

The Oldest Russian Sticheraria from the Triodion: Some Remarks on Their Homogeneity and Diversity

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Resumo

O presente artigo debruça-se sobre um conjunto de livros litúrgicos de canto russo, *Sticheraria* do ciclo Triodion, que reúne *stichera* para as semanas de preparação da Quaresma e para o Domingo de Todos-os-Santos. Os códices mais antigos que se preservam até hoje datam dos séculos XII-XIII, ou seja, cerca de dois séculos depois do início do culto Cristão segundo o rito Bizantino na Rússia.

No sentido de tentar perceber melhor como terá sido o canto litúrgico nesse período pouco conhecido, e que tradições bizantinas o influenciaram, pretendeu-se elaborar neste artigo uma comparação de *Sticheraria* russos antigos, segundo diversos parâmetros, e apontar os elementos unificadores ou divergentes entre si. Através dessa comparação, pudemos constatar que algumas das suas características emergiram sob a influência directa dos livros modelo russos elaborados na segunda metade do século XI. Outras características permitiram-nos identificar certas particularidades dos protótipos greco-estuditas antigos, assim como o impacto da tradição palestina. Contudo, algumas das divergências encontradas deverão ainda ser alvo de um estudo mais aprofundado no futuro.

Palavras-chave

Música Sacra Russa; Período Estudita; Transmissão da tradição Bizantina; Manuscritos neumáticos; Classificação.

Abstract

This article concerns a group of Russian chant liturgical books, *Sticheraria* of the Triodion cycle, which collect *stichera* from the weeks preparatory to Lent to the Sunday of All Saints. The oldest survived codices belong to the 12th-13th centuries and are separated from the initial moment of Christian worship according to the Byzantine rite in Russia by the period of near a century and half-two centuries.

To get closer to answering the question of what was the liturgical singing in this little known period and by which Byzantine traditions it was influenced, the article suggests to compare Old Russian *Sticheraria* in several aspects and to identify their unifying and dividing characteristics. As a result, it was found that a number of characteristics emerged under the direct influence of Russian model books derived from the redaction of the second half of the 11th century. Other characteristics allow us to see the particularities of earlier Greek Studite prototypes, as well as the impact of the Palestinian tradition. However, a great number of the divergences need a future enlightenment.

Keywords

Russian Church Singing; Studite Period; Transmission of the Byzantine Tradition; Neumatic Manuscripts; Classification.

THE BEGINNING OF RUSSIAN CHURCH singing is normally considered to date from the 10th century, shortly before the baptism of Rus' and, in a systematic way, immediately after.¹ Russia adopted the Christian rite, liturgical chant and the typology of liturgical books from Byzantium. The Byzantine liturgy at the turn of the 9th-10th century represents a fusion of liturgically heterogeneous traditions originating in different local and chronological circumstances.

According to Frøyshov, Greek hymnody and chant books from between the 9th and 12th centuries represent the Middle-Byzantine period, which is marked, during its mature stage, by the predominance of the Studite monastic liturgy. Being synthetic in nature, it had appeared as a consequence of the development of the previous early Byzantine synthesis (7th-8th centuries), characterized by the spread of the Jerusalem liturgical rite and corpus of hymnody to the Constantinopolitan and Italo-Greek spheres. By the 11th century the four local branches of the Studite tradition were developed: the Studite Constantinopolitan, the Athonite, including South-Italian, that from Asian Minor and the Palestinian; the Constantinopolitan Evergetis monastery represented a particular liturgical tradition.²

About a century before the baptism of Russia, on account of the Slavic mission of St. Cyril, St. Methodius and their pupils, the most important Greek liturgical texts were translated into Slavonic; the Byzantine rite became the official liturgy in Bulgaria.

Thus, Russia became a part of the Byzantine tradition at a very complex moment, being open to a multiplicity of influences. The oldest direct witnesses of the Russian liturgical chant come from the 12th century, single codices dating from the late 11th century. Presumably these manuscripts were based on the previous generation of now-lost Russian chant books, written in the decades between the second part of the 10th and the end of the 11th century. A number of questions arise: what were these Russian books? Did they form a homogeneous group or did they rely on different branches of the Byzantine liturgical tradition? Did the Byzantine prototypes belong to the same generation? Were the prototypes Greek or South Slavic? Or were both involved in the process of their creation?

If we take into account the possibility of a multiplicity of Byzantine traditions that served as the model for now-lost Russian chant books, it must be supposed that the oldest generation to have survived might reveal some diversity. A search for the ancestry of all of these, or a randomly

¹ Юрий Всеволодович КЕЛДЫШ, *Древняя Русь XI-XVII века. История русской музыки в десяти томах*, 1 (Moscow, Muzyka, 1983), pp. 83-4; Schidlovsky admits the possibility of the introduction of the Slavic handbooks with musical notation after the Baptism or even earlier, possibly the Cyrillo-Methodian missions in the 9th century: Nicolas SCHIDLOVSKY (ed.), *Sticherarium Paleoslavicum, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Pars suppletoria*, vol. 12 (Hauaie, C.A. Reitzel, 2000), p. 21-2.

² Stig Simeon FROYSHOV, 'Greek Hymnody', in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnody*, edited by J. R. Watson and E. Hornby (Canterbury Press, 2013), available at <<http://www.hymnology.co.uk/>> (accessed 14 November 2014).

selected group of books, might well not lead to a positive result, because variants that would inevitably come to light might not necessarily have arisen on account of differences in the original, but have originated in contemporary practices. The latter are easier to identify if one takes into account sources linked in certain ways. The present article deals with the discovery of such connections, the establishment of a correlated group of manuscripts and the marking-out of a path in search of their predecessors.

The fact of belonging to a common kind of chant book is one of the indicators of the external principle of unity. Let us turn to the Sticheraria of the Triodion cycle (collections of stichera from the weeks preparatory to Lent to the Sunday of All Saints). All surviving neumatic codices were written between the 12th and the 13th centuries; later neumatic manuscripts belong to the next period of Russian church singing, which began near the 15th century, or else they reflect a transitional phase and, doing so, include a number of contrasting characteristics.

