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SERVICES TO ST DANIEL OF MOSCOW: TRADITION AND A NEW WAY OF CREATION

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On 30 August 1652, the relics of St Daniel of Moscow were found, and were transferred to the Cathedral of the Holy Fathers of the Seven Ecumenical councils. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact time of the canonization of St Daniel. Archimandrite Dionysius believed that it happened on the 30 August 1652,¹ while the Orthodox Theological Encyclopedia gives the time of his canonization as the end of the 17th or the early 18th century² and Evgenij Golubinsky mentions the end of the 18th century.³ In spite of the late canonization of the saint, a proposal to canonize St Daniel had appeared in the 16th century, when Tsar Ivan the Terrible ordered a Vita to be written for the prince.⁴ In *Stepennaya Kniga* (second half of the 16th cent.) he is described as a saint whose day is 4March. It is also possible that stichera and a canon were written at the same time, but that this was interrupted by the Time of Troubles.

There are three services to St Daniel of Moscow. The earliest is attributed to Semen Alferiev and monk Sergius. The oldest manuscript containing this service is a manuscript of the second half of the 16th century from the Undolskij Collection in Moscow State library⁵. During the reign of Kings John V and Peter I, a new version, which repeatedly mentioned a reliquary which appeared in 1652, was created. A new service to Daniel of Moscow was written in 1711 by hieromonk Karion (Istomin) of the Monastery of Chudov and editor of the "Printing House" (*Pechatny dvor*), commissioned by Macarius, abbot of Daniel's Monastery and by the former deacon Karion (Borin). Another service to Prince Daniel was compiled under Empress Elizabeth Petrovna. The earliest copy is dated by to the 1750s (Central Museum of Old Russian Culture and Art KP 3945.6). The service to St Alexander Nevsky became a model for a new service.⁶

The objects of my analysis are the first and the third version of the service dedicated to St Daniel of Moscow. These two versions were chosen cause of the same model for both versions – the service to St Alexander Nevsky. But even if the model was the same we can see different ways of working with it which show not only the individual approach of the hymnographer, but also the styles and requirements of different periods.

¹ Archimandrite Dionisiy (арх. Дионисий) О святом благоверном Данииле, князе Московском и чудотворце. Краткие сведения. Издание Данилова монастыря, Moscow 1898, 28.

² Pravoslavnaya Bogoslovskaya Entsiklopėdiya (Православная Богословская Энциклопедия). СПб. 1903, т. IV. Стлб. 921.

³ Golubinskiy (Голубинский Е.Е.) История канонизации святых в Русской Церкви. Moscow 1903, 190.

⁴ Vasenko (Васенко П. Г.) (ed.). Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. 21. Ч. 1. St Petersburg 1908–1913, 298.

⁵ Russian State Library (RSL), F310, No. 300.

⁶ Florya (Флоря Б. Н.) Даниил Александрович//Православная энциклопедия. V. 14. Moscow 2006, 99–108.

The first one is the earliest service, which is attributed to Semen Olferiev and monk Sergius. Larissa Alekhina drew attention to the fact that in the postscript, only one canon was mentioned, while there are two of them in the service. She has also drawn attention to the fact of the different styles of the hymns.⁷ The difference in style allows her to talk about "Two different layers" of the service.8 Some of stichera are more or less "original",9 but other stichera are borrowed almost directly from the service to St Alexander Nevsky, in the first version written by the hymnographer of Metropolitan Macarios's circle – the so-called sir monk Michael.¹⁰ One can talk even about the different "moods" of these "layers": in the "original" layer we see the motif of the Last Judgement, an allusion to a canon to the guardian angel, to the Gospel, asking for protection. Borrowed hymns are similar to akathistos hymns and they often mention a reliquary. This allowed Alekhina to speak of two layers of the service. ¹¹ Alekhina designates borrowed hymns as "new", were added later (after the finding of the relics in 1650) to the service; new hymns are similar to akathists and they often mention a reliquary. A distinctive feature of the new hymns to St Daniel is, as has already been mentioned, the borrowing from the service to St Alexander Nevsky. In analysing both layers, I noticed that the layer which uses hymns to St Alexander Nevsky also shows a style of borrowing which is very similar to all the creations of monk Michael after the service to St Alexander Nevsky¹².

The service to St Alexander Nevsky is the most refined creation of monk Michael. After the creation of this service, monk Michael began to use it as a model for his new services: as has already been stated, the troparia of the canons to St. Alexander Nevsky were borrowed for his versions of the services to Sts. Boris and Gleb and to the Blessed Princes Peter and Fevronia. All three services consist of a canon made of the troparia to St Alexander Nevsky, which are not only almost unchanged, but often even remain in the same place. When these hymns change place according to the service to St Alexander Nevsky, they often keep the same place in both services and also in the service to St Daniel of Moscow. These facts together with comparative textological analysis brought me to the fact that this "layer" was written by sir monk Michael¹³.

But independently of the name of the author, one can see that the changes in borrowings are minimal. Borrowed verses not only almost unchanged, but even remain in the same place: these are the stichera on the Aposticha of the 1st mode with the prosomoion "Небесным чином" ("Heavenly rank"), the doxastikon of the 1st mode "Радуйся и веселися о Господе..." ("Rejoice and be glad because of the Lord..."), the sticheron of the 6th mode after the 50th Psalm "Приидите, вси людие, хвалу принесем..." ("Come, all ye people, let us praise..."). Furthermore, the second canon of the 1st mode is composed almost exclusively from troparia of the canons to St Alexander Nevsky (which can also be seen in the canon to St Boris composed by monk Michael). There follow examples:

⁷ Alyokhina (Алехина Λ . И.) О времени создания первой службы князю Даниилу//Церковь и время 2003, No. 24, 137.

⁸ Ibid., 130.

⁹ In discussing the "originality" of hymnography, we always should remember that hymns were created according to the model, so the "originality" of these hymns is rather relative.

[&]quot;Sir Monk Michael: is a direct translation from the Russian, which I have chosen to retain since this is how he refers to himself: Very often his services are signed as "a creation of Sir Monk Michael".

¹¹ Alyokhina 2003, 130.

