Cheesefare	4v 5v	Sunday of Meatfare, Vespers* Monday of Cheesefare, Matins*	Vespers; about singing of the stichera of Vespers and Matins of Cheesefare week. About the readings.
29r	Tuesday	5v	Monday, Tuesday and Thursday of Cheesefare*	
31r	Wednesday of Cheesefare	5v	Wednesday of Cheesefare *	Matins, Hours, Vespers and the Lenten Liturgy ⁶⁹⁷
34r	Thursday		(description above, in the other services)	
36r	Friday	6r	Friday *	Celebration like on Wednesday.
38v	Saturday of Cheesefare	6v	Friday of Cheesefare, Vespers* Saturday of Cheesefare, Matins *	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
48	Sunday of Cheesefare	7v	Sunday of Cheesefare	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
55r- 55v	Triodion beginning from the Monday of the 1 st week by two creators Joseph and Theodor	8v	Sunday of Cheesefare, Vespers* Monday of the 1 st week of Lent	Vespers. Matins. Hours. Typika. Vespers. The Lenten Liturgy. Service of the Panagia. Compline.
60v	Tuesday of the 1 st week of Lent	9v	Tuesday Wednesday and Thursday	About the time of the beginning and finishing of Matins; about the readings at Hours of Monday and Tuesday
65v	Wednesday of the 1 st week of Lent		-	
70v	Thursday of the 1 st week of Lent		-	
75v	<i>Friday</i> of the 1 st week of Lent	10r	<i>Friday</i> of the 1 st week of Lent	Matins. Hours. Typika. In the church of St Theodore: Vespers. Lenten Liturgy. Little Compline
84v 89r	(Saturday) Canon for St Theodore (1 st), 2 nd Canon for St Theodore	11r	Saturday of the 1 st week of Lent, in the Church of St Theodore	Matins. Liturgy.
94v 100v	1 st Sunday of Lent, Prophets Moses and Aaron. 2 nd Canon for the Prophets (and hymns for Triumph of Orthodoxy)	11v	1 st Sunday of Lent, Prophets Moses, Aaron, David, Samoel and others, and for the orthodox icons	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
105v	Monday of the 2 nd week	13r	The same day, at Vespers*	Vespers. Indication for Great Compline.
108v	Tuesday of the 2 nd week		-	
114r	Wednesday of the 2 nd week		-	
118v	Thursday of the 2 nd week		-	

⁶⁹⁷ "Lenten Liturgy" is the term for the Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts in Sin 330

123v	Friday of the 2 nd week		-	
128v	Saturday of the 2 nd week	13r		Vespers and Matins of all Saturdays of Lent. Liturgy: indication of the prokeimenon, Epistle and Gospel
		13v	2 nd Sunday of Lent *	
131r	2 nd Sunday of Lent, Canon (of the Prodigal Son)	13v	2 nd Sunday of Lent *.	Liturgy: indication of the prokeimenon, Epistle and Gospel
135r	Monday of the 3 rd week		-	
139v	Tuesday of the 3 rd week		-	
144v	Wednesday of the 3 rd week		-	
149v	Thursday of the 3 rd week		-	
155r	Friday of the 3 rd week		-	
160r	Saturday of the 3 rd week	14r	Saturday of the 3 rd week *	Liturgy: indication of the prokeimenon, Epistle and Gospel
162o6	3 rd Sunday, Adoration of the Cross	14r	3 rd Sunday of Lent* (the service of the Adoration of the Cross)	Vespers. Matins. Adoration of the Cross. Liturgy.
168v	Monday of the 4 th week		-	
174r	Tuesday of the 4 th week	15v	Tuesday of the same week*	Vespers. Lenten Liturgy.
179v 187r	Wednesday of the 4 th week, Adoration of the Cross. At the same day there is a Canon for the Mid-Lent	15v	Wednesday * (the hymns for the Cross and for the Mid-Lent)	Matins. Hours. Vespers. Lenten Liturgy.
192v	Thursday of the 4 th week		-	
196r	Friday of the 4 th week		-	
200r	Saturday of the 4 th week	16r	Saturday of the 4 th week of Lent*	Liturgy: indication of the prokeimenon, Epistle and Gospel
202v	4 th Sunday, The one who fell amongst Thieves	16r	4 th Sunday of Lent*	Liturgy: indication of the prokeimenon, Epistle and Gospel
206r	Monday of the 5 th week		-	
210v	Tuesday of the 5 th week		-	
215r	Wednesday of the 5 th week		Wednesday of the 5 th week of Lent, evening* (stichera of the Great Canon)	Vespers. Lenten Liturgy.
220r 223v	Thursday of the 5 th week The Repentance Canon on Thursday, of Andrew	16r	Thursday, morning* (The Great Canon)	Matins. Hours.
253v	Friday of the 5 th week	16v	Friday of the 5 th week*	Vespers. Lenten Liturgy.
258v 260v	Saturday of the 5 th week (tetraodion) The Service to the Mother of God (Matins with the Akathistos)	17r	Saturday morning* Canon with the Akathistos to the Mother of God)	Matins. Liturgy.
275r	5 th Sunday of Lent, Rich man and Lazarus	17v	5 th Sunday of Lent *. (the Service for St Mary of Egypt)	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
279r	<i>Monday of the 6th week, Flower</i>		-	
283v	Tuesday of the 6 th week		-	
288r	Wednesday of the 6 th week	18r	Tuesday of the 6 th week, evening*;	Vespers. Matins.

			Wednesday morning*	
293r	Thursday of the 6 th week of Lent	18r	Wednesday evening	Vespers; about singing of <i>idiomela</i> between the Vespers on Wednesday and Matins on Friday
298r	Friday of the 6 th week of Lent	18o6	Friday morning *	Matins
305r	Canon of St Lazarus, Saturday before Palm	18o6	Friday evening *	Vespers. Matins.
311v	2 nd Canon for the same	19r	Saturday of St Lazarus morning	Liturgy.
315r	3 rd Canon for the same			
1r (5r)	Palm Saturday, at Vespers (Sunday morning)* ⁶⁹⁸	20r	Palm Sunday, Saturday evening,	Vespers. Matins.
		21r	Sunday morning*	Liturgy.
7r	Holy Monday	22v	Sunday evening*; Holy Monday morning*, Monday evening*	Vespers. Matins. Compline Hours. Vespers. Lenten Liturgy.
12v	Holy Tuesday	23v	Holy Tuesday *. The Service of the 12 troparia.	Matins. Third Hour with the Service of the 12 troparia of Passion of Christ Sixth Hour and Ninth Hour. Vespers. Lenten Liturgy.
17v	Holy Wednesday	25v	Holy Wednesday *	Matins. Hours. Vespers. Lenten Liturgy.
23r	Holy Thursday	26v	Holy Thursday *. Order for the washing of the feet.	Matins. Hours. Typika. Order for the washing of the feet. Vespers. Liturgy of St. Basil.
		27r		
30v 47v	The Night Service of Holy Friday, The service of 12 troparia which are sung on Holy Friday *	31r	Holy Friday *, the antiphons of Holy Passion	Matins. Service of Passion of Christ. Hours. Vespers. Lenten Liturgy.
51r 51v	Holy Friday evening* Holy Saturday	33r	<i>Holy Saturday</i>	Matins. Vespers. Liturgy of St Basil. There is no Compline.
60r	Holy Sunday of Pascha	36r	About Holy Sunday	Matins. Greeting of the brothers. Hours. Liturgy. Vespers. Compline.
	-	40v	Bright Monday*, procession before the Liturgy	Matins of Pascha, (Hours), Liturgy, (Vespers) and Compline as they are sung all this week.
		41v	Bright Tuesday*	Matins. Liturgy.
		42r	Bright Wednesday*	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.

⁶⁹⁸ The lines with * are detached in the manuscript by the illustrated separators, but not by the initials.

		42v	Bright Thursday*	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
		42v	Bright Friday*	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
		43r	Bright Saturday*	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
65r 67r	Anti-Pascha, Canon on Sunday of St Thomas	44r	Bright Saturday evening. The New Sunday of Anti-Pascha.	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
71v 76r	Monday after Anti-Pascha (canon) Monday after Anti-Pascha (triodion)	45v	Monday of Anti- Pascha*	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
77r	Tuesday of the 2 nd week	47r	Tuesday of the 2 nd week *	Vespers. Matins.
78v	Wednesday of the 2 nd week			
80r	Thursday of the 2 nd week			
81v	Friday of the 2 nd week			
82v	Saturday of the 2 nd week	48v	Friday of the 2 nd week evening* Saturday morning*	Vespers. Matins.
84r 87r	2 nd Sunday after Anti-Pascha, St Joseph and the Myrrhbearers, Canon on Sunday of the Myrrhbearers	49r	Saturday evening * 3 rd Sunday, Myrrhbearers.	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
96r	Monday of the 3 rd week	50r	Monday of the 3 rd week *	Matins. About idiomela of Vespers and Matins of this week.
97v	Tuesday of the 3 rd week			
99	Wednesday of the 3 rd week			
100	Thursday of the 3 rd week			
101v	Friday of the 3 rd week			
103r	Saturday of the 3 rd week	50r	Friday of the 3 rd week evening* Saturday morning *	Vespers. Matins..
104v	3 rd Sunday, Paralytic	50v	Saturday evening * 4 th week, Paralytic.	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
111v	Monday of the 4 th week	51r	Monday * (and Tuesday) of Mid- Pentecost	Matins.
113r	Tuesday of the 4 th week	(51r)	(Tuesday of Mid- Pentecost)	(Matins)
114r 116r 120r	Tuesday of the 4 th week evening* Canon for the Mid-Pentecost (Wednesday) 2 nd canon for the same	51v	Tuesday evening * Wednesday of the Mid- Pentecost*	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
125b	Thursday of the 4 th week	52v	Thursday *	Vespers. Matins..
126v	Friday of the 4 th week	52v	Friday *	Vespers. Matins.
128r	Triodion on Saturday of the 4 th week	53r	Saturday of the Mid- Pentecost week*	Vespers. Matins.
129v	4 th Sunday, Samaritan Woman	53r	5 th Sunday, Samaritan Woman	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
136v	Monday of the 5 th week			
138r	Tuesday of the 5 th week			
139v	Wednesday of the 5 th week			
141r	Thursday of the 5 th week			
142r	Friday of the 5 th week			

143v	Saturday of 5 th week, tetraodion	54r	Friday (5 th) evening*	Vespers. Matins.
145r	5 th Sunday, Blind Man, Saturday evening	54r	Saturday evening*. 6 th Sunday, Blind Man.	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
151v	Monday of the 6 th week			
152v	Tuesday of the 6 th week			
154v	Canon on Wednesday of the 5 th week, before the Ascension	55r	Tuesday evening*. Wednesday morning*	Vespers. Matins.
158v 163v	Thursday of the 6 th week, Ascension, Canon to it	55v	Wednesday evening* Thursday morning	Vespers Matins. Liturgy.
167v	Friday of the 6 th week	57v	Thursday вечер* Friday morning*	Vespers. Matins.
169r	Saturday of the 6 th week	58r	Friday evening* Saturday morning*	Vespers. Matins. About Matins and Vespers of this week up to the Leavetaking.
171r	6 th Sunday, 318 Holy Fathers	58v	Sunday of the Holy Fathers of Nikea	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
176v	Monday of the 7 th week			
177v	Tuesday of the 7 th week			
179r	Wednesday of the 7 th week			
180v	Thursday of the 7 th week			
181v	Friday of the 7 th week	(58v) 60r	(Friday of the 7 th week: Leavetaking of Pentecost). Thursday of the 7 th week evening* Friday morning*.	Vespers. Matins.
183r	Saturday of the 8 th week, canon for the dead, written above on the Saturday of Meatfare*	60r	Субота Пянтикоcтiя*	The service is the same of the Saturday of Meatfare
183r	Sunday of Pentecost	60r	Sunday of Pentecost	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
191r	The 8 th Monday The morning of the Holy Spirit.	62r	Sunday evening* The morning of the Holy Spirit	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy. About Vespers and Matins up to the Leavetaking of Pentecost.
194r	Tuesday of the 8 th week			
195r	Wednesday of the 8 th week			
196r	Thursday of the 8 th week			
197r	Friday of the 8 th week			
198r	Saturday after the 8 th week	64r	Saturday*	Vespers. Matins.
199r	8 th Sunday, All the Saints	64r	Sunday of All the Saints	Vespers. Matins. Liturgy.
		65r	Monday*. The beginning of the Fast of the Holy Apostles.	Vespers. Matins. Hours. Liturgy. Indications for the services of the Fast.

The folios in Sin 319 are not listed successively. This is due to the fact that the pages are in a mixed order in the manuscript itself; they are nowadays combined in the following manner:

- The Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee ff. 1r-6v (the 1st gathering, in which the first six folios out of eight have been preserved. The pagination – in Cyrillic letters, as typical of the Russian liturgical books – is here as well as in the Sofisky Menaia and Sin Typ 80 placed in the inner corner, at the bottom; in Sin 319 and Voskr 27 the pagination is placed at the beginning of the gathering.
- The Meat-fare Saturday (beginning with a torn) ff. 7r-14r (the beginning of the 3rd gathering, no pagination, but complete)
- The Meat-fare Sunday (ending with a torn) ff. 14r-14v (the beginning of the 4th gathering, pagination at the lower inner corner)
- the end (after the torn) of the Sunday of the Prodigal Son and the beginning of the Meat-fare Saturday from the Friday evening, ff. 15r-15v (the only page from the 2nd gathering)
- f. 16r – the continuation of the Meat-fare Sunday. There are no other rearrangements in the manuscript.

The folios should thus be in the following order: 1-6, 15, 7-14, 16, etc. One folio is missing between ff. 107 and 108 (Monday and Tuesday of the 2nd week of the Lent). At the end of the manuscript, the 4th Ode of the canon on the Lazarus Saturday is torn.⁶⁹⁹ In Voskr 27, there are no missing folios or mixed order among them.

According to SK and Pentkovsky, two first folios are missing in Sin 330. These folios are supposed to have contained the service on the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee and the beginning of the Sunday of the Prodigal Son; the information concerning these folios was reconstructed by Pentkovsky on the basis of Sin Typ 144 and Sin 905.⁷⁰⁰

The name of the service and the pagination corresponding with it in Sin 319 and Voskr 27 is marked with the title row which, as a rule, is placed before of the Matins part of the given day. From Monday to Friday of the Cheese-fare week the name of the day is either not marked at all (from Monday to Tuesday), or is written in initials on the first row (from Wednesday to Friday). If some day's service contains more than one part (such as a second Canon for the day) and is named in the title, they are noted in the Table.

It is necessary to point out one special feature in the structure of the liturgical day during the Lent according to the Studite Typikon, which is reflected in the scheme.

⁶⁹⁹ SK incorrectly identifies this as the Canon preceding the Lazarus Saturday, p. 135.

On one hand, the days on which the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom or that of St Basil the Great is to be celebrated, begin in the Typikon with the Vespers, then the Matins, the Hours and the Liturgy. However, during the Lent (except on Saturdays and Sundays) Sin 330 orders the Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts to be celebrated. The Liturgy itself is dedicated to the given day; however, as it forms the continuation of the Vespers (and as the Vespers start the cycle of the day following each Liturgy), it happens that within one daily cycle, for instance, Friday, both Friday's *and* Saturday's hymnography is indicated in the manuscripts. In other words, the Friday Vespers are dedicated to the commemoration of Saturday, they are followed by a Lenten Liturgy, dedicated to Friday. The Saturday Matins return to the commemoration of the Friday Vespers. Also, in most cases the name of the day is placed in the beginning of the Matins of the same day. This emphasizes that in the Studite Common Typikon, the liturgical day began from the Matins, as opposed to the Palestinian eremitical tradition. Concerning the scheme, the services of Saturdays and Sundays, as well as many weekdays, begin there from the Vespers and point to the particular day, whereas in Sin 330, the Vespers on the Thursday of the 5th week of Lent, including the Stichera from the Great Canon of St Andrew of Crete, are placed on the preceding day, on Wednesday, because they are followed by a Lenten Liturgy.

On the basis of the Table, we can draw the following conclusions concerning the Typikon copy and the GIM-type Triodion sources.

The orientation of Sin 319 and Voskr 27 towards the Studite- Alexian Typikon is obvious on the whole. However, there are differences with the Typikon copy with respect to the Triodion as well as to the Pentekostarion.

The comparison of Sin 319 and Sin 330 shows that the Typikon copy is more consecutive in its reflection of the Constantinopolitan practice and disregards the traces of the Jerusalem practice.

Thus, all Constantinopolitan commemorations are present in Sin 330, including the latest of them: the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee⁷⁰¹ and the following Sundays preceding the Lent; the 1st Sunday of the Lent with the emphasis both in the title and in the outward formation (the title row is written with initials) on the commemoration of the Prophets and the Victory of Orthodoxy; the service of the Cross

⁷⁰⁰ SK, 159; Пентковский *Типикон*, 233-234.

⁷⁰¹ Although it was not preserved in Sin 330, it is most likely to have been the content of the first torn-out folios, which is indicated by the pagination of the gatherings: Пентковский, *Типикон*, 179.

on the 3rd Sunday of the Lent; the commemoration of the Thursday in the 5th week of the Lent, present in the Canon of St Andrew of Crete; the service on the Saturday of the 5th Lenten week with the Akathistos in the honour of the Theotokos; and the commemoration of St Mary of Egypt on the 5th Sunday of the Lent.

Sin 319 does not contain all these commemorations; the service for St Mary of Egypt is replaced with the commemoration of the Rich man and Lazarus, which complies with the pre-reformed reading system of Jerusalem. The same style can be noted in case of the 2nd and the 4th Sunday, on which Sin 319 also points to Jerusalem commemorations, whereas in Sin 330, there is no indication of singing and, apart from the number of the Sunday, there are only references to the readings in the Constantinopolitan system of Gospel reading which do not correspond to the Jerusalem commemorations in the Triodion.⁷⁰²

In Sin 330 and Voskr 27, the commemorations correspond, which is natural since the Studite synthesis which was widespread in the post-reformed Jerusalem system, took on the Constantinopolitan system of reading for the Pentekostarion cycle. However, the differences in the counting of the weeks between the two sources are interesting.

Do these inconsistencies in the GIM-type sources and the Typikon copy witness to two different liturgical traditions – one for Sin 319 and Voskr 27 and the other for Sin 330? Or are the GIM-type Triodion sources a continuation and development of the tradition represented by Sin 330? And, what is particularly important is it possible to argue that Sin 319 was meant to be used in the same liturgical context as Voskr 27? In order to answer these questions, it seems productive to widen the field of comparison of the liturgical books.

Firstly, it is necessary to take into account Russian sources such as the Triodia, as well as the Sticheraria, because they were all written in consideration of some concrete liturgical circumstances and, however fragmentarily, they all represent the liturgical tradition. Secondly, it is important to take the Bulgarian and Serbian sources into account, since, as has already been said in Chapter 2, the copying of the Russian sources was done on the basis of the South Slavic sources which, in turn, also represent the Studite liturgical tradition, though different from the Studite- Alexian tradition⁷⁰³.

⁷⁰² For reminder, see Table 1 in Chapter 1 which shows the system of commemorations and the Gospel readings in the Jerusalem church, Hagia Sophia of Constantinople and the Studite Typikon.

⁷⁰³ See Chapter 1.

Moreover, both the Russian and the South Slavic manuscripts are redactions of the Greek codices, *Typika* as well as singing books, which, in their turn, reflect various combinations of elements from the synthesis that was developed in the Studite tradition.

South Slavic Triodia. The time and authors of the translation

Momina has studied the questions concerning the translation and classification of the South Slavic Triodia and their relationship to the Greek Triodia, on one hand, and to the Russian ones, on the other. As she points out,⁷⁰⁴ the Greek Triodion was translated into Church Slavonic in the late 9th – early 10th century, up to the time when the Triodion by Theodor was joined with the Triodion of St Joseph, and the hymnography by St Joseph had already supplanted part of St Theodore's hymns.

According to the hagiography of St Cyril, he translated in the first place the Matins, the Hours, the Vespers, the Compline and the Liturgy. Together with St Methodios, they then translated the Psalter, the Gospel, the Epistle and some selected services, including, possibly, the feasts such as the Palm Sunday, Great Friday, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and some others. However, these services could have contained only separate hymns, such as the canons; it is possible that at that time the complete Triodion of St Joseph the Hymnographer was not yet written.

The complete Triodion was translated into the Slavonic language already during the time when the two Triodia, by St Theodore and by St Joseph, were joined, and the hymns by St Joseph had supplanted part of those by St Theodore. The majority of scholars tend to consider the Lenten part of the Triodion to have been translated by St Clement of Ochrid (d. 916), a pupil of Sts Cyril and Methodios. Popov suggests⁷⁰⁵ that the translation took place when St Clement was with St Methodios's other pupils in Pliska. It was also Pliska that Constantin Preslavsky worked in, a little earlier than in 886. The acrostichos cycle of his triodia for the Lenten Triodion was first found by Georgy Popov⁷⁰⁶. It seems that a little later St Clement of Ochrid translated the triodia of St Joseph from the Sunday of Thomas to the Pentecost.⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰⁴ Momina, *Triodion*, *112.

⁷⁰⁵ Попов Г., “Из текстологическата проблематика на славянским триод. Новооткрити творби на Константин Преславски”, *Славянска палеография и дипломатика*, Sofia, 1980, pp. 72-85; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *114.

⁷⁰⁶ Попов Г., “Триодни произведения на Константин Преславски”, *Кирило-Методиевски Студии*, v. 2, Sofia, 1985, p. 56.

⁷⁰⁷ Momina, *Triodion*, *114.

The earliest Church Slavonic Triodion copies date back to the second half of the 11th century. It was exactly then that the GIM-type Triodion developed, as a result of the checking of the Bulgarian Triodion from Greek originals, due to the spreading of the Studite Typikon.⁷⁰⁸

The early preserved copies include, firstly, the Prague Glagolitic folios⁷⁰⁹, written in the Czech lands. One part of them which contains a fragment from the order for the Night of Great Friday can be dated to the early first half of the 11th century. Momina suggests that this part was torn out from the chosen services translated by St Methodios. Her analysis shows great structural differences between this service in the Greek and the Slavonic Triodia; thus she argues that this fragment could have been borrowed from a Tropologion.⁷¹⁰ If we take as a fact that St Methodios did translate selected services from the Tropologion, it means that during the time of the translation, the Greek Triodion which appeared around that time was not yet translated into Slavonic.⁷¹¹

Other early examples of the Triodion hymnography in the Slavonic language include the troparia for the Saturday of Lazarus, the Palm Sunday, and the first Sunday of the Lent, which can be found in the Ieninsky Epistle from the mid-11th century⁷¹², and also a folio from the late 11th century Triodion, published by Kodov.⁷¹³

From the 12th century onwards, the number of the South Slavic copies notably rises.

The principle of translating the Slavonic Triodion

The Triodion was translated into the Slavonic language following the same principle as with the other liturgical books – word by word. This type of translation technique was widespread both in the West and in the East. This meant translating the Greek words with strictly defined Slavonic ones. The existence of a set of defined equivalents made it possible to translate a large number of books in a short period. As a

⁷⁰⁸ Momina, *Triodion*, *115.

⁷⁰⁹ Momina, *Triodion*, *116.

⁷¹⁰ Hannick Chr., “Der liturgische Standort der Prager glagolitischen Fragmente”, *Litterae Slavicae Medii Aevi*, Munchen, 1985, pp. 107-117; Momina, *Triodion*, *116.

⁷¹¹ Momina, *Triodion*, *204.

⁷¹² *Енински Апостол, старобългарски наметник от XI век*, ed. by Мирчев К., Кодов Хр., Sofia 1965; Momina, *Triodion*, *120.

⁷¹³ Кодов Хр., “Фрагмент от старобългарски ръкопис с глаголическа приписка”, *Сборник «Климент Охридски», 1916-1966*, Sofia, 1966, pp. 121-131; Momina, *Triodion*, *115.

result, the vocabulary of the living vernacular seldom found their way into the liturgical books, thus making it difficult for the scholars to define whether a given text is a new translation or a new redaction. It seems unrealistic to try to define how many times the Triodion was translated into Slavonic.⁷¹⁴ Momina suggests the possibility of three translations, because the three types of the Slavonic Triodion, Sin Typ 137, Bitolsky and Shafarikov, seem to be equally independent. The Greek prototypes for the Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin and the Bitolsky Triodion may be dated to the late 9th – early 10th century, while the model for the Shafarikov cannot have existed before the 11th century.⁷¹⁵ All three were initially, it seems, Glagolitic⁷¹⁶.

The early translations from the time of Cyril and Methodios are considered to be more free in the sense of the word-to-word translation than those which followed them. The Slavs tried to transmit the Greek text – the vocabulary, the morphology, syntax and word formation as precisely as possibly. For this reason, the text was corrected to be more Greek. The strong Greek influence can be noted from the earliest stages – already from the late 9th to the beginning of the 10th century. It was particularly enforced during the checking of the books on Athos in the 14th century. The texts were continuously under redaction in various territories of the Slavs – in Bulgaria, Serbia, in the Rus', on Mont Athos. As a result of an analysis of 187 copies of the Akathistos for Virgin Mary, Momina states that it was redacted 31 times during the period from the 11th to the 20th century.⁷¹⁷

The constant editing did not only concern the language itself, but also the contents. When working on the copy to correspond with the Greek original, the Slavonic translator also copied the structure and place of the material as it was in the Greek book. This is the reason why the Slavonic Triodion quite totally reflects the peculiarities of the Greek one. Consequently, the Slavonic Triodion also preserves many features that were later lost in the Greek books. However, not all types of the Greek Triodia were translated into Slavonic.

At the early stage, the Slavonic Triodion came to include not only translated hymnography but also hymns by Slavic authors. Thus, the Bitolsky Triodion contains triodia, kathismata and stichera prosomoia by Constantin Preslavsky. His hymnography can be found also in other copies. They were joined with the Triodion by Clement the

⁷¹⁴ Momina, *Triodion*, *123.

⁷¹⁵ Momina, *Triodion*, *203.

⁷¹⁶ Momina, *Triodion*, *204.

⁷¹⁷ Momina, *Triodion*, *126.

Studite, of which the Bitolsky Triodion gives proof, and also with the triodia by St Joseph. The triodia by Constantin Preslavsky disappeared early from the Slavonic Triodion due to the endeavour to turn them as Greek as possible. However, his kathismata and stichera prosomoia were retained up to the Evergetis Triodion. They were combined with those by St Theodore; however, later they began to lose ground to hymnography by St Joseph, and disappeared during the Athonite redaction.

The classification of the Slavonic Triodion: the parallels with the classification of the Greek Triodion

Classifying the Slavonic Triodia, Momina divides them into 11 types, eight of which reflect the versions of the Studite Typikon. The 9th resulted from the correcting of the liturgical books on Mount Athos. As related in Chapter 2, the books from this transition period contain a number of different combinations of the Studite and gradually also the New Sabaite characteristics. In this research, a special attention is given to one Athonite type Triodion, reflecting the transition period. From the 14th century onwards, the contents of the books gradually become unified as a consequence of the stabilization process of the neo-Sabaitic norms. The two last Triodion types, the Kiev Triodion (10th) and the Nikon Triodion (11th), which reflect the Jerusalem Typikon in the Rus' lands, are not within the scope of this research.

Since the Slavic Triodion copies reflect to a great extent the diversity of the Greek Triodion, Momina, when beginning to classify the Slavic Triodia, turned to the criteria according to which researchers have identified the different variations of the Greek Triodion.

Cappuyns divided them into three types according to their correspondence with the Typikon types – the Jerusalem, Constantinopolitan and Studite Typikon.⁷¹⁸

Karabinov based his three types of the Greek Triodion on the compositional characteristics of the codices.

He argues that the development of the Triodion as a book began with the creation of the separate Triodion codices by Theodor the Studite, after that by Clement the Studite and St Joseph. These separate codices did not survive in any Greek original,

⁷¹⁸ Cappuyns N., *Le Triodion. Étude historique sur sa constitution et sa formation*, thesis, Rome, 1935; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *110.

nor in copies. We know only of the combined Triodia by these authors.⁷¹⁹ These combined Triodia Karabinov divided on the basis of their prosomoia and automela content into the Eastern type, produced in Constantinople and Palestine, and the Western type, preserved in the copies of Italy.⁷²⁰ As a result, he defined five types of Triodion, which vary on the basis of the authors of the hymns, the quantity of the canticles, their displacement in the codex, according to the service, the division into the Lenten and Easter parts and the presence or absence of reading.⁷²¹

Relying on the classification by Karabinov, Momina defines 9 types of Greek Triodion from the beginning to the 12th century. She bases this division on the structure of the weekly services.⁷²²

Drawing parallels between the Greek and the Slavic Triodion types, Momina notes that the weekly services in the Slavic Triodia do not contain as much variation as the Greek books. She brings forward another principle for the classification of the Slavic copies of the Triodion and Pentekostarion – the principle of the contents of the Sunday canons during the Lent and the Easter week. She also took into consideration the criteria presented by Cappuyns and Karabinov. In accordance with the fact that the Old Russian Triodia appeared as the result of the correction of the South Slavic Triodia on the basis of the Greek copies, Momina includes the Russian copies in the classification system along with the Bulgarian and Serbian copies.

Thus, according to the classification by Momina, every Triodion differs from the other, firstly, with respect to the selection of hymns for the day; secondly, to their disposition in the daily cycle; thirdly, to their form as a complete Triodion or as divided into two, the Triodion and the Pentekostarion; and fourthly, with respect to the translation variation which reflects the differences between the Greek sources.⁷²³

Some Triodion type copies can be divided into redactions. With the exception of some details, the following parameters will be in accordance with the manuscripts of the same redaction: the selection of hymns for those liturgical services which are essential in the given Triodion type, the disposition of these hymns in the cycle, and the completeness or the division of the Triodion into two parts. Moreover, the copies within

⁷¹⁹ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 208.

⁷²⁰ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 208-209; Momina, *Triodion*, *107.

⁷²¹ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 212-216; Momina, *Triodion*, *107-*108.

⁷²² Momina, *Triodion*, *103-*105.

⁷²³ Momina *Triodion*, *139, Момина, Вопросы классификации, 34-35.

one type may differ in their translations that reflect the different variants of Greek texts, which, as a whole, makes it possible to attribute the copies to different redactions.

The Slavonic Triodia. The classification

1. The “Kiyarin” type is represented by a unique copy of Russian Triodia Sin Typ 137. This type is complete; the same book contains the Lenten Triodion and the Pentekostarion. The disposition of the hymns does not correspond to the liturgical order.
2. The “Shafarikov” type is represented by the Triodion from the 2nd third of the 13th century F.n.I.74⁷²⁴, which used to belong to P.I. Shafarik. This Triodion is Bulgarian and is written in *theta* notation. It is complete and its hymns are organized according to the liturgical order, without paremias. This manuscript is the first representative of its redaction type. Another copy, F.n.I.68⁷²⁵, the Serbian *theta* Triodion of the 1st half of the 13th century, portrays features that differ from the first redaction of the type.⁷²⁶ Both manuscripts are included in the comparative source analysis conducted in this dissertation. Momina regards also two Bulgarian manuscripts as representatives of this type.⁷²⁷
3. The “Zagrebsky” type is named after the repository where the 13th century⁷²⁸ Bulgarian Triodion is kept. It is complete, in liturgical order and without paremias. Three folios from this manuscript were bound into a Greek codex and are now reposed in St Petersburg, dated to the end of 13th – beginning of 14th century.⁷²⁹ Up to the present, no other representatives of this Triodion type are known.⁷³⁰
4. The “Bitolsky” type was named after the location in which the 12th century⁷³¹ Triodion was found. It is Bulgarian, un-notated, and the only representative of its type. This manuscript is also analysed in this dissertation. The hymns of this Triodion are not arranged in the liturgical order. Due to the badly preserved state of the manuscript, it is difficult to define whether it was divided into the Lenten

⁷²⁴ RNB F.n.I.74, SK 222.

⁷²⁵ RNB F.n.I.68, SK 221.

⁷²⁶ Momina, *Triodion*, *142.

⁷²⁷ Sofia, BAN 37, from the 11th century; Sofia, BAN NBKM 1157: Момина, Вопросы классификации, 37; Momina, *Triodion*, *131-132.

⁷²⁸ JAZU IVd, 107; SK, XIVth cent., Приложение II, 662-663; Momina, *Triodion*, *132.

⁷²⁹ БАН Текущие поступления, n° 1244, ; SK, XIVth cent., Приложение II, 662-663; Momina, *Triodion*, *132.

⁷³⁰ Momina, *Triodion*, *142.

Triodion and the Pentekostarion or not. Momina supposes it to have been a complete set.⁷³²

5. According to the classification by Momina, the “GIM-type” is represented by the Russian Triodia, divided into the Lenten Triodion and the Pentekostarion. The type was named after the current repository of the oldest surviving Triodion copy – Sin 319 – in an article published in 1982⁷³³, dedicated to the problems of classifying the Slavonic Triodia. In her later research, in the course of the publication of the Triodion by Moisey Kiyarin, Momina added the Pentekostaria into the scheme, classifying the Lenten Triodion part⁷³⁴. The division of the GIM-type corresponds to the orders in the Studite Typikon: the services up to the Saturday of Lazarus are included in the Triodion, while the services beginning with the Palm Sunday (which gave the Slavonic book its name – Tzvety, Tzvatnaia) were included in the Pentekostarion. Apart from Sin 319, this type is represented by 8 other Russian manuscripts: Triodia (Sof 84, RNB P.I.680, Pog 41, RGB Volog 241, IRLI Svdv 232) and Pentekostaria (Sin Typ 138, Voskr 27 and Sof 110). As with the Moisey Kiyarin Triodion type, the order of the hymns in these manuscripts does not correspond to the liturgical order. Momina separates these 9 codices into four different redactions:
 - Sin Typ 138
 - Pog 41
 - Sin 319, Voskr 27, Sof 84, RNB P.I.680, Sof 110
 - IRLI Svdv 232
6. The “Jeravensky” Triodion was named after the location “Jeravna”, where one of the fragments of this only representative of its type was found. The manuscript survived in fourteen Bulgarian fragments from the 13th century, all from the same codex, in libraries of St Petersburg (some of the fragments are in Sofia). This type is also complete and its hymns are organized in the liturgical order. It differs from the “Shafarikov” type in its composition and in various textological aspects.
7. The “Orbelsky” type was also named after the location where one of the manuscript fragments was found. It is a 13th century Bulgarian Triodion, RNB F.n.I.102⁷³⁵. It is

⁷³¹ Sofia, BAN 37; Momina, *Triodion*, *132.

⁷³² Momina, *Triodion*, *135.

⁷³³ Момина, Типы славянской, 102-121; Момина, Вопросы классификации, 25-38.

⁷³⁴ Momina, *Triodion*, *134.

⁷³⁵ RNB F.n.I.102, SK, 412-414.

complete, and the hymns and paremias follow the liturgical sequence. It has survived in 16 Serbian and Bulgarian fragments from the 13th – 14th centuries. Some of them contain *theta* notation. The fragments are preserved in Moscow, St Petersburg and Sofia⁷³⁶. Momina divides this type into four redactions⁷³⁷:

- F.n.I.102, Plovdiv NBIV 57
- GIM Khlud 133
- BAN 13.1.4.
- RNB Pog 40

Apart from these manuscripts, Momina considers it possible that other redactions of this type can be found in the future, since it was one of the most widely spread. In this dissertation, both copies are used – F.n.I.102 and RNB Pog 40.

8. The “Evergetis” type, represented by a complete Triodion translated by the Serbs, was written in correspondence with the Typikon norms of the Evergetis monastery in the 13th century. From the two manuscripts that Momina considers as possible redactions of this type⁷³⁸, the copy F.n.I.92 was used in this dissertation.
9. Momina divides the large number of Bulgarian, Serbian and Russian copies of the “Athos” type in to 23 redactions⁷³⁹. In this dissertation, this type is represented by one 14th century manuscript, RNB Tit 1983. The division of the Triodion into the Lenten and Easter parts in this type does not follow the Studite norms but ends the Triodion on the Friday preceding the Saturday of Lazarus, and this Saturday begins the Pentekostarion part.⁷⁴⁰

The 10th and 11th Triodion types, as already said, belong to a later period and are thus outside the scope of this dissertation.

Sin 319 and Voskr 27 in the cycle of Russian and Slavic sources: the Commemorations

After the introduction of the South Slavic sources in this dissertation, we will return to the system of the commemorations in Sin 319 and Voskr 27, comparing the information in these manuscripts with that revealed by the other Slavic copies (Table 11). The scheme portrays only those commemorations that reflected elements of

⁷³⁶ Momina, *Triodion*, *133.

⁷³⁷ Momina, *Triodion*, *142.

⁷³⁸ F.n.I.92, SK 415: Sofia, NBKM, 202, 13th cent., Serbian; Momina, *Triodion*, *133.

⁷³⁹ Momina, *Triodion*, *142.

⁷⁴⁰ Скабалланович, *Толковъй*, 278; Momina, *Triodion*, *135.

inconsistency in Table 10. The sources included here are the Typikon, the Russian and Slavic Triodia and the Russian Sticheraria of Triodion.

Table 11

1st Sunday Prophets	1st Sunday Prophets, Orthodoxy		Repentance and fasting	Without n^o Prophets, Orthodoxy	
Sin Typ 137	Sin 330, Sin 319, Sin Typ 147, Sin Typ 148, Sof 96, Sof 84, Pog 41, Sof 85, F.n.I.74., Tit 1983.		Sin Typ 137, Jeravensky	Sin 278, Usp 8, Pog 40, F.n.I.102, Bitolsky	
2nd Sunday commemoration not mentioned	2nd Sunday Prodigal Son, Repentance and fasting	3rd Sunday Prodigal Son, Repentance and fasting	3rd Sunday Repentance and fasting	2nd Sunday Repentance and fasting	Without n^o Publican and the Pharisee
Sin 330	Sin 319, Sin Typ 137, F.n.I.92, Tit 1983	Pog 41, Sof 84	Sof 96, Usp 8	Sin Typ 148, Sof 85, Sin 278, Pog 40 F.n. I.102	F.n.I.74, Zagrebsky
3rd Sunday Publican and the Pharisee	3rd Sunday Cross, Publican and the Pharisee	Without n^o Cross, Publican and the Pharisee	Without n^o Publican and the Pharisee	4th Sunday Publican and the Pharisee	4th Sunday Cross, Publican and the Pharisee
Sin Typ 148, Sin 278	Sin 330, Sin 319, Sin Typ 147, Sin Typ 137, Pog 41, Pog 40, F.n.I.74	Usp 8,	Sof 96,	Sof 85	Sof 84, F.n. I.102
4th Sunday commemoration not mentioned	4th Sunday The one who fell amongst Thieves		5th Sunday The one who fell amongst Thieves		Without n^o
Sin 330	Sin 319, F.n.I.74., F.n.I.92, Sin Typ 147, Pog 41		Sin Typ 137, Usp 8, Sof 84, Sof 85, Sin 278, Sin Typ 148, F.n. I.102,		Pog 40, Sof 96
5th Sunday St Mary of Egypt, Rich man and Lazarus	5th Sunday Rich man and Lazarus		6th Sunday Rich man and Lazarus		6th Sunday St Mary of Egypt, Rich man and Lazarus
Sin 330 F.n.I.74, Pog 40	Sin 319, Sin Typ 147, Pog 41, Sof 96,		Sin Typ 137, Sof 84 Sof 85, Sin 278, Sin Typ 148, Usp 8,		F.n. I.102
2nd Sunday Myrrhbearers		3rd Sunday Myrrhbearers		Without n^o, Myrrhbearers	
Voskr 27, Usp 8, Sin Typ 138, Sin Typ 147, Sof 96, Sof 110, Chil 307		sin 330, Sin Typ 148, Sin Typ 85, F.n. I.102,Pog 40, Sin Typ 137		F.n.74, F.n.68	
3rd Sunday, Paralytic		4th Sunday, Paralytic		Without n^o, Paralytic	
Voskr 27, Usp 8, Sin Typ 138, Sof 96, Sof 110, Chil 307; Sin Typ 148, Sof 85,		Sin 330, F.n. 102, Pog 40, Sin Typ 137		F.n.68	
4th Sunday, Samaritan Woman		5th Sunday, Samaritan Woman		Without n^o Samaritan Woman	

Voskr 27, Sin Typ 138, Sin Typ 147, Sin Typ 148, Sof 85, Sof 96, Chil 307	Sin 330, F.n.I.74, F.n.I.68, F.n. I.102, Pog 40	Sof 110, Usp 8, Sin Typ 137,
5th Sunday, Blind Man	6th Sunday, Blind Man.	Without n^o, Blind Man
Voskr 27, Usp 8, Sin Typ 138, Sin Typ 147, Sin Typ 148, Sof 85, Sof 96, Chil 307, Sin Typ 137.	Sin 330, F.n.I.74, Sof 110, F.n. I.102, Pog 40	
6th Sunday, Holy Fathers	7th Sunday, Holy Fathers	Without n^o Holy Fathers
Voskr 27, Sof 85,	Usp 8, Sin Typ 138, Sof 110, F.n. I.102, Pog 40	Sin 330, Sin Typ 147, Sin Typ 148, Sof 96, Sin Typ 137
7 th Sunday, Pentecost	8th Sunday, Pentecost	Without n^o, Pentecost
	(Voskr 27?), Usp 8, F.n.I.74,	sin 330, (Voskr 27?), Sin Typ 147, Sin Typ 148, Sof 85, Sof 96, Sof 110, Pog 40, Sin Typ 137
8th Sunday, All the Saints	9th Sunday (?) All the Saints	Without n^o, All the Saints
Voskr 27, Sin Typ 138		Sin 330, Sin Typ 148, Sof 85, Sof 96, Pog 40, Sin Typ 137.

The information presented in the table may be divided into two groups. The first has to do with the numeration of the Sundays of the Lent and the Easter time; the other concerns the collection of the commemorations. Since these elements make up a large number of variants, it is necessary to look at them separately.

The system of the commemorations is exemplified by the following Table 12, which excludes the details of the number of the Sundays. As a result, manuscripts which differ with respect to the system of numbering may be grouped together. Nevertheless, by abstracting the commemorations we may come into certain conclusions. Since the system of the commemorations for the Pentekostarion period is identical in all cases, the Table 11 reveals only those titles and themes of hymns that belong to the Lenten period. When the column includes more than one manuscript, they are placed in the following order: Typikon, the Slavic Triodia, the Russian Triodia, the Russian Sticheraria.

Table 12

Prophets, Repentance	Prophets, Orthodoxy	Repentance and fasting
Sin Typ 137	-Sin 330; -F.n.I.74., Tir.1983, Pog 40, F.n.I.102, Bitolsky; -Sin 319, Sof 84, Pog 41; -Sin Typ 147, Sin Typ 148, Sof 96, Sof.85, Sin 278, Usp 8.	Jeravensky
Prodigal Son; Repentance and fasting	Repentance and fasting	Publican and the Pharisee
-F.n.I.92, Tit.1983; -Sin 319, Sin Typ 137, Pog 41, Sof 84.	(-Sin 330); -F.n. I.102, Pog 40; -Sof 96, Usp 8, Sin Typ 148, Sof 85, Sin 278.	F.n.I.74, Zagrebsky
Publican and the Pharisee	Cross. Publican and the Pharisee	
-Sin Typ 148, Sin 278, Sof 96, Sof 85	-Sin 330; -F.n.I.74, Pog 40, F.n. I.102; - Sin 319, Sin Typ 137, Pog 41, Sof 84; -Usp 8, Sin Typ 147.	
Repentance and fasting	Repentance and fasting, The one who fell amongst Thieves	
-Sin 330 -Sin Typ 147	-F.n.I.102, Pog 40, F.n.I.74, F.n.92; -Sin 319, Sin Typ 137, Pog 41, Sof 84; - Usp 8, Sof 96, Sin 278, Sin Typ 148, Sof 85.	
St Mary of Egypt, Rich man and Lazarus	Rich man and Lazarus	
-Sin 330 -Pog 40, F.n. I.102	-F.n.I.74; -Sin 319, Pog 41, Sin Typ 137, Sof 84; -Sin Typ 147, Sof 96, Sof 85, Sin 278, Sin Typ 148, Usp 8.	

The Typikon, the Shafarikov, Orbelsky, Bitolsky and Athos type of Triodia, the Russian GIM-type Triodia and all Russian Sticheraria name two commemorations for the first week of the Lent: both of them are of Constantinopolitan origin – the Prophets and the Victory of Orthodoxy. The Russian Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin includes the commemoration of the Prophets but not the Victory of Orthodoxy, which distinguishes it from the rest of the sources. Another feature, distinguishing the Kiyarin Triodion, together with the Jeravensky type, is the presence of a commemoration theme reflected in the canon: of repentance and fasting, which corresponds to the Jerusalem tradition of the Sunday Gospel readings for the Matins of the 1st week of the Lent.⁷⁴¹ This theme is present also in all preserved Russian and South Slavic sources, however, in a less prominent way – in the idiomelon in the 8th Tone *Придете очистимся (Come and cleanse ourselves)*, which was sung on the same Sunday, however, in the evening, thus starting the cycle of Monday.

The diversity of variants may be noted also in the second week. In Sin 330, there is no order to sing the Triodion hymns, although the instructions for the preceding day indicate the singing of the idiomelon together with the Octoechos for the

⁷⁴¹ Momina, *Triodion*, *236-*237.

weekdays.⁷⁴² The liturgical instructions in the Typikon for the second Sunday, not expressed in the title, are restricted only to the Epistle and the Gospel at the Liturgy which, as already said in the context of Table 9, correspond to the Constantinopolitan system of reading.

The idiomelon for this day refers to repentance and fasting. Since this sticheron is included in most of the sources, its theme, though not expressed in any title, is present in all of these sources. In the Typikon and the Sticheraria, it is the only theme, since they contain no canon for the day, no title for the week, but simply its number. The Orbelsky Triodia contains the canon dedicated to Repentance, in the 2nd Tone, which in Sin Typ 137 appears in the first week of the Lent.⁷⁴³ In the three GIM-type Russian Triodia, the Triodion by Moisey Kiyarin, the Evergetis and the Athos types, this day's commemoration, depicted in the idiomelon, appears together with the commemorations of the canon of the Prodigal Son, which corresponds to the pre-reformed Jerusalem practice. The Shafarikov and Zagrebsky type of Triodia contain the canon for the Publican and the Pharisee, which in the Orbelsky type is placed for the following Sunday.

In the case of the third week, all sources more or less touch upon the theme of the Publican and the Pharisee, which was transmitted from the Jerusalem Gospel readings into the Studite synthesis. The theme is depicted in the idiomelon for the day, the only hymn in the Sticheraria Sof 96, Sin 278 (without the title of the Sunday), Sof 85 and Sin Typ 148 (with the title "week 4 of the Publican and the Pharisee").

The rest of the sources combine this idiomelon with the commemoration of the Adoration of the Cross, which is depicted, firstly, in the canon in the 1st Tone by Theodor the Studite (in all types of the Slavic Triodia) and also in the canon in the 4th Tone in the Evergetis Triodion⁷⁴⁴. Secondly, it is reflected in the stichera for the Cross in Sin 330, Kiyarin, Shafarikov, and Orbelsky types, and also in two Sticheraria – Usp 8 and Sin Typ 147. The Sticheraria which dedicate the day to the Publican and the Pharisee move the stichera for the Cross onto the following Wednesday, as this is done also in the GIM-type Triodia. The combination of these two commemorations of this

⁷⁴² Sin 330, f. 5: "Up to the flowery week, after the entrance in the stichera aposticha the sticheron prosomion of Holy Father (St Theodore) from the Triodion is sung once, then the idiomelon twice, "glory be", - for the martyrs, and "now and ever", - for the Theotokos. (The same goes with) the aposticha of the Matins. This continues until the Friday of the 6th week." ("По входе до цветной недели на стиховне поется в Триоди стихира святого отца подобья единою и посем самогласна двоици, слава мученичен, и ныне богородичен. И стиховны на заутрени. Також бывает до пятка 6-й недели»).

⁷⁴³ Momina, *Triodion*, *172.

day and their extension on the Wednesday of the 4th week, as well as the composition and the distribution of stichera for the Cross in the services are reflected in great a number of variants.

The following week has two commemorations. The first of these is depicted in the idiomelon which concerns repentance and fasting. In two sources which do not point at a specific Sunday, this remains the only commemoration – in the *Sticherarion Sin Typ 147* and the *Typikon* copy, which only point at the reading of the Epistle and the Gospel at the Liturgy.

In the rest of the sources, this commemoration (expressed in the idiomelon) is accompanied by that of the One who fell amongst thieves. All *Triodia*, except for the Athos type, contain the Canon of Patriarch Ilias in the 5th Tone, dedicated to this commemoration.⁷⁴⁵ The *Sticheraria* reveal an interesting case of treating this commemoration: all of them, except for *Sin Typ 147*, contain only one hymn for this day – the idiomelon with the penitential content – while all of them note the commemoration of the One who fell amongst thieves in the title.

The Sunday preceding the Palm Sunday also has two themes. In one case, this is only the Jerusalem commemoration of the Rich man and Lazarus, while in the other, it is combined with the later Constantinopolitan theme of St Mary of Egypt.

St Mary of Egypt is commemorated in the stichera and the canon in the *Typikon Sin 330*. In the *Orbelsky* type *F.n.I.102*, the *Typikon* rubric points to the singing of three canons in the Matins, «two Sunday canons in the Tone and one for St Mary; we leave Lazarus aside. And we sing the canon of St Lazarus Tone 8 at the apodeipnon after the meal»⁷⁴⁶. A resembling inscription can be found in another redaction of the *Orbelsky* type, *Pog 40*. In both *Orbelsky Triodia*, the stichera include those for St Mary.

The *GIM-type Triodia*, the *Triodion* by Moisey Kiyarin and the *Shafarikov Triodion* contain only the canon for the Rich man and Lazarus; there are no stichera for St Mary. All Russian sources have only one sticheron for this day: the idiomelon which refers to the commemoration of the Rich man and Lazarus, which is also noted in the titles of some *Sticheraria* (*Usp 8*, *Sin Typ 147* and *Sin Typ 148*).

Two commemorations were excluded from the Table, because they are not dedicated to the Sundays: the *Akathistos* (5th Saturday) and the *Great Canon* of St

⁷⁴⁴ Momina, *Triodion*, *174.

⁷⁴⁵ Momina, *Triodion*, *176.

⁷⁴⁶ *F.n.I.102*, f.129v.-130r.

Andrew of Crete (the Thursday of the same week). The Akathistos is present in all Slavic Triodia, including all redactions of the GIM-type (Sin 319 among them), except for the Kiyarin type⁷⁴⁷, in different combinations with other hymnography and in different redactions. The Great Canon for the Thursday appears accordingly, with the exception that it is also present in Sin Typ 137. This canon is also combined with the triodia by different authors in different Triodion types. In the later Athos type it is combined with the canon for St Mary of Egypt. According to Momina, this canon, as well as the Akathistos, was not initially intended for the Triodion.⁷⁴⁸ The service which includes the canon is complemented by the stichera from this canon. Sin 319 contains both the canon and the stichera from the canon.

As the general survey shows, the differences between the contents of the commemorations in the sources are varied. Our interest lies in determining the position of Sin 319 among the Slavic Triodia, on one hand, and with respect to the Russian Triodion by Moisey Kiyarin, on the other (since the other GIM-type redactions reveal no differences), and also to the Sticheraria.

The following Table 12a) is a summary of the Table 12, portraying only Sin 330, Sin 319 and the Slavic Triodia. The comparison of the commemorations of Sin 319 with others shows that this Triodion most often differs from the Orbelsky type of Triodia. This has to do with the fact that F.n.I.102 and Pog 40 follow more closely the Studite Typikon, which Sin 330 is also bound to resemble.

Table 12a)

Prophets, Orthodoxy		Repentance
-Sin 330; -F.n.I.74., Tir.1983, Pog 40, F.n.I.102, Bitolsky; -Sin 319,		Jeravensky
Prodigal Son; Repentance	Repentance	The Publican and the Pharisee
-F.n.I.92, Tit 1983; -Sin 319,	-Sin 330; -F.n. I.102, pog 40;	F.n.I.74, Zagrebky
Cross. The Publican and the Pharisee		
-Sin 330; -F.n.I.74, Pog 40, F.n. I.102; - Sin 319,		
Repentance, The one who fell amongst thieves	Repentance and fasting	
-F.n.I.102, Pog 40, F.n.I.74, F.n.I.92; -Sin 319,	-Sin 330;	
St Mary the Egyptian; Rich man and Lazarus	Rich man and Lazarus	
-Sin 330 -Pog 40, F.n. I.102	-F.n.I.74; -Sin 319,	

⁷⁴⁷ Momina, *Triodion*, *177.

⁷⁴⁸ Momina, *Triodion*, *177.

The comparison of Sin 319 with the Triodion by Moisey Kiyanin (the information gathered from Table 12 containing the commemorations of these two sources and Sin 330 is included in Table 12b) shows that the Triodia are close to each other for the commemoration part. The one difference among the five cases has to do with the first week of the Lent.

Table 12b)

Prophets, Repentance	Prophets, Orthodoxy
Sin Typ 137	-Sin 330; -Sin 319
Prodigal Son, Repentance	Repentance
-Sin 319, Sin Typ 137	(-Sin 330)
Cross, Publican and Pharisee	
-sin 330; - Sin 319, Sin Typ 137	
Repentance and fasting	Repentance, The one who fell amongst Thieves
-Sin 330	-Sin 319, Sin Typ 137
St Mary of Egypt, Rich man and Lazarus	Rich man and Lazarus
-Sin 330	-Sin 319, Sin Typ 137

In Table 12c), the commemorations in Sin 319 and Sin 330 are compared with those in the Russian Sticheraria.

Table 12c)

Prophets, Orthodoxy	
Sin 330, Sin 319, Sin Typ 147, Sin Typ 148, Sof 96, Sof.85, Sin 278, Usp 8.	
Prodigal Son, Repentance	Repentance
Sin 319	(Sin 330), Sof 96, Usp 8, Sin Typ 148, Sof 85, Sin 278.
Publican and Pharisee	Cross, Publican and Pharisee
Sin Typ 148, Sin 278, Sof 96, Sof 85	Sin 330, Sin 319, Sin Typ 147, Usp 8.
Repentance and fasting	Repentance, The one who fell amongst Thieves
Sin 330, Sin Typ 147	Sin 319, Usp 8, Sof 96, Sin 278, Sin Typ 148, Sof 85.
St Mary of Egypt, Rich man and Lazarus	Rich man and Lazarus
Sin 330	Sin 319, Sin Typ 147, Sof 96, Sof 85, Sin 278, Sin Typ 148, Usp 8.

There are not differences in the case of the first week.

In the second week, Sin 319 can be distinguished from the Sticheraria and Sin 330, since it is the only one to include the canon for the Prodigal Son. This is not a major difference; it has to do with the quantity of hymnography.

The diversity of the 3rd week is more significant. It is revealed in the addition of the commemoration of the Cross (variation in other Sticheraria: the absence of the theme of the Cross or its postponing to the following Wednesday). There are two Sticheraria which resemble Sin 319 in this: Uspensky and Sin Typ 147. In certain other instances, Sin Typ 147 will reveal tendencies close to the GIM-type Triodia, while the similarities with the Uspensky Sticherarion are more coincidental.

In the 4th week, in the order of Sin 319, Sin Typ 147 differs from all other Sticheraria only with the fact that there is, apart from the number, no title row indicating the commemoration of The one who fell amongst Thieves. The composition of the stichera (one idiomelon) is identical with the other Sticheraria and Sin 319 (obviously not considering the canon). The differences between Sin Typ 147 and Sin 319 are thus inessential.

There is no diversity in the 5th week.

Sin 319 and Voskr 27 in the cycle of the Russian and Slavic sources: the numeration of the weeks in Triodion and Pentekostarion

We shall now turn to the method of numerating the Sundays in the two GIM-type sources in comparison with the other Russian and South Slavic sources.

There are two systems of numerating for the Lent period (Table 11). The Typikon copy Sin 330 follows one of them; Sin 319 is in a complete accordance with it. In this system, the weeks are chronologically counted, beginning with the 1st Sunday (dedicated to the Prophets and to Orthodoxy), up to the 6th Sunday, which is not noted with a number but with a name – the Palm Sunday. According to the other system, Palm Sunday counts as the 7th Sunday, since the Sunday preceding it, that of the Rich man and Lazarus, is considered to be the 6th.

The roots of the different numerating styles of the Lenten weeks go back to the Jerusalem and the Antioch tradition, to the first and the second phase in the development of the Byzantine liturgy.

As already said, in Jerusalem the Lent continued for 8 weeks, or 7 weeks and one week of the Easter fast. In this system, the Sunday that preceded the 1st Sunday was

considered to be the first Lenten Sunday (in the Studite system – the Cheesefare Sunday), and the Cheesefare week was considered Lenten.⁷⁴⁹ Correspondingly, the Sunday that in the Studite Typikon came to be regarded as the first, the Sunday of the Victory of Orthodoxy, was seen as the second, etc. On the 7th Sunday, the Palm Sunday was celebrated, and the Holy Week was the 8th week, separated as the pre-Easter Lent. Traces of this ancient numerating system appear in the Russian and Slavic manuscripts in spite of the fact that, having oriented in the Studite Typikon tradition, they never completely followed this system.

As presented in Table 11, a majority of sources (seven Russian sources, Bitolsky, Shafarikov and the Athos Triodia) numerates the first Sunday with the number 1. Five sources contain no number for this day (three Sticheraria and two Orbelsky Triodia). None of the manuscripts contradicts the Studite or the neo-Sabaitic Typikon, and there are no inscriptions of this week as the 2nd week.

The 2nd and the 3rd Sundays present the greatest amount of variation. Beginning from the 4th Sunday, a strict division into two traditions can be noted – the Lent consists either of six or seven weeks.

Sof 85 inscribes “the 1st Sunday of the Lent” in an individual title; later, however, this Sunday and the following one (2nd) are, as if deliberately, not referred to with any number, although in the case of the weekdays (which reveal no differences in numeration) the days are regularly numbered. After the Sunday which ought to have been counted as the third, a title announces “Sunday 4, of the Publican and the Pharisee”, and the following Sundays count as the 5th and the 6th. In this way, the Sunday following these, the Palm Sunday, must have been seen as the 7th.

This system is more or less reflected in Sin 278. There is no indication for the 1st Sunday (following the Cheesefare Sunday), while the 2nd Sunday is marked as “the 3rd Sunday”, and the numeration continues in the same order as in Sof 85.

Usp 8 resembles the above-mentioned two Sticheraria in its Sunday numeration style: without number, the 3rd Sunday, without number, the 5th Sunday of The one who fell amongst Thieves, the 6th Sunday of the Rich man, and the Palm Sunday (the 7th).

Whereas in the three previous cases the beginning of the count is passed in silence and the Sundays are then successively numerated up to the 7th, Palm Sunday, in Sin Typ 148 the two numeration systems are mixed: after the 1st and the 2nd Sundays,

⁷⁴⁹ Авва Дорофей, P.G.88, col.1788; cited in Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 16.

the 3rd one is omitted and replaced by the 4th, until the 6th Sunday; however, the contents of the book do not suffer in this.

In Sof 96, an attempt at the correction of the numeration can be noted in the change of the 7 week count into to the 6 week count. It is possible that the scribe used two sources, representing different traditions. This manuscripts marks the Sunday following the 1st one as the 3rd; the following Sunday is not numerated, the numeration for the Sunday following that one is wiped out, and finally, the last Sunday preceding Palm Sunday is inscribed as the 5th one.

The only Sticherarion in which the numeration of the Sundays most systematically corresponds to the Studite- Alexian Typikon is Sin Typ 147. Although the 1st Lenten Sunday in it is not marked with any number and the 2nd has been torn out from the manuscript, the numeration is consistent from the 3rd up to the 5th (of the Rich man and Lazarus) Sunday.