The sources regarded here are the seven Sticheraria of the Triodion cycle and a set, of Triodion and Pentecostarion, from the collection of the Historical Museum in Moscow (GIM, Sinod 319 and Voskr 27), which includes the notated part of the Sticherarion in its complete form.³ These sources were studied to a varying extent. One of the manuscripts, the Chilandar Sticherarion no. 307 was published⁴ and studied in some detail.⁵ The set of two books from GIM collection was also closely examined.⁶ As for the other Sticheraria, some of their parameters were studied more than others.

³ Following I. A. Karabinov and M. A. Momina, N. Schidlovsky has proposed using the term 'Triodion' for the multi-genre type of books (they may include theta notation or some fragments with other types of paleo-byzantine notations) and the term 'Sticherarion' for continuously notated collections of stichera: Nikolas SCHIDLOVSKY, 'A New Folio for Mt. Athos MS Chilandari 307, with some Observations on the Contents of the Slavic Lenten Sticherarion and Pentekostarion', in *The Study of Medieval Chant. Paths and Bridges, East and West. In Honor of Kenneth Levy* (London, Boydell Press, 2002), p. 109.

⁴ The main part, preserved in the Chilandari Monastery (Chil 307), was published in MMB: *Fragmenta Chilandarica Palaeoslavica, Sticherarium, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, edited by Roman Jakobson (Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1957); two fragments of one folio each, are preserved in St. Petersburg (BAN, Dmitr 44, SK no.133; RNB Q.п.1.39, SK no. 134, published in SCHIDLOVSKY, 'A New Folio' (see note 3), pp. 110-3; Schidlovsky proposed adopting it as *StichChil-Petrop folio 41 A*), three folios are conserved at the National Museum in Prague. Concerning these, see F. V. MARES, 'Fragments du Sticherarion de Chilandar à Prague', in *Fundamental Problems of Early Slavic Music and Poetry, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Subsidia*, edited by Chr. Hannick, vol. 6 (Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1978), pp. 121-41.

⁵ A. BUGGE, 'Index alphabétique des hymnes du Sticherarium Chilandaricum', in *Fundamental Problems of Early Slavic Music and Poetry, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Subsidia*, edited by Chr. Hannick, vol. 6 (Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1978), pp.143-65; J. von GARDNER, 'Einige fehlende Teile der Fragmenta Chilandarica A (Sticherarium)', in *Die Welt der Slaven*, 7 (1962), pp. 171-4; JACOBSON, *Fragmenta Chilandarica* (see note 4), pp.7-9; MARES, 'Fragments du Sticherarion' (see note 4); Dj.Sp. RADOJOCIC, 'The Belgrade Leaf from the Hilandar Musical Fragments', in *Fundamental Problems of Early Slavic Music and Poetry* (Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1978), pp. 167-70; SCHIDLOVSKY 'A New Folio' (see note 3); Oliver STRUNK, 'Two Chilandari Choir Books', in *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York, W.W. Norton, 1977), pp. 220-30; the Chilandari Sticherarion was part of a comparative study in: E. FOLLIERI and O. STRUNK, *Triodium Athoum, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Pars Suppletoria*, vol. 9 (Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1975).

⁶ Svetlana POLIAKOVA, 'Sin 319 and Voskr 27 and the Triodion Cycle in the Liturgical Praxis in Russia During the Studite Period' (PhD dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2009); the origins, typology of the book, system of commemorations, composition and arrangement of hymns in Sinod 319 in comparison with Greek and Slavic Triodia were examined by I.A. Karabinov: Иван Алексеевич КАРАБИНОВ, *Постная Триодь. Исторический обзор ее плана, состава, редакций и славянских переводов* (S. Petersburg, Типография В.Д. Смирнова, 1910). M.A. Momina has continued Karabinov's work, extending her study to the Pentecostaria, including the Voskresensky Pentekostarion 27: *Triodion und Pentekostarion nach slavischen Handschriften des 11-14.Jahrhunderts, v.I: Vorfastenzeit, mit einer Einführung zur Geschichte des slavischen Triodions von M.A.Momina, herausgegeben von M.A.Momina und N.Trunte* Patristica Slavica, vol. 11 (Paderborn-Munchen-Wien-Zurich, 2004).

However, although many parameters⁷ were explored, a complete picture of the oldest Russian Sticheraria as a group with unifying and dividing characteristics, which is in some way part of the tradition of the Byzantine Sticherarion, does not yet exist.

Let us give a brief description of the manuscripts⁸ discussed in the paper:⁹

1. Sticherarion Sinod 278¹⁰—second half of the 12th century, possibly of Novgorodian origin.
2. Chilandar Sticherarion 307 is also dated to the 12th century, and also considered to be from the Novgorod area.
3. Sticherarion Typ 147¹¹ dates from the 12th century, or the beginning of the 13th; the possibility of Novgorodian origin cannot be excluded.
4. Sticherarion Typ 148¹² also suggests the end of the 12th century; apparently of Novgorodian origin, but the possibility of it having been written in Novgorod for Pskov is not excluded.
5. Sticherarion Sof 96¹³—dating extends from the 12th to the 14th century, the first half of the 13th century being the most likely a date; the fact that it belonged to the library of the Cathedral of St Sophia in Novgorod may suggest Novgorodian origin.

