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# THE SERVICE TO ALL NEW RUSSIAN SAINTS: PERFORMANCE THROUGH ASSOCIATIONS

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## 1 Introduction

The feast of the New Wonderworkers of Russia was instigated after the Macarius councils of 1547 and 1549. The service to all new Russian saints on 17 July was created by Grigoriy, a monk of the monastery in Sudzal devoted to St Euthymius in the 1550s. According to Ivan Spassky, the author of the first service to all Russian saints was born around 1500, and in 1530 entered the Saviour-Euthymius Monastery in Suzdal, where he was received by Archimandrite German. The earliest manuscript with this service belongs to the collection of the Trinity-Sergius monastery, and it dates from the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Originally, 17 July, the closest date to the commemoration of St Vladimir, was chosen as the feast day,¹ but soon it was moved to the first Sunday after the commemoration of St Elias.² However, in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript Чиновник Большого Успенского собора времени Патриарха Филарета (written in about 1626), we find the feast on the day after Pentecost but before the day of All Saints.³ In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the feast disappeared from the official calendar and remained only in the calendar of the Old Believers.⁴ It was published several times in the 18<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup> centuries⁵, the latest publication may be found in the so-called "green menaion" in 1991<sup>6</sup>.

The modern celebration of all the saints who illuminated the land of Russia was established by decision of the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1917–1918. At the meeting on the 7/20 August, there was presented a report by Professor Boris Turaev about the celebration of the commemoration of all the saints, the new Russian wonderworkers. The report gave a brief overview of the history of the service for the

<sup>1</sup> Manuscript of the 17th century of the Trinity-Sergius monastery Псалтирь с восследованием (Psalterium ecclesiosslavicum) RSL, f. 304/I, Nr. 337, Ff. 557–571.

<sup>2</sup> See Архиепископ Сергий, Полный Месяцеслов Востока, V. I Р. (Владимир, 1901), 312–313.

<sup>3</sup> Временник Общества Истории и древностей Российских. V. 22 (Москва, 1855), 125.

<sup>4</sup> See И. Спасский, "Первая служба всем русским святым и ее автор," Журнал Московской патриархии 8 (1949): 50–55.

<sup>5</sup> See A. B. Вознесенский, Кириллические издания старообрядческих типографий конца XVIII— начала XIX века: Каталог (Ленинград: Издательство Ленинградского университета, 1991), 125, 137, 143, 145.

<sup>6</sup> Минея. Июль. Вып. 2 (Москва: Издательский совет русской православной церкви, 1988), 209–227.

new Russian wonderworkers, examples of such services (the Old Testament forefathers, the monks of Athos, and others) and proposed the restoration of the celebration of their commemoration after the commemoration of All Saints. Having heard the report, the Council determined to restore the celebration of the day of commemoration of all Russian saints on the First Sunday of St Peter's fast and to publish the re-edited service by Pentecost. The article was transferred to the publishing department of the Council where it was accepted with minor amendments. The correction of the service was entrusted to Turayev and the priest Afanasiy<sup>7</sup> (Sakharov), who was himself later canonized. The service was almost completely rewritten; only a few of the old hymns remained. The initial version of the service was published as a brochure by the civil press in Moscow in 1918. Afanasiy continued to correct the service throughout his life. The next edition was published in Moscow in 1946. The final text of the service, more extensive than that of the first editions, was released in the Menaion prepared by the Moscow Patriarchate in 1978-1989.<sup>8</sup>

The service was studied by Ivan Spassky who confirmed Grigoriy's authorship and defined some biographical facts. Grigoriy was very productive, writing 14 hagiological works, but the *Slovo* (eulogy) to all Russian saints and the service to all Russian saints are his most important creations. It was called "the new word in Russian liturgical writing". The *Slovo* to all Russian saints was published by Archimandrite Makary (Veretennikov). It attracted attention of several researchers, and was studied and reworked by several of them, especially Afanasiy Sakharov, who reworked the service over the course of many years. The canon to all Russian saints created by Sergius Schelonin was studied by Oleg Panchenko¹². The earliest version was carefully studied for Turaev's report, who noticed a very important point: that the service was constructed according to the model of the sevice for Cheesefare Saturday with some direct borrowings (for example, the first sessional hymn)¹³. The nun Ignatiya (Puzik) studied the composition and poetics of the service, but her work does not consider the fact that the service makes much use of borrowings, so the analysis of the poetics of the service in her work is not complete.¹⁴

Since the service is one of the typical products of Russian hymnography after the councils of Macarius, it seems to me interesting to analyse the way in which it was created. The aim of this paper is an attempt at analysing the first version, showing the borrowings, combinations of borrowings and "new" hymns. In this article I will concentrate on the analysis of the small and great vespers. Since the textology of the service is not the aim of this article, I quote it from the earliest manuscript, containing this service without comparison with other manuscripts and old printed books, which show some small changes.

<sup>7</sup> Saints' names appear in Latin/English form (Theodosius etc.), but more recent people, and also the hymnographers, are given in their Russian form.

<sup>8</sup> А. А. Аукашевич, "Всех святых, в земле российской просиявших, неделя," in *Православная энциклопедия* V. IX. (Москва: Церковно-научный центр «Православная энциклопедия», 2005), 705–706.

<sup>9</sup> Ростислав (Лозинский), прот., *Русская литургическая письменность* (Пути исторического развития и анализ богословского содержания). V. 1: XI–XVI ст. (Кострома: МДА, 1967), 245.

<sup>10</sup> Макарий (Веретенников), архим. "Эпоха новых чудотворцев (Похвальное слово новым рус. святым инока Григория Суздальского)," *Альфа и Омега* 2 (13) (1997): 128–144.

<sup>11</sup> Афанасий (Сахаров), еп. *Служба всем святым в земле русской просиявшим* (Москва: Православный Свято-Тихоновский Богословский институт, 1995).

<sup>12</sup> О. В. Панченко, "Из археогр. разысканий: II. «Канон всем святым, иже в Велицеи Росии в посте просиявшим» – соч. Сергия Шелонина," іп *Труды Омдела Древнерусской Лимерамуры (ТОДРЛ*) V. 56 (С.-Петербург: Дмитрий Буланин, 2004), 453–480.

<sup>13</sup> Афанасий (Сахаров), еп. "О празднике всех святых в Земле Российской просиявших и о Службе на сей праздник," Российский православный университет апостола Иоанна Богослова. Ученые записки, 1 (1995): 93.

<sup>14</sup> Игнатия (Петровская, Пузик), "О создании службы всем российским святым," Альфа и Омега 3 (44) (2005). https://www.pravmir.ru/o-sozdanii-sluzhbyi-vsem-rossiyskim-svyatyim/

The service created by Grigoriy, the oldest version of the services to all Russian saints is a solemn vigil service created according to the models of the existing Russian hymnography used in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, especially after the Macarius councils. Since the service is addressed to all Russian saints and consists of hymns devoted to specific saints, the hymns are often borrowed from the service of those saints with or without elaboration. Not only does this facilitate the creation of the service but it is also thematically justified. The service is a complex creation and illustrates the main principles of writing a new service used by many hymnographers at that time.

The service seems to me important as a perfect example of the service of the period after Macarius's councils of the 1547 and 1549. Almost every service uses models and direct borrowings but at this time we can find more services compiled from borrowings<sup>15</sup>. The service for all Russian saints shows accuracy in using borrowings, so sometimes they do not need any adaptation and follow the main model of the Cheesefare service, using further models and borrowings for new hymns, which suit Russian saints better. A combination of borrowings, creation according to the model and creations made mainly of common topoi makes the new service original but at the same time full of recognizable allusions. The service starts with small vespers devoted mainly to the Baptizer of Rus, St Vladimir, and to the founder and monks of the Kievan Caves Monastery, St Anthony. Some hymns are borrowed without any changes (for example the text of the doxastikon for small vespers devoted to St Vladimir is borrowed directly from the service devoted to him). However, their different arrangement in the service makes it seem as though he is creating a new cycle. In cases of creating a common hymn to several saints, something can be borrowed from another service but there are still clear parallels with the original usage. For example, the beginning of the doxastikon at the end of the small vespers is borrowed from the service to the Holy Fathers of the First Council.

My purpose here is to present the hymns of small and great vespers in comparison to each other and show the mechanism of an accurate combination of the borrowed, adapted and newly-made hymns. For convenience, all the hymns are translated into English and in the case of borrowings, tables with comparisons of the model and the new hymn are employed.

## **2 SMALL VESPERS**

First, let us examine the composition of small vespers.

TABLE 1: HYMNOGRAPHY FOR SMALL VESPERS

Stichera of 'Lord I have cried', mode 1, prosomoion 'Wondrous	Дивное чюдо: величавыи разумъ погубляется днесь и рыдают всячьская лукавая воиньства	Wondrous miracle! The dignified mind is being ruined today and all the evil powers are weeping.
miracle'	Дивная чюдом пучина ты бысть, Василие, возрастивыи нам вътви Богонасажденная и цвъты благоухания нам источающа	You are a wondrous abyss, O Basil, growing for us God-planted branches and exuding for us fragrant flowers.
	Дивно и преславно чюдо: посътил ны от востокъ свыше, великия ради милости	Wondrous and great miracle! You came to us the dawn from on high, for the sake of great mercy.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, V. Legkikh, "Двойная рецепция при формировании княжеской службы: служба св. Александру Невскому как модель," Scripta & e-Scripta 16-17 (2017): 107–131; V. Legkikh, "Формирование княжеской службы. Комплексный анализ наследия гимнографа 16 века Михаила," Wiener Slawistischer Almanach 81 (2018): 231–255.

Doxastikon, mode 8	Приидъте, стецемся, вси празднолюбци, к честнъи памяти отца Рускаго и наставника нашего Владимера	Come, let us gather, all feast-lovers, for the all-holy commemoration of Vladimir, the father of Russia father and our mentor
Stichera Aposticha, mode 6	Преподобнѣ отче Антоние, восиялъ еси, яко солнце, и озарил еси Рускую страну	O reverend father Anthony, thou shone forth like the sun, and illumi- nated the Russian land
	Преподобнѣ отче Феодосие, земных маловремяннаго жития избѣгл еси	Reverend father Theodosius, you have avoided earthly temporality
	Преподобни отци и цвѣти духовнии, Рустѣи странѣ похвало и удобрение и всѣм вѣрным благоутишное пристанище	Reverend fathers and spiritual flowers, the praise and fundament for the Russian land and a shelter from storm for all the faithful
Doxastikon, mode 2	Таины днесь Духа трубы, Богоносныя отца восхвалим	Today we praise the secret trumpets of the Spirit, God-bearing fathers
Troparion, mode 3	Пречестная верста Богом возлюбленная, отци преблажении	Righteous coevals, beloved by God, the most blessed fathers

## 2.1 STICHERA OF 'LORD, I HAVE CRIED'

The first cycle of stichera of 'Lord, I have cried' is devoted to St Vladimir, the converter of Rus, so the solution was to borrow the complete texts of the hymns devoted to him.