Among the Triodia, the elements of the 7 week count can be noted in Sin Typ 137⁷⁵⁰ and Sof 84, which indicates the existence of this numerating system, or the influence of the Byzantine sources that followed this system and served as the basis for the Russian copies, well into the 14th century.

In Pog 41, the Sundays are numerated as the 1st, 3rd, 3rd, 4th and 5th. The two 3rd Sundays may be seen as a mistake or as a result of the mixed counting systems.

The Orbelsky F.n. I.102 counts the 4th and the 5th Sundays according to the 7 week system. Pog 40, while belonging to the Orbelsky type, mixes the two systems: there is no number for the 1st Sunday, however, the evening of this Sunday is marked as “the 2nd week of the Lent” (thus, the Cheesefare Sunday was considered the 1st). However, the Sunday of the Adoration of the Cross is numerated as the 3rd and not as the 4th, and a detailed account of the Typikon rubrics is written in the beginning of the order of this day. The Typikon here presents the Studite version and, thus, must have followed the 6 week count.

The Shafarikov and Evergetis Triodia belong to the Studite numeration system.

In this way, Sin 319 is the only Russian Triodion that follows consistently the 6 week counting system, instructed in Sin 330: the 1st Sunday (f. 94v), the 2nd Sunday (f. 131r), the 3rd Sunday (f. 162v), the 4th Sunday (f. 202v), and the 5th Sunday of the Rich man and Lazarus (f. 275r). There is one interesting fact which confirms the conscious choice of the scribe or whoever ordered the Sin 319 to use this numeration system and

ignore the other familiar system. In two cases, in the course of the copying of the stichera which may have been checked from the Sticherarion version, there are two clearly accidental, as if automatically copied, incorrect numerations of the Sunday. The title on f. 162v, written in initials, presents “the 3rd Sunday of the Lent. The Adoration of the Cross”. However, it is followed a little later (f. 168r) by the order of the day in a small title which points to the beginning of the idiomelon of the Matins: “the 4th Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee”. The same inconsistency appears also in the case of the following Sunday. The title indicates the 4th Sunday, while the idiomelon of the Matins is numerated as “the sticheron idiomelon for the 5th Sunday morning”.

Sin Typ 147 is, as already stated, the only Sticherarion resembling Sin 319. Among the South Slavic Triodia – only the later ones – the Shafarikov, Evergetis and the Athos types follow this style. This fact points to the notable influence of the Jerusalem counting system to the Russian Sticheraria and Triodia. It may be argued that the creation of Sin 319 was deliberately aimed at emphasizing the use of the Studite Typikon and the Constantinopolitan monastic tradition although, as noted, with respect to the commemorations, the GIM-type Triodia does not reflect a total rejection of the Jerusalem influence.

In order to draw conclusions from the comparison of Sin 319 with the other sources with respect to the numeration of the Lenten Sundays, the information will be presented in schemes in the same way as done with the system of the commemorations. Two kind of the sources are represented by two corresponding tables: firstly, Sin 319 and the South Slavic Triodia, including Sin Typ 137; and secondly, Sin 319 and the Sticheraria.

In Table 13) which is based on Table 11 (without the information concerning the commemorations, thus presenting only that concerning the numeration of the Lenten Sundays), Sin 319 is compared to the South Slavic Triodia, however, only those that have been preserved in a nearly complete form. Since there are differences in the indications of the commemorations, as we already have seen, the Sundays are marked with numbers that correspond to Sin 330:

Table 13)

⁷⁵⁰ Momina, *Triodion*, *228-229.

<i>Sin 330</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>
Sin 319	1	2	3	4	5
F.n.I.74	1	-	3	4	5
pog 40	-	2	3	-	-
Sin Typ 137	1	2	3	5	6
F.n. I.102	-	2	4	5	6

As in the case of the comparison of commemorations in Sin 319 and the South Slavic Triodia, this comparison also reveals that the GIM-type Triodion notably differs from the Orbelsky type, in this case, from the F.n.I.102 redaction.

This comparison also reveals more differences between Sin 319 and the Triodion by Moisey Kiyarin than was seen in the case of the commemorations. Sin Typ 137 begins the numeration with the same system as Sin 319 but later turns to another numeration system.

Table 13a) shows the numeration systems represented by Sin 319 and the Sticheraria. The numbering of the Sundays is also based on Sin 330.

Table 13a)

<i>Sin 330</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>
Sin 319	1	2	3	4	5
Sin Typ 147	1	lacuna	3	4	5
Sof 96	1	3	-	-	5
Sin Typ 148	1	2	3	5	6
Sin Typ 137	1	2	3	5	6
Sof 85	1	-	4	5	6
Usp 8	-	3	-	5	6

Once again, the relationship between Sin 319 and the Sticherarion Sin Typ 147, the most notable in this group, seems interestingly close.

We shall now turn to the counting of the Pentekostarion period. As in the case of the Lenten period, also here we see two different systems. Table 14 presents the information concerning the Pentekostarion period in the Russian and South Slavic Triodia, Typikon and Sticheraria.

Table 14

	Anti-Pascha	Myrrhbearers	Paralytic	Samaritan Woman	Blind Man	Holy Fathers	Pentecost	All the Saints
Voskr 27	-	2	3	4	5	6	(8)	8
Sin Typ 147	-	2	lacuna	4	5	-	-	lacuna
Sin Typ 138	-	2	3	4	5	7	lacuna	8
Usp 8	-	2	3	-	5	7	8	-
Sof 96	-	2	3	4	5	erased	-	-
Sof 110	-	2	3	-	6	7	-	lacuna

Sin Typ 148	-	3	3	4	5	erased	-	-
Sof 85	-	3	3	4	5	6	-	-
Sin Typ 137	-	3	4	-	5	-	-	-
Sin 330	-	3	4	5	6	-	-	-
F.n.I.74	-	lacuna	lacuna	5	6	lacuna	8	lacuna
F.n.I.68	-	-	-	5	lacuna	lacuna	lacuna	lacuna
F.n. I.102	-	3	4	5	lacuna	7	lacuna	lacuna
pog 40	-	3	4	5	6	7	(8)	-

As can be seen in the Table, the Antipascha is not numbered in any of the manuscripts. The numeration begins with the Sunday of the Myrrhbearers which in one case is counted as the second, in another – as the third Sunday. The first case is most consistently represented by Voskr 27, while the second can be noted in the Orbelsky Pog 40, although in both manuscripts there is a certain wavering with respect to the 8th Sunday. In Voskr 27, Pentecost should be numbered as the 7th Sunday. However, it is preceded by a Saturday whose liturgical order resembles the Meatfare Saturday, and this Saturday is counted as the 8th (f. 183r), while the Sunday (Pentecost) is not numerated. In Pog 40, neither the Vespers nor the Matins of Pentecost are marked with a number; however, the Vespers of the Sunday evening have the title “in the same evening of the 8th Sunday”.

The rest of the manuscripts reveal a great variety of combining the one numeration system with another. This variation most likely resulted from the use of different sources in the process of copying: the scribes may have used both Greek and Bulgarian manuscripts, possibly also earlier Russian copies, which followed different systems or represented an already mixed practice of numeration. It is a great pity that in the Sticherarion Sin 278, the daily orders between Great Tuesday and the Sunday of All Saints are missing and thus not numerated; thus this manuscript is left out of the scheme. The Evergetis Triodion is also left out, since the days following Great Tuesday have also been torn out.

The manuscripts which follow the first system of numerating the Sundays are distinguished from the second system by a double line.

The first group is made of Russian manuscripts only; there are six of them. It may be argued that the Sticherarion Sin Typ 147 stands closest to Voskr 27, although it is not identical and its two last Sundays are not numbered.

In the rest of the first system manuscripts there is a tendency to begin the numeration from the Sunday of the Myrrhbearers, considered as the 2nd Sunday, and then gradually changing into the second counting system, or simply refrain from

numerating. Two of these manuscripts use an identical manner: Sin Typ 138 and Usp 8 mark the Sunday following the 5th one as the 7th. It is interesting to note that Usp 8 is not of Novgorod origin, and that of Sin Typ 138 can be questioned, as it was said in Chapter 3. Although these two manuscripts are divided by more than one century, they may have been produced using the same manuscript for source material, which allows them to be attributed to a common local tradition.

In Sin Typ 138, in turn, the use of at least two copies as source material seems evident. One of them was a Typikon. Pentkovsky noticed numerous citations from Sof 1136 in this Pentekostarion,⁷⁵¹ although the quotes may have been taken not from Sof 1136 itself but from another common, not preserved, copy. In this way, one of the manuscripts copied by the scribe while writing Sin Typ 138 was undoubtedly of Novgorod origin, thus enabling the influence of the Novgorod vernacular, which has been noted by scholars in this manuscript.

The other source was a Triodion. There are some differences between these manuscripts with respect to the numeration of the Sundays. This can be seen in the part copied from the Triodion (f. 80r) which is unnumbered and titled as “Saturday of the Myrrhbearers evening”. It lists the stichera for “Lord I call upon Thee”, the prokeimenon with the verses, and the stichera aposticha (twice the sticheron staurosimon from the Octoechos, the third from Triodion in 2nd Tone *Что мѡра со слезами*, “Glory ... now and ever..” in 6th Tone *Мироносица жены*). This is followed by the beginning of the Matins, without a title: there is the indication to the troparion for Θεός Κύριος and then, the stichera of the Matins are written. These, in turn, are followed by a title “Sunday 2 following Easter on which we commemorate the holy myrrhbearers together with Joseph and Nikodemos” (f. 82r) and a detailed description of the order from the Typikon, repeating the information concerning the troparion and the rest of the Matins. It is interesting to see that one and the same sticheron in 2nd Tone, written in the first, Triodion version as *Что мѡра со слезами*, appears in the other redaction, copied from the Typikon as *Възмяша муро со слезами*. Moreover, it is important to note that the numeration for this Sunday as the 2nd has been copied from the Typikon, while in Sin 330 the day is marked as the 3rd Sunday. A similar example can be found with the Sunday of the Blind man; however, in this case, both in the copy from the Triodion and that from the Typikon, the Sunday is marked as the 5th. This Sunday, as already pointed out, is followed by the 7th Sunday. This number is placed in

the title starting the Matins, copied from the Triodion, and the repeating of the information from the Typikon and Triodion has no place in this case.

Whereas Sin Typ 138 and Usp 8 present a leap from the 5th to the 7th Sunday, in Sof 110 there is space only for one Sunday between the 3rd and the 6th Sundays; this day is not numbered. Sof 96 does not show any inconsistency; however, a strict rejection of numeration of any kind can be noted in the wiped-out number at the exact point where Sin Typ 138 and Usp 8 mark the 5th Sunday to be followed by the 7th one.

The group of the manuscripts that follow the second system of numeration includes two Russian Sticheraria – Sof 85 and Sin Typ 148 – and also the Triodion by Moisey Kiyarin. This group also consists of the Typikon copy Sin 330 and the South Slavic Triodia of the Orbelsky and Shafarikov types, which could be considered as consistent in their numeration, where there no missing parts in the manuscripts, making it impossible to draw a general picture of them.

The scheme of counting system for the Pentecost period reveals the relationship of Voskr 27, firstly, to the South Slavic Triodia and Sin Typ 137 (Table 15), and secondly, to the Russian Sticheraria (Table 15a).

Table 15)

	Anti-Pascha	Myrrhbearers	Paralytic	Samaritan Woman	Blind Man	Holy Fathers	Pentecost	All the Saints
Voskr 27	-	2	3	4	5	6	(8)	8
Sin Typ 137	-	3	4	-	5	-	-	-
Sin 330	-	3	4	5	6	-	-	-
F.n.I.74	-	lacuna	lacuna	5	6	lacuna	8	lacuna
F.n. I.102	-	3	4	5	lacuna	7	lacuna	lacuna
pog 40	-	3	4	5	6	7	(8)	-

This table shows that Voskr 27 stands apart from the rest of the Triodia and the Typikon. Sin Typ 137 reveals inconsistency in its numeration, which occasionally brings it closer to the GIM-type Pentekostarion. In all the other sources, the numerating system is consistently different: both Orbelsky manuscripts present it in more complete form (for physical reasons) and does not leave any ground for uncertainty.

Table 15a)

⁷⁵¹ Пентковский, *Типикон*, 182.

	Anti-Pascha	Myrrhbearers	Paralytic	Samaritan Woman	Blind Man	Holy Fathers	Pentecost	All the Saints
Voskr 27	-	2	3	4	5	6	(8)	8
Sin Typ 147	-	2	lacuna	4	5	-	-	lacuna
Sof 96	-	2	3	4	5	erased	-	-
Usp 8	-	2	3	-	5	7	8	-
Sof 85	-	3	3	4	5	6	-	-
Sin Typ 148	-	3	3	4	5	erased	-	-
Sin Typ 137	-	3	4	-	5	-	-	-
Sin 330	-	3	4	5	6	-	-	-

Among the Sticheraria, it is Sin Typ 147 again, and here also Sof 96 that in principle correspond to the Voskr 27 numeration system.

As conclusions for this Chapter, we may present certain facts that reveal how Sin 319 and Voskr 27 function in the circle of other sources – Sin 330, the South Slavic Triodia, the Triodion by Moisey Kiyarin as the only undivided Russian copy, and the Russian Sticheraria. Their relationship to these sources which contain Lenten as well as Pentekostarion parts points to the possibility of the creation of the GIM-type Triodia and Pentekostaria as a set.

The GIM-type copies both differ and correspond to the Typikon Sin 330. Sin 319 completely and, as it seems, consciously, corresponds to the Typikon with respect to the numeration of the Sundays. For the commemoration part, Voskr 27 and Sin 330 agree entirely, which does not, however, distinguish the Pentekostarion from the other manuscripts. Vice versa, Sin 319 and the Typikon do not coincide in the commemorations, while Voskr 27 does the same in the case of the Sunday numeration. In this, however, Voskr 27 represents a great consistency in its deviation from 330. Concerning the Lenten commemorations, the Typikon copy Sin 330 remains loyal to the Constantinopolitan tradition, while Sin 319, on one hand, does not break the connection with the Sticheraria that reveal notable influence from the Jerusalem tradition, and on the other, complements this tradition by consistently including the Constantinopolitan elements on the basis of the Typikon. In this sense, Sin 319 differs not only from the Sticheraria but also from other GIM-type Triodion redactions.

However, on the basis of the differences with the Typikon, it is not correct to argue that Sin 319 and Voskr 27 followed separate traditions. This is due to the fact that both the Triodion and the Pentekostarion deviate from Sin 330 very consistently, following a certain idea, and are not subject to the wavering that is visible in most of the

other sources. This feature defines the GIM-type Triodion sources as a set, created as a conscious redaction of the defined parameters of the liturgical Triodion practice.

Moreover, both manuscripts share the similar relationship to the Russian Sticheraria and the South Slavic Triodia.

From the numerous Sticheraria, showing a great variety with respect to the commemoration and the numeration system, the manuscript closest to Sin 319 in both these systems was Typografsky Sticherarion 147. The same closeness also applies to the relationship between this Sticherarion and Voskr 27; whereas in the case of the commemorations, this fact is an obvious norm, in the numeration of the Sundays, it is the GIM-type Pentekostarion and Sin Typ 147 that most clearly show an exceptional situation.

The relationship between the GIM-type set and Sin Typ 137 is not stable. In the Lenten commemorations, these two sources are close to each other (as also for a part of the Pentekostarion period). In the counting of the Sundays, the GIM-type sources are mostly consistent, while the Triodion by Moisey Kiyanin moves from one system to another in both Triodion periods.

Among the South Slavic Triodia, the Orbelsky type can be seen as the most distant from the Russian GIM-type, both with respect to the commemoration and to the numeration of the Sundays. This is most clearly seen in the Lenten part.

Chapter 5

Sin 319 and Voskr 27: Questions of classification – the composition and disposition of daily hymnography

The classification of the Greek Triodia and their relationship with the Russian and Slavic copies

In Chapter 4, the GIM-type Triodion and Pentekostarion were analysed in the context of the Old Russian and South Slavic manuscripts which confirm the possibility of the creation of Sin 319 and Voskr 27 as a set. The analysis consisted of one aspect in the composition of the sources – the system of the commemorations, indicated in the titles and dedications of the hymns, and reflected in the system of the numeration of the Sundays.

In this chapter, the theory of the common origin of the GIM-type Triodion manuscripts will be tested on the basis of the composition of the hymns and their disposition in the codex.

As noted in Chapters 2 and 4, the composition and the disposition of the hymns in the Russian manuscripts resulted from the combination of the Greek and South Slavic sources that were used in the creation of the Russian codices. During the period between the translation of the Triodion and Pentekostarion from Greek into Slavonic, most likely by Clement of Ochrid, by year 916, after which the old Russian Triodion (including the Lenten and the Easter part) was compiled in the second half of the 11th century, and the creation of the GIM-type copies in the second half of the 12th century, a number of South Slavic and Russian Triodion versions came into being. Some dozens of these manuscripts have been preserved to our days and classified into different types on the basis of their correspondence to the Greek manuscripts. According to Momina, the selection and the disposition of hymns in the Russian and Slavic Triodia was directly based on the composition of the Greek copies. For this reason, it is necessary to look at the relationship of the South Slavic and Russian manuscripts used in this dissertation to the Greek ones, in order to define the position of Sin 319 and Voskr 27 among their Greek prototypes and to reveal the possible influences on the composition of these two Russian sources.

The Slavonic Triodion, although not completely repeating the variety of the Greek Triodion, still represents its different types. Since one of the main principles according to which the Greek Triodia have been classified consists of the disposition of hymns in the weekly cycle, this chapter will be dedicated to the compositional characteristics of the manuscripts with respect to the liturgical order of the daily services.

In the definition by Karabinov, the first type brings together the Triodia by three authors, Theodore and Clement the Studites and Joseph the Hymnographer.⁷⁵² This type was not transmitted to or has not been preserved in the Slavonic copies.⁷⁵³ Momina organizes the order of the hymns in the undivided 11th century Triodion Vat. graec. 771⁷⁵⁴ in the following way:

- 1 kathisma by Joseph
- 2 prosomoia by Joseph
- 1 Triodion without an acrostic by Joseph
- 1 Triodion with an acrostic by Joseph
 - 1 Triodion by Clement
 - 1 Triodion by Theodore
 - 1 kathisma by Theodore
 - 1 prosomoion by Theodore

The second type, according to Karabinov, consists of the Greek sources in which the Lenten hymnography is represented only by the kathismata, the prosomoia and the triodia by Theodor the Studite and Joseph. Among these, it is more common to see copies of Joseph's triodia without an acrostic than with it. According to Karabinov, this type is characterized, firstly, by its form which is not divided into the Lenten Triodion and the Pentekostarion. Secondly, it reveals a degree of mixing in the hymns of the Matins with those of the Vespers. Thirdly, in the case of the Holy Week, this Triodion type is characterized by the inconsistent selection of the Jerusalem idiomela and the inclusion of the triodia by St Andrew of Crete.

As representatives of this type, Karabinov names two Eastern Triodia, Sin 733 (from the 11th century) and Sin 736 (from year 1028), which are titled as complete Triodia; however, a part of the Pentekostarion has been preserved in only one of them. Karabinov includes in this type also two Western Triodia, Barb 484 (from year 1120) and Grottaferrata Δ.β.VIII (from the 10th century), which are complete, i.e., consist of both the Lenten and the Pentekostarion part. He argues that this type of the Greek

⁷⁵² The classification of the Greek Lenten Triodion is related on pages 205-216 by Karabinov, Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*.

⁷⁵³ Momina, *Triodion*, *128.

⁷⁵⁴ The classification of the Greek Triodion is related by Momina in her book *Triodion*, *106-111.

Triodion is reflected in the Slavic and Russian Triodia – that of Moisey Kiyarin, the Bitolsky type, and the oldest redaction of the GIM-type Pog 41.

Momina divides the type classified by Karabinov into groups defined as the 2-4 types. As a representative of the 2nd type, Momina names the 10th century Triodion RNB grec 712, which is undivided.⁷⁵⁵ The 3rd and the 4th types consist of the two Grottaferrata Triodia from the 12th century.⁷⁵⁶ The contents of the 2-4 types of Greek Triodia according to Momina’s system are presented in the following scheme:

2 type RNB grec 712	3 type Cod.Crypt.Δ.β.IV	4 type Cod.Crypt.Δ.β.I etc.
2 kathismata 2-4 prosomoia 2 idiomela, of Matins and Vespers 2-3 triodia	3 prosomoia 2 triodia (kathisma inside of triodion)	2 kathismata 2-3 prosomoia 2 triodia 2 idiomela, of Matins and Vespers

The third type of the Greek Triodion in the classification of Karabinov is also divided by Momina into three groups.⁷⁵⁷ The 5th type in her classification is considered as the last type in which the hymns from the Matins and the Vespers are mixed. She sees reflections of this type in the Shafarikov, Zagrebsky and Orbelsky Triodia types. In this type, the hymnography is presented in the order of the liturgical service and divided into the Matins and the Vespers. The Greek Triodia of this type, cited by Momina, are presented in the following scheme:

5 type Cod. Crypt.Δ.β.VII	6 type Cod.Crypt.Δ.β.II etc.	7 type Barb.graec.339 etc.	8 type P.i.i.30
2 kathismata 1 idiomelon vesp. 3 prosomoia 2 triodia 1 idiomelon Matins	2 kathismata 2 triodia 2 idiomela: Mat., Vesp. 2 prosomoia: Mat., Vesp.	2 triodia (kathisma inside of the triodion) 1 idiomelon matins. 3 prosomoia 1 idiomelon Vesp.	2 kathismata 2 triodia 1 idiomelon Matins. 3 prosomoia 1 idiomelon Vesp.

The 4th type in Karabinov’s classification system, represented by the Greek copies of Vat. graec. 59, RNB grec. 229 etc., coincide with the 9th type in Momina’s

⁷⁵⁵ Momina, *Triodion*, *94.

⁷⁵⁶ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, V.

system, and is reflected in the Slavic Evergetis Triodion. This type emerges in the 12th century. In these Triodia, the kathismata and the idiomela are followed by the stichera for the martyrs (martyrika) and Theotokos (theotokia), the paremia of the 6th hour with the troparion of the Prophecy and the paremia for the Vespers with the prokeimenon.

Karabinov includes the Triodia from the 13th – 14th centuries in the 5th type. In these Triodia, the Sunday canons based on the old Jerusalem themes of Gospel readings are omitted and replaced by the Menaion commemorations of St John of the Stairs and St Mary of Egypt. The Athonite type is the Slavic Triodion that corresponds to this type.

As can be seen in this short survey of the Greek Triodion types, the evolution of the copies moved in time towards the inclusion of more genres of hymnography.

In the oldest copies, there were fewer hymns – mostly kathismata, prosomoia and triodia. The other hymns needed for the services were written in Anthologies – the kontakia, oikoi. Also, as an appendix, the exaposteilaria, hypakoai, katabasia, koinonika and some stichera were written in the Kontakaria, the idiomela in the Sticheraria, the readings with the prokeimena and troparia in the Paremia anthology, the Epistle and the Gospel⁷⁵⁸.

In the early codices, the hymnography was organized with respect to its scope from the largest to the smallest, or vice versa. For example, in the 1st type Triodion by Theodore the Studite, the short hymns, such as the kathismata and stichera, are placed before the longer ones, such as triodia. The Triodion by Joseph is constructed in an opposite manner.⁷⁵⁹

Concerning the number of the hymns, the oldest Triodia are the shortest. Momina, regarding the prototype of the Triodion by Moisey Kiyarin as the oldest Slavic Triodion and thus corresponding to the early short Greek Triodia,⁷⁶⁰ points out that in this Triodion, 55 out of 113 services are represented by only one hymn.

Another important compositional feature in the old Triodia is the disposition of the hymns in the codex that does not follow the order of the service.

In the course of time, as can be seen in the above table, the Triodion copies tended to increase the number of the idiomela and to organize the hymnography

⁷⁵⁷ Momina, *Triodion*, *108.

⁷⁵⁸ Momina, *Triodion*, *209.

⁷⁵⁹ This fact was mentioned by Momina: Momina, *Triodion*, *105.

⁷⁶⁰ Momina, *Triodion*, *274-275.

according to the service, and also to introduce the paremia with their corresponding musical genres.

The different GIM-type redactions appear between the earliest and the later Triodia. In her research, Momina carefully analysed representatives of this type, Pog 41, Sin Typ 138 and Sof 84, presenting them in her classification schemes. She sees the GIM-type Triodion as the result of the correction of the Kiyarin type on the basis of the Greek source with a clear Studite influence. She has noted the corresponding features of the earliest copies, the Pentekostarion Sin Typ 138 (the first redaction of the GIM-type) and the Triodion Pog 41 (the second redaction), with the Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin, such as the shortness of the contents, the mixing of the Matins and Vespers hymns and the deviation from the consistent Studite numeration of the Sundays.

In this dissertation, however, the main focus lies on the GIM-type manuscripts that belong to another redaction (defined by Momina as the third redaction, following the two earlier copies) and which differ from both the first two redaction and also from the copies within the same third redaction. As we will see, Karabinov also divided the GIM-type into three different groups. In the previous chapter, the differences between the GIM-type Triodia were analysed on the level of their meaning and the system of numerating the commemorations. We shall now turn to the genre-based selection and the disposition of hymns in Sin 319 and Voskr 27.

The contents and disposition of hymns in Sin 319 and Voskr 27

The GIM-type set contains hymnographical genres such as the troparia, kathismata, kontakia, oikoi, automela, prosomoia, and the complete and the not-complete canons. The stichera for the martyrs (martyrika) and Theotokos (theotokia) after the idiomela are indicated with incipits. In Voskr 27 occasionally appear also the exaposteilaria. Among the exceptions, for instance, in the night service of Holy Friday, we find the troparia for the antiphons, hypakoai, prokeimena and their verses as well as the verses for the alleluia. The readings are not written out in these copies and their indications constitute no norm, either, except for certain special cases. Neither copy is characterized by citations from the Typikon, which are frequently found in Sin Typ 138, for instance, and the South Slavic Triodia. The rare cases of Typikon excerpt can be explained as resulting from the copying of the South Slavic sources.

Consequently, the 3rd redaction of the GIM-type, from the viewpoint of the hymnographical genres, is older than the type Karabinov has classified as the 4th and Momina as the 9th and that is reflected in the Evergetis Triodion type. Since the Evergetis type emerged in the 12th century, it can well be argued that Sin 319 and Voskr 27 were copied from Greek sources written up to the 12th century.

The argument for the antiquity of the prototypes of the GIM-type set is also supported the fact that the composition of the daily cycles is very short. The contents of the services are presented in Table 9. Sin 319 contains 52 liturgical days, Voskr 27 contains 58. If we look at Sin 319 and Voskr 27 strictly from the point of view of the information that is written out in them, we see that some daily cycles, starting from a title written in initials and continuing up to the following day which is detached in a similar way, the content is made up by only one hymn. In Sin 319, this is noted in the second⁷⁶¹, third⁷⁶² and fourth⁷⁶³ Saturdays of the Lent, in Voskr 27, from Tuesday until Saturday in the 2nd week (following the Sunday of St Thomas)⁷⁶⁴, from Monday until Saturday in the 3rd week,⁷⁶⁵ from Monday until Tuesday in the 4th week,⁷⁶⁶ from Thursday until Saturday in the 4th week,⁷⁶⁷ from Monday until Saturday in the 5th week,⁷⁶⁸ on Monday⁷⁶⁹, Friday and Saturday in the 6th week⁷⁷⁰, from Monday until Friday in the 7th week,⁷⁷¹ and from Monday until Saturday in the 8th week⁷⁷² (38 services).

All the daily cycles with only one hymn in the Pentekostarion part concern the weekdays that have either one triodion or tetraodion (except for the complete Canon for the Monday of the Holy Spirit). Sin 319 also contains short daily cycles with tetraodia.

On the basis of the disposition of hymns in the weekdays of the Lent, Sin Typ 137 and the 1st redaction of the GIM-type, represented by Pog 41, belong to the 2nd Greek Triodion type in the classification by Karabinov.

⁷⁶¹ Sin 319, ff. 128v.-131r.

⁷⁶² Sin 319, ff. 160r.-162v.

⁷⁶³ Sin 319, ff. 200r.-203r.

⁷⁶⁴ Voskr 27, ff. 77r.-84r.

⁷⁶⁵ Voskr 27, ff. 96r.-104v.

⁷⁶⁶ Voskr 27, ff. 111v.-113r.

⁷⁶⁷ Voskr 27, ff. 125v.-129v.

⁷⁶⁸ Voskr 27, ff. 136v.-145r.

⁷⁶⁹ Voskr 27, ff. 151r.- 152v.

⁷⁷⁰ Voskr 27, ff. 168r.-171r.

⁷⁷¹ Voskr 27, ff. 176v.-183r.

⁷⁷² Voskr 27, ff. 191r.-199r.

In the following scheme, the disposition of hymns for the Thursday of the 1st Lenten week is presented as a comparison between these two Russian Triodia⁷⁷³ and Sin 319⁷⁷⁴ (whose contents were later repeated by the Triodion Sof 84⁷⁷⁵).

<i>Sin 319</i>	<i>Sin Typ 137</i>	<i>Pog 41</i>
3 kathismata	2 kathismata	1 kathisma
2 prosomoia	1 idiomelon (Matins)	1 prosomoion
1 prosomoion	1 idiomelon (Vespers)	1 idiomelon (Matins)
1 idiomelon (Matins)	1 prosomoion	1 idiomelon (Vespers)
	1 prosomoion	
triadion	triadion	triadion
triadion	triadion	triadion
1 idiomelon (Vespers)		

The shortest cycle concerning the number of hymns can be found in Pog 41, which supports the theory of its ancient prototype.

By looking at the disposition of the hymns on this day, we notice that all cycles that are written out in the text begging with the kathismata, i.e., from the Matins. In Pog 41 and Sin Typ 137, these are followed by stichera, in changing order, and the longer hymns, triodia, are placed at the end of the cycle. The hymns from the Matins and the Vespers are mixed in a very simple manner – they appear together, and the Vespers stichera are preceded by those for the Matins. All these features point to the antiquity of the Greek prototype.

Sin 319 contains the largest number of hymns. This fact indicates that the manuscript, based on an early prototype, was corrected according to a late source. It is important to note one circumstance concerning the disposition of hymns in Sin 319, which distinguishes it from the two other Triodia presented in the scheme. The consistency of placing the hymns in the order from the shortest to the longest is broken by the fact that the triodia are followed by a sticheron for the Vespers. This brings the contents of the day into a greater, though not complete, correspondence with the liturgical order.

To Karabinov, the Triodia with this feature represent the 3rd type of the Greek Triodion. He notes that the 3rd type appeared almost at the same time as the 2nd. His 3rd

⁷⁷³ Pog 41, ff. 12r.-14r.

⁷⁷⁴ Sin 319, ff. 70v.-75r.

⁷⁷⁵ Sof 84, ff. 9r.-13v.

type includes such copies as the Athos 626, Vatopedi 315-949, St Athanasios Laura Δ-29 (all from the 11th century), the Sinai 742 (year 1099), the Grottaferrata Δ.β.IV, V, VII (from the 12th century) and IX (14th century).⁷⁷⁶ This type is represented, to his opinion, also by Sin 319 and Sof 84.

The main aim in the creation of the 3rd type, according to Karabinov, was to attempt a rearrangement of the mixed material from the Matins and the Vespers. In the movement from the 2nd type into the 3rd, “the rearrangement concerned, actually, mainly the idiomela and the stichera prosomoia, in particular... In some manuscripts, the change of position is restricted only to the idiomela by Andrew of Pyrgos. It seems that all Typika coincide in this case, ordering the use of the one in the morning, of the other in the evening. As a result, either one of these stichera or both of them are distanced from their original position preceding the triodia and are placed after them”⁷⁷⁷. According to Karabinov, this was followed in the 3rd type Triodia by its division into two parts, one for the Lent, the other for the Pentekostarion period.

In other words, whereas Momina sees Pog 41 and Sin 319 as two redactions of the one GIM-type, Karabinov considers them as representatives of two different, though chronologically close to each other, types.

Momina relates not having encountered the GIM-type disposition of hymns in any Greek Triodion. Proceeding from the scheme for the Thursday of the 1st Lenten week, we will look for the closest possible parallels in the contents of the manuscripts. For instance, Pog 41 can be distinguished from RNB grec 712 on the basis of its shortness; however, by the disposition of hymns, these sources coincide (although in Pog 41, the compositions for different weekdays are not unified). Sin 319 is compared to the manuscript Δ.β.VII, which Karabinov counts in the 3rd Greek type and Momina in the 5th⁷⁷⁸.

<i>grec 712</i>	<i>Pog 41</i>	<i>Sin 319</i>	<i>Cod.Crypt.Δ.β.VII.</i>
2 kathismata	1 kathisma	3 kathismata	2 kathismata
2-4 prosomoia	1 prosomoion	3 prosomoia	1 idiomelon (Vespers)
1 idiomelon (Matins)	1 idiomelon (Matins)	1 idiomelon (Matins)	3 prosomoia
1 idiomelon (Vespers)	1 idiomelon (Vespers)	2 triodia	2 triodia
2-3 triodia	2 triodia	1 idiomelon (Vespers)	1 idiomelon (Matins)

⁷⁷⁶ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, IV, V.

⁷⁷⁷ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 213.

⁷⁷⁸ Momina, *Triodion*, *104.

As it can be seen, Cod. Crypt. Δ.β.VII and Sin 319 differ from each other only in one circumstance: according to information provided by Momina on the Greek manuscript, the *idiomela* for the Matins and the Vespers change place in them. However, as can be seen in some examples from the Russian *Sticheraria* and the *Triodion* of Moisey Kiyarin, the *idiomela* by Andrew of Pyrgos could change their order or even the day on which they were to be sung. For this reason, it is possible that the material in both the Greek and the Russian manuscript was, indeed, completely intended for the particular day, i.e., the *idiomelon* that is placed after the *triodia* in the Greek copy was, all the same, intended to be sung at the Vespers.

One of the Greek *Triodia* presented in the scheme, from the St Petersburg collections, dates back to the 10th century. However, the second, written later in the 12th century, belongs to the “western” manuscripts which in many cases preserved ancient features that had already disappeared from the practice at the time of the production of the “Eastern” copies.⁷⁷⁹ Thus, it is likely that the second manuscript reflects the more ancient practice. Since the 2nd and the 3rd types of the Greek *Triodia*, according to Karabinov, appeared almost at the same time, in the chronological sense it is possible that the prototype of Sin 319 dated back to the 10th century.

Voskr 27, being a *Pentekostarion*, contains only *triodia* and *tetraodia* from the daily cycles. The Holy Week constitutes an exception. However, the Voskr 27 services for Holy Thursday (the Order for the washing of the feet) and Holy Friday (the Service of Passion of Christ) disturb the normal positioning of the daily hymns. The normal structure of the Matins and the Vespers is represented only by the first three days of the Holy Week. However, these days, from Great Monday to Wednesday, cannot be generally considered as typical weekday structures, since apart from the *triodia*, *kathismata*, *prosomoia* and *idiomela*, they also contain special *kontakia* and *oikoi*, *exaposteilaria*, and also a larger number of *stichera* for the day, since the *Octoechos stichera* are not sung on these days.

Thus, with some reservations, it is possible to compare the disposition of weekday hymns in Sin 319 and the first three days of the Holy Week in Voskr 27. The material representing Sin 319 has been taken from the hymns on the Thursday of the 1st Lenten week:

⁷⁷⁹ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 209.

<i>Thursday of the 1st week of Lent</i>	<i>Holy Monday</i>	<i>Holy Tuesday</i>	<i>Holy Wednesday</i>
3 kathismata	troparion (incip) 2 kathismata kontakion oikos	troparion (incip) 2 kathismata kontakion oikos	troparion (incip) 2 kathismata kontakion oikos
3 prosomoia	3 prosomoia	3 prosomoia	3 prosomoia
1 idiomelon (Matins)	1 idiomelon (Matins)	4 stichera (Matins)	4 stichera (Matins)
2 triodia	5 stichera 2 triodia	2 triodia	2 triodia exapostelation
1 idiomelon (Vespers)	3 stichera (Vespers)	5 stichera (Vespers)	5 stichera (Vespers) 2 stichera (incip)

The scheme shows that the disposition of stichera in Sin 319 and Voskr 27 coincides.⁷⁸⁰ Voskr 27 also presents, under the heading written in initials at the beginning of Matins, the minor hymns from the troparion genre (although, from the singers' point of view, the melodic versions of the kontakia could at that time be chosen from the Kontakaria), without indication to their position in the service. After them, as in Sin 319, come the prosomoia, which are followed by the idiomela for the Matins (as noted in the manuscript) – though these are represented by a larger number of hymns than in the Lenten Triodion. The idiomela are followed by two triodia, after which comes the exapostelation (for Holy Wednesday). The order for the day is concluded by the idiomela for the Vespers (also indicated in the manuscript). Thus, reflecting the process of separating the stichera idiomela for the Matins and the Vespers, both in Voskr 27 and Sin 319, the triodia are followed by the sticheron for the Vespers.

The two other Russian GIM-type Pentekostaria differ from Voskr 27 in their contents, as can be seen in the following scheme based on the order for Great Wednesday:

Voskr 27	Sof 110	Sin Typ 138
troparion (incip) 2 kathismata kontakion oikos	troparion (incip) 2 kathismata kontakion oikos	troparion (incip) 2 kathismata kontakion oikos

⁷⁸⁰ Voskr 27 was not included in Karabinov's research. As a representative of the Russian Pentekostaria, he used Sof 110 which decidedly differs from Voskr 27 on the level of composition.

3 prosomoia	4 stichera (Vespers)	7 stichera (Vespers; Matins?)
4 stichera (Matins)	5 stichera (Matins)	
2 triodia	2 triodia	2 triodia
exaposteilarion	exaposteilarion	exaposteilarion
5 stichera (Vespers)		
2 stichera (incip)		

It is clear that Sof 110 and Sin Typ 138 follow the 2nd, not the 3rd type of the Greek Triodion according to the classification by Karabinov.

All three manuscripts share the initial part that consists of unnotated hymnography. In the following part, two essential differences appear. Firstly, the stichera prosomoia are included only in Voskr 27; in the same way, in Sin 319 (and its copy Sof 84) complementally cycles of the prosomoia by St Joseph were included, together with the prosomoia by St Theodore which were common to all Russian sources.

Secondly, in Sof 110 and Sin Typ 138, the idiomela for the Vespers and the Matins are grouped together, before the triodia, thus reflecting the 2nd type of the Greek Triodia – the Triodion of Moisey Kiyanin and Pog 41.

In this way, Voskr 27 is the only GIM-type Pentekostarion that to a great degree corresponds to Sin 319 from the viewpoint of the contents and the disposition of hymns of the weekdays, thus reflecting the 3rd type of the Greek Triodion in Karabinov's classification. The Lenten part of this type is represented by at least two Russian sources; however, only one of them, Sin 319, dates back to the 12th century⁷⁸¹. Among the Pentekostaria, Voskr 27 is the only manuscript that corresponds to the 3rd type of the Greek Triodion.

The Sofisky Menaia: the contents and the disposition of hymns

We shall now turn to the contents and the disposition of hymnography in the Sofia Menaia, which resemble Sin 319 and Voskr 27 by palaeographical and some codicological features. The material in these codices is arranged in an identical way. Here are three services from the Menaion for August and, for comparison, one service from the Menaion for September:

⁷⁸¹ Since Sof 84 and F.I.680 belong to the 14th century.

2nd of August St Martyr Stephanos⁷⁸²	4th of August St Eudokia⁷⁸³	15th of August the Falling asleep of the Mother of God⁷⁸⁴	14th of September the Elevation of the Cross⁷⁸⁵
3 kathismata kontakion oikos 3 prosomoia 1 prosomoia, Mat., Vesp. 1 idiomelon canon	1 kathisma 3 prosomoia canon	troparion hypakoe 3 kathismata kontakion oikos 3 idiomela on “Lord I call upon Thee” 1 idiomelon on aposticha 3 idiomela on Lauds 3 idiomela on aposticha, Matins 3 prosomoia 3 prosomoia 1 st canon 2 nd canon	4 kathismata kontakion oikos 3 prosomoia 3 prosomoia 3 idiomela aposticha vesp. 3 idiomela on aposticha, Matins canon

These four services contain a varying number of hymns, since they represent different stages of feast. In all four cases, however, the disposition of hymns is identical: the minor unnotated troparion hymns are listed first, they are followed by the notated stichera, and then the canons.

The order of the initial unnotated group corresponds to the two GIM-type Triodia: on days with a small number of hymns, such as the 4th of August or the Lenten weekdays, it begins with the kathisma, followed by the prosomoia, whereas on more festive days, such as the Holy Week or the Falling asleep of the Theotokos, the order consists of the troparion, hypakoe, the kathismata, kontakion and oikos. None of these days reflects the actual order of the service.

The canons are written out without intervening hymns, since those are written in the beginning part. In the case of two canons, they are not mixed but follow each other, as in the parts of Sin 319 and Voskr 27 that were copied from the oldest source.

The part with the stichera has a tendency of reflecting the order of the service. In the service for the 2nd of August, the unnotated hymns for the Matins are followed by three prosomoia, which, although not indicated, should belong to the stichera of the Vespers, since the section for the Lauds should be taken from the Octoechos, and the stichera aposticha for the Matins are written after stichera prosomoia, with the

⁷⁸² Sin 168, f. 9r.

⁷⁸³ Sin 168, f. 21v.

⁷⁸⁴ Sin 168, f. 85r.

⁷⁸⁵ Sin 159, f. 131v.

indication of the section. In other words, the stichera are positioned in a logical order from the Vespers to the Matins.

In the order for the Falling asleep of the Theotokos this feature is even clearer, since its sections are named. However, after a complete, logically arranged set from the stichera *idiomela* for “Lord, I call upon Thee” to the stichera *aposticha* for the Matins, there is a shift back in the order of the service – six *prosomoia*, without indication of place, could not, of course, belong to the final stichera part of the stichera *aposticha* (on 3).

It is obvious that the process which can be traced in the creation of the Greek examples for Sin 319 and Voskr 27 influenced also the books from which the Sofisky *Menaia* were copied. More precisely, the scribes used quite an ancient source (which could have also been an incomplete *Menaion*), in which the material was laid out by genres: the *kathismata*, the *prosomoia*, the *idiomela* for the Vespers and the Matins, and canons. In the course of the creation, however, some correction took place, with a tendency to regulate the stichera contents according to the order of the service. For this reason, the rubrics were used, although this is not a norm in all services of the Sofisky *Menaia* – their frequency corresponds with the level of the feast. The redaction work could have been continued by the Russian scribes, as well, in the same direction.

Sin 319: the authors of the hymns of the Lenten weekdays

Concerning the authors of the hymns for the Lenten weekdays, Sin 319 and Voskr 27 are based on the combined *Triodion* by Theodore Studite and Joseph the Hymnographer, which is stated in the title, written in initials: “*Triodion beginning from the Monday of the first week by two creators Joseph and Theodore*”⁷⁸⁶. However, this consciously chosen Greek prototype was later corrected in the course of the translation of the Greek *Triodion* into the Slavonic language.

In the Greek *Triodia* of the 3rd type, the hymnography attributed to these two authors consists of the *kathismata*, the *prosomoia* and the *triodia* (*tetraodia*) for the Lenten days and the *triodia* (*tetraodia*) for the *Pentekostarion* period. The Slavic and the Russian *Triodia* which resemble the 3rd Greek type contain, according to Karabinov, approximately 70 hymns which are not attributed to St Theodore or St Joseph; a list of

⁷⁸⁶ Sin 319, ff. 55r.-55v.

these hymns is provided in his book.⁷⁸⁷ These anonymous (at the moment of Karabinov's research) kathismata, prosomoia and triodia greatly resemble the creations of the two authors, particularly of St Theodore, in their texts, and they replace them in the Shafarikov and Kiyanin Triodia, in both Orbelsky Triodia and in Sin 319.

The Bitolsky Triodion was not available to Karabinov. While researching this Triodion some decades after the publication of Karabinov's research, G. Popov found in the acrostic of the triodia, defined by Karabinov as anonymous, evidence of their Slavic author, Konstantin Preslavsky. The Triodion of Moisey Kiyanin does not contain these triodia, nor do the GIM-type manuscripts. Moreover, it is well-known that the hymnographers complemented their triodia cycles with prosomoia and kathismata that corresponded to the tone of the triodia. The tones of the triodia by Konstantin Preslavsky, not included in the Russian sources, coincide with the tones of the kathismata and prosomoia designated for these days, which were also considered anonymous by Karabinov. On the basis of the coinciding tones, and also as a result of the notable textual dependence of these anonymous kathismata and prosomoia on the analogical hymnography by Theodore Studite, Momina argues that these hymns may also be attributed to Konstantin Preslavsky.⁷⁸⁸

The information provided by Momina in a scheme concerning the Lenten weekdays⁷⁸⁹, including the hymns of Sin Typ 137 with their indication of the author, will here be compared to the GIM-type Triodion sources. The following scheme includes hymns for the 1st week of the Lent, from Monday to Friday. Since Momina's scheme refers only to the tone of the hymnography, which may apply to the hymns by all three authors on the same day – Theodore Studite, Joseph the Hymnographer and Konstantin Preslavsky, the texts of Sin Typ 137 were checked from the original and correlated with the texts of the other manuscripts in the scheme. The names of the authors are indicated in the scheme in the following way: Th – St Theodore, J – St Joseph, KP – Konstantin Preslavsky, anon – anonymous author.

⁷⁸⁷ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 247-287.

⁷⁸⁸ Momina, *Triodion*, *261.

⁷⁸⁹ Momina, *Triodion*, *258.

Sof 84⁷⁹⁰

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
lacuna	lacuna 2 prosom.t.2 J 1 prosom.t.5 Th idiom.Mat.t.3= Sin 319 triodion t.2 J triodion t.5 Th idiom. Vesp.t.8	kathisma t.4, KP kathisma t.2, J 1 prosom.t.2 J 1 prosom.t.3 anon 1 prosom.t.2 Th idiom.Mat.t.8= Pog 41 triodion t.2 J triodion t.2 Th idiom.Vesp.t.8 = Pog 41	kathisma t.1, KP kathisma t.5, Th kathisma t.2 J 2 prosom.t.2 J 1 prosom.t.5 Th idiom.Mat.t.3= Sin Typ 137 triodion t.2 J triodion t.5 Th idiom.Vesp.t.4	kathisma t.4, J kathisma t.2, Th 2 prosom.t.2 J 1 prosom.t.2 Th idiom.Mat.t.8 triodion t.2 J triodion t.2 Th idiom.Vesp.t.5

Sin 319⁷⁹¹

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
kathisma t.2, KP kathisma t.2, Th 2 prosom.t.2 J 1 prosom.t.2 Th idiom.Mat.t.5= Sin Typ 137 triodion t.2 J triodion t.2 Th idiom.Vesp.t. 3 = Sin 319	kathisma t.5, KP kathisma t.5, Th 2 prosom.t.2 J 1 prosom.t.5 Th idiom.Mat.t.3= Sin 319 triodion t.2 J triodion t.5 Th idiom.Vesp.t.8 = Sin 319	kathisma t.4, KP kathisma t.2, Th kathisma t.2, J 1 prosom.t.2 J 1 prosom.t.3 anon 1 prosom.t.2 Th idiom.Mat.t.8= Pog 41 triodion t.2 J triodion t.2 Th idiom.Vesp.t.8 = Pog 41	kathisma t.1, KP kathisma t.5, Th kathisma t.2, J 2 prosom.t.2 J 1 prosom.t.5 Th idiom.Mat.t.3= Sin Typ 137 triodion t.2 J triodion t.5 Th idiom.Vesp.t. 4	kathisma t.4 ⁷⁹² , J kathisma t.2, Th 2 prosom.t.2 J 1 prosom.t.2 Th idiom.Mat.t.8 triodion t.2 J triodion t.2 Th idiom.Vesp.t. 5

Sin Typ 137⁷⁹³

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
kathisma t.2, KP kathisma t.2, Th idiom.Mat.t.5= Sin 319 idiom.Vesp.t.3 = Sin 319 1 prosom.t.2 KP 1 prosom.t.3 anon triodion t.2 J triodion t.2 Th	kathisma t.5, KP kathisma t.5, Th idiom.Mat.t.3= Sin 319 idiom.Vesp.t.8 = Sin 319 1 prosom.t.5 KP triodion t.2 J triodion t.5 Th	kathisma t.4, KP kathisma t.2, Th idiom.Mat.t.8= Sin 319 idiom.Vesp.t.3 1 prosom.t.4 KP triodion t.2 J triodion t.2 Th	kathisma t.1, KP kathisma t.5, Th idiom.Mat.t.3= Sin 319 idiom.Vesp.t.2 1 prosom.t.1 KP 1 prosom.t.2 J triodion t.2 J triodion t.5 Th	kathisma t.2, KP kathisma t.2, Th idiom.Mat.t.5 idiom.Vesp.t.3 1 prosom.t.2 KP triodion t.2 J triodion t.2 Th

⁷⁹⁰ Sof 84, ff. 1r.-17v.

⁷⁹¹ Sin 319, ff. 55r.-80v.

⁷⁹² The tone is incorrectly marked as 4th instead of 2nd, Sin 319 f. 75v; the same mistake appears in Sof 84, f. 13v.

⁷⁹³ Sin Typ 137, ff. 33-49.

Pog 41⁷⁹⁴

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
kathisma t.2, Th idiom.t.8 triodion t.2 J triodion t.2 Th idiom.Mat.t.5= Sin 319 idiom.Vesp.t.3 = Sin 319	kathisma t.5, Th 1 prosom.t.5 Th triodion t.2 J triodion t.5 Th idiom.Vesp.t.8 = Sin 319	kathisma t.2, J 1 prosom.t.2 Th idiom.Mat.t.8= Sin 319 idiom.Vesp.t.8= Sin 319 triodion t.2 J triodion t.2 Th	kathisma t.2, J 1 prosom.t.5 Th idiom.Mat.t.3= Sin 137 idiom.Vesp.t.4= Sin 319 triodion t.2 J triodion t.5 Th	kathisma t.2, Th 1 prosom.t.2 Th idiom.Mat.t.8 idiom.Vesp.t.5 3 stichera for St Theodore the Martyr triodion t.2 J triodion t.5 Th

The four manuscripts contain the kathismata and prosomoia by Joseph, Theodore and Konstantin Preslavsky, the triodia by Theodore and Joseph, and also the stichera idiomela by Andrew of Pyrgos.

The stichera by Andrew of Pyrgos are consistent in their composition and the distribution between the Vespers and the Matins of the Lenten weekdays. However, from time to time this order may be disturbed, as can often be seen in the Triodion of Moisey Kiyanin,⁷⁹⁵ in which the 1st week of the Lent, presented in the scheme, includes the stichera by Andrew of Pyrgos, designated for the Cheesefare week in most of the other sources. In the GIM-type Triodia, the group of the idiomela is more stable. The only inconsistency that can be noted in the scheme is the absence of the 3rd tone sticheron idiomelon for the Tuesday Matins in Pog 41.

Sin 319: the authors of the kathismata of the Lenten weekdays

The kathismata for the 1st week of the Lent included in the Russian copies belong to Joseph, Theodore and Konstantin Preslavsky. The hymns by the last of them, the Slavic author, which constitute a separate, independent Triodion, are most widely presented in the Bitolsky Triodion. The triodia by Konstantin Preslavsky were, however, quite rapidly replaced in the Slavic manuscripts by those by St Theodore and St Joseph, as a result of the redaction of the Slavic Triodion towards the greater likeness to the Greek one.⁷⁹⁶ The stichera prosomoia and especially the kathismata by Konstantin Preslavsky remained, nevertheless, in the Triodion repertoire for much longer and continue to be used even in modern publications.

⁷⁹⁴ Pog 41, ff. 5r.-15r.

⁷⁹⁵ Momina, *Triodion*, *251-.*252.

The kathismata by St Joseph are rarer in the scheme than others. Most often they are represented by only one (Pog 41) or two kathismata, and in the last case, one of them is usually made by St Theodore, the other, replacing the kathisma by St Joseph, by Konstantin Preslavsky. In Sin 319, the Wednesday and Thursday of this week show an exception that is not later repeated in the manuscript: three kathismata, all by a different author. Sof 84, which practically imitates Sin 319 even in its mistakes (footnote 30), provides only two kathismata for Wednesday.

Pog 41 does not include the kathismata by Konstantin Preslavsky. This Triodion, which was written relatively late, either strictly complied with its ancient Greek prototype that knew no Slavic hymnography, or consciously strove against taking on any new elements of hymnography, including the Slavic innovations, during the complementing of the codex. Sin 319 provides an opposite example. It is based on the same type of a Greek Triodion but, nevertheless, very clearly shows the traces of the Slavic hymnography. In order to have a more complete view on the Slavic kathismata in Sin 319 in comparison with the three other Triodia, we shall present them in a scheme, based on Sin 319 and Sin Typ 137 for the 2nd week of the Lent, Sin 319 and Pog 41 for the 3rd week, and Sin 319 and Sof 84 for the 4th week:

	Monday		Tuesday		Wednesday		Thursday		Friday	
	319	137	319	137	319	137	319	137	319	137
2 nd week	Th J	Th KP	J anon	Th KP	Th anon ⁷⁹⁷	Th J	KP Th	KP Th	Th KP ⁷⁹⁸	Th KP
3 rd week	319	41	319	41	319	41	319	41	319	41
	KP anon ⁷⁹⁹	anon ⁸⁰⁰	KP Th	Th	KP Th	Th	Th KP	Th	Th KP	Th
4 th week	319	84	319	84	319	84	319	84	319	84
	Th KP ⁸⁰¹	Th KP	KP anon	KP anon ⁸⁰²	KP J	KP J	KP Th	KP Th	Th anon ⁸⁰³	Th anon

⁷⁹⁶ Momina, *Triodion*, *255.

⁷⁹⁷ This 8th tone kathisma does not correspond to the tone in the hymns by Theodore or Konstantin Preslavsky (3rd tone), nor by Joseph (1st tone). It was defined as an anonymous creation by Karabinov: Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 174.

⁷⁹⁸ On the basis of the triodia and the prosomoion, the 6th tone seems to be the correct one, as indicated in Sin Typ 137. In Sin 319 (f. 124r.) and in the Shafarikov (Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 174), the tone is incorrectly marked as the 2nd, thus, most likely, reflecting the 2nd Plagal tone in the manuscript from which the above mentioned ones were copied.

⁷⁹⁹ The kathismata for this day coincide in Sin Typ 137 and Sin 319; they are both in the 6th tone (the triodia by Joseph and Theodore for this day are in the 8th tone). Only one of them is defined as an anonymous creation by Karabinov. One of them was most likely written by Konstantin Preslavsky, and the other either by him or by an anonymous author.

⁸⁰⁰ The 7th tone kathismata «Троице Святая и Честная поющая» does not correspond by its tone to the hymns by Joseph, Theodore or Konstantin Preslavsky (Pog 41, f. 43v.).

It can thus be seen that among the four Russian manuscripts, Pog 41 includes, as a rule, only one kathisma, written by St Theodore. For its kathismata part, Sof 84 reveals a consistent orientation towards Sin 319. The GIM-type Triodion and the Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin contain various combinations of the kathismata by three authors and, in some cases, by an undefined author, for instance, the second kathisma of the Wednesday in the 2nd week in Sin 319. It can also be seen that Sin 319 and Sin Typ 137 are relatively independent in their choice of the kathismata: in 10 days (from Monday to Friday in the 1st and 2nd weeks), only four times their choices coincide.

Sin 319: the authors of the weekday prosomoia

The same kind of groupings and functions of the manuscripts are used also in the analysis of the prosomoia (see the scheme above with all the hymns in the daily sequence).

Pog 41 contains only one sticheron prosomoion for a day and, as in the case of the kathisma, this hymn was written by Theodore.

Sof 84 repeats the contents of Sin 319 by including two prosomoia by St Joseph and one by St Theodore. The Wednesday in both manuscripts reveals a very rare case of replacing one of Joseph's stichera by an anonymous sticheron, whose tone does not correspond to that of the prosomoion by Konstantin Preslavsky. This exception only confirms the rule that Sin 319 follows the principle of including two prosomoia by Joseph and one by Theodore with such consistency that is seldom noted in the Slavic Triodia.

One week, presented in the scheme, is enough to point out the differences between the composition of the prosomoia in Sin 319 and Sin Typ 137. The latter contains a wavering number of prosomoia per day, and in the choice of the hymns, the Slavic ones are preferred.

If we apply the information presented in the scheme to the whole period of the Lent, the design of the GIM-type Triodia becomes very clear. According to

⁸⁰¹ In the list of the anonymous kathismata by Karabinov (p. 175) and in Sin Typ 137 (f. 97r.), this kathisma is indicated by the prosomoion «Гроб Твой Христе», while in Sin 319 and Sof 84 the same 1st tone kathisma is marked with the prosomoion «Лик ангельский» (Sin 319 f. 169r; Sof 84 f. 103r.).

⁸⁰² In Sin Typ 137, Sin 319 and Sof 84, here is an anonymous kathisma in the 6th tone, which by its tone does not correspond to the hymns by Joseph, Theodore or Konstantin Preslavsky.

⁸⁰³ In Sin 319 (ff. 196r.-196v.), Sof 84 (f. 129r.) and Sin Typ 137 (f. 110v.), the second kathisma, in the 2nd tone, does not correspond by its tone to the hymns by Joseph, Theodore or Konstantin Preslavsky.

Schidlovsky, Sin 319 contains 30 prosomoia by Theodore and 60 prosomoia by Joseph for the period of Monday to Friday during the 6 weeks of the Lent.⁸⁰⁴ The Shafarikov Triodion, in turn, as counted by Karabinov, contains 12 prosomoia by Theodore, 15 by Joseph and 33 by anonymous authors (majority of which, as already pointed out, belong to Konstantin Preslavsky). The Orbelsky F.n. I.102 contains 18 prosomoia by Theodore, 24 by Joseph and 25 anonymous, while in the Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin, there are 10 prosomoia by Theodore, 13 by Joseph and 33 anonymous. Although Karabinov was not aware of the Slavic origin of many of the anonymous hymns and thus interpreted their inclusion in the manuscripts in his own way, he nevertheless came to the conclusion (also shared by Momina) that the presence of the anonymous hymns is a sign of the ancient origin of the Triodion, and that their gradual disappearance and replacement by those written by the two authors took place in the later produced sources.⁸⁰⁵ Thus, Sin 319 presents a conscious redaction process that aimed at the modernization of the old Slavic Triodion with respect to the Lenten prosomoia.

Concerning the triodia, the scheme shows how all the manuscripts share the same tradition of including only one triodia by St Theodore and St Joseph. However, this unifying feature in the Russian Triodia of this scheme is varied in the other Slavic Triodia. Thus, the Bitolsky and Jeravensky Triodia contain the triodia written by Konstantin Preslavsky and Clement the Studite, while in other Triodia, the triodia by Theodore and Joseph are preferred and occasionally complemented by the triodia by Konstantin Preslavsky.⁸⁰⁶

Voskr 27: the triodia and the canons of the Holy Week and their authors

We shall now turn to the triodia and the canons for the Holy Week from the viewpoint of their authors. The information concerning the triodia from the Monday until the Friday of the Holy Week in the Russian and Slavic manuscripts can be found in Table 16; the name of St Kosmas of Maiouma is indicated as CM, St Andrew of Crete's name, as AC, nun Cassia's name is written in full, St Theodore's as Th, St Joseph the Hymnographer's as J and that of Mark of Otranto as MO.

⁸⁰⁴ The number of the prosomoia by St Joseph was defined above a little more precisely: on Wednesday of the 1st Lenten week, one from the two prosomoia by Joseph was replaced by an anonymous one.

⁸⁰⁵ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 172; Momina, *Triodion*, *256.

⁸⁰⁶ Попов, *Триодни...* 321-371; cited in Momina, *Triodion*, *232.

In order to reveal the characteristic features of Voskr 27, we shall compare the contents of the Slavic and the Russian Pentekostaria, and also the inscriptions in Sin 330 that concern the authors of the triodia and the canons.

