This book is a result of the joint work of Polish and Russian scientists. Publication of the study will allow for intensification of research into the history, culture, language, traditions, philosophical and dogmatic Orthodoxy and Christianity, the exchange of scientific information in the international field and international research teams involved in exploring these issues. The results also will serve to the further development of interdisciplinary special research methodologies in the field of culture and religion. Studies on the culture of Masurian Old Believers help to deepen and broaden the knowledge of the history and traditions of the region of former East Prussia, and to preserve its cultural heritage for future generations of Poles and Europeans.
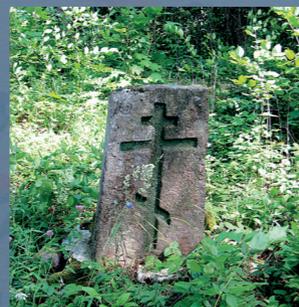
MENAIA:
AN EXAMPLE OF HYMNOGRAPHYC LITERATURE AND A TOOL TO SHAPE THE ORTHODOX WORLDVIEW

edited by

Helena Pociechina & Alexander Kravetsky

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OLD BELIEVERS IN MASURIA: LITURGICAL BOOKS AND WORDVIEW

FROM THE EDITORS

The present monograph contains the first results of a linguistic study of Service or Monthly Menaia conducted by a team of Polish and Russian linguists with the support of the National Research Centre of the Republic of Poland (Grant № 2011/01/B/HS2/03346). The project is implemented by faculty members of the Warmian-Masurian University in Olsztyn and researchers from the Centre for Church Slavonic Studies of the V.V. Vinogradov Institute for Russian Language of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Service or Monthly Menaia are among the principal books of the Orthodox Church and are essential for performing daily liturgical services. The name of these service books derives from the Greek root *μήν* 'month', *μηνιαίος* 'monthly, one-month', 'lasting a month'. The Menaia cycle for the entire ecclesiastical year, which begins on September 1 (old style), consists of twelve volumes containing so-called "posledovaniya" or "sluzhby"(services).

Containing the texts of daily services to saints, Christian feast days, glorified icons and relics, and important events of Christian history, modern Menaia were compiled over more than a thosand years. Menaia services include festive poetic hymns and kontakia (long poems composed along the model invented by Romanos the Melodist (Greek *Ρωμανός ο Μελωδός*) in the 6th century). Russian Service Menaia not only reproduce old texts that were translated from Greek and other languages but are also constantly expanded with new hymns. Any present-day church service may contain 9th-century hymns as well as modern texts that were written in recent times. By studying different editions of church services, one can trace changes in the consciousness of the faithful that took place over the centuries and that found their expression in the language of hymnographic works incorporated into the Menaia.

The authors of this book tried to find common trends in the development of two different traditions of Russian church lore (Old Believer and post-reform movements) that scholars had believed to be irreconcilable up until now. The authors analysed the process of the revision of texts of the Service Menaia, because the editors' changes affected all levels of the linguistic system, including morphology, syntax, vocabulary, phraseology, graphics and orthography. Moreover, one tried to study how the content of services changed, what new ideas and symbols appeared in texts, and what influence they had on the worldview of Orthodox Christians.

The methodology of the studies is based on a confrontational panchronic approach to the description of linguistic phenomena at all levels from morpheme to text. The use of a panchronic approach for describing the material is explained by the impossibility of dating most texts precisely and the desire to create a homogeneous model for the process of the revision of liturgical texts.

The book consists of two independent sections or studies that are connected by a common theme figuring in the monograph's title. The first section, written by Alexander Kravetsky and Alexandra Pletneva, analyses the genesis of modern Service Menaia that are in use in the Russian Orthodox Church. Of all liturgical books, the Menaia are particularly open to the influence of modernity, and so the incorporation of new services into the Menaia is examined in the context of Russian ecclesiastical and secular history from the 17th to the 20th centuries. Modern Russian has had a considerable impact on the language of the Service Menaia. The most interesting influences are changes in semantics and stable metaphors. Expressions revised under the influence of the Russian language sound natural for Russian speakers while their habitual meanings are perceived with a lot more difficulty. Kravetsky and Pletneva recount the very interesting history of the penetration of the notion of "Holy Russia" or "Holy Rus", which is of great importance for Orthodox Russians, into liturgical texts.

The second section presents some of the work of the research team from the Department of Slavic Linguistics of the Warmian-Masurian University in Olsztyn. This part of the monograph addresses different problems of the *modus operandi* of liturgical texts among priestless Old Believers living in Poland, including the determination of the protograph for texts included in Old Believer editions of the Menaia. The first chapter, written by Joanna Orzechowska and Helena A. Pociechina, describes the history of the book collection of the Wojnowo Monastery. Chapter 2 contains a systematic analysis of graphic, grammatical, semantic, and logical principles that were used both by editors of pre-reform Menaia in the first half of the 17th century and by Old Believers for reproducing and/or editing hymnographic texts of Menaia services that were incorporated into canons published by Old Believer typographies in the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century. The analysis focuses on theotokia that are frequently chanted during services. The third chapter, written by Alla A. Kamalowa, contains an analysis of hagioanthroponyms and vocatives in a number of liturgical services and identifies general principles for such constructions. In Chapter 4, J. Orzechowska examines the gender aspect of hymnographic nomination and evaluates the possible impact of Menaia texts on the everyday life of Old Believers. Chapter 5, written by H. Pociechina, contains several preliminary conclusions about the evolution of the relation between book culture and worldview of Polish Old Believers that passed from Fedoseyan to Pomorian creeds.

The authors believe that the publication of these research results will promote the scholarly study of the history, culture, language and philosophical and dogmatic traditions not only of Orthodoxy but also of Christianity as a whole and also encourage the development of interdisciplinary studies in culture and religion. The international exchange of information between

scholars will intensify cooperation, while the continuing study of the culture of Masurian Old Believers will contribute to a deeper and broader awareness of the history and traditions of East Prussia, which is essential for preserving the cultural heritage of this region for future Polish generations.

Helena Pociechina
Alexander Kravetsky

MENAIA SERVICES DURING THE EARLY MODERN AND MODERN PERIODS: HISTORY, POETICS AND SEMANTICS

Development of the Modern Service Menaia from the 18th to the early 21st Centuries

1. Indroduction: Menaia Texts up to the Mid-18th and First Half of the 19th Centuries

The history of menaia services of the Early Modern Period goes back to the Nikonian and post-Nikonian revisions. During these revisions, a considerable number of services to saints, and especially Russian saints, were excluded from the Typikon and Menaia [Nikol'sky 1896, Mansvetov 1883, Mansvetov 1884, Krylov 2009]. In this chapter, we will speak about the reverse process which led to the extensive russification of Service Menaia by the early 21st century.

New services were introduced into the Menaia very rarely during the 18th and 19th centuries. Furthermore, the few services incorporated into the Menaia during this period were largely secular rather than ecclesiastical in nature. The best known such text is the Service to the Victory at Poltava (Слꙋ́жба благода́рственнаѧ бг҃ꙋ, въ трⷪ҇цѣ ст҃о́й сла́вимомꙋ, ѡ вели́кой бг҃омъ дарова́нной побѣ́дѣ надъ свѣ́йскимъ короле́мъ каро́ломъ вторы́мъ на́десѧть и во́инствомъ є҆гѡ̀, содѣ́анной подъ полта́вою, въ лѣ́то ѿ воплощє́нїѧ гд҃на ҂аѱ҃ѳ, ʻThanksgiving Service to God Glorified in the Holy Trinity for the Great God-Given Victory over the Swedish King Charles XII and His Army at Poltava in the Year of Our Lord 1709') that had been compiled by Theophylact Lopatinsky at the order of Peter the Great and personally edited by the latter [Zhivov i Uspensky 1987: 77]. This service uses extensive allusions to the Holy Scripture for glorifying Peter the Great and condemning his enemies. For example, the author of the service characterizes Mazepa as follows:

(1) Ѿ кра́йнагѡ неи́стовства и҆ ѕло́бы! ѡ҆брѣ́тесѧ ны́нѣ послѣ́дꙋющїй ѕлѣ̀ преднаⷣꙋщемꙋ і҆ꙋ́дѣ, ѡ҆брѣ́тесѧ вторы́й і҆ꙋ́да, ра́бъ и҆ льстѐцъ, ѡ҆брѣ́тесѧ сы́нъ поги́бельный, дїа́волъ нра́вомъ, а҆ не человѣ́къ, треклѧ́тый ѿстꙋ́пникъ мазе́па, и҆́же ѡ҆ста́вивъ хрⷭ҇та̀ гд҃на, гдⷭ҇а и҆ благодѣ́тела своегѡ̀, и҆ прилѣпи́сѧ къ сꙋпоста́тꙋ, совѣща́ѧ возда́ти ѕла̑ѧ за бл҃га̑ѧ, за благодѣ́нїе ѕлодѣ́йство, за ми́лость не́нависть: бг҃ъ же возда́дѐ второмꙋ̀ ꙗ́коже и҆ пе́рвомꙋ і҆ꙋ́дѣ по дѣлѡ́мъ и҆́хъ [M_kab._iyun': 399].

ʻO extreme madness and rancour! A wicked follower of the first Judas has now appeared. A second Judas, a slave and liar, has appeared. Mazepa, the son of death, a devil rather than a human being in temper, and a thrice-cursed apostate, has appeared. He abandoned the Messiah of the Lord, his Lord and Protector, and joined the devil, scheming to return evil for good, wickedness for benefaction, and hatred for mercy. God has given him his just deserts just as to the first Judas.

This service was the first to call the tsar "Christ" – a reference that became common in 18th-century panegyric works (a play on words based on the fact that the word "Christ" denoted "anointed" in Hebrew, while the Russian tsar was anointed during the coronation). The correctness of this usage was defended by Theophan Prokopovich in 1718 in his speech "On the Power and Honour of the Tsar" [Zhivov i Uspensky 1987: 77]. The introduction of such usage into liturgical texts verges on the point of blasphemy:

(2) Не вопрошай прочее, дѣде, гдѣ сꙋть милости гдни древнїа, ꙇмиже клалса єсть Отцемъ нашымъ; ѡбрѣтохомъ бо а̃ въ новой благодати. ѡбрѣтохомъ и во днехъ нашихъ тꙗжде милости гдни древнїа на полахъ полтавскихъ, єгда сниде къ намъ гдь силъ на помощь, и ѡполчиса на врагѡвъ нашихъ сильныхъ, и смꙋти ꙇхъ, творꙗ милость христꙋ своемꙋ петрꙋ, и свое крстомъ сохранꙗа врꙋченное томꙋ жительство [M_kab._iyun': 399]

'Do not ask, David, where is the ancient mercy of the Lord, which you promised to our fathers. We have received it with new grace. In our days, we have received on the battlefields of Poltava a mercy similar the Lord's former mercy: the Lord of Sabaoth came to help us and attacked our strong enemies, disconcerting them and according mercy to His anointed Peter and preserving with the Cross the people that He entrusted to him.'

Naturally, the odious Service to the Victory at Poltava is a unique phenomenon. The other services that were introduced at the initiative of secular powers are a lot more traditional and fit much better into the Menaia context. For example, the "Thanksgiving Service to God Glorified in the Trinity in Recollection of the Peace Concluded between the Russian Empire and the Swedish Kingdom" (1721) that had been compiled by Archbishop Gabriel Buzhinsky at the personal order of Peter the Great is a lot more traditional [Spassky 2008: 64–67]. Similarly, the "Service to Saints Zachary and Elizabeth" (September 5) does not seem to be politically engaged at all, although it was introduced into liturgical practice and into the Service Menaia during the reign of Empress Elizabeth. Previously, the "Service to the Holy Prophet Zachary, Father of St. John the Forerunner" that had been translated from the Greek had been celebrated on this day [Spassky 2008: 60–62]. The "Service to Saints Zachary and Elizabeth" became a natural part of the liturgical cycle, and its text is not associated with the name of the Russian empress.

We should note, without going into detail, that the introduction of new services was more the exception than the rule in the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries. The situation began to change radically only in the last quarter of the 19th century. The starting point was the introduction of a service to Saints Cyril and Methodius, the inventors of the Slavic alphabet. By the time book printing appeared, the "First Enlighteners of the Slavs" had long ceased to be venerated, and so their services were not included in the printed Menaia.

2. The Cyril and Methodius Festivities and the Introduction of New Services into the Menaia

Interest in Cyril and Methodius reappeared in the mid-19th century when the names of the "First Enlighteners of the Slavs" became a symbol of the self-determination of Slavic cultures. Tellingly enough, the first Cyril and Methodius Festivities took place in Plovdiv on May 11, 1858. The Greeks did not participate in the celebration, despite the fact that the Bulgarian Church was subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Plovdiv Cyril and Methodius Festivities became an important milestone on the way to the slavicization of the Bulgarian Church [PE V: 630–631]. They continued to be viewed as a political demonstration for a long time to come. It is not surprising that the Greeks refused to participate in the 1885 Festivities, too, claiming that the latter were political in nature [Troitsky 1886: 19].

The celebration of the thousandth anniversary of the mission of Cyril and Methodius was covered by Russian church periodicals. For example, an unsigned article published in Dukhovnaya Beseda contained a fairly detailed report on how Catholic Slavs living on the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire celebrated the jubilee of the First Enlighteners of the Slavs and how the Lutherans followed their example. "During the current year," reported Dukhovnaya Beseda, "that has been called the Year of the Slavic Jubilee by the Roman Church, special prayers and chants in honour of the Enlighteners of the Slavs will be performed at all services in all Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches. Some Lutherans have even written special Slavic liturgies for this occasion that try to imitate our liturgy as much as possible and have compiled a special cycle of sermons for the people. <…> Although the Orthodox Church in Austria has not yet published any decree in response to the general appeal to the Slavs to celebrate this 1,000th anniversary, it will certainly not remain a simple bystander to these festivities that are being celebrated by Roman Catholics and Lutherans, as otherwise people may begin to think that the faith brought by Cyril and Methodius was Roman Catholic rather than Orthodox" [Slavyanskiye dela 1863: 89–90]. This article of December 26, 1862, was indirectly addressed to Orthodox Christians that had not yet begun to prepare for the celebration of the Cyril and Methodius Jubilee.

Appeals to reintroduce the names of Cyril and Methodius into church services were fairly frequent in Russian church periodicals of the time. "Given that our church daily commemorates John Chrysostom, the author of the Liturgy," wrote I. Belyayev, "why could it not commemorate alongside John Chrysostom Cyril and Methodius that translated the Liturgy and other church services into our native Slavic language?" [Belyayev 1862: 363]

The first practical steps to reviving the liturgical veneration of the First Enlighteners of the Slavs were taken by Anthony (Amfiteatrov), Bishop of

Smolensk. In the summer of 1861, he submitted a report to the Chief Procurator of the Synod in which he noted that there is no service to Cyril and Methodius in the Menaia on May 11 nor any troparion or kontakion to them in the menologium. In other words, no special service celebrated the First Enlighteners of the Slavs in the liturgical practice of countries employing liturgical books printed in Russia (Serbia, Bulgaria and Russia). It was necessary to compile this service and introduce it into liturgical practice.

Archbishop Anthony's proposal was supported by Metropolitan Philaret (Drozdov). The latter wrote in his review, "It would be appropriate in the present case to compile a canon with three stanzas in each ode, one in glory of the Most Holy Trinity or Christ the Saviour, another in honour of Cyril and Methodius, and a third in honour of the Theotokos and to have this canon clearly read at the Moleben after Liturgy between the singing of the irmoi" [Popov 2013: 305–306]. Metropolitan Philaret himself composed an ode for the canon; its fate will be described shortly. During the discussion of the newly written service, doubts were voiced whether the First Enlighteners of the Slavs should be called "equal to the apostles". Archbishop Philaret wrote a special note in which he argued in favour of the correctness of such usage. The Synod approved the text, and the service was printed and later introduced into the 1889 Festal Menaion.

In 1863, the names of Cyril and Methodius were included in service books. Let us cite the corresponding decree of the Synod:

"In commemoration of the 1,000th anniversary of the first sanctification of our native language with the Gospel and the faith of Christ, the Most Holy Governing Synod ordains: 1. Beginning with the current year of 1863, to establish on May 11 an annual church celebration of Venerable Cyril and Methodius with an All-Night Vigil, Liturgy and Moleben to the Saints; 2. After being printed, the service to the Saints shall be sent <…> to eparchial hierarchs for distribution <…> to all churches in their jurisdiction for the purpose described in Item 1."

Thus the revival of the church commemoration of Sts Cyril and Methodius was one of the main events surrounding the celebration in 1863 of the 1,000th anniversary of the Moravian mission. Two years after these festivities, the Cyril and Methodius Anthology (Kirillo-Mefodiyevsky sbornik) was published by M. Pogodin [KMS 1865]. This anthology contained a considerable number of sources linked with the activities of Cyril and Methodius, including old services to the First Enlighteners of the Slavs. It also contained articles that emphasized the political aspects of the Cyril and Methodius Festivities. Pogodin himself wrote the "Encyclical Letter to Slavs" for the anthology. In it, he decried the mutual hostility between Slavic peoples ("Poles hate Russians, Czechs do not get along with Moravians, Croatians are jealous of Serbs, and Bosnians avoid Bulgarians") and called on Russians to bring the Slavs together. According to M. Pogodin, the unity of Slavs lay in their language. The idea that language was

the foundation of unity was shared by the other contributors to the anthology. F. Buslayev wrote that the unity of the church language is the foundation of the unity of East Slavs. "The native tradition that was put by the Enlighteners of the Slavs at the foundation of the harmony of Slavic tribes became a source of political might for our country and of the strong and unanimous development of the entire Russian people." P. Bessonov [1865] affirmed that the study of the heritage of Cyril and Methodius was the only undertaking common to all Slavs and that it cast light on the unity of Slavic history. I. Aksakov considered the revival of the church commemoration of Cyril and Methodius to be evidence that the "idea of Slavism has emerged in our public consciousness". "These festivities," he continued, "are a pledge for the future spiritual unification of all Slavs and a link that connects dispersed brethren." A. Gorsky [1865] noted that, on May 11, the day when the Russian Church commemorates Methodius and Cyril, the Greek Church commemorates the "renewal of Constantinople". "Is this a coincidence," exclaims Gorsky, "or an interpretation of history, which sees in the conversion of Slavic tribes to the Eastern Church the spiritual renewal of Constantinople? Or is it also a prophecy about the future?"

Thus the revival of the liturgical commemoration of the First Enlighteners of the Slavs went hand-in-hand with the movement that led to Cyril and Methodius being viewed as key figures of Slavic culture. Over the following 150 years, services to Cyril and Methodius took up ever more space in the Service Menaia. We will subsequently see that the version of the Menaia that was published in 1978–1988 contains as many as three different feasts to the First Enlighteners of the Slavs and that a different service is provided for each of these days.

The next jubilee was the 1,000th anniversary of the death of Methodius, which was commemorated in 1885. In January of that year, Pyotr Giltebrandt, Chief Corrector at the St. Petersburg Synodal Typography (he is primarily known for his New Testament and Psalter dictionaries today), submitted to K. Pobedonostsev a note entitled "How should the Most Holy Synod commemorate the 1,000th anniversary of Methodius Day?" This document contained a publishing programme that P. Giltebrandt tried to implement over the remainder of his career at the St. Petersburg Typography. Giltebrandt proposed publishing a series of parallel texts in Church Slavonic, Greek, and modern Slavic languages. Moreover, it was planned to publish a series of different materials dedicated to Cyril and Methodius.