The first sticheron is directly borrowed from the service to St Vladimir, where it is the first sticheron in the cycle of the aposticha (Mode 1), in the great vespers of the vigil service of the latest version<sup>16</sup>.

TABLE 2: THE FIRST STICHERON

First Sticheron of the Aposticha of Great Vespers for St Vladimir, Mode 1 <sup>17</sup>		First Sticheron of 'Lord I have Cried' of Small Vespers for All Saints, Mode 1 <sup>18</sup>	
О преславное чюдо!	O glorious miracle!	Дивное чюдо:	A wondrous miracle:
Величавыи разум погубляется днесь,	The dignified mind is being ruined today,	величавыи разумъ погубляется днесь	The dignified mind is being ruined today,
и рыдают всяческая лукава воиньства,	and all the evil powers are weeping,	и рыдают всячьская лукавая воинства,	and all the evil powers are weeping,
видиши вѣтви секуща всѣдичныя,	seeing the cutting off of the wild branches,	видяще вѣтвь сущую,	seeing the true branch,
силою Божиею и богонасаждаема и прославляема,	by God's might both planted by God and glorified,	всесилною Божественною благодатию пресаждаему,	planted by the omnipotent divine grace,
и свѣтло венчаваема от Бога,	and brightly crowned by God	и свѣтло вѣнчаема от Бога	and brightly crowned by God

We can see it in later manuscripts and in the version published in so called "green" menaion.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted from the Menaion of 1509, RSL, F 304, no. 580, f. 133v.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 558–558v.

велика Василиа	the great Basil,	великаго Василия,	the great Basil,
Нашего върнаго началника	our faithful leader	нашего начальника крещению,	our leader to baptism
		и тѣмъ свѣтло просвѣти люди Своя	and with this, brightly enlighten Thy people with light
		во всѣх странах царьствия Твоего Боже	in all the countries of Thy kingdom, O God.

The changes are minimal: there is a small addition, "и тъмъ свътло просвъти люди Своя во всъх странах царьствия Твоего Боже" ("and with this, enlighten Thy people with light in all the countries of Thy kingdom, O God") at the end. This direct borrowing is caused by the fact that both hymns are for the same saint, the Baptizer of Rus. The decision to devote the first hymn to Vladimir creates also a deeper parallel with the beginning of Christianity and the Apostles, since it was he who converted Rus, and he was canonized as equal-to-the Apostles.

The second sticheron of small vespers is borrowed from the third sticheron of the cycle of 'Lord I have cried' (Mode 4) from the service to St Vladimir.

TABLE 3: THE SECOND STICHERON

Third Sticheron of 'Lord, I have cried' of Great Vespers for St Vladimir, Mode 419		Second Sticheron of 'Lord, I have cried' of Small Vespers for All Saints, Mode 1 <sup>20</sup>	
Корень правовъріа ты бысть еси, Василие <sup>21</sup> ,	You were the root of the true faith, O Basil,	Дивная чюдом пучина ты бысть, Василие,	You are an abyss, wondrous with mi- racles, O Basil,
напоенъ же Духомъ Пресвятымъ,	filled with the Most Holy Spirit,		
возрастивыи намъ вътви богосадныа	growing for us God-planted bran- ches	возрастивыи нам вѣтви Богонасажденныя,	growing for us the God-planted branches,
цвѣт благоухания источающа	that exude the fragrance of flowers,	и цвѣты благоухания нам источающа	that exude the fragrance of flowers
Бориса чюднаго и Глѣба, ревнителя благочестию	the wonderful Boris, and Gleb, the zealots for piety	Бориса чюднаго и Глѣба, ревнителя благочестию	the wonderful Boris, and Gleb, the zealots for piety
кыпящи всѣм вѣрным обилно чюдесы	who pour out abundant miracles to all the faithful.	кипяща всѣм вѣрным обилно чюдесы.	who pour out abundant miracles to all the faithful.
С нимиже предстоя Христу молися	Standing with them before Christ, pray	С нимиже предстоя Христу, молися царю нашему	Standing with them before Christ, pray to our King
		княземъ нашимъ подати побъды на поганныя врагы	that our princes be granted victories over the infidel enemies
спасти и просвътити душа наша.	that our souls be saved and enlightened.	и умирити всего мира, и спасти души нашя.	and peace to all the world, and that our souls be saved.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted from the Menaion of 1509, RSL, F 304, no. 580, f. 132v.

<sup>20</sup> Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 558v.

<sup>21</sup> Basil is the Christian name of Vladimir.

The only difference between these texts is the first phrase, which is the first phrase of the second sticheron of the cycle of the aposticha (Mode 1) of great vespers of the service to St. Vladimir on 15 July. The technique of combining texts was popular in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and particularly beloved by the hymnographer Mikhail, who created a service to St Alexander Nevsky.<sup>22</sup> The hymnographer Mikhail often combined the first part of one borrowed hymn with the second part of the next borrowed hymn to the same saint, but it was also possible to take two different hymns for a new compilation, so two parts of two different hymns were used to create a new one. In this example (Table 3), we see only the first phrase taken from the other hymn to the same saint, so the combination is the following: one phrase comes from one sticheron to St Vladimir and the rest is from another sticheron to him, taken from the same service. The reason for this change in the borrowed hymn could be the relation to the first sticheron: both stichera in the new service have almost an anaphorical beginning connected with a miracle: "Дивное чюдо" and "Дивная чюдом пучина ты бысть, Василие".

Another reason for changing the incipit is that direct borrowing is less recognizable with a different incipit, and it also provides a parallel with another sticheron to St Vladimir "Дивная чюдом пучина, жестосердии Бога не разумеша". It is also important that in both stichera, the children of St Vladimir, Ss Boris and Gleb, are mentioned. In St Vladimir's sticheron, Ss Boris and Gleb are called branches coming from the root. This image leads us to the next sticheron, where the image is further developed as many branches, coming from the same root.

The third sticheron is created mainly from known topoi, by using an idea from the first troparion of the sixth ode of the canon to St Vladimir. The second part of the sticheron mentions the names of certain saints.

TABLE 4: THE THIRD STICHERON

First Troparion of the Sixth Ode of the Canon to St Vladimir <sup>23</sup>		Third Sticheron of 'Lord, I have cried' of Small Vespers for All Saints, Mode 1 <sup>24</sup>	
Благочестию ревнитель,	By your piety, you were a zealot	Дивно и преславно чюдо	Oh, wondrous and glorified miracle
славнаго царя Констянтина ты бысть, Василие,	O Basil, of the glorious king Constantine,	посътил ны Господь от востокъ свыше,	You came to us, O Lord, the dawn from the high,
просвѣтившаго крещениемъ еллиньскаго рода,	who enlightened by baptism the Hellenic race,	великия ради милости,	by the great mercy,
ты же духовною банею люди своя пресвѣтло обновил еси	while You magni- ficently renewed Your people by the spiritual bath		

See, for example, V. Legkikh, "On the Question of the Heritage of Michael, a Sixteenth-Century Hymnographer: The Mechanism of the Creation of a Service," in *Creating Liturgically: Hymnography and Music. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Orthodox Church Music. University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu, Finland, 8–14 June 2015*, ed. Ivan Moody & Maria Takala-Roszczenko (Joensuu: Kopijyvä, 2017), 69–81.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted from the Menaion of 1509, RSL, F 304, no. 580, f. 139–139v.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 558v.

просвети и освяти люди Своя банею благочестия, святым Крещением,	enlighten and sancti- fy Thy people by the spiritual bath, the holy baptism,
и дарова нам наставники и укрѣпители вѣре, преподобныя отца	having granted us mentors and fortifiers of the faith, the reve- rend fathers,
ихже сошедшееся согласно ублажим	whom we praise, having come together,
Антония, Руския земли мнихом првоначальника,	Anthony, the first leader of the monks of the Russian land,
Феодосия же ревнителя спасению,	Theodosius, a zealot for the salvation,
и Дионисия, добродътелем наставника	and Dionysios, the guide to virtues,
ихже молитвами от мы ко свъту приближаемся	with their prayers we come nearer to light.

The first phrase of this sticheron also mentions a miracle, so all three stichera form a cycle with an anaphorical beginning, springing from the prosomoion of the cycle. It should also be mentioned that the first and the third stichera are almost identical in their initial phrase. The second part of the sticheron is on account of the fact that the service is devoted to all Russian saints. The third sticheron makes a bridge between Vladimir, the root of Russian Christianity, and other Russian saints, coming like branches from this root. Here the image of branches is not used, it is given in the previous sticheron, but through the quotation of the sticheron to St. Vladimir "enlighten and sanctify Thy people by the spiritual bath, the holy baptism" it can be made a connection with his image combined with the image of the branches coming from the same root.

Thus, in the cycle we can see three different possibilities of creating a new hymnographical work used in the 16<sup>th</sup> century: direct borrowing, direct borrowing of the incipit from one hymn and the rest of the text from another, and free use of topoi of the model. Nevertheless, the work can still be seen as an original one because of the music: not only are the prosomoia, attributed to the model texts, not identical to the new ones, but the models also belong to three different modes. Only in the first sticheron, the musical mode follows the model (mode 1). Since the first new sticheron uses the technique of direct borrowing from the model text, it would have probably been difficult to change the mode, yet its prosomoion is different. In the three stichera, we also see an interesting development in that the first sticheron is devoted to St Vladimir alone, while the second is devoted to St Vladimir and Ss Boris and Gleb, and the third to St Vladimir and all Russian saints coming after him.

The doxastikon at the end of this cycle demonstrates the classical style of borrowing in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, since all of it has been borrowed, including the mode. In this case, the source is the doxastikon in mode 8 for St Vladimir.