Table 16:

	<i>Sin 330</i>	<i>Typ 138, Typ 137, Voskr 27, F.n. I.102, Pog 40, Argirov, (Sof 110- lacuna)</i>					<i>F.n. I.68</i>	<i>F.n. I.74</i>
Holy Monday	-triodyon CM, - triodyon AC	triodyon t.2 <i>Непроходимо</i> CM triodyon t.8 <i>Сокрушиму</i> AC					triodyon t.2 <i>Непроходимо</i> CM canon t.8 <i>Вооружена</i> , J triodyon t.2 <i>В глубине</i>	triodyon t.2 CM
	<i>Sin 330</i>	<i>Typ 138</i>	<i>Typ 137</i>	<i>Voskr 27, Sof 110</i>	<i>F.n. I.102</i>	<i>Pog 40</i>	<i>F.n. I.68</i>	<i>F.n. I.74</i>
Holy Tuesday	diodyon CM; triodyon AC.	diodyon t.2 <i>Веления мучительна</i> , CM; triodyon t.8 <i>Вонми небо</i> , AC	diodyon t.2 <i>Веления мучительна</i> , CM; triodyon t.8 <i>Видите</i> , AC	diodyon t.2 <i>Внемлете людие</i> , CM; triodyon t.8 <i>Видите</i> , AC	diodyon t.2 <i>Внемлете людие</i> , CM; triodyon t.8, AC	diodyon t.2 CM; triodyon t.8, AC	canon t.2 <i>В глубине потоци</i> , J triodyon t.8 <i>Видите</i> , AC; triodyon t.8 (diodyon t.2), CM	triodyon t.8 AC diodyon t.2 CM
	<i>Sin 330</i>	<i>Typ 138, Typ 137, Voskr 27, 110, Pog 40</i>				<i>F.n. I.102,</i>	<i>F.n. I.68</i>	<i>F.n. I.74</i>
Holy Wednesday	canon t.4 <i>Оружие фараоне</i> ; Th triodyon CM	triodyon t.2 <i>На камени</i> , CM; triodyon t.2 <i>Неплоднаго ми ума</i> , AC				canon of the Holy Thursday; triodyon t.2 <i>На камени</i> , CM triodyon t.2 <i>Неплоднаго ми ума</i> , AC	canon t.2 <i>Гредете людие</i> , J; triodyon t.2 <i>На камени</i> , CM; triodyon t.2 <i>Неплоднаго</i> , AC.	triodyon t.2, CM
	<i>Sin 330</i>	<i>Typ 138, Typ 137, Voskr 27, Sof 110, F.n. I.102,</i>			<i>Pog 40, Argirov</i>	<i>F.n. I.68</i>	<i>F.n. I.74</i>	
Holy Thursday	canon t.6 <i>Сеченым</i> , CM	canon t.6 <i>Сеченым</i> , CM; triodyon t.6 <i>Услышав пророк</i> , AC			triodyon t.6 <i>Сеченым</i> , CM	canon t.6 <i>Сеченым</i> ; CM <i>повечерие</i> triodyon t.6 <i>Услышав пророк</i> , AC	canon t.6, CM	
	<i>Sin 330</i>	<i>Typ 138, Typ 137, F.n. I.102, F.n. I.68, Sof 110</i>		<i>Voskr 27, Pog 40, Argirov</i>		<i>F.n. I.74</i>		
Holy Friday	One triodyon (CM)	triodyon t.6 <i>К Тебе утрьною</i> , CM; triodyon t.8 <i>Мрак душа моя</i> , AC		triodyon t.6 <i>К Тебе утрьною</i> , CM		triodyon t.8, AC		

In Sin 330, two triodia, by St Kosmas of Maiuma and by St Andrew of Crete⁸⁰⁷, are prescribed for Great Monday. The same prescription is repeated in the case of Great Tuesday.⁸⁰⁸ They are fulfilled in Voskr 27. Sin 330 prescribes the 4th tone canon by St Theodore, *Оружие фараоне*, with a triodyon for Great Wednesday and adds that “it is to know that from this day the triodyon of Andrew’s creation is not sung”⁸⁰⁹. In Voskr 27, both triodia are written out⁸¹⁰, without the canon. For Great Thursday, Sin 330 prescribes only the 6th tone canon *Сеченым* by St Kosmas, since the canon by St

⁸⁰⁷ Sin 330, f. 22v.; Voskr 27 f. 9v.

⁸⁰⁸ Sin 330, f. 23v.; Voskr 27, f. 14v.

⁸⁰⁹ Sin 330, f. 25v.-26r.

⁸¹⁰ Voskr 27, f. 19v.

Andrew of Crete is no longer to be used.⁸¹¹ Voskr 27 contains a canon⁸¹² in which, starting with the 4th ode, the triodion by Andrew of Crete is written⁸¹³.

For Great Friday, its Night service (the Matins)⁸¹⁴, Sin 330 gives only one triodion which was, apparently, that of St Kosmas. Voskr 27 also contains only one triodion by St Kosmas of Maiouma for this day.⁸¹⁵ In the three other Russian Pentekostaria (Sof 110, Sin Typ 138 and Sin Typ 137) both triodia are written. The fact that Voskr 27 does not include these both triodia, as it was done on the previous days, can be explained by its purpose to fix the Service for the Night of Great Friday with the notation, in the way that was used in the Russian Sticheraria. Not one Russian Sticherarion contained the triodion by St Andrew of Crete.⁸¹⁶ It seems likely that one of the Sticheraria served as the source for the copying of this service to Voskr 27. Thus, we have another case of confirming the fact of the application of more than one source during the creation of this Pentekostarion.

For Great Saturday, Sin 330 prescribes the 6th tone canon «with the odes by Mark *Безумный старче*» up to the 6th ode, «after this only the tetraodion by Kosmas is sung»⁸¹⁷. Voskr 27 includes two tetraodia (from ode 1 to ode 5), first by Cassia, then, unseparated and without the indication of the other heirmos⁸¹⁸, the troparia from the tetraodion by Mark Otrasky⁸¹⁹. From the 6th to the 9th ode, the tetraodion by Kosmas of Maiouma is written. All three tetraodion in the manuscript are graphically formed as one canon. After them follows the separately written 3rd tone tetraodion, *Глубина страстна*, by St Andrew of Crete⁸²⁰. This tetraodion is not indicated in Sin 330 and is preserved, apart from the GIM-type, only in the Evergetis and Kiyanin Triodia⁸²¹.

As it took place in Voskr 27, the GIM-type Pentekostaria did not follow the Typikon in its order not to sing the triodia by St Andrew of Crete from Wednesday

⁸¹¹ Sin 330, f. 26v.

⁸¹² Voskr 27, f. 25v.

⁸¹³ Voskr 27, f. 26v.

⁸¹⁴ Sin 330, f. 31v.

⁸¹⁵ Voskr 27, f. 44v.;

⁸¹⁶ In the case of Sin Typ 147, it is not possible to confirm this, since the sheets with the triodion/triodia are torn out.

⁸¹⁷ Sin 330, f. 34r.

⁸¹⁸ This is indicated in an earlier redaction, such as Sin Typ 138, f. 48v.

⁸¹⁹ Momina presumes that the indication to the canon by Mark in Sin 330 also includes the prescription for the tetraodion by Cassia, but is by mistake left out. All the same, it seems probable that Sin 330 did not indicate the singing of the tetraodion by Cassia.

⁸²⁰ Voskr 27, f. 53r.

⁸²¹ Momina, *Triodion*, *191.

onwards.⁸²² All Russian GIM-type Pentekostaria do indeed contain two triodia, thus following the Palestinian tradition, older than the Studite tradition. Two triodia are included in the Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin and both or one redaction of the Orbelsky type⁸²³. The content of two manuscripts representing the Shafarikov type differs in this week, and is divided in the Table. F.n. I.68 includes rare canons of Joseph the Hymnographer for the first three days, as was pointed by Karabinov⁸²⁴. In F.n. I.74 the quantity of the incomplete canones varies from one day to another, while F.n. I.68 usually includes the triodia and the diodion of both authors; however, sometimes the second incomplete canon is added in this codex in an inadequate place within the order of the service⁸²⁵. The instability in the writing of the triodia is characteristic of the Argirov Triodion too. According to Momina, the triodion by St Andrew of Crete is not regularly encountered in the Zagrebsky type, either. In the Evergetis and Athos types, the triodia by the Jerusalem author were placed in the Pannihis (in the first case) and in the Compline (in the second case).⁸²⁶

Among the Slavic manuscripts, the GIM-type Pentekostaria thus consistently follow the Palestinian tradition which differs from the indications in the Studite-Alexian Typikon. The same tendency could be noted in Sin 319 concerning the system of the commemorations and the composition of the stichera for the Lenten weekdays.

Voskr 27: the idiomela for the Holy Week and their authors

The composition of the stichera idiomela in the services of the Holy Week in the Slavic and Russian Triodia and the Pentekostaria is one of the least stable and also the extensive with respect to its authors.

Karabinov has divided the hymnographers into periods, the first of which⁸²⁷ is represented by the 9th century Palestinian school Sts John of Damascus, Kosmas of Maiouma, Andrew of Crete and the patriarch of Jerusalem, Ilias III. Their stichera idiomela are included in the order for the Holy Week in Voskr 27. However, their

⁸²² Momina, *Triodion*, *233.

⁸²³ In Pog 40 only the canon is written on Holy Thursday, and only the triodion by St Kosmas on Holy Friday.

⁸²⁴ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 291.

⁸²⁵ The information about F.n. I.74 was taken from the Table in the book of Momina: Momina, *Triodion*, *154-*158.

⁸²⁶ Momina, *Triodion*, *233.

⁸²⁷ Karabinov presents his periodization of the Byzantine hymnography in his book: , Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 77. Momina quotes this periodization: Momina, *Triodion*, *49.

names, as the names of other authors, are not indicated in the Russian and Slavic manuscripts, including also Voskr 27.

The 5th tone stichera *Достигше вернии* by John Damascus⁸²⁸ begins the cycle of the stichera for the Matins of Great Monday.⁸²⁹ Four of his stichera are dedicated to Great Tuesday, the 2nd tone *Душевною леностию* and the 4th tone *Се Тебе талант* for the Monday Vespers, and the 6th tone stichera aposticha *Придете вернии делаим* and *Жених добротою красен* for the Matins. Voskr 27 contains two of his stichera, the 6th tone *Неначаема жития* and *Простре блудница власы*, for the Wednesday morning. On Great Thursday, his stichera are placed in the Matins: the 2nd tone *Иуда безаконный*, *Иуда предатель* and *Иуда раб лукавый*. The 8th tone sticheron *Нрав твой лукавый* which, according to Karabinov, belonged in most Greek sources to Great Thursday, in Voskr 27 is found in the Thursday evening, i.e., on Great Friday. The sticheron *Егоже проповеда*, as pointed out by Karabinov, is missing from Voskr 27 and is generally rarely encountered in these sources – among the Sticheraria, it is included in Usp 8, Sof 85 and Chil 307, while in the Triodia, it can be found only in the South Slavic manuscripts – Shafarikov F.n.I.68 and both of the Orbelsky redactions. The section for the Lauds in the night service of the Holy Friday contains one stichera by John Damascus, the 8th tone *Уже омачается трость*. The three 8th tone stichera, beginning with words *Днесь ад стена вопиет*, which were defined by Karabinov as belonging to the Saturday service, are in most Russian sources placed in the Easter Sunday evening.

Most of the stichera attributed to St Kosmas of Maiouma⁸³⁰ can be found in Voskr 27. From the six idiomela for Great Monday, five are written in Voskr 27 in the aposticha for the Matins: the 5th tone *5 Господи уда к страсти, Господи совершенная мыслити, Господи к таинству*, and the 8th tone *Исхий смоквници, Вторую Евгу*. There are two idiomela for Great Tuesday, of which Voskr 27 places one, the 1st tone *Во светлостех святых*, in the Monday evening, and the second, the 7th tone *Се Тебе талант* in the aposticha for the Matins.⁸³¹ His five stichera for Great Wednesday are placed in the Tuesday Vespers: the 1st tone *Многоценное миро, Егда грешница принесет, О Июдина окаяньства*, the 2nd tone *Грешница притече* and the 1st tone *Тя Девица Сына*.

⁸²⁸ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 110-111.

⁸²⁹ However, Karabinov considers it possible that this stichera was written by St Stefan of Sabas: Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 121.

⁸³⁰ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 113-114.

⁸³¹ Voskr 27, f. 14.

Karabinov mentions two of the stichera for the Holy Week by Andrew of Crete. The first, the 8th tone *Днесъ иже на Христа* for Great Thursday, is not written in Voskr 27. Examples of this rarely encountered hymn can be found in the Sticheraria Sin Typ 147 and Chilandari, both Orbelsky Triodia and the GIM-type Sof 110. Another stichera by Andrew of Crete, the 6th tone *Плещи мои дах на раны*, is placed in Voskr 27 and in majority of other Russian and Slavic sources in the section for the Lauds in the Service for the Night of Great Friday.

There are two stichera for Great Monday by Patriarch Ilias, the 3rd tone *Страшно еже власти в руце* and the 7th tone *Собор лукавныи*. The second of them, to Karabinov's opinion, is a paraphrase of sticheron by John Damascus.⁸³²

Among the stichera idiomela of the second period of hymnography, Voskr 27 includes the 3rd tone idiomelon for Great Friday, *Каяждо удеса*, by St Theodore.⁸³³ Two 8th tone stichera for Great Thursday are attributed to Patriarch Methodius⁸³⁴, *Днесъ Иуда нищелюбия, Да никто же о вернии*. These stichera are written in Voskr 27, Sin 330, Sin Typ 147, Sof 85, Sin Typ 148 and Usp 8 for Thursday evening, and in Sof 96, Chilandari, Sof 110 and Sin Typ 138 (one of them), and also in the Slavic Triodia – both of the Orbelsky and the Shafarikov F.n.I.68 – for the Thursday Matins.

One sticheron which begins the idiomela for Great Monday, the 2nd tone *От ваия и ветви* (the 6th tone *От цветныхъ веии* in Sof 110), was written by Ciprian the Studite.⁸³⁵

Voskr 27 does not include the sticheron by Cassia, the 8th tone *Господи яже во многия грехи впадшая жена*⁸³⁶ for Great Wednesday. Among all other Russian and Slavic sources, this is found only in the Orbelsky type Pog 40.

It is possible that the five stichera for Great Friday, three of which are written in Voskr 27 in the service of Saturday (Friday evening), can be attributed to Simeon the Studite:⁸³⁷ the 5th tone *Влеком ко кресту* and the 2nd tone *Егда от древа Тя мертва* and *Егда в новыи гроб*. These two stichera are indicated to be sung on the automelon *Егда от древа*, and they are followed by a third sticheron that was not mentioned by Karabinov, *Егда с миром жены*. Sin Typ 138 also includes the 5th tone sticheron and both of the 2nd tone stichera for Great Saturday, complemented by the same sticheron

⁸³² Карабинов, *Постная Триодъ*, 118.

⁸³³ Карабинов, *Постная Триодъ*, 124.

⁸³⁴ Карабинов, *Постная Триодъ*, 184.

⁸³⁵ Карабинов, *Постная Триодъ*, 186.

⁸³⁶ Карабинов, *Постная Триодъ*, 184.

which appears as the third in the prosomoia cycle in Voskr 27. Sof 110 includes only the stichera prosomoia in the 2nd tone.

The stichera for the Lauds of Great Friday, the 1st tone *Вся тварь изменяеся*, the 2nd tone *Людие невернии*, and the 5th tone sticheron for Great Saturday (Friday evening) *Тебе Обещуагося светом* are attributed to the Jerusalem hymnograph of this period, Theophanes Γραπτος.

Voskr 27: the authors of the prosomoia for the Holy Week

In order to analyze the role of the prosomoia in Voskr 27 during the Holy Week, two schemes will be presented – one for the period from Great Monday to Great Friday, the other for Great Saturday. The schemes include the prosomoia cycles from the Russian Sticheraria, the Triodion of Moisey Kiyanin, the Russian Pentekostaria and, for comparison, from one South Slavic source – the Argirov Triodion, which has more prosomoia than any other South Slavic Triodion.

	Sin 330	Sin 278, Sof 96	Voskr 27	Sof 110	Sin Typ 137	Argirov Triodion
Holy Monday	3 prosom. t.8 autom. Иже в еде	t.8 autom. Раи же в -живоносн -от ученик -за ны Хри	t.2 autom. Ангел убо -вчера Тя -приближает -предати		t.5 autom. Придете -всяко уве -зри зимы -гряди душе	t.5 -всяко уве -зрим и зи -гряди душе
Holy Tuesday			ею2 autom. Безакония -милосерд -высокомы -на вольну			t.8 autom. Оле пресла -оле страш -милосерд -высокоум
Holy Wednesday			t.6 autom. Все упован -сонмице б -блудница м -судяи всяче			
Holy Thursday			t.2 autom. Егда от древа -егда леонтие -егда в Сионе -вечерю к пас	t.2 autom. Егда от древа -егда леонтие -егда в Сионе -вечерю к пас	t.6 autom. Все упова -премудро -любиши л -завет пол	
Holy Friday				t.8 autom. О преславна -о долготер- пения бездна -устраша- ется бездна -о страшнаго видения		

⁸³⁷ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 187.

As can be seen, in the Holy Week, the Typikon Sin 330 prescribes only the prosomoia for Great Monday (tone 8, *Иже в едеме* by St Theodore Studite)⁸³⁸ and for Great Saturday. These prescriptions are followed by Sticherarion Sof 96, possibly also by Sin 278, in which, however, the services from Great Tuesday to the Sunday of All Saints are missing. In the South Slavic Triodia which were not included in the scheme, the example of the Typikon and Sof 96 is also encountered in Shafarikov F.n.I.68.

In all the rest of the Sticheraria, there are no prosomoia from Great Monday to Great Friday. The same applies to the Pentekostarion Sin Typ 138 and to the Orbelsky redactions of the Triodion. The Triodia and Pentekostaria that contain two cycles of prosomoia include Sof 110 (for Great Thursday and Friday) and the Argirov Triodion (from Great Monday to Tuesday). There is also Sin Typ 137 with one cycle of prosomoia for Great Monday (which coincides with the cycle in the Argirov Triodion and can be found also in the Evergetis F.n.I.92).

We shall now turn to the scheme of Great Saturday:

	Sin 330	Sof 96, 85; Usp 8; Sin Typ 147, 138.	Argirov Triodion	Sin Typ 137	Sin Typ 148	Sof 110	Voskr 27
Lord I call upon Thee						t.8 autom. О преславное -о страш... с древа -о страш... мертвообр -о страш... во свете	t.8 autom. О преславное -о страш... с древа -о страш... мертвообр -о страш... во свете
Lauds	t.2 -егда от древа и тому под	t.2 -егда от древа -егда в нов -егда с мя	t.2 autom. Вышних -егда от древа -егда в нов -егда с мя	t.2 -егда от др -егда в нов -егда с мя t.2 autom. О великааго -о неиздре -о неизглаг t.6 autom. Ангельскы -повелим в -воспоим в -веньчаем -приникне		t.2 -егда от др -егда в нов -егда силы Тя Христе	t.2 autom. Егда от -егда от др -егда в нов -егда с мя

⁸³⁸ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 127.

	Sin 330, Usp 8, Sof 96, Voskr 27, Sin Typ 138			Sin Typ 137	Sin Typ 148, Sof 85, Chil 307, Sin Typ 147		
Vespers	three, t.2 autom. О велика <u>Glory...a nd ever</u> t.6 -днешни		On 9, three from Sunday Ost., t.1; t.2 -здесь при -что видим -грядете ви <u>Glory...an d ever</u> t.8 -придете	from Sunday Ost., t.1: -вечерняя молитвы -поем Твою Христе	(t.2 autom.О велика -о неизглаз -о неиздре -где Жени <u>Glory...and ever</u> t.6 -дньишньи -испроси)		

The prosomoia cycle in the 2nd tone, *Егда от древа*, prescribed in Sin 330, is present in all manuscripts, including the Sticheria and Sin Typ 138, in which this cycle is the only among the prosomoia of the Holy Week. The same applies to the Orbelsky Triodion F.n.I.102. In some Sticheria, there is no indication of the prosomoion. In the Argirov Triodion, instead of the prosomoia on the automelon *Егда от древа*, the same stichera are marked with an indication of the automelon *Вьшних*. In Sin Typ 148, however, this cycle is absent.

All Russian sources, except for the Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin, copied from the South Slavic source (and the Argirov Triodion), which indicate the Octoechos Resurrection stichera on “Lord I call upon Thee”, include the cycle of prosomoia in tone 2, on the automelon *О великаго таинства*, which in Sin 330 is attributed to St Theodore.⁸³⁹

Apart from the section for “Lord I call upon Thee” for the Vespers of Great Saturday, the prosomoia, placed in Voskr 27, differ strikingly from other manuscripts by their content and also by their number. These prosomoia cycles for Great Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday do not correspond to the Typikon and cannot be found in any other Russian or South Slavic manuscript. The prosomoia cycle in the 2nd tone, *Егда от древа*, dedicated to the service for the Washing of the feet on Great Thursday, can be found both in Voskr 27 and in Sof 110. Sof 110 contains prosomoia for Great Friday, whereas Voskr 27 does not. However, it seems likely that the prosomoia cycle in tone 8, *О преславнаго*, written for Friday in Sof 110, is another redaction of the translation of

⁸³⁹ Sin 330, f. 35.

the same 8th tone stichera prosomoia cycle (*О преславнаго*), repeated for Great Saturday on a textual redaction which coincides with the cycle in Voskr 27 as well as in Sof 110, for the “Lord I call upon Thee”.

It can thus be said that Voskr 27 contains three prosomoia cycles for the Holy Week (Great Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday), which do not appear in any other Russian or Slavonic source, and also two types of prosomoia (for Great Thursday and the Saturday Matins), repeated only in Sof 110.

The question concerning the origin of these prosomoia is relatively difficult; however, some parallels in the Greek sources partly make it possible to shed light on them.

Concerning Great Monday, when Voskr 27 presents the prosomoia stichera in tone 2 *Ангел убо*

- *Вчера Тя с цветами жидовские дети*
- *Приближается Жених, свещи вси возжем*
- *Предати Тя поучается*

it is possible only to argue that these are not the triodia written by Joseph, related by Karabinov on the basis of the Grottaferrata Triodion Δ.β.VII.⁸⁴⁰ There are no counterparts to Voskr 27 even among the anonymous hymns, listed by Karabinov⁸⁴¹ that fell out of use after the unifying and abridgement of the stichera parts, first in the Greek, later in the Russian sources.

The prosomoia for Great Tuesday, 2nd tone *Безакония*, are not encountered among the anonymous hymns in Karabinov’s list, either:

- *Милосердием Си ущедри Господи*
- *Высокомысленный разум отъими от нас*
- *На вольную муку Си Господи пришествовав⁸⁴²*

The prosomoia for Great Wednesday, 6th tone *Все упование*

- *сонмище безаконьно на дворе Каиафы*
- *блудница миро Ти многоценное приносит*
- *судьи всяческая на судище грядет*

⁸⁴⁰ Карабинов 152.

⁸⁴¹ The stichera for Great Monday are presented on p. 274-276 in his book.

⁸⁴² Карабинов 277-278.

are not, on the basis of comparing them with the Greek prosomoia presented by Karabinov, written by Joseph.⁸⁴³ At the same time, they are listed among the anonymous prosomoia that were found by Karabinov in the 14th century Grottaferrata manuscript Δ.β.IX, and the Sinai 742 manuscript from year 1099:

πβ´ Ὁλην ἀποθέμενοι

- *Συνεδριον ανομοι εν τη αυλη Καιαφα*
- *Η πορνη το μυρον σοι το πολυτιμητον*
- *Ο κρινων τα συμπαντα*⁸⁴⁴

For Great Thursday, both Voskr 27 and Sof 110 present the prosomoia in the 2nd tone
Егда от древа:

- *егда леонтием чресла препоясая Христе*
- *егда в Сионе уставная и божественая Пасха*
- *вечеру к Пасце таиней днесь*

The Greek equivalent of the third of these prosomoia stichera can be found in the list of Karabinov who cites in this case two Greek sources: Sinai 735 and Grottaferrata Δ.β.VIII (both from the 10th century):

β´ Οτε εκ του ζυλου⁸⁴⁵

- *Δειπνον, προς το Πασχα μυστικον*

For the two first Russian prosomoia, no equivalents were found by Karabinov; he only points to their presence in Sof 110.⁸⁴⁶

The cycle for the 8th tone stichera prosomoia *Ο преславное* is written in Voskr 27 after the service for the Night of Great Friday, at the end of the section with the stichera for the Friday Vespers, immediately above the title in initials: “On Holy and Great Saturday”. This section includes the following stichera:

- *ο страшного видения с древа ныне снем*
- *ο страшного видения днесь мертвообразно в плащаницу*
- *ο страшного видения во свете живыи божескы*

⁸⁴³ Карабинов 152.

⁸⁴⁴ Карабинов 279.

⁸⁴⁵ Unfortunately, from this moment the diacritical signs are consistently left out due to the technical and time limitations.

⁸⁴⁶ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 281.

The Greek variants of these three stichera were presented in Karabinov's attachment that included the anonymous stichera for Great Friday. Apart from the three that appeared in Voskr 27, the list contains two other Greek stichera for the same automelon. Thus, they constitute a group of five, among which those included in Voskr 27 are placed at the beginning of the list. The sources from which these stichera were found are the following: the 13th century Porf 229 contains the three equivalents for the Russian stichera; the 11th century Vatican 771 contains only the first one; the 14th century Vatopedi 316 and the 14th century Vatopedi 950 contain the third stichera of Voskr 27; and the two stichera not included in this Pentekostarion can be found in the Grottaferrata manuscript Δ.β.VIII. We will present the first three Greek variants that were included in Voskr 27:

Πδ´

- Ω του φοβερου οραματος, του ξυλου νυν καθελων
- Ω του φοβερου οραματος, εν ταφω νεκροειδως
- Ω του φοβερου οραματος, ο φως οικων θεικως

Thus, the prosomoia cycles that were included in Voskr 27 and not in any other Russian or Slavic manuscript, except for the rare case of Sof 110, reveal a distinguishing feature of the Voskresensky Pentekostarion⁸⁴⁷. The rare prosomoia, which so far remain unidentified, could not have been written by Slavic authors, since they are encountered in the Greek Triodia already from the 10th century onward (it is difficult to imagine a Greek 10th century source containing Slavic hymnography, translated into Greek).

These ancient anonymous prosomoia were not transmitted to the old (not later than the 2nd type classified by Karabinov) Greek Triodion which was used as the main source for the GIM-type Triodia and Pentekostaria, beginning from the old redactions Pog 41 and Sin Typ 138, including Sin 319 and Voskr 27, which contained only the prosomoia by St Theodore in its Lenten part. The second source in the copying of Voskr 27 and Sin 319 was most likely a notated Russian Sticherarion, based on an ancient source, possibly a Tropologion that can be traced back to the Palestine practice. The

⁸⁴⁷ Concerning the possibility of Voskr 27 and Paraklitike Sin Typ 80 having been copied within the same set, it makes sense to refer here to the conclusion of Lozovaia, that this Paraklitike, like Voskr 27, includes the hymns, which appears exclusively rare in other manuscripts, and like Voskr 27, the examples of fixing of these rare texts could be found in the Grottaferrata codices and belongs to St Joseph: Лозовая, *Древнерусский нотированный Параклит*, p. 74-75.

third source used in the creation of Sin 319 and Voskr 27 must have been a Slavic Triodion that contained Slavic hymnography which was not present in Pog 41. The source from which the anonymous prosomoia of Voskr 27 were copied could have been either a Greek manuscript, or its Slavic translation, completely based on its old Greek original and not containing Slavic hymnography. In any case, it was already the fourth source without which Voskr 27 could not have been written. It is possible that it was exactly this source from which the stichera prosomoia and the triodia by St Joseph were copied into Sin 319.

Chapter 6

*Sin 319 and Voskr 27: Questions concerning the composition of the
codices in the context of liturgical practice*

Sin 330, Sin 319 and Vosrk 27 and the beginning of the liturgical day

In the preceding Chapter, the contents of Sin 319 and Vosrk 27 are compared with the contents of the Russian and South Slavic manuscripts. The rubrics from the Typikon that were analysed in Chapter 5 were restricted to the authors of the hymnography.

In this Chapter, we shall examine the relationship between the liturgical order as expressed in chant books and as performed in the real liturgical practice and described in the Typikon.

As already pointed out, all the Russian GIM-type Triodia, the Kiyarin Triodion, the GIM-type Pentekostarion and some of the Sofisky Menaia belonged to the compositional types in which the order of the morning and evening hymns for one day was mixed. As will be shown later, the Russian Sticheraria can also be attributed to this group of manuscripts.

In the process of analyzing the Typikon copy Sin 330 and the typologically later Slavic Triodia on the basis of their structure, both books which reflect the actual liturgical order and those not reflecting it will be included in the same group. This order, no matter how ancient the traditions were that are found in the book, was the main regulator of their functioning in the 12th century. In spite of certain greater or smaller local differences in the services, all manuscripts were used within the framework of the Studite Typikon, and the composition of each book was perceived by their users as part of the liturgical context. Consequently, the books based on the ancient prototypes did not lose their topicality. Thus, if the combination of the composition of a book with the liturgical order retained in practice was a norm in the 12th century, this norm has to be adopted in the comparative analysis of the sources.

The point of departure for this process is the definition of the beginning of the liturgical day.

As noted in Chapter 3, the beginning of the daily section was usually marked with graphic symbols in the Sofisky Menaia, the GIM-type Triodia and Pentekostarion and in the Typografsky Parakletike. We shall examine the shortest daily cycles in Sin 319, comprising only one hymn, since they are not divided within by any graphic signs into different sequences.

For example, the liturgical order for the 2nd Lenten Saturday in Sin 319 is structured in the following manner: it is preceded by a title “On Friday of the 2nd

week...”, written in initials (f. 123v), and followed by a similarly written title “On Saturday of the 2nd week, tetraodion“ (f. 128v). Then there is written the tetraodion, which is followed by the new title, in initials: “The 2nd week of the Lent” (f.131). From the compositional point of view, the Saturday cycle begins with the tetraodion. The whole manuscript is formed in this way – the Matins of each day are marked with a title written in initials. These graphic means are used to indicate the beginning of the morning services in Voskr 27 as well as in the Sofisky Menaia.

Immediately preceding the tetraodion of the Saturday in 319, there is a *idiomelon* under a small title “on Friday evening...”, divided from the surroundings with a small title line with one of the most simple graphic figures, with which the sections within the daily cycles are usually marked. Should we attribute this *idiomelon* to the Friday cycle or consider it a second hymn for Friday? The answer can be found in the *Typikon*.

When copying Sin 330, the scribe was well aware of the order of the service and of its relationship with the rubrics. Consequently, he, as well as the scribes of Sin 319, used graphic means to mark the beginnings of the sections. In order to better understand the system of marking the beginning of each day, we shall point out certain rubrics in Sin 330.

Written in initials on f.1v, there is a title “On the Meat-fare Friday in the Vespers... (followed by a description for the *stichera* on “Lord, I call upon thee”, the *prokeimenon* for the Vespers, the *aposticha*, the note on the missing *apolytikion*, the *litany* and the dismissal). It is to be known how on this Meat-fare Saturday neither in the Vespers nor in the Matins the *stichera* nor the canon for the saint are to be sung when it is not a Lord’s feast or a feast of a special saint. In the Matins of this Saturday after the psalms... (followed by a detailed description of the Matins)”. This is followed by instructions for the Liturgy of the day and a note that the same order is to be followed on the Saturday preceding Pentecost, after which there is an empty spot and the beginning, written in initials, of the new day: “Meat-fare Sunday...”. Thus, the whole order for the Saturday is separated from the rest with the help of the artistic formation of the text into one section. This section begins with the Vespers for the Meat-fare Friday, which is identified with the Saturday with the help of the phrase “the same Saturday”, although it is Friday that is being described. In the instruction for the omitting of the Menaion commemoration, the scribe again begins Saturday from the Friday evening, after which the Matins follows.

The next section, whose beginning was cited above, is structured in the following way: “Meat-fare Sunday. On Saturday evening...”. This title clearly states that the day begins with Vespers. The same method is used in the case of Cheesefare Sunday (f. 7v. “Cheesefare Sunday on Saturday in the Vespers”). On f. 12, there is a title written in initials “First Sunday of the Lent the holy prophets are to be commemorated... (followed by a complete text of the troparion for the day)..., on Saturday evening after singing Blessed is the man... (followed by the description of the Vespers)..., on the first Sunday of Lent at Matins...”. On f. 20, there is a title “Palm Sunday. On Saturday in the Vespers...”. Some other quotations from the Triodion part of the Typikon could be presented here, clearly stating that the day begins with the Vespers, not with the Matins. The services in the Menaion of Sin 330 also begin with the Vespers.

However, with respect to the quantity, a major part of the services, particularly in the Pentekostarion, begin with the Matins which are graphically marked with a title written in initials. If in reality the Triodion or Menaion commemorations, reflected in the hymnography, did begin with the Vespers (even in the case when they are followed by the Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts), why then the scribe or the initiator of the copying of the Sin 330 codex specially marked the beginning of the day with the Matins? Since the laying out of the daily cycle in this copy was not disturbed, the graphic way of distinguishing the section did not carry any information with respect to the order of the service. Which type of information was transmitted through the graphic division of the Matins section from the rest?

In order to answer these questions, we need to consider certain facts.

Sin 330 is a copy of the Studite-Alexios Typikon. This Typikon was written by a monk who later became the hegoumen of the Studite monastery and later, the Patriarch of Constantinople, for the monastery of the Dormition of the Theotokos that he had founded in the capital of Byzantium. Patriarch Alexios must have understood his role in the continuation and the strengthening of the Studite practices when creating a Typikon that was based on the Studite Hypotyposis (see Pentkovsky), considered the first short version of the Studite rules. When the Hypotyposis was written in the 9th century, the Studite synthesis was not yet a tradition molded by centuries of use. As pointed out in Chapter 1, it combined both Constantinopolitan and Palestinian elements, the latter represented by the material for the daily cycles of the liturgical order. In the monastery of St Sabas, the structure of services was orientated towards eremitic

monasticism. In this tradition, certain major cycles (such as those for Sunday, the Menaion and the Triodion cycle) were crystallized into services that began with the Vespers and continued for the whole night up to the beginning of the following day. The spiritual authority of Palestinian monasticism was very high in the Studite monasteries at the time of the creation of the liturgical synthesis. For this reason, the gradual replacement of Palestinian elements with Studite ones, such as the beginning of the daily cycle in a coenobitic monastery with the morning service, or the daily Liturgies of the Pre-sanctified Gifts during the whole period of Lent, must have taken a considerable time and is reflected in the earliest copies of the Typikon and liturgical books.

Traces of the Palestinian monastic tradition can be seen in the Russian copy of the Studite- Alexian Typikon, for instance, in the fact that certain rules are repeated several times, thus reflecting the not-yet stabilized normative practice at the time of the writing of the Greek Typikon. This can be seen, for instance, in the Liturgy.

In Sin 330, the Liturgy of the Pre-sanctified Gifts, of St Basil the Great (specified only for Great Thursday and Great Saturday) and “The Holy Liturgy”, without its name, are mentioned. The absence of the name of liturgies celebrated on Saturdays and Sundays of Lent could indicate that the rule of the celebrations on these days has been established and well known for a long time.

About the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified Gifts, it could be said, that in the Palestinian tradition, this liturgy was celebrated on a highly limited number of days.⁸⁴⁸ In Constantinople, the liturgy was celebrated notably more often and it was not restricted only to the Lenten period. In the Studite synthesis, this liturgy was prescribed for all days of the Lent, including Great Monday, Great Tuesday, Great Wednesday and Holy Friday.

In Sin 330, the description of the service for the Monday of the first Lenten week is concluded with the instruction concerning the whole Lenten period: ***“And it is to be known that during the whole Lent, on every day, the Lenten liturgy is to be celebrated”*** (f. 10r). It might be assumed that, as a settled practice, this instruction of the daily celebration of the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified Gifts would have been enough. However, it can be found in the Lenten part of the copy another 11 times. Considering the fact that Sin 330 generally comprises an abbreviated selection of services (Table 10 shows that from the 52 Lenten services included in Sin 319, only 32 are more or less in

a complete form written in Sin 330), the number of references to any type of liturgy – 20 for the Lenten part – is decidedly higher than could be taken as an occasional remark. It seems likely that in the creation of the Studite- Alexian Typikon, the rejection of the Palestinian tradition was a guiding line, and the repeated instructions on the Studite rule of the daily Lenten Liturgy served as confirmation of this aim.

To this habit of confirming Studite orders by repeated reference can most likely be associated also the graphic marking of the Matins as the beginning of the liturgical day, as indicated in the Studite Triodia. This kind of marking can not be found, for instance, in the Sticheraria, whose tradition carried many signs of the Palestinian influence, as pointed out in the case of the commemorations. All the Sticheraria, from the earliest to the latest, in no manner indicate the beginning of the liturgical day, despite the fact that the question of the liturgical order as guiding the layout of the material is actual in all these copies.

The distribution of the evening and morning stichera on the Cheesefare week and the question of the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified Gifts in Sin 330, Sin 319 and the Russian Sticheraria

The confirmation of a rule by means of repetition in order to replace the older one with Palestinian roots is one of the evidence of the influence of the latter to the Studite one. There are also other indications of this influence, for instance, the outright combining of an old, Palestinian norm, with a new, Studite norm in one manuscript. This imposition is reflected in the distribution of the stichera in the Russian Sticheraria.

We shall first turn to the instructions in Sin 330.

For Cheesefare week, for Wednesday and Friday, the Studite Typikon prescribes the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified Gifts. In his dissertation on this liturgy, Fr Stefanos Alexopoulos writes: “The earliest attestation to PRES on Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare is in a canon attributed to Nikephoros of Constantinople, patriarch from 806 to 815. There it is stated that ‘the monks should not fast on Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare week, but after the dismissal of the PRES they should eat cheese anywhere they might be.’ It is possible that the canon here is addressing the newly arrived monks at the Studios monastery, who, having come from Palestine brought with the many Palestinian practices initiating the Studite liturgical reform... In the Sabaitic tradition,

⁸⁴⁸ Alexopoulos, *The Presanctified Liturgy*, 23.

celebrating the PRES on Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare Week is explicitly prohibited: ‘It should be known, that we have not received [the tradition] from the holy fathers of celebrating a full liturgy or a PRES on Wednesday and Friday of Cheesefare Week.’⁸⁴⁹

In this Cheesefare week, the singing of the stichera idiomela by Andrew of Pyrgos is begun. These stichera are included in all Russian sources – the Sticheraria and the Triodia. Concerning distribution of these stichera in the different parts of the daily cycle, Sin 330 states: *“For the whole Cheesefare week in the Matins in the stichera aposticha and in the Vespers after the prokeimenon the sticheron idiomelon is sung twice, together with the martyrikon in the same tone and the theotokion”* (f. 5r).

It is not always easy to read the 12th century source correctly. In this case, if we do not consider the question of the presence of the Liturgy of Pre-Sanctified Gifts and read the text in a simple manner, it is possible to conclude that there are sections for the stichera aposticha (sung in the Vespers after the prokeimenon) for the morning as well as for the evening all through the Cheesefare week. The section of the aposticha in the Studite practice comprises three stichera; in this case, the idiomelon is repeated, and the third sticheron is that of the martyrs, and the stichera for the Theotokos is sung after “glory... now...”

In other words, throughout Cheesefare week, the aposticha section consists of:

- the idiomelon twice
- the martyrikon
- “glory... now...” and theotokion

For the interpretation of this quotation, we will employ a scheme of Cheesefare week in Sin 319 and in those Russian Sticheraria in which this service has been preserved: Sof 96, Sof 85 (the manuscript begins with the fragment of the idiomelon for Thursday morning), Usp 8 and Sin Typ 148.

Table 17.

Sof 96	Sin Typ 148	Sin 319	Sof 85	Usp 8
On Sunday of	Sunday of	Sticheron on	lacuna	Sunday Vespers

⁸⁴⁹ Alexopoulos, *The Presanctified Liturgy*, 24.

Meatfare at Vespers we sing at aposticha (idiomelon) twice, e since then all stichera (idiomela) we sing twice ⁸⁵⁰ . Idiomelon:	Meatfare Vespers	Sunday at Vespers, Idiomelon:		
t.(σρετρο) <i>преступивше</i> martyrikon, theotokion.	t.8 <i>преступивше</i>	t.8 <i>преступивше</i> martyrikon, theotokion.	lacuna	t.8 <i>преступивше</i> martyrikon, theotokion.
		Monday of Cheesefare		
		kathismata triodia		
Monday Matins	Monday of Cheesefare Matins	Monday Matins	lacuna	Monday Matins
t.3 <i>во все время пост</i> martyrikon, theotokion.	t.3 <i>во все время пост</i>	t.3 <i>во все время пост</i> martyrikon, theotokion.	lacuna	t.3 <i>во все время пост</i> martyrikon, theotokion.
Monday of Cheesefare Vespers	Monday Vespers	Monday Vespers	lacuna	Monday Vespers
t.8 <i>поста ради</i> martyrikon, theotokion.	t.8 <i>поста ради</i>	t.8 <i>поста ради</i> martyrikon, theotokion.	lacuna	t.8 <i>поста ради</i> martyrikon, theotokion.
		Tuesday		
		kathismata triodia		
Tuesday Matins	Tuesday of Cheesefare Matins	Tuesday Matins	lacuna	Tuesday Matins
t.3 <i>в сласть людие</i> martyrikon, theotokion	t.3 <i>в сласть людие</i>	t.3 <i>в сласть людие</i> martyrikon, theotokion	lacuna	t.3 <i>в сласть людие</i> martyrikon, theotokion
Tuesday Vespers	Tuesday Vespers	Tuesday Vespers	lacuna	Tuesday Vespers
t.1 <i>радостно</i> martyrikon, theotokion.	t.1 <i>радостно</i>	t.1 <i>радостно</i> martyrikon, theotokion.	lacuna	t.1 <i>радостно</i> martyrikon, theotokion.
		Wednesday of Cheesefare		
		kathismata triodia		
Wednesday Matins	Wednesday of Cheesefare Matins	Wednesday Matins	lacuna	Wednesday Matins
t.1 <i>от пища постяц</i> martyrikon,	t.1 <i>от пища постяц</i>	t.1 <i>от пища постяц</i> martyrikon,	lacuna	t.1 <i>от пища постяц</i> martyrikon,

⁸⁵⁰ Sof 96, f.13v.: “в неделю мясопустную вечер на стиховне поют двоици и оттоле поют вся стихица подвоицю”.

theotokion.		theotokion.		theotokion.
Wednesday of Cheesefare Vespers	Wednesday Vespers	Wednesday Vespers	lacuna	Wednesday Vespers
t.3 <i>восия весна</i> martyrikon, theotokion.	t.? <i>восия весна</i>	t.3 <i>восия весна</i> martyrikon, theotokion.	lacuna	t.3 <i>восия весна</i> martyrikon, theotokion.
		Thursday		
		kathismata triodia		
Thursday Matins	Thursday Matins	Thursday Matins	Thursday Matins	Thursday Matins
t.3 <i>восия</i> <i>воздержания</i> martyrikon, theotokion.	t.3 <i>восия</i> <i>воздержания</i>	t.3 <i>восия</i> <i>воздержания</i> martyrikon, theotokion.	(t.3 <i>восия</i> <i>воздержания</i>	(t.3 <i>восия</i> <i>воздержания</i> martyrikon, theotokion.
Thursday Vespers	Thursday Vespers	Thursday Vespers Idiomelon	Thursday Vespers	Thursday Vespers
t.2 <i>Господень крест</i> martyrikon, theotokion.	t.2 <i>Господень крест</i>	t.2 <i>Господень крест</i> martyrikon, theotokion.	t.2 <i>Господень крест</i>	t.2 <i>Господень крест</i> martyrikon, theotokion.
		Friday		
		kathismata triodia		
Friday Matins	Friday of Cheesefare Matins.	Friday Matins	Friday Matins	Friday Matins
t.6 <i>преже спасенаго креста</i> martyrikon, theotokion.	t.6 <i>преже спасенаго креста</i>	t.6 <i>преже спасенаго креста</i> martyrikon, theotokion.	t.6 <i>преже спасенаго креста</i>	t.6 <i>преже спасенаго креста</i> martyrikon, theotokion.
Friday Vespers to sing twice	Friday Vespers	Friday Vespers idiomelon	Friday Vespers	Friday Vespers
t.2 <i>очистим себе братие</i> for the dead: <i>плачюся и рыдаю</i>	t.2 <i>очистим себе братие</i>	t.2 <i>очистим себе братие</i>	t.2 <i>очистим себе братие</i>	t.2 <i>очистим себе братие</i>
Friday of Cheesefare stichera to Fathers on Lord, I call upon Thee, to pronounce once	Friday of Cheesefare at Vespers on Lord, I call upon Thee,	Saturday of Cheesefare, on Friday at Vespers on Lord, I call upon Thee,	Saturday of Cheesefare on Lord, I call upon Thee, once	The same day Vespers, the Fathers
t.8 Придете <i>придете вси верн радуися Египте кто издреици</i> and the sticheron for the dead Плачься и рукама задвема	t.8 idiomelon <i>грядете вси верн радуися Египте кто издреици</i>	t.8 Придете <i>придете вси верн радуися Египте кто издреици</i>	t.8 Придете <i>грядете вси вер радуися Египте кто издреици</i>	.8 Придете <i>грядете вси вер радуися Египте кто издреици</i>

As can be seen in the scheme, all idiomela coincide (unlike in the Triodion of Moisey Kiyani, as earlier pointed out). There are no specially marked sections in the

distribution of the stichera, no division on the basis of their importance or their type as starting or concluding hymns among the stichera for the Matins and for Vespers (the rubrics, indicated in the scheme, correspond to the original). In Sin 319, in contrast to the normal practice, the beginning of the days during this week, starting with the kathisma, are marked only with 1-3 almost unnoticeable initial letters. The kathisma and the triodion are placed in this week between the evening sticheron and the morning one, which is sung in the aposticha, in other words, after the triodion. In this way, the distribution of the hymns for this week in Sin 319 completely corresponds to the order of the service. There is not a single indication in the manuscripts prescribing some of the idiomela to one section and others to another. Whenever the martyrikon and theotokion are mentioned, the instructions are always identical, written in incipits and without indications of their place in the stichera section (before or after the “glory”). All these details completely correspond to the above cited rubrics of the stichera aposticha in Vespers and Matins of Cheesefare week.

However, the Friday makes an exception to the scheme. In all five sources, the beginning is indicated with an evening idiomelon, which is not marked with the rubrics “aposticha”, yet, however, according to the initial intention of its author who belonged to the Palestinian hymnographic school well prior to the appearance of the Studion rules, must have been prescribed for this section. The evening aposticha are followed by a section for “Lord, I call upon Thee”, thus disturbing the order of the service. Apart from this, the Sticherarion Sof 96 contains repeated information, as if the source used for the copying had been changed to another source or other set of rules. And indeed, for Friday the martyrikon is replaced by a sticheron for the dead, as can be seen in Sof 96. This feature is shared by all the rest of the manuscripts – there is no indication of the martyrikon. This evening idiomelon, together with the sticheron for the dead, could be understood as belonging to the aposticha section.

However, there is a correction noted in Sof 96: the three stichera prosomoia for “Lord, I call upon Thee” are followed by an indication to the stichera for the dead. There is no indication that the idiomelon be sung twice; however, this is characteristic of the Studite practice, as we will see a little later. When the idiomelon is repeated, the number of the stichera reaches 6, which is the necessary number for the section of “Lord, I call upon Thee” for the day.

The double indication of the sticheron for the dead for the evening points to the collision between two practices at that time. The Lenten Liturgy was not ascribed to one

of them, the Palestinian practice. Consequently, all Vespers contain a section for “Lord, I call upon Thee” (with the normal hymnography from Menaion and Oktoechos) and one for the aposticha in which, as it was explained in Sin 330, the idiomelon of the Triodion is sung together with the martyrikon. Another practice is fixed also in Sin 330: the prescriptions for the Vespers of Cheesefare Wednesday (f. 6r) comprise the stichera for “Lord, I call upon Thee”, the entrance, the prokeimenon, the paremia and the Liturgy of the Pre-sanctified Gifts. The celebration of this Liturgy excludes the presence of the stichera aposticha.

The same Liturgy is prescribed in Sin 330 for the Cheese-fare Friday. On f. 6v, there is a detailed description of the Friday Vespers that turns into a Lenten Liturgy, also including the order in which the stichera for “Lord, I call upon Thee” are sung. “6 verses are inserted and the idiomelon is sung twice, and three stichera for the holy fathers from the Triodion, the 8th tone “*Придете все вернии*”, once, on the remaining verse (the 6th) the sticheron for the dead is intoned in the same tone “*Плачу и рыдаю*”, “glory... and now” and theotokion”.

In Sof 96, it seems, there is a section for the aposticha written in accordance with the Palestinian rule or source, and a section for the “Lord, I call upon Thee” according to the Studite practice. This fact is confirmed by the double marking in the sticheron for the dead (written in the first case without notation and indicated by an incipit in the other):

Palestinian practice (Sin 330, f.5): aposticha	Studite practice (Sin 330, f.6v): on Lord, I call upon Thee	Sof 96
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • idiomelon x 2 • for the dead • now and ever – theotokion. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • idiomelon x 2 • 3 prosomia • for the dead • now and ever – theotokion. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • idiomelon (x 2) • for the dead • (now and ever – theotokion)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 prosomia • for the dead • (now and ever – theotokion)

It is interesting to note that whereas in the case of Friday, Sof 96 reflects the combination of two traditions, in the case of Wednesday, not one of the sources shows any trace of the possible absence of the stichera aposticha.

It can thus be seen that for Cheesefare week, the Typikon Sin 330 gives evidence of the imposition of the Studite practice on the Palestinian, whereas in Sin 319 and particularly in the Sticheraria, the influence of the Palestinian practice can be noted, excluding the Lenten Liturgy. This brings forward a suggestion that the Sticheraria are

rooted in the Palestinian practice of the 2nd half of the 9th century, when the Studite tradition was not yet finally settled. It is possible that one of the sources for Sin 319, which can be considered a sort of a Sticherarion in which, the kathismata and triodia were inserted between the evening and morning idiomela for the Cheesefare week, dates to the same period as the Sticheraria.

The question of the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified Gifts: Sin 330, Voskr 27 and the Russian Sticheraria

With respect to the first three days of the Holy Week, the liturgical order of the St Sabas Lavra coincides with that of the Studite monastery – the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified Gifts was celebrated on all three days. The traditions depart on the Great Friday: the Studite-Alexian Typikon prescribes a Lenten Liturgy, while in the Sabaitic norms it is not indicated.⁸⁵¹

Voskr 27 presents for all days of the Holy Week only one evening stichera section, without indications as to whether they belong to the “Lord, I call upon Thee” or should be distributed between the “Lord, I call upon Thee” and the aposticha. The numerical relationship of the stichera in Voskr 27 and Sin 330 is as follows:

For Monday, Voskr 27 has two stichera preceding the “glory”, the first of which is repeated. Sin 330 prescribes, apparently by mistake, the singing “of 4”, however, indicates the repetition of only the first sticheron while the second is sung only once. The stichera coincide only partly in the Typikon and the Pentekostarion.

For Tuesday, the stichera following the triodion in Voskr 27 are not marked with “in the evening”. There are four stichera before the “glory”, first of which is repeated. Sin 330 contains three stichera, which are the same as in Voskr (with the addition of the fourth one).

For Wednesday, the stichera section in Voskr 27 is attributed to the evening and includes five stichera before “glory”. In Sin 330, the “Lord, I call upon Thee” section is marked “for 4” and has four stichera preceding the “glory”. There are differences in their contents.

It can thus be seen that in the case of the first three days of the Holy Week, Voskr 27 tends to increase the number of the evening stichera indicated in Sin 330. This is, however, hardly a proof of the combining of another stichera section. The fact

that the number of the stichera increases has to do with use of more than one source in the creation of Voskr 27, as will be later shown.

All the Sticheraria, as Voskr 27, contain only one evening stichera section for the three first days. In majority of them, the stichera have not been marked as for “Lord, I call upon Thee”.

An unexpected deviation from this practice can be noted on the Holy Monday and Holy Tuesday in the Orbelsky type Triodion F.n.I.102, in which there are two evening sections. Another redaction of the Orbelsky Triodion, Pog 40, joins this practice in the case of Holy Wednesday. These are the only manuscripts which most likely do not indicate the celebration of the Liturgy of the Pre-sanctified Gifts on those days. However, the Orbelsky F.n.I.102 attributes a Lenten liturgy to the Holy Friday.

In the case of the evening of Great Friday, for which the Studite- Alexian Typikon prescribes a Lenten liturgy and 6 stichera for the “Lord, I call upon Thee” part, Voskr 27 includes 6 stichera under the rubric “in the evening”, which are followed by a sticheron for “glory” and another for “now and ever”, thus concluding the section which in principle corresponds to the “Lord, I call upon Thee” part. After this come three stichera prosomoia which have no title. These are followed by a section for the Lauds for Great Saturday.

The disposition of the stichera prosomoia between the stichera for “Lord, I call upon Thee” and the Lauds may indicate that they were considered a section of the stichera aposticha for the evening, especially if we remember Karabinov’s view on the complementing prosomoia cycles by St Joseph as inserted in the Triodion (including also Sin 319) in the aposticha section, in order to prevent the repeating of the one and the same prosomoion for the aposticha by St Theodore both in the morning and in the evening. If the evening stichera aposticha in Voskr 27 were indeed inserted, this denotes the absence of the Lenten liturgy and, consequently, the Palestinian roots of the ancient source of copying.

Nevertheless, this interpretation must not exclude others. In some cases, the inclusion of certain prosomoia in Voskr 27 and Sin 319 which are absent in the Sticheraria and the other Russian Triodia leads to a larger number of stichera than is necessary for the liturgical service. These stichera may have constituted an alternative for the idiomela. For instance, in Sof 110 the prosomoion cycle for this day was clearly

⁸⁵¹ Alexopoulos, *The Presanctified Liturgy*, 28-29.

attributed to the section of “Lord, I call upon Thee”. Accordingly, the number of the stichera idiomela in this Pentekostarion was reduced to three.

The service for the Great Friday evening has been preserved in the following Sticheraria: Usp 8, Sin Typ 147, Sof 96, Sof 85 and Sin Typ 148. In the first four, despite the differences in the number and the contents of the stichera, their number does not go over six. The evening section, although consistently without a reference to the “Lord, I call upon Thee”, is the only one. It may thus be said that these Sticheraria indicate the Liturgy of the Pre-sanctified Gifts for Great Friday.

A slightly different example can be noted in Sin Typ 148. It presents Great Saturday with only one title: “For Friday evening”, which is followed by the incipit for one idiomelon, the “glory”, “now and ever”, and the incipit for *Тебе одеющагося светом*, which in Sin 330 is attributed to the Lauds. The graphic organization of the stichera implies a conclusion of the section. There is no indication to the morning section. The concluded evening section is followed by three idiomela and three prosomoia, “glory”, “now and ever”, and – instead of one – two stichera. As will be seen in the analysis of the stichera arrangement for certain Sunday triodion services, the manuscripts which were copied from what seem to have been the most ancient sources, may place the stichera from different sections for “glory...now and ever” together at the end of the daily cycle. If we consider this to have taken place also in Sin Typ 148, we can see that the concluded section for “Lord, I call upon Thee” was followed by three stichera idiomela, concluded by the first sticheron for “glory...now and ever”, after which the cycle of prosomoia was concluded with the second sticheron for “glory...now and ever”. In other words, Sin Typ 148 contains not two (as in the Typikon copy Sin 330, for “Lord, I call upon Thee” and for the Lauds) but three sections. In this case, these could have been the following: “Lord, I call upon Thee”, the evening stichera aposticha and the morning stichera for the Lauds. Consequently, there was no Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified Gifts.

The distribution of the evening and morning stichera on Lenten weekdays: Sin 330

With respect to the Lenten period, Sin 330 presents a general description of the evening and morning services up to the 5th week, i.e., up to the service that precedes the Saturday of Lazarus. This description continues from the rubrics of the aposticha

section of the Cheesefare week on f. 5 and, on the basis of its contents, reflects the Palestinian practice:

*“For all weeks⁸⁵² from Cheesefare Sunday to the fifth Sunday of Lent, we prescribe 6 verses for “Lord, I call upon Thee”, to be sung with the penitential stichera in the Oktoechos as many as are there without martyrikon, because the martyrikon is to be sung with the idiomelon, then “glory” and “now and ever” and the theotokion. After this, the entrance and the prokeimenon. The entrance we make until Palm Sunday, until which we sing the sticheron by the holy father for the aposticha from the Triodion once, then the idiomelon twice, “glory” with the martyrikon and “now and ever” with the theotokion. And the aposticha of the Matins. It is thus until Friday of the 6th week”.*⁸⁵³

The order of the sticheron sections for the evening can be presented in the following way:

Lord, I call upon Thee , on 6:

1-6: penitential stichera from the Oktoechos

“glory and now and ever” – theotokion

aposticha

1. prosomoion of St Theodore

2 and 3. idiomelon x 2

“glory”: martyrikon

“now and ever”: theotokion

This quotation presents general rules for the Vespers in which the section for “Lord, I call upon Thee” is followed by the stichera aposticha. There may be some doubt whether the word “nedelya” should be interpreted as a Sunday or as a week. In this case, the description could possibly have referred to the liturgical order for Sunday. However, the quotation comes originally after a detailed description of the Meatfare Saturday, after this the Meatfare Sunday, and then the Vespers from the Meatfare

⁸⁵² “На всяку же неделю...”; the same word “nedelya” in old Russian means “week” and “Sunday”. Concerning interpretation in this case, see below.

⁸⁵³ «На всяку же неделю от сырныя самая и до пятоя недели поста уставляем стихов 6 на ГВ и поются покаянные стихиры в Октаице илико их есть без мученична и мученичен бо якоже речено есть с самогласным поется, слава и ныне богородичен. Посем вход и прокимен. Вход же ся бывает до недели цветныя, до той самая на стиховне поется в триоди стихира святого отца подобныя единою, по сем самогласна двоици, слава рекше мученичен и ныне богородичен. И стиховен же на заутрении(.) такоже бывает до пятка 6 недели»; Sin 330, ff. 5r.-5v.

Sunday to the Cheesefare Monday. On the basis of its disposition in the text, the quote which begins the Cheesefare week clearly does not refer to a Sunday nor to a Saturday. Moreover, it prescribes only 6 stichera for “Lord, I call upon Thee”, while the Sunday section should contain nine of them. There is one more circumstance that denies the possibility of the quote as referring to the Sunday or Saturday service, namely, the fact that it mentions the stichera prosomoia by St Theodore, which are not sung on those days. Thus the quote differs from the Studite practice which prescribes a Lenten liturgy for each weekday.

A description of the Vespers that are not combined with the Lenten liturgy is also found in the service from Thursday to Friday of the 1st week of the Lent.⁸⁵⁴

Considering the fact that the quotation on ff. 5r-5v clearly reflects Palestinian practice, it is nevertheless unlikely that it ended up in the manuscript by chance, by mistake or simply as an indication of a greater respect towards the Palestinian tradition. It seems more likely that the text was intentionally left unchanged, whereas the differences were corrected in the subsequent cases. At the same time, this general section is completely consistent from the viewpoint of the Studite tradition in its description of the aposticha for the Matins. An exactly similar order can be found in Sin 330 a little later, in the description of the Matins for the 1st Monday of the Lent.⁸⁵⁵ In this latter case it is clear that the prosomoion that is prescribed for the Matins is also sung in the Vespers.

How then were the stichera, written initially for the two sections of Vespers, for “Lord, I call upon Thee” (six stichera, including the Menaion, three stichera, as a rule, and the Octoechos), and for aposticha (idiomelon twice, at least one prosomoion, making up at least three stichera), combined in the same section, according to the Studite practice?