Concerning this service see Victoria Legkikh, "On the Question of the Heritage of Michael, a Sixteenth-Century Hymnographer: the Mechanism of the Creation of a Service", in Ivan Moody and Maria Takala-Roszczenko, eds., Creating Liturgically: Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Orthodox Church Music, ISOCM 2017, 69–81.

The paper devoted to this hypothesis is now in press.

Канон 4-го гласа св. Александру Невскому, песнь 3, тропарь 1 ¹⁴	Канон 1-го гласа св. Даниилу Московскому, песнь 1, тропарь 1 ¹⁵
Благочъстиа вънченоснаго Александра,	Благочестиваго и вѣнченоснаго князя Даниила
съшедшеся, по достоянию въсхвалимъ,	по достоянию восхвалимъ,
и чюдесъ подателя обилнаго	чудесъ подателя обильнаго,
и нынъ, блаженне, Богови молися о всъх нас.	спасающаго души наша

Canon of the 4 th mode to St Alexander Nevsky, ode 3, troparion 1	Canon of the 1 st mode to St Daniel of Moscow, ode 1, troparion 1
We being together will deservedly praise	We will deservedly praise,
pious and crowned Alexander	pious and crowned Prince Daniel
and abundant bearer of wonders,	abundant bearer of wonders,
and now, o blessed one, pray to God for us all.	saving our souls.

Канон св. Александру Невскому 8-го гласа «Тебе в чюдесех славна русскымъ странам» песнь 4, тропарь 1 ¹⁶	Канон св. Даниилу Московскому 1-го гласа «Благочестивого и вънченосного князя Данииила», песнь 4 тропарь 3 ¹⁷
Источилъ еси ръкы чюдесь, блаженне,	Источилъ еси ръки чудеса, благовърныи княже Данииле,
и върных напаающи сердца	върныхъ сердца
и мутныа воды многобожиа иссушилъ еси.	и мутныя воды невърия изсушилъ еси.

Canon of the 8 th mode to St Alexander Nevsky, ode 4, troparion 1	Canon of the 1 st mode to St Daniel of Moscow, ode 4 troparion 3
You have exuded rivers of wonders, o blessed one,	You have exuded rivers of wonders, o blessed Prince Daniel,
and you have watered the hearts of the faithful	the hearts of the faithful,
and dried up the muddy waters of polytheism.	and dried up the muddy waters of infidelity.

We can see some minimal changes in these troparia, normally one or two words even if the second time the omission of one word slightly changes the sense, but one still can say that the borrowing is almost unchanged. The place of the troparia of the canon is not the same as in the canons to St Alexander Nevsky, but corresponds to the place of these troparia in the canons to Sts Peter and Fevronia and to Sts Boris and Gleb.

The effect of something new is sometimes acheved by the fact that in case of discrepancies between "Michael's" canon to Sts Boris and Gleb or "Michael's" hymn to Sts Peter and Fevronia, and the canons to St Alexander Nevsky, the new service sometimes borrows a version of the hymns from the service to Sts Boris and Gleb or to Sts. Peter and Fevronia:

Quoted from the Menaion for November from the 17th century (RSL, F304, No. 503, f. 469).

¹⁵ Quoted from Archimandrite Amfilokhiy (арх. Амфилохий). Летописные и другие древние сказания о святом Благоверном Великом князе Данииле Александровиче, сыне святого Благоверного Великого князя Александра Невского, и о построенном им Даниловском за Москвою-рекою монастыре, Moscow 1875, 26.

Quoted from the Menaion for November from the 17th century (RSL, F304, No. 503, f. 470v).

¹⁷ Quoted from Amfilokhiy 1875, 28.

Канон 4-го гласа св. Александру Невскому, песнь 6, тропарь 2 ¹⁸	Канон 1-го гласа свв. Борису и Глебуинока Михаила, песнь 7, тропарь 1 ¹⁹	Канон 1-го гласа св. Даниилу Московскому, песнь 7, тропарь 1 ²⁰
В ъ всѣх странах произыде вѣщание:	Во всѣхъ странахъ произыде въщание	Во всѣхъ странахъ проиде въщание
яко граду нашему явися чюдотворець преславень,	яко нашему славному Вышеграду явишися чюдотворцы преславнии	яко граду Москвѣ явися чудотворецъ преславенъ
источить исцѣлениа множество,	дарующе множество исцълении	дарующе множество исцълений
и подаваеть всѣмъ просящимъ, тѣпле.	всъм приходящимъ и вопиющимъ	всѣмъ, приходящимъ къ нему и вѣрою поющимъ, Господеви;
	благословен Богъ Отець наш.	Отцемъ Богъ благословенъ еси.

Canon of the 4 th mode to St Alexander Nevsky, ode 6, troparion 2	Canon of the 1 st mode to Sts Boris and Gleb, written by Monk Michael, ode 7, troparion 1	Canon of the 1 st mode to St Daniel of Moscow, ode 7, troparion 1
The sound hath gone forth into all countries	The sound hath gone forth into all countries	The sound hath gone forth into all countries
since the glorious wonder- worker came to our town	since the glorious wonder- workers came to our glorious town, Vyshegrad	since the glorious wonder- worker came to our town, Moscow
he exudes great healing	giving great healing	giving great healing
and gives to all who ask, warmth.	to all who coming and cry	to all who come and cry with faith to Lord
	Blessed be God our Father.	Blessed be God our Father.

The second service under analysis was written between 1742 and the end of the 1750s (the first manuscript containing this service is dated to the end of the 50s²¹). It was published by Metropolitan Platon in 1791 and dedicated to Elizabeth I. This version of the service is the most widespread, and still used in church practice.

Even at first sight one notices that the service became more solemn. It is a vigil service with small vespers and several cycles of stichera. One can find direct borrowings from the service to St Alexander Nevsky as well as elaborated borrowings. Some of these were borrowed for the first service to St Daniel of Moscow but some of them were not used for this, and were borrowed directly from the service to St Alexander Nevsky.

¹⁸ Quoted from the Menaion for November from the 17th century (RSL, F304, No. 503. Ff. 474v–475).

¹⁹ Quoted from Russian National Library (RNL)/ Pogodin Fond, No. 431, f. 229 v.

²⁰ Quoted from Amfilokhiy 1875, 33.

The first copy is dated to the 1750s. ЦМиАР. КП 3945.6.