**TABLE 5: DOXASTIKON** 

Doxastikon for St Vladimir, Mode 8 <sup>25</sup>		Doxastikon for All Saints, Mode 8 <sup>26</sup>	
Приидѣте, сътецемся вси	Come, let us gather all together	Приидѣте, стецемся, вси праздниколюбцы,	Come, let meet all of us, the feast-lovers,
къ честнъи памяти отца Русскаго и наставника нашего Владимера:	to the righteous com- memoration of the father of Russia father and our mentor:	к честнѣи памяти отца Русскаго и наставника нашего Владимира.	the pure commemoration of the father of Russia and our mentor.
съ бо от еллин родися,	He was born of pagans,	Сей бо, от еллин рождься,	He was born of pagans,
и възлюби възлюбившаго и Христа,	and he loved Christ Who loved him,	возлюбивъ возлюблевшаго Христа,	and he loved Christ Who loved him.
и к Немуже взыде, радуяся,	to Him he rose, rejoi- cing	к Нему же взыде, радуяся,	He rose to Him rejoicing,
съ праматерию своею Еленою <sup>27</sup> .	with his grandmother Helen	с праматерию Еленою	with his grandmother Helen
Вся бо люди своя научи въровати	all his people he taught to believe	вся люди своя научи въровати	He taught all his folk to believe
и покланятися въ Троици единому Богу,	and to bow down to God, One in Trinity,	и покланятися в Троице Единому Богу,	and to bow to God, One in Trinity.
а идолы упразнивъ, попра	he trampled idols and destroyed them	а идолы же разрушив, попра	he trampled idols and destroyed them
и израсти нами свои честнъи лъторасли, Романа и Давыда <sup>28</sup> .	and grew for us his righteous shoots, Ro- man and David.	и израсти нам свои честнъи лъторасли, Романа и Давыда.	and grew for us his righteous shoots, Ro- man and David.
Тъмъже и мы, свътло нынъ пъсми память их върно чтуще, любовию празнуим	Therefore also we, today brightly and faithfully venerating their memory with songs, celebrate with love;	тѣм и мы, свѣтло чтуща нынѣ, пѣсми память ихъ вѣрно, праздуем	Therefore also we, brightly venerating today, with songs their memory faithfully celebrate;
да молятся къ Господу,	let them pray to the Lord	молитеся ко Господу	pray to the Lord
князем нашим подати побъду на поганыа врагы	to grant victory to our princes over the pagan enemies,		
умирити всего мира, и спасти душа наша.	to grant peace to all the world and to save our souls.	испросити мир мирови и душам нашим велию милость.	[that they] beseech peace to the world and great mercy to our souls.

The direct borrowing employed in this sticheron concludes the composition of the first cycle (of 'Lord, I have cried'), which is thus both begun and concluded by using this technique. With regard to the model text, the doxastikon almost does not change place in the service, since in the service to St Vladimir it belongs to the same cycle of stichera of 'Lord, I have cried' of great vespers. The analysis of the first cycle thus shows the

<sup>25</sup> Quoted from the Menaion of 1509, RSL, F 304, no. 580, f. 132v–133.

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 558.

<sup>27</sup> The Christian name of the great princess Olga.

The Christian names of the sons of the great prince Vladimir Boris and Gleb.

movement from one to many saints, from the root to the branches, and it immediately conveys the main idea of the service: after the conversion, Rus came to be perceived as a "holy land".

## 2.2 STICHERA APOSTICHA

The cycle for the aposticha is devoted to the first Russian monastics, the founders of the Kievan Caves monastery, St Anthony and St Theodosius, yet it uses incipits common to many other cycles of this service. There is no direct borrowing from the original services to St Theodosius or to St Anthony.

The new sticheron to St Anthony is a combination of known topoi from existing hymns dedicated to Russian monastics. The present composition is, however, more elaborate and creative. The common incipit, 'O venerable father', is followed by a phrase that is used in many hymns, referring to the saint as a rising sun. We see it also in the kontakion to St Anthony, 'яко светозарное солнце, во вся концы земли возсиял еси' ('like a brightly shining sun, you shone to all the ends of the earth').

The technique of combining is even more clearly visible in the following phrase, which is borrowed from the troparion to St Barlaam of Khutyn, which, in turn, borrows from the Canon to St Paul (Ode 1, troparion 3, in Mode 8): 'по закону же фарисъи явлься, вмънилъ еси вся уметы и Христа приобрълъ еси'<sup>29</sup> ('[although] you were one of the Pharisees, you came to consider everything as manure and received Christ'). After this, we see a free composition according to the model of the troparion to St Anthony:

TABLE 6A: THE FIRST STICHERON OF THE APOSTICHA

Troparion for St Anthony of the Kievan Caves, Mode 4 <sup>30</sup>	Canon to St Barlaam of Khutyn, Ode 1, Troparion 3 <sup>31</sup>	First Sticheron of the Aposticha of Small Vespers for All Saints, Mode 6 <sup>32</sup>
		Преподобнъ отче Антоние,
		возсиялъ еси яко солнце,
От мирьскаго мятежа исшед, в тихое пристанище		и озарилъ еси Русскую страну,
Святыя Горы Афона достиглъ еси, идеже	Земленаа и мимо текущаа, аки уметы вмънися,	земная и мимо текущая аки умѣты вменив
равноагтельно житие пожиль еси,	и Христа единаго приобрѣл еси ()	Христа единаго приобрѣлъ еси,
оттудуже пришедъ, отче Антоние,		и яже в Киевѣ пещеру Богодарованную ти,
Отечество си просвътилъ еси		яко градъ сдълал еси,
множеству иночествующих стезю,		и собра инок множества,
Христови привелъ еси,		с нимиже моля ко Господу,
Егоже моли спастися душам нашим.		спастися нам

<sup>29</sup> Quoted from the Menaion of 1514, RSL, F 304, no. 568, f. 192.

Quoted from the Menaion of the 16th century, RSL, F 304, no. 551, f. 282–282v.

<sup>31</sup> Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 501, f. 94.

<sup>32</sup> Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 558–558v.

TABLE 6B: THE FIRST STICHERON OF THE APOSTICHA (TRANSLATION)

Troparion for St Anthony of the Kievan Caves monastery, Mode 4 <sup>33</sup>	Canon to St Barlaam of Khutyn, Ode 1, Troparion 3	First Sticheron of the Aposticha of Small Vespers for All Saints, Mode 6
		O venerable father Anthony,
You left the tumult of the world to follow Christ according to the Gospel		You arose like the sun,
you led a life equal to the Angels and reached the haven of Mount Athos.		and lit up the Russian land,
	you have considered earthly and ephemeral things as ma- nure	you have considered earthly and ephemeral things as manure
	you received only Christ ()	you received only Christ
From thence with your fathers' blessing you illumined your fatherland at Kiev,		And the cave in Kiev, given to you by God,
		you made into the likeness of a town
where you led a multitude of monks along the path to Christ and His kingdom.		and you gathered a multitude of monks,
Pray to Him, O Holy Anthony, that He may save our souls		with them pray to the Lord
		to save us.

The new sticheron to St Theodosius is an edited doxastikon of the common service to the holy fathers.

TABLE 7: THE SECOND STICHERON OF THE APOSTICHA

Doxastikon of the Common Service to Holy Fathers <sup>34</sup>		Second Sticheron of the Aposticha of Small Vespers for All Saints, Mode 6 <sup>35</sup>	
Преподобни отцы,	Venerable fathers,	Преподобнѣ отче Феодосие,	Venerable father Theodosius,
мира красоты и пища временныя отнюдь возненавидъвше,	you came to hate the beauty of the world and the temporal food,	земных маловременнаго жития избъглъ еси,	you have turned away from earthly tempo- rality,
иноческое житие паче взлюбльше,	and to love monastic life more,	и иноческое житие паче возлюбив,	and loved monastic life more,
и агтелом собесъдници бысте,	you were collocutors of angels,	ангеломъ собъсъдниче,	you were a collocutor of angels,

The translation is quoted from the Internet source http://www.coptics.info/Bishop\_Alexander/saints\_july\_aug.htm. It is a translation of a slightly different contemporary version: От мирскаго мятежа исшед, отвержением же мира евангельски Христу последовал еси и равноангельное житие пожив, в тихое пристанище Святые Горы Афона достигл еси. Отонудуже благословением отцев в гору Киева пришед, и тамо трудолюбно жизнь совершив, Отечество свое просветил еси, и множеству монашествующих стезю ведущую к Небесному Царствию показав, Христу сия привел еси. Егоже моли, Антоние преподобне, да спасет души наша.

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 98, no. 99, f. 47.

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 558v.

и свѣтилници многосвѣтлии вселеннѣи	and radiant illuminators of the universe.	бъсом полки погубил еси	and you destroyed regiments of demons.
чюдесми якоже второе солнце сияюще,	You shine by your miracles like a second sun,		
но о всѣх нас поминаите,	yet remember us all,		
совершающихъ священную память вашу,	who commemorate your holy memory,		
мы бо чада ваша	for we are your child- ren	мы бо правыи путь	We have learnt from you to walk on the
и овцы словесных вашихъ учении	and sheep of your verbal teaching	тобою шествовати въдъхом,	right path,
и васъ на помощь призываемъ	and we call you for help	и тя на помощь призываемъ,	and we call you for help,
просяще вами прияти миръ и велию милость	praying, through you to obtain peace and a great mercy.	просяще тобою приятии миръ и велию милость	praying, through you to obtain peace and a great mercy.

It can be seen that the adaptation mainly concerns shortening the original text by removing some phrases. The only actual changes are found in the second phrase where "you came to hate the beauty of the world and the temporal food" is changed into "you have turned away from earthly temporality". The change does not affect the sense of the phrase much, yet it gives more novelty to the new hymn.

The third sticheron is a de-personalised composition on a known topoi:

TABLE 8: THE THIRD STICHERON OF THE APOSTICHA

Third Sticheron of the Aposticha of Small Vespers for All Saints, Mode 6 <sup>36</sup>		
Преподобнии отци и цвъти духовнии,	Venerable fathers and spiritual flowers,	
Русстъй странъ похвало и удобръние	the praise and ornament of the Russian land	
и всъм върным благоутишное пристанище,	and shelter from storm for all the faithful,	
Русская же земля, проповъдуя хвалится:	The Russian land proclaims and praises herself,	
имъя бо, рече, в собъ неистощимое сокровище,	having, she says, an inexhaustible treasure,	
яже бо и тълеснъ язык умолче,	of which the physical tongue remains silent,	
но чюдеса свидътельствуют	but the miracles testify	
прославльшаго вас Господа,	to the Lord, who has glorified you.	
Ему же молитеся	Pray to Him	
даровати нам велию милость.	to grant us great mercy.	