⁷ Among the parameters studied are: the function of the Sticheraria and the GIM Triodion and Pentecostarion set within the old Russian manuscript tradition, in Zabolotnaia's book: Наталья Викторовна ЗАБОЛЮТНАЯ, *Церковно-певческие рукописи Древней Руси XI-XIV веков: основные типы книг в историко-функциональном аспекте* (Moscow, РАМ, 2001); a comparative analysis of the content of the oldest Russian Sticheraria in Schidlovsky's article SCHIDLOVSKY, 'A New Folio' (see note 3) and Tutolmina's PhD dissertation: Софья Николаевна ТУТОЛМИНА, 'Русские певческие Триоды древнейшей традиции' (PhD dissertation, St. Petersburg, 2004); the paleographical characteristics of the Sticheraria in comparison with the GIM Triodion and Pentecostarion codices: ПОЛИАКОВА, *Sin 319 and Voskr 27* (see note 6), pp. 129-75; paleographical characteristics of the notation, in Metallov's book: Василий М. МЕТАЛЛОВ, *Русская семиография: Из области церковно-певческой археологии и палеографии. Текст с приложением СХИХ таблиц фото-литографских снимков с крюковых рукописей X-XVII вв.* (Moscow, Печатня А.И. Снегиревой, 1912); the content and the melodic characteristics of the idiomela with regard to the continuing Russian tradition from the 12th to the 17th century, in Gruzintseva's PhD dissertation: Н.В. ГРУЗИНЦЕВА, 'Стихиры-самогласны триодного стихирая в древнерусской рукописной традиции XII-XVII веков' (PhD dissertation, Leningrad, 1990); a comparative study of Greek and Russian prosomoia in Schidlovsky's PhD dissertation and Julia Shlikhtina's article (Holy Friday contrafacta in Voskr 27, Typ 148 and Chil.307): Nikolas SCHIDLOVSKY, 'The Notated Lenten Prosomoia in the Byzantine and Slavic Traditions' (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1983); Julia SHLIKHTINA, 'Problems of the Theory and Practice of Prosomoia Singing as Illustrated by Byzantine and Slavic Notated Prosomoia of the Good Friday Office', in *Paleobyzantine Notations III: Acta of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle, The Netherlands, in March 2001*, edited by Gerda Wolfram (Leuven-Paris-Dudley, Ma, A.A. Bredius Fondation - Peeters, 2004), pp. 173-98; The long melisma in the idiomela, including the hymns in Usp 8 and Chil 307: Annette Kolaphismos JUNG, 'A Long Melisma in the Syllabic Genre', in *Paleobyzantine Notations III: Acta of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle, The Netherlands, in March 2001*, edited by Gerda Wolfram (Leuven-Paris-Dudley, Ma, A.A. Bredius Fondation - Peeters, 2004), pp. 49-66.

⁸ The originals of all manuscripts, with the exception of the published Chilandar Sticherarion, were consulted.

⁹ There exist some disagreements concerning the dating and the place of writing of some of the manuscripts; see: ПОЛИАКОВА, *Sin 319 and Voskr 27* (see note 6), pp. 146-9.

¹⁰ Moscow, GIM (State Historical Museum), Sinodal Collection, no. 278.

¹¹ Moscow, RGADA (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts), Sinodal Typography Collection (381), no. 147.

¹² Moscow, RGADA, Synodal Typography Collection, no. 148.

¹³ St Petersburg, RNB (Russian National Library), Sofysky Cathedral Collection, no. 96.

6. Sticherarion Sof 85¹⁴—there is far more certainty regarding the dating and the provenance of this manuscript—it was written in Novgorod between 1224 and 1226.
7. Sticherarion Usp 8¹⁵—belongs to the 13th century; it is distinguished from other Sticheraria of the type by its distance from sources of Novgorodian tradition¹⁶; it is possible that it was written in Rostov.¹⁷

All the Sticheraria have neumatic notation. On the basis of the analysis of the hymns from Chilandar Sticherarion 307, O. Strunk affirms that this notation was introduced into Russian practice in around 950, originating in a rudimentary form of Coislin notation ('archaic Coislin'). In the middle of the 11th century some changes took place in Russian notation, these too being of Byzantine origin. In addition, some traces of the notation in Russian manuscripts do not appear to have come from Byzantium.¹⁸ Strunk's periodization coincides with the general framework of the development of early Russian church singing. It is possible that the notational revision of the middle of the 11th century is related to the reform of the liturgical system and the liturgical books, which will be discussed below.¹⁹

Strunk's observations, based on the material of the Chilandar Sticherarion, can be extended to the whole set of znamenny manuscripts written before the 15th century—most researchers affirm a common notational type. At the same time, though the type is the same in all Sticheraria and GIM set, each of the manuscripts represents notational variants, more significant for the melismatic passages in some *idiomela*;²⁰ the origins of these deviations are not still clear.

¹⁴ St. Petersburg, RNB, Sofysky Cathedral Collection, no. 85.

¹⁵ Moscow, GIM, the Collection of the Cathedral of the Dormition of the Kremlin in Moscow, no. 8.

¹⁶ Металлов, *Богослужебное*, p. 209; cited in SCHIDLOVSKY, 'A New Folio' (see note 3), p. 114.

¹⁷ In the margins in a 15th century hand, the stichera of the Menaion for St. Leonty of Rostov have been added: *Svodnyy Katalog slavyano-russkikh rukopisnykh knig, khranyashchikssya v SSSR. 11-13 vv. (Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР. 11-13 вв. [Catalogue of Slavic-Russian Manuscripts Preserved in the USSR, 11th-13th centuries])* (Moscow, 1984), p. 282; this Sticherarion may possibly be connected to the group of manuscripts written during a brief period—at the end of the 12th century—beginning of the 13th, in the Scriptorium of the library of Archbishop Cyril of Rostov; these books (Kontakarion from the year 1207, Usp 9, and also Usp 4, the so-called Uspensky Sbornik—a Menaion with readings for the month of May) belong to the same manuscript collection of the Cathedral of the Dormition of the Kremlin in Moscow; on the production of this scriptorium, see Turilov's article: А. А. ТУРИЛОВ, 'К истории ростовского владычного скриптория XIII в.: старые факты и новые данные', in *Средневековые книжные центры: местные традиции и межрегиональные связи*, (Abstract of the conference paper in Moscow, 5-7 September 2005), (Moscow, 2009), pp. 238-52. Frequent linguistic and occasional musical deviations from the Novgorodian sources in this Sticherarion were pointed out by Schidlovsky: SCHIDLOVSKY, 'A New Folio' (see note 3), p. 114.