1. The first group is direct borrowing common to both services to St Daniel of Moscow:

Канон 8-го гласа св. Александру Невскому , песнь 4, тропарь 1 ²²	Канон 1-го гласа св. Даниилу Московскому, песнь1 тропарь 2 ²³	Канон 1-го гласа св. Даниилу Московскому, песнь 6, тропарь 1 ²⁴
Престолу предстоиши	Престолу оубо предстоя	Предстоя присно престолу
благодати	благодати	Троичныя благодати,
со всеми	и со всѣми ангелы радуяся,	со всъми радуяся аггелы
Ангелы радуяся днесь		
и миру исцеления раздавая	днесь мирови раздаетъ	и миру исцълений богатство
богатство,	богатство,	подавая,
	тѣмже согласно зовемъ ему.	
спаси всех нас молитвами	спаси насъ молитвами твоими	спаси всѣхъ насъ молитвами
твоими,	блаженне	ТВОИМИ
блаженне.		

Canon of the 8 th mode to St Alexander Nevsky, ode 4 troparion 1	Canon of the 1 st mode to St Daniel of Moscow, ode 1 troparion 2 ²⁵	Canon of the 1 st mode to St Daniel of Moscow, ode 6, troparion 1 ²⁶
You appear before the Throne of Grace,	Appearing before the Throne of Grace,	Appearing now before the Throne of the Trinity's Grace,
now rejoicing with all the angels	and rejoicing with all the angels,	rejoicing with all the angels,
giving to the world the richness of healing;	he now gives to the world the richness of healing	and giving to the world the richness of healing;
	so we call him by consent.	
save us all with your prayers, blessed one.	Save us with your prayers, o blessed one.	save all of us with your prayers, o blessed one.

2. The second group is borrowing common to both services to St Daniel of Moscow but in the second case more elaboration is visible.

Канон 8-го гласа св. Александру Невскому, 1-я песнь, 2-й тропарь ²⁷	Канон 1-го гласа свв. Борису и Глебу, песнь 1, тропарь 2 ²⁸	Канон 1-го гласа св. Даниилу Московскому, песнь 1, тропарь 3 ²⁹	Канон 1-го гласа св. Даниилу Московскому песнь 7, тропарь 3 ³⁰
Пъсми и пънми духовными въсхвалимъ блаженнаго,	Пѣснми и пѣнми восхвалимъ блаженных	Пѣсньми и пѣнми восхвалим блаженнаго князя Даниила,	Пѣсньми и пѣньми духовными хвалимъ тя, блаженне,

²² Quoted from the Menaion for November from the 17th century (RSL, F304, No. 503, f. 470v.).

²³ Quoted from Amfilokhiy 1875, 26.

²⁴ Quoted from an old print of the service to St Daniel of Moscow 1791 (RSL, F IV. No. 245, f. 4v.).

²⁵ Quoted from Amfilokhiy 1875, 26.

²⁶ Quoted from an old print of the service to St Daniel of Moscow 1791 (RSL, F IV, No. 245, f. 4v).

²⁷ Quoted from the Menaion for November from the 17th century (RSL, F304, No. 503, f. 468).

Quoted from liturgical collection of the 17th century (RNL, Pogodin Fond, No. 431, f. 225).

²⁹ Quoted from Amfilokhiy 1875, 26.

Quoted from an old print of the service to St Daniel of Moscow 1791 (RSL, F IV, No. 245, f. 18).

и честную его и многоцелъбную раку, объстоаще и любезно лобызаемь,		и, честную его и многоцелъбную раку, обступающе любезно облобызающе	и, честную твою и многоцѣлебную обстояще раку,
и сице въпиемъ:	вкупѣ сице вопиюще:	сице возопием:	и сице вопиемъ прославльшему тя Творцу:
радуися,	радуитеся преславнии	радуйся, граду своему Москвѣ	благословенъ еси въ храмъ славы твоея, Господи.
Отечеству си пресвѣтлыи свѣтильникъ, твердыи заступникъ.	отечеству своему пресвътлии свътилницы.	многосвѣтлый свѣтилниче и твердый заступниче.	

Canon of the 8 th mode to St Alexander Nevsky, ode 1, troparion 2	Canon of the 1 st mode to Sts Boris and Gleb, ode 1, troparion 2	Canon of the 1 st mode to St Daniel of Moscow, ode 1, troparion 3	St Daniel of Moscow,
By songs and spiritual singing we will praise the blessed one,	By songs and singing we will praise both the blessed ones,	By songs and singing we will praise the blessed prince Daniel	By songs and spiritual singing we will praised you, o blessed one,
and being around his fair and multicurative reliquary we kiss it gladly		and being around his fair and multicurative reliquary, kissing it gladly,	and being around your multicurative reliquary
and cry out thus:	crying out thus:	we cry out thus:	we cry out thus to the Creator who glorified you:
rejoice	rejoice o glorious	rejoice, you are for your town, Moscow,	Blessed be the temple of Your glory, O Lord
illustrious illuminator and solid defender of your Fatherland	illustrious illunimators of your Fatherland	an illustrious illuminator and staunch defender	

Even if the borrowing was taken from the Canon to St Alexander Nevsky, it has an allusion to the sticheron to Sts Boris and Gleb, which was the original model for the hymn.

Стихира 2-го гласа на «Господи воззвах» ³¹	Канон 1-го гласа инока Михаила свв. Борису и Глебу («Благочестивую и вънченосую двоицу»), песнь 1, тропарь 2 ³²
Кыими пънии и пъсньми похвалимъ	Пѣснми и пѣнми восхвалимъ
пѣваема Романа (с)илу имущаго на страсть доблестьми	блаженных вкупъ сице вопиюще
и Давыда купнорьвьнителя?	
Оба свътилъ присносияющи,	радуитеся преславнии

³¹ Quoted from the Menaion for July (RNL, Sofia collection, No. 280, f. 38v.).

³² Quoted from liturgical collection of the 17th century (RNL, Pogodin Fond, No. 431, f. 225).