In order to answer these questions we need to look at three days in detail: from Tuesday to Wednesday of the 4th week,⁸⁵⁶ from Wednesday to Thursday of the 4th week⁸⁵⁷ and from Tuesday to Wednesday of the 6th week⁸⁵⁸. In the two first cases, a Lenten liturgy is prescribed:

⁸⁵⁴ The list of the stichera on “Lord, I call upon Thee” (for 6 verses: three from the Oktoechos and three from the Menaion) does not include any prosomoia or idiomela, which would give grounds to presume that they would be sung during the aposticha of Vespers.

⁸⁵⁵ Sin 330, f. 9r.

⁸⁵⁶ Sin 330, ff. 15v.-16r.

⁸⁵⁷ Sin 330, ff. 16

⁸⁵⁸ Sin 330, ff. 18.

Tuesday, 4 th week	Wednesday, 4 th week	Tuesday, 6 th week
Lord, I call upon Thee, on 6 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • from Triodion • to the saint of the day, without martyrikon, and the following Liturgy 	Lord, I call upon Thee, on 4 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • t.7 prosomion <i>Днесь бдет</i> and the other two • idiomelon t.8 <i>Преполовьше пучину</i> • t.4 <i>Благых ходатаи пост</i> martyrikon and theotokion, and the following Fasten Liturgy 	Lord, I call upon Thee, on 6 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> t.3 prosomion of St Theodore: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Поставиши 30 сребреник</i> • Idiomelon twice And the other, t.8 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Пришед на гроб</i> • And from Menaion “now and ever” • theotokion

Probably, these three cases all indicate the use of six stichera, and that the four stichera prescribed for the Wednesday of the 4th week is a scribe’s mistake, since the indication “for 4” does not correspond to the number of the stichera. This day cannot be considered a typical weekday, since it is dedicated to the feast of the Cross and to mid-Lent. However, the general scheme – three prosomoia, an idiomelon (most likely to be sung twice) and the other sticheron present a possible variant of combining the Triodion and Menaion stichera⁸⁵⁹. In the case of the 4th week Tuesday, this combination is not clear; nevertheless, it is possible to presume that the first three Triodion stichera constituted the aposticha for the Vespers (the prosomoion by St Theodore and the idiomelon twice) and three Menaion stichera. The order of the 6th week Tuesday points more clearly the Studite rules for the Triodion part of the stichera on “Lord, I call upon Thee” (a prosomoion and the idiomelon twice); however, instead of three common Menaion stichera, two Menaion stichera and one Triodion sticheron are prescribed for this day. The martyrikon was usually placed on the “glory”, as can be seen in the variant for the 4th week Wednesday.

Another example of the Vespers, though once again referring to an exceptional case, can be seen in the description of the Thursday for the Great Canon⁸⁶⁰. There is a Lenten liturgy prescribed for this day, and the section for “Lord, I call upon Thee” also includes six stichera, three of which are from the Triodion (most likely, the prosomoion and the idiomelon twice) and three from the Great Canon.

Two descriptions have to do with the Lenten Fridays and somewhat differ from the descriptions of Tuesdays and Wednesdays presented in the scheme above. One of them is a general guideline *“for all Fridays of the Lent in the Vespers”*, concerning only the stichera for “Lord, I call upon Thee” and the Lenten liturgy.⁸⁶¹ It is placed

⁸⁵⁹ The sticheron of the 4th tone replaces that of Menaion in this case.

⁸⁶⁰ Sin 330, ff. 16r.-16v.

⁸⁶¹ Sin 330, ff. 13r.-13v.

between the Vespers of the 1st Sunday of the Lent and the next Monday, the Monday of the 2nd week. The other describes the Vespers for the 5th week Friday (preceding the significant Studite feast – the Saturday of the Akathistos), and also concludes with a Lenten liturgy.⁸⁶² The schemes of these are as follows:

All Fridays	Friday, 5 th week
Lord, I call upon Thee, on 9 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • idiomelon x 2 • 4 martyrika from Octoechos • 3 from Menaion • 2 for the dead • theotokion then the entrance and the Fasten Liturgy	Lord, I call upon Thee, on 9 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • idiomelon. • 4 martyrika • from Menaion “glory”: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • for the dead • “now and ever”: • theotokion idiomelon t.4, for the Annunciation: <i>Се воздвижение ныне</i> and the Fasten Liturgy

Two features attract attention in these descriptions. Firstly, there are nine verses instead of six (the number of the stichera is higher than nine, even if the final sticheron for the dead is placed after “glory”; using the second description, we can eliminate a scribe’s mistake). Secondly, the prosomoion, which, according to the rubric on f. 9r have to be sung in the morning and in the evening, is absent here. The final, third, variant of the Friday Vespers which can be found in Sin 330 is attributed to the eve of the Saturday of Lazarus and thus cannot serve as an explanation to all Lenten Fridays. It is possible that in the Studite practice, the Friday services notably differed from the other days, as was the case of the services between Sunday and Monday. Another explanation can be found in the possibility that the rubrics reflect the pre-Studite practice or the transitional period.

Vespers between Sunday and Monday differ from the daily services, including Fridays, in their structure. We find examples of this in the descriptions of the Vespers after Cheesefare Sunday⁸⁶³ and the Vespers after the 1st Sunday of Lent⁸⁶⁴. The four stichera to be sung on “Lord, I call upon Thee” were all penitential stichera. The aposticha coincided with the other Lenten services and consisted of the prosomoion, the idiomelon to be sung twice, and the martyrikon for “glory”.

The section of the weekly Lenten stichera on the Lauds for the Matins, preceding the aposticha, is not mentioned under a separate rubric in Sin 330. This may be explained by the fact that these were stichera from the Menaion and Oktoechos (as

⁸⁶² Sin 330, ff. 16v.-17v.

⁸⁶³ Sin 330, f. 8v.

was characteristic for the sections for “Lord, I call upon Thee” in the Palestinian practice prior to the introduction of the daily Lenten liturgy). The only inscription concerning the structure of the stichera on the Lauds on days other than Saturday or Sunday has to do with a special case – the Thursday of the Great Canon with the stichera by St Andrew of Crete (6 stichera of the canon). It may be argued that there were usually 6 stichera: three from the Oktoechos and three from the Menaion. It is possible that it was exactly the section for the weekday Lauds in which the prosomoia by St Joseph (or other authors) appeared later than those by St Theodore, since in other sections, due to the determined number of stichera (for instance, the repetition of the idiomelon does not permit the introduction of two prosomia in the section of the three stichera aposticha in the Matins) and the combination of the stichera on “Lord, I call upon Thee” with the aposticha on weekdays, there was no place for them.

The norm of the six stichera on the Lauds from Monday to Friday is confirmed also by the fact that an exception to this rule, a section consisting of three stichera, is recurrently noted in Sin 330 and refers to the Lenten Saturdays.⁸⁶⁵ However, on Saturdays coinciding with a special commemoration, there are again six stichera for the Lauds, as on Sundays. For example, the Meatfare Saturday⁸⁶⁶ and the Saturday of Lazarus⁸⁶⁷ both have six stichera in this section.

The distribution of the hymns for Vespers and Matins on Lenten weekdays: Sin 319 and the Russian Sticheraria

After analyzing different versions of the distribution of the Lenten stichera in Sin 330 and revealing the practice which can be considered most corresponding to the developing Studite practice, we shall present the conclusions in this scheme:

Table 18.

⁸⁶⁴ Sin 330, ff. 13r.-13v.

⁸⁶⁵ Sin 330 provides each Lenten Saturday with a prescription (martyrika and theotokia), as well as the Cheesefare Saturday (3 martyrika and theotokion) and the Saturday for the 1st Lenten week (for three: martyrika and theotokion): ff. 13v., 6v., 8v. and 11v.

⁸⁶⁶ Sin 330, ff. 1v.-3v.

⁸⁶⁷ Sin 330, f. 19r.

<i>Sin 330</i>	
Lord, I call upon Thee, on 6 (Monday - Thursday)	Matins (Monday - Friday)
<i>Lord, I call upon Thee, on 6</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prosomion by St Theodore • idiomelon x 2 • 3 from the Menaion “glory” • martyrikon “now and ever” • theotokion the Fasten Liturgy 	<i>on the Lauds, on 6</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 from the Octoechos (prosomoia by St Joseph etc.) • 3 from the Menaion “glory” and “now and ever” • theotokion <i>Aposticha, on 3</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prosomion by St Theodore • idiomelon x 2 “glory” • martyrikon “now and ever” • theotokion
<i>Vespers, Lord, I call upon Thee, on 9 (Fridays)</i>	
<i>Lord, I call upon Thee, on 9</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • idiomelon x 2 • 4 martyrika from the Octoechos • 3 from the Menaion “glory” • for the dead “now and ever” • theotokion 	
Sunday evenings	Saturdays of Lent
<i>Lord, I call upon Thee, on 4</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4 stichera of repentance from Octoechos “glory” and “now and ever” • theotokion <i>Aposticha, on 3</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prosomion by St Theodore • idiomelon x 2 “glory” • martyrikon “now and ever” • theotokion 	<i>on the Lauds, on 3</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3 martyrika from the Octoechos “glory” and “now and ever” • theotokion <i>Aposticha, on 33</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prosomion by St Theodore • idiomelon x 2 “glory” • martyrikon “now and ever” theotokion

Thus, according to the Typikon, each weekday had two idiomela (from Monday to Friday, one for the “Lord, I call upon Thee” and one for the stichera aposticha in Matins; on Sunday evening for the aposticha in the evening as well as in the morning) and one prosomoion by St Theodore (sung with each idiomelon on the weekday evenings except, apparently, on Friday).

Next, we shall look at the reflection of these prescriptions in the structure of the Sticheraria and Sin 319, particularly at the 3rd week of the Lent for a number of reasons. Firstly, the course of the 3rd week (as the 1st and the 2nd) is not interrupted by any special days, as is the case with the 4th week (Mid-Lent and the Service of the Cross on Wednesday) and the 5th (the Thursday of the Great Canon by St Andrew of Crete). Moreover, the Sticheraria material concerning the three first weeks has not been preserved to a similar extent: the 1st week begins with a missing part in two sources (Sin 278 starts from Wednesday, Sin Typ 147 from Tuesday), while for the 2nd week, Sin

Typ 147 has preserved only the Monday service. Thus the 3rd week is the least fragmentary. Only one manuscript, Sin Typ 147, begins from Tuesday.

The system of the idiomela for this week coincides in all Sticheraria and Sin 319:

1. t.8 *наказание отверг*
2. t.4 *во злую скверну*
3. t.2 *Отъце благии все еже ми дасть*
4. t.7 *согреших исповедаю Ти*
5. t.2 *Отъца Тя и Зиждителя*
6. t.2 *в чести сы усыновения*
7. t.4 *блудьно расея*
8. t.6 *всыновения отпад блудьныи аз*
9. t.6 *на древе крестьнем*
10. t.6 *Отческаго дара*
11. t.7 *яко блудьныи отступих*

The prosomoia for this week also coincide, although it is possible to note some re-arrangement with respect to their distribution in some other weeks:

1. t.8, on autom. «Преславнии»: *пощения начнем неделю третью*
2. t.3 on autom. «Придете вси»: *придете вси кумалы песнными*
3. t.3 on autom. «Поставиши»: *Господи крестом убив льстиваго*
4. t.6 on autom. «Одесную Спас »: *апостоли спасови*
5. t.5 on autom. «Радуйся»: *Спасе истиньная сладости*

We shall now present the distribution of the idiomela and prosomoia as they appear in the Sticheraria, in Sin 319 and also in the Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin:

Table 19.

mss	Sin 319	Sin Typ 148	Sin Typ 147	Sof 96	Usp 8	Sin Typ 137	Sin 278
Sunday - Monday							
vesp.	idiom 1	idiom 1 prosom 1	пропуск	prosom 1 idiom 1	prosom 1 idiom 1	idiom 1	prosom 1 idiom 1
matins	prosom a) prosom b) prosom 1 idiom 2	idiom 2	пропуск	(Под 1) idiom 2	idiom 2	idiom 2	idiom 2
Monday - Tuesday							
vesp.	idiom 3	idiom 3 prosom 2	пропуск	prosom 2 idiom 3	prosom 2 idiom 3	idiom 3 prosom k) prosom l)	prosom 2 idiom 3
matins	prosom c) prosom d) prosom 2 idiom 4	idiom 4	idiom 4	(prosom 2) idiom 4	idiom 4	idiom 4	idiom 4
Tuesday- Wednesday Thursday - Friday							
vesp.	idiom 5	idiom 5 prosom 3	prosom 3 idiom 5	prosom 3 idiom 5	prosom 3 idiom 5	idiom 5 prosom m)	prosom 3 idiom 5
matins	prosom e) prosom д f) prosom 3 idiom 6	idiom 6	idiom 6	(prosom 3) idiom 6	idiom 6	idiom 6	idiom 6
Wednesday - Thursday							
vesp.	idiom 7	idiom 7 prosom 4	prosom 4 idiom 7	prosom 4 idiom 7	prosom 4 idiom 7	idiom 12 prosom n)	prosom 4 idiom 7
matins	prosom g) prosom h) prosom 4 idiom 8	idiom 8	idiom 8	(Под 4) idiom 8	idiom 8	idiom 8	idiom 8
Thursday - Friday							
vesp.	idiom 9	idiom 9 prosom 5	prosom 5 idiom 9	prosom 5 idiom 9	prosom 5 idiom 9	idiom 13 prosom o) prosom p)	prosom 5 idiom 9
matins	prosom i) prosom j) prosom 5 idiom 10	idiom 10	idiom 10	(prosom 5) idiom 10	idiom 10	idiom 14	idiom 10
vesp.	idiom 11	idiom 11	idiom 11	idiom 11	idiom 11		idiom 11

The idiomelon marked in the scheme with number one appears, as indicated in the Typikon, on Sunday evening. The manuscripts place the beginning of a new day to the Matins, i.e., to the first hymn written under the dotted line.

The disposition of the idiomela and the prosomoia in the Vespers and Matins is noted in the manuscripts with small titles. As indicated in the above cited Typikon rubrics, the prosomoion marked for both evening and morning coincides in the Vespers of one day and the Matins of the following. In other words, the prosomoion for Monday morning is the same that was sung on Sunday evening, and accordingly, on the prosomoion for Monday evening is repeated on the following day.

The fact that the prosomoion is repeated and the idiomelon sung twice is described in detail in Sin 278: *“on Sunday evening of the 3rd Lenten week, a stichera*

for the aposticha; the same on Monday morning in the aposticha, on the automelon of the 8th tone “Преславную”⁸⁶⁸, also 8th tone sticheron idiomelon twice⁸⁶⁹. The same principle of indicating the prosomoion, for instance, for “Wednesday evening and Thursday morning”, is included in Sin Typ 147. Moreover, Sin 278 regularly explains that the prosomoion by St Theodore and the idiomelon are sung on “Lord, I call upon thee” in the evening, as if correcting the practice possibly still extant in Russia during the creation of the manuscript (late 12th century) – the practice which did not include the Liturgy of Pre-Sanctified Gifts, as reflected in other Sticheraria. Majority of those do not point out different sections of the service but limit their information to the short indications of the type: day, day/evening, day/morning. In Sin Typ 148, for instance, which places the prosomoion in the same section with the evening idiomelon, the sections are marked as follows:

2nd Sunday of Lent, Vespers

- idiomelon, martyrikon, theotokion.
- prosomion

Monday of the 3rd week, Matins

- idiomelon, martyrikon, theotokion.

Monday Vespers

- idiomelon, martyrikon, theotokion.
- prosomion

Tuesday of the 3rd week, Matins

- idiomelon, martyrikon, theotokion.

Tuesday Vespers

- idiomelon, martyrikon, theotokion.
- prosomion

etc.

In Sof 96, the 3rd week contains a change in the style of disposition of the idiomelon and the prosomoion. In the case of the 1st and the 2nd week, the prosomoion is written without indication in the evening or the morning section, at the beginning of the day (this is indicated in the scheme with the parenthesis). From the 3rd week onward, the prosomoion is written between the morning and evening idiomelon (without parenthesis in the scheme). The 2nd and the 3rd week in Sof 96 can be arranged as follows:

⁸⁶⁸ *Пощения начнем неделю третью...*

⁸⁶⁹ *Наказании отверг отческих...; Sin 278, ff. 221r.-221v.*

Sof 96, 2 nd week	Sof 96, 3 rd week
Sunday evening <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • idiomelon Monday of the 2nd week <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prosomion Monday morning <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • idiomelon Monday evening <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • idiomelon Tuesday <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prosomion Tuesday morning <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • idiomelon Tuesday evening <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • idiomelon 	Sunday evening <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • idiomelon Monday <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • idiomelon Monday <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prosomion Monday evening <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • idiomelon Tuesday <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prosomion Tuesday morning <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • idiomelon Tuesday evening <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • idiomelon

When analysing the variation in the disposition of stichera in the Sticheraria, it is important to note that, no matter the way of grouping of the idiomela with the repeated prosomoion of the day, or however carefully the disposition of the stichera in different sections is indicated in the manuscript, not one Sticherarion contradicts the general rule: the prosomoion by St Theodore is sung in the evening (whether on “Lord, I call upon thee” or in the aposticha) as well as in the morning, and is followed by the idiomelon that is sung twice. Even Sin Typ 148 is no exception to the rule. The principle adopted in the codex of placing the stichera in the order “evening idiomelon – prosomoion – morning idiomelon” does not entirely correspond (as in old Triodia) to the actual liturgical order, since the evening idiomelon is supposed to follow the prosomoion. The correspondence becomes clear only if the names for the sections are ignored – the material is placed in order to make the use of the book in the service as comfortable as possible; thus the prosomoion is placed between the two idiomela, with which they are sung. This means that the singer was supposed to know the order and choose the necessary hymns in the course of the service. This, however, characterized the use of any other Sticherarion, since none of them had the prosomoion written twice, and when repeating, the prosomoion had to be found in the section that was already used in the previous service or would be used in the following.

Turning back to the scheme, it is possible to note that the manuscripts can be grouped on the basis of their correspondence to the disposition of the stichera in the the order of the service.

The most numerous group is represented by the Sticheraria. All of them, except Sin Typ 148, and including Sof 96 for the part of the 3rd week, begin the layout of the

stichera with the evening service, placing the prosomoion in the beginning and the idiomelon after that, according to the order in which they are performed in the service. In certain cases, there are even indications to the repetition of the idiomelon. Two copies (Sof 85 and Usp 8) are the most recent among the Sticheraria in this manuscript group.

The Triodion by Moisey Kiyenin stands apart since its prosomoia do not coincide with those in the Sticheraria. However, the principle of laying out the stichera “morning idiomelon-evening idiomelon-prosomoion” is only a re-arrangement of the Sin Typ 148 version with “evening idiomelon-prosomoion-morning idiomelon”. The fact that this order does not correspond to the liturgical order in the Sticherarion as well as in the Typografsky Triodion, points to an archaic origin. This interpretation is motivated also by the particular shortness of the rubrics which do not contain any reference to the parts of the service.

The contents for this week in the Synodal Triodion do not correspond to any Sticherarion but coincide, except for the additional prosomoia by St Joseph, with respect to the disposition of stichera during the 2nd week in Sof 96.

The difference between variants, as represented in the Sticheraria and Sin 319 is, however, less significant than the difference between all these sources and Sin Typ 137. The comparison with this Triodion gives a basis to an argument that there was one common tradition shared by the Synodal Triodion and the Sticheraria, and another, represented by the Triodion by Moisey Kiyenin.

We shall now compare the disposition of stichera in Sof 96, used in the manuscript for the 2nd Lenten week, with the style of laying out material in Sin 319 for the same week, without paying attention to the number or authors of the prosomoia:

Sof 96	Sin 319
Sunday evening	
• idiomelon	• idiomelon
Monday of the 2nd week	
	• седальны
• prosomoia	• prosomoia
Monday morning	
• idiomelon	• idiomelon
	• triodia
Monday evening	
• idiomelon	• idiomelon

By looking at the compositional schemes in these manuscripts, it is possible to note a method with which Sin 319 was compiled. The scribe needed a notated source for the stichera and thus used a Sticherarion – the same or similar source to that of Sof 96 (Sof 96 is most likely a little newer than Sin 319). After copying the evening idiomelon, he began the Matins section for the new day, according to the Studite rule. Here he used another source, an unnotated Triodion, from which he copied the kathismata. Further, the Triodion contains the prosomoion (on the basis of the archaic style of material disposition and of the similarity to the 1st redaction of the GIM-type, it seems that the copied Triodion contained only the prosomoion by St Theodore). The same prosomion was written in the Sticherarion, and most probably it was the version to be copied to the Sin 319. It was followed by the idiomelon for the Matins. After this, only two last hymns of the Triodion – the triodia – remained to be copied. It seems that their notation was based on the Heirmologion and on oral tradition, in the course of the copying of the codex Sin 319. The copying thus followed the order of both sources, which could be joined thanks to the similar disposition of the stichera.

However, Sin 319 contains, apart from the prosomoion by St Theodore, also the prosomoia by St Joseph (indicated in the scheme with letters). These two prosomoia were not part of the Sticherarion. It is possible that they were not in the copied Triodion, either, since their systematic introduction into practice and codices was later than the Triodion type whose structure is represented by Pog 41 and, consequently, Sin 319. Accordingly, apart from the ancient Triodion and Sticherarion, a later and more actual and contemporary Triodion was used by the Russian compiler of Sin 319. This Triodion may have already been written in the order of the service. Since the main source, the more ancient, did not correspond to the liturgical order, the prosomoia by St Joseph were combined with the prosomoia by St Theodore.

After comparing the structure of the Sticheraria with those of the Russian Triodia, let us turn to the factor that may help define the proximity or distance of the Sticheraria. This factor consists of the martyrika and the theotokia – their complete coincidence in two sources may point to a common local liturgical tradition with respect to the hymnographic distribution of the Octoechos during the Lent. However, although the martyrika and the theotokia do coincide to a great extent in the manuscripts, there is no complete correspondence between any of them. During the 1st – 6th weeks of the Lent there are three cases of disagreement in the martyrika in Sin 319, Sof 85 and Sin 278. None of these disagreements match with each other. Most frequent are the

differences in Sin Typ 148 – there are seven examples -, which again detaches this manuscript from the practice of following the liturgical order in the book.

With respect to the influence from the Palestinian tradition, reflected in Sin 330, it is possible to argue that only one of the sources examined in the scheme, Sin 278, can be defined as purely representing the Studion tradition. In this Sticherarion, there is no doubt about the absence of the aposticha for the Vespers and about the transfer of the prosomoion and the idiomelon into the section on “Lord, I call upon Thee”.

In the rest of the Sticheraria and in Sin 319, there are no indications to different sections, and there is a possibility of the existence of a section for the evening aposticha. The fact that they, like Sin 330, contain only one prosomoion, points to an ancient original source which could have reflected an early stage of the Studite synthesis, when the Palestinian traditions were still relatively strong.

The disposition of the evening and morning hymns for Holy Week: the stichera in Voskr 27 and Sin 330

In order to compare the composition of the stichera in Russian Pentekostaria (GIM-type and the Kiyanin Triodion), we shall turn to the stichera for Holy Monday.

The order of hymns for Holy Monday in Voskr 27 is presented in the following scheme:

Palm Sunday, Vespers

- 4 idiomela

Holy Monday

- troparion (incip),
- 2 kathismata
- kontakion
- oikos
- 3 prosomia

Holy Monday, Matins

- idiomelon

Holy Monday, Matins, aposticha

- 4 idiomela (+ 1⁸⁷⁰)

glory

- idiomelon

Holy Monday

- 2 triodia

Holy Monday, Vespers...

Voskr 27 combines, on the one hand, the ancient principle of not following the liturgical order of the day in the layout of the material, and, on the other hand, the tendency of bringing the stichera sections closer to the liturgical order by naming the sections. The kathismata, kontakion, oikos and the stichera prosomoia are not marked with any reference to the section, as was the case with Sin 319. The daily prosomoia in Sin 319 were usually followed by the sticheron idiomelon for the Matins, with only one indication to “morning”. The idiomelon for Great Monday, following the prosomoia, is marked exactly in this manner. Further, Sin 319 contains the triodia. In Voskr 27, the triodia for this day are preceded by additional stichera which have been marked with “in the aposticha in the Matins”. A similar indication to the particular place in the service (Matins or Vespers) can be found in Sin 319 only on Sundays or feast days which were most likely copied not from the same Triodion that served as the source for the daily cycle. The number of the stichera, five, corresponds to the normal number of the stichera aposticha in the Studite Typikon: three, the fourth for “glory” and the fifth for “now and ever”. Further, there are the triodia that were sung in the service prior to the aposticha; in Sin 319, however, they were written (as in this case), after the aposticha. After the triodia, Sin 319 presents the evening idiomelon. In Voskr 27, there are three stichera with an indication to the section, “on Monday evening sticheron tone 1, sung twice”⁸⁷¹. As in Sin 319, the evening idiomelon (in this case, the idiomela) is followed by a title line, written in initials, marking the beginning of the new day – Great Tuesday.

By highlighting the stichera with an indication of the section from the rest, the following order can be noted:

⁸⁷⁰ Two stichera, in this section and for Monday evening, were written in the margins and could not be deciphered.

⁸⁷¹ There is one more sticheron written in the margin, *Очистим себе братие*.

Palm Sunday, Vespers

- 4 idiomela

Holy Monday

- 3 prosomia

Holy Monday, Matins

- idiomelon

Holy Monday, Matins, aposticha

- 4 idiomela

glory

- idiomelon

As can be seen, Vosrk 27 contains (beginning from Sunday evening, thus following the liturgical order) 13 stichera for this day. In Sin 330, Sin Typ 138, Sin Typ 137 and Sof 110, there are stichera that are outside the order of this day or are not included here. The general number of the additional stichera with respect to Voskr 27 – fourteen – shows how greatly the practice of such ancient services as those for Holy Week could vary. Here is a list of the stichera for Great Monday:

Idiomela in Voskr 27:

1. t.2 *от ваия и ветви*
 2. t.3 *страшно еже впасти в руце*
 3. t.7 *собор лукавныи*
 4. t.7 *сберися лукавная сонмице*
 5. t.5 *достигши вернии спасенья страсти*
 6. t.5 *Господи идя к страсти*
 7. t.5 *Господи свершеная мыслити*
 8. t.5 *Господи к таиньству неиздреченну*
 9. t.8 *исхисти смоковници*
 10. t.8 *вторую Евгу егюптяныню*
- prosomia t.2, automelon Ангел убо**
11. *вчера Тя с цветами*
 12. *приближается Жених*
 13. *придати Тя поучается ученик*

additional prosomia in Sin 330, t.8, automelon *Иже в едем*

14. *живоносьну страсть Христову*

15. *от ученик иуда несытми*

16. *за ны Христу избавителю*

additional idiomela in Sof 110:

17. t. 7 *Язычная церкы*

18. t. 7 *Христа усретше вернии*

19. t. 6 *Тебе цесарж собезначальна Сына*

20. t. 4 *о лукавное сонмице*

21. *о неиследнаго долготерпения*

additional idiomelon in Sin Typ 138

22. t. 1 *прихояи Господь к волне и страсти*

additional prosomia in Sin Typ 137

23. *Придете от видения*

24. *всяко уведели душеми*

25. *зри зимы страстьныя*

26. *гряди яже имаши душе ми*

additional idiomelon in Sin Typ 137

27. t.5 *гряди на мучение*

The prescriptions for this day in Sin 330 can be presented as follows:

Palm Sunday, Vespers,

on Lord, I call upon Thee, on 6

They sang 3 idiomela t. 7 once

- *Собор лукавыи* and the other two, similar to it
- (t. 7 *Язычная церкы*
- t. 7 *Христа усретше вернии*)

the other three, t. 8, on automelon *Иже в едем*

- (*живоносьну страсть Христову*
- *от ученик иуда несытми*
- *за ны Христу избавителю*)

Glory...and ever: theotokion.

Aposticha t. 5

- *Достигше вернии и ина две под.тому*
- *(Постигше вернии вольную?)*
- *(Грядый на мучение?)*

Glory...and ever: t. 8

- *Осохишии смоков.*

Holy Monday

on the Lauds, stichera are not sung.

Aposticha, idiomela t.5, are sung once

- *Господи идя к стасти*
- *Господи к таиньству*
- *Господи совершенная мыслити*

Glory...and ever: t. 8

- *Вторую Еугоу егюптяныню*

From the three 7th tone idiomela indicated in Sin 330 for “Lord, I call upon Thee”, only two are included in Voskr 27 and Sin Typ 138. They are marked in the table for Sin 330 in brackets. The reconstruction corresponds to Sof 110 in which all three stichera are included. The textual redactions of Sof 110 differ from all three other sources. This can be noted in the above list of the stichera. The section of the prosomoia on “Lord, I call upon Thee” in tone 8, which is missing in Voskr 27, is based on the Sticherarion Sof 96. Sin 330 prescribes three stichera for the evening aposticha: *Достигше вернии* in tone 5, and two more without incipits. The idiomelon *Достигше вернии* is often written in the manuscripts in this section; however, no sources combine it with the following two stichera in the same tone. In the Slavic Triodia, apart from *Достигше вернии*, there are four 5th tone idiomela for this day. In Voskr 27, there is one more unnotated sticheron idiomelon in tone 5 written in the marginal, *Постигше вернии волную страсть*. Three of them are prescribed in Sin 330 to the aposticha of the Matins. For this reason, it seems unlikely that they were repeated in the stichera section of the Vespers. For this reason, in the table above we have illustrated the two missing 5th tone stichera, similar to *Достигше вернии*, with one sticheron not used in the presented list and one from the additional stichera of Voskr 27, although it is possible that Sin 330 prescribed different stichera.

There follows a table which shows the composition of the stichera in Sin Typ 137, Sin Typ 138, Sof 110, Sin 330 and Voskr 27.

The following table is based on the sections marked in Sin 330. For the sake of clarity, the stichera are noted with numbers. Since Voskr 27, Sin Typ 138 and Sin Typ 138 somewhat share the tendency of mixing up the liturgical order in the kathismata, kontakia and oikoi, and in complete or incomplete canons, while at the same time marking the stichera sections with names, the scheme includes in brackets the stichera sections that are not clearly named in the manuscript.

In Sin Typ 137, the stichera that correspond to the stichera on “Lord, I call upon Thee” in Sin 330 are marked with “on Sunday evening”. It is likely that they were sung on “Lord, I call upon Thee”, however, since they are not followed by other stichera, such as the aposticha, they are written in parenthesis. The evening stichera in Sin Typ 137 are followed by the canon, the incipit of the troparion and the kathisma. They are followed by three stichera prosomoia in tone 5 which cannot be found in other manuscripts; they are thus placed in brackets for Lauds, since the canon was preceded by the indication “on Monday”. These are followed by an idiomelon in tone 5, also unique in its kind, placed in brackets among the stichera aposticha, although it may have been sung also in the Lauds. The triodia are copied after this. In other words, after the evening stichera the liturgical order is no longer followed. The disposition of the prosomoia cycle and the idiomelon varies: they can either be placed in the aposticha (three prosomoia, the idiomelon for “glory...now and ever...”), or in the Lauds. This second variant is placed in brackets in the scheme.

In Sof 110, the inscription “on Palm Sunday” is followed by the stichera that are placed in the “Lord, I call upon Thee” section in Sin 330. They are followed by a title “after prokeimenon” (i.e., in the aposticha). The fact that the first copied stichera for the Vespers are placed before the aposticha proves that they were used only for “Lord, I call upon Thee”. It is important to note that in this Triodion, there is an indication to the Lauds section, which is not marked in Sin 330. This may reflect the influence of some Studion Typikon from Mt Athos. In the same time, the section for the stichera for the Matins, prescribed in Sin 330, is missing in the Triodion. Some differences in textual redactions are accompanied with lack of correspondence in the tone prescriptions for the stichera. For instance, the incipit of the stichera *О лукавая соннице* resembles the 4th stichera in our list; however, it is marked with “tone 7”, while in Sof 110 this stichera is marked with “tone 4”. Although differences in tonal markings are relatively

common in Russian and Slavic manuscripts, not only between the authentic and plagal tones, in this case the sticheron is marked as independent. Another sticheron, by Cyprian the Studite, is marked in Voskr 27 and majority of other sources as a sticheron in tone 2, while in Sof 110 it is copied twice, in different redactions: for “Lord, I call upon Thee” in tone 2, and for the evening aposticha in tone 6 (obviously, 2nd plagal tone).

In Sin Typ 138, the section for “Sunday evening” contains 4 stichera. Since they mostly coincide with the stichera on “Lord, I call upon Thee” in Sin 330, they are placed in this section. The stichera are followed by the rubric “on Great Monday evening”, a troparion, two kathismata, kontakion and oikos, the title “stichera for the Matins” and the following 4 stichera, and the 5th sticheron for “glory”. In the scheme, the first sticheron is placed in parenthesis in the section of the Lauds, since the morning aposticha cannot include more than three stichera and one for “glory... and ever”. The aposticha are also placed in parenthesis, since the mark “for the Matins” is too vague to enable a precise definition. The order is concluded with a triodion and an exaposteilarion.

Table 20

	Sin Typ 137	Sin 330	Voskr 27	Sof 110	Sin Typ 138
Lord I call upon Thee	(3) (4) (17)	3 18 19 14 15 16 <u>glory... and ever:</u> <u>theotokion</u>	1 2 3 4	1 3 17 18 <u>glory</u> 19	1 2 3 4
Vespers, aposticha		5 additional to Voskr 27 <u>glory... and ever:</u> 10	(11 12 13)	1 2 20 <u>theotokion</u> 21	
Matins, on the Lauds	(23) (24) (25)	Lauds are not sung	(5)	6 8	(22)
Matins, aposticha	(26)	6 9 7 <u>glory... and ever:</u> 10	6 7 8 9 <u>glory</u> 10		(5) (6) (7) <u>glory</u> (9)

The scheme shows, firstly, that no manuscripts coincide in their composition. Secondly, none of them resembles closely Sin 330. Thirdly, the number of stichera aposticha in Voskr 27 is higher than it is possible to sing in one service.

Voskr 27 and Sin Typ 138 appear to stand closest to each other. If not for the sticheron n° 24 which is not included in Voskr 27, or n° 10, not included in Sin Typ 138, the order of the stichera in these two manuscripts, without indication to the sections in the service, would coincide.

The stichera sections for the Matins in these two Triodia resemble those in Sin 330; in Voskr 27, they coincide in a complete and unique way. Sof 110 and Sin Typ 137 differ from each other and from the other manuscripts.

As a consequence, on the basis of the order for Great Monday, it is possible to argue that Voskr 27 resembles the more early Sin Typ 138 in the same way as Sin 319 and Pog 41. The main difference between the pair of Lenten Triodia and the Pentekostaria is the presence of the prosomoia cycle in Voskr 27 and Sin 319 which is missing in their more early manuscript pairs.

It may also be concluded that in this case, Voskr 27, as Sin 319 in other cases, follows the tradition represented by Sin 330, however, to a certain extent, correcting it on a consciously chosen individual level.

The distribution of the evening and morning hymns for Holy Week: Voskr 27 and the Russian Sticheraria

The scheme above presented the composition of the stichera for Great Monday in Sin 330 and the Russian Triodia. It was noted that Voskr 27 contained half of the total number of stichera. Another half is mainly found in Sof 110 (7 more stichera) and Sin Typ 137 (4 stichera). By looking at the Triodia alone, it is possible to define at least three differing traditions. Nevertheless, in the case of this day, the tradition is unified, as can be seen in the Russian Sticheraria, which include all three stichera groups that are distributed in the Triodia.

Table 21 combines the stichera for Great Monday. In order to make the contents of Sin Typ 137 and some Sticheraria more precise, the table includes also the stichera from the Argirov Triodion. The stichera which have not been prescribed to any section in the manuscripts are placed in parenthesis. The order of the stichera corresponds to the

order in the manuscript. In Chil 307, the stichera marked in the manuscript as belonging to Monday evening are placed in brackets within the aposticha of the Matins.

As can be seen in the table, only one sticheron among the great number of stichera for Great Monday in Russian Pentekostaria is absent in other sources.⁸⁷² The rest of them, a great variety, reflect the general liturgical order for the day that at some point may have existed.

According to this suggested scheme, the section for “Lord, I call upon Thee” contained the stichera in tone 7. The sticheron *Собор лукавый* by Patriarch Ilias, which Karabinov considers to be a modification of the disused sticheron by St John of Damascus, lies on the basis of this group. It is joined by two other stichera which are

Table 21

⁸⁷² It can be argued that the tone is incorrectly marked and that the sticheron is a variant of the translated sticheron by Patriarch Ilias in tone 7, *Собор лукавый*, or the sticheron by St John of Damascus: Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 118.

Lo	Sim 330	Sim 278	Sof 96	Typ 147	Typ 148	Vokst 27	Sof 85	Typ 138	Chil 307	Sof 110	Uspr 8	Typ 137	Argrov
rd cal	on 6 idion L7 -собор дук + 2 L8 on	L7 x 1 -собор дук -взвешив -Христи L8 on	L7 x 1 -собор дук -взвешив -Христи L8 on	L7 -собор дук -взвешив -Христи	L2 -от ван и L7 -собор дук -соборис	L2 -от ван и L3 -странно L7 -собор дук -соборис	L2 -от ван и L3 -странно L7 -собор дук -соборис	(L2) -от ваня L3 -странно L(7) -собор дук -оборис)	L1 (2) -от лавя L3 -странно L(7) -собор дук -оборис	L2 -от ван L6 -Тобе иев glory L6 -Христи 3	L7 -обериса дук -собор дук -взвешива ие -Христи 3 L2 -от ван и не	L7 -сонима -обериса -от ваня -Христи 3	L7 -сониме -от ваня -обериса
up Th ce	anton. Иже в Егвее 3 стидста	anton. Рай же в Егвее живоности -от ученик -за на Хр	anton. Иже в Егвее -живоности -от ученик -за на Хр										
Ve	L3 -достигние * 2	L5 x 2 -достигние L1 x 1 -приходни	сва L4 -достигние	L5 x 3 -достигние		(L2 on anton. Ангс убо -вечра 14 -приближ -прешто)				L6 -от цвети L3 -странно L4 -о дукан theodokion -о неясге	L4 -достигние		L1 x 2 -привоза -достигние
ap os ha	glory and ever L8 -осохшин	glory and ever -исухшин с	glory and ever -исухшин	glory and ever L8 -исухшин						L5 -Господи или к струсти -Господи к тиниаст			L5 -исконо уя -гри ламд -преди дук glory and ever L8 -исохшук
M ali ns ?	Lauds are not sung	Shebeta additional to the Typikon L1 -от ван и в -странно											
M ali ap os the ha	L5 x 1 -Господи или к струс -Господи к тиниасту -Господи совершена	L5 x 1 -Господи или к струс -Господи к тиниасту -Господи свершена	L5 -Господи или к струс -Господи к тиниасту -Господи совершена	(idion L5) -Господи или к стр -Господи к тиниасту -Господи свершени	L5 -Господи или к стра -Господи свершени -Господи к тиниасту L8 -исухшин	L5 -Господи или к стр -Господи свершена -Господи к тиниаст L8 -исухшин	L5 -Господи или к стр -Господи свершени -Господи к тиниаст L8 -исухшин	(L5) -Господи или к стр -Господи свершени	(L5) -Господи или к стра -Господи свершени -Господи к тиниаст L8 -исухшин				
	glory and ever L8 -вторую Еару	glory and ever L8 -вторую Еару	and ever L8 -вторую Еару	glory and ever L8 -вторую Еару	glory and ever L8 -вторую Еару	glory and ever L8 -вторую Еару	glory and ever L8 -вторую Еару	glory and ever L8 -вторую Еару	glory and ever L8 -вторую Еару	glory L6 -верси и	glory L2 -от ван и не	glory L5 -вторую Еару	

called in Sin 330 as “similar to this”.⁸⁷³ This basis is presented in Sin Typ 147 and Sin Typ 137. In other manuscripts, this sticheron is combined with others that are organized in two variants.

The first variant consists of the sticheron by Cyprian the Studite in tone 2, *Отъ вѣку и вѣкуи*, (Sin Typ 148, Usp 8, Argirov Triodion, and – with the exception of the stichera on “glory...now and ever” – Sof 110). The second variant consists of the same sticheron by Cyprian the Studite and the sticheron by Ilias in tone 3, *Страшно еже внасту* (Voskr 27, Sof 85, Sin Typ 138 and Chil 307).

The second variant can be seen as a variant of the aposticha for the Vespers in Sof 110. It also formed the section of the stichera marked in Sin 278 as “additional to the Typikon”. One of these stichera, in tone 3, complements the aposticha for the Vespers in the Argirov Triodion.

The third variant of complementing the main contents of stichera on “Lord, I call upon Thee” is the introduction of the cycle of three prosomoia. In three manuscripts, the 8th tone prosomoia *Иже в Едеме*, coincide (Sin 330, Sin 278 and Sof 96). The prosomoion cycle in tone 5, on the automelon *Придете*, is introduced in the Argirov Triodion with an indication to the Lauds, while, according to the Studite-Alexian Typikon Sin 330, this section is absent on this day. These prosomoia are also in the Triodion by Moisey Kiyarin, without indication to the section; however, they are included in the scheme on the basis of their similarity to the Lauds section in the Argirov Triodion. Voskr 27 contains a prosomoion cycle which is nowhere else seen.

The basic combination of the evening stichera aposticha consisted of the sticheron by St John of Damascus, *Достигше вернии* in the 5th tone, and the sticheron for “glory... now and ever”, in this case, - *Исхисти смоковницы*, in the 8th tone by St Kosmas of Maiuma. These two stichera may be written in the Matins section and may be complemented by a 1st tone sticheron.

For the basic morning stichera aposticha, all manuscripts, apart from the Chilandari Sticherarion and the Argirov Triodion, present the cycle of stichera by St Kosmas of Maiuma in tone 5.

In this way, the basis for the contents in all these manuscripts is similar, reflects a common tradition, which is modified into different variants. The variants, apparently, emerged gradually, in the course of time, enlarging the contents by adding stichera by

⁸⁷³ Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, Α.Π., *Ανάλεκτα Ιεροσολυμιτικής σταχυολογίας*, I-IV, St.Petersburg, 1891-1898, p.29, Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 276.

the same authors who formed the basic set, or stichera that imitated those by these authors. The increase in the number of stichera required a certain arrangement in the compilation of manuscripts. As a result, the stichera copied from one common source may have ended up in different sections of the service.

If we accept the view that the composition of stichera evolved around the basis that was rooted, in the ancient Palestinian tradition, in this case, the variants which were formulated in the course of time and that coincide in a group of manuscripts can be seen as reflecting the local tradition.

From the viewpoint of the local practice, the manuscripts include cases of completely coinciding contents. In this sense, Sin 330 and Sof 96 coincide (as would Sin Typ 147, if it contained a prosomoion cycle). Sof 85 and the Chilandari manuscript would coincide, if the Chilandari copy did not mark the section for morning aposticha with a title “on Great Monday evening”. Some other pairs are distinguished only by one sticheron – Sin Typ 147 and Usp 8, Sin Typ 138 and Chil 307 (due to the stichera in tone 5).

The contents of Voskr 27 are not fully repeated in any Sticherarion. It can be noted that the unique group of prosomoia was copied into the manuscript from a source that was not familiar to other Russian manuscripts. The Sticheraria Sof 85 and Sin Typ 148 seem to be the two closest sources to the Pentekostarion. Besides the prosomoia, they differ from Voskr 27 on one (different in the two cases) sticheron.

It is important to note another factor that differentiates the four Sticheraria – Sin Typ 148, Sof 85, Chil 307 and the Pentekostarion Voskr 27. It has to do with the aposticha section, which, according to the Studite-Alexian Typikon, could not contain more than 3 stichera and one for “glory...now and ever” for a weekday service. These manuscripts include five stichera; moreover, a sticheron which seems to be included in the aposticha for the Matins by mistake, is placed in the five Sticheraria on “glory...now and ever” of the evening aposticha. It seems likely that the stichera marked for “glory” or, when this does not occur, for “glory...now and ever”, already began to be picked out for this role during an early stage of the liturgical tradition, still in Palestine. It is also possible that the stichera for “glory” or “glory...now and ever” may have been copied in the ancient Sticheraria together, as if in a separate section, regardless of the section to which they may have been attributed to. From the three close pairs, Voskr 27 and Sin Typ 148, Voskr 27 and Chil 307, and Voskr 27 and Sof 85, the first can be chosen (since Sin Typ 148 is most likely the most ancient among

these manuscripts and is short in its contents) to point out that this Sticherarion and Voskr 27 were indeed copied from one and the same source, from a Sticherarion, in which the “glory” stichera were written together at the end of the daily cycle.

Sin 319: concerning the stichera contents for weekdays

Whereas in the case of Holy Monday, one common tradition defining the composition of the stichera for the day could be noted, some cases of Sundays or feasts present the existence of a great variety of traditions.

The copyists of the Russian books used the South Slavic as well as the Greek sources on the one hand, and both ancient and more recent ones, on the other. Thirdly, all these sources were compared to the written Typikon, as well as (fourthly) to the local liturgical practices. Since not one of these four elements was unified, and variation characterized even the Typikon copy Sin 330, as mentioned earlier, this variation was reflected in the two features in the stichera compositions of the Triodia and the Sticheraria which have been interpreted by scholars as pointing to the early Greek sources or to the most ancient Russian ones. The first feature is the higher number of the stichera than necessary for the service, and the second is the individuality in the disposition of the stichera in the manuscripts.

However, by comparing a large number of manuscripts it is possible to make conclusions which help in determining, for instance, the origins of the variety in compositions, leading to certain written traditions, as well as in understanding how the chanters performed from those multicompositional manuscripts in practice.

Among the services characterized by particular variety, we can distinguish one of the most recent ones – that of the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee.

There follows a Table 22 which combines the stichera from Sin 319⁸⁷⁴, both Orbelsky manuscripts, the Athos type⁸⁷⁵, the Zagrebsky type⁸⁷⁶, the Evergetis

Table 22

⁸⁷⁴ The service for the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee is torn in the 2nd troparion of the canon which, most likely, was the last part of the cycle.

⁸⁷⁵ Since Tit 1983 does not include the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee, the table presents information provided by Momina in the publication of the Triodion by Moisey Kiyarin.

⁸⁷⁶ Based on the information in the publication of Momina.

Triodion F.n.I.92, the Typikon copies (reconstructed by Pentkovsky on account of the absence of folios in Sin 330 on the basis of Sin Typ 144 and Sin 905) and the Sticheraria containing this service: Sin Typ 148, Sof 96 and Usp 8.

The main principle in the disposition of the stichera in the scheme is their correspondence to the order of the service. For this reason, each sticheron is marked with a number indicating the order.

The disposition of the stichera according to the liturgical order is consistently marked in all South Slavic manuscripts, with the exception of the Zagrebsky Triodion in which the marking is irregular. Among the Russian manuscripts, the sections are marked only in the Typikon copy. Consequently, whenever the sections are named, they are highlighted in the Table with horizontal lines in the following sections: “Lord, I call upon Thee”, the aposticha for the Vespers, the Lauds and aposticha for the Matins.

In two manuscripts, Pog 40 and the Typikon, the sections are consistently named. These two copies serve as guides to the layout of two different types of contents. It is important to note that Pog 40 contains a section for the Lauds but not for the aposticha in the Matins. Since, according to the Studite- Alexian Typikon, the aposticha for the Matins were not combined with the Lauds on Sundays but made up their own section, the aposticha, Pog 40 did not reflect the Studite- Alexian Typikon.

The first compositional type, distinguished in Pog 40, is noted in the Table as “TYPE I”. This type includes also the Athos Triodion, the Triodion by Moisey Kiyenin and the Sticherarion Sin Typ 148. It can be argued that the distribution of hymns in the manuscripts that served as the sources for these copies was exactly the same. In liturgical practice according to the Studite-Alexian Typikon, however, the distribution of the stichera was most likely different: the stichera from the Lauds section were either moved to the aposticha section of the Matins or distributed between these two sections.

Apart from this possible difference in the practical order between the Bulgarian and two Russian manuscripts, one may note one more difference that has to do with the order of copying the stichera. While in the Bulgarian Triodia, the stichera for “glory” and the aposticha of the Vespers are written in the order that corresponds to the order of the service, in Sin Typ 147 and Sin Typ 148 the same stichera are grouped in a separate section. A similar phenomenon has been noted in the stichera composition for Great Monday in the Triodia/Pentekostaria and the Sticheraria.

Another composition of stichera is described in the Studite- Alexian Typikon. In the Table, it will be marked as “TYPE II”. Between the I and II types there is one

common stichera, the 1st tone idiomelon. However, it is attributed to different sections: in type I it is placed in the group of stichera for “Lord, I call upon Thee”, while in type II it is the only sticheron in the aposticha section of the Matins.

We shall now turn to six remaining manuscripts: Sin 319, Sof 96, the Evergetis and the Orbelsky manuscripts, the Uspensky Sticherarion and the Zagrebky Triodion. The Evergetis and the Orbelsky F.n.I.102 contain the indications of the sections; both of them lack the section for the aposticha for the Matins (obligatory on Sundays in the Studite-Alexios Typikon). The Zagrebky Triodion contains irregular indication to the sections. The rubrics in the Russian manuscripts contain only partial information.

As can be seen in the Table, no Slavic or Old Russian manuscript is restricted by the prescriptions of the Studite- Alexian Typikon⁸⁷⁷. In all the cases of the second contents type, it is complemented with elements of the first.

Apart from the lack of the prosomoion cycle from type II, Sin 319 coincides with Pog 40. The stichera in the Synodal Triodion are written one after another, without indication to the sections or to the morning or evening service. Probably, the final stichera represent a collection of the stichera for “glory” from different sections. At the beginning of the order, the title “Triodion with God begins the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee” is followed by 7 stichera idiomela, which are followed by 3 prosomoia and a canon. In the Table, the stichera of Sin 319, together with the similar ones from the Athos Triodion, the Triodion by Moisey Kiyanin and the Typografsky Sticherarion 148, are separated on sections according to the Orbelsky redaction.

In the manuscripts placed in the Table between Sin 319 and the Typikon, the combination of the elements from types I and II is more complicated. If we look at the order of the stichera in the manuscripts, it becomes impossible to place them according to their liturgical order. For this reason, a separate table, Table 23, was

Table 23

⁸⁷⁷ It is necessary to note, however, that this Sunday has not been preserved in the Russian Sticheraria Sin Typ 147, Sof 85 and Sin 278, the last of which resembles Sin 330 most closely.

Lord I call upon Thee	Sof 96 (1.1 1-не помогни) (1.1 2-фарисей бустиво)	Sof 96 (1.8 6-насеочив ризум) (7-возрестн о) (8-вездержн)	F.n.1.92 (1.1 idiomelid (2-фарисей торпачено)	F.n.1.92 (1.8 3-возрестн о (4-насеочив р (5-вездержнн фарисей	F.n.1.102 (1.8 1-вездержнн (2-вездержнн (3-возрестн о (4-насеочив ризум	F.n.1.102 (1.1 8-не помогни (1.1 9-фарисей бустиво)	U/sp 8 (1.8 1-вездержнн) (2-возрестн о) (3-вездержнн)	U/sp 8 (5-фарисей бустиво)	Zagreb (1.8 1-вездержнн)	Zagreb (1.1 3-фарисей бустиво) (9-не помо
Vespers apostich a		(1.6 9-вездержнн (путь)			(1.6 4-вездержнн (путь)		(4-вездержнн (путь)		(1.6 2-вездержнн (путь)	
Lauds	(1.3 3-Митаря и фарисей) (1.3 4-фарисей ве)					гл.(3?) 10-митаря и фарисей		(6-митаря и фарисей) (1.3 7-фарисей вездержнн)		(1.3 4-митаря и фарисей) (5-фарисей вездержнн)
Matins apostich a					(5-путь нам вонесени 6-митаря же оправдася 7-о множеств					
Glory	(гл.5 5-отвгченн) (1.8 10-Вездер) (1.8 11-от дел хваленисм)				(1.8 idiomelid 11-фарис двр 12- вездерч фарисей овра 13-вездержнн фарисей непштаннне			(1.7 (шаг.1.5) 8-отвгченн) (1.8 9-Вездерж) (10-от дел хваленисм)		(6-отвгченн) (1.8 7-Вездерж) (8-от дел хваленисм)

created to lay out the double contents from these five manuscripts in two columns, first of which corresponds with the first type, the other with the second. The section for the Lauds in the Russian manuscripts may have in practice been moved to the aposticha for the Matins, as noted in the case of Sin 319, Sin Typ 137 and Sin Typ 148.

The Evergetis Triodion most clearly reflects the process of combining the two compositional types. The stichera idiomela in tone 1 are written first, as characteristic of type I (however, under title “on the Lauds”). They are followed by the 8th tone idiomela under the title “on Lord I call upon Thee”, characteristic of type II.

The order of the stichera in the Sticherarion Sof 96 is as follows:

- Stichera of type I from the 1st to the 4th
- 5th sticheron begins the section for the “glory”
- the stichera from the 6th to the 9th correspond to the type II, doubling the sections
- the stichera 10 and 11 conclude the section for the “glory”.

Thus, the compositional type I coincides with the contents of Sin Typ 148, and the other corresponds to the Typikon, however, without the repetition of the first sticheron which would here be the last.

The Sticherarion Usp 8 follows type II in the beginning, and then type II with the “glory”. The first sticheron idiomelon in tone 8 that belongs to the group of “Lord, I call upon Thee” in type I and to the aposticha for the Matins in type II, is missing.

The Zagrebky Triodion, except for the omission of two stichera idiomela in tone 8, belonging to the “Lord, I call upon Thee” in type II, corresponds in its contents completely to the Sticherarion Usp 8. However, at the end of the Triodion, there is a 1st tone sticheron *He помолимся*, first of the type I for “Lord, I call upon Thee”, which is lacking in Usp 8.

The Orbelsky Triodion RNB 102 initially presents type II, corresponding to the Typikon, and adds type I to it. The two last stichera are the doubled variants of the first sticheron. As a result, the contents of this Triodion may be considered three-fold. Table 24 presents the possible contents of three suggested manuscripts, whose

Table 24

	F.п.1.102	F.п.1.102	F.п.1.102	Sin 319	Sin 319
Lord I call upon Thee	1:8 1-всперечивый фарисей 2-величайши разум 3-возвести очи на небо	5-путь нам вознесения 6-мытарь же оправдася 7-о множестве дел	11. 8-не помоглись фарисейскы 1.1 9-фарисей бустию	(1.1 1-не помоглись фарисейскы) (1.1 2-фарисей бустию)	On autom. Третий 1:6 8-путь нам вознесения 9-множеством добротетели 10-мытарь оправдася
Vespers apostolika	1:6 4-изряден путь				
Lauds		1:8 idiomeli 11-фарисейскы вернии 12-всперечивый фарисей оуразися 13-всперечиваго фарисей нещиваннем	1.1(3?) 10-мытарь и фарисей	(1.1 (3-Мытарь и фарисей) (гл.3 (4-фарисей величайши)	
Matins apostolika					
Glory				(1.5 5-отвѣченама очима) (1.4 6-Вседержителю Господи) (1.8 7-от дел хвалением)	

simultaneous copying was reflected in this Orbelsky Triodion. Two contents of Sin 319 are also included in the Table, corresponding to two of the three contents of the Orbelsky Triodion.

The comparative analysis of the contents enables some conclusions concerning Sin 319.

The crossing of the type I in Sin 319 and the part of type II that is included in Orbelsky F.n.I.102 points to a possible South Slavic origin of one of the sources used in the copying of the order for this day.

It is important to note the presence of three stichera prosomoia which did not appear in the Sticheraria. The cycles of the complementary prosomoia are a distinguishing feature in the Lenten weekdays (Sin 319) and the days of Holy Week (Voskr 27). The prosomoia cycle for the service of the Publican and the Pharisee, with one added sticheron, was copied from a source shared by the Orbelsky Triodion F.n.I.102 (which, notably, deviates from the Studite- Alexian tradition). This fourth sticheron prosomoion was included in both Typikon and the Sticheraria.

Among the Russian Sticheraria, the closest to Sin 319 in its contents and layout is the Typografsky Sticherarion 148. It was exactly this Sticherarion that resembled the Voskr 27 in its contents in the case of Great Monday.

With respect to the Studite- Alexian Typikon, Sin 319 on this day shows a notable degree of independence.

A complicated double composition can be noted in the Saturday of St Theodore (Table 25). On this day, a Lenten liturgy was celebrated and there were no stichera aposticha for the Vespers. Sin 319 combines two cycles of stichera prosomoia, in tone 1 and 2, which do not appear in Russian manuscripts (which include a cycle in tone 4, written also in Sin 319), but first of which is included in Sof BAN 38 and the other in the Triodion by Moisey Kiyanin, copied from a South Slavic source. The number of the stichera, higher than necessary for the service, can again be explained by the copying of a few (at least two) sources with differing contents.

Table 25.

The existence of double contents may be noted in the sources and in the part of the Pentekostarion, for instance, Holy Friday and Holy Saturday. Here again we see the close relationship between the Sticherarion Sin Typ 148 and one of the parts in the Russian Triodion set, in this case, Voskr 27, which may be seen as the result of copying the two Triodion parts and the Sticherarion from a common source. For the sake of a short commentary, two schemes are created on the basis of Great Friday. In the first of them (Table 26), there are the stichera from the Russian sources (Sticheraria, Pentekostaria and Typikon) and the Argirov Triodion in the order in which they are written in the manuscripts. In Table 27, the stichera are divided into two content types, both of which can be found in the Slavic manuscripts used in this dissertation.

It is possible that a more detailed analysis of the crossing of the stichera sections in the Russian Sticheraria and the Slavic and Russian Triodia and Pentekostaria may give an idea of the structure of the Greek sources that were copied. However, this lies beyond the scope of this dissertation and will be the object of further research in the near future.

Table 26.1.

Table 26.2.

Table 27.

Matins aposticha	1.1 -вся тварь 1.2 -людие не 1.8 -уже омич glogy and ever 1.8 -безневест	1.1 -вся тварь 1.2 -людие не 1.8 -уже омич glogy and ever 1.8 -безневест	1.1 -вся тварь 1.2 -людие не 1.8 -уже омич 1.8 -безневест	1.1 -вся тварь 1.2 -людие не 1.8 -уже омич glogy and ever 1.8 -безневест	1.3 idiom. -двое это с -кажкьдо у 1.6 -днесь Вла and ever 1.8 -безневест	1.3 idiom. -двое это с -кажкьдо у 1.6 -днесь Вла and ever 1.8 -безневест	1.3 idiom. -двое это с 1.6 -кажкьдо у -днесь Вла видяши видяши -на древе	1.3 idiom. -двое это 1.6 -кажкьдо у -днесь Вла	1.1 -вся тварь 1.2 -людие не 1.3 -двое это с -кажкьдо у -днесь Вла	1.1 -вся тварь -людие без се вынзаст glogy and ever 1.2 -днем тебе зряши
					1.2 -на древе видяши	1.2 -на древе видяши	1.1 -вся тварь гл.2 -днесь видяши Ты -на древе видяши	1.1 -вся тварь гл.2 -людие неч -днесь видяши Ты	1.1 -вся тварь 1.8 -уже омич theotokion -на древе видяши -безневест	

Sin 330, Sin 319, Voskr 27 and the Slavic Triodia: the triodia and the tetraodia

Indications for the singing of the triodia are more than once found in Sin 330 as for the Lenten period, as for the Easter period. The cases in which the manuscripts follow a tradition differing from the Typikon prescriptions are, however, relatively common.

Sin 330 does not prescribe any triodia for Cheesefare week. However, they are present in all Triodia, in different variants. The triodia of Sin 319 completely coincide with those in the Typografsky 137 (with the exception of Tuesday which is absent in Sin Typ 137). In the rest of the manuscripts, the triodia either differ on certain days or are placed with other triodia of the day.