¹⁸ STRUNK, 'Two Chilandari Choir Books' (see note 5), pp. 220-30.

¹⁹ This statement by Strunk and its connection to the redaction of liturgical books in Russia in the 11th century was commented on by Schidlovsky: SCHIDLOVSKY, *Sticherarium Paleoslavicum* (see note 1), p. 23.

²⁰ Thus, Gruzintseva carried out a musical and textual analysis of 104 stichera in 26 sources of the 12th-17th centuries; she distinguished three redactions (the first covering the manuscripts of the 12th- first half of the 15th centuries, the second the manuscripts of the second half of the 15th- third quarter of the 17th centuries, and the third the manuscripts of the third quarter to the end of the 17th century), the oldest redaction representing some significant differences in the graphic variants of the melismatic passages: ГРУЗИНЦЕВА, *Стихиры-самогласны* (Abstract of the PhD dissertation) (see note 7), p. 16.

The following can be said about the textual redaction of the oldest Russian Sticheraria.

M. A. Momina has carried out a textological comparison of the hymns of several genres from Russian, other Slavic and Greek books of the 11th-14th centuries of different types.²¹ At the conclusion of her analysis, she affirms that in the second half of the 11th century the redaction of the liturgical books was carried out in a single Russian centre; in the course of this process new types of Russian books, including the Sticherarion, came into existence. Momina connected the emergence of these books with the introduction in the Kiev-Pechersk Monastery of a new liturgical rule by Saint Theodosius.²² Speaking about the history of the expansion in Russia of the Studite Typikon of Patriarch Alexy, A.M. Pentkovsky also agrees that the translation of the Typikon must have been accompanied by the creation of a complete set of liturgical books.²³ Setting the date of the translation of the Typikon as 1062(1067)-1074,²⁴ he thus specifies the date of the creation of a complete set of new Russian-type books.

In developing her hypothesis about the elaboration of this set of books related to the newly introduced Typikon, more than fifty books of Russian redaction were identified by Momina, including two Sticheraria (Sof 85 and Sof 96). Among the examples involved in the comparative analysis of the hymns in Russian and other Slavic sources in Momina's article is the idiomelon of the third tone of Monday of the First week of Lent, *Постимся постом*. The versions in the Sticherarion Sof 85, the Russian Triodion of the GIM-type (the type to which Sinodal Triodion 319 belongs) RNB, F.I.680 of the 14th century and the two Bulgarian Triodia RNB, F.n.I.74 of the second quarter of the 13th century and JAZU IVd, 107 of the 13th century were regarded.²⁵ If we compare the versions discussed by Momina with the versions found in the Sticherarion Usp 8 and Triodion Sinod 319, we note that those of the two Sticheraria (Sof 85 and Usp 8) and Sinodal Triodion (Sinod 319) correspond to a greater extent, departing from the Bulgarian sources. Nevertheless, they still do not agree in a number of details, as may be seen from Table 1.²⁶

²¹ Майя Андреевна МОМИНА, 'Проблема правки славянских богослужебных гимнографических книг на Руси в XI столетии', in *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы*, vol. 35 (St. Petersburg, Наука, 1992), pp. 208-15.

²² МОМИНА, 'Проблема правки славянских' (see note 21), p. 215.

²³ Алексей Михайлович ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, *Типикон патриарха Алексия Студита в Византии и на Руси*, (Moscow, Изд-во Московской Патриархии, 2001), p. 158.

²⁴ ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, *Типикон патриарха* (see note 23), pp. 164-5.

²⁵ МОМИНА, 'Проблема правки славянских' (see note 21), p. 213.

²⁶ Only two Russian versions are shown in the table; the complete scheme may be consulted at <<http://odrl.pushkinskiydom.ru/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=z9DuFJC7ySA%3D&tabid=2291>>. The versions in Sof 85 and RNB, F.I.680 are cited according to Momina's article; the versions in Sinod 319 and Usp 8 are cited according to the originals.

F.I.680	Sof 85	Usp 8, f. 33v.	Sinod 319, f. 60r.-60v.
постимся	+	ПОСТНМЪСА	ПОСТНМЪСА
постомъ	+	ПОСТОМЪ	ПОСТЪМЪ
приятнымъ	+	ПРНІАТЬНЪНМЪ	ПРНІАТЬНЪНМЪ
благооуднымъ	благооуднаго	БА(А)ГОУГОДНО	БЛАГОУГОДНО
г(о)с(поде)ви	+	ГОСПОДЕВИ	ГОСПОДЕВИ
истиньныи	+	ИСТННЪНЪН	ИСТННЪНЪН
постъ	+	ПОСТ	ПОСТ
измѣнение	+	ОТЬ ЗЪЛЪНХЪ ИЗМѢНЕННІЕ	ОТЬ ЗЪЛЪНХЪ ИЗМѢНЕННІЕ
оудержание	въздържание	ВЪЗДЕРЖАННІЕ	ОУДЪРЖАННІЕ
языка	+	ІАЗЪКА	ІАЗЪКА
ярошти отложение	+	ІАРОСТН ОТЬЛОЖЕННІЕ	ІАРОСТН ОТЬЛОЖЕННІЕ
похотемъ	+	ПОХОТЕМЪ	ПОХОТЪМЪ
отлоучение	+	ОТЬЛОУЧЕННІЕ	ОТЬЛОУЧЕННІЕ
оклеветание	оклеветанія	ОКЛЕВЕТАННІА	ОКЛЕВЕТАННІЕ
лжа	+	ЛЪЖА	ЛЪЖА
и клятвы	+	И КЛАТВЫ	И КЛАТВЫ
сихъ	+	СНХЪ	СНХЪ
потрѣба	+	ПОТРѢБА	ПОТРѢБА
постъ	+	ПОСТЪ	ПОСТЪ
естъ	+	КЕСТЪ	КЕСТЪ
истинныи	+	ИСТННЪНЪН	ИСТННЪНЪН
бл(а)гоприятенъ	+	И БЛАГОПРНІАТЕНЪ	И БЛАГОПРНІАТЪНЪ

Table 1.