Let us cite several passages from this document that relate to our present theme:

1) In 1863, by Decree 733 of the Most Holy Synod, an annual church celebration on May 11 of Venerable Cyril and Methodius with an All-Night Vigil, Liturgy and Moleben according to a specially compiled service to the Saints was established in commemoration of the 1,000th anniversary of the first sanctification of our native language with the

Gospel and the faith of Christ. This service was last printed in 1869 in St. Petersburg. It should be immediately reprinted.

2) When reprinting this service, one should keep in mind the proposal by the Albanian monk Arsenius of publishing services to Spiridon, Charalampus, Cyril and Methodius, and Athanasius and Cyril, Patriarchs of Alexandria, in one volume. One should get this manuscript collection of services from Father Arsenius.

3) As far as I know, there is no akathist to the First Enlighteners of the Slavs. If this is indeed the case, their lives, published in the Menaion Reader for May 11, should give excellent liturgical material for this akathist. One should hope that some hierarchs of the Russian Church will want to write this akathist, as such works are always the result of personal effort and inspiration. < It would be my heartfelt desire to undertake such a project, yet I feel that I am too unworthy for this task and too beleaguered by different work, cares and sorrows. Nevertheless, if the need arises, I am ready to make corrections in Church Slavonic vocabulary and syntax as far as I am able.>

At Giltebrandt's initiative, the Collected Services, Lives, Eulogies and Akathist to the Holy Enlighteners of the Slavs Methodius and Cyril (Izbornik. Sluzhby, zhitiya, slovesa pokhvaly i akafist svyatym uchitelyam slovenskim Mefodiyu i Kirillu) was published in 1886. It contained a large corpus of liturgical texts dedicated to the Saints. As we will see below, many of the services printed here were included in the 1978–1988 editions of the Service Menaia.

Above we spoke exclusively about the activities of the St. Petersburg Synodal Typography. Nevertheless, liturgical books were mostly published by the Moscow Synodal Typography rather than in St. Petersburg. The two major Russian church publishing houses closely followed each other's activities. Heated debates periodically arose between the typographies; they concerned not only organizational issues of church book publishing but also issues of textology and orthography and the principles of the morphological unification of Church Slavonic texts (cf. [Kravetsky 2008; Kravetsky 2010; Balashov 2001: 190–192, 209–217]). P. Giltebrandt's project apparently led to a project of expanding the Typikon and Menaia with services to Russian saints that had been removed from the church statute during the Nikonian revisions. This document was compiled by M. Nikolsky, Chief Corrector of the Moscow Synodal Typography and an eternal opponent of Giltebrandt. In 1891, Nikolsky sent the report to the Synod, leading the latter to launch once again the revision of the Typikon. This work did not have any practical results. However, this project is interesting for us insofar as it clearly shows the overall trend. In the course of a single decade, the two main church publishing houses began to speak about the necessity of expanding the Monthly Menaia. Very importantly, these projects were proposed not by men of letters or theologians but by publishers that were working in the field and that were well familiar with the difficulties and pitfalls of such projects. Their stances are thus very significant.

In the previous section, we spoke about services that were incorporated into the Service Menaia in the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries and not-

ed that these additions were made in the context of secular rather than church policy. However, the situation changed radically in the wake of the Cyril and Methodius Festivities. In 1890, a service to Equal-to-the-Apostles Methodius and Cyril was included in the Festal Menaion. In 1889, at the order of the Synod, services to Demetrius of Rostov, Mitrophan of Voronezh, Innocent of Irkutsk, and Tikhon of Zadonsk were included in the Service Menaia (they were first published in the 1894–1895 editions of the Menaia) [Churilovsky 1909: 2441–2442]. This was the start of the process of introducing new services into the Menaia.

People quickly forgot about the fact that the church commemoration of Cyril and Methodius had begun only a short time back. The Clergyman's Handbook (Nastol'naya kniga svyashchennosluzhitelya), which was published in 1913, declared that "the ancient services were reprinted" in 1863 [Bulgakov 1913: 181–182]. In other words, the services to the First Enlighteners of the Slavs that had been compiled only fifty years before seemed to date from hoary antiquity by the early 20th century.

3. "Legalization" of the Popular Veneration of Saints

During the reign of Nicolas II, one paid a lot of attention to the veneration of saints and, especially, Russian saints. We shall not discuss the causes of this phenomenon here; let us simply note that, out of the 10 church-wide canonizations during the Synodal Period, 5 took place during the reign of Nicolas II [Tarasov 1995: 240–241]. The interest in Russian saints called for a historical understanding of this phenomenon. General works about Russian saints began to appear at the turn of the 20th century. They included, above all, the well-known work by Archimandrite Leonid (Kavelin) entitled Holy Russia or Information about All Saints and Ascetics of Piety in Russia (Svyataya Rus', ili svedeniya o vsekh svyatykh i podvizhnikakh blagochestiya na Rusi) [Leonid 1891], as well as the Menologium by Archbishop Demetrius (Sambikin) published in 1897–1902 [Dimitry I-XII]. The interest in iconographic depictions of Russian saints also grew markedly during this period [Tarasov 1995: 236–289].

In May 1900, the Synod ordained the preparation of a Russian translation of the Lives of the Saints by Demetrius of Rostov, which was published in 1903–1908. At the same time, the True Menologium of All Russian Saints That Are Venerated Church-Wide and Locally through Molebens and Festive Liturgies: Compiled from Reports to the Most Holy Synod by the Bishops of All Eparchies in 1901–1902 (Verny mesyatseslov vsekh russkikh svyatykh, chtimykh molebnami i torzhestvennymi liturgiyami obshchetserkovno i mestno, sostavlenny po doneseniyam Svyateyshemy Sinodu preosvyashchennykh vsekh yeparkhy v 1901–1902 godakh) has a special place among all the hagiographic works published at the turn of the century. Although the

name of the editor is not mentioned, we know that this book was compiled by Sergius (Spassky), Archbishop of Vladimir and Suzdal. The uniqueness of this work lies in the fact that, for the first time since the start of the Synodal Period, one consistently tried to record cases of the real veneration of saints rather than imposing such veneration from above. This menologium was meant to address the problem that church calendars and other popular handbooks contained the names of ascetics that had never been canonized. This was due to the fact that there was no reliable and generally accepted list of all Russian saints. The True Menologium was meant to serve as a normative handbook on which all compilers of calendars and censors could rely. Nevertheless, the approach taken by the editor was quite unexpected. The True Menologium is not a list of saints whose acts of canonization were found in the archives but the result of an opinion poll of sorts. Archbishop Sergius collected and systematized the opinions of eparchial hierarchs as to which saints were venerated in their eparchies:

"By a decree of August 10, 1901, the Most Holy Synod ordained that the bishops of all eparchies report to it about saints in whose honour molebens and festive liturgies are served in their eparchies. The present True Menologium of Russian Saints That Are Canonized and Venerated by Molebens and Festive Liturgies was compiled on the basis of these reports by bishops. <…> The present True Menologium of All Russian Saints shall impose on spiritual censors not to allow the names of non-canonized venerated defunct Russian ascetics that are not listed in the present Menologium to get into calendars and popular menologia. They previously had an excuse in their ignorance, yet the boundaries between canonized saints and non-canonized ascetics are now clear. The publishers of large works about saints that are compiled in a scholarly fashion must now also distinguish between clearly canonized saints and non-canonized ascetics, and censors must monitor this." [Verny mesyatseslov 1903: 57–58]

Thus, the Synod recognized, to all intents and purposes, that popular veneration provided sufficient grounds for considering an ascetic to be canonized and gave the list of Russian saints compiled on the basis of this criterion the status of a normative document.

It is clear that, given such an approach, the Menologium necessarily included saints that were more the object of popular veneration than church worship. For example, it lists on June 24 the names of "Holy Righteous Youths Jacob and John of Meniugi on the Meniugi River of the Novgorod Governorship, † ca. 1566–1569 in the time of Holy Metropolitan Philip" [Verny mesyatseslov 1903: 21].

Without discussing the purely folk tradition of their veneration (cf. A. Panchenko's recent monograph [Panchenko 2012]), let us note that their presence on the official list of Russian saints led them to be included in the Service Menaion published in the 1980s as well. Still, a troparion is the only text to Jacob and John in the Menaion [M_iyun' II: 311].

4. "Non-Menaia" Circulation of Menaia Services

The lack of a service in the printed Menaia does not necessarily imply that a saint is not the object of church veneration. Certain services circulated in notebooks and could be celebrated (with or without the permission of the church authorities) in places where a saint was traditionally venerated. In the 19th century, church authorities condoned the use by churches and monasteries of liturgical texts that had not been approved by the Synod. When a request was submitted to the Synod to print a service, petitioners often stated that this service had been celebrated for several years already. This provided additional grounds for approving a new service. For example, the abbess of the Dormition Convent in Vladimir petitioned the Synod in 1874 to print a service to Martyr Abraham of Bulgaria and noted that the manuscript of this service had long been used at the Dormition Monastery. As a result of such petitions, some services were published as booklets (as was the case with the service to Martyr Abraham of Bulgaria), while others were included in standard Menaia. The history of the approval (or rejection) of services for church use is very interesting. A book by Bishop Herman (Veynberg) that discusses such issues in great detail will soon be published (cf. p. 43–44 of the present book).

5. Supplementary Menaion

The first large-scale inclusion of new services into the Menaia took place in the early 20th century. In 1909, the Supplementary Menaion was published; it contained 16 services that were lacking in the edition of the Service Menaia. This book, printed in the standard format of Service Menaia, was meant to serve as a supplement to the latter before being included in subsequent editions of the Menaia. However, on account of the Revolution, the Monthly Menaia were reedited only 70 years later.

The Supplementary Menaion was published at the initiative of Anthony (Khrapovitsky), Archbishop of Volhynia. Already in the autumn of 1905, he had drawn the Synod's attention to the fact that a number of saints for whom a Polyeleos was indicated lacked services in the Menaia. By Decision № 1701 of March 4 / April 14, 1908, the Synod ordained to

"1. Include t.he feast days of Venerable Job of Pochaev in the church calendar.

2. Print a Supplementary Menaion with nine services as a separate book in the same format and font as existing monthly Menaia in the necessary number of copies, no matter whether these services are also included in monthly Menaia, and send them after printing to all monasteries and parish churches for a price of at most one rouble and free of charge <…> to poor churches.

3. Commission Archbishop Anthony of Volhynia to edit the aforementioned nine services before publication in order to bring them into line with other analogous services of the monthly Menaia and the requirements of the Church Statute."

Archbishop Anthony proposed that a number of other services be included in the book, which brought the total number of services to sixteen instead of nine. By June 1908, Archbishop Anthony had finished editing the texts of the services. He wrote that "the correction of the text mostly consisted in putting words in sentences into the correct order, correcting grammatical forms, abridging cumbersome phrases written in bureaucratic language, and, only in the service to St John the Warrior, removing inappropriate thoughts." The "inappropriate thoughts" mentioned by Archbishop Anthony included a reference to St John's assistance in catching runaway slaves.

A review by N. Churilovsky appeared simultaneously with the publication of the Supplementary Menaion. This review gave, on the one hand, a detailed description of the compilation and correction of all services that were included in the Menaion (violating the traditional anonymity of liturgical books) and, secondly, gave a list of 69 services that could be subsequently included in the Menaion.

The publication of the Supplementary Menaion set an important precedent. The idea of publishing anthologies of church services that had not been included in the Service Menaia up until then yet would be included in the future continued to be implemented in the publishing practice of the Russian Church subsequently. A Supplementary Menaion to Russian Saints was compiled in the 1950s by Bishop Athanasius (Sakharov) in exile. This book was not published and has come down to us only in manuscript copies. During the post-Soviet period, two different Supplementary Menaia were published, each in two different editions [MD 2005, 2006, 2008, 2008a]. The services in both of these Menaia editions are lacking in the standard Service Menaia and are printed in church [MD 2006, 2008] and civil script [MD 2005, 2008]. Such intermediate publication of services before their inclusion in monthly Menaia turned out to be very convenient, and thus one can expect new editions of this liturgical anthology to appear.

6. Programme for Incorporating New Services into Liturgical Books

The question of including new services to saints was discussed during the preparation of the convocation of the All-Russian Local Council. For example, the Commission for Elaborating the Agenda for the Local Council chaired by Hieronymus (Ekzemplyarsky), Bishop of the Vistula Territories, declared that "the commemoration of Russian saints is quite edifying and useful for reviving the self-awareness of the Russian people. One should ordain that Russian saints be commemorated in all churches on the dates set down in the True Menologium of Russian Saints that was published by the Most Holy Synod in 1903" (cited from [Kravetsky 1998: 345]).

M. Skaballanovich delivered a speech at the 6th Section of the Preconciliar Committee, whose jurisdiction included, among others, "affairs of faith and liturgy". Let us cite a fragment of the protocol that contains information on this report:

We listened to the oral report of Professor M. N. Skaballanovich about the nationalization of the liturgical menologium to the following effect:

"The liturgical menologium of the Orthodox Church is sometimes accused of a Greek bias, meaning that it primarily contains services to Greek saints. This reproach is not entirely fair. In addition to Greek saints, our statute ordains services to the most important saints of all nationalities from all over the world: Roman (even such late saints as Venerable Benedict), Syrian, Armenian, Persian, Georgian, Scythian, Slavic, Indian, etc. Nevertheless, there is a grain of truth in this reproach: it is strange, for example, not to have services to such saints as Hieromartyr Cyprian of Carthage, St Hilary, and St Irenaeus of Lyon. As it arose and took its final shape in Greece, the liturgical menologium naturally has a local colour. When the Russian Church adopted this menologium, its task was to moderate this colouring and give the menologium its own hue. This had to happen, as the Russian Church has so many saints of its own. They were included, and continue to be included, in the menologium. Yet how are they included? Anyone who has taken a look at the Typikon and the Menaia must needs be upset by the sad state of Russian saints there. There are services (including festive services with all-night vigils) to many of them. However, these services come after services to ancient saints and are clearly intended to be served locally "where there is a church or relics of a saint". In practice, these services are virtually not celebrated at all with the exception of a few prominent saints such as Venerable Sergius of Radonezh or Alexander Nevsky. However, the selection of such saints is up to the choice (whim) of each clergyman. Moreover, if a service to a Russian saint is celebrated, it takes place with a Polyeleos, and the service to the ancient saint is omitted altogether or (in monasteries) shifted to Compline.

However, this goes too far. There are too many services with Polyeleos in our statute already (in the second half of the 18th century alone, services to each of the 12 apostles were transformed from services with a Great Doxology to services with a Polyeleos by our statute); it also unfitting to omit services to ancient saints or shift them to Compline.

For this reason, it is very important to combine services to Russian saints with services to ancient saints without violating the everyday nature of the service (and print such services in future editions of the Menaia and the Typikon). This has already been done with the service to Equal-to-the-Apostles Olga after the jubilee celebration to Saint Vladimir (to whom an all-night vigil has been justly introduced with the transfer of the service to Martyrs Quiricus and Julietta to July 14 yet not to Compline!). Moreover, services to certain Russian saints still have to be compiled (for example, to Venerable Sergius and Herman of Valaam), while others have to be musically edited (all stichera and sedalens must be set to prosomoia, while the troparia and irmoi of canons must be metrically homogeneous).

This will lead to the nationalization of the liturgical menologium of the Russian Orthodox Church."

After a short discussion, the committee ruled that the theses of this report be deemed acceptable and that they should be presented to the Council for discussion during the review of our liturgical statute and its adaption to the conditions of modern life [DSS I: 696–697].

At the All-Russian Local Council of 1917–1918, issues relating to the veneration of Russian saints were examined at the Council Section "On Liturgy, Preaching, and the Temple". At the Section, one discussed, among others, the procedures for new canonizations, the question of reinstating the Feast Day of All Saints Who Have Shone Forth in the Russian Land, and the inclusion of services to all Russian saints in the Menologium. At the 35th session of this Section, Hieromonk Athanasius (Sakharov) made the report "On the Inclusion of Services to All Russian Saints in the Church Menologium". Father Athanasius deplored that there are only 72 services to Russian saints in the Service Menaia, while another 300 services are not known to laypeople or clergy. At the same time, the True Menologium, about which we spoke above, did not solve the problem of compiling a generally accepted list of Russian saints. Although the Synod sent copies of this book to all churches, it did not come into general use. The publishers of church calendars did not follow the norm set down by the True Menologium. To bring this aspect of liturgical practice into order, Father Athanasius proposed introducing into all menologia in liturgical books the feast days of all Russian saints, whether generally or locally glorified. Moreover, the feast days of icons of the Theotokos should also be marked in the menologia.

Together with the inclusion of the feast days of all Russian saints in the church Menologium, one discussed the question of publishing services to them. In this regard, Father Athanasius proposed drawing upon the experience of the Serbian Church, which had a special anthology called the Serblyak with "liturgical services to Serbian saints". Each new edition of the Serblyak was expanded through the addition of new services. It was recommended that anthologies of services to Russian saints should also contain services to locally glorified saints, which could be found in churches where they continued to be venerated.

Publishing services also required editing them, because "the Church must not allow that faulty or sometimes even meaningless prayers be pronounced even in a single church" (cited from [Kravetsky 1998: 360]). Father Athanasius recommended publishing all available printed and handwritten Russian services to saints and icons of the Theotokos in the form of special monthly Menaia. He also proposed reviving the ancient practice of introducing into Service Menaia synaxaria or brief lives of the saints that had formerly been read after the sixth ode of the canon. Here he referred once again to the example of the Serblyak, which contained synaxaria. At the same time, Father Athanasius proposed publishing illustrated catalogues of Russian saints, i.e., collections of their icons.

On the basis of this report, the following draft council decision was elaborated:

1. One should publish a full Menologium with a precise indication of all feast days in honour of icons of the Theotokos and all saints, whether universal or Russian, whether generally or locally venerated, with troparia and kontakia, with brief information about

the holy icons and excerpts from the saints' lives and with an indication of the places where they are venerated. This Menologium must be sent to all churches.

2. The names of saints venerated by the entire Russian Church shall be included in the Menologium in all liturgical books containing a Menologium.

3. All existing services to Russian saints and in honour of icons of the Theotokos must be collected, corrected, supplemented with synaxaria and printed (in the case of services in honour of icons to the Theotokos and to church-wide saints) in monthly Menaia; services in honour of holy icons and local saints should be printed in Supplementary Menaia.

4. One must publish complete illustrated catalogues of universal and Russian saints and icons of the Theotokos.

5. In each eparchy, lists of saints venerated in the eparchy must be compiled, and their names must be recited during the litiya petition "Save, o God, your people" and the prayer "Most merciful Lord" in the order that is specially set down by the eparchial authorities. The eparchial authorities must also determine where and to which saints festive services shall be held on feast days.

6. It would be best if the required information be collected in time for the Third Session of the Council, so that at least an exact Menologium, if possible, be submitted to the Liturgical Section for approval during the 3rd session and then published with the blessing of the Holy Council. Thus, the Section requests the Holy Synod, first of all, to ordain that the dossier of the publication in 1903 of the True Menologium of All Russian Saints be sent to the Section and, secondly, to call upon eparchial hierarchs to collect in their eparchies and present to the Holy Synod no later than August 1 of the current year 1918 exact information about (a) all icons of the Theotokos venerated in their eparchies with an indication of the time and circumstances of their appearance, place of veneration and all feast days and with the attachment (if available) of printed lives, services, and depictions and descriptions of monasteries and temples where the relics of saints lie. If a service is available in manuscript only, its copy should be presented. If only a troparion and a kontakion rather than an entire service are available, they should be attached, and it should be noted what service is celebrated and how at the place of veneration of the holy icon or saint.

Moreover, it is necessary to write about the collection of these materials requested by the Section in the upcoming issue of the Tserkovnyye vedomosti with a request from the Section to the superiors of monasteries and senior priests of churches to help in these activities and to present the materials as quickly as possible through eparchial hierarchs to the Holy Synod without waiting for directives from the eparchial authorities."