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озаренъи свътъмъ добродътели и благочьстия	отечеству своему пресвътлии свътилницы
Христови бо увъдъвъша заповъди Божествьныя,	и тверди заступницы

Sticheron of the 2 nd mode on "Lord, I have cried" ³³	Canon of the 1 st mode to Sts Boris and Gleb written by Monk Michael, ode 1, troparion 2
With which songs and singing will we praise	By songs and spiritual singing we will praise both blessed ones,
The glorified Roman who has the power of valour against passion	
and zealous David?	crying out thus:
both illuminators always shining,	rejoice o glorious
illuminated by the light of grace and piety,	illustrious enlighteners of your Fatherland.
knowing the divine commandments of Christ.	

It is important to note that the main source for the new service to St Daniel of Moscow was a service to St Alexander Nevsky. But there are also hymns to St Alexander Nevsky used for the first but not for the second service to St Daniel of Moscow:

Канон 8-то гласа св. Александру Невскому песнь 4, тропарь 1 ³⁴	Канон 1-го гласа св. Даниилу Московскому, песнь 4 тропарь 3 ³⁵	Канон 1-го гласа св. Даниилу Московскому
Источилъ еси рѣкы чюдесъ, блаженне,	Источилъ еси ръки чудеса, благовърныи княже Данииле,	
и върных напаающи сердца	върныхъ сердца	
и мутныа воды многобожиа иссушилъ еси.	и мутныя воды невърия изсушилъ еси.	

Canon of the 8 th mode to St Alexander Nevsky, ode 4, troparion 1	Canon of the 1 st mode to St Daniel of Moscow, ode 4 troparion 3	Canon of the 1 st mode to St Daniel of Moscow
You have exuded rivers of wonders, o blessed one,	You have exuded rivers of wonders, o blessed prince Daniel,	
and you have watered the hearts of the faithful	the hearts of the faithful,	
and dried up the muddy waters of polytheism	and dried up the muddy waters of infidelity	

Another important group is hymns which use a similar incipit but continue as a completely different hymn. As an example I have taken a doxastikon which was used not only in the service to St Alexander Nevsky and later in the first service to St Daniel of Moscow, but also in the service to Sts Peter and Fevronia partially written by the same author:

³³ Quoted from the Menaion for July (RNL, Sofia collection, No. 280, f. 38v.).

Quoted from the Menaion for November from the 17th century (RSL, F304, No. 503, f. 470v.).

³⁵ Quoted from Amfilokhiy 1875, 28.

Славник 8-го гласа св. Александру Невскому ³⁶	Славник 8-го гласа свв. Петру и Февронии ³⁷	Славник 8-го гласа св. Даниилу Московскому ³⁸
Радуися и веселися, градъ Владимеръ, и	Радуися и веселися о Господъ, граде Муроме,	Радуйся и веселися о Господъ, царствующий градъ Москва,
и свѣтло торжествуи, и ликуи Христова церкви,	свѣтло же торжествуи, и ликуи Христова церкве,	и свѣтло торжествуй, и ликуй Христова Церкви с священноиноки и иноцы,
в неиже положено честное тъло	в неиже лежит честное скровище,	въ нейже лежитъ честное сокровище,
блаженнаго Александра	преславных и новых чюдотворцев, Петра благочестиваго с премудрою Февронею,	святыя мощи преславнаго новаго чудотворца блаженнаго князя Даніила
тѣло драгое, тѣло преславное, тѣло чюдеса точаща всемъ приходящимъ с вѣрою.	скровище драго и къвчегъ преславенъ, телеса чюдеса творящая всим притъкающим к ним с върою.	чудеса бо точаща всѣмъ приходящимъ съ вѣрою.
Приидите, върнии, и поклонимся,	сего ради приидѣте вси людие, приидѣте вѣрнии, и поклонимся.	приидите върнии,
тецете и съберетеся, и псаломскыи того въсплещемъ радующеся	теците и сберите, и псаломскы въсплещите руками,	тецыте собравшеся,
и облобызаемъ честно мощи дивнаго врача нашего,	и ликующе радуитеся, сице глаголюще:	и ликующе радуйтеся, и веселитеся сице глаголюще:
печальнымъ присную утѣху, и отчаяннымъ заступника,	и веселитеся преславнѣи чюдотворци, Петръ блаженныи и Февроние богомудрая:	радуйся, преславный новый чудотворецъ, блаженне княже Данииле.
похвалу земли Рустеи, пособника православнымъ княземъ и человъкомъ заступника,	граду нашему утверждение, и нам вѣрным спасение.	граду нашему и обители утвержение, и намъ върнымъ спасение.
и спастися душамъ нашимъ.	и нынъ в памяти своеи испросите у Христа	И нынѣ въ памяти своей испроси у Христа
	даровати душам нашим миръ и велию милость.	даровати душамъ нашимъ велию милость.

Quoted from the Menaion for November from the 17th century (RSL, F304, No. 503. ff. 465–465v). Quoted from the liturgical collection of the 17th century (RSL, f. 304, No. 618, f. 67). Quoted from Amfilokhiy 1875, 23.

Doxastikon of the 8 th mode to St Alexander Nevsky	Doxastikon of the 8 th mode to Sts Peter and Fevronia	Doxastikon of the 8 th mode to St Daniel of Moscow
Rejoice and be glad, town of Vladimer;	Rejoice and be glad with Lord, town of Murom;	Rejoice and be glad with Lord, reigning town of Moscow;
celebrate joyfully and exult, o Church of Christ,	celebrate joyfully and exult, o Church of Christ,	celebrate joyfully and exult, o Church of Christ with holy monks
where the fair body	where the fair treasure	where the fair treasure lays,
of blessed Alexander was laid,	of the glorious and new won- der workers lays, of pious Peter with wise Fevronia,	the holy relics of the glorious new wonder worker, blessed prince Daniel
dear body, venerated body, body which exude miracles to everybody,	dear treasure and glorious ark, bodies working wonders for everybody who comes to them with faith,	exuding miracles to everybody who comes with faith,
come, o faithful, let us worship,	therefore come everybody, come, o faithful, let us worship,	come, o faithful,
come and gather and clap with Psalms rejoicing	come and gather and clap with Psalms	come gathering,
and let us kiss the relics of the miraculous doctor,	rejoicing and saying thus:	rejoice exulting and be glad, saying thus:
everlasting consolation for the unfortunate and protector for the desperate,	Rejoice and be glad oh glorious wonder workers pious Peter and God-wise Fevronia	Rejoice oh glorious new wonder worker, blessed prince Daniel,
the praise of the Russian Land, help the Orthodox princes and the patron of people,	confirm our city, and our salvation,	confirm our city and monastery, and our salvation,
save our souls.	and now on the day of your memorial ask Christ	and now on the day of your memorial ask Christ
	to give to our souls peace and great mercy.	to give to our souls peace and great mercy.