According to R.N. Krivko, the fact of the appearance in the second half of the 11th century of the reformed Russian set of liturgical books, as exposed by Momina, explains the linguistic and textological conformity of the body of Eastern Slavic hymnographic books produced after the reform, but it does not deny the possibility that the codices also preserve pre-reform South Slavic influences, as well as influences reflecting the development of worship in Byzantium, or influences originating from contacts between Russia and Palestine; these variations can be explained also by differences in the local traditions of Russian centres.²⁷

Further study of textual features of the Sticheraria would help to clarify their origins by identifying discrepancies. At present we can only note that all Sticheraria go back to the old Russian set of liturgical books developed in the course of the adoption of the Studite rule of Patriarch Alexy in Russia in the 1060s-70s, from which they are separated by a considerable period of time (from several decades to more than 100 years).

²⁷ Роман Н. КРИВКО, 'Раннедревнеболгарский пласт в ростовской служебной минее XIII века (РНБ, Ф.п. I 37)', in *Slovene*, 1 (2012), pp.146-55.

Let us now consider the Sticheraria from the point of view of the content of a codex. Ancient Byzantine Sticheraria show a different kind of organization. A number of the Sticheraria of the Triodion cycle include an Octoechos section, for example *GR-AOml* γ.67 (10th or 11th century); *GR-AOva* 1488 (c.1050)²⁸; all the three cycles—from the Triodion, Menaion and Octoechos—may be included in a single codex—MS Leukosia, Archbishopric of Cyprus, Mousikos 39 (mid-11th century).²⁹ There also exist Sticheraria with the sequences of exclusively Triodion cycle—*GR-AOml* γ.12 (10th or 11th century), *GR-AOml* γ.72 (early 11th century).

All old Russian Sticheraria up to the 15th century include only one annual cycle—they are either Sticheraria of the Triodion and Pentecostarion or Sticheraria of the Menaion³⁰ (stichera of the Octoechos in Russian versions were normally collected with the kathismata in the Izborny Octoechos;³¹ in some cases the Octoechos sequences are incorporated in other types of books—the Typografsky Kontakarion,³² in a single case,—into the Sticherarion from the Menaion cycle).³³

Thus, the detaching of the Sticherarion of the Triodion cycle, in order to become a separate codex, observed in all seven sources (not included here are the multi-genre Triodion and Pentecostarion from the GIM Collection) is a characteristic which unifies old Russian Sticheraria into a single group and makes them stand out against the Byzantine tradition.³⁴

Being single books, neither of the old Russian Sticheraria is divided within a codex: the Triodion and Pentecostarion sections form, graphically, an inseparable sequence, while, according to Strunk, ‘normal copies of the Sticherarion seldom treat the Triodion proper and the Pentecostarion as separate divisions’;³⁵ for Karabinov and Momina the question of dividing the

²⁸ Published as FOLLIERI and STRUNK, *Triodium Athoum* (see note 5).

²⁹ Christian TROELSGAARD, ‘An Early Constantinopolitan Sticherarion MS Leukosia, Archbishopric of Cyprus, Mousikos 39, and its Notated Exaposteilaria Anastasima’, in *Paleobyzantine Notations II, Acta of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle (The Netherlands) in October 1996* (Hernen, 1999), pp. 159-72.

³⁰ The Sticheraria of the Menaion are represented by twelve complete Russian manuscripts, dating from the 12th to the beginning of the 15th centuries, and five fragments of Russian Sticheraria from the 11th-14th centuries; they all contain *Znamenny* notation. One of them has been published as: Nikolas SCHIDLOVSKY (ed.), *Sticherarium Paleoslavicum, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Pars Principalis*, vol. 12 (Reitzel, 2000).

³¹ Surviving Russian Izborny Octoechoi are mainly unnoted, written between the 13th and 15th centuries: O.A. КРАШЕНИННИКОВА, *Древнерусский Октоих XII–XIV веков как памятник средневековой гимнографии*, (Candidate’s thesis, Moscow, 1996).

³² Tretiakov State Gallery K-5349; published as Борис Андреевич УСПЕНСКИЙ (ed.), *Типографский Устав. Устав с Кондакарем конца XI-начала XII века*, vols.1-3 (Moscow, Языки славянских культур, 2006); about the repertory of the stichera from the Octoechos in this manuscript see the second chapter of Yu. Artamonova’s thesis: Ю.В. АРТАМОНОВА, *Песнопения-модели в древнерусском певческом искусстве XI-XVIII веков* (Candidate’s thesis, Moscow, 1998).

³³ As mentioned by Schidlovsky, the Sticherarion Sinod 279, GIM, from the end of the 12th century contains the cycle of Stichera Eothina: SCHIDLOVSKY, ‘A New Folio’ (see note 3), pp. 116-7. As individual chants, the stichera of the Octoechos can be also found in the Sticheraria of the Triodion; to this group belong the theotokia of the Passion of Holy Friday and the stichera for the dead of Meatfare Saturday and Cheesefare Saturday.

³⁴ As pointed out by SCHIDLOVSKY ‘A New Folio’ (see note 3), p. 116; SCHIDLOVSKY, *Sticherarium Paleoslavicum* (see note 30), p. 21-2.

³⁵ FOLLIERI and STRUNK, *Triodium Athoum* (see note 5), p. 4.

multi-genre Triodion and Pentecostarion was of fundamental importance in the development of a classification scheme. Another distinguishing point in the Russian Sticheraria is the presence of the sequence for Easter, often absent in Greek sources.