With respect to the triodia and tetraodia of the Lent, as already pointed out, all GIM-type Triodia include hymnography by St Theodore and St Joseph and do not contain any Slavic triodia.

The Typikon copy Sin 330 contains indications to the singing of the triodia by St Joseph and St Theodore. After the description of the waking up of the brethren, the singing of the three morning kathismata (sections from Psalterion), the reading from St Ephrem the Syriac and the kathismata (troparia) with detailed description of the style of their performance, there is a note: “both triodia by Joseph and Theodore are sung”⁸⁷⁸.

The Lenten period descriptions in this Typikon copy include 7 indications to the triodia and tetraodia, however, without a precise information on the authors of these hymns: on Friday, the 1st Lenten week⁸⁷⁹ (the canon to Theotokos in the Octoechos, the canon from the Menaion and Triodion), on Wednesday, the 4th Lenten week (the canon to the Cross in tone 8, *Вооружена*, and to the saint, and triodion)⁸⁸⁰, on Thursday, the 5th Lenten week⁸⁸¹ (the Great Canon, with the triodion which joins on the 4th ode), on the Saturday of the Akathistos⁸⁸² (three canons: to Annunciation, in tone 4, composed by Joseph, *Отверзү уста*⁸⁸³, which is the canon for 24th March that is sung on the eve of Annunciation before the feast; the canon for the saint of the day; and the canon for the dead until the 6th ode. After the 6th ode, the singing of the canon for the dead is interrupted and the triodion is sung together with the canon for the Annunciation and for

⁸⁷⁸ “*поета же ся и обе тръпесньне Иосифа и Феодора*”: Sin 330, f. 9r.

⁸⁷⁹ Sin 330, ff. 10r.-11r.

⁸⁸⁰ Sin 330, ff. 15v.-16r.

⁸⁸¹ Sin 330, ff. 16r.-16v.

⁸⁸² Sin 330 ff. 16v.-17v.

the saint), on Wednesday, the 6th Lenten week⁸⁸⁴ (two canons – to St Lazarus in tone 4 *Явишася источници* , from the Menaion, and the triodion, which is sung before the canon), on Friday of the same 6th Lenten week, in the morning⁸⁸⁵ (two canons: to St Lazarus, tone 7 by German *Истрясшюму Богу*, and to Palm Sunday tone 4 by Andrew *Поим песнь победную*, and triodion). For the Saturdays, there is also a general description for the whole Lenten period, also concerning the singing of the tetraodia⁸⁸⁶ (in the GIM-type Triodia, as well as in the Triodion by Moisey Kiyarin, the singing on these days consists of the creations by St Theodore). In the Orbelsky Triodion F.n.I 102⁸⁸⁷, which contains a number of quotes from an unidentified copy of the Typikon, there is also an indication to the singing of the triodia by both authors: “...also psalm 50, also *Поем Господеву славно бо прославися*⁸⁸⁸ on all odes, (the canon) with the heirmos by Joseph is sung with 8 verses and that by Theodore for 6 verses, and thus we sing during the whole Lent”.

In the case of the Pentekostarion, a more detailed description of the triodia, diodia and tetraodia concerns the Holy Week. In this period, there is a tendency in Voskr 27 to choose the triodia by certain authors; for this reason, the triodia of the Holy Week were examined separately in the previous chapter.

The singing of the triodia by St Joseph in the Easter period was to begin from the Monday following the Sunday of St Thomas. It is this day from which the triodia begin to appear in Voskr 27. In Sin 330, however, there are two canons prescribed for this Monday: the Resurrectional in tone 1 and that for Antipascha by Andrew of Crete in tone 1 *Столпом огненным* (this is written in Voskr before the triodion⁸⁸⁹). Also the canon from the Menaion is mentioned. There is no indication to the triodion in Sin 330 for that day.

The first mention of the triodion by Joseph in the combination of the canons is found in the prescription for the Tuesday following the Sunday of St Thomas.⁸⁹⁰ After this description, the triodia are mentioned in some other services, for instance, for the

⁸⁸³ 1st troparion *Христовы книги душевныя*.

⁸⁸⁴ Sin 330, f. 18r.

⁸⁸⁵ Sin 330, f. 18v.

⁸⁸⁶ Sin 330 f. 13v.

⁸⁸⁷ F.n. I.102, f. 26v.

⁸⁸⁸ Biblical canticles.

⁸⁸⁹ Voskr 27, f. 71v.

⁸⁹⁰ Sin 330, f. 47v.

Monday and Tuesday preceding the middle of the Easter period⁸⁹¹ or in the general guidelines for the post-festal period of the Ascension⁸⁹².

The tetraodion that was to be sung on the Saturday following the Sunday of St Thomas and that was written in Voskr 27⁸⁹³ is not mentioned in Sin 330, and the indication for singing of the triodion for the first time is also absent. The prescription for this Saturday orders the service to be performed in the same manner as the Matins for the Antipascha, i.e., not foreseeing the tetraodion. Neither is it prescribed for the Saturday following the Sunday of the Myrrhbearers⁸⁹⁴, nor for the Saturday after the feast of mid-Easter⁸⁹⁵, nor for the Saturday after the Sunday of the Samaritan Woman⁸⁹⁶, nor for the Saturday after Ascension⁸⁹⁷.

In order to give an idea of the inclusion or exclusion of the triodia and tetraodia in the other Russian Pentekostaria, as well as in the South Slavic manuscripts, there follows a table that reflects the material for the week following the Sunday of St Thomas and the following week after the Sunday of the Myrrh-bearers:

	Sin Typ 138	F.n.I.74	F.n.I.68	F.n.I. 102	Pog 40	Voskr 27	Sof 110	Sin Typ 137
The week after St Thomas Sunday								
Monday	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
Tuesday	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
Wednesday	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
Thursday	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
Friday	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
Saturday	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
Sunday of the Myrrhbearers and the following week								
Monday	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
Tuesday	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
Wednesday	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
Thursday	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
Friday	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
Saturday	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-

As a whole, the situation presented in the case of these two weeks can be applied to the whole Pentekostarion period with certain exceptions. While these two weeks do not contain tetraodia in Sin Typ 137 and Sin Typ 138, they are nevertheless encountered in these manuscripts, for instance, in Sin Typ 137 the tetraodia appear in the week

⁸⁹¹ Sin 330, f. 51r.

⁸⁹² Sin 330, f. 58v.

⁸⁹³ Voskr 27, f. 82v.

⁸⁹⁴ Sin 330, f. 50v.

⁸⁹⁵ Sin 330, f. 53r.

⁸⁹⁶ Sin 330, f. 54r.

following the Sunday of the Samaritan woman and in the week following the Sunday of the Blind man. This last case appears also in Sin Typ 138. Shafarikov F.n.I.68 contains, as a rule, both triodia and tetraodia, although on some days they are absent. Unlike this redaction of the Shafarikov Triodion, the manuscript F.n.I.74 contains only canons and the guiding incipits for them. Both Orbelsky Triodia resemble the Shafarikov F.n.I.74 in this respect. The content of the triodia in Sof 110, which, together with Voskr 27, belongs to the group of manuscripts that with complete consistency include the triodia and tetraodia for all days, except for Ascension and the mid-feast of Easter, differs from the composition of the triodia by Joseph, recorded in the four remaining manuscripts.

The above-described guidelines concerning the singing of the triodia in Sin 330 can be analysed in two ways. From one point of view, it could be suggested that the daily performance of the triodia took place, and was applied to the days for which there was no detailed description of the services, or for which, in the cases of the two great feasts, only the canons were prescribed. However, on account of the fact that in some manuscripts, containing rubrics from the Typikon, such as Sin Typ 138, some days contain quite straightforward prescriptions for the contents of the canons, excluding, by the number of the troparia, the possibility of performing the triodia, it is possible to suggest another interpretation for the Sin 330 Typikon copy. This would mean that the triodia and the tetraodia were possible to omit not only on Ascension and the mid-Easter, but also on the less significant days.

If we take the second interpretation into consideration, it seems likely that the scribe or the order of Voskr 27 consciously regulated the practice of introducing the triodia and the tetraodia into all weekdays of the Pentekostarion period, apart from the mentioned two great feasts.

⁸⁹⁷ Sin 330, f. 58r.

Chapter 7
Two hands and the principles of the notation of contrafacta in Sin
319 and Voskr 27

Two hands: a common characteristic uniting Sin 319 and Voskr 27

The particularities of the structure of Sin 319 and Voskr 27, shown in previous chapters, bear witness to a plan shared between the scribe and the commissioner, envisaged for both sources. However, a further parameter provides direct evidence of the existence of this plan, namely, certain characteristics of the neumatic notation.

Throughout both manuscripts, *znamenny* notation above the texts of both complete and incomplete canons and of the stichera prosomoia was written by the same two hands.

The first hand covers the larger part of both manuscripts. It is possible that this hand is that of one person; however, it seems more probable that we are dealing with very similar calligraphic styles employed by a number of people. In order to facilitate the indication of this kind of hand in the following text and examples, the term “1st hand” has been used. This hand is similar to those of the Sofisky Menaia and the Parakletike Sin Typ 80. Concerning the notated repertoire the following may be noted.

In the catalogue made by Tutolmina in her thesis are the incipits of approximately 650 stichera, recorded in Russian Sticheraria of the Triodion and Pentekostarion, and in Sin 319 and Voskr 27⁸⁹⁸. Between these stichera are found idiomela, automela and the prosomoia by St Theodore. It was subsequently discovered that all these stichera were notated by the same hand. To these stichera may be added the majority of complete and incomplete canons.

In order to prepare her catalogue, Tutolmina selected as her basis the Sticherarion of the Triodion Sof 96, which does not include the prosomoia of St Joseph. Similarly, they do not appear in any other Russian Sticherarion⁸⁹⁹ and, thus do not appear in the catalogue. Also not included were various other cycles of prosomoia missing from the Sticheraria but present in Sin 319 and Voskr 27. It was these prosomoia, as well as some triodia and complete canons that were recorded by the second hand.⁹⁰⁰ This hand does not resemble any from the Sofisky Menaia, *znamenny* Parakletike or Sticheraria.

There follows a table listing the hymns notated by Hand 2:

Table 28

⁸⁹⁸ Тутолмина, *Русские певческие*, 263.

⁸⁹⁹ Schidlovsky also makes reference to this: Schidlovsky, *The Notated*, 93.

⁹⁰⁰ The presence of two hands in Sin 319, one for the texts by Joseph, and another for those by Theodore, is mentioned by Schidlovsky: Schidlovsky, *The Notated*, 134.

<i>Sin 319</i>		
The day	folio	Canticles
Sunday of Publican and Pharisee	2r	Stichera prosomoia t.6, autom. Третий день <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Путь нам возношения</i> • <i>Множеством добродетелии</i> • <i>Мытарь оправдася от множества падении</i>
Sunday of Publican and Pharisee	2v	Canon t.6 heirmos <i>Яко по суху</i> ; 1 st troparion <i>Притчами наводя вся</i> ⁹⁰¹
Saturday of Meatfare	7r	Stichera prosomoia t.8, autom. Во Едеме раи <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Что прельщается человек</i>⁹⁰² • <i>яко рукою Си созда Адама</i>
Saturday of Meatfare	8v	(Canon t.8 heirmos Песнь вослем; 1 st troparion <i>Вси помолимся Христу</i>) 2 nd ode: heirmos Видите; 1 st troparion <i>Видите видите яко Аз есмь Бог</i>
Sunday of Meatfare	26r	(Canon t.6 heirmos Помощник и Покровитель; 1 st troparion <i>Дне страшнаго</i>) 2 nd ode: heirmos Видите; 1 st troparion <i>Вижду тя вижду тя</i>
Monday of Cheesefare Week	27r	Triodion, t.1 heirmos Помогшему, 1 st troparion <i>Воздержанию начаток</i>
Tuesday of Cheesefare Week	29v	Triodion, t.2 heirmos Внемлите людие, 1 st troparion <i>Апостоли пророци</i>
Wednesday of Cheesefare Week	31v	Triodion, t.3 heirmos Неплоды душе. 1 st troparion <i>Копием ребра прободоша</i>
Thursday of Cheesefare Week	34 r	Triodion, t.4 heirmos Услышах слух, 1 st troparion <i>Преже очищешся воздержанием</i>
Friday of Cheesefare Week	36r	Triodion, t.8 heirmos Вскую мя отринул 1 st troparion <i>Кресту поклоняю Ти ся</i>
Saturday of Cheesefare Week	40v	(Canon t.8 heirmos Песнь вослем; 1 st troparion <i>Вси песньми духовными</i>) 2 nd ode: heirmos Видите; 1 st troparion <i>Воня исполняемся</i>
Monday of the 1 st week	55v	2 prosomoia of St Joseph ⁹⁰³
Tuesday of the 1 st week	60v	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Wednesday of the 1 st week	66r	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Thursday of the 1 st week	71r	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Thursday of the 1 st week		Triodion of St. Theodore, t.5, the 8 th ode.
Friday of the 1 st week	75v	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Saturday of the 1 st week	83v	Stichera prosomoia t.1, autom. Небесным чином ⁹⁰⁴ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Благоверия богатствие</i>

⁹⁰¹ The canon is cut on the 2nd of the 9th ode.

⁹⁰² This begins after the lacuna.

⁹⁰³ The incipits of the prosomoia of St Joseph are quoted in Schidlovsky's thesis, and are therefore not included in the present thesis.

⁹⁰⁴ The cycle is placed after the nine stichera which follow the rubric "Friday evening, on Lord I have called upon Thee" .

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Яко благоверен узник</i> • <i>Пресветлым праздником</i>
Saturday of the 1 st week	84r	Stichera prosomoia t.2 autom. Егда от древа <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Дар богатотвореный</i> • <i>Вси празднующе твою память</i> • <i>Мучений мученице</i>
Saturday of the 1 st week	89r	Canon t.8 heirmos Вооружена, 1st troparion <i>Божественными яве светлостьми</i>
Monday of the 2 nd week	106r	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Tuesday of the 2 nd week	109r	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Wednesday of the 2 nd week	114v	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Thursday of the 2 nd week	119r	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Friday of the 2 nd week	124r	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
2 nd Sunday	131	Canon t.5 heirmos Коня и всадники, 1st troparion <i>Вси удивимся</i>
Monday of the 3 rd week	135v	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Tuesday of the 3 rd week	140r	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Wednesday of the 3 rd week	145v	2nd prosomion of St Joseph, t.3 autom. Поставиша тридесять <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Уязвен бысть сластю</i>⁹⁰⁵
Thursday of the 3 rd week	150	Prosomion t.2 autom. Егда от древа <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Славнии вельгласнии апостоли</i> 2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Friday of the 3 rd week	155v	Prosomoion of St Theodore, t.1 1 st prosomoion of St Joseph, t.5 autom. Радуся <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Слово прострыися на кресте</i>
Monday of the 4 th week	169r	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Tuesday of the 4 th week	174v	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Wednesday of the 4 th week	180r	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Wednesday of the 4 th week	187r	Canon for Mid-Lent t.4 heirmos Отверзу уста, 1st troparion <i>Древу святому</i>
Thursday of the 4 th week	192r	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Friday of the 4 th week	196v	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Friday of the 4 th week	198r	Triodion of St Theodore t.4, the 5th and the 9th odes
Monday of the 5 th week	206v	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Monday of the 5 th week	207v	Triodion of St Theodore t.7, the 1st ode.
Tuesday of the 5 th week	211r	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Wednesday of the 5 th week	215v	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Wednesday of	218r	Triodion of St Theodore t.2, the 1st ode.

⁹⁰⁵ In this case, exceptionally, the first prosomoion of St Joseph was written by the first hand.

the 5 th week		
Thursday of the 5 th week	220v	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Thursday of the 5 th week	251v	The 10th and the beginning of the 11th stichera of the Great Canon, t.4, autom. Хотех слезами <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Скрыв талант даныи ми</i> • <i>Источник исушии прегрешения</i>⁹⁰⁶
Friday of the 5 th week	254r	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Saturday of the Akathistos	274r	Stichera prosomoia t.2 autom. Просветителя <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Благовещая Гаврил</i> • <i>Мужа не познавши</i>
Monday of the 6 th week	279v	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Tuesday of the 6 th week	284r	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Tuesday of the 6 th week	286r	Triodion of St Theodore t.5, the 8th ode.
Wednesday of the 6 th week	288v	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Thursday of the 6 th week	293v	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Friday of the 6 th week	298r	2 prosomoia of St Joseph
Saturday of St Lazarus	306r 309v	(Canon t.1, heirmos <i>Песнь победную</i> , 1 st troparion <i>Мертвеца четверодневна</i>) 2 nd ode: heirmos <i>Да снидут</i> , 1 st troparion <i>Якоже возгласи Лазоре гряди вон</i> ; 6 th ode: heirmos <i>Пророка спасл еси</i> , 1 st troparion <i>О пророце прообразь</i>
Saturday of St Lazarus	311v	Canon t.8 heirmos <i>Воду прошед</i> , 1 st troparion <i>Приведыи прежде от небытия</i>
Saturday of St Lazarus		Canon t.8 heirmos <i>Поим Господеви</i> , 1 st troparion <i>Поим Господеви воскресиюумоу Лазоря</i> ⁹⁰⁷
Voskr 27		
Holy Monday	8r	Stichera prosomoia t.2autom. Ангел убо <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>вчера Тя с цветами</i> • <i>приближается Жених</i> • <i>придати Тя поучается ученик</i>
Holy Tuesday	13r	Stichera prosomoia t.2autom. Безакония моя <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>милосердием Си ущедри Господи</i> • <i>высокомысленны разум</i> • <i>на вольную муку</i>
Holy Wednesday	18v	Stichera prosomoia t.6, autom. Все упование <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>сонмище безаконьно</i> • <i>блудница миро Ти многоценно</i> • <i>судяи всяческая</i>
Holy Thursday	24r	Stichera prosomoia t.2autom. Егда от древа <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>егда леонтием чресла препоясая Христе</i> • <i>егда в Сионе уставная»</i> • <i>вечеру к Пасце таиной</i>
Anti-Pascha	65r	Stichera prosomoia t.4, autom. Яко добля <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>воскрес от гроба затворенам</i> • <i>многое сшествие</i> • <i>удивлеса якоже виде Фома</i>

⁹⁰⁶ Only these first three words, that fit in the last line of the folio, are notated by the second hand; the continuation of the sticheron on folio 251 was notated by the first hand.

⁹⁰⁷ The canon the canon is cut on the 2nd troparion of the 4th ode.

Saturday of the 2 nd week after Pascha	84v	Stichera prosomoia t.2 autom. Егда от древа <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>спеи славная Магдалыни</i> • <i>чистою смыслою и любовию</i> • <i>приди же яко дивна Христу</i>
Ascension	167r	Stichera prosomoia t.6, autom. Третий день <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>сберемся вернии мыслно на Елеон</i> • <i>земля и земляная</i> • <i>апостоли Тя видевши Христе</i>
8 th Sunday, All the Saints		Stichera prosomoia t.1, autom. Небесным чином <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>(яко златокованы трубы)⁹⁰⁸</i> • <i>четвероконачну вси грядете празднолюбцы вси</i>

The repertoire of canons notated by the 2nd hand

Amongst the canons notated by the second hand are found examples both complete and incomplete – more precisely, triodia.

As far as the triodia are concerned, for Lenten weekdays the second hand recorded some odes from the five triodia of St Theodore. The same hand notated in its entirety the neumatic sequence for the triodia of Monday to Friday of Cheesefare Week.

For this week there were various triodia cycles, which survived in Slavonic and, more extensively, Greek, manuscripts⁹⁰⁹. Amongst these hymns are the triodia of Anthony and Stephanos the Studites, which were never introduced into the Slavonic books⁹¹⁰. In Slavonic there are known some anonymous triodia, which continued to be written until the spread of Athonite-type Triodia, in which they were replaced by the triodia of St Joseph. The anonymous triodia, in Karabinov's opinion, parodied the Lenten triodia of St Theodore the Studite. In the earliest Triodia, beginning in the 9th century, hymns by St Theodore and his followers were mixed together by Slavic scribes and translators⁹¹¹.

Of the Russian and South Slavic Triodia, the anonymous triodia frequently appeared in a number of different versions. None of them was prescribed by the Typikon copy Sin 330. We may therefore conclude that the commissioner of Sin 319 had the object of fixing in practice a textologically and melodically correct version of the anonymous triodia. It was the second hand of the neumatic notation who was responsible for introducing these hymns into Triodion Sin 319.

⁹⁰⁸ This sticheron was notated by the 1st scribe.

⁹⁰⁹ Momina, *Triodion*, *77.

⁹¹⁰ Momina, *Triodion*, *78.

⁹¹¹ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 147-148

The probability that the second scribe worked not only on the notation but also on the textual redaction is strengthened by the fact that he notated the second odes in three complete canons⁹¹² (and also the sixth ode in the last one). These canons are those for the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee t.6 *Яко по суху*, the canon of the Saturday of Meatfare t. 8 *Песнь восслем*), the canon of the Sunday of Meatfare t.6 *Помощник и Покровитель* and the canon of the Saturday of St Lazarus t. 1 *Песнь победную*.

A particularly interesting case is found on Meatfare Sunday, for which the canon is completely written out, without the second ode, and notated by the first hand. There then follow directly the stichera prosomoia on Laudes and the idiomelon. After the idiomelon, on the utter margin of the folio, there is placed inside a decorative frame a rubric: “the second ode has been forgotten here; it belongs to this canon, but is placed after the stichera.” After the stichera and next to the rubric, within the normal space of the text, is written the second ode with troparia, notated by the second hand. This fact of the later introduction of the second ode means that at the time of writing odes 1 and 3-9 of this canon, the scribe had in front of him a text which contained only these odes. They are all notated by the main hand. The addition of the second ode here, as in other canons, demonstrates a planned redaction. This redaction accompanied the writing of the text, simultaneously, as may be observed in the order of the introduction of the second ode and the corresponding rubric, since this was done before the beginning in the codex of the sequence for the following liturgical day. The fact that this and other second odes were notated by the second scribe of the neumatic notation may indicate that he was responsible for its introduction and notation.

The second hand notated five canons in their entirety in Sin 319.

The first canon is that of Saturday of the 1st week, Tone 8 *Вооружена*. This canon is complementary to the main one, also in the 8th Tone, by St John of Damascus, *Воду прошед*. The main canon appears in the majority of Slavic Triodia and in the Typikon Sin 330. In the Typikon, to this canon has added that of Germanos in Tone 3, which also appears in the Russian Triodion Pog 41. The Canon of Tone 3 is missing in Sin 319; in its place appears a canon in the 8th Tone notated by the second scribe. The same canon may be found in the Triodia of the same redaction as the Synodal Triodion

⁹¹² It should be recalled that most extant canons exclude the second ode. The introduction of these odes in the canons of Sin 319 confirms a decisive choice on the part of the scribe/commissioner and, perhaps, a correction of the source text, which did not have the second odes, against a source which did.

– Sof 84 and RNB F.I.680. Momina, in her examination of this canon, notes that its Greek analogues are not presently known⁹¹³. Thus, the second scribe of the neumatic notation recorded a canon which was rare in general and exclusive to Russian practice (let us recall that two other manuscripts were written later, in the 14th century, greatly influenced by Sin 319).

The second canon, notated entirely by the second scribe, is the canon of St Theodore the Studite on the Prodigal Son of the Second Sunday, Tone 5, *Коня и всадники*⁹¹⁴. As has been mentioned, Sin 330 for this day ascribed no liturgical sequence. This means that in Sin 319 the canon is introduced, as is the case with the previous canon, in the light of the correction of Studite practice. Amongst Russian manuscripts it appears in the late Triodion Sof 84. In Pog 41, which reflects an older reality, this canon does not appear.

The third canon notated by the second hand is the canon for Mid-Lent, Wednesday of the Fourth Week in Tone 4, *Отверзу уста* by St Theophanes. This canon appears in all kinds of Slavic Triodia. However, in Sin 330 another canon is prescribed – of the Cross, in Tone 8, *Вооружена*. Thus, in this case too, the second scribe of the neumatic notation includes repertory that is not included in the Typikon.

Two final canons written by the second hand are the result of the coming together of the four tetraodia in the Eighth tone by three authors – St Theophanes, St John of Damascus and St Kosmas of Maiouma⁹¹⁵ – for Lazarus Saturday⁹¹⁶. They appear after the main canon by St Andrew of Crete, in the First Tone. This canon in Sin 330 is completed by two tetraodia – of St Ilias and St John of Damascus. Consequently, also on this day, as in all previous cases, the canons in Sin 319, noted by the second hand, introduce innovations with regard to that which the Studite-Alexian Typikon prescribes.

The above-mentioned canons, notated by the second hand, both complete and incomplete, appear with the notation only in Sin 319. The results of a comparative analysis of the notational methods of the first and second hands were published in part

⁹¹³ Momina, *Triodion*, *171.

⁹¹⁴ Momina, *Triodion*, *173.

⁹¹⁵ Momina, *Triodion*, *181.

⁹¹⁶ In the Table above these triodia are mentioned as two canons, as they are written and named in Sin 319. The 2nd canon is cut on the 2nd troparion of the 4th ode; the content was restored according Sof 84, ff. 225-236.

in an article, written during the course of the preparation of the present thesis⁹¹⁷. The conclusions arrived at by means of this analysis correspond to those that came about through the examination of the stichera as part of this thesis. However, the stichera notated in the second hand appear not only in Sin 319, but also in Voskr 27. For this reason, it was the stichera that served as the principal material for the detailed analysis that appears in the following chapters. There follows a general discussion of the relevant repertoire.

The repertoire of stichera notated by the second hand.

The first detail that strikes one in looking at Table 28 is the fact that all the stichera are prosomoia.

The first group of prosomoia, the majority, consists of the cycles written by St Joseph for Lenten weekdays. As has been mentioned, these stichera are notated only in Sin 319, where they appear before the prosomoion of St Theodore, written by the first hand. Only in two cases may there be observed a deviation in the order.

The first case is Thursday of the third week: before the two prosomoia of St Joseph there appears the prosomoion in the second Tone *Славнии вельгласнии апостоли*, on the automelon *Егда от древа*. This sticheron is found without notation also in Sin Typ 137 (with the indication of the automelon *Когда приду*) and Sof 84 (without the indication of automelon). The tone of this sticheron coincides with the tone of the Triodion of Konstantin Preslavsky for the same day, which suggests that the prosomoion belonged to this Slavic author. Like other Slavonic prosomoia, it probably came from one of the copied codices, and was unintentionally retained in Sin 319.

The second case of alteration in the order of the prosomoia is on the Friday of the third week, in the sequence of which prosomoia for St Joseph and St Theodore change places: first appears the prosomoion for St Theodore, and then two for St Joseph. However, all three prosomoia are notated as normal – second hand, second hand, first hand⁹¹⁸.

⁹¹⁷ Полякова С.Ю., Some observations on canon organization, evidence from the twelfth century Russian Menaia and Triodion, *Историја и мистерија музике, у част Роксанде Пејовић*, Belgrade, 2006, v.2, pp.91-107.

⁹¹⁸ Schidlovsky in his thesis presents the correct order of prosomoia, which does not correspond to Sin 319: Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 24.

Another group of prosomoia is for Holy Week, for the days of special commemorations (such as Saturday of the Akathistos) and for Sundays of Lent. As regards the prosomoia of Holy Week, it has already been noted that their author is unknown. Other prosomoia also lack an indication of authorship, in both Sin 319 and Voskr 27, and in all other Slavic or Russian Triodia discussed in the present thesis. Some of the prosomoia are included in Karabinov's listing of anonymous Greek chants.

The prosomoia of the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee were found by Karabinov in the Greek manuscripts Sin 733 and Sin 735:

πβ'. Τριήμερος ανέστης

- Οδον ημιν υφώσεως
- Εν πλήθει αρετων
- Τελών δεδικαίωται⁹¹⁹

Karabinov noted the existence of these prosomoia in the Orbelsky Triodion F.n.I.102. In this Triodion, another sticheron is added to this series of three, in the same tone – *Изряден путь*. The automelon is not mentioned in relation to any of the four stichera, and the possibility is not excluded that all four are written on the same automelon, Τριήμερος ανέστης. The fourth sticheron, not found in Voskr 27, is found, still without the indication of the automelon, in the Studite-Alexian Typikon, the Zagrebsky Triodion and the Sticheraria Sof 96 and Usp 8.

The series of prosomoia for Meatfare Saturday begins after the lacuna and includes two stichera with notation by the second hand. These stichera appear in only one source, which is probably a copy of Sin 319 – F.I 680. Unfortunately, in another Triodion, closely related to Sin 319, - Sof 84, the material for this liturgical day has not survived.

The first series of three stichera prosomoia of the first Tone – *Небесным чином* – is found in F.n.174 (one prosomoion is different from Sin 319), in the Bitolsky Triodion, in Orbelsky F.n.I.102 (the third sticheron is different from Sin 319), Sof 84, Tit 1983 and Sin Typ 137.

The second series, for the second Tone, on the automelon *Егда от древа*, corresponds completely in Sin 319 and Sof 84. In the Bitolsky Triodion and the

⁹¹⁹ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 247.

Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin on the same second Tone automelon there is a sticheron, which coincides in these two sources, but is different from Sin 319 (in the Bitolsky Triodion it appears for Friday). Karabinov cites a further four stichera for this day, on the same automelon, found in Greek manuscripts⁹²⁰.

On the same automelon, *Егда от древа*, in Sin 319 is noted in the second hand a sticheron for the Thursday after the third week of Lent (the liturgical sequence for the Veneration of the Cross). It is found in the Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin and in Sof 84.

This sticheron is followed in Sin 319 by two stichera in the sixth Tone on the automelon *Все упование*, the only other source in which it is found being Sof 84.

For the Saturday of the Akathistos in Sin 319 there appear, notated by the second hand, two prosomoia in the second Tone on the automelon *Просветителя*. These stichera also appear in Sof 84 and also in the Sticherarion Sof 96.

The series of prosomoia notated by the second hand, listed in Table 28, following, appear in the continuation of the codex containing the Triodion Sin 319 – Pentekostarion Voskr 27.

It is these stichera, for Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of Holy Week that were referred to in Chapter 5. For some of them, Karabinov, as has been mentioned, found Greek equivalents⁹²¹. These stichera have not been found in any Slavic or Russian manuscript with the exception of one sticheron for Holy Thursday, which appears in Sof 110.

It is unfortunate that Karabinov's study was limited to Holy Week⁹²², and the prosomoia for the period of Pentecost are not included in his list of anonymous Greek prosomoia.

Three stichera prosomoia of the fourth Tone, *Яко добля*, are notated by the second hand in Voskr 27, as part of the sequence for the Sunday of Anti-Pascha. The same stichera appear in the Triodion of Moisey Kiyarin and in Sof 110.

For “Lord, I call upon Thee” in Voskr 27, on the Sunday of the Myrrhbearing Women and St Joseph of Arimathea, there appear a further three prosomoia notated by the second hand – on the second Tone, on the automelon *Егда от древа*. The same prosomoia appear in Sof 110. In the Shafarikov Triodion F.n.I.68 on the automelon *Егда от древа* are found two prosomoia, both different from those in Voskr 27. One of

⁹²⁰ Карабинов, *Постная Триодь*, 257.

⁹²¹ See pp. 243-245 of this thesis.

⁹²² Karabinov was executed in 1937.

those from the Shafarikov Triodion is included in the Orbelsky Triodion F.n.I.102; the latter also includes two prosomoia, the second of which corresponds neither to those in the Shafarikov Triodion nor to those in the Voskresensky Pentekostarion.

For the Ascension in Voskr 27, after the three stichera on the first Tone automelon *Небесным чином*, notated by the first hand, and found in the majority of Russian and Slavic sources, are three 6th Tone stichera on the automelon *Третьи день*, not included in any other Russian or Slavic manuscript.

For the Sunday of All Saints in Voskr 27, as in the majority of manuscripts, there appear two prosomoia in the first Tone on the automelon *Небесным чином*. The first sticheron is notated by the first hand, the second by the second hand. It is important to note that, though few Russian Sticheraria retain the final part of the Pentekostarion period, both stichera are present in Sin 278.

An examination of the sources including the prosomoia notated in Sin 319 and Voskr 27 by the second hand (in addition to the series of St Joseph) show that these prosomoia are rare in general, and practically absent in *znamenny* notation. Thus, it is in the introduction of stichera prosomoia, and not idiomela, that the distancing of the common tradition from the repertoire may be seen, as apparent in the GIM Triodion and Pentekostarion. It is noteworthy that the deliberate choice of certain hymns new to Russian and Slavic practice was accompanied by the process of notating neumatically the new stichera and canons by the second scribe. It may be argued that this master of *znamenny* chant took part directly in the writing of this innovative project of a set of books for the Triodion cycle.

The prosomoia cycles of Sin 319 e Voskr 27: the first and second znamenny hands

A comparison of the stichera of Sin 319 and Voskr 27, notated by the first scribe or group of scribes, with prosomoia notated by the second hand, reveals regularly occurring differences in method. The fact of the existence of two hands, corresponding to the same place and time, raises the possibility of comparing the work of the masters in terms of the neumatic notation, and also to arrive at conclusions with regard to the oral practice of contrafact chants, apparent in both codices. For the purposes of this comparative analysis there were chosen the prosomoia cycles, notated by both hands, and copied from the same model.

In Schidlovsky's thesis are mentioned 38 automela that served as models for Lenten weekdays. Each automelon in his list has a Greek analogue, and indication of location of each chant as cited in Follieri's catalogue, a reference to the liturgical book in which the model may be found, and there are also listed the prosomoia of Sts Theodore and Joseph that correspond to the models⁹²³. The automela mentioned by Schidlovsky are represented below, grouped by tone. The models used for the prosomoia of St Joseph are distinguished from the models chosen by St Theodore by underlining. The models used for the prosomoia for the weekdays by both authors are underlined and in bold:

- t.1 Прехвальнии мученицы, Облак тя светлыми, Древле Моисею;
- t.2, Яко явися, Ангел убо еже радуися, Вся преиду, Просветителя нашего, Егда от древа, Паче оума даров, Содеянных ми, О великаго таинства, Да распнется, Богозванныи мученик;
- t. 3 Велие чудо, Доблии мученицы, Приидите вси, Велия креста, **Поставиша тридесять, Крестоявленно;**
- t.4 Дал еси знамение: Званныи свыше, Оумного адаманта;
- t.5 Господи при Моисеи, Радуися постников, Преподобне отче, Преподобне отче,
- t.6 Архангельскии, Господи на гроб, Одесную Спаса; **Все упование**⁹²⁴;
- t.7 Днесь бдит, Под кров твои;
- t.8 Господи аще и на судищи, Неизчетен, Во едеме раи, Преславное, Богородицу, Что вы наречем.

As Schidlovsky pointed out, St Theodore chose for his prosomoia the rarest automela; each model, as a rule, is represented by only one sticheron prosomoion. They are notated by the first hand in Sin 319 and a very similar hand notated the Sticheraria. St Joseph chose those models most frequently used in practice. Eight of the automela collected by him have two or more prosomoia per model; they are notated by the second hand.

⁹²³ Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 30-37.

⁹²⁴ This automelon is mentioned by Schidlovsky in its contemporary published version, beginning with “Всю отложивше”; in the present list it corresponds to the version found in Sin 319, Voskr 27, Typografsky Kontakarion and the 12th - 13th century Sticheraria.

Only two automela from the above list served for the prosomoia of either author: for the Tone 6 automelon *Все упование*, St Joseph wrote six stichera, and St Theodore one; for the Tone 3 automelon *Поставиша тридесять сребренников* there are two prosomoia by St Joseph and one by St Theodore.

In addition to the prosomoia by Sts Theodore and Joseph, to which may be added the prosomoia cycles notated by the second hand, mentioned in Table 28 of all the canticles notated by the second hand, Sin 319 and Voskr 27 include prosomoia cycles notated by the first hand which were not discussed in Schidlovsky's thesis. The automela for these prosomoia are listed in the following table:

Table 29

The day	folio	Automelon
Saturday of Meatfare	15r	t.8 Раи иже
Sunday of Meatfare	24v	t.6 Все уповани
1 st Saturday	94r	t.4 Яко добля
1 st Sunday	94v 95r 104r	t.8 Иже в едеме t.1 Прехвальные t.6 Все упование
Thursday of the 5 th week of Lent	250v	t.4 под Хотех слезами
Saturday of the 5 th week of Lent	273r	t.6 Все упование
Palm Sunday	5r	t.8 Приде Спас
Holy Saturday	52r	t.2 Егда от древа
Pascha	59r	t.2 О великаго Ти таинства
Mid-Pentecost	114r 125a,r 125a,v	t.8 На небо текуше t.4 Господь вшед на крест t.4 Хотех слезами
Ascension	159v	t.1 Небесным чином
6 th Sunday, Holy Fathers	171r 175v	t.6 Все упование t.6 Неначаемая
8 th Sunday, All the Saints	199r 199v 201v	t.1 под. Небесным чином ⁹²⁵ t.4 под. Яко добля t.6 под. Взыде Бог

A case that differs a little from the other cycles of the prosomoia appears in the cycle of the prosomoia of Flower Sunday. In Voskr 27 they are detached by the title “on Sunday morning sticheron t.8, *podoben*, the incipit of the automelon is not indicated, but just after the reference “*podoben*”, there follows the sticheron *Приде Спас днесь*, and after him, there are written another two, *Радуйся и веселися граде Сионь* and *Придем и мы днесь*.

⁹²⁵ The 1st prosomion is notated by the first hand, and the 2nd by the second hand.

In the Typikon Sin 330 for this day are prescribed six stichera on Lauds, that is, three sung twice, *Радуися и веселися* in Tone 8 and two similar ones. These stichera are found in the same order in the Uspensky Sticherarion, in Sof 96, Sin Typ 147 and Sin 278, being placed in Lauds (*Радуися и веселися, Приде Спас днесь, Придем и мы днесь*). However, the Synodal Sticherarion 278 places before the first sticheron, *Радуися и веселися*, the indication “automelon”.

The Triodion Sof 110 groups the Tone 8 stichera in the following way: in the section for “Palm Sunday at Lauds” appear three stichera – *Приде Спас, Радуися и веселися* and *На херувимех ездяи*; before the first sticheron, *Приде Спас*, in the place where Voskr 27 has the indication “podoben”, in this Triodion comes the indication “automelon”, as also happens in the same place in Sin 278 for the sticheron, which, though also positioned first, differs from this one. The order of Sof 110 is preserved in both Shafarikov-type Triodia F.n.I.74 and F.n.I.68 where, however, there is no indication of the type of stichera. In the Orbelsky Triodion Pog 40 and the Evergetis Triodion, in the first place appears the sticheron *Радуися и веселися*, which is followed by *Приде Спас* and *На херувимех ездяи*, but they all appear in the aposticha for Vespers; there is no indication of automelon or prosomoion.

In the Sticheraria Sin Typ 148, Sof 85 and the Orbelsky Triodion F.n.I.102 the three stichera are written in the same order as in Voskr 27, but without any indication as to whether they are prosomoia or automela.

In the Chilandari Sticherarion, the sticheron *Приде Спас* appears after the Glory...now and ever in the evening aposticha for Saturday. Immediately afterwards appears the rubric “on Sunday on Lauds, twice, t.8” and there appear the stichera *Радуися и веселися, На херувимех, Tone 3 Прежде шести день Пасхы* and *Tone 8 Придем и мы днесь*. In other words, the order of the three 8th Tone stichera does not bring them together as a cycle; any indication of automelon is also missing.

Thus, a certain variety may be observed in the grouping of the Tone 8 stichera and their placement within the liturgical service in Slavic and Russian sources, which reflects the multiplicity of practices extant in Greek and Slavic manuscripts copied at an earlier stage. It is noteworthy that, amongst the Sticheraria written before the 13th century, only Sin Typ 148 corresponds to the Voskresensky Pentekostarion. As for indications of the kind of sticheron (automelon or prosomoion), the majority of sources furnish no information. Two manuscripts indicate the first of three or four stichera as being an automelon (the fourth very often being the doxasticon). The information

provided in the Pentekostarion Voskr 27 and the Typikon Sin 330, though it indicates the first sticheron by the term “podoben”, has the same meaning as the indications in the Sticherarion 278 and the Pentecostaron Sof 110, in that it clarifies that the first sticheron is an automelon for the other two, made according to its model⁹²⁶. The question of exactly which sticheron of the two – *Приде Спас* or *Радуйся и веселися* – served as a model for the others does not seem to be of particular importance, since all of them must have been written together, as a cycle, within which their positions might change. However, on account of the fact that this prosomoia cycle represents a special case, and cycles of prosomoia with the same graphic model or correspondence with one or other of the stichera referred to above are unknown to us, it has not been included in the following table.

This table lists the incipits of the automela of all the prosomoia cycles in Sin 319 and Voskr 27, with the exception of the prosomoia of St Theodore and St Joseph for Lenten weekdays.

Table 30

1 st hand	2 nd hand
Sin 319	
t.1 Прехвальные (2) t.4 Яко добля (2) t.4 под Хотех слезами (22) t.6 Все упование (3,4,3,) t.8 Иже в едеме (1,2)	t.1, Небесным чином (3) t.2 Егда от древа (3, 1,) t.2 Просветителя (2) t.4 Хотех слезами (2) t.6 Третии день (3) t.8 Во Едеме раи (2)
Voskr 27	
t.1 Небесным чином (3, 1) t.2 Егда от древа (3) t.2 О великаго Ти таинства (3) t.4 Господь вшед на крест (3) t.4 Хотех слезами (2) t.4 под. Яко добля (3) t.6 Все упование (3) t.6 Неначаемая (3) t.8 На небо текуще (3) t.6 под. Взыде Бог (1)	t.1 Небесным чином (1) t.2 Ангел убо (3) t.2 Безакония моя (3) t.2 Егда от древа (3, 3) t.4 Яко добля (3) t.6 Все упование (3) t.6 Третии день (3)

⁹²⁶ The cases of the same interpretation of the terms “podoben” and “automelon” take place in the Russian manuscripts from time to time.

Bringing together all cases of the inclusion of prosomoia in the two codices of the GIM Triodion cycle means that the number of relevant automela reaches 48, written in all the tones:

Table 31

tone	automelon
1	1. Прехвальные 2. Небесным чином 3. Облак тя светлыи 4. Древле Моисею
2	5. Егда от древа 6. Просветителя 7. Яко явися 8. Ангел убо еже радуися 9. Вся преиду 10. Безакония моя 11. Паче оума даров 12. Содеянных ми 13. О великаго таинства 14. Да распнется 15. Богозванныи мученик
3	16. Доблии мученицы 17. Приидите вси 18. Велие чудо 19. Поставиша тридесять 20. Велия креста 21. Поставиша тридесять 22. Крестоявленно
4	23. Хотех слезами 24. Яко добля 25. Дал еси знамение 26. Званныи свыше 27. Господь вшед на крест 28. Оумного адаманта
5	29. Радуися постников 30. Господи при Моисеи 31. Преподобне отче 32. Преподобне отче
6	33. Третии день 34. Все упование 35. Неначаемая 36. Архангельски 37. Взыде Бог 38. Одесную Спаса 39. Господи на гроб
7	40. Днесь бдит 41. Под кров твои
8	42. Во Едеме раи 43. Что вы наречем 44. Господи аще и на судищи 45. Неизчетен 46. На небо текуще 47. Преславное 48. Богородицу

The distribution of the prosomoia corresponding to these automela, notated by both hands, is as follows:

Table 32

1 st hand			2 nd hand		
tone	automelon	Number of stichera	tone	automelon	Number of stichera
1	Прехвальнии мученицы Небесным чином Облак тя светлыи Древле Моисею	2 3, 1 1, 1 1	1	Прехвальнии мученицы Небесным чином	2, 2, 2, 2, 2 3, 1
2	Егда от древа Паче оума даров Содеянных ми О великаго таинства Да распнется Богозванный мученик	3 1, 1 1 1, 3 1 1	2	Егда от древа Просветителя Яко явися Ангел убо еже радуися Вся преиду Безакония моя	3, 1, 2, 3, 3 2, 2 2, 2 2, 3 2 3
3	Доблии мученицы Приидите вси Велие чудо Поставиша тридесять	1 1 1 1	3	Велия креста Поставиша тридесять Крестоявленно	2, 2 2 2
4	Хотех слезами Яко добля Господь вшед на крест Умнога аманта	22, 2 2, 3 3 1	4	Хотех слезами Яко добля Дал еси знамение Званнии свыше	2 3 2, 2, 2 2
5	Господи при Моисеи Преподобне отче Преподобне отче	1, 1 1 1	5	Радуися постников	2, 2
6	Все упование Неначаемая Архангельски Взыде Бог Одесную Спаса Господи на гроб	3, 4, 3, 1, 3 3 1, 1 1 1 1	6	Все упование Третии день	3, 2, 2, 2, 3, 3
7	Днесь бдит Под кров твои	1 1	7		
8	Во едеме раи На небо текуше Преславное Богородицу	1, 2, 1, 1 3 1, 1 1	8	Во едеме раи Что вы наречем Господи аще и на судищи Неизчетен	2 2, 2, 2 2, 2 2

As may be seen in the table, seven automela have prosomoia notated either by the first hand or the second. In five cases one of the hands notated only one cycle of prosomoia. In the remaining two – Tone 6 *Все упование* and Tone 1 *Небесным Чином* – each hand was responsible for a number of cycles. The automelon which serves as a model for most of the prosomoia is *Все упование*. To it are related four cycles of

prosomoia and a separate prosomoion by St Theodore, notated by the first hand, and four cycles notated by the second hand. It is significant that each hand notated stichera in both Sin 319 and Voskr 27. In addition to these two manuscripts from the Triodion cycle, the automelon *Все упование*, being one of the most frequently used models, served as a basis for a great number of cycles of the *znamenny* prosomoia in the Sofisky Menaia. Furthermore, this automelon is found amongst the *znamenny* models in the Typografsky Kontakarion⁹²⁷. For the reasons presented above, this automelon was chosen as the main material for a comparative analysis of the methods of contrafact chant used by two masters (or a group and a master) of *znamenny* chant.

However, before beginning a description of the technique of the application of certain automela to the prosomoia there follows a more general discussion of the technique of contrafact.

On the analytical principles of Greek and Slavic contrafact chants

Any Russian *znamenny* prosomoion, notated at the end of the 12th century, which includes those versions modeled on the automelon *Все упование* chosen for analysis, carried with it the reflection of a series of models, either notated or extant in oral form.

Depending on the period in which they were used, two types of later model may be distinguished. Firstly, there is the oral model, known by the chant master who participated in the process of notating it. Secondly there is a graphic version, adopted as an example by the master.

Both models, oral and graphic, could have been widely disseminated in Russia at the time of writing of the two GIM manuscripts. The details of these models were selected and worked out during the course of several decades in Russian practice, and absorbed many versions which were transformed over the course of time. The Russian model arrived at this stage following the assimilation of oral and written variants of Greek models. One can also not exclude the possibility of the direct application of a Greek model, oral or written, in Russian manuscripts of the end of the 12th century without a Russian intermediate step. In any case, the analysis of the Russian prosomoion as found in Sin 319 and Voskr 27 has at its starting point the experience of the comparative analysis of Greek and Russian chants. Nevertheless, the technique of

⁹²⁷ K-5349, Tretiakov State Gallery, Moscow, f. 120v.-121r.

contrafact in Russian chant may be understood in a broader sense, on account of the fact that not only are the stichera prosomoia, but also the troparia of the canons or idiomela written in *znamenny* notation, were organized according to Greek models. There follows a panorama of the principal positions of those who have worked on the comparative analysis of Greek and Russian chants.

The regular study of textological-musical aspects of Greek chants may be seen from the mid-20th century. One of the basic questions which became apparent early on was that of the prosaic or poetic nature of the Byzantine chants. The understanding of the texts of stichera and canons as poetic, at which scholars finally arrived, was rendered difficult by the disposition of the texts in the manuscripts containing these hymns is obscured, and does not reveal the poetic structure. The division of the text into sections is achieved by the use of colons or dots⁹²⁸.

The metrical organization within sections of text and the coordination of these sections in terms of the overall structure present a large number of variants. The main analytical criteria, over the course of several decades of research into this area, are still the counting of syllables and the distribution of accents in the division of the strophe into verses⁹²⁹.

During the course of the establishing of these basic criteria, to syntactic and linguistic parameters were added by Raasted such characteristics of musical analysis as medial signatures, cadences, and signs for prolonging the sound⁹³⁰.

If the poetic nature of the texts of Greek canons and stichera caused argument, the texts translated into Slavonic raised even more doubts with regard to determining whether the structure of the texts of the hymns is poetry or prose. As has been said in Chapter 2, the translation of Greek texts to Slavonic was in general word-for-word. In some cases this tendency is combined with an attempt on the part of the Slavic translators to find Slavonic words that were as close as possible to the Greek originals in terms of the number of syllables and correspondence of accents⁹³¹. However, in general, the metre and the proportions of the Greek texts were not respected in Slavonic versions. Amongst the scholars who have studied the Slavonic translations, there have

⁹²⁸ About this question, check the revision of the literature in Schidlovsky's thesis: Schidlovsky, *The Notated*, 148-150.

⁹²⁹ Schidlovsky, *The Notated*, 148.

⁹³⁰ Raasted, *Some observations*, p.532, cited in Schidlovsky, *The Notated*, 151.

⁹³¹ Momina, *Triodion*, *122; Filonov-Gove A., "The evidence for metrical adaption in early Slavic translated hymns", *Fundamental problems of early Slavic music and poetry*, MMB, Subsidia, v.VI, Copenhagen, 1978, p. 212.

also developed two schools of thought, which argued either for the presence (Jakobson) or the absence (Jagich) of poetic parameters in the Slavonic chants⁹³².

Schidlovsky, whose thesis is concerned with Greek and Russian prosomoia, also believes that the poetical structure of the Greek models was preserved in the Russian contrafacta: “Although many difficulties with both the Byzantine and Slavic repertoires are still evident, the study of the hymnography thus hinges on the question of poetry and the poetic interpretation of the texts. Form, grounded in a metrical underpinning, is the key ingredient in the analysis of the hymns, and its perception in terms of line length and word accent provides an essential basis for understanding certain procedures of the chant...Form is first of all a practical device of the chant; it is inherently tied to the oral principles of the transmission and, when properly understood, is not defined in terms of either text or melody alone, but as both of these together comprising a fixed succession of rhythmic units guiding the usage”⁹³³.

At the same time, doubt was cast by a number of scholars on the importance, in the translated texts, of parameters such as metrical proportions and accentuation. In her study of chants which had give rise to disagreements regarding the correspondence between the Slavonic texts and their Greek prototypes, Antonina Felonov-Gove analysed both entire stanzas, such as the heirmoi, and isolated lines, and the relation in them of the factor of the order of the words, the number of syllables and metrical accents, and arrived at the conclusion that “fidelity to the word (including word order) was valued above metrical fidelity”⁹³⁴.

Indeed, metrical instability, brought about by the differences in the number of syllables in the line and by irregularity in the distribution of accents, is clearly shown in Russian hymns written on the same model. This phenomenon was observed with great frequency during the course of the comparative study included in the present thesis. Between the strophe of the automelon and relevant Russian prosomoion there is not only an exact correspondence, but there exist significant differences in proportion, and the division into lines may be effected in a number of ways. This possibility of a number of choices is often found in the placing of colons within the same chant, written in *znamenny* notation in different manuscripts. This fact makes more difficult the

⁹³² Якобсон Р., “Заметка о древне-болгарском стихосложении”, *Известия отделения русского языка и словесности Российской Академии наук*, XXIV/2, 1922, pp. 351-358; cited in Schidlosky, *The notated*, 153.

⁹³³ Schidlosky, *The notated*, 155-156.

⁹³⁴ Filonov-Gove, *The evidence*, 242.

understanding of Slavonic texts as poetically organized structures. However, the determining of the form of the sticheron as a flexible structure, manifest as much in oral as written practice, which at the same time affects the textual and musical parameters, established by Schidlovsky, provides an efficient analytical method, independent of the decision to view the hymn as poetry or prose. This determination of form meant that in the present discussion it has been possible to leave certain purely linguistic methods of analysis to one side, without compromising, in the author's opinion, the essential aspects of the comparison of poetical structures and corresponding musical structures.

The instability of the proportions within structural sections and between sections, whether in comparing automelon with prosomion or in comparing prosomoia written according to the same model, has clear limits, conditioned by the form, understood as a phenomenon integrating both text and melody. The basic criterion that moulds the structure is formula, its melodic content and its textual content.

One of the first to study formula on the basis of the genre of the troparion was Velimirovic. In his book on the comparative analysis of the Greek and Russian Heirmologion, he developed the understanding of formula as the framework, the basis, the mould that, on the one hand presupposed then presence of fixed elements, which may be recognized by means of the frequent use of more important structural sections within the hymn and, on the other, is a flexible phenomenon that allows the transformation of these elements.

Formula for Velimirovic is a main parameter in the study of the technique of the adaptation of Slavonic hymns according to a Greek model. Two other parameters, analysed by him in separate chapters of the book, are the neumes and the structure of the hymn as a whole. The analysis of the neumes outside the context of the formula or the structure, from the author's point of view, does not provide the key to understanding the mechanism of assimilation of the Greek model in Russian practice. As far as form is concerned, Velimirovic, as does Schidlovsky a little later, affirms the Slavic tendency to preserve Greek melodic structures⁹³⁵. These structures may, however, be understood entirely only when an analysis of the neumes is included in the context of the structure and its constituent sections, after which the role of formula in the hymn becomes apparent, in its stable and moveable characteristics and the norms of its transmission in the conditions of the oral tradition⁹³⁶.

⁹³⁵ Velimirovic, *Byzantine elements*, 105.

⁹³⁶ Velimirovic, *Byzantine elements*, 126-127.

In discussing the functioning of formula within form, Velimirovic establishes that formula may be understood to cover an entire melodic phrase, but may also be joined, by means of link passages, to one or more formulas within the same phrase. As far as their position within a section of the form is concerned, Velimirovic classifies formulas as cadential and initial. However, the same formula may be present in various sections of the form.

Formula was established as the basic principle in the study of Greek chants for the troparion genre by Raasted, who emphasized and explained the variable character of formula. In his opinion, formula as a phenomenon has its origins in oral practice, which precedes the written phase of the hymns' existence⁹³⁷. In oral transmission, memorization did not cover the entire chant, but took place by means of the memorizing and use of formulas and their variants. For the period of the entirely oral tradition, Raasted supposes a multiplicity of musical versions⁹³⁸. At the same time, already in the period before notation, means of transition from one formula to another began to be worked out. Subsequent to the analysis of one of the hymns, Raasted began to detect a rule for joining the final cadence of a line to the following line, these two lines being separated by a colon. This rule, as he demonstrated, is consistent, and this must have occurred in the oral period. It was subsequently concluded that the masters of the early period wrote within the context of the oral transmission of formulas and the rules for linking them⁹³⁹. It is possible that this affirmation by Raasted may indicate that, within the limits of certain genres of Byzantine chant, in the oral period, formula was already a recognized phenomenon, which facilitated the functioning of the musical model, characterized by flexibility, but at the same time by the existence of rules in the composition of its elements, in the context of the poetic texts, which demonstrated a multiplicity of structure. In other words, the technical level of the linking of one formula to another meant that the hymnographer, in composing a poetic structure, did not have to limit himself to a single melodic realization. And, vice versa, a combination of formulas that already functioned at a certain period as a melodic model was likely to be adapted to a poetic text that was flexible and variable in its division into sections. This flexibility of interaction between formulaic melodic combinations and textual sections may explain the fact, that became apparent during the course of the

⁹³⁷ Raasted, J., "Formulaism and Orality in Byzantine Chant", *Cantus Planus*, Budapest, 1992, p.231.

⁹³⁸ Raasted, *Formulaism*, 232.

⁹³⁹ Raasted, *Formulaism*, 239-240.

comparative analysis of the automelon *Все упование*, discussed in the following chapters, and which consists of the ability to adapt a single melodic model of the automelon to a single prosomoion text, divided by means of colons in different ways in different manuscripts.

While, for the oral period, a multiplicity of melodic variants is presupposed, the written tradition, beginning with the earliest sources, dating from the 10th century, but which reflect an earlier practice rooted in the oral tradition, demonstrates stability in its melodic-textual structures. This opinion, expressed by Raasted with regard to Greek sources⁹⁴⁰, is supported by various other scholars: Strunk, M. Shkolnik, Konstantinova Ulf-Muller, among others⁹⁴¹.

In the work of this last scholar, on the comparison of Greek and Slavic sources containing stichera idiomela, was demonstrated the stability of the written Byzantine and Russian traditions with regard to stichera between the 11th and 15th centuries, as seen in manuscripts from a vast geographical area, including Asia Minor, Jerusalem, Constantinople, Mount Athos, Italy.⁹⁴² This tradition arose both orally and by means of notation, contexts which did not only coexist, but mutually determined each other⁹⁴³, providing a basis for the introduction of variety into a canonical network of formulaic textual-melodic structures. These variants could consist of the replacement of one melodic interval with another, which happened as part of the overall preservation of the intervallic content of the chant, in small rhythmic alterations, in the use of different neumes or combinations of neumes, but with a similar meaning. These modifications did not destroy the essence of the structure, but introduced elements of an expressive character. The roots of the variants are explained by Ulf-Muller by the presence of manuscripts of the older and revised versions of the chant, by the local nature of the differences, or by a creative act⁹⁴⁴. However, she refers to the lesser variety, up to the 15th century, of Russian formulas as compared to the Byzantine.

This brief and selective panorama of comparative textological-musical studies of Greek and Russian hymns allows one to point out the most important points on which

⁹⁴⁰ Raasted, *Formulaism*, 232.

⁹⁴¹ Strunk O., "Two Chilandari Choir Books", *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World*, ed. by Strunk, New York, 1977, p. 222; Школьник М., *Проблемы реконструкции знаменного распева XII-XVII веков (на материале византийского и древнерусского Ирмология)*, Candidate thesis, Moscow, 1996, p.8; Ulf-Moller N.K., "Conventionality and Instability of the Musical Formulas in Byzantine and Old Russian Chants", *Cantus Planus*, Budapest, 1992, p. 241-242.

⁹⁴² Ulf-Moller, *Conventionality and Instability*, 243.

⁹⁴³ Ulf-Moller, *Conventionality and Instability*, 247-249.

⁹⁴⁴ Ulf-Moller, *Conventionality and Instability*, 245.

the analytical method used in the following two chapters, dedicated to contrafact chants, is based. These points are: the development of structural elements of notated hymns from oral practice; the combination of stability and variety, visible as much in terms of text as in the neumatic orthography of the melodies; and the common origins and union of the written Byzantine and Russian traditions until the 15th century.

Chapter 8

Russian technique of contrafact: some general questions

On the criteria for the division of the stichera into melodic lines in Russian versions from the end of the 12th century (automelon Да распнется in the manuscripts Vatop 1488, Voskr 27 and Usp 8).

The discovery of the correspondence between the textual and melodic sections provides a determinant methodological means for a coherent analysis of the hymns. The existence in the manuscripts of variants in the placing of colons obscures the understanding of the melodic division. Only after clarifying exactly which is the conclusive graphic fragment in the melodic line, independent of the presence or otherwise of the colon afterwards, may the structure and formulaic content of the hymn finally be explained.

The graphic appearance of Greek hymns, in Palaeo-Byzantine notation, underwent several phases of development⁹⁴⁵. Each phase showed variations in the graphic expression of identical cadential formulae. The interaction of the Greek and Russian written traditions took place during the course of approximately a century and a half, up to the writing of Sin 319 and Voskr 27, and continued during the 13th century, to which correspond at least two Sticheria of the Triodion – Usp 8 and Sof 85. It would seem natural to suppose that, from the end of the 11th century (and probably even earlier, in codices which have not survived), Russian scribes were familiar with Greek books, which represented various stages of Palaeo-Byzantine notation, and this fact ought to be reflected in *znamenny* notation. In fact, the *znamenny* neumatic notation in the Typografsky Kontakarion, when compared with the corresponding hymns in the GIM Triodion group, differs in matters of detail from that in Sin 319 and Voskr 27. The Kontakarion represents an earlier stage in relation to the Synodal Triodion and the Voskresensky Pentekostarion. In their turn, these two latter manuscripts, as far as notational characteristics are concerned, are very close to dozens of *znamenny* codices written at more or less the same time. In the Uspensky Sticherion from the 13th century, again one may observe differences in certain typical notational characteristics comparing with the manuscripts of the second half of the 12th century, and, at the same time, the development of tendencies present in earlier manuscripts⁹⁴⁶, which allows one

⁹⁴⁵ In her article, N.Konstantinova Ulf-Moller lists the works concerning this subject: Ulf-Moller, *Conventionality and Instability*, 243.