In the new service to St Daniel of Moscow the sticheron retains its genre but changes mode to 4 and completely changes the text, keeping only the similar incipit:

Славник 8-го гласа св.	Славник 8-го	Славник 8-го гласа св.	
Александру Невско-	гласа свв. Петру и	Даниилу Московско-	
му ³⁹	Февронии ⁴⁰	му ⁴¹	
Радуися и веселися, градъ Владимеръ, и	Радуися и веселися о Господъ, граде Муроме,	Радуйся и веселися о Господъ, царствующий градъ Москва,	Веселися и радуися царствующий граде Москво,

³⁹ Quoted from the Menaion for November from the 17th century (RSL, F304, No. 503, ff. 465–465v).

⁴⁰ Quoted from RSL, f. 304, No. 618, f. 67.

⁴¹ Quoted from Amfilokhiy 1875, 23.

⁴² Quoted from an old print of the service to St Daniel of Moscow 1791 (RSL, F IV, No. 245, f. 3).

и свѣтло торжествуи, и ликуи Христова церкви,	свѣтло же торжествуи, и ликуи Христова церкве,	и свѣтло торжествуй, и ликуй Христова Церкви с священноиноки и иноцы,	и да играютъ сыны твоя въ тебѣ свѣтло торжествующе,
в неиже положено честное тѣло	в неиже лежит честное скровище,	въ нейже лежитъ честное сокровище,	
блаженнаго Александра	преславных и новых чюдотворцев, Петра благочестиваго с премудрою Февронею,	святыя мощи преславнаго новаго чудотворца блаженнаго князя Даниила	въ память Благовърнаго князя Даниила,
тъло драгое, тъло преславное, тъло чюдеса точаща всемъ приходящимъ с върою.	скровище драго и къвчегъ преславенъ, телеса чюдеса творящая всим притъкающим к ним с върою.	чудеса бо точаща всъмъ приходящимъ съ върою.	от корене Александрова произрастша,
Приидите, върнии, и поклонимся,	сего ради приидѣте вси людие, приидѣте вѣрнии, и поклонимся.	приидите върнии,	вдовъ, сироть и нищихъ питателя: скорбящихъ утъшителя, и прибъгающихъ скора помощника и заступника:
тецете и съберетеся, и псаломскыи того въсплещемъ радующеся	теците и сберите, и _псаломскы въсплещите руками,	тецыте собравшеся,	егоже днесь честнъй рацъ предстояще,
и облобызаемъ честно мощи дивнаго врача нашего,	и ликующе радуитеся, сице глаголюще:	и ликующе радуйтеся, и веселитеся сице глаголюще:	благоговѣйно покланяющеся возопиимъ:
печальнымъ присную утъху, и отчаяннымъ заступника,	и веселитеся преславнѣи чюдотворци, Петръ блаженныи и Февроние богомудрая:	радуйся, преславный новый чудотворецъ, блаженне княже Данииле.	Богоблаженне княже Данииле,
похвалу земли Рустеи, пособника православнымъ княземъ и человѣкомъ заступника,	граду нашему утверждение, и нам върным спасение.	граду нашему и обители утвержение, и намъ върнымъ спасение.	
и спастися душамъ нашимъ.	и нынѣ в памяти своеи испросите у Христа	И нынѣ въ памяти своей испроси у Христа	молитвами твоими
	даровати душам нашим миръ и велию милость.	даровати душамъ нашимъ велію милость.	даруй людемъ твоимъ миръ и велию милость.

Doxastikon of the 8 th mode to St Alexander Nevsky	Doxastikon of the 8 th mode to Sts Peter and Fevronia	Doxastikon of the 8 th mode to St Daniel of Moscow	Doxastikon of the 4 th mode to St Daniel of Moscow
Rejoice and be glad, town of Vladimer,	Rejoice and be glad with Lord, town of Murom,	Rejoice and be glad with Lord, reigning town of Moscow,	Be glad and rejoice, oh reigning town of Moscow,
celebrate joyfully and exult, o Church of Christ,	celebrate joyfully and exult, o Church of Christ,	celebrate joyfully and exult, o Church of Christ with holy monks,	let your sons play, exulting brightly,
where the fair body	where the fair treasure	where the fair treasure lays,	
of blessed Alexander was laid,	of the glorious and new wonder-workers lays, of pious Peter with wise Fevronia,	holy relics of the glorious new won- der-worker, blessed prince Daniel	to the memory of blessed prince Daniel,
dear body, venerated body, body which exudes miracles to everybody,	dear treasure and glorious ark, bodies working wonders for everybody who comes to them with faith	exuding miracles for everybody who comes with faith,	grown from the root of Alexander,
come, o faithful, let us worship,	therefore come, all ye people, come, o faithful, let us worship	come, o faithful,	nourisher of widows, orphans and the poor: consoler of the afflict- ed, and quick helper and protector of sup- plicants,
come and gather and clap your hands, with psalms rejoicing	Come and gather and clap you hands, with psalms	come gathering,	now coming before his glorious reliquary,
and let us kiss the relics of the miraculous doctor,	rejoicing and saying:	rejoice exulting and be glad, saying:	reverently venerating we cry out:
everlasting consolation for the unfortunate and protector for the desper- ate	Rejoice and be glad o glorious wonder-work- ers pious Peter and God- wise Fevronia	Rejoice o glorious new wonder-worker, blessed Prince Daniel,	O Prince Daniel, blessed by God,
the praise the Russian Land, help the Orthodox princes and the patron of people,	approve of our city, and our salvation.	approve of our city and monastery, and our salvation,	
save our souls.	and now on the day of your memorial ask Christ	and now on the day of your memorial ask Christ	by your prayers
	to give to our souls peace and great mercy.	to give to our souls great mercy.	may peace and great mercy be given to your people.