This programme was approved by the Conciliar Committee and then the Council itself. The compilation of the Menologium was entrusted to a commission consisting of B. Turayev, S. Glagolev, Hieromonk Athanasius (Sakharov) and Archimandrite Neophyte (Osipov). The Commission was unable to begin work for a number of different reasons. Only in the 1950s and 1960s did Bishop Athanasius (Sakharov) resume work on the preparation of Russian Menaia.

7. Liturgical Samizdat during the Soviet Period

The situation changed radically after the Revolution. Church authorities no longer had any publishing houses or the possibility of censoring liturgical texts.

Typewritten and handwritten copies became the principal means of distributing new liturgical texts. In contrast, books that included all the basic services of the year were quite big and were seemingly not copied in this fashion. In addition, the shortage of basic liturgical books was met by books from closed churches.

The disappearance of control over liturgical texts that circulated among the faithful was accompanied by harsh state pressure on the Church. The access to the printing press became increasingly difficult. In 1918–1919, church authorities managed with great difficult to publish several liturgical texts in the form of leaflets and small brochures (Service to All Saints That Have Shone Forth in the Russian Land, Moleben for the Salvation of the Russian Land and the Appeasement of Strife and Discord in It, a short Akathist to the Most Holy Theotokos Derzhavnaya that was edited (as stated on the title page) by Patriarch Tikhon [Tsaritsa 2007: 491–497], and a Prayer before the Derzhavnaya Icon [Tsaritsa 2007: 459–460]). After the requisition of church typographies, liturgical texts that had received the approval of the supreme church authorities could circulate only privately. Ecclesiastical sanction ceased to be a condition for the publication of a text by a press.

Typewritten and handwritten copies became the most common means of the circulation of texts, including texts that were approved by church authorities. Some manuscripts that circulated among the faithful contained not only the text of the service or akathist but also a written blessing. The authors of the present chapter possess an Akathist to Hieromartyr Blaise that is written in a school quadrille notebook and that has a handwritten resolution in the end by Bishop Macarius (Opotsky) that the akathist is permitted for liturgical use:

The akathist quite suitable for liturgical use.
Bishop Macarius (Opotsky)
1930, September 3
As a fellow countryman who served as a censer-lighter during my childhood in the altar of the Church of Holy Great-Martyr Blaise, I was asked to read and review this akathist before my departure from Novgorod the Great. I read with spiritual consolation these akathist praises written by the pious monk Acacius. After having hastily corrected and adjusted (sic!) several passages in it, I find it acceptable for reading at divine service. The final approval for liturgical use is up to your bishop.
Tikhon <(Rozhdenstvensky)>, Bishop of Velikiye Luki, Vicar of the Smolensk Eparchy, who visited his homeland Novgorod the Great on September 5/18, 1930.
Blessed for use in the Church of Holy Hieromartyr Blaise.
Archbishop Alexius <(Simansky)>. N. Novgorod. 1930 October 26 / November 8 [Kravetsky 2012a: 87–88].

Let us repeat once more: this postscript was made in a chance copy written in a school notebook. The first liturgical texts devoted to the realities of contemporary history circulated in the form of such "samizdat". We are referring first and foremost to texts that try to describe the feats of new martyrs.

The beginning of the church commemoration of new martyrs dates back to April 1918 when the All-Russian Local Council adopted the resolution "On measures in response to the current persecution of the Orthodox Church". This resolution fixed January 25 as the day of the commemoration of new martyrs and confessors (the day when Metropolitan Vladimir [Bogoyavlensky] was killed). A day was also fixed for religious processions in parishes where there had been new martyrs: Monday of the second week after Easter [Sobraniye opredeleny III: 55]. The Council elaborated a mechanism for recording acts of violence against the Church and the faithful. These materials were used for compiling a leaflet with a sermon by Protopriest Pavel Lakhostsky entitled "New Hieromartyrs" and a list of "Servants of God killed for faith and the Orthodox Church" (17 names).

The next stage in the history of veneration of new martyrs is connected with the names of Professor B. Turayev and Bishop Athanasius (Sakharov). who compiled the Service to All Saints That Have Shone Forth in the Russian Land. The authors included in the service several chants to martyrs that had suffered at the hands of the Bolsheviks:

(1) Ѿ но́выхъ страстоте́рпцевъ! По́двигъ проти́въ ѕло́бы о҆́убѡ претерпѣ́ша, въ вѣ́рꙋ хрⷭ҇то́въ ꙗ҆́кѡ ци́нтъ предъ ꙋ҆че́нїи мі́ра сегѡ̀ держа́ще, и҆ на́мъ Ѻ҆́бразъ терпѣ́нїѧ и҆ ѕлострада́нїѧ досто́йнѡ ꙗ҆влѧ́юще.

'O new passion-bearers! You were steadfast your feat against evil, you held up the faith of Christ as a shield before the teachings of this world, and you became a worthy model of suffering and endurance for us.'

(2) Ѿ тве́рдости и҆ мꙋ́жества полка̀ мч҃никъ хрⷭ҇то́выхъ, за хрⷭ҇та̀ ꙋ҆бїе́нныхъ! Ті́и бо цр҃ковь правосла́внꙋю ꙋ҆краси́ша и҆ въ странѣ̀ свое́й кро́ви своѧ̀, ꙗ҆́кѡ сѣ́мѧ вѣ́ры да́ша и҆ кꙋ́пно со всѣ́ми ст҃ы́ми досто́йнѡ да почтꙋ́тсѧ.

'O resolution and courage of the regiment of Christ's martyrs killed for Christ! They adorned the Orthodox Church and gave their blood to their country as a seed of faith. Let them be worthily honoured together with all saints!'

(3) Ѿ вели́цыи на́ши Ѻ҆тцы̀ и҆мени́тїи и҆ безымѣ́ннїи, ꙗ҆вле́ннїи и҆ неꙗвле́ннїи, нбⷭ҇нагѡ сїѡ́на дости́гшїи, и҆ сла́вꙋ мно́гꙋ ѿ бг҃а прїи́мшїи, ꙋ҆тѣше́нїе на́мъ въ ско́рби сꙋ́щимъ и҆спроси́те, странꙋ̀ на́шꙋ па́дшꙋю возста́вите и҆ лю́ди расточе́нныѧ собери́те, ѿ на́съ ꙗ҆́кѡ да́ръ пѣ́снь бл҃года́рнїѧ прїе́млюще.

'O our great fathers whose names we know or not, who have been revealed to us or not, who have reached the Heavenly Zion and received great glory from God! Ask Him to console us who are in sorrow, to restore our fallen country and to gather the scattered people, receiving our song of thanksgiving as a gift.'

(4) Ѿ трⷪ҇це прест҃а́ѧ! Прїимѝ, ꙗ҆́же рѡссі́а прино́ситъ тѝ ꙗ҆́кѡ нача́тки, и҆ ꙗ҆́кѡ ѳѷмїа́мъ и҆збра́нный, всѧ̑ ꙋ҆годи́вшыѧ и҆ пре́жде и҆ послѣ́жде въ не́й, зна́емыѧ и҆ незна́емыѧ, и҆ мл҃твами и҆́хъ ѿ всѧ́кагѡ вре́да сїю̀ сохранѝ.

'O Most Holy Trinity! Accept those that Russia presents to you like the first fruit and like choice incense: the saints, whether known or not, who lived in it over its history. Protect it from all harm through their prayers.' [Sluzhba 1930: 26–27]

Thus, the expression new passion-bearers (новые страстотерпцы) already appeared in 1918 in liturgical poetry. The expression new martyrs (новомученики) does not figure here for the moment, yet the aforementioned sermon by Protopriest Pavel Lakhostsky contained the words new hieromartyrs (новые священномученики). Strikingly enough, the above troparia were written in 1918 when no one imagined the scope of future persecutions yet.

The Service to All Saints That Have Shone Forth in the Russian Land was not the only liturgical text that mentioned the events of the Revolution and Civil War. Another group of texts is connected with the Derzhavnaya Icon of the Theotokos, which was found on the day when Nicolas II abdicated from the throne. In the "Prayer before the Derzhavnaya Icon", which was printed as a separate leaflet in 1918, the Revolutionary Period was described as "the days of our shame and disgrace" and "the days of destruction and desecration of all that is sacred by insane people" [Tsaritsa 2007: 459].

The new liturgical texts were discussed at meetings of the Synod and recommended for liturgical use and publication, although, as we mentioned above, it was no longer technically possible to publish these texts. For example, the Service to Venerable Cyril, Wonderworker of Chelmo-Gora was approved for publication and liturgical use by Edict № 1,051 of the Patriarch and Synod of October 29 / November 11, 1918. The same year, the Synod approved several akathists for liturgical use.

The Soviet age, which was an age of persecution, was undoubtedly also an age of akathists, because laypeople can read akathists without a priest. Akathists are small and hence easily copied, and many of them are written in a Russified version of Church Slavonic, which is easy to understand orally. Whereas the publication of new akathists was somewhat curtailed by censorship before the Revolution, akathists were written and distributed in typewritten copies very actively in the 20th century.

Revival of Church Publishing

1. Introduction

After the Moscow Patriarchate got access (be it limited) to publishing once again, texts that had been distributed in typewritten copies stood a chance of being printed. In the years immediately following World War II, some hierarchs were able to print texts in local typographies from time to time. In 1948, under pressure from the government, the Synod ordained that "appeals, akathists and other texts shall not be printed in local typographies without prior approval by the Holy Synod." The Synod's decree suggests that attempts were made to publish akathists in certain places. However, we know of only one church service that was published in this manner: a service to St John, Metropolitan of Tobolsk, who had been canonized in 1916. This service was printed in 1947 in Novosibirsk.

2. First Menaia Text Published by the Moscow Patriarchate

The first liturgical text published by the Moscow Patriarchate after the thaw in church-state relations was the Service to All Saints That Have Shone Forth in the Russian Land. The first version of this service had been compiled in the early 16th century by Monk Gregory of the Saviour Monastery of St Euthymius in Suzdal. It was printed in Grodno in 1786. This service did not circulate widely and had been forgotten by the early 20th century.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the idea of reviving this feast appeared due to the interest in Russian saints. During the Local Council of 1917–1918, Professor B. Turayev drafted the following document, which got the approval of the Council Section "On Liturgy, Preaching and the Temple":

The Russian Church formerly commemorated "All Holy New Russian Wonder-workers".

The service for this feast day was compiled by the humble monk Gregory in the Monastery of St Euthymius of Suzdal. Two editions of this service are known to us: the second edition by the Grodno Stauropegia, which reedited the first edition printed in Cracow in 7294 and by the Suprasl Stauropegia. Thus, the service that had been compiled in Great Russia was particularly widespread in the periphery of the Russian Church on its Western frontier and even beyond its boundaries. That was a time of the division of Russia, and the loss of national and political unity was particularly apparent. If we take into account that the saints mentioned in this service (which is compiled along the model of the Service to All the Venerable Fathers of Cheesefare Saturday with direct borrowings from it – for example, the sedalen after the first kathisma) are mostly from Great Russia, this will become all the more apparent. In our woeful times when united Russia has been divided, when our sinful generation has trampled the fruits of Saints that performed feats in the Kievan caves, Moscow, the Northern Thebaide, and Western Russia for the creation

of a single Orthodox Russian Church, it seems high time to revive this forgotten feast. Let it remind us and our detached brothers from generation to generation of the United Orthodox Russian Church and let it be a small tribute of our sinful generation and a small expiation of our sins. As the service was apparently compiled in the 16th century, it should be expanded to include newly glorified Saints as well as, in some general form, not yet canonized Saints that have either been venerated for a long time or have died for Christ's faith, including the hieromartyrs and martyrs that have suffered in our woeful times during the present persecutions against the Church. The service could be expanded through a second canon, say. The printed text indicates that the service should be celebrated on July 17 yet gives no explanation for this. It seems more expedient to follow the example of Mount Athos, which celebrates all its glorified ascetics together on the first Sunday of the Apostles' Fast, i.e., the Sunday following the Sunday of All Saints.

In August 1918, the Council adopted a resolution reviving the feast day of All Saints That Have Shone Forth in the Russian Land:

1. The feast day commemorating All Russian Saints that have lived in the Russian Church is reinstated.

2. It shall be celebrated on the first Sunday of the Apostles' Fast [Sobraniye opredeleny IV: 27].

Even after the text was published, work on the service continued. B. Turayev died in 1920, and his coauthor Hieromonk (and, from 1921, Bishop) Athanasius (Sakharov) continued to work on it alone. Systematic work began in the autumn of 1922 when Bishop Athanasius met, in a cell of the Vladimir Prison, several proponents of the feast day of All Russian Saints. Conversations in the prison cell, during which concrete wishes and recommendations were voiced, convinced him to continue this project. Here one voiced the idea that the service should be expanded in such a way that it could be celebrated not only on the second Sunday after Pentecost but also, if one wished, at other times and not necessarily on a Sunday. This service was celebrated for the first time on a day other than Sunday on October 28, 1922, in a cell of the Vladimir Prison. Bishop Athanasius wanted to incorporate this service into the Menaia cycle and fix the celebration of All Russian Saints on July 16, the next day after the feast day of Equal-to-the-Apostles Prince Vladimir, the Baptiser of Russia. Bishop Athanasius worked on the text of the service independently from official structures of the church. When the Moscow Patriarchate reedited this service in 1946, the additions and changes made by Bishop Athanasius were not included.

One should say a few words about the circumstances surrounding the publication of this edition. After the war, the Moscow Patriarchate strove to revive the publication of liturgical works. In a speech to the Local Council of

1945, P. Smirnov, Executive Secretary of the Editorial Board of the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate, said "We get requests from eparchies to print liturgical books, liturgical and chant anthologies, and absolution prayers and paper bands; to prepare new antiminses; and so on. In an attempt to meet this demand, the Patriarchal Locum Tenens has drafted a special petition and submitted it to the government. It is still under consideration for the time being, yet we hope that all of these urgent needs of the Church will be met." The first church service published by the Patriarchate was the Service to All Saints That Have Shone Forth in the Russian Land. The choice may seem quite unexpected and even extravagant. It would be difficult to find a more inopportune text from the standpoint of censorship. After all, this service was first published by the Council of 1917–1918, which the Soviet government considered to be counter-revolutionary. One of its authors (Bishop Athanasius Sakharov) was in a labour camp, while the text included prayers about the "new passion-bearers", which was unthinkable for a censured publication. At the same time, the faithful had much greater need for services to great feasts without speaking of the Psalter, Horologion or Prayer Book.

The choice of the Service to All Saints That Have Shone Forth in the Russian Land is most likely due to the Patriarchate's striving to take advantage of the interest in the national tradition that characterised the Soviet establishment after the war. The veneration of Russian saints fitted in very well with this. It may have seemed easier to revive the publication of liturgical texts on this patriotic note [Kravetsky i Pletneva 2001: 231–232]. When the Service was prepared for publication, all mention of the persecutions of the 20th century was naturally omitted.

Bishop Athanasius (Sakharov) was extremely displeased with this edition and continued to work on his own version of the service. At the end of the 1950s, he sent typewritten copies of his own version to different ecclesiastics. For this reason, his text was more or less known. When the 1,000th anniversary of the Baptism of Russia was celebrated, after which the relations between church and state greatly improved, the festive service was based upon Bishop Athanasius' text. His version was also used in the first Soviet edition of the Service Menaia, which we will discuss below. Strictly speaking, this service belongs to the Triodion cycle and not to the Menaia. Nevertheless, it is printed in the Menaia rather than the Triodion.

3. First Post-Revolutionary Edition of the Service Menaia

The Service Menaia published in 1978–1989 (popularly known as the "Green Menaia" [M_zel _sent-avg]) have a special place in the history of liturgical editions. These Menaia included a huge number of liturgical texts that had previously not appeared in the principal cycle of liturgical books. The Menaia of 1978–1989 incorporated an enormous number of liturgical works that had

circulated in manuscript up until then. In the scope of its conception, this edition can be compared with the famous Great Menologium of Metropolitan Macarius that incorporated hagiographic works that had been read in Russia in the 16th century.

Before speaking about this edition, we should say a few words about the typewritten Supplementary Menaion to Russian Saints that had been compiled by Bishop Athanasius (Sakharov). In 1955, after being liberated from the labour camps, he continued to collect and systematize services to Russian saints. Bishop Athanasius sent many letters to the clergy of different churches and monasteries (a considerable number of them have come down to us), asking them to send him unpublished services celebrated in different parts of the country. He minutely edited the manuscripts he received, giving them linguistic and stylistic unity. He used these materials to prepare Supplementary Menaia with services to Russian saints that were not included in standard pre-Revolutionary Menaia.

There was no possibility of printing these texts during Bishop Athanasius' lifetime. Later, when the Publishing House of the Moscow Patriarchate began to publish the Service Menaia, Bishop Athanasius' materials and, even more importantly, his very idea of expanding the Service Menaia were used.

In his review of the September and October volumes of the new Menaia, project director Hegumen Innocent (Prosvirnin) noted that this edition was the implementation of the decisions of the Council of 1917–1918 and was based on the materials of Bishop Athanasius (Sakharov):

> The Liturgical and Calendrical Commission <…>, implementing the desire of the Liturgical Section of the Local Council of 1917–1918 and at the commission of Most Holy Patriarch Alexius, posed the question of the necessity of combining services to Russian saints with services to saints of Local Orthodox Churches to avoid violating the Statute of the entire Eastern Church. It also took account of the liturgical practice and rich hagiology of the Russian Church. Bishop Athanasius (Sakharov), Chairman of the Commission and participant of the Local Council of 1917–1918, has given the necessary solution to this complicated liturgical question in the Liturgical Notes for 1957 and 1958. He edited the texts of all the Menaia in order to make the linguistic forms of Church Slavonic more comprehensible to contemporaries. He also devoted a lot of effort to collecting separately published services [Innokenty 1980].

It should be said that the Menaia published by the Patriarchy was a totally independent project. Bishop Athanasius' Supplementary Russian Menaion was only one of many sources used by the editors. The idea of the new edition of the Menaia was, to a large extent, the implementation of the resolution of the Local Council of 1917–1918 "On the inclusion of all Russian services in the church menologium", as the following table (Table 1.) clearly shows:

Table 1.

Report by the Section on Liturgy, Preaching and the Temple "On the Inclusion of All Russian Feast Days in the Church Menologium"	Green Menaia
The report speaks about the necessity of publishing a complete Menologium that would precisely indicate all feast days in honour of icons of the Theotokos and all saints (universal and Russian that are venerated by the entire Church or locally) with troparia, kontakia and brief lives.	The Table of Contents of the Menaia is such a menologium to all intents and purposes. In cases when one was unable to find a service or even a troparion and a kontakion, the saints' names are mentioned in the Table of Contents all the same. Brief lives are placed after the services.
The report called for including all services to Russian saints into the monthly Menaia and editing them. Services to locally venerated saints should have been published in Supplementary Menaia.	The demand to include all available services to Russian saints has been fully realized. Supplementary local menaia were not published.
It was planned to publish a complete illustrated catalogue of universal and Russian saints and icons of the Theotokos.	Drawings of icons are placed next to the services, while colour illustrations are placed at the end of the volumes.
The report stipulated that, in each eparchy, lists of saints connected with the eparchy should be compiled.	A considerable number of services to synaxes of saints of different eparchies are included in the Menaia.