⁹⁴⁶ Graphical variants gave rise to Schidlovsky's affirmation of the presence in Usp 8 of a particular melodic tradition, independent from all the other sources he analysed. However, during the course of the

to specify a further period in the evolution of *znamenny* chant. At present Russian *znamenny* chant of the Studite period is still traditionally considered as a single, whole period, displaying the same characteristics, that distinguish it from the later period, beginning in about the 15th century. Study of the phases of evolution in *znamenny* chant of the 11th - 14th centuries is still in its infancy and requires a great amount of specific research, which is beyond the bounds of the present thesis. Consequently, the three stages outlined above are merely a possibility.

Let us examine in more detail the hymns of the second half of the 12th century, including those recorded in the GIM Triodia set. By isolating structural units at various levels (divisions of the form, which may include one or more lines; separate lines and their formulas; the final formulas of the lines), an attempt will be made to discover whether there existed, when the codices of this period were written, a general rule that unified the last neumes of the final formulas.

Schidlovsky compared the Russian and Greek versions of the automelon *Да распнется*, which is the eighth antiphon for Matins of Holy Friday⁹⁴⁷. The Russian version he chose came from the Voskresensky Pentekostarion, and the Greek from the 11th-century Sticherarion of the Triodion, Pentekostarion and Octoechos which brings together hymns in both Coislin and Chartres notation – Vatop 1488⁹⁴⁸. Example 1 shows Schidlovsky's transcription.

In his commentary on the versions compared, Schidlovsky divides them into six long verses and notes that, in spite of some differences, the neumatic content of the cadences is notated by means of three principal neumes – “diple”, “apostrophos”

Example 1.

present thesis, it has become apparent that the melodic tradition of the Uspensky Sticherarion is the same as that found in manuscripts from the second half of the 12th century.

⁹⁴⁷ Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 164-178.

⁹⁴⁸ Triodion Athoum, MMB, Pars Principalis, v.IX, Copenhagen, 1975.

and “ison”⁹⁴⁹. However, if we examine in more detail the final neumes of the six divisions in both Russian and Greek versions of the hymn, it becomes clear that, while the strophes of the Greek version do indeed, as a rule, end with these neumes, in the Russian version in five instances there is a “diple” and the last line ends with a “stauros”. In addition, the first and third strophes in the Russian version are divided by means of a colon into two halves, and both halves end with a “diple”. Other strophes are also divided by Schidlovsky into two or three lines, not always separated by a colon. This division is made by him in accordance with the Greek version of the hymn. In all, Schidlovsky isolates in the Russian automelon 13 lines. However, if this version is divided in accordance with the colons, the number of lines is reduced to 9 rather than 13. All end with a “diple” with the exception of a group with a “theta” and the final “stauros”⁹⁵⁰.

Let us now compare the two Russian versions of the same automelon, *Да распнется*, one taken from the Voskresenky Triodion and the other from a later source – the Uspensky Sticherarion from the 13th century. Let us first consider the organization of the text, without the melodic element:

Example 2a).

Usp 8.1	ДА РАСПНЕТЬСѦ		ВОПЬІАХΟΥ
Voskr 27.1	ДА РАСПНЕТЬСѦ	2	ВОПЬІАХΟΥ
2	НЖЕ ТВОИХЪ ДАРОВАНИИ ПРНСНО НАСЛАЖАЮЩЕСѦ		
3	НЖЕ ТВОИХЪ ДАРОВАНИИ ПРНСНО НАСЛАЖАЮЩЕНСѦ		
3	Н ЗЛОДѢІА	ВЪ БЛАГОДАТЕЛА МѢСТО	ПРОШААХΟΥ ПРНІАТН
4	Н ЗЪЛОДѢІА	5 ВЪ БЛАГОДАТЕЛА МѢСТО	6 ПРОШААХΟΥ ПРНІАТН
4	ПРАВЕДЪНЪИХЪ ОУБНИЦА		
(6)	ПРАВЕДЪНЪИХЪ ОУБНИЦА		

⁹⁴⁹ The names of the neumes correspond to the terms accepted in Neumatic notations, *The New Grove Dictionary*, 1980, v.13, 146.

⁹⁵⁰ These terms can be found in a number of articles, for example: Troelsgard, Chr., “The Role of *Parakletike* in Paleobyzantine Notations”, *Paleobyzantine Notations. A Reconsideration of the Source Material*, Hernen, 1995, p. 81.

Voskr 27.

1.	ДА РА СПЬ НЕ ТЬ СѦ	6
2.	ВО ПЬ ІА А ХОУ	5
3.	Н ЖЕ ТВО Н ХЪ ДА РО ВА НН Н ПРН СНО НА СЛА ЖА Ю ЦЕ Н СѦ	19
4.	Н ЗЪ ЛО ДЪ ІА	5
5.	ВЪ БЛА ГО ДА ТЕ ЛѦ МЪ СТО	8
6	ПРО ША А ХОУ ПРН ІА ТН ПРА ВЕ ДЪ НЪИ Н ХЪ ОУ БН Н ЦА	17
7	МО ЛУА А ШЕ ЖЕ ХОН СТЕ	7
8	ТЕ РПА Н ХЪ СОУ РО ВЪ СТВО	8
9	ПО СТРА ДА ТН ХО ТѦ Н СПА СТИ НЪИ ІА КО УЛО ВЪ КО ЛЮ БЪ ЦЪ	18

Thus, of an overall number of eight or nine lines, only three coincide (they are marked by three colours: the second in Usp 8 = the third in Voskr 27; the fifth in Usp 8 = the seventh in Voskr 27; the sixth in Usp 8 = the eighth in Voskr 27). The positioning of these lines in the form of the sticheron differs, however; therefore, the fact that there is the same number of syllables in them does not create an impression of proportionality in the texts. All the other lines differ significantly in the number of syllables.

However, if we leave to onside the differences in the organization of the text and examine the hymn with its notation, an almost complete graphical identity may be seen in the melodic lines, which removes any doubt as to the melodic version in the two manuscripts being identical (the neumes that do not coincide, with the exception of rare changes of place in some melodic passages on account of the addition or removal of a syllable, occur in places typical for Russian sources of the 12th - 13th centuries in the context of the mutual exchange of neumes:

Example 2c).

Nevertheless, these discrepancies between textual and melodic lines, as is obvious, are superficial in character and do not affect the hymn's structure.

The structure, as determined by means of the melodic lines, is ternary. If one follows the method of Verlimirović and Schidlovsky with regard to the nomenclature of the sections, it could be described as AAB. Each section is made up of three melodic-textural lines, following the example of Voskr 27. Lines 1-4 practically coincide. Line 5 is more elaborate in comparison with line 2, which may be explained by its greater length. This pair of lines, however, begins with a “stauros”. In Voskr 27 one may observe the deliberate use of the neume that is absent from Usp 8, in order to underline the total identity of the lines. It may be supposed that the ends of the lines would be identical: the “diple” common to both versions is anticipated by the accented neume. In line 5 this is a “bareia”, in the second line, between an accented “kriuk”⁹⁵¹ and a “diple” is placed an unaccented “stopitsa”, which corresponds to an unaccented syllable. The graphical form of the third and sixth lines is very similar, and both are divided into equal halves, which correspond to the ends of the corresponding textual units.

It is noteworthy that the ternary structure is more apparent in the graphical form of the Russian automelon and less so in the Greek. This may be considered a conscious elaboration, made by Russian masters, of the correspondence between the melodic elements, functioning in the oral transmission of the hymn, and the graphical elements of the form.

As regards the final neumes, the comparison of the automelon *Да распнется* in both sources proves a continuity of the tradition of the graphical treatment of the formulas which terminate the melodic lines, from sources from the mid- and late 12th century to sources of the 13th century.

The Russian neume “statia”, which had its origins in the “diple”, became the most typical neume for the endings of melodic lines in the stichera, heirmoi and troparia of the canons in Sin 319, Voskr 27 and all Russian manuscripts chronologically close to them. While in the example of the automelon, discussed above, it appears under the

⁹⁵¹ Whenever possible in the present thesis, Greek terminology is used to denominate the neumes. In cases when Greek and Russian neumes, similar graphically, have a different history of interpretation in performance, the Russian term is used. The comparative analysis of Greek and Russian neumes falls outside the scope of the present thesis. Amongst the studies devoted to this theme may be cited those of Floros, Shkol'nik: Floros C., *Universale Neumenkunde, v.I-III*, Kassel, 1970; Школьник М., *Проблемы реконструкции*.

form of the Geek “diple”, in the stichera idiomela, it appears in variants that presuppose melismatic formulaic passages.

In order to form a general idea of the role of the “statia” and its variants at the ends of lines, let us turn to the stichera of Palm Sunday. On this day in Voskr 27 are written 15 stichera, organized in accordance with the liturgical order, with the sections named (three evening stichera repeated, three evening stichera aposticha and one on Glory... now and ever; on Sunday at Matins three stichera, one on Glory... and a further four, which may be related to the Matins); after the stichera from Vespers follows the canon. All the stichera are idiomela, with the exception of the cycle of three stichera on the eighth tone, of which the first is designated as “podoben” and serves as a model for the micro-cycle⁹⁵².

An analysis of the ends of the lines of the stichera, precisely in accordance with the placing of the colons by the scribes, reveals that, of some 180 lines, more or less 145 end with a neumatic groups including “statia”, and another four lines with a “strela” (neume 22 in the Table 33), the neume that also begins with a “statia”. Further typical elements in formulas that end lines of stichera of the syllabic- melismatic or the melismatic kind are the “theta” groups or “stauros”. If we join in the same group the typical final elements and compare them, in terms of quantity, with the remaining neumes from outside this group, it become apparent that the rare neumes for the cadences represent only some four per cent. Amongst these rare neumes in Voskr 27 there appears no “dyo apostrophoi ” or “ison”.

In order to understand better the level of uniformity attained by the final neumes of Voskr 27, another source is included in the comparative analysis; the attribution of date and origin are close to those of the Voskresensky Pentekostarion, and is accessible in published form: the Chilandari Sticherarion. On the basis of the stichera of Palm Sunday as found in Chil 307 in greater quantity than in Voskr 27 – 20 stichera⁹⁵³ – there follows a comparative table of the final neumes of the melodic lines (Table 33).

As may be seen in the table, “statia” and its variants, “stauros” and “theta”, are also in the vast majority in the Chilandari Sticherarion. In this manuscript, however, two neumes are lacking: though relating to the “statia” group, they are rarely present in Russian sources from the end of the 12th century - 13th century (nos. 8 and 9). At the

⁹⁵² This case is consider on the pages 318-319.

⁹⁵³ The stichera begin with the indication “The stichera for the Palms” after the service for Lazarus Saturday: Chil 307, f.21.

same time, the final neumes not found in Voskr 27 are present, amongst them those that include the “dyo apostrophoi” (n° 10 and n° 11).

With regard to the “dyo apostrophoi”, it may be observed that this neume in Greek manuscripts from the time of the transition of palaeo-Byzantine notation to the following stage, was considered an alternative to the “diple”⁹⁵⁴, and the preference for one neume or another is evident in the manuscripts⁹⁵⁵. The Chilandari Sticheraion, as has already been noted, was copied from various sources and this is very likely evident in the neumatic content.

In the sequence for Palm Sunday in Chil 307, there is evident a lack of coherence in the order of the sections, unlike the Voskresensky Pentekostarion. Some stichera are also different: In Voskr 27 there is a sticheron not included in Chil 307; at the same time, the Sticheraion has five stichera before the beginning of “Lord I call upon Thee”, which are not part of the Pentekostarion.

Table 33

N°	Neume	N° of cases		N°	Neume	N° of cases	
		Voskr 27	Chil 307			Voskr 27	Chil 307
1.	≡	117	124	13.	>	-	1
2.	≡:	8	17	14.	<	-	2
3.	≡̄	7	8	15.	⤿	-	1
4.	≡σ	3	3	16.	≡≡	1	3
5.	≡>	4	6	17.	∇	2	2
6.	≡)	2	2	18.	≡≡	-	2
7.	≡∇	-	1	19.	≡≡	3	3
8.	≡.	3	-	20.	≡≡	-	1
9.	≡:≡:	2	-	21.	≡≡	-	1
10.	≡≡∪	-	5	22.	≡≡	4	4
11.	≡≡σ	-	1	23.	...σ...	12	15
12.	≡x	-	1	24.	+	15	19

⁹⁵⁴ Raasted J., Observations on the Chartres and Coislin versions of the Good Friday Sticheron Ω προς η παρανομος συναγωγή, *Paleobyzantine Notations. A Reconsideration of the Source Material*, Hernen, 1995, p.138.

⁹⁵⁵ Note that in the example, which appears in Schidlovky's thesis, and which was quoted in Example 1 (Chapter 8, p.330) of the present thesis, line 6H of the Greek automelon ends with two “dyo apostrophoi”, followed by the colon, while line 8 of the Russian automelon, corresponding to this, and also separated by a colon, ends with a “diple”.

The following table demonstrates the disagreements between the stichera in both sources:

Chil 307	Voskr 27
<p>“Palms” t.6 podoben -небо просеър яко кожую -на престоле херувимсте Palm Sunday t.1 -Пресвятыи Дух -преже шести день Пасхы -Собезначальнии и Соприсносущнии Saturday evening, on “Lord I call”...</p>	<p>Sunday morning, on Glory t.8 -на херувимех яздяй</p>

The above-mentioned disagreement between the repertories in the two codices is reflected neumatically: it is in the two stichera in the First Tone, *Преже шести день* and *Собезначальнии и Соприсносущнии*, which are absent from Voskr 27, that all five cases of the ending of the line with a combination of “dyo apostrophoi” and “klasma” (neume no.10) in Chil 307 are found.

Of the Sticheraria, these two stichera are present only in Sof 85 and Usp 8. Both manuscripts come from a later period: the 13th century. A comparison of the versions of the stichera in Usp 8 and Chil 307 reveals an identical melodic-graphic contour. However, though built on the same melodic-graphic basis, in Usp 8 there may be seen a tendency towards the correction of certain elements. One of the things that disappeared from this 13th – century manuscript is the “dyo apostrophoi”. There follows a table with the cadential passages for all five lines, ending with “dyo apostrophoi” with “klasma” (Example 3a)

As the examples show, in only one of the five cases does the Uspensky Sticherarion use neume no. 10 as the final symbol of the line. In the remaining four cases it is replaced by neumatic combinations that include the “statia”.

The “dyo apostrophoi” (neume no. 16) shows the same tendency to disappear in favor of the “diple” or “statia” in the comparison of the cadential lines of the stichera for this day in these two sources. The first two cases occur in the sticheron *Собезначальнии* (Example 3b).

Example 3a)

idiomelon *Преже шести днь:*

Chil 307, f.3r.

1.
 ПРЕ ЖЕ ШЕ СТИ ДЬ НЬ ПА СХЪ

2.
 ...ВЪ СТА ВН ЛЪ К СН

Usp 8, f.98v.

ПРЪ ЖЕ ШЕ СТИ ДЕ НЪ ПА СХЪ

...ВЪ СТА ВН ЛЪ К СН

idiomelon *Събезначальныи:*

Chil 307, f.3v.

3.
 ...СЛО ВО Ш ТЪ УЕ

4.
 ...Н К РОУ СА ЛН МЪ

5.
 ...СТРА ХЪ МЪ

Usp 8, f.99

...СЛО ВО Ш ТЪ УЕ

...Н К РОУ СА ЛН МЪ

...СТРА ХО МЪ

Example 3b)

idiomelon *Събезначальныи:*

Chil 307, f.3v.

1.
 ...Н ВЪ ТВЪ МН

2.
 ...ВЪ СПЪ ВА Ю ЦЕ

Usp 8, f.99

...Н ВЪ ТВЪ МН

...ВЪ СПЪ ВА Ю ЦЕ

Example 3c)

idiomelon *Придем и мы днесъ:*

Chil 307, f.6v.

...ГРМ ДЪ Н

Usp 8, f.105v.

...ГРМ ДЪ Н...

Voskr 27, f.6

...ГРМ ДЪ Н

The third case of a with “dyo apostrophoi” is found in the sticheron of the Sixth Tone *Придем и мы днесъ*, also contained in Voskr 27. As the following example shows, in Usp 8 the replacement of the with “dyo apostrophoi” by the “diple” occurs again, while Voskr 27 regularly repeats the version found in Chil 307 (Example 3c).

Neume no. 11, which includes the with “dyo apostrophoi”, may be found in the sequence for Palm Sunday in the Chilandari Sticherarion once, in the Tone 3 sticheron *Прежде шести день Пасхы*. It is also used much more rarely in *znamenny* notation from after the mid-12th century than neume no. 4, which has a “diple” instead of a with “dyo apostrophoi”. In the Uspensky Sticherarion, this sticheron does not appear, but it is found in Voskr 27, and in it the with “dyo apostrophoi” is replaced by the “diple” (Example 3d).

Examples 3a-3d show that the use of the “diple” and its combinations as a final neume acquire the status of a general rule, unlike the rare “dyo apostrophoi” and its variants. The quantitative preference for the “diple” in comparison with the “dyo apostrophoi” bears witness to a conscious choice of the former, and implies the probability of the correction of the “dyo apostrophoi” in later manuscripts⁹⁵⁶.

If we examine other rare neumes that coincide in the Chilandari Sticherarion with the line endings, it become obvious that in the majority of cases its use is explained by the divergence between the textual and melodic limits; in other words, these neumes are not in fact the final neumes.

For example, in some cases, the lines, divided by means of colons in Chil 307, are joined in Usp 8 or Voskr 27 in such a way that neume no. 18, used in Chil 307, rare as a symbol at the end of a line, occurs in the middle of the line in the other two manuscripts and loses its role as a final neume. Such a case may be found in the Tone 1 sticheron *Пресвятыи Дух*, found in the Chilandari and Uspensky Sticheraria (it is part of the cycle that is missing in the Voskresensky manuscript): Example 4a).

Similar examples may also be found in the comparison of the sequences for Palm Sunday in Voskr 27 and Chil 307. In the Tone 8 sticheron *Придем и мы днесь* in Chil 307, one of the lines ends with neume no. 18, followed by a colon, whereas in Voskr 27 in the same place the colon is absent, and the neume does not function as the final symbol, occurring in the middle of the line, which ends with a «statia» (Example 4b).

⁹⁵⁶ M. Shkol'nik, in the comparative study of Russian and Palaeo-Byzantine neumes she undertook in her thesis, writes: “In *znamenny* notation of the 12th - 13th centuries, at times the “dyo apostrophoi” was used. From the second half of the 15th century it ceases to be used, though it can, very rarely, be found in manuscripts up to the end of the 15th century. Already in Slavic sources [this term is used by her to indicate Russian codices written up to the end of the 15th century] the “dyo apostrophoi” began to give way to the “diple” and is found only in combination with other neumes.”: Школьник, *Проблемы реконструкции...*, 82.

In the stichera for Palm Sunday found in Voskr 27, Chil 307 and Usp 8, the “oxeia” is not found one single time as a final neume in combination with the “klasma”, which ends line IV G of the Greek automelon Σταυρωσῆτω ἐκράζον in Example 1 of Schidlovsky's transcription. An analysis of the corresponding line in the Russian automelon *Да распнется* of the same example shows that the textual section, emphasized by Schidlovsky, ends with the same neume⁹⁵⁷. However, it is not followed by a colon, and the scribe of Voskr 27 continues the line until the “diple”. The neume in question thus has the same behavior as neume no. 18; that is, it is part of the medial passage and does not belong to the final formula. If we do not limit ourselves to the Palm Sunday sequence, we notice that both neumes are used much more frequently in the middle than at the ends of lines, and this is valid for the majority of the codices dating from the middle of the 12th century onwards.

Neume no 17, a variant of the “bareia”⁹⁵⁸, equally uncommon, also tends to lose its meaning as a final symbol. This neume is found with a slightly greater frequency in the final position in those cases when it is followed by a neumatic group with a “theta”. For example, in the Tone 2 sticheron *Слава Тебе Христе* in the Chilandari Sticherarion version, in one case it ends the line, and in another precedes the “theta” group and, though it is not separated from it by a colon, fulfils the role of a neume of the final formula (Example 4c).

An examination of the same textual fragments of Voskr 27 and a comparison of the notation in the Chilandari Sticherarion and Pentekostarion shows a coincidence in notation in the first case. After neume no. 17 there appears the colon, which does not so much indicate the end of the line as emphasis in the text the “theta” group (Example 4d).

However, in those cases in which the “theta” group is absent and there exists no need for its emphasis, a variant of the “bareia” in question, emphasized by a colon in Chil 307 as part of the final formula, changes its meaning in Voskr 27: in the Pentekostarion in the identical position it is corrected, with the object of making the “diple” the last neume. The “bareia” thus ceases to function as one of the final neumes (Example 4e).

⁹⁵⁷ In *znamenny* notation this neume is a variation of the kriuk, which replaces “oxeia”, “petaste” and “oligon”: М.Школьник, *Проблемы реконструкции*, 90.

⁹⁵⁸ This transcription of the name of the neume could be found in Tillyard, *Hand book*, 26.

Example 3d)

Преже шести днь:

Chil 307, f.8v.

ПОКАЖЬТЕ МН КГО

Voskr 27, f.6v.

ПОКАЖЕТЕ МН КГО

Example 4a).

Пресвятыи Дух:

Chil 307 (f. 3r.)

ПРЕ СВА ТЫ Н ДОУ ХЪ • Н ЖЕ А ПО СТО ЛЫ...

Usp 8 (ff.98r.)

ПРЕ СВА ТЫ Н ДОУ ХЪ • Н ЖЕ А ПОУ СТО ЛЫ...

Example 4b).

Придем и мы днесъ:

Chil 307 (f. 8v.-9r.)

НЪ НА ПРЪ СТО ЛЪ ВЪ СО ЦЪ • ХЕ РО ВН МЪ СЪ •

Voskr 27 (ff.5v.-6r.)

НЪ НА ПРЪ СТО ЛЪ ВЪ СО ЦЪ • ХЕ РО ВН МЪ СЪ •

Example 4c).

Слава Тебе Христе:

Chil 307 (f. 4v.)

КРЪ СЪ МЪ ТЪ МЪ

Chil 307 (f. 4v.)

ВЪ ПН ТН ТН •

Example 4d).

Слава Тебе Христе:

Voskr 27 (f.1r.-1v.) :

...КРЪСТЪМЪ • ТЪМЪ

Chil 307 (f. 4v.) :

...КРЪСТЪМЪ ТЪМЪ

“Apostrophos” and “ison”, as final neumes, are absent from the stichera idiomela of Palm Sunday in Voskr 27. They are also rare in the Chilandari Sticherarion. If we examine the corresponding fragments in the text of the Tone 6 sticheron *Честное воскресенье* in the two sources, we see that in the passages which in Chil 307 end the line with “ison” or “apostrophos”, there is a scribal decision in Voskr 27 to remove the

colon from its position, which marks the ending of the line with one of the aforementioned neumes, and to end it with a “diple” (Example 4f).

It should be noted that the “apostrophos” is replaced by the “ison” which, in Raasted's opinion, represents a modernization of the Palaeo-Byzantine Greek sources⁹⁵⁹. M. Shkol'nik notes the same tendency in the material of the Heirmologion, pointing out examples of replacements of the series of apostrophoi found in the 12th century Novgorodsky and Voskresensky Heirmologia by “stopitsa” (“ison”) in the later Chilandari Heirmologion.

The fact that the “diple” in Russian manuscripts of the second half of the 12th century takes priority as the final neume is reinforced by its disappearance in passages in the middle of the lines and the placing of the colon where it appears. This tendency may be seen in the comparison of the Tone 3 sticheron *Прежде шести день* as it appears in the Voskresensky Pentekostarion and the Chilandari Sticherarion (Example 5).

The first line in both versions likewise stands out by means of the colon. The second, third and fourth lines in Voskr 27 are separated with colons and end with variants of the “statia”. In Chil 307, in place of the three lines, divided by colons, there is only one, though the final neumes of Voskr 27 retain their positions in the Chilandari Sticherarion.

If we consider the “diple” as an element that demarcates the boundaries of the melodic lines in the texts, written from the second half of the 12th century, we come to a more detailed understanding of the relationship between the Russian automelon and its prosomoia.

Example 4e).

Слава Тебе Христе:

Voskr 27 (f.1r.-1v.) :



Chil 307 (f. 4v.) :



⁹⁵⁹ Raasted, Observations, 138.

Example 4f).

Честное воскресение

Chil 307 (ff.6v.-7r.)

• ВЪ ЗДВН ЖЕ ОУ МЪ РША А ГО • ПО БЕ ЛЪ НН К МЪ СН БЕ ЗДОУ ШЬ НА...

Voskr 27 (f.6r.)

• ВЪ ЗДВН ЖЕ ОУ МЪ РША А ГО ПО БЕ ЛЪ НН К МЪ СН БЕ ЗДОУ ШЬ НА...

Example 5

t.3 *Преже шести день*

Chil 307 (ff.8r.-8v.) 1. $\Sigma \cup \epsilon \backslash \checkmark \epsilon \gg | = \cup$
 пре же ше стн дь нь па схъ •

Voskr 27 (f.6v.-7r.) 1. $\Sigma \cup \epsilon \backslash \checkmark \epsilon \gg | = \cup$
 пре же ше стн дь нь па схъ •

Chil 307 2. $\epsilon \epsilon \checkmark \cup \epsilon \epsilon \gg | = \cup$
 при де н сѹ съ вѣ вн фа нн ю

Voskr 27 2. $\epsilon \epsilon \checkmark \cup \epsilon \epsilon \gg | = \cup$
 при де н соѹ съ вѣ вн фа нн ю •

Chil 307 (2). $\epsilon \epsilon \checkmark \epsilon \epsilon \backslash \gg | = \}$
 вѣ зѣ ва тн хо тѣ мь ртвь ца

Voskr 27 3. $\epsilon \epsilon \checkmark \epsilon \epsilon \backslash \gg | = \}$
 вѣ зѣ ва тн хо тѣ мь ртвь ца •

Chil 307 (2). $\epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \gg | = \cup$
 ѹе твь рдѣ не вѣ на а го ла зо рѣ •

Voskr 27 4. $\epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \gg | = \cup$
 ѹе твь рдѣ не вѣ на а го ла зо рѣ •

Russian automela and their prosomoia: some general questions of notation

The automelon *Да распнется* analysed above appears amongst the transcriptions in Schidlovsky's thesis, as well as the versions already mentioned above from Vatop 1488 and Voskr 27, and certain others. Amongst these, together with the Greek versions, appear the Russian ones, taken from the Sticheraria Chil 307, Sof 96, Sof 85, Sin Typ 148, Sin Typ 147 and Usp 8. Together with the sticheron automelon, Schidlovsky placed the prosomoia of St Theodore, corresponding to this model: that for Wednesday of the Third Week of Lent, *Пощением Господи*⁹⁶⁰ (according to the versions found in Sof 96, Sin 319, Sin Typ 147, Sin 278 and Usp 8), the prosomoion for

Tuesday of the First Week of Lent, *Придете убо спешно* (in versions from Sof 96, Sof 85, Sin Typ 148, Usp 8 and Sin 319) and the prosomoion for Thursday of the First Week of Lent *Апостоли божьствънии* (in the versions from the two Typografsky Sticheraria, the two Sofisky, Synodal and Uspensky Sticheraria and the Triodion Sin 319).

In Schidlovsky's transcriptions, one's attention is caught by the fact of the almost total correspondence between the neumes of the GIM Triodion and Pentekostarion with the Sticheraria, with rare exceptions normally in the interests of clarification. It should be emphasized that all the hymns examined by Schidlovsky were notated in Sin 319 and Voskr 27 by the same first hand. Only in one case in Schidlovsky's examples is there a more significant difference in the notation. This occurs in the automelon *Да распнется* and its prosomoion *Пощением Господи*. For these two stichera, Schidlovsky arrived at the conclusion that while the prosomoion in the Greek manuscripts corresponds to its automelon, in the Russian sources, after the automelon, found in Voskr 27, there is only one version of the prosomoion – that of Usp 8. All other Sticheraria and Sin 319 contain a version that is different melodically, common to all these sources⁹⁶¹. Thus, Voskr 27 and Sin 319 belong to different groups. However, it is possible to analyse the same situation in a different way and arrive at a different result. Let us take Schidlovsky's example, including in it only the information concerning Russian sources:

Example 6.

		I.A					I.B					II.C				
Chil 307	Ⲛ															
GPB 96	Ⲛ															
GPB 85	Ⲛ															
Ts 148	Ⲛ															
Ts 147	Ⲛ															
GIM 27	Ⲛ															
GIM 8	Ⲛ															
(A-29)	Ⲛ															
	Ⲛ	ⲣⲁⲤ	ⲡⲚ	ⲞⲞ	ⲦⲚ	Ⲫⲁ	ⲞⲞ	ⲡⲚ	ⲞⲞ	ⲦⲚ	Ⲫⲁ	ⲞⲞ	ⲡⲚ	ⲞⲞ	ⲦⲚ	Ⲫⲁ
GPB 96	Ⲛ															
GIM 319	Ⲛ															
Ts 147	Ⲛ															
GIM 8	Ⲛ															
GIM 278	Ⲛ															
(P-13c)	Ⲛ															
	Ⲛ	ⲞⲞ	ⲞⲞ	ⲞⲞ	ⲞⲞ		ⲞⲞ	ⲞⲞ	ⲞⲞ	ⲞⲞ		ⲞⲞ	ⲞⲞ	ⲞⲞ	ⲞⲞ	

⁹⁶⁰ Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 237-249.

⁹⁶¹ Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 169.

II.D

III.E

III.F

Chil 307
GPB 96
GPB 85
Ts 148
Ts 147
GIM 27
GIM 8
(A-29)

HPMC NO MA

GPB 96
GIM 319
Ts 147
GIM 8
GIM 278
(P-13c)

IV.G

IV.H

Chil 307
GPB 96
GPB 85
Ts 148
Ts 147
GIM 27
GIM 8
(A-29)

GPB 96
GIM 319
Ts 147
GIM 8
GIM 278
(P-13c)

V.J

V.K

Chil 307
GPB 96
GPB 85
Ts 148
Ts 147
GIM 27
GIM 8
(A-29)

GPB 96
GIM 319
Ts 147
GIM 8
GIM 278
(P-13c)

	VI.L						VI.M				VI.N				
Chil 307	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
GPB 95	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
GPB 95	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Ts 146	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Ts 147	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
GIN 27	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
GIN 8	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
(A-29)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
	НОС	ТРА	ДА	ТН	ХО	ТА	Н	С	СВ	СТН	НМ	М	КО	УЛО	М
					ТЪ	МА	С	СА				КО	М	СО	СЪ
GPB 96	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
GIN 319	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Ts 147	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
GIN 8	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
GIN 278	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
(P-13c)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Н	СЪ	СВ	НВ	НО	АН	НО	Н	ТН	СА	МЪ	М	КО	МН	НОС
												ТН	СЪ		

We note that, in the automelon, the lines demarcated by colons end in most cases with a “diple”, and in one case with a “theta” group. Only in two Sofisky Sticheria is the last line divided by a colon into two halves when the “strela” appears. In the prosomoion, with the exception of the Uspensky Sticherion, at the ends of lines the “diple” and “theta” group also predominate; in one case, instead of the “diple” there is a “dyo apostrophoi”. As regards the Uspensky Sticherion, its neumatic notational style is truly different from the other sources.

In compiling his comparative tables, Schidlovsky was guided by the rules of the text. He copied the stichera from various sources, dividing them in the table into textual-structural elements, sometimes separated by colons, sometimes not. After dividing them in this way, he analysed the neumatic lines corresponding to the units he isolated.

However, if one compares the same stichera according to another criterion – of the graphical recording of the melody – then it becomes apparent that the melodic lines in all the sources quoted by Schidlovsky coincide. Sin 319 and Voskr 27 do not appear to distance themselves from the melodic tradition they follow. The melodic lines nevertheless do not always correspond to the same units of text. The source in which the division of text lines does not correspond with the division in any other source is the Uspensky Sticherion.

From Schidlovsky's transcription (Example 6) has been taken, firstly, the text of the prosomoion *Пошением Господи* as found in Sin 319⁹⁶², which represents the version found in most of the manuscripts, and, secondly, the text of the same prosomoion as found in Usp 8⁹⁶³, which, in Schidlovsky's opinion, reflects the version of the automelon in Voskr 27. In Example 7a) the text appears according to each source, with the lines with colons numbered, and the quantity of syllables in the lines:

Example 7a):

Sin 319:

1	по ше нн є мь го спо дн	8
2	доу ша про свѣ тн вѣ ше	7
3	да съ по до бн мѣ сѧ кре стѣ тво н не о соу же нь но вн де тн	20
4	ра до стн ю	4
5	н по кло нн тн сѧ стра шь но	9
6	про свѣ ца ю тѣ бо на съ	8
7	стра стн тво ѿ во ль ны ѿ	8
8	н хѣ же нз во лн	6
9	до н тн на мѣ	5
10	ѿ ко мн ло стн вѣ	6

Usp 8:

1	по цѣ нн є мь	5
2	го спо дн	3
3	доу ша про свѣ тн вѣ ше да спо до бн мѣ сѧ	13
4	кре стѣ тво н не ѡ соу жѣ нь но	10
5	вн де тн ра до стн ю н по кло нн тѣ сѧ стра шь но	16
6	про свѣ ца к тѣ бо на съ	8
7	стра стн тво ѿ во ль ны ѿ	8
8	н хѣ же нз во лн до н тн на мѣ ѿ ко мн ло стн вѣ	17

⁹⁶² Sin 319, f.145v.

⁹⁶³ Usp 8, f. 56v.

The conclusions to which an analysis of the example lead correspond to those arrived at with regard to the comparison of the two versions of the automelon of this prosomoion, *Да распнется*, as found in Usp 8 and Voskr 27 (Example 2b). The division of the text lines and their proportions show significant differences. If, however, the same experiment is made as was made with the automelon, that is, writing out both versions according to the melodic lines, the underlying melody in both versions of the hymns coincides:

Example 7b):

The example shows the way in which the scribe of the neumatic notation of the Uspensky Sticherarion adapted the same melody, dividing the hymn into text lines in his own particular way. Whereas the prosomoion in Sin 319, if one is guided by the colons is divided into ten text lines, Usp 8 has eight lines. On the basis of the melodic graphical shape, the first text line in Usp 8 could be divided in two, as was done with Sin 319. But this did not occur, probably on account of the small number of syllables, and the melodic formula, which in Sin 319 as a conclusion, appears in the middle of the line in Usp 8. It is interesting to note that the same phenomenon occurs once more a little further on, in the line **КРЕСТЪ ТВОИ НЕУСОУЖЪНЬНО** the same formula is repeated, and again finishes the line in Sin 319, while in Usp 8 it appears in the middle of the line. It does not seem likely that the position of the formula in the middle or at the end of the line alters in any way its melodic significance. It seems that the question of the presence of absence of the colon, like that of the preservation of the same number of text lines, was not of primary significance.

The most important detail in the quoted example is the freedom in the treatment both of the means of executing the chant and of neumatic notation shown by the scribe of the Uspensky Sticherarion. As for the final neumes of the lines, just as in the above-quoted examples, there is here a replacement of the “dyo apostrophoi” with the “diple” in the more recent source. In the added syllables, when there are differences between the two versions, there appear both “stopitzi” – neutral neumes of recitative character – and more distinctive neumes from the melodic and rhythmical-accentual point of view. Furthermore, before the final line another line has been inserted, not present in Sin 319.

This level of mastery of the melodic component and its graphical reflection was also observed by Schidlovsky in manuscripts earlier than Usp 8, specifically Sin 319. As has already been noted, in his thesis he analysed the prosomoia of St Theodore. One of them is the Tone 5 *Придете убо спешно*⁹⁶⁴, on the automelon *Преподобне отче (Оσιε πατερ)*, which is a sticheron apostichon from the Menaion for the commemoration of St Anastasius on 22 January⁹⁶⁵. Another prosomoion, also in the 5th Tone, *Апостоли божествении*, corresponds to the automelon which begins with the same words and therefore has the same incipit, *Преподобный отче*, which is, however, another

⁹⁶⁴ The incipit for this sticheron is found in Table 1.1 of Schidlovsky's thesis in another Russian textual version, *Придете усердно*, which corresponds to the published Triodion. On pages 250-262 Schidlovsky expounds on the transcription of this thesis in the textual version *Придете убо спешно*, found in Sin 319 and all Russian Sticheraria. However, it is the same sticheron, corresponding to the Greek *Λευτε προδύμωσ*.

sticheron from the Menaion, found among the aposticha of the commemoration of St Euthymius in the Menaion for 20 January⁹⁶⁶. These prosomoia are, therefore, based on two different melodic models, though they have the same incipit and are in the same Tone. The graphical variants of both the first and the second prosomoia in Sin 319 and Usp 8 on the one hand differ considerably from each other. On the other, in a more detailed analysis, Schidlovsky discovered that while Sin 319 has two different melodies for the two prosomoia, Usp 8 bases both of them on the same first melody by means of a complex melodic structural adaptation⁹⁶⁷. After comparing this with another two different automela, but in the same tone and with the same incipit (there are four in all) in the collection of *znamenny* automela of the Typografsky Kontakarion, Schidlovsky concluded that the models for the prosomoia *Придете убо спешно е Апостоли божествении*, in Sin 319 are not the automela that serve as examples in the Greek manuscripts, but another two, recorded in the Typografsky Kontakarion, which Russian masters may have found there⁹⁶⁸. In Schidlovsky's view, the Russian masters would not have had access to the correct automela in the Greek manuscripts⁹⁶⁹.

The examples given above provide proof of the presence of two opposite tendencies in Russian *znamenny* copies from the mid-12th century to the 13th century. On the one hand, there is the tendency of variable adaptation of the model to the contrafact; on the other, a consistent preservation of the graphic particularities. The tendency towards the variable may be seen in the comparison of sources dating from another period, namely the automela of the Typografsky Kontakarion and of Sin 319, or groups of other Sticheraria contemporary with or later than it (amongst them Usp 8). The stability of the melodic tradition and of its graphical reflection is seen in sources closely related in terms of date and/or place of writing. The relationship between Sin 319 and Voskr 27 does not represent an exception as far as stability is concerned. As proof of the fact that both conserve the same melodic tradition and that they could have been notated by the same master or group of masters (the first hand), there follows as an example the automelon *Да распнется* from Voskr 27⁹⁷⁰ compared with the above-mentioned prosomoion from Sin 319 (Example 8).

⁹⁶⁵ Οσιε πατερ, νικητης: Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 34.

⁹⁶⁶ Οσιε πατερ, ουκ εδωκας: Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 35.

⁹⁶⁷ Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 183.

⁹⁶⁸ The incipits of the two prosomoia are quoted by Vladyshevskaya in her article dealing with the group of automela in the Typografsky Kontakarion: *Типографский Устав*, 181.

⁹⁶⁹ Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 191-192.

⁹⁷⁰ Voskr 27, f.37.

The same melody is obviously present in both the automelon and the prosomoion. The division into lines and their proportions seems to be similar. The cases of the disagreements of the proportions of the lines regulate the graphical differences: the lack of some syllables making the reflection of the automelon in the prosomoion inexact may explain the difference in the neumes in line 6, separated by colons. It should be noted that some of these differences have to do with the conscious decision to correct some elements. If Sin 319 and Voskr 27 were written as a set, it is natural to suppose that the Triodion was written first, and the Pentekostarion after, thus making it a slightly later volume. In it, in contrast with the Triodion, the “*dyo apostrophoi*” are replaced by “*diple*”, the “*xeron klasma*” is represented by the graphical variant more common in later Russian manuscripts, and the caesura in the “*kriuk*” in the last line is passed by. These corrected elements are found, in addition to Sin 319, in the *Sticheraria Sof 96*, *Sin Typ 147* and *Sin 278*. This fact may serve as indirect proof that all four codices may have been notated by the same group of masters of the Novgorod school during the same period. During the writing of the GIM codices of the Triodion cycle there may have occurred a selection of graphic means, which influenced later sources.

The presence of two tendencies in the Russian technique of *contrafact* was noted by Schidlovsky⁹⁷¹: “What we have found stands not only to underscore important opposing tendencies – randomness and order, conservation and change, spontaneity and calculation – in the usage of the chant, but also to bring into question the very element of choice in what increasingly appears as a fundamentally unrestricted practice in the transmission of the music”.

Schidlovsky's conclusion is particularly interesting as regards the present thesis from the point of view of the relationship between oral and written practice. A consistent coincidence between the neumes indicates a conscious choice to preserve all the graphic nuances in copying a new *znamenny* codex from another Russian source.

At the same time, Schidlovsky's conclusion confirms that, with the dawning of the 12th century, from which date most of the manuscripts consulted by him, chant masters had achieved a very high level of skill in the adaptation of model to *contrafact*. This skill, it must be supposed, was apparent both in the process of performance and in the notation of a new text, hitherto unknown, and freshly translated. It is this that may explain the difference in the notational method of the *stichera* and *canons* of the second master, compared with his work on the basis of the notation of the greater part of the

material of the Synodal Triodion, the Triodion, Voskresensky Pentekostarion and the majority of the Sticheraria.

Having thus reviewed in a general fashion the technique of the application of Russian versions of the automela to prosomoia, we shall now undertake a more detailed analysis of the working method of two groups of masters of notation, evident in the two hands of Sin 319 and Voskr 27. The material for this analysis was the Russian version of the automelon *Все унование* and its corresponding prosomoia, notated by both the first and the second hands.

⁹⁷¹ Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 202.

Chapter 9
Russian technique of contrafact in the canticles by two hands
In Sin 319 and Voskr 27 (automelon Все унование and its
prosomoia)

The old Russian version of the automelon Все упование

The automelon *Все упование*, or, in accordance with the later Russian redaction found in published liturgical books, *Всю отложивше*, is part of the Menaion sequence dedicated to Saints Kosmas and Damian. This commemoration occurs twice a year – on 1 November and 1 July⁹⁷². The *Typikon Sin 330*⁹⁷³ indicates for 1 November the following stichera on *Lord I call upon Thee*:

On 6:

- Tone 6 idiomelon *Бесконечна есть* x 2
- Four stichera Tone 4: *Все упование* and two others similar to it (тому подобные)
- Gloria ... now and ever – theotokion

In the sequence for 1 July, the same stichera are indicated, with a small difference in the order: there is no reference to the duplication of the idiomelon; afterwards is sung *Все упование* and “other four similar to it” («ины четыре подобные ему»), six in all⁹⁷⁴.

Lamentable, in the Sofisky Menaia set, which probably made up a set together with the GIM Triodion and Pentekostarion, this automelon is not found. In the service for 1 November⁹⁷⁵, the first folios, where the sticheron ought to appear, have been lost, and the sequence begins with the ninth ode of the first canon⁹⁷⁶. The July volume did not survive at all.

The *znamenny* automelon *Все упование* appears in a source older than the Sofisky Menaia – in the *Typografsky Kontakarion*. There follow the text and the neumatic notation of this sticheron, as found in this source, with the division into lines according to the colons, and with a syllable count⁹⁷⁷.

Example 9.

⁹⁷² Schidlovsky, *The notated*, 30.

⁹⁷³ *Sin 330*, ff. 89v.-90r.

⁹⁷⁴ In published Menaia the automelon *Все упование* appears only in the sequence for 1 November.

⁹⁷⁵ *Sin 161*.

⁹⁷⁶ SK, 120.

⁹⁷⁷ *Typ.Ustav*, f. 238.

1		7
2		9
3		8
4		10
5		5
6		7
7		11
8		6
9		10
10		9
11		9
12		16
13		17

Let us now return to the automelon *Да распнется*, previously analysed. The Greek version was separated by colons into seven lines, the version in the Voskresensky Pentekostarion nine, and in the Uspensky Sticherarion eight. The number of lines in the automelon *Все упование* is slightly greater. The difference in the number of syllables in the lines (from five to 17) corresponds more or less to that of the two Russian versions of *Да распнется* (from five to 18 in Voskr 27; from seven to 19 in Usp 8).

A comparison of the neumatic content of the two automela, *Да распнется* in the Russian versions from the 12th - 13th centuries and *Все упование* in this last version from the end of the 11th century – beginning of the 12th century, reveals some significant differences regarding the endings of the melodic lines. While the lines of the later sources generally ended with “diple”, in the Typografsky Kontakarion the “diple” ends only four of the 13 lines. A further four lines end with variants of the “statia”, which received the name, in *znamenny* notation of the 15th century onwards, “statia svetlaya”. The final line ends with the typical neume, the “stauros”. Atypical neumes, including

the “stopitsa” (“ison”), end the first, fifth and eighth lines. In the third line no neume is written above the final syllable/letter.

It is difficult to arrive at conclusions regarding the reorganization of lines in the larger sections of the musical structure of the automelon *Все упование* from the notation: the only proofs are the identical form of lines 4 and 11 and the similarity in line 7. It is possible that these lines divide the structure into three sections with a similar ending. These sections are followed by a final, fourth section, which includes longer lines.

The notational principles of the stichera prosomoia. First hand.

Let us now turn to the prosomoia, written by the model of the automelon *Все упование*, notated by the first hand in Sin 319 and Voskr 27, as well as the corresponding prosomoia of the Sofisky Menaia, choosing nine from among the rather large number of stichera. From Sin 319 were selected most of the stichera – four, in order to include in the analysis both examples of the prosomoia of St Theodore for Lenten weekdays as well as the cycles of prosomoia for Saturdays and Sundays. While the notation of the stichera of St Theodore has already been analysed by Schidlovsky (those chosen by him are not included here), none of the other stichera have ever been studied. The same is true of the stichera of the Pentekostarion and the Sofisky Menaia: two prosomoia were chosen from Voskr 27 and one from each of the three volumes of the Menaia, for June, August and April.

The first sticheron, *Являеши ми ся*, is part of the cycle of three prosomoia which appear in Sin 319 in Lauds for Saturday of the Fifth Week of Lent⁹⁷⁸; in the Example 10 it is indicated by the letter “A”:

Example 10 A.

1	Ѳ̇ ВЛА Ꙗ ШН МН СА Ѳ̇ КО УЛО ВЪБ КЪ	11
2	РЕ УЕ УН СТА Ѳ̇ ДЪ ВН ЦА	8
3	КЪ А РХН СТРА ТН ГОУ	6
4	Н КА КО ВЪБ ЦА Ꙗ ШН ГЛА ГО ЛЪ	10

⁹⁷⁸ Sin 319, f. 273v.

5	ПА УЕ УЛО ВЪ КА СЪ МНО Ю БО РЕ УЕ БО ГА БЪ ТИ	15
6	И ВЪ СЕ ЛН ТИ СЪ ВЪ ОУ ТРО БОУ МО Ю	12
7	И КА КО РО ЖЮ ГЛА ГО ЛН МН ВЪ МЪ СТИ ЦЕ ПРО СТРА НЬ НО К	18
8	И МЪ СТО СВА ЦЕ НН А	7
9	НА ХЪ РО ВН МЪ СЪ ДЪ ЦА А ГО	10
10	НЕ ПРЪ ЛЪ СТИ МЕ НЕ ЛЪ СТИ Ю	9
11	НЕ БО РА ЗОУ МЪ ХЪ СЛА СТИ	8
12	БРА КОУ СОУ ЦИИ НЕ И СКОУ СЪ НА Ё	10
13	КА КО ОУ БО О ТРО УА РО ЖЮ	9

The second prosomoion, *Христови апостоли*, indicated by the letter “B”, was written by St Theodore for Thursday of the Second Week of Lent⁹⁷⁹:

Example 10 B.

1	ХРИ СТО ВИ А ПО СТО ЛИ	7
2	ЗЕ МЛЪ ИТИ И МЪ СВЪ ТИ ЛА	8
3	СЪ КРО ВИ ЦА МН РОУ БО ГА ТЪ НА	10
4	ПРЕ МОУ ДРА А ГО РА ЗОУ МА БО ГА НА ШЕ ГО	13
5	ПО Ю ЦИИ И ХЪ ВЪ	6
6	О ТЪ НА ПА СТИ ИТИ И ЗБА ВИ ТЕ	10
7	СВА ТЪ И МН МО ЛН ТВА МН ВА ШИ МН	11
8	И ВРЪ МА НА ШЕ ПО СЪ НО К ИЗ ВЕ ДЪ ТЕ	13
9	ДЪ РЪНО ВЪ НЬ НО СЪ МО ЛЪ ЦЕ	9
10	ОУ МН РЕ ИИ К ЖИ ВО ТА НА ШЕ ГО	11
11	ДА ОУ ГО ДЪ НО	5
12	ДО ШЪ ДЪ ШЕ СТРА СТИ ХРИ СТО ВЪ	9
13	ДЪ РЪНО ВЪ НЬ НО ПРИ НЕ СЪ МЪ	9
14	ПЪ СЪ БО ГОУ НА ШЕ МОУ	7

⁹⁷⁹ Sin 319, f. 119v.

The third prosomoion, *Езда хощеши прити* (“C”), is the first of the four stichera found in Sin 319 for Lauds of Meatfare Sunday⁹⁸⁰

Example 10 C.

1	Е ГДА ХО ЦЕ ШН ПРН ТН	7
2	Н СОУ ДЪ ПРА ВЪ ДЪ НЪИ Н СЪ ТВО ТН ТН	12
3	НА ПРЪ СТО ЛЪ СЛА ВЪИ ТН	7
4	СОУ ДН Н ПРА ВЪ ДЪ НЪИ Н СЪ ДА	10
5	РЪ КА О ГЪ НА ПРЪ ДЪ ТВО Н МЪ МОУ ДН ЦЬ МЪ	14
6	ОУ СТРА ША Ю ЦН ТЕ УЕ ТЪ ВЪ СЪ УЪ СКА ІА	13
7	ПРЪ ДЪ СТО ІА ЦЕ МЪ ТН	7
8	НЕ БЕ СЪ НЪИ Н МЪ СН ЛА МЪ	9
9	УЛО ВЪ КО МЪ ЖЕ СОУ ДН МО МЪ	9
10	СТРА ХЪ МЪ ІА КО ЖЕ КЪ ЖЪ ДО СЪ ДЪ ІА	12
11	ТЪ ГДА НА СЪ ПО ЦА ДН	7
12	Н УА СТИ СЪ ПО ДО БН ХРН СТЕ	9
13	СЪ ПА СЕ НЪИ Н ХЪ ІА КО МН ЛО СЪ РДЪ	12
14	ВЪ РО Ю МО ЛН МЪ ТН СЪ	8

The prosomoion *Тебе Непостижимаго* (“D”) is also found in Sin 319⁹⁸¹, for the First Sunday of Lent, as the first of the three prosomoia at Lauds:

Example 10 D.

1	ТЕ БЕ НЕ ПО СТИ ЖН МА А ГО	9
2	ПРЪ ЖЕ ДЪ НЪ НН ЦА БЕ ЗНА УА ЛЪ НО	11
3	О ТЪ НЕ ВЕ ЦЬ СТЪ НА А ГО ВЪ СН ІА ВЪ ША	14
4	БЕ СПЛЪ ТЪ НА А ГО УРЪ ВА РО ДН ТЕ ЛЪ НА ГО	14
5	ПРО РО ЦН ГО СПО ДЪ НН Н ЖЕ ТВО Н МЪ ДОУ ХЪ МЪ	15
6	ВЪ ДЪ ХНО ВЕ НН Н ВЪ ЗВЪ СТИ ША	10

⁹⁸⁰ Sin 319, f. 24v.

⁹⁸¹ Sin 319, f. 104r.

7	СТРАСТОТЪРПЦА ТН БЪТН О ТЪ БРАКОНЕНСКОУСЪНЪТЪ ВЪПЪЩАКМА	23
8	СЪ УЛО ВЪ КЪ СЪ УЕ ТА НА	8
9	Н СЪ ЗЕ МЛЪ НЪ Н МН ВН ДН МА А ГО	12
10	Н МЪ ЖЕ СЪ ПА СЕ ВЪ СЕ ГО МН РА	11
11	ПО СЪ ЛН НА МЪ Ъ КО БЛА ГЪ	9
12	ПРО СВЪ ЦЕ НН К ТВО К МО ЛН МЪ СЪ	11
13	Н ВЕ ЛН Ю МН ЛО СЪ	7

The next prosomoion (“E”), *Все содержащее*, appears in Voskr 27⁹⁸² for the Sixth Week, of the Holy Fathers, as the first of three prosomoia on Lord I call:

Example 10 E.

1	ВЪ СЕ СЪ ДЪ РЖА ВЪ ШЕ	7
2	БО ЖН К ОУ ПЪ ВА НН К	8
3	ДОУ ХО ВЪ НО СЪ ВЕ ДЕ НН К	9
4	Н БО ЖН К МЪ ДОУ ХЪ МЪ	8
5	СЪ ПО ОУ УН ВЪ ШЕ СЪ НЕ БЕ СЪ НН Н	12
6	УЪ СЪ НЪ Н О БРА ЗЪ УЪ СЪ НН Н ОТЬ ЦН	13
7	БО ГО ПН СЪ НЪ НО НА УЪ РТА ША	10
8	ВЪ НЪ ЖЕ Н Ъ ВЪ РО ЖЪ ШН Н МЪ СЪ СЪ БЕ ЗНА УА ЛЪ НО	18
9	СЛО ВО НА ОУ УА Ю ТЪ	7
10	Н ВЪ Н СТИ НОУ К ДН НО СОУ ЦЪ НО	11
11	А ПО СТО ЛЪ СКОУ ОУ МОУ	7
12	ПО СЛЪ ДЪ СТВОУ Ю ЦЕ Ъ ВЪ ОУ УЕ НН Ю	12
13	БЛА ГО ДА ТН Н ВЪ СЕ СЛА ВЪ НН Н	11
14	СВЪ ТН Н БО ГО МОУ ДРН Н	8

A further sticheron from the Voskresensky Pentekostarion, *Все приимие* (“F”), appears immediately following the previous sticheron, and belongs to the same cycle⁹⁸³. It was chosen because this cycle is the only cycle of prosomoia on the automelon *Все*

⁹⁸² Voskr 27, f. 171r.

⁹⁸³ Voskr 27, f. 171r.-171v.

упование in this manuscript, and for a deeper understanding of the work of the scribe of the neumatic notation, it would make no sense to limit the analysis for only one sticheron.

Example 10 F.

1	ВЪ СЕ ПРН Н МЪ ШЕ	6
2	БО ГО ОУ МЪ НО К СН ІА НН К	10
3	ПРЕ СВА ТА А ГО ДОУ ХА	7
4	ПРЪ ВЪ СПРЬ НЕ К ІА ВЪ СЛО ВЕ СН К	11
5	КРО ТЪ КЪ Н МН СЛО ВЕ СЪ Н МЪ НО ГЪ Н МЪ РА ЗОУ МЪ МЪ	18
6	БО ГО ДЪ ХНО ВЕ НЪ НО НЗ ВЕ ЦЕ НН К ВА ШЕ	14
7	ХРНСТОПОВЪДЪННН	7
8	ЕУАНГЕЛЬСКЪ ІАКО ПРНСТАВЪННЦН	12
9	ОУУЕННІА БЛАЖЕННН	8
10	Н БЛАГОВЪРЬНО ПРЪДАННІА	10
11	ТЪМЪ ЖЕ ПРНМЪШЕ	7
12	ОТЪКРЪВЕННІА ВЪСЪХЪ	8
13	Н ПРОСВЪЦЪШЕ НАПНСАША	9
14	ВЪРОУ БОГОУ ОУУЕНОУ	7

From the June volume of the Menaia was taken one of the stichera of the sequence for 4 June, dedicated to St Mitrophanes⁹⁸⁴, *Ум твои мановением* (“G”):

Example 10 G.

1	ОУ МЪ ТВО Н МА НО ВЕ НН К МЪ	10
2	БО ЖЪ СТВЪ НЪ Н МЪ БО ГО МОУ ДРЕ	10
3	ВЪ РО Ю ОУ ДА БРА К МЪ	8
4	Н СВЪ ТЪ ЛО БЛА ЖА СІА ПРЪ ХВА ЛЬ НЕ	11
5	ВЪ МЪ РТВЪ МЪ ТЕ ЛЕ СН Н ТЪ ЛЪ НН ІА	12
6	ПРЪ МОУ ДРЕ НЕ ТЪ ЛЪ НН Ю ПО ОУ УН СЪ	12

7	Н ПРН ТІА ЖА ВЪ БЕ СПЛЪ ТЪ НЪИ Н ХЪ СВЪ ТЪ ЛО СТИ	15
8	СТРА СТИ КРО МЪ БЪИ ВЪ Н БЕ СТРА СТИ К МЪ	12
9	ОУ КРА ШЕ НЪ О ТЪ УЕ СВЪ ТИ ТЕ ЛЮ	11
10	МН ТРО ФА НЕ	4
11	ПРЪ СВЪ ТЪ ЛЪИ Н СВЪ ТИ ЛЪ НН УЕ	10
12	Н МО ЛН ТЪВЪ НН УЕ УЪ ТОУ ЦИ Н ХЪ	11
13	ВЪ РО Ю ТВО Ю ПА МА ТЪ	8

The prosomoion *Все отложи* (“H”) appears in the August volume of the Sofisky Menaia in the sequence for the 8th of the month, dedicated to the Holy Martyr Dometios and St Emilian⁹⁸⁵.

Example 10 H:

1	ВЪ СЕ О ТЪ ЛО ЖИ ВЪ	7
2	ВЪ ЛШЪ СКО КЪ ЗЪ ЛО ДЪ А НН К	10
3	Н ПЪ РСЪ СКЪИ Н ХЪ СКВЪ РНЕ НН А	10
4	Н ПРЪ СКВЪ РНЪ НЪИ Н ХЪ ДЕ ЛЕ СЪ	10
5	КЪ БО ГО ВИ ПРН ТЕ УЕ КЪ ЖЕ МОУ ДРЪИ Н МЪ ПРО МЪИ ШЛЕ НН К МЪ	19
6	О КЪ РМЛА Ю ТЪ СЪ НЕ БЕ СЪ НА ІА	11
7	КЪ ГО ЖЕ Н МЕ НЪ МЪ А ПО СТО ЛЪ СКЪИ Н ЦЪ ЛН ЛЪ К СИ	18
8	СКО ТО МЪ БО ЛЪ ЗНИ	6
9	Н УЛО ВЪ КО МЪ НЕ ДОУ ГЪИ	8
10	ПРН ХО ДІА ЦИ Н МЪ	6
11	ЖЕ ЛА НЪ НО ОУ ГО ДЪ НЪИ УЕ ХРЪ СТО ВЪ	12
12	СЪ ДЪ РЪНО БЕ НН Е МЪ МО ЛА СІА	10
13	О ДОУ ША ХЪ НА ШИ Х	7

The final example of a prosomion on the automelon *Все упование* notated by the first hand is found in the April volume of the Menaia. *Тебе убо възбрани* (“Г”) is

⁹⁸⁴ Sin 167, f.21v.

⁹⁸⁵ Sin 168, f. 48v.-49r.

the first sticheron in the cycle of three prosomoia for the sequence for 1 April, dedicated to St Mary of Egypt⁹⁸⁶:

Example 10 I.