But in middle of the sticheron there is another construction according to the model taken from the canon to St Alexander Nevsky and elaborated for the canon of the first service to St Daniel of Moscow and for the canon of the second service. In both cases the troparia are elaborated, which is explainable, since in both cases they was borrowed for the later service⁴³ and and in the sticheron there is much more elaboration, corresponding more to the new style.

1-й тропарь 5-й песни канона 8-го гласа св. Александру Невскому ⁴⁴	1-й тропарь 6-й песни канона 3-го гласа св. Даниилу Московскому ⁴⁵	3-й тропарь 6-й песни канона 8-го гласа св. Даниилу Московскому ⁴⁶	слава 4-го гласа св. Даниилу Московскому ⁴⁷
			Веселися и радуися царствующий граде Москво,
			и да играють сыны твоя въ тебѣ свѣтло торжествующе,
			въ память Благовърнаго князя Даниила,
Яко звѣзда многосвѣтлаа явися непрелестнаа	Явися яко звѣзда свѣтлая непрелестная, блаженне княже Даніиле,	Явися еси людемъ твоимъ предстатель теплыи,	от корене Александрова произрастша,
яко плѣннымъ свободитель, и нищимъ защититель и болящимъ врачь,	царемъ благовърнымъ поборникъ плъннымъ свободитель, и нищимъ защититель болящимъ врачь	вдовъ и сиротъ заступникъ, нищихъ питатель, скорбящих утъшеніе	вдовъ, сироть и нищихъ питателя: скорбящихъ утъшителя, и прибъгающихъ скора помощника и заступника:
царемъ поборникъ		и върнои императрице нашеи, имркъ, поборникъ	,
			егоже днесь честнъй рацъ предстояще,
и граду нашему утвержение.	и граду нашему и всеи земли Россиискои.	граду и обители твоея утвержение.	благоговъйно покланяющеся возопиимъ:
			Богоблаженне княже Данииле,
			молитвами твоими
			даруй людемъ твоимъ миръ и велию милость.

Also in the first service the troparion was borrowed from the 'late" layer which was not written before the 17th century.

Quoted from the Menaion for November from the 17th century (RSL, F304, No. 503, f. 471v).

⁴⁵ Quoted from Amfilokhiy 1875, 9.

⁴⁶ Quoted from an old print of the service to St Daniel of Moscow 1791 (RSL, F IV, No. 245, f. 16v).

⁴⁷ Quoted from an old print of the service to St Daniel of Moscow 1791 (RSL, F IV, No. 245, f. 9).

Canon of the 8 th mode to St Alexander Nevsky, ode 5, troparion 1	Canon of the 3 th mode to St Daniel of Moscow, ode 6, troparion 1	Canon of the 8 th mode to St Daniel of Mos- cow, ode 6, troparion 3	Doxastikon to St Daniel of Moscow 4 th mode
			Be glad and rejoice, o reigning town of Moscow,
			let your sons play, exulting brightly,
			in the memory of blessed Prince Daniel
You appeared as a bright star without temptation	You appeared as a bright star without temptation, o pious Prince Daniel,	You appeared to your people, oh warm patron	grown from the root of Alexander,
a liberator of captives and a protector of the poor and a healer for the sick,	a proponent of pious tsars and a liberator of captives and a protector of the poor and a healer for the sick	protector of widows and orphans, feeder of the poor, consoler of the afflicted	Nourisher of widows, orphans and the poor: consoler of the afflicted, and quick helper and protector of supplicants
a proponent of tsars		and a faithful proponent of our empress,	
			now coming before his glorious reli- quary,
and a bastion of our town.		confirm your city and monastery.	reverently venerating we cry out:
			o Prince Daniel, blessed by God,
			by your prayers
			May your people be granted peace and great mercy.

But the most frequently used method for the creation of new hymns to St Daniel of Moscow is similar incipits and a general following of the structure of the hymns to St Alexander Nevsky, without direct borrowing of the text:

Стихира 6-го гласа по	Стихира 6-го гласа по	Стихира 60го гласа по
50-м псалме 6-го гласа св.	50-м псалме св. Даниилу	50-м псалме св. Даниилу
Александру Невскому ⁴⁸	Московскому ⁴⁹	Московскому ⁵⁰
Приидѣте, вси людие, хвалу принесем	Приидите вси людие, хвалу принесемъ блаженному князю Даніилу,	Приидите днесь царствующаго града Москвы народи,

⁴⁸ Quoted: from the Menaion for November from the 17th century (RSL, F304, No. 503, f. 467).

⁴⁹ Quoted from an old print of the service to St Daniel of Moscow 1791 (RSL, F IV, No. 245, f. 25).

Quoted from an old print of the service to St Daniel of Moscow 1791 (RSL, F IV, No. 245, f. 12).

		во обитель великаго и чуднаго князя Даніила,
		въ день праздника его веселящеся,
		и въ храмъ Бога нашего внидемъ,
		и къ рацѣ мощей оугодника его притекше
		духовный составимъ ликъ,
вопиюще сице:	вопиюще сице,	пѣсненными похвалами воспоемъ, глаголюще:
радуися, пресвѣтлыи столпе, просвѣщая нас чюдес светлостьми:	радуйся благочестия истиннаго проповъдниче, и церкви Христовъ пресвътлая звъзда.	радуйся земный аггеле, иже аггльскому житію подражавый чистымъ житіемъ своимъ:
радуися, росныи облаче, пламень погашаяи страстемъ,	радуйся пресвътлый столпе.	радуйся гражданине небесный, и въчныя радости наслъдниче,
	просвъщая нась чудесь свътлостьми.	иже приемый благий яремъ владыки своего Христа, и легко понесый
	радуйся царствующему граду Москвъ свътлый свътильниче.	
	радуйся росны облаче. пламень погащающь страстемь,	
и орошающе върныхъ мысли,	и орошающь върныхъ мысли,	
Божественный Александре.	благочестивый княже Данииле.	и нынъ преблаженне княже Данииле,
	иноческое удобрение.	восприемый мзду трудовъ своихъ, и вшедый въ радость Господа твоего,
	молитвенниче о душахъ нашихъ	и яко имѣя дерзновение къ Нему,
		молю державѣ Благовѣрныя імператрицы Нашея, имярекъ,
		въ мирѣ пребывати,
		и всѣмъ православно чтущыму святую память твою
		получити от Христа Бога велию милость.