Let us try to make a general list of sources used by the editors of the Green Menaia:

Printed sources:
1. Pre-Revolutionary Service Menaia
2. Supplementary Menaion, St. Petersburg, 1909
3. The anthology Prayers Read at Molebens [Molitvy 1915], from which troparia, kontakia and prayers to individual saints were taken
4. Printed pre-Revolutionary editions of different services
5. Early printed liturgical books
6. Editions of different services published outside of Russia (especially in Poland)

7. Editions of Slavic Orthodox Churches (services to Bulgarian, Serbian and others saints were taken from these editions)
8. Scholarly editions of medieval liturgical manuscripts
9. Editions of non-Slavic Orthodox Churches (services to Georgian, Greek and other saints were taken from them)

Manuscripts:
1. Supplementary Russian Menaia and individual services collected and edited by Bishop Athanasius (Sakharov)
2. Manuscripts received by the editors in response to requests that they sent to different temples and monasteries
3. Manuscripts stored in state archives and libraries

This work resulted in an anthology with highly diverse texts written between antiquity and the 20th century. It bears the marks of a conscious opposition to the philhellenist revision of the Menaia of the late 17th century. The new edition contains a great number of services to Russian and Slavic saints. The fate of menaia services to Cyril and Methodius about which we spoke earlier are a case in point. Whereas there were no services to the Enlighteners of the Slavs in pre-Revolutionary Menaia, the 1978–1988 Menaia include three feast days to them. Besides the service of May 11, there is also a service to "Holy Equal-to-the-Apostles Cyril the Philosopher, Teacher of the Slavic Language" (February 14). This text had been published by Grigorovich in the Cyril and Methodius Anthology [Grigorovich 1865: 243–250] from a 12th-century manuscript. A service to "Holy Equal-to-the-Apostles Methodius, Enlightener of the Slavs and Archbishop of Moravia" is printed for April 6. This text had also appeared in the Cyril and Methodius Anthology. Judging from the references in the preparatory materials for this edition, the editors made use of the edition published in Sofia in 1958 and other later editions. Moreover, an ode of the canon written by Metropolitan Philaret (Drozdov) was included the service of May 11. Thus, whereas Cyril and Methodius had no feast days before 1862, the Menaia of the last quarter of the 20th century indicate three feast days for them. Moreover, in all three cases, the service to the First Enlighteners of the Slavs comes first among the services of the day.

Along with the growth of the church veneration of Sts Cyril and Methodius, secular culture began to take an increasing interest in them. The names of the Enlighteners of the Slavs also began to appear on the calendar of civil holidays. From 1985 on, the Day of Slavic Literature began to be held on their church feast day. The first such celebrations became major cultural events. The idea that the Slavs had obtained their alphabet thanks to Christian preachers was something new for Soviet citizens. The Days of Slavic Literature were one of the first secular events in which the Orthodox Church took an active part. Thus the new edition of the Service Menaia belonged to a movement that was part of both religious and secular culture.

The services to Cyril and Methodius were not the only example of the new Menaia reflecting processes that were taking place both in sacral and in secular culture. This was also the case to a considerable extent of the concept of Holy Rus that became important once again in Russian culture during the last quarter of the 20th century. In the Service to All Saints That Have Shone Forth in the Russian Land, the editors of the new Menaia included for the first time the famous sticheron "Новый доме Евфрафов, уделе избранный, Русь Святая, храни веру православную, в нейже тебе утверждение" ('New House of the Ephraths, select appanage, Holy Rus, preserve the Orthodox faith, which is the source of your strength'). This sticheron did not appear in any of the earlier versions of the Service. We cannot say for sure whether Bishop Athanasius (Sakharov) or someone else was the author of this sticheron. All in all, this is not so important. What matters for us is not its authorship but the fact that this text corresponded ideally to the feelings of the 1970s and 1980s.

The discovery of a different (non-Soviet) Russia, whether rural, peasant or traditional, was a major theme in Soviet culture of the 1960s-1980s. The interest in services to Russian saints and in Russian sainthood in general was preceded by the fashion for voyages to the Russian North, the prose of villageois writers and the publication of a series of guidebooks to the Russian provinces called Roads to the Beautiful (Dorogi k prekrasnumu, 1967–1995). These small pocket books that described ruined temples and monasteries, often located in hard-to-reach places, made "voyages back to Medieval Russia" very popular. Simultaneously and often independently, secular and church culture discovered the same new spaces. These parallels are often clearly visible. For example, services to Cyril of Chelma-Gora [M_zel_dekabr' I: 299–313] and Nicodemus of Kozhozero [M_zel_iyul' I: 196–225] were incorporated into the Menaia soon after the publication of books about the Kargopol region, which included a description of Chelma-Gora where St Cyril formerly lived [Gunn 1984: 50–54] and the ruined Kozheozersky Monastery of the Epiphany [Gunn 1984: 157–176]. Of course, the guidebooks did not influence the contents of the Menaia (as one recalls, the idea of including services to Russian saints is quite old) but simply contributed to changing the social mentality.

In addition to reintroducing services excluded during the Nikonian and post-Nikonian revisions back into the Menaia, the editors of the new edition of the Menaia added an enormous number of new texts, some of which were quite exotic. A good example is the Service to Boris and Gleb of May 2. A service for this day figured in early printed Menaia and, along with other services to Russian saints, was excluded during the revision of Menaia in 1689–1691 [Nikolsky 1896: 33–34]. The editors of the new version of the Menaia did not simply reprint the service but, using several manuscripts, compiled a new version of the text. It includes, among others, a non-Biblical paroemia in honour of Boris and Gleb. In the manuscripts, this paroemia consisted of three parts,

each of which was entitled "Lection from the Book of Genesis". Nevertheless, the paroemia consisted not of a Biblical text but of a story about the events of Russian history involving Boris and Gleb [Cf. Uspensky 2000: 8–29; Kravetsky 1991]. This paroemia had never been included in printed books. The editors of the new Menaia decided to use these texts as lections at Matins. Given that the text of the paroemia clearly had no relation to the Bible, the title "Reading from the Book of Genesis" was replaced by "Reading from the Life" [Mineya may 1987 I: 100–104]. Judging from the preparatory materials, a manuscript from the Tikhomirov Collection (from the edition [Tikhomirov 1968: 163–165]) was taken as the source. Curiously, the editors of the new Menaia used a published version of this lection that they had had at hand instead of the critical edition [Abramovich 1916: 113–121].

The new edition of the Menaia also included texts relating to the Soviet period of church history. The publication of these texts was possible only because Soviet censors had a poor understanding of liturgical texts. This made it possible to include in the censored edition of the Menaia a series of texts whose publication was unthinkable in the USSR. The most vivid example was the publication of a service to the Derzhavnaya Icon of the Theotokos that had been discovered on March 2, 1917, on the day when Nicolas II abdicated from the throne. The service and akathist to this icon were approved by Patriarch Tikhon. In the 1920s, copies of the Derzhavnaya Icon of the Theotokos appeared in many Moscow temples. Nevertheless, everything connected with this icon belonged to unofficial culture, so to say. The appearance of the text of this service in the edition of the Moscow Patriarchate together with a historical note that the Derzhavnaya Icon of the Theotokos was discovered on March 2, 1917 (the reader himself had to recall what took place on this day in Russian history) seems totally incredible. In all likelihood, the censors did not realize that the date of the discovery of the icon coincided with the day when the last Russian emperor abdicated from the throne. Curiously enough, while the March Menaion, which included the service to the Derzhavnaya Icon, was being prepared for press in Moscow, the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad was preparing the akathist to this icon for publication. The afterword to the brochure said that "Today, the service and akathist to the Derzhavnaya Icon of the Theotokos are celebrated in Soviet Russia only by the Catacomb Church, as the official Soviet church prohibits these prayers in deference to the atheistic government." [Akafist 1984: 40] The authors of the afterword could not have imagined that the service to the Derzhavnaya Icon had already passed Soviet censorship and was being printed in the USSR.

It goes without saying that such cat-and-mouse games with the censors were possible only if one avoided harsh words about the Bolshevist Revolution. A considerable fragment was excluded from the prayer to the Derzhavnaya Icon, too:

Table 2.

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Version of 1917[1]	Version of 1984 [M_zel_mart I: 41]
Благодарим Тя за неизреченное милосердие Твое, яко благоволила еси явити нам, грешным, сию святую чудотворную икону Твою во дни сии лукавые и лютые, яко вихрь, яко буря ветренная нашедшие на страну нашу, дни срама нашего и позора, во дни разорения и поругания святынь наших от людей безумных, иже не точию сердце, но и языком и устами дерзостно глаголют: "несть Бог!" и во всех делах своих сие безбожие показуют. Благодарим Тя, яко призрела еси с высоты святыя Своя на скорбь и горе чад православных, и, яко солнце светлое, увеселяеши ныне, изнемогшие от печали, очеса наша пресладостным зрением державнаго образа Твоего!	Благодарим Тя, яко призрела еси с высоты святыя Своея на чад православных, и, яко солнце светлое, увеселяеши ныне изнемогшия от печали очеса наша пресладостным зрением державнаго образа Твоего!
	'We thank You for having seen the grief and sorrow of Your Orthodox children from Your holy heights and, like the bright sun, You bring joy to our eyes, weary of grief, with the very sweet sight of your stately (державный) icon!'
'We thank You for Your ineffable mercy, for You gave to us sinners this holy wonderworking icon of Yours in these evil and terrible days that descended on our country like a whirlwind or storm, the days of our shame and disgrace and the days of destruction and desecration of all that is sacred by insane people that impudently say "There is no God!" not only in their hearts but also with their tongues and lips and show this atheism in all their actions. We thank You for having seen the grief and sorrow of Your Orthodox children from Your holy heights and, like the bright sun, You bring joy to our eyes, weary of grief, with the very sweet sight of your stately (державный) icon!'	

Thus an edition of the Menaia that was approximately three times as big as preceding Menaia editions was published in Moscow in 1978–1989. An enormous number of church services taken from manuscripts from state and private collections were published here for the first time. The introduction of a huge number of new services into liturgical practice should have become a major event in church and cultural life. Nevertheless, it was overlooked by secular culture. The external reasons for this are quite clear. The last volume of the Menaia appeared in 1989 when literary, historical and philosophical works that had been

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[1] Был напечатан в 1917 г. в виде отдельной листовки. Приводится по изданию Царица 2007: 459.

unavailable up until then began to be published in enormous print runs. The inclusion of dozens of new texts into the liturgical cycle passed unnoticed in these circumstances. Nevertheless, there were internal reasons as well. There was no tradition of reading liturgical poetry as literature. The aesthetic value of these texts is only beginning to be understood. There were virtually no people who could assess the innovative nature of the new edition of Service Menaia.

4. Post-Soviet Menaia Editions

Several more editions of the Service Menaia appeared in the 1990s and 2000s. Three expanded editions of the corrected edition of the Service Menaia of 1978–1989 were published. In 1996–2000, the Menaia were reedited with the addition of services to several newly glorified saints. Expanded editions were published in 2002–2003 [Medvedeva 2012: 145] and 2007–2008 [Medvedeva 2012: 151]. Thus four editions of the new version of the Service Menaia are available in the Church. These editions are published in civil script (in all four editions, the Church Slavonic text is printed in civil script) and are approximately 2.5 times as big as pre-Revolutionary editions. In 2005 and 2008, the 1st edition of the Supplementary Menaion [MD 2005 and 2008a] was published in civil script; it includes newly compiled services to saints that were canonized during the post-Soviet period.

Another version closer to the pre-Revolutionary Menaia was also published at the same time as the new Service Menaia. In 1995, the Pskovo-Pechersky Monastery and the Moscow Sretensky Monastery reedited pre-Revolutionary large-format Menaia (1894–1895, Moscow and St. Petersburg Synodal Typographies). Although they were called reprint editions, prayers for the emperor were removed from all texts. In 1996–1997, the same monasteries reprinted small-format Menaia (from the 1893 edition by the Kiev Pechersk Lavra) with an addendum containing a number of new services [Lyudogovsky 2003: 503–504]. In 2008, a Supplementary Menaion [MD 2008] was published in the same format as the small-format Menaia. A digital version of the small-format Menaia and the Supplementary Menaion was included in the Church Slavonic subcorpus of the National Corpus of the Russian Language (http://ruscorpora.ru/) [Dobrushina i Polyakov 2003]. Thus the Menaia exist in two textual versions in contemporary liturgical practice.

Finally, the General Menaion to the New Martyrs and Confessors of Russia (Минéа Ѻбщая новомчникѡмъ и исповѣдникѡмъ рѡссійскимъ [MO 2011]) appeared in 2011. It includes a Service to the Synaxis of the New Martyrs and Confessors of Russia as well as general services to saints that suffered during Soviet persecutions. In the second part of this chapter, we will examine the specific features of the poetics and metaphorics of the texts in Menaia published in the 20th and early 21st centuries. [cf. 46–96].

5. Attempts to Write a History of Russian Liturgical Hymnography

Interest in Orthodox hymnography and its history and poetics has begun to grow only in recent times. This is no surprise. A similar thing happened to hymnographic texts at the turn of the 21st century as to icons a century earlier. Something that had seemed outdated and uninteresting only a short while before suddenly became closely related to contemporary artistic life. To explain what we mean, let us make a short historical aside.

As one knows, the interest of antiquarians in Russian icons arose during the reign of Nicolas I and was largely stimulated by the "theory of official nationality". The icon perfectly filled the niche of national Orthodox art that was required for the new ideology. At that time, one began to restore icons and publish albums with their reproductions. Previously, one had associated old icons with a mute colour palette. There had even existed the practice of artificially "darkening" icons painted for Old Believers. Only in the second half of the 19th century after medieval Russian icons and frescoes had been restored, copied, studied and published did people realize that medieval painters had worked with bright and pure colours. This led avant-garde artists to take an interest in icons.

This interest stemmed from the fact that, as it turned out, medieval icon painters had already used many techniques that painters of the late 19th and early 20th centuries believed that they had discovered. Many Russian avant-garde artists were influenced by medieval Russian painting. In the early 20th century, medieval Russian icons were often shown at "new art" exhibits. The best-known such exhibit was the Exhibition of Iconographic Originals and Popular Prints organized by Mikhail Larionov in the spring of 1913 [Russky futurism 2000: 486]. The word "icon" began to be used actively in the artistic jargon of the time, though not always appropriately (for example, Malevich called his Black Square the "icon of its time").

The works of philosophers of the Silver Age were also inspired by this interest in icons. Yevgeny Trubetskoy published his Theology in Colours and Two Worlds in Medieval Russian Icon Painting in 1916, while Father Pavel Florensky wrote Reverse Perspective in 1919–1922 and Iconostasis in 1922. In 1931, S. Bulgakov published his article "Icon, Its Content and Limits". Thus, the interest in icons that first appeared among antiquarians was taken over by avant-garde artists and then interpreted by religious philosophers.

We have made this aside to show the similarities between the interest that secular culture began to take in church hymnography and the process in which secular culture assimilated medieval Russian painting a century earlier. The first editions of hymnographic texts appeared in the 19th century. They were published as linguistic rather than literary works, however. No

one saw any aesthetic value in them. An unusual though quite telling confirmation of this fact was Gorky's speech at the Second Congress of Militant Atheists (1929):

"Undoubtedly, many are returning to religion for aesthetic reasons, because one sings well in church. Indeed, Russian church music has something profoundly valuable about it: it is truly good music. For some reason, no one has had the idea of writing good and beautiful words to this music, which one could enjoy not as vespers, liturgy or an all-night vigil but whenever and wherever one wanted. Why shouldn't we do so? The value of this music is undisputed, while we'll never have any difficulties finding words." [Gorky 1953: 35]

Thus, Gorky recognized the aesthetic value of church music yet did not view liturgical texts as works of literature.

The situation started to change only in the last quarter of the 20th century. Linguistic editions of liturgical texts began to offer profuse commentaries explaining allusions and poetic features. S. Averintsev's Poetics of Early Byzantine Literature, published in 1977, became an intellectual bestseller. The contemporary situation greatly resembles what took place with the icon in the early 20th century. The contemporary development of literature, which is rapidly spreading into electronic media, is facilitating, strange though it may seem, the reader's access to the works of church hymnography.

A book prescribes the way it is read. In a normal situation, one reads it from beginning to end. When writing a text, the author assumes that it will be read in this way. Every analysis of the composition of a literary work presupposes that a book is read from the first page to the last. Otherwise, it would be impossible to speak about the logic of development of the plot and composition. If he reads a book in bits and pieces and not in the order assumed by the author, the reader destroys the latter's conception.

Computer texts are read in a totally different way. Reading a text with hyperlinks is completely different from reading a traditional book. Reading turns into a trip along hyperlinks. It is impossible to predict where the hyperlinks will lead. Authors of "paper" books are also beginning to use this habit of nonlinear reading. A classic example is Milorad Pavic's Dictionary of the Khazars – a "paper" book that allows the reader to select his own "reading route". As the novel is divided into dictionary entries with a system of cross-links, the reader has many different possibilities of arranging the text that he will read. This habit of the contemporary reader, as well as the habit of identifying allusions and symbols, makes medieval literature more understandable. Returning to the topic at hand, one can say that hymnographic texts are closer to the contemporary reader than to the reader of the recent past who was brought up on classical literature. However paradoxical it may seem, readers of Joyce, Pavic and Eco perceive liturgical poetry more organically than readers of Dickens, Tolstoy and Chekhov.

Nevertheless, when one studies Church Slavonic hymnography of the Early Modern and Modern Periods, major problems with sources arise. For hundreds of liturgical texts studied by scholars, there is no information about the time and circumstances of their composition and their editing history. Whereas scholars (including I. Zabelin, D. Rovinsky and others) began to work on attributing icons already in the mid-19th century, such studies appeared a lot later for hymnographic texts.

The pioneer in this field is considered to be Aleksey Popov (1856–1909), Professor at the Kazan Theological Academy, who published the book Orthodox Russian Akathists in 1903. In his work on the history of akathists, Popov made use of the fact that the Synod was a bureaucratic organisation. Thus, the approval (or rejection) of a liturgical text for church use (or publication) was accompanied by correspondence, which can help a historian to identify the text's author (in some cases) and the hierarch who presented this text to the Synod, to analyze the remarks of reviewers and responses to them, to determine the names of the censors and their reaction to the text, etc. Thus, the Synodal Archive contains virtually complete information on the history of the creation and editing of liturgical texts. Popov's methodology is applicable not only to akathists but also to other liturgical texts, including services for fixed feasts.

Such work was partially done in 1916 when Hieromonk Herman (Veynberg) defended a thesis entitled Services to Russian Saints Which Appeared during the Synodal Period of Russian Church Life at the Petrograd Theological Academy. This manuscript (about 840 pages in length) contains the history of the compilation, editing and approval for publication of over a hundred services to Russian saints which appeared during the Synodal period. In this work, Hieromonk Herman used the methods developed by A. Popov during his work on the history of akathists. The author emphasises this line of succession. The book is very sound. On the basis of the study of manuscripts, the author makes a very detailed description of editing and linguistic correction while carrying out the most difficult and unrewarding work with sources. As the dissertation was finished a year before the Revolution in 1916, Hieromonk Herman, without realizing it, summed up the results of the history of Russian liturgical literature over this period. The dissertation only omits the last canonization of the Synodal period – the canonization of St John of Tobolsk. This is due to the fact that Hieromonk Herman submitted the finished text of the dissertation to the Council of the Academy on February 29, 1916, while the official canonization of St John took place on June 10, 1916. Father Herman does not write anything about the service to St Joasaph of Belgorod who was canonized in 1911, either, because this file had been removed by someone from the Synodal Archive. This archival file was discovered only in 2009 [Proslaveniye Ioasafa 2011: 6]. Thus, we have at our disposal publication-ready materials on the history of virtually all services to Russian saints that were compiled between the 18th and early 20th centuries.