1	ТЕ БЕ ОУ БО ВЪ ЗЕРА НН	7
2	УЪ СТЬ НА А ГО ВН ДЪ НН ІА	9
3	СКВЪ РНЪ ДРЪ ВЪ НН Н ХЪ	7
4	ПО ТЕ БЕ ВЛА ДЪ КО МО К О СКВЪ РНН ЛН ЦЕ	13
5	Ю ВЪ СТВО ЖЕ ТН БО ГО МОУ ДРЪ НА ІА	11
6	СЪ ДЪ ІА НЪ Н ХЪ ТН СЪ ВЪ СТИ К	11
7	КЪ ЛЪ УЪ ШН Н МЪ О БРА ЦЕ НН К ТЕ БЕ СЪ ДЪ ІА	16
8	Н КО НЪ БО ЗЪ РЪ ВЪ ШН	8
9	БЛА ГО СЛО ВЛЕ НЪ БО ДЪ ВН ЦА	9
10	ВЪ СЕ МОУ ЗА ЗЪ РЪ ВЪ ШН	8
11	ПРЕ ГРЪ ШЕ НН Ю СН ПЪ РВОУ ОУ МОУ ПРЕ ХВА ЛЪ НА ІА	15
12	ДЪ РЪНО ВЪ НН К МЪ УЪ СТЬ НОУ ОУ МОУ	11
13	ДРЪ ВОУ ПО КЛО НН СЪ	6

The above texts show that all nine prosomoia either contain 13 lines, separated by colons in the automelon, or 14 lines. As will be shown during the course of the analysis of the neumes, the extra line when there are more than 13 always appears as the result of the division into two parts of one of the lines with a larger number of syllables. Consequently, as a rule, the lines contain approximately between seven and 18 syllables, which corresponds completely to the variation in the number of syllables in the automelon (between five and 17). In rare cases this number is as small as four syllables (sticheron “G”) or increases to 23 (“D”). Thus, as far as the organization of the text is concerned, all the prosomoia are proportionally related to each other. More detail concerning this aspect of the stichera may be found in the following table:

⁹⁸⁶ Sin 165, ff. 2r.-2v.

Table 34:

Line number	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H	I
1	11	7	7	9	7	6	10	7	7
2	8	8	12	11	8	10	10	10	9
3	6	10	7	14	9	7	8	10	7
4	10	13	10	14	8	11	11	10	13
5	15	6	14	15	12	18	12	19	11
6	12	10	13	10	13	14	12	11	11
7	18	11	7	23	10	7	15	18	16
8	7	13	9	8	18	12	12	6	8
9	10	9	9	12	7	8	11	8	9
10	9	11	12	11	11	10	4	6	8
11	8	5	7	9	7	7	10	12	15
12	10	9	9	11	12	8	11	10	11
13	9	9	12	7	11	9	8	7	6
14		7	8		8	7			
variation in the number of syllables									
	6-18	5-13	7-14	7-22	7-18	7-18	4-15	6-18	6-16

If all nine notated stichera are examined, their structural proximity becomes even clearer. The level of similarity between the prosomoia is so high that it suggests an analysis of the neumatic notation not of each sticheron separately but in a table which facilitates the comparison line by line of all nine stichera together. They all fall into 13 lines. This number, which corresponds to the number of lines in the automelon, is reached by means of the division of some lines, which may be represented schematically thus:

Table 35:

Line number	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H	I
1.	11	7	7	9	7	6	10	7	7
2.	8	8	12	11	8+9	10	10	10	9
3.	6	10	7	14	8	7	8	10	7
4.	10	13+6	10	14	12	11	11	10	13
5.	15	10	14	15	13	18	12	19	11
6.	12	11	13	10	10	14	12	11	11
7.	18	13	7+9	22	18	7+12	15	18	16
8.	7	9	9	8	7	8	12	6	8
9.	10	11	12	12	11	10	11	8	9
10.	9	5	7	11	7	7	4	6	8
11.	8	9	9	9	12	8	10	12	15
12.	10	9	12	11	11	9	11	10	11
13.	9	7	8	7	8	7	8	7	6
variation in the number of syllables									
	7-18	7-19	7-16	7-22	7-18	6-19	4-15	6-19	6-16

We come now to the line-by-line comparison of the stichera, shown in Example 11. In the left-and row appears the letter identifying the sticheron. First there appears the first line of each version, and so on until the 13th.

The 4th line of sticheron “B” is divided in the middle by a colon. Consequently, instead of the large number of 19 syllables in one line, two are formed, with 13 and 6 syllables. However, because of this division, the first part of the line does not end with the “statia”. In all the other stichera, which are graphically identical with sticheron “B”, the division of the fourth line does not happen.

The same situation may be observed in stichera “C” and “F”, where the seventh line is divided by a colon after the same neume, the “strela”, that ended the first, complementary part of the fourth line of sticheron “B”.

Another case of the increase in the number of lines in the prosomoia to 14 occurs by different means. In sticheron “E”, instead of the division of the melodic line by a colon, which causes a notationally atypical ending of the extra line, there is a melodic and graphical repetition of the second text line, ending with a “diple”.

As for the final neumes of the lines, of the 13, nine end with the “diple”, three with its variant, the “statia svetlaia”, and the last line with a “stauros”.

In the rest, the graphic aspect of the nine stichera is extremely close. This fact is the more evident when one compares this group of sources with the corresponding stichera, found in manuscripts which were not written at the same time as the set of the Triodion cycle and the Sofisky Menaia.

Example 11

1.

A.	ѧ	ВЛА	К	ШН	МН	СА	ѧ	КО	УЛО	ВЪ	КЪ	•
B.	ХРН	СТО		ВН		А		ПО	СТО	ЛН		•
C.	Е	ГДА		ХО		ЦЕ		ШН	ПРН	ТН		•
D.	ТЕ	БЕ	НЕ	ПО	СТН	ЖН		МА	А	ГО		•
E.	ВЪ	СЕ		СЪ		ДЪ		РЖА	ВЪ	ШЕ		•
F.	ВЪ	СЕ				ПРН		Н	МЪ	ШЕ		•
G.	ОУ	МЪ	ТВО	Н	МА	НО	ВЕ	НН	К	МЪ		•
H.	ВЪ	СЕ		О		ТЪ		ЛО	ЖН	ВЪ		•
I.	ТЕ	БЕ		ОУ		БО		ВЪ	ЗБРА	НН		•

2.

A.	РЕ	УЕ				УН	СТА	ѧ	ДЪ	ВН	ЦА	•	
B.	ЗЕ	МЛЪ	НЪ			Н		МЪ	СВЪ	ТН	ЛА	•	
C.	Н	СОУ	ДЪ	ПРА	ВЪ	ДЪ	НЪ	Н	СЪ	ТВО	РН	ТН	•
D.	ПРЪ	ЖЕ	ДЪ	НЪ	НН	ЦА	БЕ	ЗНА	УА	ЛЪ	НО	•	
E.	БО	ЖН				К	ОУ	ПЪ	ВА	НН	К	•	
E. 2a	ДОУ	ХО	ВЪ			НО	СЪ	ВЕ	ДЕ	НН	К	•	
F.	БО	ГО	ОУ	МЪ		НО	К	СН	ѧ	НН	К	•	
G.	БО	ЖЪ	СТВЪ	НЪ	Н	МЪ		БО	ГО	МОУ	ДРЕ	•	
H.	ВЪ	ЛШЪ	СКО	К		ЗЪ	ЛО	ДЪ	А	НН	К	•	
I.	УЪ	СТЪ	НА			А	ГО	ВН	ДЪ	НН	ѧ	•	

7.

A.	н ка ко	ро	жю гла го ли ми въ мѣ	стн ще пространно
B.	н вѣ ма	на	ше по сть	но к нз ведѣ те
C.	прѣ дѣ сто ѿ ще	мѣ	тн <u>7a</u> не ве съ	нѣ н мѣ снаамѣ
D.	страстотѣрпца тн	вѣ	тн отѣ браконенскоу снѣ	вѣ плѣ цаи ма
E.	вѣ нѣ же н ѿ	вѣ	ро жѣ шн н мѣ са	сѣ ве зна ча ль но
F.	хри сто по вѣ дѣ	ни	н <u>7a</u> еу ли ге ль	скѣ ѿко приставници
G.	н при		тѣжа вѣ бе сплѣ тѣ нѣ	н хѣ свѣ тѣлостн
H.	кѣ го же н ме	нѣ	мѣ а по сто ль скѣ	н цѣ ли лѣ к си
I.	кѣ лѣ уѣ шн	н	мѣ о бра ще ни	кѣ те ве сѣ дѣ ѿ

8.

A.	н	мѣ сто сва ще	ни а
B.	дѣ	рзно вѣ нѣ но са мо	ла ще
C.	уло	вѣ ко мѣ же соу дн	мо мѣ
D.	сѣ уло	вѣ кѣ сѣ уе	та на
E.		сло во на оу ча	ю тѣ
F.	оу	уе ни ѿ бла же	ни н
G.	стра	стн кро мѣ вѣ вѣ н ве стра стн к мѣ	
H.	ско	то мѣ бо	лѣ знн
I.	н	ко нѣ во зѣ рѣ	вѣ шн

9.	Ɱ Ɱ ✓	Ɱ	≡✓Ɱ \ » ≡≡≡:
A.	НА ХЪ РО	ВН	МЪ СЪ ДА ЦА А ГО •
	Ɱ Ɱ ✓	Ɱ	≡✓Ɱ \ » ≡≡≡:
B.	ОУ МН РЕ	НН	К ЖН БО ТА НА ШЕ ГО •
	Ɱ ✓	Ɱ	≡✓Ɱ \ » ≡≡≡:
C.	СТРА ХЪ	МЪ ІА КО ЖЕ КЪ ЖЪ	ДО СЪ ДЪ ІА •
	Ɱ Ɱ ✓ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ	Ɱ	≡✓Ɱ \ » ≡≡≡:
D.	Н СЪ ЗЕ МЛЪ НЪ Н	МН ВН	ДН МА А ГО •
	Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ ✓	Ɱ	≡✓Ɱ \ » ≡≡≡:
E.	Н ВЪ Н СТИ	НОУ	К ДН НО СОУ ЦЬ НО •
	Ɱ ✓	Ɱ	≡✓Ɱ \ » ≡≡≡:
F.	Н БЛА	ГО	ВЪ РЪ НО ПРЪ ДА НН ІА •
	Σ ✓ Ɱ ✓	Ɱ	≡✓Ɱ \ » ≡≡≡:
G.	ОУ КРА ШЕ НЪ	О	ТЬ УЕ СВА ТИ ТЕ ЛЮ •
	Ɱ	Ɱ	≡✓Ɱ \ » ≡≡≡:
H.	Н	УЛО	ВЪ КО МЪ НЕ ДОУ ГЪ •
	Ɱ ✓	Ɱ	≡✓Ɱ \ » ≡≡≡:
I.	БЛА ГО	СЛО	ВЛЕ НЪ БО ДЪ ВН ЦА •

10.	Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ	Ɱ ≡ } =>
A.	НЕ ПРЪ ЛЬ СТИ МЕ НЕ	ЛЬ СТИ Ю •
	Σ Ɱ	Ɱ ≡ } =
B.	ДА ОУ	ГО ДЪ НО •
	Σ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ	Ɱ ≡ } =
C.	ТЬ ГДА НА СЪ	ПО ЦА ДН •
	Σ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ	Ɱ ≡ } =
D.	Н МЪ ЖЕ СЪ ПА СЕ ВЪ СЕ ГО МН РА	•
	Σ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ	Ɱ ≡ } =
E.	А ПО СТО ЛЬ	СКОУ ОУ МОУ •
	Σ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ	Ɱ ≡ } =
F.	ТЬ МЪ ЖЕ ПРИ	Н МЪ ШЕ •
	Σ	Ɱ ≡ } =
G.	МН	ТРО ФА НЕ •
	Σ Ɱ Ɱ	Ɱ ≡ } =
H.	ПРИ ХО ДІА	ЦИ Н МЪ •
	Σ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ	Ɱ ≡ } =
I.	ВЪ СЕ МОУ ЗА ЗЪ	РЪ ВЪ ШИ •

11.

A.	не	бо	ра зюу	мъ хъ сла стн
B.	до	шь дъ	ше стра стн хри	сто вѣ
C.	н	ѹа стн съ по		до вн хри стѣ
D.	по	съ	ли на мѣ	ѹа ко бла гѣ
E.	по слѣ	дѣ	ствоу ю ще ѹа вѣ оу ѹе	ни ю
F.	о	тѣ	крѣ ве ни	ѹа вѣ сѣ хѣ
G.	прѣ	свѣ	тѣ лѣ н свѣ	тн лѣ ни ѹе
H.	же	ла	нѣ но оу го дѣ ни ѹе хрѣ	сто вѣ
I.	пре грѣ	ше ни ю	сн пѣ рвоу оу моу пре	хва ль на ѹа

12.

A.	бра коу соу ши не н скоу съ	на	ѹа
B.	дѣ рзно вѣ	нѣ но при	не сѣ мѣ
C.	съ па се нѣ	н хѣ ѹа ко мн	ло съ рдѣ
D.	про свѣ ще ни кѣ	тво кѣ мо	ли мѣ сѣ
E.	бла го да ти	н вѣ се сла	вѣ ни н
F.	н	про свѣ щѣ ше на	пн са ша
G.	н мо ли тѣ	ни ѹе ѹѣ тоу	ши н хѣ
H.	съ дѣ рзно	ве ни е мѣ	мо ла сѣ
I.	дѣ рзно вѣ	ни кѣ мѣ ѹѣ стѣ	ноу оу моу

1.
Sin 319 ✓ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ✓ \ =
ТЕ БЕ НЕ ПО СТИ ЖИ МА А ГО .

Sin 278 ✓ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ✓ \ =
ТЕ БЕ НЕ ПО СТИ ЖИ МА А ГО .

Usp 8 ✓ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ✓ \ =
ТЕ БЕ НЕ ПО ДВИ ЖИ МА А ГО .

2.
Sin 319 ⚡ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ >: \ =
ПРЪ ЖЕ ДЪ НЪ НИ ЦА БЕ ЗНА УА ЛЬ НО .

Sin 278 ⚡ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ >: \ =
ПРЪ ЖЕ ДЪ НЪ НИ ЦА БЕ ЗНА УА ЛЬ НО .

Usp 8 ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ✓ ̣ ̣ ̣ >: \ =
ПРЪ ЖЕ ДЪ НЪ НИ ЦА БЕ ЗНА УА ЛЬ НО .

3.
Sin 319 ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ✓ \ =
О ТЪ НЕ БЕ ЦИ СТВЪ НА А ГО ВЪ СИ И ВЪ ША .

Sin 278 ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ✓ \ =
Н О ТЪ НЕ БЕ ЦИ СТВЪ НА А ГО ВЪ СИ И ВЪ ША .

Usp 8 ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ✓ ̣ ̣ ̣ ✓ \ =
О ТЪ НЕ БЕ ЦИ СТВЪ НА А ГО ВО СЪ И ВЪ ША .

4.
Sin 319 ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ✓ ̣ = ✓ \ >: \ =:
БЕ СПЛЪ ТЪ НА А ГО УРЪ ВА РО ДИ ТЪ ЛЬ НА ГО .

Sin 278 ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ✓ ̣ = ✓ \ >: \ =:
БЕ СПЛЪ ТЪ НА А ГО УРЪ ВА РО ДИ ТЪ ЛЬ НА ГО .

Usp 8 ⚡ ̣ ̣ ̣ ✓ ̣ ̣ \ = ✓ \ >: \ =:
БЕ СПЛО ТЪ НА А ГО УРЪ ВА РО ДИ ТЪ ЛЬ НА А ГО .

5.
Sin 319 ⚡ ̣ ✓ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ✓ \ =
ПРО РО ЦИ ГО СПО ДЪ НИ И ЖЕ ТВО И МЪ ДОУ ХЪ МЪ .

Sin 278 ⚡ ✓ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ✓ \ =
ПРО РО ЦИ ГО СПО ДЪ НИ И ЖЕ ТВО И МЪ ДОУ ХЪ МЪ .

Usp 8 ⚡ ̣ ̣ ✓ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ \ = ✓ \ =
ПРО РО ЦИ ГО СПО ДИ И ЖЕ ТВО И МЪ ДОУ ХО МЪ .

⁹⁸⁸ Sin 278, f. 12v.

6.
Sin 319 ВЪ ДЪ ХНО ВЕ НН Н ВЪ ЗВЪ СТН ША .

Sin 278 ВЪ ДЪ ХНО ВЕ НН Н ВЪ ЗВЪ СТН ША .

Usp 8 ВО ДЪ ХНО ВЕ НН ВЪ ЗВЪ СТН ША .

7.
Sin 319 СТРАСТОТЪРПЦА ТН БЪТН О ТЪ БРАКОНЕНСКОУСЪНЪМА ВЪПЪЩАКМА .

Sin 278 СТРАСТОТЪРПЦА ТН БЪТН О ТЪ БРАКОНЕНСКОУСЪНЪМА ВЪПЪЩАКМА .

Usp 8 О ТРО УА ТН БЪ ТН ШТЪ БРАКОНЕНСКОУСЪНЪМА ВЪПЪЩАКМА .

8.
Sin 319 СЪ УЛО ВЪ КЪ СЪ УЕ ТА НА .

Sin 278 СЪ УЛО ВЪ КЪ СЪ УЕ ТА НА .

Usp 8 СЪ УЛО ВЪ КЪ СЪ УЕ ТА НА .

9.
Sin 319 Н СЪ ЗЕ МЛЪ НЪ Н МН ВН ДН МА А ГО .

Sin 278 Н СЪ ЗЕ М Ъ НЪ Н МН ВН ДН МА А ГО .

Usp 8 Н СЪ ЗЪ МЪ НЪ МН ВН ДН МА А ГО .

10.
Sin 319 Н МЪ ЖЕ СЪ ПА СЕ ВЪ СЕ ГО МН РА .

Sin 278 [] Н МЪ ЖЕ СЪ ПА СЕ ВЪ СЕ ГО МН РА .

Usp 8 Н МЪ ЖЕ СПА СЕ ВЪ СЕ ГО МН РА .

11.
Sin 319

Sin 278

Usp 8

12.
Sin 319

Sin 278

Usp 8

13.
Sin 319

Sin 278

Usp 8

All three versions of the sticheron have the same division of the text into 13 lines, with the exception of the seventh, the longest, which is divided in Sin 278 in the middle, in the same way as the “C” and “F” stichera (Example 11).

The graphical-neumatic differences between the two Synodal sources do not appear to be significant: of the 173 neumes (in Sin 319), differences are found in only seven. Five of these seven cases differ only in the addition of a dot, which obviously does not affect the rhythmic and melodic aspects of the melody. In two other cases in the 12th, the “stopitsa”, neutral graphically speaking, which surround the “strela” neume in Sin 319, are replaced in Sin 278 with a more characterful neume, whose role was, it seems, not to change the content but to emphasize it.

The textual differences in the two versions also do not seem to determine the structure of the hymn: in one case a syllable has been added, notated with a “stopitsa” (Sin 278, third line). There are two cases in which «цѧ», present in Sin 319, is replaced with «цѧ» in Sin, which may indicate different local origins of the scribes.

In sum, after this examination of this sticheron, it may be concluded that the relationship between Sin 319 and Sin 278 remains the same, as was observed by Schidlovsky in his examination of the prosomoia of St Theodore.

At the same time, a comparison of Sin 319 and Sin 278, on the one hand, and Usp 8 on the other reveals more significant discrepancies, textual as well as graphical.

From the textual point of view, in the fifth, sixth, ninth and tenth lines in Usp 8, there are fewer syllables, which, in some cases, come about because of the evolution of the language. In the 12th line in Usp 8, an entire word is missing. This modification led to a noteworthy graphical, and probably, melodic, alteration: the “strela” neume, which, when found in the middle of lengthy lines, very often signified a half-cadence and was emphasized by a colon afterwards, disappears in this version. However, the half-cadence remains, and is even strengthened thanks for the introduction of the “diple” in place of the “strela”, though there is no colon in the middle of this line.

The opening passage of this line in Usp 8 is also different in the Synodal versions: here no dot is added to the neume, but it is replaced by a different neume. The same phenomenon may be seen in lines 11 and 9 (the “klasma” is replaced by the “bareia”).

In the sixth line, at the cadence, instead of a penultimate “diple” there appears a “strela”. Consequently, the final formula of this line is identical in appearance with the final formulas of lines 4 and 9, which delineate sections in the Synodal sources. At the same time, in Usp 8, in these lines, important for the structural division of the sticheron, the final formula is modified by means of the introduction at the third syllable from the end of a graphical variant of the neume rare in Russian manuscripts.

The differences between Usp 8 and the Triodion and Sticherion of the Synodal collection are also apparent in the various cases of displacement of neumatic groups for one-two syllables (fourth, fifth, seventh and tenth lines). In the seventh line there is a scribal correction in the text of the Uspensky of the word **СТРАСТОТЪРПЬЦА** to the word **ОТРОУА** (the corresponding place is rubbed, but the corrected word may be seen on the parchment). Consequently, in this line the neumes are displaced and have variants. Another case of textual correction is immediately evident at the beginning of the sticheron: the second word in Usp 8 is corrected from **НЕПОСТНЖИМААГО** to **НЕПОДВНЖИМААГО**.

Of the nine lines which end in Sin 319 and Sin 278 with a “diple”, one in Usp 8 ends with neume n° 10, whose rarity in Russian manuscripts has already been noted

above. The other final neumes coincide, excluding the possibility of a different division of the neumes into melodic lines.

However, though the differences between the Synodal codices and the Uspensky Sticherarion are much greater than the differences between Sin 319 and Sin 278, they do not affect the structure of the hymn: the fourth, sixth, ninth and 13th lines have similar final formulas and divide the sticheron into sections

*Все упование. The prosomoia of the first hand and the automelon of the
Typografsky Kontakarion*

The Typografsky Kontakarion, which contains a version of the automelon *Все упование*, is, in relation to Sin 319, Voskr 27, the Sofisky Menaia and a number of Sticheraria, a manuscript that was written at a different time. From this point of view, the prospect of a comparison of the automelon and the prosomoia of the middle or end of the 12th century leads one to expect the presence of differences in the neumatic notation, as was the case in the comparison of hymns of this group of manuscripts with the Uspensky Sticherarion. The comparative analysis of the prosomoia of the Synodal Triodion and the Uspensky Sticherarion shows the same melodic version, expressed in more or less similar graphical variants. We shall now attempt to establish, on the basis of the comparison of graphical variants, whether or not we may affirm the existence of the same melodic version of the automelon of the Typografsky Kontakarion and in the prosomoia in the group of manuscripts from the middle or end of the 12th century. Because of the above-noted extreme closeness of the notational details, in the case of the first hand, in the nine prosomoia, from amongst them one has been chosen, considered as a general version, from Sin 319. This prosomoion, denominated “A”, *Являеши ми ся яко человек*, is compared in Example 13 with the automelon *Все упование*.

Example 13.

M: Typ Ustav	A: Sin 319, 1 st scribe
1 ВЪ СЕ ОУ ПРЪ БА НИ К _____	1 И БАМ К ШИ АН СА МА КО УАО ВЪВ КЪ
2 НА НЕ БЕ СЪ ХЪ ПО ДО ЖЪ ША _____	2 ДЕ УЕ УН СТА ИА ДЪВ ВИ ЦА
3 СЪ КРО ВИ ЦЕ НЕ КРА ДО МО К _____	3 КЪ А РЪН СТРА ТИ ГОУ
4 СЕ БЪ СВА ТА МА СЪ КРЫ ДА К СТА _____	4 И КА КО ВЪ ЦА К ШИ ГЛА ГО АЪ
5 ТОУ НЕ ПОН ИА СТА _____	5 ПА УЕ УАО ВЪ КА СЪ АМО НО БО РЕ УЕ БО ГА БЪ ТИ
6 ТОУ НЕ ЖЕ ДА К ТА _____	6 И БЪ СЕ АН ТИ СА ВЪ ОУ ТРО БОУ МО НО
7 НЕ ДОУ ЖЪ НЪ И АЪ НЕ ЦЪ АЕ НИ К _____	7 И КА КО РО ЖНО ГЛА ГО АН АН ВЪ АЪ СТИ ЦЕ ПРО СТРА НЬ НО К
8 ЪАА ТА Н АН СРЕ БРА _____	8 И АЪ СТО СВА ЦЕ НИ А
9 Е БА НГЕ АЪ СКЪ НЕ СЪ ТА ЖА СТА _____	9 НА ХЪ РО ВИ АЪ СЪ ДА ЦА А ГО
10 УАО ВЪ КО МЪ ЖЕ Н СКО ТО АЪ _____	10 НЕ ПРЪ АЪ СТИ МЕ НЕ АЪ СТИ НО
11 БАА ГО АЪ ИА НИ К ПО ДА СТА _____	11 НЕ БО РА ЗОУ АЪ ХЪ САА СТИ
12 ДА СЪ ВЪ СЪМЪ ПО СЛОУ ШАН ИВА Е ГЪ ВЪ ША ХЪ Н СТО ВИ _____	12 БРА КОУ СОУ ЦИ НЕ И СКОУ СЪ НА ИА
13 АЪ РЪНО ВЕ НИ К МЪ МО АН ТА СА О ДОУ ША ХЪ НА ШИ ХЪ _____	13 КА КО ОУ БО О ТРО УА РО ЖНО

As has been mentioned, both the automelon and the prosomoion have 13 melodic lines. Yet at first sight, this correspondence seems to be only occasional. While in the automelon the lines that separate the formal sections are the fourth, the seventh and the eleventh, in the prosomoion these lines are the fourth, the sixth, the ninth and the 13th. If we compare the graphical melodic image above the textual lines of the automelon and the prosomoion in order and following its division by colons, then only the second lines of the automelon and the prosomoion may be considered to correspond. All the other lines have variants, or have nothing at all in common.

Thus, the first lines do not coincide. The line of the automelon has only seven syllables, of which four are represented by “stopitsa”. Of the three remaining neumes of the automelon, in the prosomoion there appears only the “kriuk”. The automelon ends with the neume that, at the time of the writing of Sin 319, lost in Russian manuscripts its role as a final neume. However, even bearing all this in mind, one cannot arrive at a definitive conclusion regarding the lack of melodic correspondence. It should be noted that the lines of the automelon and the prosomoion include neumes which may be interpreted in the context of Russian chant in various ways (“stopitsa”) or may be replaced by these “stopitsa” (“klasma”, “bareia”, “stopitsa” with one dot or two dots).

The same may in part be said of the third lines as was said of the first lines. However, if one accepts the equivalence of the meaning of the last neume of the automelon and the final “diple”, which replaces it, reflecting the tendency towards evolution, in the prosomoion, then the last four neumes (the neume above the last syllable, as has been observed, is missing) appear to be variants of the same final formula.

Melodic similarity may also be suggested by the concluding lines of the fourth line, though in this case there is a greater graphical difference in comparison with any of the other cases discussed above.

With the fifth line, it is necessary to examine the placing of the colons, because line by line comparison would be of no value on account of the total lack of neumatic correspondence between the lines.

A number of following lines require the joining of lines in the automelon into one line of the prosomoion. Changing the position of the colons shows that the fifth line of the prosomoion includes the fifth and sixth lines of the automelon. The sixth line of the prosomoion and the seventh line of the automelon share similar variants of the final formulas and similar passages preceding them. Joining together the seventh line, which

finishes with a “stopitsa”, and the eighth line of the automelon, we see a variant, though distant, of the seventh line of the prosomoion. The tenth line of the automelon certainly corresponds to the eighth of the prosomoion. Between lines 11 (automelon) and 9 (prosomoion), the closeness is also obvious, though expressed by means of a greater gradation of variants.

The last lines require the opposite method – the division, rather than the joining, of the lines of the automelon. Thus, the first five syllables/neumes of the 12th line of the automelon certainly correspond for the 10th line of the prosomoion. The division of the line of the automelon occurs, however, at a point that cannot at first sight be considered more logical: in the middle of the “stopitsi”. From the syntactical point of view, however, the division of the phrase here is correct. Short groupings of few words such as this are frequently found emphasized by neumatic groups with the “theta”, and separated by colons in partially-notated manuscripts. As far as the graphical aspect is concerned, ending with a “stopitsa” in the Typografsky Kontakarion, as well as in Greek manuscripts from a particular phase of the development of palaeo-Byzantine notation, is not exceptional. Its replacement by the “diple” in Sin 319 also reflects development of *znamenny* notation.

The remaining part of line 12 of the automelon corresponds quite precisely to line 11 of the prosomoion.

Line 13 of the automelon, as in the previous case, requires division: the first 10 syllables correspond more or less to the 12th line of the prosomoion. The division of this line occurs, however, at the correct moment from the syntactical point of view, which stands out from the neumatic sequence, being a dotted “statia”. Secondly, the final section of line 13 of the automelon corresponds to the 13th line of the prosomoion.

In order to clarify these methods of analysis, in Example 14 may be found the lines of text of the automelon and the prosomoion according to the division of the melodic lines:

Все упование. Second hand.

In order to compare the notation of the prosomoia on the automelon *Все упование*, notated by the second hand, five stichera have been chosen: two prosomoia of St Joseph for Thursday of the Third Week of Lent - *Солнцю сияния* (in the examples below designated by the letter “J”)⁹⁸⁹ and *В страну блудьных отомед* (letter “K”)⁹⁹⁰, and three prosomoia for Holy Wednesday – *Соньмище безаконьно* (letter “L”)⁹⁹¹, *Блудница миро Ту* (letter “N”)⁹⁹² and *Судяи всяческая* (letter “O”)⁹⁹³.

In setting out the texts of stichera, attention was initially paid to the division of the text into lines. It would be natural to suppose that this division would correspond to that which the scribe of Sin 319 and Voskr 27 found in the stichera he copied, including those into which were introduced into Russian practice for the first time. In translating the texts from Greek, or copying them from a South Slavic source, the scribe would transfer this division to the codices he was creating.

Below are some examples from Sin 319. In the left column is placed the number of the line in accordance with the position of the colon, and in the right, the number of syllables in the line.

Example 15. J

1	СЪ ЛНЬ ЦЮ СН ЁА НН ЁА	7
2	МЪЫ СЛЪ НА А ГО ЁА ВЛЪ ШЕ СѦ	9
3	БО ГО ВН ДЪ ЦН А ПО СТО ЛН	9
4	ПРО СВЪЪ ЦЕ НН К Н СПРО СН ТЕ ДОУ ША МЪ НА ШН МЪ	15
5	Н О ТЪ СТРА СТИ НЪ БА ВН ТЕ	9
6	О ТЪ МРА УЪ НЪЫ ЁА ТЪ МЪЫ	8
7	Н ДЪ НЪ СЪ ПА СЕ НЪЫ Н	8
8	ВН ДЪЪ ТН МО ЛН ТЕ СѦ	7
9	ПО СТО МЪ Н МО ЛЪ БА МН	8

⁹⁸⁹ Sin 319, f. 150r.

⁹⁹⁰ Sin 319, ff. 150r.-150v.

⁹⁹¹ Voskr 27, f. 18v.

⁹⁹² Voskr 27, ff. 18v.-19r.

10	СЪ РЪ ДЪ ЦЕ О ЦН СТИ В ШЕ	9
11	КЪ ЖЕ ЛОУ КА ВЪТЪ Н О СКВЪ РНИ	9
12	СЪ ПА СА КЪ МН СЛА ВН МЪ ПРН СНО	10
13	ПРЕ МОУ ДРЪТЪ Н МЪ ПРО ПО ВКЪ ДА НН Е МЪ	12
14	МН РА СЪ ПА СЪ ШН Н	7

In this sticheron, the number of lines is close to that of the prosomoia, notated by the first hand. The difference in the number of syllables (from seven to 15) is similar to that of sticheron “C”, in which the 14 lines had between seven and 14 syllables.

In sticheron “K”, which follows this one in Sin 319, and belongs to the same cycle, the number of lines (15) is different from the texts notated by the first hand (13-14). The largest number of syllables in a line, as in the previous sticheron, is again slightly smaller in comparison with the norm for the first hand:

Example 15 K

1	ВЪ СТРА НОУ БЛОУ ДЪ НЪТЪ Н О ТЪ ШЪ ДЪ ЗЪ ЛО БЪ НОУ Ю	16
2	ЗЪ ЛЪ РА СТО УН ЛЪ КЪ СМЪ	8
3	КЪ ЖЕ МН О ТЪ УЕ МН ЛО СЪ РДЪТЪ Н ДА ЛЪ КЪ СН	15
4	Н ГЛА ДЪ МЪ ГЪТЪ БЛЮ	6
5	БЛА ГЪТЪ Н ХЪ ДЪ ЁА НН Н	8
6	Н ВЪ СТОУ ДЪ ПРЕ СТОУ ПЛЕ НН ЁА	9
7	СЕ О БЛЕ КО ХЪ СЪ	6
8	БЛА ГО ДА ТН БО ЖН ЁА О БНА ЖН ВЪ СЪ	12
9	Н ЗО ВОУ ТН СЪ ГРЪ ШН Н ХЪ	9
10	ВЪ МЪ БО ТВО Ю БЛА ГО СЪТЪ НЮ	9
11	ПРН Н МН МА А КО КЪ ДН НА ГО	10
12	НА Н МЪ НН КЪ ТВО Н ХЪ	8
13	ЦЕ ДРЪТЪ Н ХРН СТЕ	5
14	А ПО СТО ЛЪ МО ЛЪ БА МН	8
15	ВЪ ЗЛЮ БН ВЪ ШН Н ХЪ ТЪ	8

⁹⁹³ Voskr 29, f. 19r.

The three stichera following come from Voskr 27. They represent a new repertoire in the Russian liturgical practice of the Triodion cycle services.

In sticheron “L”, the number of lines again comes close to the standard (14). But, unlike the prosomoia of St Joseph, the number of syllables in a line differs from the norm both at their least (3) and their greatest (20):

Example 15 L.

1	СЪ НЬ МН ЦЕ БЕ ЗА КО НЬ НО	9
2	НА ДВО РЪ КА Н ІА ФН НЪ	8
3	СЪ БН РА КЪ ТЪ СѦ	6
4	ДЪ НЬ СЪ	3
5	Н ТЪ ЦЕ ТЪ НА ІА ПО ОУ ГА КЪ ТЪ СѦ	12
6	Н ЗА КО НО ПРЪ СТОУ ПЪ НА	8
7	ЖН ВО ТОУ ГО СПО ДА	6
8	ПО ОУ ГА КЪ ТЪ ЖЕ СѦ ОУ БН ТН КЪ ГО ЖЕ Н Ю ДА ПРЪ ДА КЪ ТЪ	20
9	НЕ РА ЗОУ МЪ НЪ Н	6
10	СРЕ ВРЪ НН КЪ БЕ ЗОУ МЪ НЕ ТРЪ МН ДЕ СѦ ТЪ	13
11	СН ЛО Ю Н СКОУ ПН ВЪ Н ВЪ УЪ НОУ Ю ЦЕ КЪ МОУ УЕ НН КЪ	18
12	КЪ ГО ЖЕ ТЪ ЦА НН ІА ПО МО ЛН МЪ СѦ	12
13	Н ЗБА ВН ТН СѦ ВЪ РЪ НН Н	9
14	ПРЕ БЛА ГА А ГО ГО СПО ДА СТРА ХЪ МЪ БЕ ЛН ГА Ю ЦЕ	16

The text of the second sticheron of the prosomoia cycle for Holy Wednesday, *Блудница миро Ту*, is divided by colons into 15 lines, which is an excessively large number compared with the norm. Similarly large is the upper limit of the syllable count (20).

Example 15 N:

1	БЛОУ ДЪ НН ЦА МУ РО ТН	7
2	МНО ГО ЦЪ НЬ НО КЪ ПРН НО СН ТН	10
3	Н ЗЛО СМРА ДЪ НА ГО НЗ БА ВЛА КЪ ТЪ СѦ	12

4	ГРѢ ХА ГО СПО ДН ПО БЕ ЛѢ НН К МЪ ТН	12
5	ДЫ ХА ІА ЖЕ ПРЕ ЖЕ ТВО К Ю БЛА ГО ВО НЬ НО Ю БЛА ГО ДА ТН Ю	20
6	ЗЪ ЛО СМРА ДН К ПРѢ МЪ НО ГО К	10
7	ВЪ НОУ ТРЬ ПРН К МЛЕ ТЪ	7
8	Н ЮЮ ЖЬ БЫ ВА К ТЪ ДА РА	9
9	Н Ю ДА ЗЛО Н МЕ НН ТЫ Н	9
10	К ЖЕ НЕ ДО СТО Н НѢ СЪ ТА ЖА	10
11	ТѢ МЪ ТА КЪ БЕ ЗА КО НЬ НН КО МЪ	11
12	ПРЕ ДА СТЬ ЛЮ ДЬ МЪ	6
13	СРЕ БРО ЛЮ БЬ СТВОУ ІА	6
14	К ГО ЖЕ О КА МЕ НЕ НН ІА	9
15	НЗ БА ВН ВЪ СѢ ХЪ МЪ НО ГО МН ЛО СТИ БЕ	13

The third sticheron of the cycle also has 15 lines, in which the number of syllables is within the normal limits for the prosomoia of the first hand.

Example 15 O:

1	СОУ ДА Н ВЪ СА УБ СКА ІА	8
2	НА СОУ ДН ЦЕ ГРА ДЕ ТЪ	7
3	СЪ ЗЪ ДА ВЪ Н УЛО ВѢ КА	8
4	РОУ КО Ю СВО К Ю ЗА ОУ ШЕ НН К	11
5	О ТЪ РОУ КЪ ПРН ІА ТЪ	7
6	ІА КО ЖН ВО ТОУ ГО СПО ДЬ	8
7	ОУ МЪ РЦВА К ТЪ СА ХО ТА	8
8	СТРА СТИ Н ЦѢ ЛА ІА	6
9	СТРА СТЬ ПО ДЪ К МЛЕ ШН	7
10	НО ЗѢ ОУ УЕ НН КО МЪ ЖЕ ОУ МЪ ВА К ШН	13
11	НЕ Н ЗДРЕ УЕ НЬ НО СЪ МѢ РА ІА СА	11
12	НА ХѢ РО ВН МѢ ХЪ СѢ ДА Н	9
13	О ДЪ ЛГО ТЪ РПѢ НН ІА	7
14	О БО ЖЬ СТВЪ НА А ГО СЪ МѢ РЕ НН ІА Н МЪ ЖЕ	15
15	СЪ МѢ РЕ НЪ ІА НА НЕ БЕ СЪ НЪ ІА ВЪ СО ТЫ ВЪ ЗВЕ ЛЪ КСН	18

There follows Table 36, in which is shown the number of syllables in lines in the stichera notated by the second hand, in accordance with the positioning of the colons or, in other words, with the melodic-textual structure of the source which was being copied or translated:

Table 36

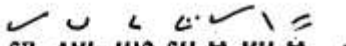

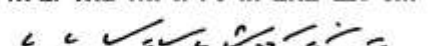

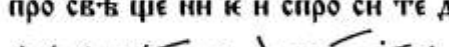
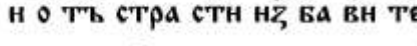
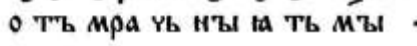
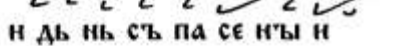
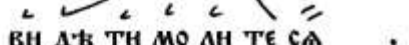
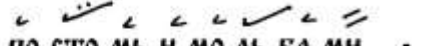
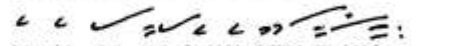
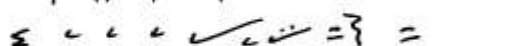

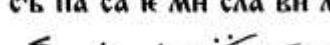
N° of the line	<i>Number of syllables</i>				
	J	K	L	N	O
1.	7	16	9	7	8
2.	9	8	8	10	7
3.	9	15	6	12	8
4.	15	6	3	12	11
5.	9	8	12	20	7
6.	8	9	8	10	8
7.	8	6	6	7	8
8.	7	12	20	9	6
9.	8	9	6	9	7
10.	9	9	13	10	13
11.	9	10	18	11	11
12.	10	8	12	6	9
13.	12	5	9	6	7
14.	7	8	16	9	15
15.		8		13	18
variation in the number of syllables					
	7-15	5-16	3-20	7-20	7-18

The number of syllables in the prosomoia of the second hand, either 14 or 15, exceeds the number of lines of the prosomoia of the first hand – 13-14. At the same time, the proportions of the lines in the stichera of the first and second hands are quite close. In comparison with the syllabic content of the lines of the prosomoia notated by the first hand, in which the number of syllables in the lines varied between seven and 18, here the quantity is only slightly less – between six and 18 syllables on average. If one considers that the automelon had 13 lines, and also the fact that the number of lines of the prosomoia of the first hand was corrected, according to melodic parameters, to 13, then the excessive quantity of the lines, in combination with the preservation of the proportions of the lines of the stichera notated by the second master would present certain difficulties in the adaptation of the automelon to the prosomoia. In other words, the texts, separated into lines by colons, found by the second master when he began his work, did not coincide, in terms of organization by line, with the texts notated by the first master or masters. It is probable that the melodic structure presupposed by the copied text also differs from the model, well-known to this Russian master and chosen

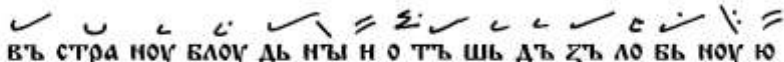
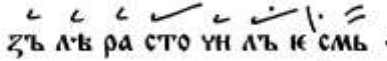
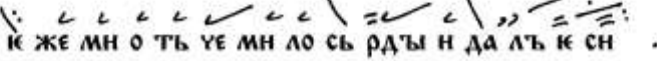
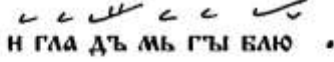
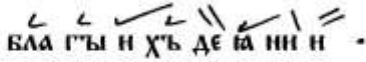
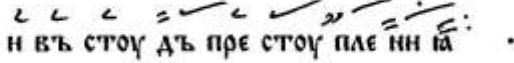
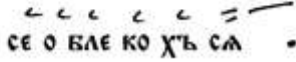
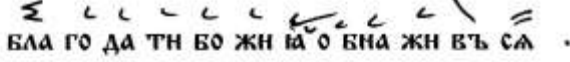
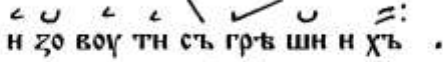
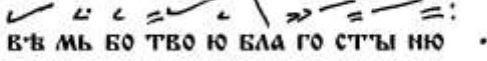
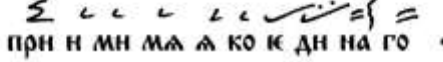
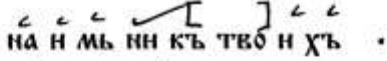
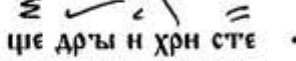
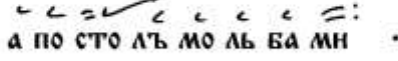
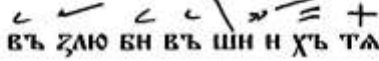
by him. Did the melodic model chosen by the second master coincide with the model, as reflected in the automelon in the Typografsky Kontakarion and in the prosomoia, notated by the first hand?

In order to answer this question, there follow the texts of stichera J, K, L, N and O with the original division by colons and the neumatic sequence (Example 16).

Example 16. J

1	 СЪ ЛНЬ ЦЮ СН ІА НН ІА .
2	 МЪЫ СЛЪ НА А ГО ІА ВЛЪ ШЕ СЛ .
3	 БО ГО ВН ДЪ ЦН А ПО СТО ЛН .
4	 ПРО СВЪ ЦЕ НН К Н СПРО СН ТЕ ДОУ ША МЪ НА ШН МЪ .
5	 Н О ТЪ СТРА СТИ НЪ БА ВН ТЕ .
6	 О ТЪ МРА УЪ НЪЫ ІА ТЪ МЪЫ .
7	 Н ДЪ НЪ СЪ ПА СЕ НЪЫ Н .
8	 ВН ДЪ ТН МО ЛН ТЕ СЛ .
9	 ПО СТО МЪ Н МО ЛЪ БА МН .
10	 СЪ РЪ ДЪ ЦЕ О ЦН СТИ В ШЕ .
11	 К ЖЕ ЛОУ КА ВЪЫ Н О СКВЪ РНН .
12	 СЪ ПА СА К МН СЛА ВН МЪ ПРИ СНО .
13	 ПРЕ МОУ ДРЪЫ Н МЪ ПРО ПО ВК ДА НН Е МЪ .
14	 МН РА СЪ ПА СЪ ШН Н

Example 16 K.

- 1  ВЪ СТРА НОУ БЛОУ ДЪ НЪЫ Н О ТЪ ШЪ ДЪ ЗЪ ЛО БЪ НОУ Ю .
- 2  ЗЪ ЛЪ РА СТО УН ЛЪ К СМЪ .
- 3  К ЖЕ МН О ТЪ УЕ МН ЛО СЪ РДЪ Н ДА ЛЪ К СН .
- 4  Н ГЛА ДЪ МЪ ГЪЫ БЛЮ .
- 5  БЛА ГЪЫ Н ХЪ ДЕ ІА НН Н .
- 6  Н ВЪ СТОУ ДЪ ПРЕ СТОУ ПЛЕ НН ІА .
- 7  СЕ О БЛЕ КО ХЪ СА .
- 8  БЛА ГО ДА ТН БО ЖН ІА О БНА ЖН ВЪ СА .
- 9  Н ЗО ВОУ ТН СЪ ГРЪ ШН Н ХЪ .
- 10  ВЪ МЪ БО ТВО Ю БЛА ГО СЪТЫ НЮ .
- 11  ПРН Н МН МА ѿ КО К ДН НА ГО .
- 12  НА Н МЪ НН КЪ ТВО Н ХЪ .
- 13  ЦЕ ДРЪЫ Н ХРН СТЕ .
- 14  А ПО СТО ЛЪ МО ЛЪ БА МН .
- 15  ВЪ ЗЛЮ БН ВЪ ШН Н ХЪ ТА

L.

- 1 сѣ нѣ мнѣ бѣ за ко нѣ но
- 2 на дво рѣ ка нѣ фнѣ
- 3 сѣ бн ра кѣ тѣ сѣ
- 4 дѣ нѣ сѣ
- 5 нѣ тѣ цѣ тѣ на іа по оуѣ яа кѣ тѣ сѣ
- 6 нѣ за ко но прѣ стоуѣ пѣ на
- 7 жн во тоуѣ го спо да
- 8 по оуѣ яа кѣ тѣ же сѣ оуѣ бн тн кѣ го же н ю да прѣ да кѣ тѣ
- 9 не ра зоуѣ мѣ нѣ н
- 10 сре брь нн кѣ бѣ зоуѣ мѣ не трѣ мн де сѣ тѣ
- 11 сн ло ю н скоуѣ пн вѣ н вѣ уѣ ноуѣ ю цѣ кѣ моуѣ уѣ нн кѣ
- 12 кѣ го же тѣ ца нн іа по мо лн мѣ сѣ
- 13 н зба бн тн сѣ вѣ рѣ нн н
- 14 пре бла га а го го спо да стра хѣ мѣ ве лн яа ю цѣ

O.

1 СОУ ДА Н ВЪ СЛ УЪ СКА ІА

2 НА СОУ ДН ЦЕ ГРА ДЕ ТЪ

3 СЪ ЗЪ ДА ВЪ Н УЛО ВЪ КА

4 РОУ КО Ю СВО К Ю ЗА ОУ ШЕ НН К

5 О ТЪ РОУ КЪ ПРН ІА ТЪ

6 ІА КО ЖН ВО ТОУ ГО СПО ДЪ

7 ОУ МЪ РЦВА К ТЪ СЛ ХО ТА

8 СТРА СТН Н ЦЪ ЛА ІА

9 СТРА СЪ ПО ДЪ К МЛЕ ШН

10 НО ЗЪ ОУ УЕ НН КО МЪ ЖЕ ОУ МЪ ВА К ШН

11 НЕ Н ЗАРЕ УЕ НЪ ПО СЪ МЪ РА ІА СЛ

12 НА ХЪ РО ВН МЪ ХЪ СЪ ДА Н

13 О ДЪ ЛГО ТЪ РПЪ НН ІА

14 О ВО ЖЪ СТЪ НА А ГО СЪ МЪ РЕ НН ІА Н МЪ ЖЕ

15 СЪ МЪ РЕ НЪ ІА НА НЕ БЕ СЪ НЪ ІА ВЪ СО ТЪ ВЪ ЗВЕ ЛЪ К СН

In the first place, attention was paid to the correspondence, or lack of it, of the endings of the textual lines with the neumes typical for final cadences. Thus it can be seen whether the master respected or not the division into lines of the text prepared for notation, whatever the melodic model he would follow.

In the prosomoion «J» (Example 16 J), of the 14 lines, 11 end with the “diple” or the “statia svetlaya”, the last with a “stauros”. Two lines, the sixth and the seventh, have final neumes that tend to disappear in the final sections of lines. These neumes are the same as those found in the middle of the line, after which a colon may or may not appear, in the stichera notated by the first hand. However, as was observed in the examples of these stichera by the first hand, the neumes in question do not close the

melodic lines. Consequently, if three sections are joined according to the logic of the melodic line, ignoring the colons positioned after the two neumes in question, then the number of melodic lines would be 12 rather than 13, as occurs in the automelon and the prosomoia of the first hand.

In examining the particularities of the notation of sticheron “J”, one notes the presence of the final formula, which separates the divisions of the sticheron. This formula finalized, in the 13-line model of the first hand, lines 4, 6, 9 and 13. Here the variants of this formula are found in lines 3,5,10 and 14. Thus, the order of the lines containing the final formulas is quite different in the prosomoia of the first and second hands.

The next sticheron, *В страну блудьныи отошед*, “K” (Example 16 K), divided into 15 lines, shows a joining together of textual lines, separated by colons, and melodic lines finalized by typical graphical segments, which is still more problematic.

In this sticheron, characteristic final formulas are also repeated, but here they are limited to the third, sixth, 10th and 15th lines. The first and 12th lines end with “stopitsa”, atypical for manuscripts of this period. The fourth line ends identically to the seventh line of the previous sticheron, *Солнцю сияния*, and the seventh identically to the sixth of the latter. But whereas in the stichera of the first hand the lines mentioned follow one another and may represent two parts separated by the same, seventh, line, in the sticheron *В страну блудный* these lines have no correspondence.

On the other hand, in the middle of the first line the first melodic phrase ends with a “diple”, in spite of the absence of a colon. The fourth and fifth lines are joined together in one melodic line, corresponding to the fifth line of the prosomoia of the first hand. Similarly, the seventh and eighth lines are joined, corresponding to the seventh line of the prosomoia of the first hand. If the 12th and 13th text lines are joined, they correspond, in general terms, with the 11th line of the prosomoia of the first hand⁹⁹⁴, though one thus has to exclude the «parakletike», a neume typical for the beginnings of lines in Russian manuscripts from the mid-12th century onwards, which occurs in the middle of the resulting line.

Let us now examine the cycle of three stichera prosomoia for Holy Wednesday, contained in Voskr 27.

⁹⁹⁴ Two neumes, which are practically illegible on account of the bad state of conservation of the manuscript, are placed in brackets; the two subsequent neumes, though they present some difficulties, do not in fact cause any problem.

The first of them, *Соньмице безаконьно* (“L”), is divided by colons into 14 lines (Example 16 L).

Though the number of lines in this sticheron corresponds in general to the normal number of lines in the automelon and the prosomoia of the first hand, the relationship between the textual and the melodic lines, as happens in the prosomoia of Sin 319 notated by the second hand, shows some disagreement.

Again, two lines, 3 and 12, end with “stopitsa”. On the basis of this fact, one may join the third and fourth lines into one, and thus achieve a correspondence, though relative, between the received melodic line and the third line of the prosomoia of the first hand.

The 12th line has the same problem as the first in the sticheron previously analysed (“K”): between the seventh and sixth syllables from the end, the end of the melodic line occurs, which corresponds to the tenth line of the prosomoia of the first hand. The end of this line is joined to the following one, in a variant of the 11th line of the prosomoia of the first hand. The final line, the 14th, also covers two melodic lines, which correspond to the two final lines of the prosomoia of the first hand. The sixth and ninth lines end with the aforementioned atypical neumes, found in similar situations in the two preceding stichera of the second hand.

The final formulas that divide the texts of the stichera into sections appear in lines 5, 8, 11 and 14, not corresponding to the division of sticheron “J”, which also has 14 lines.

The text of the second sticheron of the prosomoion cycle for Holy Wednesday, *Блудница миро Ти* (“N”), like that of the second prosomoion for St Joseph, is divided by colons into 15 lines (Example 16 N). Two of them, as in the stichera examined previously, end with “stopitsa” (lines 6 and 14), including a variant (8). The final line, the 15th, covers part of the penultimate melodic line and the whole of the last line.

The final formulas of the lines that divide the structure into sections are found lines 4, 7, 11 and 15, which do not coincide with those of sticheron K, also made up of 15 lines.

The last sticheron of the Holy Wednesday cycle, *Судьи всяческая* (O), also has 15 lines, and the lines designating the structural divisions do not coincide with the two previous prosomoia (Example 16 O). Here the lines are the fifth, ninth, 12th and 15th. This sticheron also contains two lines ending with “stopitsa” (4 and 8). One line ends

with a “kriuk” (the 14th). the end of the sixth line is also untypical. The final line, as in the foregoing cases, is divided in two, though there is no colon.

The examples studies show that the prosomoia in Sin 319, like those in Voskr 27, notated by the second hand, unlike the stichera from both sources notated by the first hand, are characterized by a lack of correspondence between the ends of the text lines and the melodic lines. This disagreement between divisions is visible, on the one hand, in the joining in one text line of two melodic lines, and, on the other, in the appearance of colons in the middle of the melodic lines, following which the line separated by the colon finishes with “stopitsa”, or with other neumes atypical for cadences. The three formulas that indicate the ends of sections, with the exception of the fourth, the last formula, always fall in lines which do not coincide in their order, which complicates the visual understanding of the model, common to all five prosomoia. These observations lead one to conclude that the second notational scribe modified the system of structural division of the stichera that he found in the texts prepared for notation. In addition, his graphical model, though it shows some similarities with the model of the first hand, is also different in many details.

In order to compare the stichera notated by the first and second hands, stichera made up of 14 lines have been chosen - “E” (*Все содержавше*) from Voskr 27 and “J” (*Солнцу сияния*) from Sin 319:

Example 17.

E. Voskr 27, 1st scribe

ВЪ СЕ СТЬ АЬ РЖА ВЪ ШЕ • _____
 БО ЖИ К ОУ ПТЬ БА НИ К • _____
 ДОУ ХО ВЪ НО СТЬ БЕ АЕ НИ К • _____
 Н БО ЖИ К МЬ ДОУ ХТЬ МЬ _____
 СТЬ ПО ОУ УН ВЪ ШЕ СА НЕ БЕ СЬ НИ Н _____
 УЬ СТЬ НЫ Н О БРА ЗЪ УЬ СТЬ НИ Н ОТЬ ЦИ _____
 БО ГО НИ СА НЬ НО НА УЬ РТА ША _____
 ВЪ НЬ ЖЕ Н НА ВЪ РО ЖЬ ШИ Н МЪ СА СТЬ БЕ ЗНА УА АЬ НО _____
 САО ВО НА ОУ УА НО ТЬ • _____
 Н ВЪ Н СТИ НОУ К АН НО СОУ ЦИ НО • _____
 А ПО СТО АЬ СКОУ ОУ МОУ • _____
 ПО САТЬ АЬ СТВОУ Ю ЦЕ МА ВЪ УЕ НИ НО • _____
 БАДА ГО ДА ТИ Н ВЪ СЕ СА ВЪ НИ Н • _____
 СБА ТИ Н БО ГО МОУ АОН Н • _____

J. Sin 319, 2nd scribe

СТЬ АНЬ ЦЮ СИ МА НИ МА • _____
 МЪ САБ НА А ГО МА ВЪ ШЕ СА _____
 БО ГО ВИ АЬ ЦИ А ПО СТО АН _____
 ПРО СВЪ ЦЕ НИ К Н СПРО СИ ТЕ ДОУ ША МЪ НА ШИ МЪ _____
 Н О ТЬ СТРА СТИ НЪ БА ВИ ТЕ _____
 О ТЬ МРА УЬ НЫ МА ТЬ МЪ _____
 Н АЬ НЬ СТЬ ПА СЕ НЫ Н • _____
 ВИ АЬ ТИ МО АН ТЕ СА • _____
 ПО СТО МЬ Н МО АЬ БА АН • _____
 СЪ РЬ АЬ ЦЕ О ЦИ СТИ ВЪ ШЕ • _____
 К ЖЕ ДОУ КА ВЪ Н О СКЕВ РИИ _____
 СТЬ ПА СА К АН СА ВИ МЪ ПРН СНО • _____
 ПРЕ МОУ АРЪ И МЬ ПРО ПО БК ДА НИ Е МЬ _____
 АН РА СТЬ ПА СТЬ ШИ Н • _____

If one begins with the final lines, one notes a correspondence in lines 9 – 14, though with some graphical variants. Similarly, the first lines also correspond.

At the same time, from the second to the eighth lines coincidences are difficult to find. In the prosomoion of the first hand, the second melodic line, as already mentioned in the more detailed analysis of this sticheron, is repeated (example 17 “E”, lines 2-3). However, this line is missing from the entire prosomoion of the second hand. The fourth line of prosomoion “E” is quite close to the second line of prosomoion “J”. Beginning with the following line, which ends with the concluding formula of the structural sections of the prosomoia and automelon, lines 5, 6 and 7 of the prosomoion *Все содержавшие* again correspond with the lines of the prosomoion *Солнцу сияния*, in the case of this sticheron, 3, 4 and 5.

And, finally, lines 6, 7 and 8 of the prosomoion of the second hand are joined in a single line, corresponding to the eighth line of the prosomoion of the first hand. As a result, one may postulate the presence of a single model, common to both sources, though used in two cases with significant differences.

To summarize the observations made above, there follows the content of the lines of both stichera, designated with the same numbers as the lines that correspond more or less:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		9	10	11	12	13	14	
1		4	5	6	7	8	8a	8b	8c	9	10	11	12	13	14

If we compare the automelon of the Typografsky Kontakarion to the prosomoion of the second hand, the presence of a common model is also apparent, but, as in the previous case, bearing in mind many examples of a refusal to transmit the model directly to the contrafactum. Example 18 shows the same prosomoion of St Joseph (*Солнцу сияния*), compared with the sticheron of the first hand.

Between the first lines the correspondence is so little apparent that it may only be supposed, and not affirmed. In this way, there is no complete correspondence in the comparison of the sticheron of the first hand, *Являеши ми ся*, with the automelon

Example 18.

М: Typ. Ustav			
1	ВЪ СЕ ОУ ПЪ ВА НИ КЪ	1	СЪ АНЬ ЦЮ СИ МА НИ МА
2	НА НЕ БЕ СЪ ХЪ ПО ДО ЖЬ ША	2	МЪ САН НА А ГО МА ВАЬ ШЕ СА
3	СЪ КРО ВЪ ЦЕ НЕ КРА ДО МО КЪ	3	ЕО ГО ВЪ АЬ ЦН А ПО СТО АН
4	СЕ БЪ СВА ТА МА СЪ КРЫ ДА КЪ СТА	4	ПРО СЪ БЪ ЦЕ НИ КЪ И СПРО СИ ТЕ ДОУ ША МЪ НА ШИ МЪ
5	ТОУ НЕ ПОН МА СТА	5	Н О ТЪ СТРА СТИ НЪ БА ВЪ ТЕ
6	ТОУ НЕ ЖЕ ДА КЪ ТА	6	О ТЪ МОД УЬ НЪ МА ТЪ МЪ
7	НЕ ДОУ ЖЬ НЪ МА МЪ НС ЦЪ АЕ НИ КЪ	7	И АЬ НЬ СЪ ПА СЕ НЪ МА
8	ЗДА ТА И АН СРЕ БРА	8	ВЪ АЬ ТИ МО АН ТЕ СА
9	Е ВА НГЕ АЬ СКЪ НЕ СЪ ТА ЖА СТА	9	ПО СТО МЪ И МО АЬ БА АН
10	УАО ВЪ КЪ МЪ ЖЕ И СКО ТО МЪ	10	СЪ РЪ АЬ ЦЕ О ЦН СТИ В ШЕ
11	БДА ГО АЬ МА НИ КЪ ПО ДА СТА	11	КЪ ЖЕ ДОУ КА ВЪ И О СЪ БЪ РНИ
12	ДА СЪ БЪ СЪ МЪ ПО САОУ ШЪ АН ВА БЪ ВЪ ША ХРН СТО ВЪ	12	СЪ ПА СА КЪ АН САА ВЪ МЪ ПОН СНО
13	АЬ РЪНО БЕ НИ КЪ МЪ МО АН ТА СА О ДОУ ША ХЪ НА ШИ ХЪ	13	ПРО МОУ ДОУ И МЪ ПРО ПО ВЪ ДА НИ Е МЪ
		14	АН РА СЪ ПА СЪ ШИ И

(example 13). The second lines, which were quite close between the automelon and the prosomoion of the first hand, are here quite distant. The third line of the automelon is missing in prosomoion “J”. It should be mentioned, however, that this is the only prosomoion of the second hand in which there is no this melodic line. In all the other prosomoia mentioned, including that which follows, the second prosomoion of St Joseph, it is included. The exclusion of the melodic line in question did not occur as a result of the small number of lines because, as shall be seen later, for the model of the second master, as in the case of the model for the first hand, the 13 lines were enough.