Let us now examine the commemorations in Russian Sticheraria and the Triodion set from the Historical Museum collection, comparing them with the Russian copy of the Studite Typikon, GIM, Synodal collection, no. 330, which match in a great degree with them, due to a group of characteristics (see Table 2).³⁶

Prophets, Orthodoxy	
No title:	Typ 147, Typ 148, Sof.85, Usp 8.
Title:	Sin 330, Sin 319, Sof 96, Sin 278
Prodigal Son and Repentance	
No title	Sin 319, Sof 96, Usp 8, Typ 148, Typ 147, Sof 85, Sin 278
Title: Publican and Pharisee, stichera of the Cross placed on Wednesday	Typ 148 and Sof 85
Cross, Publican and Pharisee	Sin 319, Usp 8, Typ 147, Sof 96, in 278
Title: The One who fell amongst Thieves	Sin 319, Usp 8, Sof 96, Sin 278, Typ 148, Sof 85.
No title	Typ 147
St Mary of Egypt, Rich Man and Lazarus	Sin 330
Rich Man and Lazarus	Sin 319, Typ 147, Sof 85, Typ 148, Usp 8, Sof 96, Sin 278

Table 2.

In general, the system of commemorations corresponds to the Studite type of Typikon; most of the Constantinopolitan commemorations are present in them, including the most recent: two Sundays preparatory to Lent—of the Publican and the Pharisee and of the Prodigal Son; the First Sunday of Lent—the commemoration of the Prophets and the Triumph of Orthodoxy; the service of the Cross on the Third Sunday of Lent (in some cases celebrated on the Wednesday following the Third Sunday); the commemoration of Thursday in the Fifth week of Lent, present in the stichera of the Canon of St. Andrew of Crete (in Sin 319, Sof 96, Sin 278) and the service on the Saturday of the Fifth week of Lent with the Akathistos Hymn in the honour of the Theotokos (in Triodion Sinod 319; stichera of the Akathistos in Sinod 319, Sof 96, Sinod 278).

³⁶ The manuscript was published by Pentkovsky and he considers that the origin of this Typikon copy and the set of Sofisky Menaia is the same: ПЕНТКОВСКИЙ, *Типикон напруга* (see note 23), p. 200; concerning the GIM Triodion in relation to a group of Novgorodian books, the Typikon copy Sinod 330 and the Sofisky Menaia, see: POLIAKOVA, *Sin 319 and Voskr 27* (see note 6), pp. 139-80.

At the same time, on the Sundays of Lent all manuscripts contain the commemorations which were transmitted from the Jerusalem Gospel readings to the Studite synthesis—the Prodigal Son and Repentance for the Second Sunday, the Publican and the Pharisee for the Third Sunday, The One who fell amongst Thieves for the Fourth Sunday, and the Rich Man and Lazarus for the Fifth Sunday. The characteristic which seems to be peculiar to the Russian Sticheraria and which distinguishes them as a group is the regular fixing on the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Sundays of the themes of Jerusalem commemorations in the titles;³⁷ the only exception, on the Fourth Sunday in Typ 147, may be due to an unintentional omission by the scribe. This consistency in the titles suggests the existence of a common source close to the Jerusalem tradition.

Converging in the overall composition of the commemorations, the manuscripts differ in assigning the Adoration of the Cross to Sunday (most of the manuscripts) or Wednesday (Typ 148 and Sof 85), the Hours with the 12 troparia to Holy Friday (Voskr 27, Typ 147, Typ 148, Sof 85, Chil 307; in Sinod 278 this sequence is missing) or Holy Tuesday (Sof 96 and Usp 8).³⁸ In so doing, two manuscripts, both different, form a small, separate group.

As for the numbering of the weeks in the Triodion and Pentecostarion, Russian sources are characterized by two systems for numbering the Lent period (see Table 3).³⁹ In the first of them, the weeks are counted chronologically, beginning with the First Sunday (dedicated to the Prophets and to Orthodoxy), up to the Sixth Sunday, which is not indicated by a number but with the name—Palm Sunday. As we can see in the table, Typikon copy Sin 330 follows this system, as well as Triodion Sin 319 and Sticherarion 147.

Sin 330	1	2	3	4	5
Sin 319	1	2	3	4	5
Typ 147	1	lacuna	3	4	5
Sof 96	1	3	-	-	5
Typ 148	1	2	3	5	6
Typ 137	1	2	3	5	6
Sof 85	1	-	4	5	6
Usp 8	-	3	-	5	6

Table 3.

³⁷ The fixing of these commemorations in the titles of Greek Stichearia was not mentioned by G.O. Bertonière: G.O. BERTONIERE, *The Sundays of Lent in Triodion: The Sundays Without a Commemoration - Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 253 (Rome, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1997), pp.72-3.

³⁸ A number of other commemorations also reveal variants; this question requires future study.

³⁹ The formation of the systems of numbering is revised in the Karabinov's book: КАРАБИНОВ, *Постная Третья* (see note 6), pp. 13-25.

According to the other system, with its roots in Jerusalem, the Sunday preceding the First Sunday of the system regarded above was considered to be the first Lenten Sunday (in the Studite system, Cheese-fare Sunday), and the Sunday that in the Studite Typikon came to be regarded as the First, that of the Triumph of Orthodoxy, was seen as the Second, etc. Traces of this ancient numbering system appear in the majority of Russian Sticheraria (Sof 96 Typ 148 Sof 85 Usp 8), in spite of the fact that, having originated in the tradition of the Studite Typikon, they never completely followed this system. The traces of Jerusalem numbering may represent a characteristic of the common early source, later corrected. Amongst the sources, the Synodal Triodion and Typography Sticherarion 147 reveal a great degree of proximity.

In the calculations of the Pentecostarion period we also see two different systems (see Table 4).

	Anti-Pascha	Myrrhbearers	Paralytic	Samaritan Woman	Blind Man	Holy Fathers	Pentecost	All Saints
Voskr 27	-	2	3	4	5	6	(8)	8
Typ 147	-	2	lacuna	4	5	-	-	lacuna
Sof 96	-	2	3	4	5	erased	-	-
Usp 8	-	2	3	-	5	7	8	-
Chil 307	-	2	3	4	5	7	-	lacuna
Sof 85	-	3	3	4	5	6	-	-
Typ 148	-	3	3	4	5	erased	-	-
Sin 330	-	3	4	5	6	-	-	-

Table 4.