The dissertation of Hieromonk Herman was an attempt to understand the process (from the standpoint of source studies) that eventually led to the revival of the Feast of All Saints That Have Shone Forth in the Russian Land and then to the inclusion of an enormous number of new services in the monthly Menaia. Father Herman's manuscript is currently being prepared for publication. His description of the history of each service shall be supplemented with notes that trace the ulterior fate of these services. This will solve (at least, in part) the problem of compiling a source-study handbook on late Russian hymnography.

The dissertation of Hieromonk Herman has been discovered fairly recently, and there are no references to it in scholarly works. Let us mention three earlier attempts to solve the same problem that are totally independent of Father Herman's work. The earliest attempt was by Boris Sove (1899–1962). His archive contains a bulky pack of notes with the title "History of Hymnography in the Russian Church". Unfortunately, this is not a finished work but a collection of bibliographical references and notes about services compiled in Russia from the Middle Ages to the mid-20th century. As these materials were gathered in Paris and Helsinki, there was no question of working in the archives. These are citations exclusively from printed sources: monographs, diaries, memoirs, and periodicals. The materials collected by Sove are undoubtedly interesting yet do not attain the goals set by the author.

The only published cumulative work on Russian hymnography was also written in emigration. We are referring to the well-known book by Feodosy Spassky (1897–1979) entitled Russian Liturgical Literature (Russkoye liturgicheskoye tvorchestvo) (the first edition appeared in Paris in 1951 and the second in Moscow in 2008). This book contains an enormous number of very interesting remarks about the influence of services on each other, sources of borrowing, etc. Nevertheless, Spassky did not have access to the Synodal archives, either, and it is impossible to make a full-fledged history of Russian hymnography exclusively on the basis of printed sources. For this reason, the historical information contained in this book is fairly scant.

In 1967, Protopriest Rostislav Lozinsky finished his book Russian Liturgical Texts: Paths of Historical Development and Analysis of Theological Content (Russkaya liturgicheskaya pis'mennost. Puti istoricheskogo razvitiya i analiz bogoslovskogo soderzhaniya). This book is a compilation from several sources. The history of pre-Revolutionary services is taken from F. Spassky's work, whose errors are corrected and certain details are made more precise. The chapters about services written in the 20th century are particularly interesting. These chapters were written on the basis of oral and written accounts that were not accessible to historians working outside the USSR. Nevertheless, Protopriest Lozinsky did not work in the archives and does not say anything profoundly new about the services written before the Revolution.

Language and Poetics of New Services

1. Introduction

In this section, we will consider certain features of the language and poetics of hymnographic texts dedicated to 20th-century saints and thus written in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. We have chosen such a relatively narrow time period for two reasons. First of all, services to new martyrs and confessors are a fact of modern culture. These texts can be described in the same way as modern texts. There is no boundary here between the linguistic consciousness of the hymnographer and the linguistic consciousness of the scholar. Such a situation is totally unique for a historical study. Secondly, we have the possibility here of limiting the volume of studied material in a proper fashion. Our object of study is services to 20th-century saints that have been approved by church authorities [MO 2011, MD 2008]. These texts have become part of church-wide practice and will consequently serve as models for the creation of new texts. Thirdly, whereas attempts have been made to describe the poetics of hymnographic texts of the Synodal and earlier periods [Spassky 2008, Lozinsky 1967], no scholar has ever worked on post-Soviet liturgical texts.

2. Hymnographic Depiction of Biographical Facts

Hymnographic texts are poetic works. Nevertheless, they are always based on hagiographic texts and, to a greater or lesser extent, the biographical facts of the saint. Let us see to what extent and in which words biographical facts are cited in the following four services: Service to the Holy Royal Passion-Bearers [MO 2011: 183–203], Service to Hieromartyr Vladimir, Metropolitan of Kiev [MD 2008: 255–273], Service to St Tikhon, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia [MD 2008: 30–50] and Service to Hieromartyr Hilarion, Archbishop of Vereya [MD 2008: 154–176].

Before beginning our analysis, let us note that biographical/hagiographical material is present in different amounts in new services. For example, there is a lot of such material in the service to Patriarch Tikhon. Indeed, his biography is recounted twice in the service (a separate story about Patriarch Tikhon's life is presented in the canon at Matins). In the service to Hilarion (Troitsky), there is a lot less biographical information, while the service to Vladimir (Bogoyavlensky), Metropolitan of Kiev, has very few biographical facts, indeed. A sign of the richness of a service in biographical material is the presence of toponyms and anthroponyms that point to places where the saint lived and the people that he met during his life.

3. Toponyms in Liturgical Texts

The service to Patriarch Tikhon contains a significant number of toponyms. The text indicates precisely his place of birth and where he lived, studied, and served. The future Patriarch was born in the village of Klin in the Toropetsky District of the Pskov Governorate:

(1) земля̀ пско́вскаѧ просла́висѧ, ꙗ́кѡ въ ма́лѣмъ селе́нїи кли́нѣ ѿ бл҃гоче́стиваго ко́рене пло́дъ бл҃гокра́сенъ прозѧбѐ [MD 2008: 30]
'the Land of Pskov was glorified, for a good and beautiful fruit grew out of a pious root in the small village of Klin'.

It is mentioned that his family moved to Toropets:

(2) во гра́дѣ торопцѣ̀, во хра́мѣ бж҃їи, идѣ́же роди́тель тво́й служа́ше, бл҃гоче́стїю въ ю҃ныхъ лѣ́тѣхъ поуча́лсѧ є҆сѝ, ст҃и́телю [MD 2008: 34]
'as a young boy, you, o Hierarch, learned piety in the church in the city of Toropets where your father served'.

The future Patriarch began to teach at Pskov Theological Seminary in 1888 and was appointed Rector of Kazan Seminary in 1892:

(3) влⷣка гдⷵь … нача́льника въ вертогра́дѣхъ дꙋхо́вныхъ пско́ва и҆ каза́ни поста́вити тѧ̀ благоволѝ, да правосла́вныѧ ѻ҆́троки бг҃омꙋ́дрїю и҆ хрⷵтїа́нскомꙋ бл҃гоче́стїю наꙋчи́ши, бл҃же́нне [MD 2008: 39]
'Lord God … put you in charge of the spiritual orchards of Pskov and Kazan so that you could teach Orthodox youths divine wisdom and Christian piety, o Blessed'.

In October 1897, Tikhon was ordained Bishop of Lyublin, Vicar of the Eparchy of Chelm and Warsaw:

(4) поста́вленъ бы́сть гдⷵемъ во є҆пⷵкпа землѝ холмскїѧ [MD 2008: 34]
'you were made Bishop of the Chelm territory by the Lord'.

(5) холмскꙋ́ю па́ствꙋ до́брѣ оу҆пра́вити призва̀ тѧ̀ влⷣка хрⷵто́съ [MD 2008: 39]
'Lord Christ called upon you to govern the Chelm congregation well'.

The American period of the future Patriarch's service began in 1898:

(6) землѝ да́льнїѧ а҆мерика́нскїѧ дости́глъ є҆сѝ [MD 2008: 40]
'you reached the far-away American lands'.

At his recommendation, the archbishop's cathedra was transferred from San Francisco to New York, while the first Orthodox monastery was established in Pennsylvania. The service contains the toponyms "Pennsylvania", "California" and "Florida" and the generic name "American Land" (земля Американская):

(7) ра́дꙋйтесѧ и̇ весели́тесѧ, вѣ́рнаѧ ча́да цр҃кве рѡссі́йскїѧ, и̇̀же въ пенси́лькані́и, калифо́рнїи, флори́дѣ и̇ и̇́ныхъ земла́хъ а̇мерика́нскихъ сꙋ́щаѧ, ст҃и́тель бо тꙋ́хѡнъ ны́нѣ предстои́тъ и̇ мо́литсѧ ѡ̇ сп҃се́нꙇѡн дꙋ́шъ на́шихъ [MD 2008: 40]

'Be glad and rejoice, devout children of the Russian Church that are in Pennsylvania, California, Florida and other American lands. Patriarch Tikhon now stands in front and prays for the salvation of our souls';

(8) бг҃ъ благослови́ и̇ ѡ̇сватѝ тѧ́, земле́ а̇мерика́нскаѧ, правосла́внымъ бо лю́демъ твои́мъ, во ѡ̇гра́дѣ рѡссі́йскꙇѧ цр҃кве сꙋ́щымъ, бл҃же́ннаго тꙋ́хѡна е̇п҃кпа дадѐ [MD 2008: 35]

'O American Land, God has blessed and made you holy, for He has given Blessed Bishop Tikhon to your Orthodox people in the confines of the Russian Church'.

In 1907, Archbishop Tikhon was transferred to the Yaroslavl and Rostov Cathedra, which is also mentioned in the service:

(9) ст҃і́и вси́ земли́ ꙗ̇росла́вскꙇѧ, срѣ́тайте і̇ера́рха до́бра, тꙋ́хѡна бл҃же́ннаго [MD 2008: 35]

'All the saints of the Land of Yaroslavl, meet the good hierarch, Blessed Tikhon'.

In 1913, the future Patriarch was transferred to Vilnius. The Lithuanian period of Tikhon's service is reflected in the service:

(10) землѧ̀ лито́вскаѧ просла́висѧ прише́ствїемъ твои́мъ [MD 2008: 35],

'The Lithuanian Land won renown on account of your stay'.

(11) ѡ̇полче́нꙇю вра́жескꙋ оу̇ стѣ́нъ гра́да ви́льно стоѧ́щꙋ, цѣльконѡ́сныѧ мо́щи ст҃ыхъ мꙋ́ченїкъ … и̇з̾ ѻ̇би́тели ст҃а́гѡ дꙋ́ха бл҃гове́рнѡ и̇зне́слъ е̇сѝ, ст҃и́телю [MD 2008: 41]

'when the enemy army stood before the walls of the city of Vilnius, you, o Hierarch, piously took the therapeutic relics of the holy martyrs … out of the monastery of the Holy Spirit'.

The service to St Hilarion (Troitsky) contains few toponyms that provide information about the concrete places where the saint lived. It only mentions that, in the early 1920s, he was Abbot of the Moscow Sretensky Monastery, where his relics are today. Both Moscow and the Sretensky Monastery appear in the service:

(12) прꙇиди́те, лю́дꙇе моско́встꙇи, сщ҃енномч҃никꙋ і̇ларꙇѡ́нꙋ вѣ́рнѡ поклони́мсѧ [MD 2008: 158]

'come, people of Moscow, let us faithfully venerate Hieromartyr Hilarion'

(13) дне́сь мона́хѡвъ мно́жества наста́вника тѧ̀ велича́ютъ, ст҃и́телю і̇ларꙇѡ́не, наипа́че же и̇́ноцы ѻ̇би́тели срѣ́тенскꙇѧ, крѣ́пкагѡ моли́твенника и̇ предъ бг҃омъ те́плаго хода́таѧ и̇мꙋ́ще тѧ̀ [MD 2008: 163]

'Today, a host of monks glorifies you as a teacher, Archbishop Hilarion, and especially the monks of Sretensky Monastery for whom you are a man of fervent prayer and an ardent intercessor before God'.

During several periods in 1924–1929, he was interred in the Solovki Special Purpose Camp, as a result of which he is included in the Synaxis of New Martyrs and Confessors of Solovki. The latter are also mentioned in the service:

(14) красá соловéцкаѧ порýгана бы́сть! но ты̀, а҆рхїере́ю бж҃їй, ме́рзость запꙋстѣ́нїѧ въ ст҃о мѣ́сто претвори́лъ є҆сѝ, легеѡ́ны бѣсѡ́вскїѧ прогонѧ́ѧ [MD 2008: 155]
'The beauty of the Solovki was desecrated! Yet you, o divine hierarch, transformed the abomination of desolation into a holy place, driving away legions of demons';

(15) премꙋ́дрый наста́вниче па́стырей, въ солове́цкихъ мра́зѣхъ па́стырски подвиза́лсѧ є҆сѝ [MD 2008: 156]
'O most wise teacher of pastors, you fulfilled a pastor's mission in the bitter cold of the Solovki'.

These are all the toponyms contained in the text.

4. Anthroponyms in Liturgical Texts

Whereas the services to Hilarion and Vladimir hardly mention the names of any of their contemporaries, the latter abound in the service to Patriarch Tikhon. The names of the parents of the future Patriarch are given:

(1) благочести́вый і҆ере́й і҆ѡа́ннъ, ѻ҆те́цъ тво́й, ст҃и́телю, ѻ҆ткрове́нїѧ ди́внагѡ сподо́бисѧ [MD 2008: 30]
'Pious priest John, your father, had a wonderful revelation, o Patriarch';

(2) роди́телей благочести́выхъ, і҆ере́ѧ і҆ѡа́нна и҆ а́нны, бы́въ ѿрасль преди́внаѧ [MD 2008: 38]
'You were the wonderful offspring of pious parents, Priest John and Anna'.

It is known that Patriarch Tikhon admired Father John of Kronstadt. There is a story that, after a long conversation, Father John got up from his chair and said, "Now, Your Eminence, take my place, and I'll go and have a rest." Father John then left, predicting that Rev. Tikhon would take the place of him who is venerated by all of Russia. Patriarch Tikhon was a member of the Society for Perpetuating the Memory of Father John of Kronstadt and, according to some accounts, had begun preparing his canonization already in the 1920s. [Sursky 2008: 232]. The Service to Patriarch Tikhon mentions his meeting with John of Kronstadt:

(3) кроншта́дтскагѡ па́стырѧ собесѣ́дникъ бы́ти сподо́бисѧ є҆сѝ, бл҃же́нне, є҆щѐ сы́й є҆пⷭ҇кпъ гра́да ꙗ҆росла́влѧ, и҆ то́й тѝ всерѡссі́йское па́стырство предꙋказа̀. тѣ́мже и҆ ны́нѣ съ ни́мъ прⷭ҇то́лꙋ бж҃їю предстоѧ̀, молѝ сп҃сти́сѧ дꙋша́мъ на́шымъ [MD 2008: 40]
'You, o Blessed, had the honour of speaking with the Kronstadt pastor while you were still Bishop of the city of Yaroslavl. He predicted that you would be pastor of all of Russia. Now standing with him before the throne of God, pray for the salvation of our souls'.

During the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the House of Romanov in the Dormition Cathedral in Yaroslavl, the future Patriarch met the imperial family, which is also reflected in the service:

(4) ст҃и́тель тѵ́хѡнъ въ ꙗ҆росла́встѣмъ хра́мѣ ѹ҆спе́нїѧ твоегѡ̀ гдⷭ҇рѧ нїкола́ѧ ꙗ҆́кѡ и҆́стиннагѡ пома́занника бж҃їѧ срѣ́те и҆ бл҃года́рственныѧ моли́твы вкꙋ́пѣ съ ни́мъ ѡ҆ застꙋпле́нїи ѻ҆те́чества на́шегѡ тебѣ̀ и҆ сн҃ꙋ твоемꙋ̀ принесѐ [MD 2008: 40–41]

'In the Yaroslavl Church of Your Dormition, Bishop Tikhon met Tsar Nicolas as a true anointed of the Lord and prayed together with him to You and Your son in gratitude for the protection of our fatherland'.

Besides the names of contemporaries, the service to Patriarch Tikhon mentions the names of Anthony, John and Eustathius, martyrs of Vilnius, whose relics Archbishop Tikhon took away to Moscow in the summer of 1915 when the German troops were approaching Vilnius:

(5) ѡполче́нїю вра́жескꙋ оу҆ стѣ́нꙁ гра́да ви́льно столи́цꙋ,цѣльконѡ́сныѧ мѡ́щи ст҃ы́хꙁ мч҃нкꙁ а҆нтѡ́нїѧ, і҆ѡа́нна и҆ є҆ѵ҆ста́ѳ,їѧ и҆ꙁ Ѻ҆би́тели ст҃а́гѡ дх҃а бл҃гогов‸ѣ́йнѡ и҆ꙁне́слꙁ є҆сѝ, ст҃и́телю, и҆ во гра́дѣ москвѣ̀ ѿ порꙋга́нїѧ и҆ноꙁе́мныхꙁ невреди́мы сохрани́лꙁ є҆сѝ [MD 2008: 41]

'when the enemy army stood before the walls of the city of Vilnius, you, o Hierarch, piously took the therapeutic relics of the holy martyrs Anthony, John and Eustathius out of the monastery of the Holy Spirit and put them in the city of Moscow to protect them from being profaned by foreigners'.

Over his lifetime, the last Russian emperor met an enormous number of people that played an important role in the Russian Church. However, the service to the Royal Passion-Bearers does not mention any of their contemporaries. An exception may be St Seraphim of Sarov, who was not a contemporary of the imperial family yet played a major role in its life. As one knows, the imperial family believed that the birth of Prince Alexis was a result of the Empress bathing in the holy source in Sarov, which took place in 1903 during the canonization of Venerable Seraphim. When the service speaks about Prince Alexis, it also mentions St Seraphim of Sarov:

(6) пло́дꙁ бл҃гослове́нꙁ ма́твꙁ саро́вскагѡ чꙋдотво́рца и҆ ча́емый наслѣ́дникꙁ ца́рственныхꙁ роди́телей бы́вꙁ, наде́жда, сла́ва и҆ оу҆пова́нїе рѡссі́и вꙁ ра́дость лю́демꙁ правосла́внымꙁ ꙗ҆ви́лсѧ є҆сѝ, ст҃ы́й царе́вичꙋ але҆ѯі́е [MO 2011: 184–185]

'as the blessed fruit of the prayers of the Sarov Wonderworker and the long-awaited successor of your royal parents, you became the hope, glory and expectation of Russia to the joy of the Orthodox, o Holy Prince Alexis'.

The text also refers to the prophecy of Venerable Seraphim, who said that he who would initiate the process of his glorification would be glorified himself. The imperial family, as one knows, played a major part in the festivities dedicated to the opening of the relics and the establishment of the veneration of Venerable Seraphim, which is the subject of the first ode of the canon:

(7) ны́нѣ прорече́нїе саро́вскагѡ ста́рца, ꙗ҆́кѡ просла́вльшаго мѧ̀ просла́вить бг҃ꙁ, и҆спо́лнисѧ, просла́ви бо цр҃ковь рꙋсскаѧ ца́рственнаго стр҃ототе́рпца [MO 2011: 194]

'Now the prophecy of the Elder of Sarov has been fulfilled: just as the Lord glorifies anyone who glorifies Him, the Russian Church has glorified the Royal Passion-Bearer'.

5. Hagiography and Hymnography

Services to Russian new martyrs and confessors often mention specific events from the lives of the glorified saints.

There are quite a few such references in the service to Patriarch Tikhon. They relate, first of all, to the story of his election as Patriarch of the Russian Church. As one knows, the election of the Patriarch took place as follows: three candidates were chosen by a vote (of the three candidates, Metropolitan Tikhon of Moscow got the smallest number of votes). The final choice was made by lot. The service describes the election as a choice that was not only human but also divine:

(1) жре́бїемъ бж҃їнмъ и҆збра́ннаго всеросси́йскагω патрїа́рха тѵ́хωна восхва́лимъ [MD 2008: 35]
'let us glorify Tikhon the all-Russian patriarch who was elected by divine lot'.

One of the troparia of the canon describes the procedure of the final selection quite precisely. As one knows, three bulletins with the names of the candidates were put into a box, after which the oldest member of the Council, Alexis (Solovyev), elder of Zosimova Hermitage, drew one of them:

(2) пꙋ́стынножи́тель ста́рецъ, пред̾ ѡ҆́бразомъ влⷣчцы оу҆се́рднω моля́ся, жре́бїй со тре́петомъ и҆з̾ ковче́жца и҆звлече́, на не́мже и҆́мѧ твое́ ꙗ҆кω бг҃омъ и҆збра́ннагω первосте҃и́телѧ наче́ртано бѣ̀ [MD 2008: 42]
'the elder-hermit, praying fervently before the icon of the Theotokos, tremulously drew out of the box the lot on which your name as the God-elected patriarch was written'.