As in the cycle for "Lord, I have cried", we can see different ways of borrowing and composing with common topoi. This cycle also has an anaphorical beginning ('Venerable father'), and the composition develops from the first two stichera, praising mainly one saint, to the third which is devoted to many and composed using common topoi.

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 558v.

The beginning of the last doxastikon of small vespers is borrowed from the doxastikon devoted to the Seventh Ecumenical Council (the seventh week after Pentecost):

TABLE 9A: DOXASTIKON OF THE APOSTICHA

Doxastikon devoted to the Seventh Ecumenical Council, Mode 6		Doxastikon of the Aposticha of Small Vespers for All Saints, Mode 2	
Таиныя днесь Духа трубы	The secret trumpets of the Spirit,	Тайная днесь Духа трубы,	The secret trumpets of the Spirit,
богоносныя отцы восхвалим,	the God-bearing fathers, we prai- se today	Богоносныя отцы восхвалим	the God-bearing fathers, we praise today

After this phrase, the doxastikon continues with a list of the saints. In this case, the adaptation includes a change of the mode: the original sticheron in the sixth mode becomes a sticheron in the second mode.

TABLE 9B: DOXASTIKON OF THE APOSTICHA

Doxastikon, Mode 2 <sup>37</sup>	
Тайны днесь Духа трубы,	Sacred trumpets of the Spirit,
Богоносныя отцы восхвалим:	the God-bearing fathers, we praise today:
Владимера преблаженаго,	the most blessed Vladimir,
ликовствующе, купно прославим Антония, и Феодосия и Дионисия,	with gladness, together with him we praise Anthony, Theodosius and Dionysios,
наставники иноком,	mentors of monastics,
с нимиже блажим и Сергия, и Варламия и Еуфимия и Кирила,	with them we praise Sergius, and Barlaam and Euthymius and Cyril,
Димитрия, и Авраамия, Пафнутия и Макария	Demetrius, and Abramius, Paphnutius and Macarius,
и вся прочия русския светильники.	and all other Russian luminaries.
Днесь торжество ваше свѣтло празнуем, преподобнии отци,	Today we brightly celebrate your triumph, O venerable fathers,
молите о нас ко Господу, спасти душа наша.	pray for us to the Lord, to save our souls.

In this doxastikon, the general acclamation precedes the naming of saints, those already venerated in the service (Ss Vladimir, Anthony and Theodosius) and those who will be praised further in the service.

## 2.3 Troparion

The troparion uses the incipit from 'other' stichera on 'Lord, I have cried' for the service to Ss Boris and Gleb on 24 July, and there is only one known version of this service.

TABLE 10A: TROPARION FOR ALL SAINTS

First 'Other' Sticheron of 'Lord I have Cried' to Ss Boris and Gleb, Mode 1 <sup>38</sup>		Troparion for All Saints, Mode 3	
Пречестная верста и Богомъ възлюбленая	Righteous coevals, beloved by God,	Пречестная верста, Боговозлюбленая,	Righteous coevals, beloved by God,
мученика пресловущая Борисе и Глъбе	great martyrs Boris and Gleb,	отци преблажении, православию наставници	most blessed fathers, mentors of Orthodo- xy,

This incipit is followed by topoi related to the holy fathers.

TABLE 10B: TROPARION FOR ALL SAINTS

Troparion for All Saints, Mode 3 <sup>39</sup>		
Пречестная верста, Боговозлюбленая,	Righteous coevals, beloved by God,	
отци преблажении, православию наставници,	most blessed fathers, mentors of Orthodoxy,	
в небесныя обители, яко на колесници, добродътелми взыдосте,	to the heavenly abode, as if on a chariot, you rose with your virtues,	
теплии заступници Руская земли	tender intercessors for the Russian land	
и всъм върным странам утверждение,	and foundation for all faithful countries,	
Христу молитеся	pray to Christ	
даровати нам велию милость.	to grant us great mercy.	

The new troparion makes an interesting reference to the first canonized Russian saints, Boris and Gleb. While they are not mentioned by name, the borrowed incipit creates an allusion to the beginnings of Russian Christianity and its roots.

## **3 GREAT VESPERS**

TABLE 11: COMPOSITION OF THE GREAT VESPERS

Stichera of 'Lord, I have cried', mode 6, prosomoion 'O won- derful miracle'	Святителю отче блаженыи Алексъе, апостоломъ наслъдниче	O blessed holy father Alexios, the heir of the apostles
	Святителю отче Петре, свътилниче многосвътлыи Руския земля	O holy father, the blessed Peter, a radiant illuminator of the Russian land
	Святителем память и царю нашему дръжава	The commemoration of saints and the power of our king

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion LMAB, F 19, no. 170, f. 197.

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 559.

Stichera of 'Lord, I have cried', mode 6, prosomoion 'Venerab-	Преподобнъ отче, душу свою с тълом очистив	Venerable father, you purified your soul and your body
le father	Богомудре отче славне Еуфимие, постником ты бысть похвала	Venerable father, glorious Euthymius, you are the praise of those who fast
	Преподобни отци, поем и воспъваем пресвътлое тръжество ваше	Venerable fathers, we sing and praise your magnificent triumph
Doxastikon, mode 8	Днесь благодать Святаго Духа просвъти и освъти Рускую землю	Today the grace of the Holy Spirit enlightens and sanctifies the Russian land
3 paroimia		
Stichera of the Lity, mode 1	Приидите снидитеся людие рустии к честнъи памяти Владимира преблаженаго	Come together, Russian people, to the pure memory of the blessed Vladimir
	Радуися царство Руское върное, преже бъ невърно	Rejoice, the faithful Russian realm, which before was unfaithful
	Пречестная верста возлюбленая, мученика пресловущая Борисъ и Глъбе	Righteous beloved coevals, the great martyrs Boris and Gleb,
	Придъте вси върнии, преподобных отецъ лик воспоем	Come, all faithful, let us praise with songs the choir of the venerable fathers
	Кто изречет от земнородных чюдная ваша жития	Who among the earth-born can describe your miraculous lives
Doxastikon, mode 6	Иже по образу соблюдше невредима	You preserved the image undefiled
Stichera of the Aposticha, mode 2	Свѣтила руская мученици прехвалнии, святители же, просвѣтители верѣ	Most praised luminaries, Russian martyrs, holy fathers, and enlighteners of the faiths
	Вси помолимся Христу, иже творяще память днесь	Let us all pray to Christ, Who makes this day the commemoration
	Вси пъсми духовными возопием, красуися и веселися граде Суждале	Let us sing spiritual songs, rejoice and be joyful, o city of Suzdal
Doxastikon, mode 6	Отеческии составъ, празднолюбци, придите и пъсми восхвалим	Come, let us praise with songs the fatherly company

The hymns of great vespers are devoted to Moscow saints.

## 3.1 STICHERA OF 'LORD, I HAVE CRIED'

The first sticheron is devoted to St Alexios of Moscow. It is created according to the model of the troparion to St Peter of Moscow, with the addition of the miracle of St Alexios from his *vita*.

TABLE 12: THE FIRST STICHERON OF 'LORD, I HAVE CRIED'

Troparion to St Peter of Moscow, Mode 4 <sup>40</sup>		First Sticheron of 'Lord, I have Cried' for All Saints, Mode 6 <sup>41</sup>	
Благовърно поживъ в мире житие чисто,	You lived your life in the world virtuously and in purity,	Святителю отче блаженныи Алексъе	O blessed holy father Alexios,
просвътив учением вселенную святительства приемъ паству,	enlightening the world by your priestly teaching, you received a flock,	апостоломъ наслѣдниче	heir of the apostles,
апостоломъ наслѣдниче.	O heir of the apostles.	ты Русскую землю ученми своими всю просвътил еси	you enlightened the Russian land by your teachings,
Тем приемъ даръ чюдесъ от Бога, отче Петре,	For this you received the gift of miracles from God, O father Peter,	и, приим чюдес дар от Бога,	and, having received a gift of miracles from God,
		невърнаго царя царицю шед в Орду, исцелил еси	going to the Horde, you healed the queen of an infidel king.
		но не забуди отчины своея, Русския земля.	Do not forget your homeland, the Russian land,
моли Христа Бога Господа	pray to the Lord, Christ [our] God	Но всъх нас поминаи, предстоя во славъ Христу Богу	but pray for us all, standing in glory befo- re Christ [our] God
да спасет души наша	to save our souls.	да спасеть тебѣ ради душа наша.	to save through your intercession our souls.

The choice of the model is interesting, as the second sticheron in the new service is devoted to the same St Peter of Moscow. The author does not use direct borrowing, but the model is still recognizable. The mode is also changed. The model connects two Muscovite saints on the textual level but with small changes; the addition of St Alexios's miracle and the change of the mode make the borrowing more discrete.

The second sticheron, which is now devoted to St Peter of Moscow, is an edited doxastikon of the common service to the holy fathers, which we have already seen among the models for the hymns in the small vespers (in the case of the sticheron to St Theodosius, which featured almost direct borrowing from the original). The doxastikon to the holy fathers was borrowed, in turn, to the service to St Sergius of Radonezh with a small change ("the Russian land" instead of "the universe"). From that service, the doxastikon was borrowed to the service to St Euthymius of Suzdal. Since the latter two are identical, it is difficult to say whether the service to all saints borrowed from the service to St Euthymius of Suzdal or to St Sergius of Radonezh. In any case, in the service to all saints it is shortened, and the last lines are changed, and as we have already seen with small vespers, the mode is also changed.

<sup>40</sup> Quoted from the 17th-century Calendar and Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 365, f. 37v.

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion (RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 559) where it is the first sticheron. Other manuscripts change this order and give it as the second one.