Sticheron of the 6 th mode after the 50 th psalm to St Alexander Nevsky	Sticheron of the 6 th mode after the 50 th psalm to St Daniel of Moscow	Sticheron of the 6 th mode after the 50 th psalm to St Daniel of Moscow
Come all ye people, we will bring praise to the blessed one,	Come all ye people, we will bring a praise to the blessed prince Daniel,	Come now, ye people of the reigning town of Moscow,
		to the monastery of the great and wonderful prince Daniel,
		rejoicing on the day of his memorial,
		let us enter the church of our God,
		and coming to the reliquary of His saint
		we will assume a spiritual countenance,
crying out thus:	crying out thus:	sing songs of praise, saying:
Rejoice, o illustrious pillar enlightening us by the grace of wonders:	Rejoice, o preacher of true godliness and the bright star of the Church of Christ,	Rejoice, o terrestrial angel, imitating the life of angels by your angelic life:
Rejoice, oh cloud of dew, extinguishing the flame of passions,	Rejoice, illustrious pillar	Rejoice o heavenly citizen and heir of eternal joy,
	enlightening us by the grace of wonders	who received the burden of your Lord Christ and carried it easily,
	rejoice o shining illuminator of the reigning town of Moscow.	
	Rejoice, o cloud of dew, extinguishing the flame of passions,	
irrigating the thoughts of the faithful,	irrigating the thoughts of the faithful,	
o divine Alexander.	o, pious Prince Daniel,	and now, o blessed Prince Daniel,
	the monastic enrichment,	receiving reward of your labour and entering into joy of your Lord,
	the prayer of our souls.	and since you have boldness before Him,
		pray for the power of our righteous empress
		to be in peace,
		and for all venerating your holy memory
		to receive from Christ-God great mercy.

Sometimes stichera from the first and second services can have the same model, but appeal to different sections of the sticheron-model.

Славник 2-го гласа св. Александру ⁵¹	Славник 6-го гласа св. Даниилу Московскому ⁵²	Стихира 6-го гласа по 50-м св. Даниилу ⁵³
Приидъте, вси языци,	Приидите Российстии велиции царие	Приидите днесь царствующаго града Москвы народи,
		во обитель великаго и чуднаго князя Даниила,
		въ день праздника его веселящеся,
и въсплещите руками, и ликоствующе,		и въ храмъ Бога нашего внидемъ,
приидѣте, вси русстии князи,	и христолюбиви князи мудрии,	
священници и велможи, иноки же, и простии,	и вельможи, вси богатии и нищии и вси православнии людии в пречестную обитель	
духовнъ веселимся в нарочитомъ праздницъ оваго чюдотворца, блаженнаго Александра,	и поклонимся и припадемъ	
и многоцелебныа его мощи обстояще,	ко многоцелъбней рацъ святыхъ мощей благовърнаго и преподобнаго князя Даниила.	и къ рацъ мощей угодника его притекше
любезно облобызаемъ,	той нас свободить оть рукъ невърныхъ языкъ, и злотворныхъ человъкъ,	духовный составимъ ликъ,
и сих яко цвѣты пѣнми, и хвалами увяземъ, рекуще:	и изъ рукъ ненавистныхъ, молитвами его от нихъ свободи мя.	пѣсненными похвалами воспоемъ, глаголюще:
радуися, человъче, земныи ангеле и Духа Святаго обителище		радуйся земный агтеле, иже аггльскому житію подражавый чистымъ житіемъ своимъ:
радуися, яко Еуангельскому гласу послѣдовалъ еси,		радуйся гражданине небесный, и въчныя радости наслъдниче,
и въсприалъ еси въ тлѣнных мѣсто нетлѣннаа,		
и пришелъ еси от силы въ силу от славы въ славу,		
радуися, княземъ православным похвала и утвержение,		иже приемый благий яремъ владыки своего Христа, и легко понесый

Quoted from the Menaion for November from the 17th century (RSL, F304, No. 503, f. 479v–480).

⁵² Quoted from Amfilokhiy 1875, 38.

Quoted from an old print of the service to St Daniel of Moscow 1791 (RSL, F IV, No. 245, f. 12).

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радуися, отечеству си пресвътлыи свътилниче о душах наших	
	и нынъ преблаженне княже Данииле,
	восприемый мзду трудовъ своихъ, и вшедый въ радость Господа твоего,
	и яко имъя дерзновеніе къ Нему,
	молю державѣ Благовѣрныя императрицы Нашея, имярекъ,
	въ мирѣ пребывати,
	и всѣмъ православно чтущыму святую память твою
	получити от Христа Бога велию милость.

Doxastikon of the 6 th mode to St Alexander Nevsky	Doxastikon of the 6 th mode to St Daniel	Doxastikon of the 6 th mode after the 50 th psalm to St Daniel
Come, all ye people,	Come, great Russian great tsars,	Come now ye people of the reigning town of Moscow,
		to the monastery of the great and wonderful prince Daniel,
		rejoicing on the day of his memorial;
clap your hands rejoicing,		let us enter the church of our God,
come, all Russian princes,	and Christ-loving wise princes	and coming to the reliquary of His saint
priests and dignitaries and monks and laymen	and dignitaries, all rich and all poor and all Orthodox people, to the great cloister	we will assume a spiritual countenance,
we will celebrate spiritually the feast of this wonder-worker, pious Alexander,	worship and fall down	
and remaining close to his health-giving relics,	to the curative reliquary of the holy relics	
	of the pious and reverend prince Daniel,	
	who saved us from the pagans and wicked people	
we kiss them,	and save me from hateful hands by your prayers.	

and we will adorn him with words and songs like by flowers, saying:	singing songs of praise, saying:
Rejoice, o man, earthly angel and habitation of the Holy Spirit,	Rejoice, o terrestrial angel, imitating the life of angels by your angelic life:
rejoice, since you followed the call of the Gospel,	Rejoice, o heavenly citizen and the heir of eternal joy,
and you received an imperishable place amongst perishable ones,	who received the burden of your Lord Christ and bore it easily
and you came from power to power, from glory to he glory.	
rejoice, o praise and confirmation of Orthodox princes,	
rejoice, o bright light of your Fatherland for our souls.	
	and now, oh blessed Prince Daniel,
	receiving the reward for your labour and entering into joy of your Lord
	and since you have boldness before Him,
	pray for the power of our righteous empress,
	that she may be in peace,
	and that all venerating your holy memory
	may receive from Christ-God great mercy.