The enthronement of the Patriarch took place on the feast of the Presentation of the Theotokos:

(3) Ра́дꙋютсѧ и҆ ликꙋ́ютъ лю́дїе росси́йстїи, приснодв҃о, введе́нїе твое́ во хра́мъ пра́зднꙋюще, и҆ возведе́нїе ст҃и́телѧ тѵ́хωна въ патрїа́рха росси́йскагω въ се́й же де́нь благода́рнѣ воспомина́юще [MD 2008: 42]
'The Russian people are glad and rejoicing, celebrating Your presentation to the temple, o Ever-Virgin, and gratefully recalling the election of Tikhon as Patriarch of Russia on the same day';

(4) ра́дꙋйсѧ, на престо́лъ патрїа́ршїй двѣ́сте лѣ́тъ пꙋстова́вый, въ де́нь введе́нїѧ во хра́мъ прест҃ы́ѧ бцⷣы возше́дый [MD 2008: 42]
'Rejoice, you who were elected to the patriarchal throne, which had stood empty for two hundred years, on the day of the presentation of the Most Holy Theotokos to the temple'.

Another fact of Patriarch Tikhon's biography is the appearance of the Renovationist Schism that was inspired by the Soviet regime. This is also mentioned in the service:

(5) і҆ера́рси бо и҆ сщ҃е́нницы нѣ́цыи на стезю̀ і҆ꙋ́ды преда́телѧ стꙋ́пивше, и҆ непра́веднω вла́сть въ цр҃кви восхи́тивше, ѕлохꙋдо́жнаѧ дѣѧ҆́нїѧ своѧ̑ ꙗ҆́кω ѡ҆бновле́нїѧ блага̑ѧ нареко́ша [MD 2008: 46]

'Certain hierarchs and priests who embarked upon the path of Judas the traitor and unlawfully assumed power in the Church pretended that their evil deeds were good renovation'.

It is noteworthy that the text refers to the Renovationists indirectly and in a descriptive fashion yet nevertheless uses the word obnovleniye 'renovation'.

In the service to Hieromartyr Vladimir of Kiev, real historic events are mentioned a lot less frequently. Let us only note the reference to the last minutes of the life of Metropolitan Vladimir when armed people burst into his room and took him outside of the monastery. His body with numerous wounds was later discovered outside the walls of the Kiev Pechersk Lavra:

(6) є҆гда̀ лю́тїи ѹ҆бі́йцы, сме́рти преда́ти тѧ̀ хотѧ́ще, внѣ̀ ст҃ы́хъ вра́тъ ведо́ша тѧ̀, воспѣва́лъ є҆сѝ, ст҃и́телю: гдⷭ҇ь мнѣ̀ прибѣ́жище и҆ си́ла [MD 2008: 266]
'when the fierce murderers who wanted to kill you took you outside of the Holy Gate, you sang, o Metropolitan, "The Lord is my haven and strength"'.

There is also little mention of real historic events in the service to Archbishop Hilarion (Troitsky). One example is the allusion to his famous speech about the restoration of the Patriarch, which he delivered at the 29th Session of the Local Council of 1917–1918. In particular, he said,

We have already sinned by not restoring the patriarchate two months ago when we came to Moscow and met each other for the first time in the Great Dormition Cathedral. Could you resist crying at the sight of the empty patriarch's throne? Wasn't it painful to see the Metropolitan of Moscow standing somewhere below the tribune at the All-Night Vigil before the Feast of the Dormition? Didn't you feel bitter seeing a dirty plaque instead of the patriarch on the historical patriarch's throne? And, when we kissed the holy relics of the Moscow wonderworkers and Russian patriarchs, didn't we hear their reproaches for the fact that there has been no patriarch in our country for the past two hundred years? [Deyaniya II: 383]

The service mentions this speech in the following words:

(7) ты̀ призва̀ йхъ ст҃о патрїа́ршее мѣ́сто въ ско́рѣ ѹ҆спе́нстѣмъ пꙋ́сто не ѡ҆ста́вити [MD 2008: 170]
'you called upon them not to leave vacant the holy patriarch's throne in the Dormition Cathedral'.

We can sum up as follows the results of our analysis of the elements of biography/hagiography in hymnographic works. The service to Patriarch Tikhon constantly mentions details from his real biography. It includes a considerable number of names of historical figures and references to real events and recounts the Patriarch's life fairly meticulously. The text of this service can even lead one to pose the question of the maximum acceptable amount of historical material in a hymnographic text (its overabundance can make a poetic text look prosaic).

In the services to Vladimir and Hilarion, there is no systematic account of their lives and service. These texts have a better poetic structure yet are marked by the opposite extreme. Many troparia are very general in content: if one considers them by themselves, it is often difficult to say to whom they are dedicated.

In the service to the royal passion-bearers, there is no biographical material at all about the reign and life of the imperial family. The service only mentions prophecies about the last tsar, such as the above prophecy by St Seraphim of Sarov. The main emphasis here is not on "rule" but on "passion". The theme of the voluntary acceptance of martyrdom is presented in a very detailed manner.

6. Names of New Realities

The authors of hymnographic texts dedicated to 20th-century saints were faced by the necessity of giving names to realities that are known from historical works and memoirs but that have never been described in Church Slavonic liturgical texts before. It is interesting to see how the services call concrete historical events, individuals, establishments, social institutes, etc.

6.1. Hymnographic Names for Historical Events

As 20th-century saints lived during World War I and the Russian Civil War, it is interesting to see how these events are called in Church Slavonic. In the services analysed above, there are two references to these wars. In both cases, one uses expressions that are widespread in hymnography. World War I is called the 'invasion of foreign tribes' (нашествие иноплеменных) – for example, in the service to Patriarch Tikhon:

(1) є҆гда̀ по грѣхѡ́мъ на́шимъ наше́ствїе и҆ноплеме́нныхъ гдⷭ҇ь попꙋсти́ и҆ землѧ̀ рѡссі́йскаѧ кро́вїю ѡ҆багри́сѧ, ты̀ ст҃и́телю ... крѣ́пцѣ стоѧ́ти за вѣ́рꙋ правосла́внꙋю ... призыва́лъ є҆сѝ [MD 2008: 41]
'when God allowed the invasion of foreign tribes as a result of our sins and the Russian Land was stained with blood, you, o Patriarch, called upon people to stand firm for the Orthodox faith'.

The Civil War is called 'fratricide' (братоубийство) and 'intestine strife' (междоусобная брань):

(2) попꙋсти́ гдⷭ҇ь братоꙋбі́йствꙋ и҆ междоꙋсѡ́бными бра́немъ въ землѝ рѡссі́йстѣй бы́ти [MD 2008: 45]
'God let fratricide and intestine strife come into the Russian Land'.

At the same time, we see a certain shift in the meaning of the word братоубийство 'fratricide'. Whereas earlier hymnographic texts saw fratricide

as an inexpiable sin that was comparable with the sin of Cain who killed his brother Abel or the sin of Svyatopolk who killed his brothers Boris and Gleb, the situation is different in contemporary texts. Although fratricide during the Civil War was a national calamity, it did not necessarily mean that the world could be divided into righteous men and sinners. Fratricide ceased to be seen as Cain's mark, and one could now pray for those who killed their compatriots:

(3) да ра́дꙋется землѧ моско́вскаѧ, прославлѧ́ющи бг҃омꙋ́драго ст҃и́телѧ влади́мꙶра, то́й бо во дн҃и ра́спрей и̂ нестрое́нїй … ѡ̂ согрѣши́вшихъ братоꙋбі́йством ходáтай бы́въ [MD 2008: 256]
'Let the Muscovite Land rejoice, glorifying the wise-in-God hierarch Vladimir, who, in the days of strife and commotion, … was an intercessor for those who committed the sin of fratricide'.

The abundance of historical events that serve as a backdrop to the life of glorified saints often leads to the necessity of citing only the most general names without going into the details. For example, in the Service to the Royal Passion-Bearers, the February Revolution is simply called the "period of tribulations":

(4) є̂гда̀ на ст҃ѣй рꙋси̂ тѧ́жкагѡ и̂спытáнїѧ вре́мѧ настà, тогдà ты̀, стр҃тоте́рпче ст҃ый нїкóлае, моли́лсѧ є̂сѝ ѻ̂ сп҃се́нїи є̂ѧ̀, и̂ сѐ я̂ви́сѧ і̂кѡ́на застꙋ́пницы держáвныѧ, я̂кѡ знáменїе прїѧ́тїѧ влáсти на пречⷭ҇тⷯѣн рꙋ́цѣ цр҃и́цы и̂ влⷣчцы [MO 2011: 183]
'When the period of tribulations began in Holy Rus, then you, Holy Passion-Bearer Nicolas, prayed for its salvation, and the Derzhavnaya Icon of the Theotokos was found as a sign that the Queen and Lady has taken power into Her immaculate hands'.

The abdication of Nicolas II is also denoted periphrastically:

(5) є̂гдà мно́зи беззакѡ́нницы и̂ вѡждⷣи людсті́и восхотѣ́ша востáти на вѣ́рꙋ, царѧ̀ и̂ ѻ̂те́чество, тогдà ты̀, бг҃мꙋ́дре стр҃тоте́рпче нїкóлае, болѣ́зновалъ є̂сѝ ѡ̂ нарóдѣ твое́мъ и̂ кáинова братоꙋбі́йства въ держáвѣ свое́й и̂збѣжꙋ́ти хотѧ̀, влáсть земнꙋ́ю, слáвꙋ и̂ по́честь ѡ̂стáвилъ є̂сѝ [MO 2011: 183–184]
'when many leaders and wicked people decided to revolt against the faith, the tsar, and the fatherland, then you, wise-in-God Passion-Bearer Nicolas, had pity on your people and rejected worldly power, glory and honour so as to avoid Cain's fratricide in your kingdom'.

The reasons for not denoting it directly are clear from the context. The canonization of the imperial family was preceded by a heated emotional debate. One of the main arguments of the opponents of canonization was the mystical nature of the royal power from which Nicolas II abdicated. The tsar was anointed during coronation, and the rejection of royal anointment was blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. In the context of this debate, the expression "abdication from the throne" was seen as a negative characteristic, and so the authors of the service preferred an expression that was as vague as possible. At the same time, отречение 'abdication, rejection' and other etymologically related words do not have negative connotations in liturgical texts. One finds отречение от греха 'rejection of sin', отречение от богатства 'rejection of wealth', and even отречение от сатаны 'rejection of Satan' (in the rite of Baptism).

A separate issue is how the services refer to Renovationists. Different possibilities exist here. The most precise denotation of the Renovationists is found in a fragment of the service to Patriarch Tikhon that was cited above:

(6) їера́рсн бо й сщїе́нницы нѣцын на стезю̀ їꙋ́ды преда́телѧ стꙋпи́вше, й непра́веднѡ вла́сть въ цр҃кви восхи́тивше, ѕлохꙋдѡ́жнаѧ дѣѧ́нїѧ своѧ̀ ꙗ́кѡ ѡ҆бновле́нїѧ блага̑ѧ нареко́ша [MD 2008: 46]

'Certain hierarchs and priests who embarked upon the path of Judas the traitor and unlawfully assumed power in the Church pretended that their evil deeds were good renovation'.

This description is absolutely correct from the historical standpoint. Indeed, the government-inspired Renovationist Movement fought for power and only spoke about the ideas of church renovation without trying to implement these declarations. Another way of denoting Renovationism is found in a sticheron to Hieromartyr Benjamin (Kazansky):

(7) Сщ҃енномч҃ниче венїами́не, цр҃кве хр҃то́вы и́стинный сы́не й бл҃гостоѧ́нїѧ є҆ѧ̀ оу҆се́рдный ревни́телю проти́вꙋ лжепа́стырей, тща́щихсѧ расхи́тити ста́до твоѐ, мꙋ́жественнѣ ста́лъ є҆сѝ, й не оу҆боѧ́сѧ прещѐнїй й лжесвидѣ́тельствъ мꙋчи́телей [MO 2011: 6]

'Hieromartyr Benjamin, a true son of Christ's Church and its ardent champion against false shepherds that tried to scatter the flock, stood courageously and was not daunted by the threats and false testimony of tormentors'.

Here the Renovationists are described as ordinary schismatics or false shepherds that ravaged the herd. Only the words лжесвидѣтельствъ мучи1телей 'false testimony of tormentors' remind us about the unseemly behaviour of Renovationists during Metropolitan Benjamin's trial, which resulted in a death sentence. In the service to Hilarion (Troitsky), the Renovationist Schism is described with the help of the metaphor of the sea as something troubled and dangerous that leads to ruin:

(8) шатѧ̑нїѧ й волне́нїѧ смꙋща́ша цр҃ковь бж҃їю

'impudence and troubles perturbed God's Church'

and

(9) во́лны є҆ресе́й цр҃ковь бж҃їю тща́шасѧ потопи́ти

'waves of heresies tried to sink God's Church' [MD 2008: 154].

Nevertheless, this general metaphor is, in fact, highly concrete. An engraving entitled "A Ship Symbolizing the Militant Church Persecuted by Heretics on Earth" has been known at least since the mid-18th century [Rovinsky № 795]. It depicts a ship with righteous men and saints that is being attacked from all sides by enemies of the Church. The names of the enemies are written over their heads: Uniate, Origen, Epicure, Libertine, Pole, Calvin, Arius, Mohammed, and Savely [Rovinsky III: 178–179]. In the 1990s, this motif began

to appear widely in books that were directed against true and alleged church reforms. And a new figure appeared among the attackers of the Ship of the Church: the "Evil Renovationist". Thus the waves of heresy that try to submerge God's Church are not a general metaphor but an indirect reference to church debates that were familiar to the service's author.

6.2. How Hymnographers Call the Age of Persecution of the Church

The age of persecution of the Church is a fairly long historical period, for which precise chronological indications are not always appropriate. The main expressions used by the authors of the texts under consideration are phrases beginning with the words в годину 'in the year, in the time' and во дни 'in the days'. As a rule, these phrases refer to difficult times:

(1) въ бꙋ́ренѡ́сныѧ дни̑ мѧте́жа и̑ нестрое́нїѧ ве́лїѧ [MD 2008: 43]
'in the stormy days of rebellion and great commotion';

(2) въ лю́тꙋю годи́нꙋ [MD 2008: 44]
'in the terrible time';

(3) во дни̑ ра́спрей и̑ нестрое́нїй дꙋ́хъ мѧте́жный вѣ́ка сегѡ̀ ѡ̑бличи́ [MD 2008: 256]
'you denounced the rebellious spirit of this age in the days of strife and commotion';

(4) во дни̑ гоне́нїѧ лю́тагѡ [MD 2008: 261]
'in the days of fierce persecution';

(5) въ годи́нꙋ лихолѣ́тїй [MD 2008: 266]
'in the time of troubles';

(6) є̑гда̀ прїи́де годи́на лю́таѧ и̑ ѻ̑́бласть те́мнаѧ ѡ̑бѧ́тъ зе́млю рѡссі́йскꙋю [MO 2011: 189]
'when the terrible time began and a sinister government ruled over the Russian land';

(7) въ годи́нꙋ безбо́жїѧ [MO 2011: 31]
'in the time of atheism';

(8) є̑гда̀ прїи́де гоне́нїе ѿ безбо́жныхъ [MO 2011: 33]
'when the persecutions by atheists began';

(9) въ годи́нꙋ безбо́жїѧ во ѻ̑те́чествѣ на́шемъ [MO 2011: 41]
'in the time of atheism in our fatherland';

въ лю́таѧ времена̀ землѝ на́шеѧ [MO 2011: 5]
'in the terrible times of our land';

(10) во дни̑ ѿстꙋпле́нїѧ ѿ вѣ́ры сро́дникѡвъ на́шихъ [MO 2011: 41]
'in the days of the apostasy of our countrymen'.

This time is more rarely described as the time of saints – the time of the testing of faith and of suffering for Christ:

(11) во дни испытанїѧ вѣры [MD 2008: 42
'in the days when our faith was tested'];

(12) въ годинꙋ тѧжкихъ испытанїй [MD 2008: 265];
'in the time of ordeals'

(13) въ годинꙋ страданїй за хрⷭ҇та [MO 2011: 200]
'in the time of suffering for Christ'.

6.3. Description of the Causes and Spiritual Meaning of Persecutions

The authors of liturgical texts do not try to recount historical events coherently. It is much more important for them to uncover the spiritual meaning of the latter. The authors of hymnographic texts interpret the Revolution to be the result of the loss of faith and the depletion of love. These spiritual errors were the reason why God allowed the calamities to occur:

(1) вѣрѣ въ людехъ ѡскꙋдѣвшей, любви истощившейсѧ, надежди изсѧкнꙋвшей, попꙋсти гдⷭ҇ь морꙗ жестокъ, болѣзнь и гладъ на люди ѻтечества нашегѡ [MD 2008: 47]
'on account of the decline of faith among people, the dwindling of love, and the disappearance of hope, the Lord let terrible death, illness and hunger descend on our fatherland';

(2) любы и вѣра ѡскꙋдѣстѣ, и преданїѧ ѻтеческаѧ забвена быша [MD 2008: 154]
'love and faith dwindled and the traditions of our forefathers were forgotten'.

The rejection of God (the Heavenly King) is related to the events of the February Revolution or the rejection of the worldly king:

(3) мнози ѿ сродникъ нашихъ ѿстꙋпиша ѿ бга, ѿвратишасѧ бжїихъ заповѣдей и восташа на гдⷭ҇а и помазанника єгѡ [MO 2011: 195]
'many of our countrymen rejected God, abandoned God's commandments and rebelled against the Lord and His anointed one';

(4) скорбїю ѡбдержимъ бысть, вѣнценосче нїколае, зрѧ ѡслѣпленїе народа твоегѡ, ѿрекшагѡсѧ ѿ црⷭ҇ѧ нбⷭ҇наго, такожде и земнагѡ [MO 2011: 196]
 'you were filled with sorrow, Tsar Nicolas, when you saw the blindness of your people who renounced the Heavenly King along with the worldly one'.

It should be said that the attitude towards tsarist power remains a difficult issue in the church life of post-Soviet Russia. In the services considered here, this theme is discussed in a fairly restrained manner.

The authors of the service characterize the revolutionary events as a divine reaction to people's abandonment of faith, i.e., as divine wrath. The expressions *гнев Божий* 'divine wrath', *день гнева* 'day of wrath', etc., are typical of both Russian and Church Slavonic. For this reason, the rhetorical structure of the corresponding Church Slavonic texts is easily understood from the standpoint of contemporary Russian:

(5) тогда гнѣвъ бж҃їй на зе́млю р꙼сскꙋ́ю прїи́де, …пролїа́са кро́вь бра́тїй на́шихъ, расточи́шаса лю́дїе россі́йстїи по всемꙋ́ лицꙋ́ земли́, хра́ми на́ши порꙋга́нїю преда́шаса, гла́дн, наше́ствїа иноплеме́нникъ постиго́ша ны̀, и̇ бы́хомъ въ посмѣ́я́нїе ꙗ̇зы́комъ [MO 2011: 195]
'then divine wrath descended upon the Russian land, … the blood of our brothers was shed, Russian people were dispersed all over the world, our churches were desecrated, hunger and foreign invasions broke out, and we became the laughing-stock of all nations'.

One can say the same thing about the description of the Civil War as *Господнего попущения* 'allowed by God':

(6) попꙋсти́ гд҃ь по грѣхꙮ́мъ на́шымъ братоꙋбі́йство, гоне́нїа и̇ вѣ́ры хрⷭ҇то́вы порꙋга́нїе
'the Lord let fratricide, persecution, and the profanation of Christ's faith descend upon us on account of our sins' [MO 2011: 32].