TABLE 13A: THE SECOND STICHERON OF 'LORD, I HAVE CRIED'

Doxastikon of the Common Service to Reverend Fathers, Mode 8 <sup>42</sup>	Doxastikon of Small Vespers to St Sergius of Radonezh, Mode 8 <sup>43</sup>	Doxastikon for St Euthymius of Suzdal, Mode 8 <sup>44</sup>	First Sticheron for St Peter of Moscow, Mode 6 <sup>45</sup>
Преподобни отцы, мира красоты, и пища временныя отнюд възненавидъвше,	Преподобне отче, мира красоты, и пища временныя отнюд възненавидѣ,	Преподобнъ отче Еуфимие, мира красоты и пища временныа отнюд возненавидъ,	Святителю, отче Петре,
иноческое житие паче взлюбльше,	иноческое житие паче възлюбивъ,	иноческое житие паче возлюби,	
и агтелом собесъдници бысте,	и аггелом събесъдникъ быти сподобися,	и агеломъ сбъсъдник быв сподобися,	
и свѣтилници многосвѣтлии вселеннѣи,	и свътилникъ многосвътлыи Русскыя земля,	и свътиленик многосвътлы Суждаскыя земли,	свътилниче многосвътлыи Руския земля,
чюдесми якоже второе солнце сияюще.	чюдесми якоже второе солнце сиая.	чюдесми якоже второе солнце сияя.	чюдесьми во цароствующем граде Москвъ, яко второе солнце, сияя,
Но о всъх нас поминаите, совръшающихъ священную память твою:	Но всъх насъ поминаи, съвръшающих священную память твою:	Но всѣхъ нас поминаи свершающих священую память твою:	но всех нас поминаи, свершающих священую память твою,
мы бо чада ваша, и овци словесных ти учении,	мы бо чада твоя, и овца словесных ти учении,	мы бо чада твоа и овца словесных ти учении,	мы бо чада твоя
и васъ на помощь призываем,	и тя на помощь призываем,	и тя на помощь призываем,	и твою память свътло празднуем
просяще вами прияти мира и велию милость.	просяще тобою прияти мира и велию милость.	просяще тобою прияти миръ и велия милости	отче преблажене Петре,
			моли Христа Бога да спасетъ тебе ради душа наша.

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 98, no. 99, f. 47. For the service to one holy father it was often taken from the service to several, as it is in this manuscript. Thus I also quote from the service for several holy fathers.

Quoted from the Menaion for September of 1505, RSL, F 304, no. 466, f. 271v. Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 539–539v. 43

<sup>44</sup> 

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 559–559v; in some other manuscripts it is the first sticheron. Other manuscripts change this order and give it as the second.

TABLE 13B: THE SECOND STICHERON OF 'LORD, I HAVE CRIED' (TRANSLATION)

Doxastikon of the Com- mon Service to Holy Fathers, Mode 8	Doxastikon of Small Vespers to St Sergius of Radonezh, Mode 8	Doxastikon of Small Vespers to St Eut- hymius of Suzdal, Mode 8	First Sticheron of 'Lord I have Cried' to All Saints, Mode 6
Venerable fathers,	Venerable father,	Venerable father,	O holy father Peter,
you came to hate the beauty of the world and the temporal food,	you came to hate the beauty of the world and temporal food,	you came to hate the beauty of the world and temporal food,	
and to love monastic life more,	and to love the monastic life more.	and to love the monastic life more.	
you were collocutors of angels,	You were allowed to be a collocutor of angels	You were allowed to be a collocutor of angels	
and radiant illuminators of the universe.	and a radiant illuminator of the Russian land,	and a radiant illuminator of the Suzdal land,	a radiant illumina- tor of the Russian land,
You shine by your miracles like a second sun,	shining by your miracles like a second sun.	shining by your miracles like a second sun.	shining by your miracles in the ro- yal city of Moscow like a second sun,
yet remember us all, who commemorate your holy memory,	Yet remember us all, who commemorate your holy memory:	Yet remember us all, who commemorate your holy memory:	Yet remember us all, who comme- morate your holy memory,
for we are your children, and sheep of your verbal teaching,	for we are your children, and sheep of your verbal teaching,	for we are your child- ren, and sheep of your verbal teaching,	for we are your children,
and we call you for help	and we call you for help	and we call you for help	and we brightly celebrate your memory.
praying, through you to obtain peace and a great mercy.	praying, through you to obtain peace and a great mercy.	praying, through you to obtain peace and a great mercy.	O most blessed Peter, pray to Christ God to save, by your intercession, our souls.

The third sticheron, as was the case in small vespers, is a combination of topoi used in Russian services, in general.

TABLE 14: THE THIRD STICHERON OF 'LORD I HAVE CRIED'

Third Sticheron for All Saints of 'Lord I have Cried', Mode 646		
Святителем память и царю нашему державо,	The commemoration of saints and the power of our king,	
веселие бо торжество ваше,	joyful is your triumph,	
отци преблажении,	O most blessed fathers,	
и, о том хвалящеся, глаголемъ:	and, praising it, we say,	

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion. RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 559v.

не забудите отчины своея, Руския земля,	do not forget your fatherland, the Russian land,
но всъх нас поминаите,	but remember us all,
свершающих память вашу,	who celebrate your memory,
всесвятии отци,	O all-holy fathers,
молитеся за нас ко Господу.	pray for us to the Lord.

We can observe that the composition of this cycle is the same as in the small vespers: the first and the second stichera are mainly devoted to one saint and the third to all Russian saints. All three stichera also have an anaphorical incipit (which is changed a little in the third). Thus we can already see that in his cycles, Grigoriy tries to preserve the same composition.

The next cycle of stichera is devoted to monks of Holy Trinity Lavra of St Sergius. The first sticheron demonstrates direct borrowing from the service to St Sergius of Radonezh, without even changing the mode, as we have already seen in the small vespers, where the first sticheron is directly borrowed from the service to St. Vladimir.

TABLE 15: THE FIRST "OTHER" STICHERON OF 'LORD, I HAVE CRIED'

First Sticheron for St Sergius of Radonezh on 'Lord I have Cried' in the Small Vespers, Mode 5 <sup>47</sup>		First 'Other' Sticheron for All Saints of 'Lord, I have cried', Mode 5 <sup>48</sup>	
Преподобне отче, душу свою с тълом очистивъ,	Venerable father, you purified your soul and your body,	Преподобнъ отче, душу твою с тълом очистив	Venerable father, you purified your soul and your body,
Святому Духу прекраснаа обитель явися,	and you appeared as a beautiful abode for the Holy Spirit,	и Святому Духу прекрасная обитель явися,	and you appeared as a beautiful abode for the Holy Spirit,
и славна тя концем, преблажене Сергие, съдъя:	who made you fully praised, o most blessed Sergius,	иже славна тя концем, преблажене Сергие, содея,	who made you fully praised, o most bles- sed Sergius,
въ чюдесѣх же великаго свѣтилника,	great illuminator in miracles,	в чюдесъх же великаго светилника,	great illuminator in miracles,
просвѣтивша въ мрацѣ сущаа, яко наставника иноком,	who has enlightened those in darkness, as a mentor to monas- tics,	просвѣтивша во мрацѣ сущая, яко наставника иноком,	who has enlightened those in darkness, as a mentor to monas- tics,
сшедшеся велемудрено ублажим.	we, having gathered together, venerate with wisdom.	сшедшеся, велемудрено ублажим.	we, having gathered together, venerate with wisdom.

The second sticheron is devoted to St Euthymius of Suzdal. Here there is no direct borrowing, but it is possible to see that the stichera of 'Lord, I have cried' from the service to St Euthymius serve as models.

<sup>47</sup> Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 397v.

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 559v.

TABLE 16A: THE SECOND "OTHER" STICHERON OF 'LORD, I HAVE CRIED'

Second Sticheron for St Euthymius, of 'Lord, I have cried', Mode 5 <sup>49</sup>	Third Sticheron for St Euthymius of 'Lord, I have cried', Mode 5 <sup>50</sup>	Second Sticheron for All Saints on 'Lord, I have cried', Mode 5 <sup>51</sup>
Преподобне отче, Еуфимие	Преподобне отче, Еуфимие,	Богомудре отче славне Еуфимие,
благодать прием Пресвятаго Духа,	в незаходимая въшел еси,	постником тыи бысть похвала
	и Святому Духу прекрасная обитель явися,	
	мира красоты отнюд возненавиде,	мира красоты отнюдь возненавидъ
	высоки чрътозѣх добродѣтели предуготовавъ, <>	
от младых ногтеи Бога возлюбилъ еси		от юности Бога возлюби,
и бъсом погубил еси полки,		
<u>и тъсный путь шествовал</u> еси,		и тѣсныи путь шествовалъ еси.
постником ты бысть похвала <>		Суждальской свътлыи свътилниче,
		и всея Руси теплыи заступниче,
		моляся о нас ко Господу
		помиловати душа наша

## TABLE 16B: THE SECOND "OTHER" STICHERON OF 'LORD, I HAVE CRIED' (TRANSLATION)

Second Sticheron for St Euthymius of 'Lord I have Cried', Mode 5	Third Sticheron for St Euthymius of 'Lord I have Cried', Mode 5	Second Sticheron of for All Saints on 'Lord I have Cried', Mode 5
Venerable father Euthymius,	Venerable father Euthymius,	Wise-in-God father, glorious Euthymius,
you received the grace of Holy Spirit,	you entered in the place of no entrance,	you are the praise of those who fast,
	and you appeared as the beautiful abode for the Holy Spirit,	
	you came to hate the beauty of the world,	you came to hate the beauty of the world,
	preparing high bridal chambers by your virtues,	

<sup>49</sup> 

<sup>50</sup> 

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 539v. Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 540. Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 559v–560. 51

you loved God from your young nails [years]	you loved God from your youth,
and you destroyed the regiments of demons	
going by the narrow path.	going by the narrow path.
You are the praise of those who fast []	bright luminary of Suzdal,
	the tender intercessor for all Rus,
	pray for us to the Lord
	to have mercy on our souls.

The new sticheron was compiled from the lines of two existing hymns in sequence. The verses conclude with two added lines which are not encountered in the models but which are typical ending phrases in a hymn dedicated to a holy father. It is interesting that here the mode remains the same, since the combination of different lines of the two hymn-models already provides a novelty.

The third sticheron, as has already become clear, is typically composed of common topoi. The same can be said about the doxastikon. Even if this sticheron is devoted to only one saint, it features a composition of usual topoi related to services that are devoted to saints.

TABLE 17: DOXASTIKON

Doxastikon, Mode 8 <sup>52</sup>		
Днесь благодать Святаго Духа	Today the grace of the Holy Spirit	
просвъти и освъти Русскую землю,	enlightens and sanctifies the Russian land,	
обътшавшую гръхом:	decayed by sin.	
Господи, Духъ Твои послал еси	Lord, Your Spirit is sent	
кръпкоразумную душю славнаго князя Владимира,	to the firm-minded soul of the praised Prince Vladimir,	
познати Тебѣ, Единаго от Троица	so that he would know You, One of the Trinity	
и в Троици Христа Бога.	and in the Trinity, Christ God.	
и твоим крещением просвътивъ	Becoming enlightened by Your baptism	
Богоизбраныя Твоя, своя от Тебѣ порученыя люди ему,	Your divinely chosen ones, the people entrusted by You to him	
и приведе к Тебъ, върою вопиюща:	and brought to You, proclaim in faith:	
ускорй, Щедрыи, подщися	'Make haste, O Generous One,	
и спасти от прегръшении мира.	save us from the sins of the world'.	