In the second case we see not only more elaboration, but it is also much longer and much more solemn, reflecting an increased veneration of St Daniel.

We can also see a connection in the structure of the service. The most beloved incipits for the stichera in this service are the most popular in Russian hymnography, Приидите Вси празднолюбцы от Всяк град и страна... These incipits direct us somehow to the Russian princely service in which they are the most used. Another connection with the princely service are the stichera on Lord, I have cried. These stichera on the prosomoion "кими" are used in many services, but I would like to stress the fact that this cycle was the most stable in all versions of the service to Sts Boris and Gleb, the first Russian prince saints, and later a similar cycle was written for the service to St Alexander Nevsky. Even if we can speak in this case of clear borrowings, this cycle still shows some connection with the structure of the princely service (the fact that they took place of "another stichera" also shows a connection with a service to St. Boris and Gleb wherein, in the most solemn vigil service, they became "other stichera").

Some connection with the service to Sts Boris and Gleb may be seen on the level of the incipits of other hymns, for example, the doxastikon of the 6th mode begins with "Возсия днесь радостная память всем благочестивым людям," which is similar to the incipit of the very

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famous kontakion "Возсия днесь преславная память ваю". This kontakion was borrowed from the service to St Procopius, but the veneration and popularity of Sts Boris and Gleb were much greater in Rus', and thus one may suppose a connection with first Russian princely saints. We can see this connection also through the composition of a hymn with lines similar to the best known hymns to Boris and Gleb, such as the third troparion of the first ode of the canon of the 4th mode of the second service to St Daniel of Moscow. In this hymn there is no direct borrowing, but one can topoi which are used in the most famous hymns to Sts Boris and Gleb.

Седален 1-го гласа свв. Борису и Глебу ⁵⁴	Канон 4-го гласа св. Даниилу Московскому, песнь 1, тропарь 3^{55}
Измлада Христа възлюбльше купно, брата честнаа,	Из млада себе самаго Богу освятилъ еси
и жизни нестареющеся вжелвѣше, славнаа,	и чрезъ всю жизнь твою был еси истинный Христова Евангелиа подражатель
цѣломудрие изволиста и пощение страсти душегубныхъ,	тѣмъ и наслѣдникъ Божественнаго Царствия познался еси
тъм поспешьством Божественыа благодати приимше	Приснопамятне княже Данииле.
исцѣляета болящаа.	

Sessional hymn of the 1st mode to Sts Boris and Gleb	Third troparion of the first ode of the canon of the 4th mode to St Daniel of Moscow
From your youth you both loved Christ, oh blessed brothers	From your youth you sacrificed yourself to God,
and reached ageless life, o glorious ones;	And throughout your life you were a true imitator of Christ's Gospel,
you kept your chastity and abstinence from soul-destroying passions,	Thus you are known as an inheritor of the Kingdom of God,
you received a gift of grace of God,	Ever-memorable Prince Daniel.
you heal the sick.	

Тропарь 2-го гласа свв. Борису и Глебу 56	Канон 4-го гласа св. Даниилу Московскому, песнь 1, тропарь 3 ⁵⁷
Правдиваа страстотерпца	Из млада себе самаго Богу освятилъ еси
и истиннаа Евангелия Христова послушателя	и чрезъ всю жизнь твою был еси истинный Христова Евангелиа подражатель
цѣломудреныи Романе незлобивым Давыдом	тъмъ и наслъдникъ Божественнаго Царствия познался еси
не противустасте врагу брату	Приснопамятне княже Данииле.
убивающему ваша телеса, души же коснутися не могущу.	
Да плачется убо злый властолюбець,	
вы же, радующеся лики агтельскыми	

Quoted from the Menaion for July from the 17th century (RSL, F304, No. 571, f. 309v).

Quoted from an old print of the service to St Daniel of Moscow 1791 (RSL, F IV, No. 245, f. 12v).

Quoted from the Menaion for July from the 16th century (RSL, F 304, No. 571, f. 309v).

⁵⁷ Quoted from an old print of the service to S. Daniel of Moscow 1791 (RSL, F IV, No. 245, f. 12v).

предстояще Святеи Троици,	
молитеся о державъ родникъ ваших	
богоугодне быти и сыномъ рускимъ спастися.	

Troparion of the 2 nd mode to Sts Boris and Gleb, mode 2	Canon of the 4 th mode to St Daniel of Moscow, ode 1, troparion 3
True martyr	From your youth you sacrificed yourself to God,
and the true follower of Christ's Gospel,	And throughout your life you were a true imitator of Christ's Gospel,
chaste Roman with good-natured David	Thus you are known as an inheritor of the Kingdom of God,
not resisting the enemy brother	Ever-memorable Prince Daniel.
killing your bodies but not being able to touch your souls,	
the evil power-hungry one will cry out,	
but you rejoicing with angels	
standing before the Holy Trinity,	
pray for the land of your ancestors to be godly	
and for the sons of Russia to be saved.	

In conclusion, one may say that even if both services to St Daniel of Moscow use as a model the same service to St Alexander Nevsky, the style of the services is completely different. The new service is not only more solemn but also more "homogenous" and "original". In the first service we see two different layers: one of them is more or less "original" with a "confessional mood" and many mentions of the Last Judgment, and the other shows a style influenced by the Akathistos, with borrowings from the service to St Alexander Nevsky. The borrowings from the service to St Alexander Nevsky demonstrate almost no changes, sometimes keeping even the same genre and position in the service. The changes often consist of changing the name and, rarely, the addition of a couple of words. These two different styles in a way divide the service in two.

The new service to St Daniel of Moscow is a solemn vigil princely service. The word "princely" is important: the title is often mentioned and the service often underlines that St Daniel is one of the blessed princes: son of St Alexander Nevsky, descendant of Sts Boris and Gleb. We can see also some allusions to the service to Sts Boris and Gleb in the new service, even if there are no clear borrowings from this service. The "model-service" to St Alexander Nevsky is constantly present in the new service but one can hardly see any direct borrowing. The most frequently-used method is a similar incipit and a general adherence to the structure of the model-hymns.