The third line of the prosomoion corresponds to the fourth of the automelon. In all the other prosomoia of the second hand, which include the line equivalent to the second of the automelon, the lines, which end with the section-dividing formula, appear in the same numerical order – they are always the fourth line. The fourth line of the prosomoion joins two lines of the automelon – the fifth and the sixth.

The seventh line of the automelon is close to the fifth line of the prosomoion.

The eighth and the ninth lines together constitute a variant of the line, resulting from the joining of three lines – 6, 7 and 8 in the same way that they made up the equivalent of the seventh line of the prosomoion of the first hand.

Afterwards, from line 9 of the prosomoion and line 10 of the automelon, the distribution by line is identical, including the separations in the last two lines of the automelon, visible in the comparison of the automelon and the prosomoion of the first hand.

The juxtaposition of the prosomoion of the second hand with the two stichera, the automelon and the prosomoion of the first hand, *Все содержащиеся*, which, at first sight, are graphically quite different, allows us to separate the graphical elements, which may be viewed as accidental, or demonstrative of variants, of elements which are rigidly transferred from the model to the contrafacta. As a consequence, if one follows the logic of the melodic lines, a line-by-line comparison of all five stichera notated by the second hand become possible. The melodic model requires 13 lines, though in the first prosomoion of St Joseph (“J”), as has been noted, the third line is omitted.

Example 19.

1.

J. сѣ лнь цю сн ꙗ нн ꙗ
K. вѣ стра ноу блоу дѣ нѣ н
L. сѣ нь мн ѿе бѣ за ко нь но
N. блоу дѣ нн ца мѣ ро тн
O. соу да н вѣ сѣ уѣ ска ꙗ

2.

J. мѣ слѣ на а го ꙗ вѣ ше сѣ
K. отѣ шѣ дѣ зѣ ло бѣ ноу ю
L. на дво рѣ ка н ꙗ фн нѣ
N. мно го цѣ нь но к прн но сн тн
O. на соу дн ѿе гра де тѣ

3.

J.
K. зѣ лѣ ра сто ун лѣ к смѣ
L. сѣ бн ра к тѣ сѣ дѣ нь сѣ
N. и зло смра дѣ на го н зѣа вѣа к тѣ сѣ
O. сѣ зѣ да вѣ н уло вѣ ка

4.

J. БО ГО ВН ДЬ ЦН А ПО СТО ЛН

K. К ЖЕ МН ОТЬ УЕ МН ЛО СЬ РДЪИ Н ДА ЛЪ К СИ

L. Н ТЪ ЦЕ ТЪ НА ИА ПО ОУ ГА К ТЪ СЛ

N. ГРЪ ХА ГО СПО ДН ПО ВЕ ЛЪ НН К МЪ ТН

O. РОУ КО Ю СВО К Ю ЗА ОУ ШЕ НН К О ТЪ РОУ КЪ ПРН ИА ТЪ

5.

J. ПРО СВЪ ЦЕ НН К Н СПРО СИ ТЕ ДОУ ША МЪ НА ШИ МЪ

K. Н ГЛА ДЪ МЪ ГЪИ БЛЮ БЛА ГЪИ Н ХЪ ДЕ ИА НН Н

L. Н ЗА КО НО ПРЪ СТОУ ПЛЪ НА ЖИ ВО ТОУ ГО СПО ДА

N. ДЪИ ХА ИА ЖЕ ПРЕ ЖЕ ТВО К Ю БЛАГОВОНЬНОЮ БЛАГО ДА ТИ Ю

O. ИА КО ЖИ ВО ТОУ ГО СПО ДЪ ОУ МЪ РЦВА К ТЪ СЛ ХО ТА

6.

J. Н О ТЪ СТРА СТИ Н ЗБА ВИ ТЕ

K. Н ВЪ СТОУ ДЪ ПРЕ СТОУ ПЛЕ НН ИА

L. ПО ОУ ГА К ТЪ ЖЕ СЛ ОУ ВИ ТИ К ГО ЖЕ Н Ю ДА ПРЪ ДА К ТЪ

N. ЗЪ ЛО СМРА ДИ К ПРЪ МЪ НО ГО К ВЪ НОУ ТРЪ ПРН К МЛЕ ТЪ

O. СТРА СТИ Н ЦЪ ЛА ИА СТРА СТЬ ПО ДЪ К МЛЕ ШИ

7.

J. ОТЪ МРАУЪНЪНА ТЪМЪ И ДЪНЬСЪ ПА СЕНЪ И ВЪ ДЪ ТИМОЛНТЕ СЛ
K. СЕ О БЛЕ КО ХЪ СЛ БЛАГО ДА ТИ БО ЖИ ІА О БНАЖИ ВЪ СЛ
L. НЕ РА ЗОУ МЪ НЪ И СРЕВЪРНИКЪ БЕ ЗОУ МЪ НЕТЪРЪМН ДЕ СЛ ТЪ
N. И Ю ЖЪ БЪ ВА КЪ ТЪ ДА РА И Ю ДА ЗЛОМЕНИ ТЪ И
O. НО ЗЪ ОУ УЕ НИ КО МЪ ЖЕ ОУ МЪ ВА КЪ ШИ

8.

J. ПО СТО МЪ И МО ЛЪ БА МН
K. И ЗО ВОУ ТИ СЪ ГРЪ ШИ И ХЪ
L. СИ ЛО Ю И СКОУ ПИ ВЪ
N. КЪ ЖЕ НЕ ДО СТО И НЪ СЪ ТЪ ЖА
O. НЕ И ЗДРЕ УЕ НЪ НО СЪ МЪ РА ІА СЛ

9.

J. СЪ РЪ ДЪ ЦЕ О ЦИ СТИ ВЪ ШЕ
K. ВЪ МЪ БО ТВО Ю БЛА ГО СТИ НЮ
L. И ВЪ УЪ НОУ Ю ЦЕ КЪ МОУ УЕ НИ КЪ
N. ТЪ МЪ ТЪ КЪ БЕ ЗА КО НЪ НИ КО МЪ
O. НА ХЪ РО ВЪ МЪ ХЪ СЪ ДЪ И

10.

J. К ЖЕ ЛОУ КА ВЪ Н О СКВЪ РНН
K. ПРН Н МН МА А КО К ДН НА ГО
L. К ГО ЖЕ ТЪ ЦА НН Я
N. ПРЕ ДА СТЬ ЛЮ ДЬ МЪ
O. О ДЪ ЛГО ТЪ РПЪ НН Я

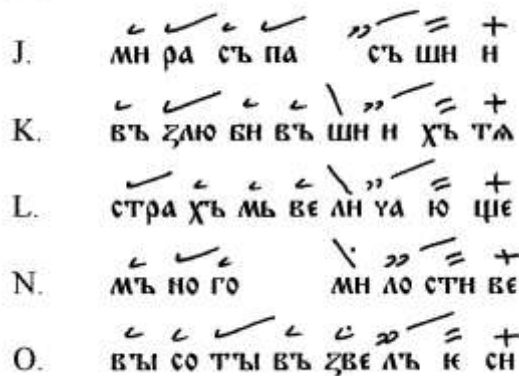
11.

J. СЪ ПА СА К МН СЛА ВН МЪ ПРН СНО
K. НА Н МЪ НН КЪ ТВО НХЪ ЦЕ ДРЪ Н ХРН СТЕ
L. ПО МО ЛН МЪ СМ Н ЗБА ВН ТН СМ ВЪ РЪ НН Н
N. СРЕ БРО ЛЮ БЪ СТВОУ Я
O. О БО ЖЪ СТВЪ НА А ГО СЪ МЪ РЕ НН Я

12.

J. ПРЕ МОУ ДРЪ Н МЪ ПРО ПО ВК ДА НН Е МЪ
K. А ПО СТО ЛЪ МО ЛЬ БА МН
L. ПРЕ БЛА ГА А ГО ГО СПО ДА
N. К ГО ЖЕ О КА МЕ НЕ НН Я Н ЗБА ВН ВЪ СЪ ХЪ
O. Н МЪ ЖЕ СЪ МЪ РЕ НЪ Я НА НЕ БЕ СЪ НЪ Я

13.



Let us recall that in the example, the first two stichera were taken from Sin 319, and the last three from Voskr 27. When the stichera of the first hand from both source were compared, the same notational method was apparent, implying coincidence in the smaller details. Let us now see whether the same notational method is characteristic of both codices in the case of the stichera of the second hand.

The first line has, in five instances, a neume that appears in the two prosomoia of Sin 319, but is missing from Voskr 27 – the “klasma”. At the same time, the graphical variant of the “stopitsa” (either normal or with two dots) separates one prosomoion in Sin 319 from another, and links the second prosomoia in the cycles in Sin 319 and Voskr 27.

In the second line, the neumatic notation is quite different between Sin 319 and Voskr 27. Voskr 27 reflects the version found in the *Typografsky Kontakarion*. Let us recall that this graphical version of the line that was present in the prosomoia notated by the first hand both in the *Triodion* and in the *Pentekostarion*. This means that the graphical differences in this case are explained by a conscious choice of two different variants for two graphical versions of the model, one for each cycle. This difference should not lead us to separate Sin 319 from Voskr 27.

Similarly, the two codices differ in the 10th line, in which the prosomoia of St Joseph have as their final neume the “diple”, while the prosomoia for Holy Wednesday have its variant. However, this difference also only affects the graphical aspect, and not the melodic, in that in every other respect these lines in Sin 319 and Voskr 27 are identical. In addition, in the stichera notated by the first hand, in both Sin 319 and Voskr 27, the graphical details of the 10th line correspond exactly to those of the second hand, ending with a “diple”. Thus, in this case too, the difference, which places the prosomoia of the second hand in different groups, does not distance the two codices.

In the third line, the prosomoion of St Joseph has added dots for two neumes. In the first prosomoion this line is missing, which does not, therefore, allow comparison with the two prosomoia of Sin 319.

In the fourth line, the differences have to do with the prosomoia of St Joseph (first neume at the beginning and third from the end). At the same time, the second prosomoion of Sin 319 and all three versions of Voskr 27 are very close.

The fifth line shows practically no differences, with the exception of the different number of syllables per “stopitsa”.

The neume before the “strela” in the sixth line separates the group of prosomoia of Sin 319 from those of Voskr 27, but the fourth neume from the end, which is part of the final formula, or the introductory passage preceding it, is similar to one of the versions in Sin 319 and one of the prosomoia in Voskr 27.

A similar correspondence of some elements of the Triodion and Pentekostarion and, at the same time, differences between other elements of the prosomoia of St Joseph and prosomoia for Holy Wednesday may be found in the 12th line.

In lines 7, 8, 9, 11 and 13, the differences are not significant, and do not distance one codex from the other, since the neumes that differ are not repeated in all five stichera.

After analysing the neumatic graphical aspect of the prosomoia of St Joseph and those for Holy Wednesday, one may conclude that they correspond to a single melodic model and that they are similar as regards notation. The degree of similarity is less than that which was observed between the stichera of the first hand. It may be compared to what was seen in the comparison of the stichera of the first hand and those of the Uspensky Sticherarion. Though some of the lines of the stichera of the second hand have points which separate the prosomoia of Sin 319 and those of Voskr 27 into two groups, the difference between the groups do not prove the existence of different melodic models, but merely indicate different graphical means, chosen for two distinct cycles. At the same time, the coincidence of multiple graphical variants amongst the prosomoia of the two codices indicates a common method employed in the course of their notation.

An analysis of the structures of the stichera carried out in accordance with the distribution of the melodic lines, made apparent after the comparison of the prosomia of the second hand, with those of the first hand and with the automelon, allows the discovery of the textual division that guided the second master of notation during his

work. It should be noted that in his new division of texts, the logic of that text is never once broken. From the syntactical point of view, this division makes as much sense as that of the scribe who wrote the text before the neumes. Here there occurs the same phenomenon as was seen in the later division of lines in the stichera of the Uspensky Sticherarion.

There follows a table with a line-by-line comparison of the five prosomoia of the second *znamenny* hand in the distribution of lines made according to the musical model. The old colons have been omitted as the scribe omitted them:

Table 37.

N° of the line	Number of syllables				
	J	K	L	N	O
1	7	7	9	7	8
2	9	9	8	11	7
3		8	9	12	8
4	9	15	12	12	18
5	15	14	14	20	16
6	9	9	20	17	13
7	23	18	19	18	13
8	8	8	7	10	11
9	9	9	11	11	9
10	9	10	7	6	7
11	10	13	14	6	12
12	12	8	8	15	14
13	7	8	8	7	8
variation in the number of syllables					
	7-23	7-18	7-20	6-20	7-18

If we compare tables 35, 36 and 37, it becomes clear that the work of the second master was dedicated to the bringing together of the structure of the stichera and the proportions of the lines to the model, which may be seen in Table 35. In other words, the first and the second master, each one by his own means, and each according to his own measure, corrected the division of the text in order to make it accord with the melodic model.

What were the common elements in the establishing of the neumatic notation of the first and second hand, and how does their work differ? In order to answer this question, let us compare the two stichera.

As an example of the prosomoia of the first hand, displaying a high degree of graphical similarity, let us examine the sticheron “F”, *Все приимие*. From amongst the stichera of the second hand, we have chosen the closest to the stichera of the first hand

as regards the second line “N”, *Блудница миро Ту*. The division of lines in this last sticheron corresponds to that which was conceived by the scribe of the *znamenny* notation, that is, that which is explained by the logic of the melodic lines. Both stichera are written in Voskr 27:

Example 20

1
N
БЛОУ ДЪ НН ЦА МУ РО ТН
F
ВЪ СЕ ПРН Н МЪ ШЕ

2
N
МНО ГО ЦЪ НЪ НО К ПРН НО СН ТН
F
ВО ГО ОУ МЪ НО К СН ІА НН К

3
N
Н ЗЛО СМРА ДЪ НА ГО НЗ БА ВЛА К ТЪ СЛ
F
ПРЕ СВА ТА А ГО ДОУ ХА А, В К

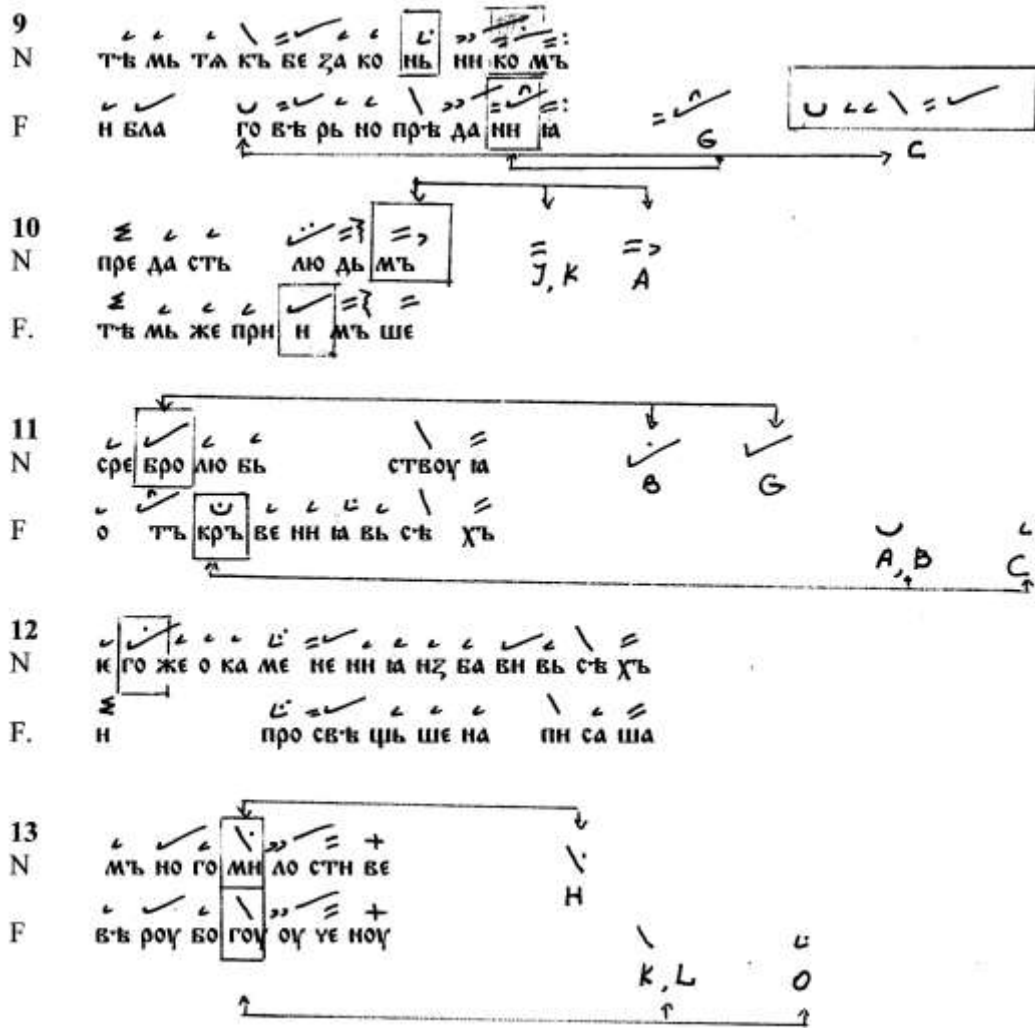
4
N
ГРЪ ХА ГО СПО ДН ПО ВЕ ЛЪ НН К МЪ ТН
F
ПРЪ ВЪ СПРЪ НЕ К ІА ВЪ СЛО ВЕ СН К

5
N
ДЪ ХА ІА ЖЕ ПРЕ ЖЕ ТВО К Ю БЛА ГО ВО НЪ НО Ю БЛА ГО ДА ТН Ю
F
КРО ТЪ КЪ Н МН СЛО ВЕ СЪ Н МЪ НО ГЪ Н МЪ РА ЗОУ МЪ МЪ

6
N
ЗЪ ЛО СМРА ДН К ПРЪ МЪ НО ГО К ВЪ НОУ ТРЪ ПРН К МЛЕ ТЪ
F
ВО ГО ДЪ ХНО ВЕ НЪ НО НЗ ВЕ ЦЕ НН К ВА ШЕ Г, Н, І

7
N
Н Ю ЖЪ ВЪ ВА К ТЪ ДА РА Н Ю ДА ЗЛО Н МЕ НН ТЪ Н
F
ХРН СТО ПО ВЪ ДЪ НН Н За ЕУ АН ГЕ ЛЬ СКЪ ІА КО ПРН СТА ВЪ НН ЦН

8
N
К ЖЕ НЕ ДО СТО Н НЪ СЪ ТЪ ЖА
F
ОУ УЕ НН ІА БЛА ЖЕ НН Н



23 cases of differences in the above example (of an average number of some 140 neumes, which corresponds to more or less 16%), which may be seen amongst the prosomoia of the first and the second hands, appear. All the differences were compared with examples 11 and 19. In sum, the majority are unimportant after comparison with the other prosomoia. The neumes found in the sticheron of the first hand and are not repeated in example 20, concerned with the second hand, above, in most cases are variants in the remaining stichera of the second hand and vice-versa. All the alternative variants and the stichera, designated by letters, that contain them, appear on the right hand side of the example. In seven cases, the neumes are characteristic of only one hand and do not appear in the other; consequently, these neumes have no equivalents in the example. Amongst them, however, only one neume shows any significant difference. It is found in the final formula of the sixth line, which separates the structural sections, and, thus, affects the structural level.

In the sources notated by the first hand, there appear two graphical variants of the penultimate neume, the “diple”, in Sin 319 and Voskr 27, and the “strela” in the Sofisky Menaia. In all five prosomoia examined, notated by the second hand, there is present a third variant, different from those of the first hand. This third variant is always present in the stichera of the first hand in the fourth line and, with the exceptions of “F” e “G”, in the ninth line. Thus, in these stichera lines 4 and 9 coincide, on the one hand, and 6 and 13 on the other. The same correspondence occurs in Usp 8: the neumes of lines 4 and 9 correspond, including a rare neume, not used by either the first or second master in the prosomoia *Все упование*.

The replacement of the “diple” and its variant with the variant of the “strela” in the sixth line of the five prosomoia of the second hand makes the final formulas, which separate the structural sections, the same.

Were the notational differences in the prosomoia of the end of the 12th century related to differences in the way of singing the prosomoia of the time or not? Though it seems that a definitive opinion cannot at present be arrived at, a number of suppositions may be made.

If we recall the automelon of the Typografsky Kontakarion, in it corresponded, on the one hand, lines 4 and 11 and, on the other, lines 7 and 13, the last. A similar correspondence of lines is presented by the prosomoia of the first hand.

There is no doubt that the prosomoia, from the end of the 12th century, analysed above, follow the same melodic model. At the same time, the actual graphical transcription of the prosomoion between the end of the 11th century and the end of the 12th century underwent a number of modifications. The graphical changes may indicate a transformation in the prosomoia of certain melodic, rhythmic and interpretative aspects of the automelon. However, in general the melodic image must have been retained, because, with all the modifications, their graphical representations continued to be recognizable at least until the 13th century.

As may be seen in the multiple examples of comparisons of versions of the prosomoia from the end of the 12th century - 13th century, some neumes appeared in variant forms, used with the same frequency and the same weight; for example, the “klasma” and the “bareia”. Some of these were used in the same sections of the lines, the variant either dotted or un-dotted.

If we look at the details of the automelon of the Typografsky Kontakarion and then at the prosomoia of the first and second hands, we may note a more precise

graphical correspondence with the prosomoia of the first hand. An example may be found in the disappearance of certain graphical elements of the automelon in the second line of the prosomoia of St Joseph. It is probable that the conservation of graphical details of the automelon in the prosomoia of the first hand may be attributed to the same phenomenon. In this case, fidelity to written tradition shown in the method of the first hand may have had as an objective the decision to emphasize the elements of the ABAB structure of the automelon. At the same time, the conscious choice of the second master of an identical graphic form for the three lines that delineate the musical form may serve as an affirmation of the fact that, though his memory retained a sound image of the same melodic model, he considered it more important to underline the common points between the formulas, as performed, that conclude the three lines. Put another way, two notational methods emphasized two different aspects of the prosomoion, in which intercalated sections could share common characteristics, and, at the same time, the final formulas of the sections corresponded to a more or less exact form.

The orientation of the second master by the oral version is also shown in a number of other facts. These include a much higher degree of graphical variety in comparison with the prosomoia of the first hand.

The correspondence between the degree of graphical variety in the first and second hands reflects the correspondence between the first hand and the method of the master who notated the Uspensky Sticherarion.

During the course of the comparison of versions of the same prosomoion in Sin 278, Sin 319 and Usp 8, the proximity of the Synodal sources and the distance of the last were shown. In juxtaposing the Triodion and the Uspensky Sticherarion, it was seen that, of some 150 neumes in the same prosomoion, 18 were different; in other words, around 12%. The versions in Sin 278 and Sin 319 differ from each other by some 4%. This means that the phenomenon of graphical variety between the first hand and the scribe of the neumes in the Uspensky Sticherarion is three times greater in comparison with the variety in the sources notated by the first and, amongst which may be included Sin 278.

The same relation – three times greater – may be seen in a comparison of the level of variety in the prosomoia of the first hand and of the second hand: in the nine stichera of the first hand there appear ten cases of differences (example 11), while in the five stichera of the second hand there are 29 (example 19), which means approximately three times as many.

On this basis, one may conclude that, for the notation of the source by the first master/group of masters, there must have existed a written source, which served as a general graphical guide.

For the notation by the second hand, the sound of the melodic version of the model, well-known to the master, was adopted to the *contrafacta* previously, by ear. Even if written versions existed, and were consulted by the second master, a detailed consideration of all the graphical points was not one of his objectives. His working method for notation included the introduction of variants. If one accepts that the Sofisky *Menaia*, *Triodion* and *Pentekostarion* were written as a set, intended to preserve a particular graphical method, then one may suggest that the second master had a different role from the first master or group of neumatic scribes. His objective was the adding of neumes to the new repertory, including the distribution by lines of the texts of the *stichera* in such a way that they could be made to conform to the melodic model which had come about, after almost a century of gradual transformation, at the time of the writing of the two GIM *Triodion* cycle volumes.

One graphical version, used in manuscripts from the end of the 12th century (for example, from the liturgical sequences for 1 November and 1 July in the lost volumes of the Sofisky *Menaia*), could have served as a model. However, for the notational masters of the time, including the second master of the *Triodion* set, this model was no longer only a *sticheron automelon* that had to be located in a written source and opened each time it was necessary to neume some *prosomoia*. This model was transformed into a graphical melodic structure, worked out on the basis of the *automelon*, which was taken to another level of oral existence in the infinite scale of progressions of mutual coexistence of written and oral versions. This new structure included aspects both of melodic and rhythmic contour, as well as graphical aspects, transferred from written form to memory. It was probably this structure, rather than a particular version from a specific book, that was used by the second master in notating the new repertory of *prosomoia*.

In summarizing the comparison of the neumatic notation of the *prosomoia* notated by the first and second hands, a number of observations may be made.

Firstly, the presence of notation in both codices, Sin 319 and Voskr 27, by two hands, is not merely a visual impression. The difference between the hands in the *znamenny* notation is evident through the differences in notational method of the respective repertory.

The stichera notated by the first hand are characterized by a correspondence between the division of the text into lines by means of the colon and the division of the sticheron into melodic lines by means of the ending with the “diple” or its variants. The graphical elements chosen by the master/masters of the first hand tend towards the unification of the corresponding lines in many of the prosomoia written on the same model. These prosomoia appear in many sources: in addition to the Triodion Sin 319 and the Pentekostarion Voskr 27, the Sofisky Menaia and some Sticheraria are related to them. The material from one of these, Sin 278, was included in the examples in the present thesis. The closeness of the prosomoia of St Theodore to the others (Sin Typ 147, Sin Typ 148, Sof 96, Sof 85) was mentioned by Schidlovsky. Usp 8 is not part of this group of Sticheraria, though the melodic versions of this manuscript, discussed in the present study, coincide with the first hand.

Unlike the prosomoia notated by the first hand, the texts notated by the second master found in the codices do not allow a direct application of the structure of the melodic model to the prosomoion. In order to adopt the older division of the text to the lines in conformity with the melodic model, which was available to him and chosen by him, and which was the same as that used by the first master/group of masters, the second master consciously ignored the positioning of the colons and organized the texts anew, in accordance with the melodic structure of his model. The ends of the majority of the lines, new and old, coincided. However, in a substantial minority of cases, the old colon then occurred in the middle of a melodic line.

The neumatic notation of the second hand, unlike that of the first hand, is characterized by a much greater variety. This variety may be seen in the comparison of the prosomoia notated by the second hand as well as in the comparison of the prosomoia notated by the first and second hands. The fact of this abundance of variety reflects the orientation of the second master principally towards the oral version⁹⁹⁵, though this fact does not exclude the possibility that he used one or more written sources.

Secondly, the method of the first hand in Sin 319 corresponds to the method of the same hand in Voskr 27. The same may be said of the second hand. The subsequent, continued, employment of two methods of notation in both codices bears witness to the fact that the same two groups of masters were involved in their creation.

⁹⁹⁵ In her book, dedicated to Parakletike Sin Typ 80, which the present thesis places in the set together with the Triodion Sin 319 and Pentekostarion Voskr 27, Lozovaia suggests that the oral transmission has influenced the notation of the contrafacta canticles, which were found only in this Parakletike: Лозовая, *Древнерусский нотированный Параклит*, 84.

Conclusion

Sin 319 and Voskr 27 are amongst the chant books that record the moveable cycle of the Triodion, in the Russia of the period of the Studite Typikon.

To judge by a number of characteristics, both books are typical representatives of their period. However, some parameters set them apart from all the other manuscripts.

The typical characteristics of Sin 319 and Voskr 27 were formed during the development of Byzantine liturgical books.

The roots of the process of the production of manuscripts containing chants, or references to them, may be seen from at least the 5th century, as the Lectionaries and Tropologia confirm. The oldest of them reflect the Jerusalem tradition. From the 6th century there began the flourishing of Constantinopolitan hymnography by means of the kontakion, principally the work of St Romanos the Melodist. During the imperial phase and the following period, other genres, included the Palestinian sticheron and canon also matured. Amongst the most important hymnographers of this period are Sts Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus and Kosmas of Maiouma. The greater part of the hymns from this period was taken into the Russian Studite books, including Sin 319 and Voskr 27.

Between the 8th and 9th centuries in Byzantium there took place a liturgical reform, organized by Theodore the Studite and his followers. The reform consisted of a synthesis of both the main earlier liturgical traditions – the Palestinian monastic tradition and the Constantinopolitan Cathedral rite. Each of them in its turn reflected an interweaving of cathedral and monastic elements, which had their origins over the course of many centuries in many liturgical centres and represented many variants.

One of the consequences of the Studite synthesis was the creation of new kinds of liturgical books. The oldest known to us dates from the end of the 9th century – beginning of the 10th. The books are divided into two groups – the single-genre and the multi-genre.

Amongst the various types of single-genre books are the Sticheraria and the Heirmologia. In them are contained the hymns, including heirmoi and stichera automela, that served as models for hymns in corresponding genres.

To the multi-genre books were related those that contained hymns of various genres, without notation, in liturgical order; that is to say, within Vespers and Matins. Amongst these hymns are found the canons, whose troparia were sung according to the example of the heirmoi, and also the kathismata and stichera, also sung according to a

model. The absence of notation for these hymns is explained by the structural proximity of the models and the contrafacta in Greek.

Each Greek multi-genre book of the Studite period reflected a particular annual liturgical cycle and was named accordingly – Triodion and Pentekostarion, Menaion, Octoechos.

The roots of the Greek Studite multi-genre books of the Triodion cycle are **liked** to the hymnographical creativity of St Theodore the Studite. His most important legacy, preserved in the neo-Sabaitic codices that continued to be printed, are the sets of triodia and tetraodia for Lent, each with kathisma and prosomoion.

His work gave rise to that of other hymnographers, amongst the most famous being St Clement the Studite and St Joseph.

Among the extant Greek Triodia, the oldest kind is represented by those which bring together in a single volume, in sequences for each day, one after the other, the Triodia of these two writers and of St Theodore the Studite. Within the daily sequence of this type were mixed hymns from Vespers and Matins. The constructional principle of this kind of Triodion was the arrangement of the hymns from the shortest (kathisma and prosomoion) to the longest (triodyon) or vice-versa.

Some kinds of Greek Triodia that appeared a little later also mix hymns from Vespers and Matins, and bring together in the same volume the Triodion and Pentekostarion sections. The main differences here have to do with the authorship of the hymns and their positioning.

During the course of time, following the liturgical order in Triodia began to be a rule. Later Studite Triodia organize the Triodion and Pentekostarion sections into separate volumes. Another innovation, apart from the increasing number of hymns, is the introduction of the paremias and hymns that accompany them.

Thus, the Greek Triodia of the Studite period are represented by a large number of variants, which increased over the course of time. Reflecting the Studite synthesis, they include both genuinely Studite elements and earlier Palestinian and Constantinopolitan elements from the Cathedral rite.

Russia inherited this wide variety only in part. With regard to Sin 319 and Voskr 27, in the present thesis it was determined that these two volumes, on account of a number of characteristics, belong to the same set, of which the Pentekostarion is the continuation of the Triodion. Both manuscripts reflect the same processes of

development of the Studite synthesis and, at the same time, introduced innovative characteristics in the book's typology corresponding to the needs in Russia.

The GIM Triodion cycle set is from the last quarter of the 12th century. This means that its writing followed a relatively long period of development in Russian chant.

The contacts of Slavic peoples with Christianity began rather early. The Southern Slavs came to know Christian culture from the 5th-6th centuries. In the second half of the 9th century Sts Cyril, Methodius and their disciples were active. Though their efforts were developed, firstly, Glagolitic, and, subsequently, Cyrillic, which became the basis of the Russian books. By means of these alphabets, the Holy Scriptures and the main elements of the Liturgical cycles, including that of the Triodion, were translated. The making of the first translations coincided with the Studite reforms in Byzantium, which at that time were undergoing a strong Palestinian influence. This fact may explain the reflection of these traditions in the oldest South Slavic and Russian codices of the Studite period.

From the middle of the 10th century, when the Studite liturgy reached its peak in Byzantium, Christianity became stronger in Russia. At the end of the 10th century occurred the official baptism and the opening of metropolitanates in the largest ecclesiastical centres. These processes were paralleled by the building of churches and cathedrals, of the organization of cleruses and of chanting. Though initially chanting depended on Greek singers, from the middle of the 11th century, during the course of the cultural development that included sacred architecture, the production of books and the increasing literacy of the people, conditions were created for the basis of a national sacred chant tradition.

From the mid-11th century, the Kiev-Pechersky monastery became the main liturgical centre. Developments in the monastery reflected the earliest stage of development of the ecclesiastical life of the whole of Russia, concentrated around cathedrals and coenobitic monasteries supported financially by the dukes. The close connection of the monastic and Cathedral rites in Russia led to the introduction in the Kiev-Pechersky monastery of a Byzantine rule, which facilitated the parallel and interactive development of these traditions. The coming together of necessary characteristics is found in the Byzantine Typikon of the Studite monastic tradition, which itself arose from the synthesis of the Palestinian monastic liturgy and the Constantinopolitan Cathedral liturgy. In addition, the Studite Typikon chosen did not

serve only for an imperial monastery, or, in the case of Russia, a ducal one, but also for a monastery directly dependent on the highest ecclesiastical power. This Typikon was that written by Patriarch Alexios for the monastery of the Dormition in Constantinople.

The most likely means by which this Typikon arrived in Russia was the bringing of a set of liturgical books, intended to be translated, from Constantinople and, in part, Jerusalem. The translation was undertaken in the Kiev-Pechersky monastery between 1062 (1067) and 1074 by Russian masters, using South Slavic sources. The activity of Russian scribes was not limited to translation. They also corrected and selected the hymns, and, in part, determined their order in the books. This organization of the first Russian set of books gave rise, in the later 11th century, to new kinds of each book, including the Kontakarion, Triodion and Pentekostarion, Menaia, Sticheraria, Octoechoi (Octoechos Izborny and Parakletike) and the Heirmologion.

Even before the creation of this first set of books, South Slavic liturgical books could have been used in Russian cathedrals. Afterwards there began the copying of new books, accompanied by corrections made according to the multiplicity of South Slavic and Greek books. The result was a great variety of every kind of book in Russian liturgical practice in the Studite period.

Russian books, as was the case in the Byzantine tradition, were divided into two groups – single-genre and multi-genre.

Single-genre books ideally contained, as in Byzantium, notated hymns. Some differences from the Byzantine practice may be observed in the repertoires contained in these books and the ordering of the hymns. The Heirmologia follow a rare pattern, when compared to Byzantium, of the organization of heirmoi of the *OdO* type. Some Kontakaria include, as well as the typical repertory of a Byzantine Asmatikon, some other complementary hymns, combining various kinds of notation. The Octoechos in the Russian tradition is represented by two books – the Octoechos Izborny, collecting together the stichera, and the Parakletike, containing the canons. Such a distribution into two groups according to genre is typical of the most archaic Byzantine Octoechoi, very often close to the Palestinian Tropologia.

Russian Sticheraria never placed the Triodion and Menaion together in one volume, as occurred with several Greek Sticheraria. Moreover, unlike these latter, the Octoechos was not included in the content of the Russian Sticherarion of the Menaion or of the Triodion.

The Sticherarion of the Triodion, in addition to *idiomela* and *automela*, contained *prosomoia* with notation. These *prosomoia* are not collected into an appendix, as occurs with a number of Greek manuscripts, but are placed within the liturgical order for each day. The only *prosomoia* for Lenten weekdays contained in these Russian Sticheraria are the stichera of St Theodore the Studite. The *prosomoia* of St Joseph do not appear in them.

Amongst the multi-genre codices, the majority correspond in general to their Byzantine equivalents: in the order for each day, for Vespers and Matins, are included *kathismata*, *troparia*, *exaposteilaria*, *kontakia*, canons (complete and incomplete) and stichera. Connected with these books are the Triodia and Pentekostaria, the Festal and complete Menaia. To them may be added Octoechos – *Shestodnev* variety. Some of these contain *theta* notation. As regards the arrangement of the material, the majority of Studite books correspond to the earliest layer of Byzantine books: in them are mixed the hymns for Matins and Vespers and, consequently, the order in which they are placed is not the liturgical order.

Alongside the books whose characteristics coincide with those of the Greek codices there are a number of Russian multi-genre books that depart from Byzantine practice. In each group of Russian multi-genre books may be found *znamenny* codices, which include notated hymns composed according to a model. These hymns do not appear merely occasionally, but form a substantial part of the codices. In the Byzantine tradition, in which the model and *contrafacta* in any genre are quite close, there was no need to write down the neumes. Thus, multi-genre books with *prosomoia* and *troparia* for the canons with complete rather than partial notation are a specifically Russian phenomenon.

The frequency of the appearance of this kind of book in each group, demonstrated during the course of this thesis, leads one to conclude that these books were conceived and produced as a special project.

Thus, amongst the Triodia, *znamenny* notation appears in only one manuscript, Sin 319; in it are notated all the stichera, including the *prosomoia*, and all the triodia, tetraodia, diodion and complete canons. In the service for Holy Friday are also notated some other kinds of hymns.

Amongst the Pentekostaria, *znamenny* notation is present in three codices. One of them is the complete Triodion (that is, including the Pentekostarion) from the 12th century, Sin Typ 137, of Moisey Kiyarin, which includes only six notated stichera and

part of one more; the notation was probably added much later than the volume was originally written. The second volume is a collection of canons from the first half of the 13th century, Sof 385, which contains, in addition for the canons with notated troparia for the Menaion, those for the Pentekostarion. It does not contain the stichera. The third codex, Vosk 27, is the only Pentekostarion to represent the multi-genre kind of book, in which, as in Sin 319, as well as *idiomela* and *automela*, are notated *prosomoia* and incomplete and complete canons.

The canons of the Octoechos, notated entirely with *znamenny* notation, survive in only one codex, close in time to the writing of the GIM Triodion and Pentekostarion – the Parakletike Sin Typ 80. This manuscript, as well as a collection of canons, Sof 385, is on the one hand a single-genre book, but on the other, it is made up of contrafact hymns which are not typical for single-genre Studite books. It is probable that the later manuscript Sof 385 was written after the example of the Parakletike, with the exception of the annual liturgical cycle.

Amongst the Menaia, the Sofisky set stands out. Ten of its twelve volumes have survived. The set must have been written at the same time as the two GIM Triodion codices; in its volumes, close in structure to the daily orders of Sin 319 and Voskr 27, are noted, as in these latter, the stichera *idiomela*, *automela* and *prosomoia*, as well as the troparia of the canons. In addition to these Menaia, there have survived another ten festal and complete Menaia, entire and fragmentary, from the 12th - 13th centuries, for which the catalogues indicate the presence of *znamenny* chant. However, the notated passages make up a very small proportion of these sources. Of them, only one Menaion is notated in the same consistent fashion as the Sofisky Menaia. This source is the Menaion for December Sin Typ 96 (which survives in fragmentary state, but is sufficiently big that a clear idea of the whole manuscript is possible). As far as the organization of the hymns, the textological redaction and notation are concerned, it is very similar to the December volume from the Sofisky Menaia. It is possible that this volume, like Sof 385 in relation to Sin Typ 80, was copied from these *znamenny* Menaia.

In sum, the Sofisky Menaia set, the Triodion Sin 319, Voskr 27, and also the Parakletike Sin Typ 80, in the first place, differ from Russian, Slavic and Greek books of their generic group on account of the existence of notated *prosomoia* and troparia for the canons, and, secondly, are the only representatives of this exclusive practice, each within its own group.

Turning to the dating of these manuscripts, it is apparent that they could all have been written in the last quarter of the 12th century. The textological, palaeographical and codicological particularities of the manuscripts discussed in this thesis indicate the probability of them having been written as part of the same commission. To the Triodion, Pentekostarion, Menaia and Parakletike may be added, by virtue of a number of characteristics, the Typikon Sin 330, which is known to have been copied in the last third of the 12th century. Though Sin 330 may not have been part of the set, it was supposedly written by the same group of scribes that worked on the GIM Menaia and Triodia and the Typografsky Parakletike. This leads one to suggest that the set may have been written at the same time as, or slightly later than, Sin 330; more specifically, in the last quarter of the 12th century. Thus, it is proposed in this thesis to adjust the dating, currently accepted in the literature, of both Sin 319 and Voskr 27.

The place of writing of Sin 319 and Voskr 27 may also be revised. While Voskr 27 and the Sofisky Menaia have been recognized as originating in Novgorod, no opinion has been expressed concerning the place of origin of Sin 319. In the present thesis, this Triodion, in the light of its having been placed together with Voskr 27, has been attributed a Novgorodian origin.

From Novgorod comes the majority of surviving chant manuscripts. In this city, during the various centuries of the Studite period of Russian liturgy, a number of scriptoria were active. In this thesis the opinion of Ukhanova concerning the place of origin of Typikon Sin 330, the *znamenny* Menaia and the Parakletike as being the archiepiscopal scriptorium is accepted, and it is proposed that Sin 319 and Voskr 27 be attributed to the same scriptorium.

Concerning the reasons for the writing of these particular books, the following may be said:

Preceding the writing of these unique Russian *znamenny* manuscripts was a period of approximately two hundred years of the development of chant and the writing of them in Russia. During this period processes were taking place which reached their conclusion in the writing of this set.

For the Greek language, the transfer of a textual and melodic model to a contrafacta was facilitated by the fact of the proximity of their text structures. This proximity, however, did not mean an absolute correspondence, and Greek chanters were frequently obliged to adapt the melodic model for the contrafact on account of textual differences.

Russian chanters worked with translated texts, to which the melodic model was adopted. However, the texts of Slavic models and contrafacta were often significantly different from those of the Greek models. This fact necessitated the use of a particularly complex contrafacta technique, taking into account oral practice⁹⁹⁶. The establishment of this system must have taken a certain time.

In addition to this, during the process of assimilation of Greek chants in Russian territory, there must have taken place a “re-intonation”, or renewal of the system of intonation, at least in part⁹⁹⁷. A number of melodic variants must also have come about on account of the regional differences in Russian chant, whose existence is affirmed by researchers into Russian folk traditions⁹⁹⁸.

As far as the neumatic notation is concerned, a single melodic model could be reflected in different manuscripts in several different ways. These differences could have come about through different ways of expressing the same textual and melodic element, means that were developed as part of Russian practice. Another source of graphic variants might have been graphic variants amongst the Greek models themselves, which Russian chanters had known during the course of two hundred years.

In this way, during the course of the establishment of Russian contrafacta chant, there were added factors of national artistic individuality, in parallel with the phenomenon of a multiplicity of choices in the oral and written realization of the chants. In this thesis it is proposed that at a certain point in this process there appeared the need for the working-out of an exemplary variant, which would cover the greatest possible number of contrafacta and bring together the national achievements within this

⁹⁹⁶ In her book, Lozovaia arrives at the following conclusions related to the notation of the contrafacta canticles: “Creators of the Parakletike Sin Typ 80...had to, independently - either using the notated Heirmologion or drawing on its own memory (oral transmission) – execute the work of the notation of the troparia of all the canons of the manuscript, similar to the the work, done by the writers of the Sofisky Menaia of the 12th century from Novgorod...or the other neumatic liturgical manuscripts with canons. It does not matter which texts were notated –the ones translated from the Greek or the originally Slavic ones: in any case it was necessary to have a whole set of musical skills in order to correctly adjust the notation of the heirmoi to those troparia which were dependent on them, but did not exactly match. Either way, the notation could only be fulfilled by the scribe, who had fluent ability to adapt canticles and who learned the techniques that contributed to the natural intonation of the text”: Лозовая, *Древнерусский нотированный Параклит*, 84.

⁹⁹⁷ About this question, Velimirovic wrote: “Russian scholars have maintained that some kind of notational and melodic change took place in the 14th and 15th centuries, but the nature of the change has yet to be established”: Velimirovic M., “Russian and Slavonic church music”, *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2 January 2008), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

⁹⁹⁸ See, for example, Гиппиус Е.В., “Общетеоретический взгляд на проблему каталогизации народных мелодий”, *Актуальные проблемы современной фольклористики*. Leningrad, 1980, pp. 23-26.

technique. The exemplar would have been conceived of as a standardizing version, intended for dissemination in later books as well as in practice.

Novgorod, at the time of the creation of this exemplary set, overcame a delay in the development of liturgy and sacred art of some 50 years in relation to Kiev. At the end of the 11th century in Novgorod books began to be produced, and in the second half of the 12th century conditions were such that this production became continuous and stable, and included chant books. From this point on many Novgorodian books were written, and represent the majority of surviving chant books.

The fact of the standardization of the notation of the *Sticheraria* of the *Menaion* and the *Triodion* and *Pentekostarion*, the *Sofisky Menaia*, the GIM codices of the *Triodion* cycle and the *Typografsky Parakletike*, attested in this thesis, suggests the possibility of the existence of a school of masters of *znamenny* chant at the end of the 12th century – beginning of the 13th, from which came the notation of these manuscripts. Not all these codices are necessarily Novgorodian. Their subsequent destinations may also have been outside the city's bounds. The functioning, suggested here as a hypothesis, of this school in Novgorod, at a time of the flowering of culture, liturgical tradition, sacred art and the production of books, would be a fact that explained the production of an exemplary set of books with notated contrafacta hymns precisely in this city.

The attribution, suggested in this thesis, of the *Sofisky Menaia*, Sin 319 and Voskr 27 and Sin Typ 80 to the same set, on account of the presence of notated contrafacta in them, and also because of a number of codicological characteristics, is no more than a hypothesis, confirmed only in part. The main objective of the thesis is the argument that the two GIM *Triodion* cycle manuscripts must have belonged to a set and are two halves of a single liturgical book. There follows a brief listing of the foundations of this affirmation.

The first point is the probability that the two codices were written at the same time and in the same place.

Ukhanova related a group of books from the last quarter of the 12th century – beginning of the 13th century to the archiepiscopal scriptorium in Novgorod. In this group she included the *Typikon* Sin 330, the *Sofisky Menaia* and the *Parakletike* Sin Typ 80. Pentkovsky presented a similar opinion regarding the possibility of Sin 330 and the *Sofisky Menaia* belonging to the same group, dated by him to the 1170s. Metallov attributed the *Sofisky Menaia* to the end of the 12th century, based on notational

particularities, among other criteria. He attributed Sin 319 and Voskr 27 to the same period, using the same criteria. Zabolotnaya, also basing her opinion on the presence of the notated contrafacta, considered Sin 319, Voskr 27 and the Sofisky Menaia as one group, dating them to the 12th century, with no further detail. Momina, on the basis of textological and codicological characteristics, attributes Sin 319 and Voskr 27 to the same redaction of the same kind of Triodion, emphasizing their proximity. At the same time, no study available to the present author contests the possibility of the contemporaneous writing of Sin 319 and Voskr 27. This is very unlikely to have been the beginning of the 13th century, since the notation of the Sticherarion Sof 96, written around this time, and to which the same Novgorodian provenance is ascribed as is given in the literature to Voskr 27, seems to be a little later. Thus, the date of writing of both codices could be the last quarter of the 12th century.

No evidence has been found which would separate the two manuscripts as far as their place of origin is concerned. The manuscripts discussed by Ukhanova and Pentkovsky are considered by them to be Novgorodian. The connection between some of these codices and the *znamenny* Triodion and Pentekostarion is pointed out by Schidlovsky and Zabolotnaya. There exists a general opinion that the Sofisky Menaia and Voskr 27 are of Novgorodian origin. In Chapter 3 data was presented suggesting the Novgorodian provenance of Sin 319; thus, the affirmation that Sin 319 and Voskr 27 are part of the same set, and the supposition that they and the Sofisky Menaia in turn belong together, provides the basis for arguing that Sin 319 and Voskr 27 originated in the same place.

The second reason for including Sin 319 and Voskr 27 in this set is provided by the palaeographical particularities of these manuscripts. Both were written on parchment of similar quality, with the same ink. The lines on the folio, of size 1°, are marked according to the same plan and in the same, straight fashion. The differences in the number of lines and the exact size of the folios are not significant. The proportions between the height of the letters and the height of the spaces for the neumes correspond. The decorative style and material are also identical. These, and certain other characteristics, examined in Chapter 2, indicate that both manuscripts were produced in the same scriptorium.

As regards the scribal hand in these codices, the present thesis agrees with the scholarly research that has concluded that it is the same in both cases.

The third point, analysed in this thesis, has to do with the characteristics of the content of the commemorations in the Triodion cycle and the counting system used in the weeks during Lent and the period of Pentecost in both manuscripts, that became apparent during the course of the comparison of Sin 319 and Voskr 27 with the Typikon Sin 330 and Russian and Slavic Triodia and Pentekostaria, as well as Russian Sticheraria of the Triodion.

As regards the organization of commemorations, the Triodion Sin 319 preserves a number that are characteristic of the Jerusalem tradition. At the same time, in the Typikon Sin 330, these commemorations are purposely excluded, leaving some Sundays empty, or replacing the Jerusalem commemorations with Constantinopolitan ones.

In Sin 330 and Voskr 27, the commemorations coincide, which is natural given the fact that the Studite synthesis, covering the reformed Jerusalem system, adapted the Constantinopolitan readings for the Pentecostal period. However, differences in the numbering of the weeks between the Typikon and the Pentekostarion are noteworthy.

The numbering of the weeks of Lent and the Pentecostal period, as well as the system of commemorations, shows evidence of two different traditions. The origins of these differences are to be found in the differences between the traditions of Jerusalem and Antioch during the first and second periods of the evolution of the Byzantine liturgy. As far as the numbering of the Sundays is concerned, one may observe a tendency that contradicts that which characterized the relationship between the Triodion and Pentekostarion on the one hand, and the Typikon Sin 330 on the other, in the system of commemorations: while Sin 319 purposely and completely corresponds to Studite practice, as recorded in Sin 330, the Pentekostarion distances itself from it.

While differing from Sin 330, both the Triodion and the Pentekostarion are coherent in their chosen objective, and do not display the ambiguities seen in the majority of other sources. This characteristic of the GIM Triodion cycle manuscripts confirms that they belong to a set, conceived as a corrective to the practice that lies behind the Russian version of the Constantinopolitan Typikon, on the one hand, and certain parameters of the services of the Triodion in Russia. Moreover, the relationship of Sin 319 and Russian Sticheraria of the Triodion and the South Slavic Triodia is more or less the same as the relationship of Voskr 27 with them. Thus, the equivalence of the project of Sin 319 and Voskr 27 and their identical relationship with Russian and South

Slavic manuscripts, as reflected in the Triodion services, establishes both GIM volumes as part of the same set.

The fourth point is the fact that Sin 319 and Voskr 27 also appear to be two halves of the same book as far as the content and organization of the hymns are concerned.

As Momina observed, the origins of the GIM type of Triodion, a redaction to which Sin 319 and Voskr 27 are related, lie in the correcting of the Kiyanin type of Russian Triodion against a heavily Studite-influenced Greek original. During the course of the present study, the probable existence of at least three Triodion sources that served as models for the Triodion Sin 319 was hypothesized (the fourth source must have been a Russian version of the *znamenny* Sticherarion of the Triodion). At least two of them were also models for the Pentekostarion.

One of the Triodion models for Sin 319, written no later than the 10th century, clearly shows early elements characteristic of the Studite synthesis at the period during its development when Palestinian characteristics were still greatly in evidence. Characteristic of this source are the emphasis on beginning the liturgical day with Vespers, the mixture of hymns for Vespers and Matins, the brevity of the content and exclusive use of hymns by St Theodore the Studite. These characteristics are also reflected in the Pentekostarion.

While the first source could be Greek or a Slavic copy of a Greek source, the other source for the Triodion was certainly of South Slavic provenance. From it were taken the original Slavic kathismata that belonged to the Triodion of Konstantin Preslavsky. It is probable that the content of the Sunday hymns, including some prosomoia cycles and canons, were taken from this Triodion.

The third source was the most recent, very probably of Greek origin, with markedly Studite influence. In accordance with this, the beginning of the liturgical day was changed to Matins. From it were introduced into both Sin 319 and Voskr 27 anonymous prosomoia not found in any other known Slavic or Russian manuscript. These unique prosomoia are notated by a hand and a method that differ from the hand and method of the greater part of the hymns. The same hand is present in the prosomoia of St Joseph in Sin 319, which leads to the conclusion that the hymns of this later Studite author could also have been copied from the same third Triodion. After its example, the organizational principles of Sin 319 and Voskr 27 were altered so that

there was no more mixing of material for Vespers and Matins, but the liturgical order was followed.

Thus, the organizational traces of an earlier source and the same coherent method of correction in accordance with one or several more recent sources may be seen both in Sin 319 and Voskr 27, which confirms that they were written at the same time and were part of the same project.

The fifth factor that points to the Triodion and Pentekostarion being part of the same set has to do with the presence of two distinct notational methods, corresponding to two different hands for the neumatic notation, which coincide in Sin 319 and Voskr 27.

The first hand may be that of a single master or, more probably, a group of masters, using the same kind of writing. This hand, or its type, is found mostly in the repertory contained in Sin 319 and Voskr 27, and also in the Sofisky Menaia. It is probable that the same hand can be seen in Sin Typ 80 and some Russian Sticheraria of the Triodion and in the Voskresensky Heirmologion.

The second hand differs significantly in its graphical aspect from the first, and is certainly that of one person. It is present exclusively in Sin 319 and Voskr 27. In the Triodion, this hand placed the notation above the complete canons, triodia and prosomoia. All the canons in Sin 319 notated by the second hand introduce an innovation with regard to the prescriptions of the Studite-Alexian Typikon. The triodia notated by the second hand are by St Joseph, and have not been found with notation in any other Russian Studite source. All the stichera notated in Sin 319 by the second hand are prosomoia. They fall into two groups. To the first are related the prosomoia of St Joseph, which, as is the case with the triodia, appear only in this manuscript. The other group is made up of anonymous prosomoia, none of which appear in the Sticheraria, and which appear only rarely in other Slavic and Russian Triodia.

In Voskr 27, the second hand notated only stichera prosomoia, which, as is the case in Sin 319, exemplify a repertory unique in Russia. The fact that the notation of the new hymns, which appear only in the two volumes in question, belongs to the second master means that he not only took part in the notational process, but also controlled the redaction of the text.

The presence in both codices, Sin 319 and Voskr 27, of two hands is obvious at first sight. However, the difference between the hands is not limited to graphical particularities, but also the notational method.

At the end of the 12th century, following the process of development of national characteristics in the graphical style of *znamenny* notation, there was created a graphic form of the cadential formula for stichera and canons that included the “diple”, or variants of it, as the final neume. Furthermore, there had appeared a unified version of the most commonly-used models, which was part of both oral tradition and the graphical context of *contrafacta*. This version, being a formulaic phenomenon, was not rigid, but presupposed, though in reduced numbers the possibility of parallel versions.

In the work of the first master or group of masters there are two particularities which are evident, generally. Firstly, in the stichera notated by the first hand, one may detect a correspondence between the division of the text into lines by means of the colon and the division of the musical form into melodic lines by means of the “diple” or one of its variants. Secondly, the melodic-graphical means of the first hand show a high degree of unification, especially in the formulaic passages, between the lines of the hymns written on the same model.

The second master, who notated what was, with regard to Russian manuscripts, the new repertory, had to overcome difficulties that were not present for the first master or group of masters. His texts did not allow for a direct transfer of the structure of the melodic model that had reached its final version in Russian practice, to the *prosomoion*. In order to adapt the text, already divided into lines according to the source that was copied, to the conditions of the model, known by the second master and coinciding with the model of the first hand, the second master consciously ignored the old divisions found in the book, and organized the text in a different, new manner, according to the melodic structure of the Russian version of the *automelon*. In most cases the limits of the lines, old and new, corresponded. However, there were a number of lines in which the old colon fell in the middle of the melodic line.

The need to adapt structures to texts, introduced for the first time into Russian manuscripts, to the melody of the *automelon*, reworked in Russia over the course of time until the last quarter of the 12th century, obliged the second master to have much greater recourse to improvisation, based on the oral version, than was the case with the first hand. The results of this may be seen in the greater graphical variety in the neumatic notation of the second hand.

The above-mentioned characteristics that distinguish the work of the two groups of masters are also present in both the Triodion-cycle manuscripts from the GIM collection, Sin 319 and Voskr 27, which means that they are part of the same set.

In summary, in favor of the Triodion Sin 319 and the Pentekostarion Voskr 27 having been written as a set are, firstly, the uniqueness of these manuscripts when compared to other codices of Russian chant from the point of view of the presence of notated contrafacta hymns, which in the corresponding Greek codices were not intended to appear with notation; secondly, the coincidence of the time and place of their writing; thirdly, the exact correspondence of palaeographical aspects; fourthly, the same organizational conception, apparent in the system of commemorations and the numbering of the Sundays; fifthly, the correspondence of sources, by means of which occurred the process of copying and redaction, and which conditioned the content and the arrangement of the hymns; sixthly, the presence of two hands in the neumatic notation, corresponding to two different notational methods.

While the writing of Sin 319 and Voskr 27 as a set leaves no room for doubt, the inclusion in, or exclusion from, this same set of other Russian manuscripts is a hypothesis which will need further work and confirmation. In the present thesis a hypothesis is presented concerning the possibility of the Sofisky Menaia and the Parakletike Sin Typ 80 belonging to the set. At the same time, the fact of the simultaneous commissioning of these and the Sticheraria, Heirmologion and Typikon as part of the same set does not seem to be feasible. Though a number of Sticheraria and at least one Heirmologion (the Voskresensky) are close in terms of palaeographical characteristics, as well as their time and place of writing, to this set, other aspects distance them from Sin 319 and Voskr 27.

The GIM Triodion cycle set differs significantly in its liturgical prescriptions from those in the Russian Studite Typikon of Patriarch Alexios.

No Sticherarion corresponds consistently to Sin 319 and Voskr 27 from the point of view of the commemorations, the numbering of the weeks and the content and arrangement of the hymnography. The practice of using the Octoechos, witnessed by the *znamenny* Sticheraria and the GIM Triodion set in the indications for the martytika and theotokia does not occur in any other pair of manuscripts.

This lack of correspondence in liturgical practice by which Russian *znamenny* manuscripts were organized, works against the hypothesis of the inclusion of the Sticheraria in the set with Sin 319 and Voskr 27.

In addition, the project of these two manuscripts, and also that of the Sofisky Menaia and Parakletike, cannot be considered as a typical set of liturgical books necessary in any liturgical centre, whether cathedral or monastic. The unique idea

behind the set envisaged the creation of a new kind of book. Consequently, the inclusion of the standard books, such as the Typikon, *znamenny* Heirmologion or Sticherarion, was not necessary for this unprecedented set.

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