6.4. Services to New Martyrs about the Situation of Christians in the Age of Persecution

Many Christians were killed as a result of the persecution of the Church. The sorrow of the Church over killed righteous people is described using the Biblical expression плач и рыдание 'weeping and great mourning' (cf. "weeping and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children and refusing to be comforted, because they are no more" Matthew 2: 18):

(1) пла́чемъ и̇ рыда́нїемъ земла́ россі́йскаа ꙯гласи́са, кро́вь ст҃ы́хъ мч҃нкъ и̇ исповѣ́дникъ хрⷭ҇то́выхъ пото́ки по не́й и̇зла́са [MD 2008: 46]
'weeping and great mourning resounded throughout the Russian land, and streams of blood of holy martyrs and confessors of Christ flowed through it'.

Nevertheless, the authors of the services consider the death of innocent people and children to be a sacrifice to God and the acceptance of divine providence:

(2) бж҃їимъ же промышле́нїимъ мнꙮ́гїа скꙮ́рби и̇ недꙋ́ги и̇змла́да безро́потню терпѣ́лъ е̇сѝ, и̇ ꙗ̇кю а́гнецъ непоро́чный, ꙋ̇бі́е́нїе ꙯ ѕлоче́стивыхъ прїа́лъ е̇сѝ [MO 2011: 185]
'by divine providence, you endured many sorrows and illnesses from your childhood on without complaining and, like an innocent lamb, you were killed by wicked people' (about Prince Alexis).

The Church considers the glorified martyrs, confessors and passion-bearers to be intercessors before God, who will hear their prayers:

(3) ѿ бҭборныхъ смерть и поругание тѣлесъ приаша и дерзновение ко гду въ млтвѣ оулучиша [МО 2011: 191]
'you suffered death and your bodies were profaned by atheists, giving you audacity in your prayers to the Lord'.

One should speak separately about how the authors of services describe labour camps and prisons. Naturally, services to 20th-century martyrs and confessors often speak about persecutors imprisoning Christians:

(4) хртолюбивыѧ люди въ темницы заключиша и оумучиша [МО 2011: 18]
'you put Christians in prisons and tortured them'.

To denote the forced labour of prisoners, one uses the expression горькие работы 'bitter labour', which is widely found in the services:

(5) ҆егда землѧ рѡссийскаѧ тьмою безбожиѧ и каиновыми ѡѕлоблениемъ ѡбѧта бысть, тогда мнози хртолюбивии людие на горькиѧ работы изгнани быша и гладъ, мразъ, зной и смерть лютую мужественнѣ претерпѣша, вѣрою же, надеждею и любовию совокуплени, достойную воспѣвахъ пѣснь: благословитъ гда русь стаѧ и превозноситъ ҆его во вѣки [МО 2011: 19]
'when the Russian land was covered by the darkness of atheism and Cain's rancour, then many Christians were forced to perform bitter labour and courageously endured hunger, cold, heat and terrible death. United by faith, hope and love, they sang the worthy song, "let Holy Rus bless the Lord and extol Him for ages"'.

This expression is not found in the Bible but stems from hymnographic texts, especially the irmos in tone 1:

(6) горькиѧ работы избавльсѧ инль, непроходимое пройде ꙗкw сушу, врага зрѧ потоплаема, пѣснь ꙗкw благодѣтелю поетъ бгу, чудодѣющему мышцею высокою, ꙗкw прослависѧ [ТТs 1992: 256v.]
'After having escaped bitter labour, crossed the untraversable sea like dry land, and seen its enemy drown, Israel sings a song to God its protector who works miracles with great power, for He has won glory'.

It should be said that the expression *горькие работы* 'bitter labour' is also used in Russian texts to describe life in labour camps. For example, the text Dates and Stages of My Life by Bishop Athanasius (Sakharov) contains the words, "June 27 (old style), 1954, marked 33 years of my ordainment as bishop. During this time, I served at my eparchy for 2 years, 9 months and 2 days. I was at liberty yet not at my post for 2 years, 8 months and 2 days. I was in exile for 6 years, 7 months and 24 days. I was in confinement and *bitter labour* for 21 years, 11 months and 12 days." [Afanasy 2000: 25] From the standpoint of modern Russian language, the Slavism *горькие работы* may be understood as "difficult work", whereas it is a question of "slave labour" here. After all, in Church Slavonic the word работа is an antonym of the word свобода 'freedom' [Pletneva i Kravetsky 2009: 184–187].

6.5. Depredation of Churches in the Description of Hymnographers

The theme of the closure and depredation of churches and monasteries and the transformation of temples into cinemas and warehouses and of monasteries into prisons plays an important role in services:

(1) хра́мы бж҃їи ѡ҆скверни́шасѧ и҆ попра́нїю преда́шасѧ [MD 2008: 46]
'God's churches were desecrated and depredated';

(2) краса̀ солове́цкаѧ поргꙋ́гана бы́сть … ме́рзость запꙋстѣ́нїѧ [MD 2008: 155]
'the beauty of the Solovki was desecrated … the abomination of desolation';

(3) оу҆́вы на́мъ, оу҆́вы, вопїѧ́хꙋ и҆сповѣ́дницы рѡссі́йстїи, ви́дѧще ꙗ҆́кѡ безꙋ́мнїи бг҃обо́рцы ст҃ы́ни землѝ на́шеѧ разори́ша, ѻ҆би́тели ꙗ҆́кѡ оу҆зи́лища темни́чнаѧ содѣ́лаша, хра́мы бж҃їѧ въ скве́рнаѧ и҆ позѡ́рищнаѧ мѣста̀ ѡ҆брати́ша и҆ кро́вь хрⷭ҇тїа́нскꙋ́ю въ ни́хъ пролїа́ша [МѶ 2011: 18]
'"Alas, alas," cried Russian confessors when they saw atheists like madmen depredating the relics and holy places of our land, making prisons out of monasteries, turning God's churches into mean and disgraceful places, and shedding Christian blood in them';

(4) Безбо́жнїи ка́инѡвы внꙋ́цы ст҃ы́ни црⷦ҇о́вныѧ поргꙋ́га́нїю и҆ ѻ҆гню̀ преда́ша, ѻ҆би́тели разори́ша, хра́мы ꙗ҆́кѡ ѻ҆вѡ́щнаѧ храни́лища содѣ́лаша, хрⷭ҇толюби́выѧ лю́ди въ темни́цы заключи́ша и҆ оу҆мꙋ́чиша [МѶ 2011: 18]
'Cain's atheistic grandsons desecrated and burned churches and holy objects, depredated monasteries, turned churches into shacks, and imprisoned and tortured Christians'.

Let us examine more closely two Biblical expressions that occur in this text: *мерзость запустения* 'abomination of desolation' and *овощное хранилище* 'shack'. The expression мерзость запустения 'abomination of desolation' is found in the Church Slavonic Bible (for example, є҆гда̀ оу҆́бо оу҆́зрите ме́рзость запꙋстѣ́нїѧ, рече́ннꙋю дани́іломъ прⷪ҇ро́комъ … тогда̀ сꙋ́щїи во і҆ꙋде́и да бѣжа́тъ на го́ры *So when you see standing in the holy place "the abomination that causes desolation," spoken of through the prophet Daniel – let the reader understand – then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains.'* (Matthew 24: 15–16)). It should be said that the expression мерзость запустения also figures in the Russian translation of the Holy Scripture. It has made its way into the Russian language and is found in dictionaries of idioms.

The expression *овощное хранилище* 'shack' is no innovation, either. It is found on several occasions in the Bible and corresponds to the Greek οπωροφυλακιον 'a guardhouse, a shack in which the guard of a garden lives'. *Овощное хранилище* is most often used in rhetoric constructions to denote the nothingness or rubble into which large flourishing cities and lands will turn: "O God, the nations have invaded your inheritance; they have defiled your holy temple, they have reduced Jerusalem to rubble (εισ οπωροφυλακιον). They have left the dead bodies of your servants as food for the birds of the sky, the

flesh of your own people for the animals of the wild." [Psalms 79: 1–2]; "Therefore I will make Samaria a heap of rubble (εισ οπωροφυλακιον)" [Micah 1: 6]; "Therefore because of you, Zion will be ploughed like a field, Jerusalem will become a heap of rubble (ωσ οπωροφυλακιον)" [Micah 3: 12]; "The earth reels like a drunkard, it sways like a hut (ωσ οπωροφυλακιον) in the wind; so heavy upon it is the guilt of its rebellion that it falls—never to rise again" [Isaiah 24: 20]. All of these examples describe the catastrophe or downfall of a flourishing city or land and the transformation of its former luxury into a shack beside a vineyard. For the Russian speaker, the expression *овощное хранилище* is associated with *овощехранилищем* – a vegetable storehouse. Insofar as closed temples were indeed transformed into warehouses and vegetable storerooms, the old expression acquired a totally new meaning.

6.6. Denotation of Religious Persecutors

Modern hymnography lacks a stable denotation of religious persecutors. The authors of services do not stress the party affiliation of persecutors. They are mostly described with the help of negative constructions. They are characterized as *безбожные* 'not knowing God, atheistic', *беззаконные* 'not obeying the law, impious', and so on:

(1) є҆ме́рти ѿ беззако́нныхъ пре́данъ бы́въ [MD 2008: 263]
'you were killed by impious men';

(2) ласка́тельства безбѡ́жныхъ возненави́дѣлъ є҆сѝ [MD 2008: 155]
'you rejected the cajoleries of atheists';

(3) безбѡ́жныхъ мꙋчи́телей блгослвⷭ҇лаѧ [MD 2008: 268]
'blessing the atheistic tormentors';

(4) беззако́ннїи ѿстꙋ́пницы [MD 2008: 268]
'impious apostates';

(5) безбѡ́жнїи *'atheists'* [MO 2011: 34], etc.

In addition, they are sometimes called *гонителями* 'persecutors', *врагами* 'enemies', *мучителями* 'torturers', *убийцами* 'murderers', etc.:

(6) врагѡ́мъ хрⷭ҇тѡ́вымъ противоста̀ [MD 2008: 155]
'you opposed Christ's enemies';

(7) ле́сть гони́телей твои́хъ ѿве́ргнꙋвъ [MD 2008: 165]
'having rejected the flattery of your persecutors';

(8) бг҃борцы мꙋчи́телїе [MO 2011: 192]
'atheistic tormentors';

(9) лю́тїн оу́бїйцы [MD 2008: 266]
'cruel murderers'.

Sometimes, persecutors are denoted with the name of their inspirator, the enemy of the human race (враг рода человеческого):

(10) вра́гх ро́да человѣ́ча на страну̀ рѡссїйскꙋю ѡ҆полчи́са, цр҃кви бж҃їа сокрꙋша́ай и҆ лю́ди рꙋ́сскїа и҆стребла́ай [MD 2008: 158]
'the enemy of the human race attacked the Russian land, destroying God's churches and killing Russian people'.

In some cases, persecutors are called Antichrists:

(11) а҆нтїхрі́сты мно́зи прїидо́ша въ мі́рх [MD 2008: 167]
'many Antichrists came into the world'.

The word *Antichrist* is used here with the meaning 'one who is against Christ', as it is also used in earlier hymnography. However, the numerous apocalyptic connotations with the atheistic period of Russian history bring to mind connotations with the End of the World and the Second Coming.

The persecutors are often denoted with traditional names for sinners. These include, first and foremost, the comparison between the sinner and the fratricide Cain, as we saw in the troparion of the sixth ode of the Canon to the Synaxis of New Martyrs and Confessors of Russia in the preceding section:

(12) безбо́жнїи ка́иновы вн꙯ꙋцы ст҃ы́ни цр҃ко́вныа поруга́нїю и҆ ѻ҆гню̀ преда́ша ... [MO 2011: 18]
'Cain's atheistic grandsons desecrated and burned churches and holy objects'.

The denotation Каиновы внуцы 'Cain's grandsons' apparently occurs for the first time in hymnographic texts here, while the name Cain was regularly used in liturgical poetry. Hymnographic texts compare killers of the righteous as well as sinners in general with Cain. The oldest example that is not translated from Greek texts is found in the service to Boris and Gleb (May 2). Svyatopolk, who killed the saintly brothers, is not only compared with Cain but is even called a new Cain:

(13) а҆́ще и҆ земна́гѡ ца́рствїа но́вый ка́инх бг҃оненави́стникх и҆ братоненави́стный оу҆бі́йственнѣ лиши́ ва́сх, хр҃то́сх же непреходѧ́щее и҆ безконе́чное цр҃тво ва́мх дарова̀ M_kab_iyul: 428]
'while the new Cain, hater of God and fellow men, murderously stripped you of the worldly kingdom, Christ gave you the eternal and imperishable kingdom' [.

Thus, the reference itself to the name of Cain is quite traditional in Russian hymnography.

The use of the word "grandsons" is also interesting here. The phrase "grandsons of (someone)" is quite traditional in hymnography. For example,

the holy youths in Babylon are sometimes called the "grandsons of Abraham" (in the service of December 17 to Ananias, Azarias and Misael:

(14) страхомъ оукрѣпляеми бжїимъ авраамовы внꙋцы, пищꙋ пребеззаконнꙋю ѿринꙋша доблественнѣ, и бжⷵтвенными питающеса желанїемъ благочестїа, къ величайшей взашаса славѣ [M_kab_dek: 278]

'Strengthened by the fear of God and having valorously rejected impious food and found nourishment in the divine desire of piety, Abraham's grandsons were elevated to great glory',

and sometimes the "grandsons of David" (in the service of December 11 to Daniel the Stylite:

(15) ꙗношески погасивше распалимꙋю пещь, и львовъ челюсти заграждше дѣдовы внꙋцы, нынѣ радꙋющеса поютъ та благодѣтела [M_kab_dek: 196]

'having extinguished the red-hot furnace with youthful zeal and shut the mouths of lions, David's grandsons now joyfully sing to You, their Protector'.

The Maccabean Martyrs are also called the "grandsons of Abraham" (feast day on August 1:

(16) сїи бо крѣпкодꙋшнїи авраамстїи внꙋцы сꙋще, вѣрѣ поревновавше своегѡ праѻтца авраама [M_kab_avg: 7]

'As grandsons of Abraham in courage, they emulated the faith of their forefather Abraham'.

In the service to Metropolitan Peter of Moscow, the Muslims are called the "grandsons of Hagar" (instead of the more common denotation агаряне 'Hagarians'):

(17) твоими молитвами побѣждаеми агарини внꙋцы

'Hagar's grandsons, defeated by your prayers'.

In all these contexts, the expression "grandsons of (someone)" refers not to genetic ties but to spiritual kinship and is a synonym of the phrase "new Cain", which regularly occurs in hymnographic texts. Thus, the metaphor constructed along a traditional model turns out to be innovative.

6.7. How the New Services Speak about the Feats of New Martyrs

The persecutions of the 20th century differ from the religious persecutions of all preceding eras in their unprecedented scale. Thus the habitual images stemming from the age of Emperor Diocletian often turn out to be inappropriate here. Nevertheless, they are sometimes used. For example, the Service to the Synaxis of New Martyrs and Confessors of Russia speaks of death by the sword:

(1) оу̑бі́йствомъ меча̀ оу̑мро́ша 'you died from the sword' [MO 2011: 21].

It is clear that swords were not used as weapons or executioners' implements in 20th-century Russia and that it would have been a lot more appropriate to speak of firearms. Still, hymnographers often try to give a more precise description of what happened to Christians in the atheist state:

(2) я̑́кw w̑тре́бїе мі́рꙋ бы́ша ст҃і́и новомч҃нцы [MO 2011: 21]
'the holy new martyrs were like the dregs of the world';

(3) я̑́кw плѣ́нницы и̑ на́зи, гони́ми є̑смы̀, w̑ мѣ́ста на мѣ́сто ча́стw преходѧ́ще и̑ заблꙋжда́ющіе въ верте́пѣхъ и̑ гора́хъ [MO 2011: 5]
'for we are driven as naked prisoners, constantly going from place to place and erring in caves and mountains'.

The realities of the Soviet anti-religious campaign are described by hymnographers as tribulations that one had to overcome to become united with Christ. Such texts have a two-part structure: they describe what people overcame and in the name of what they did it:

(4) жестẃкая глꙋмле́нїя, порꙋга́нїя и̑ сме́рть не возмого́ша w̑лꙋчи́ти тѧ̀ w̑ любвѐ хрⷭ҇то́вы [MD 2008: 267]
'cruel derision, abuses, and death could not separate you from the love of Christ';

(5) мно́гими ра́нами оу̑а́звленное честно́е тѣ́ло твоѐ, кро́вїю и̑сте́кшее, я̑́кw свидѣ́тельство любвѐ же́ртвенныя ко хрⷭ҇тꙋ̀ я̑ви́лъ є̑сѝ [MD 2008: 267]
'your honourable body, covered with wounds and exsanguinated, was testimony of your self-sacrificing love for Christ';

(6) є̑гда̀ наста̀ гоне́нїе, заточе́нїе и̑ поноше́нїе, тогда̀ тве́рдꙋю вѣ́рꙋ, наде́ждꙋ на бг҃а и̑ чистѣ́йшꙋю любо́вь, терпѣ́нїе же и̑ всепроще́нїе показа́сте [MO 2011: 184]
'when persecutions, imprisonments, and disparagement began, you showed adamant faith, hope in God, pure love, fortitude and all-forgiveness'.

The qualities of the glorified new martyrs are said to be fidelity, courage, and fearlessness:

(7) вы̀ бо, молѧ́щеся w̑ мꙋчи́телехъ, клеветꙋ̀, оу̑́зы и̑ и̑згна́нїе, глꙋмле́нїе, насмѣ́нїе и̑ w̑болга́нїе, оу̑бїе́нїе и̑ тѣле́съ порꙋга́нїе мꙋ́жественнѣ претерпѣ́ли є̑стѐ [MO 2011: 184]
'for you courageously endured slander, imprisonment, exile, derision, disparagement, lies, death and the profanation of your bodies while praying for your tormentors';

(8) вѣ́ренъ бг҃ꙋ и̑ цр҃кви бы́лъ є̑сѝ да́же до сме́рти [MO 2011: 28]
'you were faithful to God and the Church even unto death';

(9) и̑ жестẃкїя мꙋ́ки да́же до сме́рти небоя́зненнw претерпѣ́вша [MD 2008: 259]
'and you fearlessly endured cruel torments even unto death';

(10) мꙋчи́телей преще́нїѧ не оу҆боѧ́вса [MD 2008: 261]
'you were not daunted by the threats of the tormentors';

(11) мꙋ́жество и҆ тве́рдꙋю вѣ́рꙋ ꙗ҆ви́вх, безбоѧ́зненнw за гд҃а дꙋ́шꙋ свою̀ пре́далх є҆сѝ [MD 2008: 265]
'showing courage and adamant faith, you fearlessly gave up your soul for God';

(12) свѣ́тлw почти́мх седмери́цꙋ чт҃нꙋю ца́рственныхх стрⷵтоте́рпецх … ті́н бо, оу҆́зх и҆ страда́нїй многоразли́чныхх не оу҆боѧ́вшеса [МО 2011: 191]
'Let us splendidly honour the seven worthy Royal Passion-Bearers … for they were not daunted by captivity and suffering of all kinds'.