This doxastikon, which is devoted to St Vladimir, can be seen as a prelude to the next cycle, which is again devoted to the beginning of the Christianization of Russia.

## 3.2 STICHERA OF THE LITY

The stichera of the Lity bring us back to the first Russian saints. The first sticheron is devoted to St Vladimir, the second to St Vladimir and St Olga and the third to Ss Boris

and Gleb. They are created in such a way that one can see a combination of recognizable and not quite recognizable hymns.

The first sticheron uses the beginning of the doxastikon to St Vladimir, but the reworked version is much shorter and does not include any biographical facts.

TABLE 18: THE FIRST STICHERON AT THE LITY

Doxastikon for St Vladimir, Mode 8 <sup>53</sup>		First Sticheron for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 1 <sup>54</sup>	
Приидъте сътецемся вси,	Come, let us gather all together	Приидите, снидите, людие рустии,	Come together, Russian people,
къ честнеи памяти отца русскаго и наставника нашего Владимира:	for, the righteous commemoration of Vladimir, of the Russian father and our mentor:	к честнъи памяти Владимера преблаженаго,	to the pure memory of the blessed Vladimir,
съ бо от еллин родися,	he was born of pagans,	угодника Христова преславнаго,	the glorious saint of Christ,
и възлюби възлюбившаго и Христа,	and he loved Christ Who loved him,	примете благодать,	receive grace,
и к Немуже възыде радуяся, <>	to Him he arose, rejoicing []	и спасение, и живот, и велию милость.	and salvation, and life, and great mercy.

We can see that instead of direct borrowing, the sticheron is a new creation on the basis of the model. The mode is also changed. The choice of the model is interesting, since the original sticheron mentions also St Olga and Ss Boris and Gleb.

TABLE 19: CONTINUATION OF THE MODEL TEXT

Doxastikon for St Vladimir, Mode 8 <sup>55</sup>		
съ праматерию своею Еленою.	with his grandmother Olga	
Вся бо люди своя научи въровати,	all his people he taught to believe	
и покланятися въ Троици Единому Богу, а идолы упразнивъ попра,	and to bow down to God, One in Trinity, he trampled idols and destroyed them	
и израсти нам свои честнъи лъторасли, Романа и Давыда.	and grew for us his righteous shoots, Roman and David.	

The compiled sticheron itself is devoted only to St Vladimir but through its reference to the model text, it paves way the next sticheron which is devoted to Ss Vladimir and Olga.

The second sticheron is based on the model of the second sticheron in the cycle of 'Lord, I have cried' on Cheesefare Saturday. The same source is used for three 'other' stichera. There are not many changes: specific phrases have been replaced with references to Russian saints, and the mode has also changed.

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 560v.

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 560v.

<sup>55</sup> Quoted from the Menaion of 1509, RSL, F 304, no. 580, f. 132v–133.

TABLE 20A: THE SECOND STICHERON AT THE LITY

Second Sticheron of 'Lord, I have cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 8 <sup>56</sup>	Second Sticheron Mode od 'Lord, I have cried', on Cheese- fare Saturday, Mode 8 <sup>57</sup>	Second Sticheron for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 5 <sup>58</sup>
Χαῖφε Αἴγυπτε πιστή,	Радуися Егупте верныи.	Радуися, царство Руское върное,
		преже бѣ невѣрно, паче же нынѣ вѣрою утвердися.
χαῖοε Λιβύη όσία,	Радуйся Ливие преподобная.	Радуися, царю Василие пребогатыи,
χαῖοε Θηβαϊς ἐκλεκτή,	Радуйся Фиваидо избавная.	радуися, Олга избранная:
		вы бо есте прежни ко Владыцѣ всехъ наши ходатаи, и началницы православию,
		и наставници ко истиннѣи сущеи вѣрѣ.
χαῖφε πᾶς τόπος, καὶ πόλις καὶ χώφα,	Радуися всякое мѣсто и страна и градъ,	Радуися, всяко мѣсто, и страна, и град,
ή τοὺς πολίτας θοέψασα, τῆς Βασιλείας τῶν οὐοανῶν,	иже гражданъ въспитавыи Царства Небеснаго,	иже гражаны воспитавыи Небеснаго Царства,
καὶ τούτους ἐν ἐγκοατείᾳ, καὶ πόνοις αὐξήσασα,	и сихъ въздержании и болѣзнеи възрастивше,	и сих в воздержании болъзни возрастивши,
καὶ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, τελείους ἄνδοας τῷ Θεῷ, ἀναδείξασα,	и желании свершены мужа Богу показавши.	свершены мужа Госпо <i>д</i> у показавшу.
οὖτοι, φωστῆφες τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν ἀνεφάνησαν,	Си свътила душевная явишася:	Сии свътила душам нашим явишася,
οί αὐτοὶ τῶν θαυμάτων τῆ αἴγλη, καὶ τῶν ἔوγων τοῖς τέρασιν, ἐξέλαμψαν νοητῶς,	ти же чюдесъ зарею, и дѣлесы и знаменьми,	тѣмже чюдес зарею, и дѣлесы, и знаменми
εἰς τὰ πέρατα ἄπαντα. Αὐτοῖς	просияше мыслено въ вся конца	просияша мыслено во вся конца
βοήσωμεν. Πατέφες παμμακάφιστοι, πφεσβεύσατε, τοῦ σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς.	тъмъ взопиемъ: отци вьсеблаженнии, моли спастися намъ.	нынъ Христу, вси святии отци, молитеся спасти душа наша.

## TABLE 20B: THE SECOND STICHERON AT THE LITY (TRANSLATION)

Second Sticheron of 'Lord I have Cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 8	Second Sticheron for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 5
Rejoice, faithful Egypt,	Rejoice, faithful Russian realm
	which once was unfaithful and now is fortified by faith.
Rejoice, venerable Libya,	Rejoice, sovereign Basil,
	of great wealth,

<sup>56</sup> 

Quoted from the internet source http://glt.xyz/texts/Tri/t27.uni.htm. Quoted from the Triodion of the 16th century RSL, F 304, no. 392, f. 49v. Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 561v–562. 57

<sup>58</sup> 

Rejoice, chosen Thebaid.	Rejoice, chosen Olga:
	for you are our first intercessors to the Lord, initiators of Orthodoxy, and patrons of the true faith.
Rejoice, every place and country and city	Rejoice every place and country and city
which have nourished citizens of the Heavenly Kingdom,	which have nourished citizens of the Heavenly Kingdom
raising them in abstinence and pains,	raising them in abstinence and pains,
showing them to God as perfect men in desire.	showing them to the Lord as perfect men,
They have become spiritual luminaries	They have become luminaries to our souls
and by the light of their wonders, and their deeds, and signs	and by the light of their wonders, and their deeds, and signs,
they have shone spiritually to all the ends [of the earth].	they have shone spiritually to all the ends [of the earth].
For this we cry out: all-blessed fathers, pray for our souls!	all holy fathers, pray now to Christ to save our souls.

The choice of the model creates a parallel with the beginning of the Christianization of the world, since the model text speaks of Egypt, where Christianity spread in the middle of the first century. The Christianization of Rus is presented as parallel to this, and the events of 988 as bringing new life to the land. St Vladimir, who converted Rus, and St Olga, his grandmother, who herself converted, became the most important figures in the religious history of Russia.

The third sticheron is devoted to Ss Boris and Gleb, and we see a direct borrowing from the 'other' cycle of stichera of 'Lord, I have cried' for the service to Ss Boris and Gleb on 24 July, of which there is only one known version. This time not even the mode is changed. Grigoriy already used incipit of this sticheron for his troparion, and now he borrows it directly.

TABLE 21: THE THIRD STICHERON AT THE LITY

First 'Other' Sticheron of 'Lord I have Cried' to Ss Boris and Gleb, Mode 1 <sup>59</sup>		Third Sticheron for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 560	
Пречестная веръста и богомъ възлюбленая	Righteous coevals, beloved by God,	Пречестная верста возлюбленая,	Righteous coevals, beloved by God,
мученика пресловущая Бориск и Глъбе	great martyrs Boris and Gleb,	мученицы пресловущаа, Борисъ и Глъбъ,	great martyrs Boris and Gleb,
теплая заступника Рустеи земли	tender intercessors for the Russian land,	теплая заступника Руския земля	tender intercessors for the Russian land,
Всѣм странам утверъжение,	foundation for all lands,	и всѣм странам утвержение,	foundation for all lands,
Христу молѣтеся даровати душам нашим мир и велию милость	pray to Christ to grant to our souls peace and a great mercy.	Христу молитеся даровати душамъ нашим велию милость.	pray to Christ to grant our souls great mercy.

Ouoted from the 17th-century Menaion LMAB, F 19, no. 170, f. 197.

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 562.

The sticheron devoted to Ss Boris and Gleb is compositionally important, since they were not only the children of St Vladimir but also the first canonized Russian saints. Thus, these three stichera reflect the beginning of Christianity in Russia.

The next three stichera (fifth, sixth and seventh) are devoted to all Russian saints. They are borrowed from the service on Cheesefare Saturday where they constitute the first and the third stichera and the doxastikon of 'Lord, I have cried'. The only serious change is again the mode. In addition, the first sticheron mentions two Russian saints (St Anthony and St Euthymius). The hymnographer uses the original text by preserving the first name intact, changing only the epithet from St Anthony the Great into St Anthony of the Kievan Caves. The second name keeps changing in different manuscripts (it can be St Theodosius or St Dionysios). The other stichera have been borrowed without any changes.