Here again, the Sticherarion Typ 147 is close to Voskr 27,⁴⁰ the Pentecostarion that forms a pair with Synodal Triodion. Three other manuscripts mark the Sundays after Anti-Pascha as the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth, but two manuscripts attribute the number seven to the next Sunday, of the Holy Fathers. Three manuscripts consider the Sunday of Myrrhbearers as the Third. None of them mark the Sunday of the Blind Man as the Typikon copy prescribes—the Sixth. On the whole, there are no complete coincidences in the numbering of the Sundays of this period, but we see the same tendency, of correcting the numbering according to the Studite Typikon, as we have seen in the case of the numbering of the Sundays of Lent.

⁴⁰ In Voskr 27, Pentecost should be numbered as the 7th Sunday. However, it is preceded by a Saturday whose liturgical order resembles Meatfare Saturday, and this Saturday is counted as the 8th (f. 183r), while the Sunday (Pentecost) is not numbered.

Let us now consider some aspects relating to the composition of the Sticheraria and the disposition of the hymns. Generally speaking, the main part of the Sticheraria constitute stichera idiomela. The other stratum of the stichera, the prosomoia, are not regular and appear written in different ways in the Greek tradition; the Lenten prosomoia often represent a separate section, and are found less frequently in weekly sequences.

The old Russian Sticheraria include prosomoia on weekdays of Lent and prosomoia on Sundays and feasts. For the weekdays all of them contain, with a few sporadic exceptions, the prosomoia of St. Theodore; only in Sinod 319 are the prosomoia of St. Joseph introduced, notated by the hand which differs from the main neumatic hand and which seems to be responsible for the notation of the newly introduced material. The other concordance between the Russian Sticheraria is revealed in the method of fixing the weekdays' prosomoia of St. Theodore, within the weekly sequences.

In relation to the cycles of the stichera prosomoia of feasts in Russian Sticheraria, the fact of a unique practice of notation of the prosomoia, written according to the models which in Byzantine tradition remained oral, was pointed out by Schidlovsky.⁴¹ A number of prosomoia written out in Russian Sticheraria and the GIM set have not so far been found in the Greek manuscripts.⁴² These characteristics relating to prosomoia make Russian Sticheraria distinct from Byzantine practice.

The composition of the stichera idiomela in the seven Sticheraria and the GIM set reflects the unabridged version of the Byzantine Sticherarion.⁴³ As in the case of early Byzantine manuscripts, including those with a number of correspondences,⁴⁴ none of the Sticheraria repeats completely the composition and disposition of the hymns in the other. Some sequences may be identical; when there are variants, they may only concern the order of hymns in the sequences, or they may be more relevant and concern the content of the idiomela.

The identity of the contents can be observed in the weekly sequences of the Second, Fourth and Fifth Sundays of Lent. The Second and Fifth Sundays are marked by concordances in a great number of Greek sources, and the Russian manuscripts are not exclusive from this point of view. On the Fourth Sunday, as Bertonière pointed, there is no agreement in the Greek Triodia, though the Greek Sticheraria are quite homogeneous.⁴⁵ All Russian sources establish three idiomela, while this is not the case, for example, in Vatopedi 1488.

⁴¹ SCHIDLOVSKY 'A New Folio' (see note 3), pp. 121-3.

⁴² Karabinov cites them in the Appendix of his book: КАРАБИНОВ, *Постная Трпюдь* (see note 6), pp. 257, 259, 265, 273, 276.

⁴³ Oliver STRUNK, *Specimina Notationum Antiquiorum, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Pars Suppletoria*, vol. 7, (Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1966), pp. 16, 23-5.

⁴⁴ For example, according to Strunk, *GR-AOml* γ.67, *GR-AOml* γ.72 and *GR-AOva* 1488: FOLLIERI and STRUNK, *Triodium Athoum* (see note 5).

⁴⁵ BERTONIERE, *The Sundays of Lent* (see note 37), pp. 66-9.

The stichera theotokia from the fifteen Antiphons of Holy Friday represent an unexpected case of proximity: their content coincides in all Russian Sticheraria and the Voskresensky Pentecostarion; the only exception is found in Chil 307, where the tenth Antiphon differs from the other sources. Such unanimity contrasts with the variety of theotokia in the Greek Sticheraria observed by Strunk.⁴⁶ It is possible that the coincidence of the theotokia is explained by the existence of a common source from which they were copied.

Variety in the disposition of stichera within sequences of identical content was observed by Schidlovsky when analysing the Fifth and Sixth weeks of Lent. He distinguished two types of content. The first is characteristic of Chil 307, Typ 148, Sof 85 and Sof 96, and the second was found in Sinod 278, Usp 8 and Typ 147⁴⁷.

Let us discover whether the division is the same for the weekdays of the Third week of Lent (see Table 5).

Mss	Sin 319	Typ 148	Sof 96	Typ 147	Usp 8	Sin 278
Sunday - Monday						
vespers	idiom 1	idiom 1 prosom 1	idiom 1 prosom 1	lacuna	prosom 1 idiom 1	prosom 1 idiom 1
matins	prosom a) prosom b) prosom 1 idiom 2	idiom 2	idiom 2	lacuna	idiom 2	idiom 2
Monday - Tuesday						
vespers	idiom 3	idiom 3 prosom 2	idiom 3 prosom 2	lacuna	prosom 2 idiom 3	prosom 2 idiom 3
matins	prosom c) prosom d) prosom 2 idiom 4	idiom 4	idiom 4	idiom 4	idiom 4	idiom 4

⁴⁶ According to Strunk, 'no two sources call for exactly the same Theotokion in exactly the same order': FOLLIERI and STRUNK, *Triodium Athoum* (see note 5), p. 40.

⁴⁷ SCHIDLOVSKY, 'A New Folio' (see note 3), p. 117.