TABLE 22A: THE FOURTH STICHERON AT THE LITY

First Sticheron of 'Lord, I have Cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 8 <sup>61</sup>	First Sticheron of 'Lord, I have Cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 8 <sup>62</sup>	Forth Sticheron for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 5 <sup>63</sup>
Δεύτε άπαντες πιστοί, τάς τών οσίων Πατέρων,	Приидите вси вернии, преподобных отец лики воспоим,	Приидѣте, вси вѣрнии, преподобных отъцъ лик воспоем:
χοςείας υμνήσωμεν, Αντώνιον τόν Κοςυφαίον, τόν φαεινόν Ευθύμιον,	Антониа верховнаго, светлаго Евфимиа,	Антония връховнаго Печерская, свътлаго Дионисиа,
καί έκαστον, καί πάντας ομού,	и когождо и вся вкупе.	купно же кождо их всъх.
καί τούτων ώσπες Παράδεισον,	И сих, якоже другий рай сладости,	И сих, якоже другия пища,
άλλον τουφής, τάς πολιτείας νοητώς διεξεοχόμενοι, τεοπνώς ανακοάξωμεν.	гражданства мысленно преходяще, красно воззовем:	житие мыслено преходяще, красно возопием:
Ταύτα τά ξύλα, ά εφύτευσεν ο Θεός ημών,	сия древеса яже насади Бог наш:	сия древеса яже насади Богъ нашь:
τά αυτά, τούς αφθάφτους καφπούς τής ζωής εξανθήσαντα,	сия плоды нетленныя жизни процветшая,	таже яже плоды нетлѣныя жизни процвѣтше,
ποοσήγαγον τώ Χοιστώ, εκτοέφοντα ημών τάς ψυχάς,	принесоша Христу, питающе наша души,	и принесоша Христу, питающе наша душа
πρός ούς βοήσωμεν,	к нимже возопиим:	к нимже возопием:
θεοφόροι μακάριοι,	богоноснии блаженнии,	Богоносни отци преблажени,
ποεσβεύσατε, τού σωθήναι ημάς.	молите спастися нам.	ко Христу молитеся спастися душам нашим.

Quoted from the Internet source http://glt.xyz/texts/Tri/t27.uni.htm.

<sup>62</sup> Quoted from the 16th-century Triodion RSL, F 304, no. 392, f. 49v.

<sup>63</sup> Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 562–562v.

TABLE 22B: THE FIFTH STICHERON AT THE LITY (TRANSLATION)

First Sticheron of 'Lord, I have Cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 8	Fifth Sticheron for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 5
Come, all ye faithful,	Come, all ye faithful,
Let us praise with songs the choirs of holy fathers:	Let us praise with songs the choir of holy fathers:
the great Anthony, the bright Euthymius,	Anthony, the superior of Pechery, and the bright Dionysios,
each of them and everyone together,	everyone together and each of them,
and passing spiritually through their lives as through a paradise of sweetness,	and passing spiritually through their lives as through other nourishment,
we cry with joy:	we cry with joy:
these are the trees which our God has planted:	these are the trees which our God has planted,
these are the ripened fruits of eternal life,	and these are the ripened fruits of eternal life,
offered to Christ, nourishing our souls.	offered to Christ, nourishing our souls.
O blessed, God-bearing fathers, pray that we may be saved.	O most blessed God-bearing fathers, pray to Christ to save our souls!

TABLE 23A: THE FIFTH STICHERON AT THE LITY

Third Sticheron of 'Lord I have Cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 8 <sup>64</sup>	Third Sticheron of 'Lord I have Cried', on Cheesefare Satur- day, Mode 8 <sup>65</sup>	Fifth Sticheron for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 5 <sup>66</sup>
Τίς ἐξείποι γηγενῶν, τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς ὑμῶν βίους, Πατέρες παγκόσμιοι;	Кто изречеть от земнородныихъ чюдная ваша жития, отци всисвятии?	Кто изречет от земнородных чюдная ваша жития, преподобни отци?
ποία δὲ γλῶσσα λαλήσει, τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἐν Πνεύματι ἀγῶνας, καὶ ίδρῶτας ύμῶν,	Кии же языкъ изглаголить священыя о Дусъ подвигы и поты ваша?	Кии же язык изглаголеть священыя о Дусѣ подвиги и поты ваша,
τὰ ἆθλα τῶν ἀρετῶν, τὴν τῆξιν τοῦ σώματος, τὰς παλαίστρας τῶν παθῶν,	Страдания добродътелемъ, изъмождения тъла, борения страстемъ,	страдания, почести добродѣтелем, измождения тѣла, борения страстем
ἐν ἀγουπνίαις καὶ εὐχαῖς, καὶ τοῖς δάκουσιν,	во бдѣниихъ, и въ молитвахъ и слезахъ?	во бдѣниих, и молитвах, и слезах?
ύμεῖς ἐν κόσμῳ, ὥσπερ Ἄγγελοι ὄντως ὤφθητε,	Вы в миръ воистинну явистеся яко ангели,	Вы в миръ воистину явистеся якоже ангели,
οί αὐτοί, τὰς δαιμόνων δυνάμεις, τελείως καθείλετε,	тиже бѣсомъ силу до конца погубисте,	тииже бѣсом силу до конца погубисте,
τελέσαντες θαυμαστά, καὶ ἐξαίσια τέρατα.	створивше чюдная и дивная знамения.	сотворивше чюдная и дивная знамения.
Διὸ ποεσβεύσατε, σὺν ἡμῖν παμμακάοιστοι,	Тъмже молитеся с нами преблажени,	Тѣмже молитеся, преблажении, о нас ко Господу,
τυχεῖν ήμᾶς τῆς ἀλήκτου χαρᾶς	улучити намъ неизглаголанную радость	улучити нам неизглаголаную радость и велию милость.

Quoted from the Internet source http://glt.xyz/texts/Tri/t27.uni.htm. Quoted from the 16th-century Triodion RSL, F 304, no. 392, f. 49v. Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 562v. 64

<sup>65</sup> 

<sup>66</sup> 

TABLE 23B: THE SIXTH STICHERON AT THE LITY (TRANSLATION)

Third Sticheron of 'Lord I have Cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 8	Sixth Sticheron for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 5
Who among men can speak of the perfection of your lives, holy fathers?	Who among the earth-born can describe your miraculous lives, venerable fathers?
What tongue can describe your ascetism and efforts, sanctified by the Spirit?	What tongue can utter the sanctity of your efforts?
The suffering in virtue, the straining of the flesh, the struggles with passions,	The suffering in virtue, the control of the flesh, the struggles with passions,
in vigils, in prayers and in tears?	in vigils, in prayers and in tears?
Truly, you were angels while in the world.	Truly you were angels while in the world.
You conquered completely the powers of evil,	You destroyed entirely the power of evil.
performing miraculous and wonderful signs.	You performed miraculous and wonderful signs.
Therefore, pray with us, most blessed fathers,	Therefore, pray with us, most blessed fathers,
that we may reach endless joy!	to gain for our souls eternal joy!

TABLE 24A: DOXASTIKON

Doxastichon of 'Lord I have Cried', on Cheesefare Saturday, Mode 6 <sup>67</sup>	Doxastikon of 'Lord I have Cried', on Cheesefare Satur- day, Mode 6 <sup>68</sup>	Doxastikon for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 6 <sup>69</sup>
Τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα, τηρήσαντες ἀλώβητον,	Иже по образу съблюдше невредима,	Иже по образу соблюдше невредимо,
νοῦν ήγεμόνα, κατὰ παθῶν ὀλεθοίων,	ума владыку на страсти губителя постъническыи протививъшеся,	ума владыку на страсти губителя постнически противившеся,
ἀσκητικῶς ἐνστησάμενοι, εἰς τὸ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ὡς δυνατὸν ἀνεληλύθατε· ἀνδοικῶς γάρ τὴν φύσιν ἐκβιασάμενοι,	въ еже по подобию яко силнии приидосте:	во еже по подобию, яко силнии, приидосте.
ἐσπεύσατε τὸ χεῖοον	мужьскы бо естество понудивше,	мужески естьство понудивше,
καθυποτάξαι τῷ κρείττονι,	потщастеся хужьшее покорити болшеому,	потщашася хужшее покорити болшему
καὶ τὴν σάρκα δουλῶσαι τῷ Πνεύματι	и плоть поработити Духу.	и плоть поработивши Духу.
őθεν μοναζόντων, ἀνεδείχθητε ἀκρότης,	Тъмже инокующимъ явльшеся верхъ,	Тъмже инокующим явлышися верхъ,
πολισταὶ τῆς ἐϱήμου,	граждане пустыньнии,	гражане пустынныи,
εὐδοομούντων ἀλεῖπται, κανόνες ἀφετῆς ἀκοιβέστατοι.	благотикущиимъ помазателя, правило добродътели извъстно.	благотекушим помазателя, правило добродѣтели извѣстно.
Καὶ νῦν ἐν οὐρανοῖς, τῶν ἐσόπτρων λυθέντων Πανόσιοι, καθαρῶς ἐποπτεύετε,	И нынѣ на небесехъ, зерцаломъ раздрѣшивъшеся богомудрии,	И нынѣ на Небесѣх, зерцалом разрѣшившимся, богомудрии,

<sup>67</sup> 

<sup>68</sup> 

Quoted from the Internet source http://glt.xyz/texts/Tri/t27.uni.htm. Quoted from the 17th-century Triodion RSL, F 304, no. 392, f. 50. Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 562v–563. 69

τὴν ἁγίαν Τοιάδα,	чисто зрите Святую Троицю,	чисто видяще Святую Троицу,
ἐντυγχάνοντες ἀμέσως,	молящеся вкупъ,	молящеся вкупть
ύπὲς τῶν πίστει καὶ πόθω	о вѣрою и любовию чтущимъ	о иже върою и любовию
τιμώντων ὑμᾶς	васъ.	чтущихъ вас.

TABLE 24B: DOXASTIKON (TRANSLATION)

Doxastikon of 'Lord I have Cried', on Cheese- fare Saturday, Mode 6	Doxastikon for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 6
You preserved the image [of God] undefiled,	You preserved the image [of God] undefiled,
by fasting, you set your master mind against the destructive passions,	by fasting, you set your master mind against the destructive passions,
You attained the greatest possible likeness [of God],	You attained the greatest possible likeness [of God],
manfully forcing your nature	manfully forcing your nature
and striving to submit the worse to the better,	and striving to submit the worse to the better,
and the flesh to serve the Spirit.	and the flesh to serve the Spirit.
Therefore, you were shown as leaders of monks,	Therefore, you were shown as leaders of monks,
dwellers of the desert,	dwellers of the desert, the refuge of those who sought God,
aid for those who walk on the good path, the renowned rule for virtue.	aid for those who walk on the good path, the renowned rule for virtue.
And now in the heavens, o you, wise in God, no longer on a mirror,	And now in the heavens, o you, wise in God, no longer on a mirror,
but clearly you behold The Holy Trinity, praying together	but clearly you behold The Holy Trinity, praying together
for those who venerate you in faith and love.	for those who venerate you in faith and love.

In this case, we can talk about a perfect choice of model: the stichera are known since they are taken from the Triodion. This is rather rare in practice. Because they address no specific people, the model stichera may also be borrowed directly without any changes. The only personalized reference in the first sticheron (mentioning St Anthony the Great and St Euthymius) has been changed minimally, since St Anthony the Great corresponds to St Anthony of the Kievan Caves, and St Euthymius to Ss Theodosius and Dionysios. In the first case, they even have the same name. Some novelty is introduced by changing modes in the first and the second stichera, leaving the third unchanged. Another important fact is that all the stichera were borrowed directly in Church Slavonic, without consulting a Greek original (as evidenced by the identical textual forms).

### 3.3 STICHERA OF THE APOSTICHA

The stichera of the Aposticha are unpersonalized, and they are composed of known topoi naming different ranks of saints. The first one is devoted to all Russian martyrs.

TABLE 25: THE FIRST STICHERON OF THE APOSTICHA

First Sticheron of the Aposticha for All Saints, Mode 270		
Свътила руская, мученици прехвалнии,	Russian illuminators, most praised martyrs,	
святители и просвътители въре и утвержение,	holy fathers and enlighteners of faith and foundations,	
преподобни гражане пустынныя,	venerable dwellers of the desert,	
и наставници благочестию,	and mentors of piety,	
йхже, сошедшеся, согласно ублажим:	them, having come together, we praise:	
преподобнии и праведнии и вси святии,	the venerable and the righteous and all the saints,	
молите Христа Бога	pray to Christ God	
даровати нам велию милость.	to grant us great mercy.	

The sticheron does not provide any names and it is created from the most common topoi. However, in the middle, we see a parallel with a previous sticheron:

TABLE 26: EXCERPT FROM THE FIRST STICHERON OF THE APOSTICHA

Doxastikon for All Saints at the Lity, Mode 6		First Sticheron of the Aposticha for All Saints, Mode 2	
гражане пустынныи,	Dwellers of the desert,	преподобни гражане пустынныя,	Venerable dwellers of the desert,
благотекушим помазателя, правило добродътели извъстно	aid for those who walk on the good path, the renowned rule for virtue.	и наставници благочестию	and mentors of piety,

This reference makes the connection not only with the previous hymn but also with the model hymn, which creates a connection with the Triodion and the beginning of Christian history.

The second sticheron is created on the same principle. It is interesting that the incipit of the sticheron is taken from the Triodion, where it is the first troparion of the canon of the ode 1, mode 8 of Meatfare Saturday, in a similar way to the stichera of the Lity which were taken from the Cheesefare service:

TABLE 27: EXCERPT FROM THE CANON OF MEATFARE SATURDAY

Вси помолимся Христу,	Let us all pray to Christ,
творяще память душамъ от вѣка умршимъ,	commemorating the dead from the beginning of the ages,
да въчнаго огня избавить върою усопшая,	that He save from eternal fire those who died in faith
о уповании жизьни въчныя <sup>71</sup> .	and in the hope of the eternal life.

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 563.

Quoted from the edition (Maya A. Momina, Nikolaos Trunte, *Triodion und Pentekostarion nach slavischen Handschriften des* 11.–14. *Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn, München, Wien, Zürich: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004), 179.

In the sticheron, this incipit leads to the joyful praising of all saints of Russia, starting with St Vladimir:

TABLE 28: THE SECOND STICHERON OF THE APOSTICHA

Second Sticheron of the Aposticha for All Saints, Mode 2 <sup>72</sup>		
Вси помолимся Христу,	Let us all pray to Christ,	
иже творяще память днесь	Who makes this day the commemoration	
отцу нашему Владимеру,	of our father Vladimir,	
началника просвъщения Руския земли нашея.	the beginner of enlightenment of our Russian land.	
И с ним вкупъ воспоим согласно	And with him we praise together	
Божественыя отца наша,	our divine fathers	
иже постом просиявшая.	who shone by fasting.	
К нимже взовем, глаголюще:	We will cry to them, saying:	
отци всисвятии,	O most holy fathers,	
молитеся о нас ко Господу,	pray for us to the Lord,	
даровати нам велию милость.	to grant us great mercy.	

The third sticheron is created from two famous topoi, used very often in Russian services. Here, it is followed by the phrase 'иже израсти нам плод древа раискаго' ('which grew for us the fruit of the paradise tree'). This resembles the very well-known phrase of the doxastikon for St Vladimir, 'и израсти нам свои честнъи люторасли, Бориса и Глъба' ('he grew for us his righteous shoots, Boris and Gleb), but instead of mentioning Boris and Gleb, the sticheron continues by mentioning two female saints, St Euphrosyne of Suzdal and St Febronia of Murom.

TABLE 29: THE THIRD STICHERON OF THE APOSTICHA

Third Sticheron of the Aposticha for All Saints, Mode 2 <sup>73</sup>		
Вси пъсми духовными возопием:	Let us proclaim with spiritual songs:	
красуися и веселися, граде Суждале,	rejoice and be joyful, o city of Suzdal,	
иже израсти нам плод древа раискаго,	which grew for us the fruit of the tree of paradise,	
Еофросинию благовърную, инокиня наставницу тверду.	the faithful Euphrosyne, the firm leader of those who fast,	
Сиеюже купно блажим и Февронию преподобную,	together with her we praise the venerable Febronia,	
Муромскую свътилницу пресвътлую.	the radiant luminary of Murom.	
Богоноснии блаженнии матери,	O God-bearing blessed mothers,	
молитеся ко Господу,	pray to the Lord	
даровати нам велью милость.	to grant us great mercy.	

This is the first time female saints are mentioned in the service. These two saints were probably chosen because of the fact that the *vita* of St Euphrosyne was written by Grigoriy himself, and St Febronia was the only woman canonized in 1547. Although

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 563.

Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 563v.

St Euphrosyne was not officially canonized in the Macarius's councils, she had been venerated since 1517, and in the Menologion of 1548 (SHM, Sinodalnoe 336) she is mentioned as a saint:

В той же день преподобныя матери нашея Ефросинии, иже бывшей великой княжне черниговской. Положена же бысть в граде Суздале в дивичье манастыре, иже бысть ею създан, исцеление же бывает от гроба ея и до сего дни приходящим с верою.

On the same day, [we commemorate] our venerable mother St Euphrosyne, who was the Grand Princess of Chernigov. She was buried in Suzdal in the female monastery which she had founded, and healings take place at her tomb even today for those who come in faith.<sup>74</sup>

In parallel, the doxastikon presents a list of some male saints, with the two females. The composition follows the same principle as before, using a known incipit which is followed by the list of saints.

TABLE 30: THE DOXASTIKON

Doxastikon, Mode 6 <sup>75</sup>		
Отеческии состав, празднолюбци,	Come, lovers of the feast,	
приидите, пѣсми восхвалим:	let us praise with songs the fatherly company:	
святителя Петра, митрополита Алексъя,	holy father Peter, metropolitan Alexios,	
Леонтия, Игнатия, Иоанна, Феодора,	Leontius, Ignatius, John, Theodore,	
С ними же купно Сергия, Варлаама блажим,	Together with them we praise Sergius and Barlaam,	
Еуфимия, Кирилла,	Euthymius, Cyril,	
Димитрия, Авраамия, Пафнотия, Макария,	Demetrius, Abraham, Paphnutius, Macarius,	
иже Христа ради уродивых Максима, Исидора, Николу,	the holy fools Maxim, Isidore, Nicholas,	
вкупе о Господу Евфросинию, Февронию,	together with Euphrosyne and Febronia,	
иже в постъ просиявшая.	who became radiant with fasting.	
Все святии праведнии,	All righteous saints,	
молитеся о нас ко Господу,	pray for us to the Lord,	
спасти и просвътити души наша.	to save and enlighten our souls.	

The doxastikon and the troparion are the last hymns of great vespers, so this sticheron combines the memory of saints and holy fools. It is noticeable that here Grigoriy no longer mentios the holy princes Vladimir and Boris and Gleb; the only royal saints are Ss Euphrosyne and Febronia, and both of them received tonsure. Here the idea of the "Holy Rus" is supported not by numerous holy princes, but holy venerable fathers and royal nuns emphasizing the idea that the land that has produced so many saints is itself holy.

<sup>74</sup> Quoted from the Menologion SHM, Sinodalnoe 336. F. 106v. See more in Б. М. Клосс, А. В. Маштафаров, "Евфросиния," in *Православная энциклопедия*. V. XVII (Моссоw: Церковно-научный центр «Православная энциклопедия», 2008), 517-521.

<sup>75</sup> Quoted from the 17th-century Menaion RSL, F 304, no. 337, f. 563v.

## **4 CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, we can say that an analysis of even two cycles of vespers shows a very typical way in which new services were created in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Several model texts are borrowed or edited. The main model of the service is borrowed from Cheesefare Saturday, yet there are also loans from several other services, mainly dedicated to Russian saints.

Grigoriy uses different types models and different types of borrowing. When there is a direct borrowing, Grigoriy may change the mode to produce a new melody to an old hymn. He often uses the same model for more than one hymn, passing from direct borrowing to using a similar structure or using an incipit. He tries to make model hymns recognizable, yet to show with some changes that they are new creations. Looking for models, he also uses the Triodion, using texts that have already been translated into Church Slavonic. Sometimes he creates completely new hymns, using the most common topoi. In the cycles of stichera Grigoriy often uses a composition in which the first and the second stichera are devoted to one or two saints and the third is devoted to several. Even when using different model texts for the cycle, Grigoriy changes, if possible, the incipit in order to create an anaphorical beginning.

The analysis of the hymnographical models and borrowings seems to me important, since it provides several references and parallels both to the history of the Christianization of Russia and the history of Christianity in general. The service was changed and redacted over the course of many years, and the first version is no longer used. However, it is important to analyse the first version, which combines many methods used by hymnographers in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Many direct and reworked borrowings, with all the references and parallels, form the composition of the service, showing Rus as truly a "holy land". We can see that, as a result, the service comes out not as an accumulated mass of different hymns but as a creation with its own logic and structure.

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#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

LMAB – Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka

RSL – Russian State Library

RNL – Russian National Library

SHM - State Historical Museum