Tuesday- Wednesday						
vespers	idiom 5	idiom 5 prosom 3	idiom 5 prosom 3	prosom 3 idiom 5	prosom 3 idiom 5	prosom 3 idiom 5
matins	prosom e) prosom д f) prosom 3 idiom 6	idiom 6	idiom 6	idiom 6	idiom 6	idiom 6
Wednesday - Thursday						
vespers	idiom 7	idiom 7 prosom 4	idiom 7 prosom 4	prosom 4 idiom 7	prosom 4 idiom 7	prosom 4 idiom 7
matins	prosom g) prosom h) prosom 4 idiom 8	idiom 8	idiom 8	idiom 8	idiom 8	idiom 8
Thursday - Friday						
vespers	idiom 9	idiom 9 prosom 5	idiom 9 prosom 5	prosom 5 idiom 9	prosom 5 idiom 9	prosom 5 idiom 9
matins	prosom i) prosom j) prosom 5 idiom 10	idiom 10	idiom 10	idiom 10	idiom 10	idiom 10
vespers	idiom 11	idiom 11	idiom 11	idiom 11	idiom 11	idiom 11

Table 5.

As may be seen, the content of the stichera is the same (if we do not take into account the introduction in Sinod 319 of the prosomoia of St. Joseph), and the same two types observed by Schidlovsky may be seen: one for Sinod 319, Typ 148 and Sof 96, and the other for Typ 147, Usp 8 and Sinod 278.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ In Sof 85 the sequence of this week is missing.

Gruzintzeva,⁴⁹ while analysing the Preparatory Sundays, the Third and the Fourth Sunday of Lent, joined the manuscripts 319, 278, 85, 147 and 148 in the same group and separated the Sof 96 in the second and the Usp 8 in the third group, what generally does not disagree with the Schidlovsky's classification.

When we include in the analysis the sequence for Holy Monday (see Table 6), we once again find homogeneity in the contents (the exception is the introduction in Voskr 27 of the cycle, marked here with the numbers 17, 18 and 19, of prosomoia which has not be found yet in Greek, Slavic or other Russian manuscripts);⁵⁰ the sources form three groups from the point of view of the disposition of the stichera (see Table 6).

278	96	147	148	27	85	307	8
1-	1-	1-	8	8	8	8	2
3-	3-	3-	1	9	9	9	1
4-	4-	4-	2	1	1	1	3
5-	5-			2	2	2	4
6	6						
7	7			17			
				18			
				19			
					12	12	8
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
11	11	11					11
8							
9							
13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13
14	14	14	14	14	14	14	15
15	15	15	15	15	15	15	14
			11	11	11	11	
16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16

Table 6.

Comparison of the grouping of the manuscripts in the case of Holy Monday with the weekdays, as well as the Lenten Sundays analysed by Schidlovsky and Gruzintseva, allows us to conclude that the eight Russian manuscripts may be separated into two groups. One still includes Sinod 278 and Typ 147, and the other brings together Typ 148, Sof 85, Chil 307 and Sinod 319/Voskr 27. Two of the remaining manuscripts—Usp 8 and Sof 96—sometimes show differences that delineate them as

⁴⁹ Diss Gruz.

⁵⁰ On this cycle see: Svetlana Yurievna POLIAKOVA, 'Italo-Greek and Russian Neumatic Studite Triodia and Pentekostaria: Some Remarks on Their Connection', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, serie 3, vol. 9 (2012), pp.179-90.

a third group. Note that it is in these two manuscripts that the sequence with the Hours with the 12 troparia is written out on Holy Tuesday. However, the organization into groups which seems to be consistent when analysing the case of the content and the disposition of the material, is broken when we turn, for example, to the system of counting the Sundays of Lent and the period of Pentecost, which is what enables the placing together of Typ 147 and Sinod 319/Voskr 27.

Conclusion

The seven Russian Sticheraria and the Triodion and Pentecostarion set from the GIM collection, which includes the Sticherarion sequences, have a number of characteristics, which distinguish these sources into a single group, against the background of known Byzantine traditions. They are: a common origin of the type of notation of Palestinian origin, bearing traces of correction in the second half of the 11th century; the correlation of all the manuscripts with a textual redaction realized in the 1060s-70s; the sharing of a rare type of organization as a codex which places the sequences from the Triodion cycle in a separate book; homogeneity of the content of commemorations originating in the Studite rules, but with Palestinian traces older than Studite synthesis; the rectifying of the Palestinian system of numbering of the Sundays of Lent and Pentecost to accord with the Studite system; some rare qualities in both content and disposition of the hymnography common to all sources, such as the absence in all Sticheraria of the prosomoia of St. Joseph for the weekdays of Lent and their systematic introduction in Sinod 319, or the fixing of the prosomoia of St. Theodore within the weekly sequences, or the coincidences in the theotokia for the Antiphons of Holy Friday.

It seems that the manuscripts reveal a stratum older than the 11th century, probably connected with Palestinian practice. However, the direct predecessor may be a manuscript or a group of manuscripts, close in concept and date of creation, linked to the redaction of the second half of the 11th century. This source or sources were focused on a strengthening of the Studite rule, however, maintaining, and as it seems, deliberately, some of the more archaic features which are likely already to have become part of the Russian liturgical tradition. In the course of a period of about 100 years separating the majority of the Sticheraria from their prototype, variants appeared. It is difficult to decide whether the variants originated in local Russian traditions. The question of the origins of Usp 8 needs further study. However, if we accept that Usp 8 was written in Rostov, two local groups may be distinguished. However, the only Rostov manuscript does not show consistency in the disagreements with the Novgorodian sources; the divergences in the latter, while permitting the organization of the manuscripts in groups in some contexts, break the grouping with regard to the other contexts. On the other hand, variants could originate in Greek and Slavic traditions of divergent historical backgrounds. Further research into the Russian Sticheraria in the

circles of Greek and Slavic sources of different periods may clarify the origin of variants, permitting the continuation of their classification.

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