The contemporary Church sees the feats of new martyrs to be the foundation on which the Church revived during the post-Soviet period. The authors of the services describe the present-day life of the Church, on the one hand, as a possibility to live without persecution and, on the other hand, as a heyday that was made possible by the blood of the new martyrs:

(13) пото́цы кро́ве мч҃нкх и҆зсако́ша, плѣне́нїѧ ѿ вла́сти безбо́жныхх свободи́хомса, попра́ннїи хра́мы бж҃їи возставлѧ́ютса [MD 2008: 48]
'the streams of blood of martyrs have dried, we have become liberated from the atheistic government, and desecrated churches are being restored';

(14) кро́вь ст҃ы́хх мч҃нкх проли́аса, ѻ҆ба́че смотрѣ́нїемх бж҃їимх сїѧ̀ сѣ́ма ꙗ҆ви́са, и҆з негꙋ́же проза́бе благосѣ́нноли́ственное дре́во рꙋ́сѝ правосла́вныѧ [MD 2008: 48]
'The blood of holy martyrs was shed: a seed sown by divine providence so that the shady tree of Orthodox Rus would grow from it'.

It should be said that the emphasis on the present-day flourishing of the "worldly homeland" is not characteristic of ancient hymnography.

A number of texts describe the spiritual meaning of the feats of the new martyrs (overcoming the devil), which is a lot more traditional:

(15) безбо́жныхх кẃзни сокрꙋши́лх є҆сѝ, сщ҃енномч҃нче и҆́мкх, и҆ вса разжже́нныѧ стрѣ́лы лꙋка́вагw оу҆гаси́лх є҆сѝ щинто́мх вѣ́ры правосла́вныѧ [МО 2011: 34]
'you overcame the intrigues of atheists, o Hieromartyr [name], and extinguished all the burning arrows of the devil with the shield of Orthodox faith'.

7. Denotation of Saints

Traditional metaphors predominate among the recurring denotations of new martyrs and confessors: *светильник* 'light', *столп* 'pillar', *украшение* 'decoration', etc. for example, Metropolitan Vladimir is the свѣти́льникх вѣ́ры 'light of faith' [MD 2008: 260], while a hieromartyr (in the general service) is the сто́лпх непоколеби́мый рꙋ́сскїа цр҃кве 'unshakeable pillar of the Russian Church' [МО 2011: 28]. The latter service also contains such metaphoric denotations of hieromartyrs as *слава* 'glory' and *украшение* 'decoration':

(1) ц҃рквѣ рѡссійскїѧ сла́во и҆ Ѻ҆те́чества на́шегѡ оу҆краше́нїе, сщ҃енномч҃нче и҆́мкх [МѲ 2011: 26]
'Hieromartyr [name], glory of the Russian Church and decoration of our fatherland'.

Nevertheless, traditional denotations sometimes acquire new connotations under the influence of the contemporary Russian language. A case in point is the apparently traditional denotation *красное прозябение* 'beautiful offshoot':

(2) восхвали́мх ... правосла́вїѧ побо́рника и҆ бл҃гоче́стїѧ ревни́телѧ, землѝ рꙋ́сскїѧ кра́сное прозѧбе́нїе [МѲ 2011: 35]
'let us glorify … the defender of Orthodoxy, zealot of piety and beautiful offshoot of the Russian land'.

This image is traditional and is found in many translated menaia texts, such as the service to Martyr Eleutherius, Bishop of Illyria (2nd century):

(3) процвѣ́тх, прозѧ́бли є҆сѝ са́дх красе́нх мꙋче́нїй свѣ́тлостьми, мꙋ́ченникѡвх добро́то, и҆ ны́нѣ ра́й цвѣ́ти ꙗ҆ви́тесѧ, бж҃тественно благово́нїе и҆спꙋща́юще бж҃твеннѣ [М_kab_dekabr': 272]
'out of you, o blossoming adornment of martyrs, grew a wonderful garden of luminous martyrs that are now flowers in Paradise, divinely emitting heavenly perfume'.

However, in texts written in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, the word *красный* comes to be associated not with its Church Slavonic meaning 'beautiful, wonderful' (καλός, ὡραῖος) but with its Russian meaning 'red'. In the context of martyrdom and of the testimony of faith by shedding one's blood, 'red' becomes the predominant meaning of the word *красный*. The epithet *красный* already occurs in the very first text dedicated to new martyrs. We are referring to troparia included in the 1918 edition of the Service to *All Saints That Have Shone Forth in the Russian Land*:

(4) ꙗ҆́коже пло́дх кра́сный твоегѡ̀ спаси́тельнагѡ сѣ́ѧнїѧ, землѧ̀ рѡссі́йскаѧ принно́ситх тѝ, гд҃и, всѧ̑ ст҃ы̑ѧ, въ то́й просїѧ́вшыѧ, тѣ́хх мл҃твами въ мі́рѣ глꙋбо́цѣ цр҃ковь и҆ странꙋ̀ на́шꙋ бц҃ею соблюдѝ, многоми́лостиве [Sluzhba 1930: 7]
'as a beautiful fruit that You planted for its salvation, the Russian land offers to you, o Lord, all the saints that have shone forth in it. Preserve our Church and country in profound peace, o Most Merciful, through their prayers and the prayers of the Theotokos'.

This is clearly a play on words on the line between the Slavonic and Russian meanings of the word *красный*. *Красное прозябение* means, on the one hand, 'beautiful, wonderful offshoot'; on the other, it is impossible to avoid the association with the Russian meaning 'red', which is the colour of blood. Thus красное *прозябение* is also 'growth on shed blood'. Thus both meanings are present in services to new saints. One of them is dictated by the traditional context, and the other by the Russian language. This is a fact of contemporary linguistic consciousness, and it would not be entirely correct to speak about a misunderstanding here. The association with the 'colour of blood' has also emerged in Russian texts that cite Church Slavonic expressions with the word

красный. A classic example is *Пасха красная* 'Beautiful/Red Pascha' – the name of a book (and numerous publications in the media) about the murder of the Optina monks Basil, Trophimus, and Therapont that took place on Easter 1991. The expression is taken from John Damascene's Paschal Canon:

(5) па́сха кра́снаѧ, па́сха, гдⷺнѧ па́сха, па́сха всечестна́ѧ на́мъ возсїѧ̀. па́сха, ра́достїю дрꙋ́гъ дрꙋ́га ѡ҆б́нимемъ. ѿ па́сха! [TTs 1992: 8]
'Beautiful Pascha, Pascha, the Lord's Pascha, all-venerable Pascha has dawned upon us. Pascha, with joy let us embrace one another. O Pascha!'

It is interesting to examine the epithet претихий 'very meek' that is used to describe Patriarch Tikhon:

(6) патрїа́рше прети́хїй и҆ предо́брый [MD 2008: 43]
'very meek and kind Patriarch'.

The authors of the service play on the phonetic similarity between the name *Тихон* and the adjective *тихий* 'meek'. Playing on the etymology of names is a common hymnographic technique. However, in all materials that we know of, texts play on the etymology of Greek rather than Slavic names. For example, Euthymius the Great (April 1) is called the namesake of good spirits:

(7) постреска́емь вл҃чнею любо́вїю, ѡ҆ста́вилъ є҆сѝ всѧ̀ до́льнаѧ, и҆ томꙋ̀ послѣ́довалъ є҆сѝ, на ра́мо и҆́го ле́гкое взе́мъ мꙋ́жески, благодꙋ́шїѧ тезоимени́те [M_kab_aprel': 23]
'spurred on by the love for God, you left behind all worldly things and followed Him, courageously taking the light burden upon your shoulders, o Namesake of good spirits!' (Εὐθύμιος means 'in good spirits').

Different services play on the name Theodore (Θεόδωρος means 'God's gift'):

(8) Свѣти́льниче свѣтоза́рне, бж҃їѧ да́ра тезоимени́те, бг҃осїѧ́нное свѣти́ло, невече́рнаѧ заря̀, добродѣ́телей мꙋ́рополо́жниче и҆ непрекло́ненъ сто́лпъ мона́шествꙋющихъ, ста́до твоѐ и҆зба́ви моли́твами твои́ми ѿ всѧ́кїѧ ско́рби [M_kab_aprel': 175]
'O bright lamp and namesake of God's gift, unending dawn, teacher of virtues to the world, and unshakeable pillar of monks, save your flock from all sorrows with your prayers' (April 20, St Theodore Trichinas);

(9) Дарѡ́въ бж҃тⷺвенныхъ тезоимени́тъ, и҆ та́инникъ хрⷭто́въ, по́стникѡвъ добро́та, сщ҃е́нникѡвъ красота̀, чꙋде́съ и҆сто́чникъ, честна́ѧ мꙋ́рополо́жница дх҃а, ны́нѣ да восхва́литсѧ ѳео́дѡръ вели́кїй [M_kab_aprel': 194]
'Namesake of divine gifts and friend of Christ, adornment of fasters, beauty of priests, source of miracles, and honourable teacher of the Spirit to the world, let Theodore the Great be praised now!' (Theodore the Sykeote, April 22).

In the case of Patriarch Tikhon, it would have been possible to play on the Greek meaning of the name, as the Greek Τύχη 'fate, opportunity' recalls the drawing of lots that was used to choose the patriarch. However, the authors of

the service took a different path and preferred to use the connotations that the name Tikhon evokes for a Russian speaker.

8. Traditional Poetic Elements

Although the new services speak about new historical material, they are quite traditional hymnographic works. They contain an elaborate system of references to the Holy Scripture and other important Christian texts and make use of general Christian symbols as a universal symbolic language.

In this section, we shall examine certain elements of traditional poetics (direct citations woven into the fabric of the text; system of metaphors and similes founded in large part on Biblical parallels; etc.) in texts dedicated to new Russian martyrs and confessors.

8.1. With Whom Are the Newly Glorified Saints Compared?

Hymnography regularly emphasises the prefiguration of the New Testament by the Old. Hundreds of hymns point out how the Old Testament predicts the birth, death on the Cross, and resurrection of Christ. There is also a broader system of references to the Bible. Hymnographers relate human life to the figures of sacred history. An enormous number of church hymns make use of "Biblical language", i.e., the language of allusions to the Scripture.

From the standpoint of poetics, one can say that many of the names found in the menologium (Adam, Moses, Jonah, Daniel, etc.) implicitly point to certain pious feats and/or personality traits. It is interesting to consider which Biblical motifs are used by the authors of services to 20th-century martyrs and confessors. For example, Patriarch Tikhon, who resisted the anti-Church policies of the government, is compared with Prophet Elias, who denounced King Ahab for having compelled his people to venerate Baal (cf. 1 Kings 16–19; 2 Kings 1–2):

(1) проро́кꙋ дре́внемꙋ и҆лїѝ, взыскꙋ́ющиꙋ не прекло́ньшихъ колѣ́на предъ ваа́ломъ, подража́лъ є҆сѝ, первосвѧти́телю, да взы́щеши лю́ди, ꙗ҆́же не преклони́ша вы́ю лови́тельствꙋ безбо́жныхъ [MD 2008: 44]

'Emulating the ancient prophet Elijah, who looked for people who refused to venerate Baal, you, o Patriarch, tried to find people that avoided the snares of the atheists'.

Nicolas II, who lost his throne, is compared with Job. Generally speaking, such comparisons are not rare in liturgical poetry. Many ascetics are compared with Job, the paragon of patience. A case in point is a sticheron to Daniel the Stylite (December 11):

(2) терпѣ́нїѧ сто́лпъ бы́лъ є҆сѝ, ревнова́вый пра́ѻтцємъ, прпⷣбне, і҆́ѡвꙋ во страсте́хъ, і҆ѡсифꙋ во и҆скꙋше́нїихъ, и҆ безпло́тныхъ жи́тельствꙋ, сы́й въ тѣлесѝ, данїи́ле, ѻ҆́че на́шъ, молѝ хрⷭ҇та́ бга, спасти́сѧ дꙋша́мъ на́шымъ [Ⰳ_kab_dekabr': 176]

'*You were the pillar of endurance and emulated the forefathers, o Venerable: Job in suffering, Joseph in temptations, and angels in your lifestyle, although you had a body. Our Father Daniel, pray to Christ the Lord to save our souls*'.

Here is another example from the service to Prince Vsevolod (February 11):

(3) і́ѡвꙋ пра́ведномꙋ поревнова́въ, во і́скꙋше́нїи і́згна́нїа непоколеби́мь пре́бꙑлъ є҆сѝ, ꙗ҆́кѡ стѻ́лпъ неподви́жимь, цр҃ко́вное воспитѣ́нїе, бл҃гоче́стїа поко́рникъ, и҆ оу҆тверже́нїе ѻ҆те́ческимъ преда́нїємъ [М_kab_fevr: 245

'*Emulating Righteous Job, you remained unflinching like an immovable pillar despite the temptation of exile, o teacher of the Church, zealot of piety, and consolidator of the traditions of the forefathers*'].

In the service to the Royal Passion-Bearers, the last Russian emperor is repeatedly called Job the Long-Suffering:

(4) ра́дꙋйса, царю̀ нїко́лае … ꙗ҆́коже і́ѡвъ многострада́льный, пра́ведность въ страда́нїи ꙗ҆ви́вый [МО 2011: 190]

'*Rejoice, o Tsar Nicolas… for you showed righteousness in suffering like Job the Long-Suffering*';

(5) гд҃ъ же і́спытꙋ́а та, ꙗ҆́кѡ і́ѡва многострада́льнаго, попꙋ́стѝ тебѣ̀ поноще́нїа, ско́рби го́рькїа, и҆змѣ́нꙋ, преда́тельство, бли́жнихъ ѿчꙋжде́нїе и҆ въ дꙋше́вныхъ мꙋ́кахъ земна́гѡ ца́рства ѡ҆ставле́нїе [МО 2011: 203]

'*Testing you like Job the Long-Suffering, the Lord let derision, bitter suffering, treachery, perfidy, separation with family, and the renunciation of the worldly kingdom with inner torment come over you*'.

One can conjecture that the comparison between the last emperor and Job is linked to the popularity of the motif of Job in Russian culture.

In another passage, Nicolas II is compared with Prophet Jeremiah, who prayed with tears for sinful people:

(6) порꙋга́нїе и҆ разоре́нїе землѝ своеа̀ ѿ безбо́жныхъ ви́да, бл҃гочести́вый царю̀, пла́каса и҆з глꙋби́ны серде́чныа, ꙗ҆́кѡ про̑ро́къ і́ереми́а, го́рцѣ стенѧ̀ и҆ мола́са за лю́ди согрѣши́вшыа [МО 2011: 195]

'*Seeing the profanation and depredation of your land by atheists, o pious Tsar, you wept from the depth of your heart like Prophet Jeremiah, moaning bitterly and praying for the sinning people*'.

The new services also contain the quasi-traditional comparison of martyrs with Abel, who was killed by his brother Cain:

(7) кро́вь твоа̀ ꙗ҆́кѡ а́велева, ѿ землѝ на́шеа вопїе́тъ немо́лчнѡ [МО 2011: 26]

'*your blood, like Abel's, is crying incessantly from our land*'.

We should recall that the services to 20th-century saints call the Civil War "fratricide" and the persecutors "Cain's grandsons". Thus the Biblical story of Cain killing Abel became a recurrent metaphor for the events in post-Revolutionary Russia.

However, the history of mankind after the coming of Christ includes not only the Old Testament but also the New. Services to new martyrs and confessors contain references to the New Testament, though they are a lot rarer than references to the Old Testament. For example, the Princesses are compared with the Wise Virgins (Matthew 25: 1–13), who prepared a sufficient amount of oil for their lamps while waiting for the bridegroom:

(8) дщє́ри царє́вы … вы ꙗ́кѡ мꙋ́дрыѧ є҆ѵⷢ҇льскїѧ дѣ́вы, є҆ле́й мⷪ҇рдїѧ въ дꙋша́хъ прїснѡ храна́щыѧ, стра́ждꙋщымъ, ни́щымъ и҆ болѧ́щымъ оу҆се́рднѡ послꙋжи́ли є҆стѐ [МО 2011: 185]
'daughters of the Tsar … like the wise virgins of the Gospel, you permanently kept the oil of charity in your souls, devoutly serving suffering, poor and ill people'.

The new martyrs are not only compared with Biblical figures but also with other saints of different ages. One sometimes finds a very general comparison or a declaration of the common nature of martyrdom across the centuries:

(9) кровьми́ ст҃ы́хъ мꙋ́чнкъ цр҃ковь хр҃то́ва дре́вле оу҆тверди́сѧ, та́кожде и҆ во дни̑ твоѧ̑, ст҃и́телю тѵ́хѡне, во ѻ҆те́чествѣ на́шемъ ꙗ҆́кѡ пото́цы водни́и, кро́вь ст҃ы́хъ мꙋ́чнкъ пролїѧ́сѧ [МD 2008: 48]
'the Church of Christ was consolidated by the blood of holy martyrs in ancient times; in the same way, the blood of holy martyrs flowed like streams of water in our fatherland in your day, o Patriarch Tikhon'.

The reluctance to deal with atheists is compared with the refusal of Early Christian martyrs to make sacrifices to false gods:

(10) не восхотѣ́лъ є҆сѝ предте́чѣ а҆нтихр҇і́стовꙋ поклони́тисѧ, ꙗ҆́коже мꙋ́чницы ст҃і́и не возжела́ша же́ртвꙋ і҆́дѡльскꙋ́ю принестѝ [МD 2008: 167]
'you refused to worship the precursor of the Antichrist, just like holy martyrs had refused to sacrifice to idols'.

In a number of cases, 20th-century martyrs are compared with concrete saints of past ages. Vladimir (Bogoyavlensky), Metropolitan of Kiev, was the first hierarch killed for his faith. His contemporaries considered his death to be the beginning of the age of martyrdom and persecutions. The murder of Metropolitan Vladimir led to the Local Council of 1917–1918 to adopt a series of measures for perpetuating the memory of the victims of persecution. Material about persecutions began to be collected. The phrase "new passion-bearers" appeared at that time. Thus Metropolitan Vladimir played the same role for the 20th-century Russian Church as Archdeacon Stephen had played for the Ancient Church:

(11) сщ҃енномꙋ́чниче влади́мїре, ꙗ҆́кѡ первомꙋ́чникъ стефа́нъ, оу҆бива́ющымъ тѧ̀ ре́клъ є҆сѝ: гд҃ь да прости́тъ ва́съ [МD 2008: 261]
'o Hieromartyr Vladimir, you said to your executioners like Protomartyr Stephen, "may God forgive you"';

(12) но́ваго первому́чника ст҃и́теля владими́ра пѣ́сньми бг҃олѣ́пными восхва́лимъ [MD 2008: 263]
'Let us praise in beautiful songs the new protomartyr Metropolitan Vladimir'.

Metropolitan Vladimir is also compared with Prince Vladimir, the Baptiser of Russia. In addition to their common name and place of activity (Kiev), they had a similar zeal for the faith, according to the hymnographer:

(13) тезоимени́тому ти равноап́толу въ ре́вности по бз҃ѣ оуподобла́лся па́ству твою̀ въ правосла́внѣй вѣ́рѣ оутвержда́лъ е҆сѝ, ст҃и́телю, и̏, ꙗ̏ко но́вое кра́сное со́лнце, на гора́хъ ки́евскихъ возсiа́лъ е҆сѝ [MD 2008: 266]
'Emulating your equal-to-the-apostles namesake in your zeal for God, you strengthened your flock in Orthodox faith, o Hierarch, and, like a new beautiful sun, shined on the Kievan hills';

(14) Ру́сь ст҃а́я, вода́ми креще́нiя ѡ҆мы́тая, свѣ́томъ хрⷭ҇то́ва оуче́нiя равноап́тольными кня́земъ владими́ромъ просвѣще́нная и̏ кро́вiю страстоте́рпецъ и̏ новому́чника ст҃и́теля владими́ра ѡ҆роше́нная, хранѝ вѣ́ру правосла́вную, въ не́йже тебѣ́ оутвержде́нiе [MD 2008: 266]
'Purified by the waters of Baptism, enlightened by the light of Christ's teaching through Equal-to-the-Apostles Prince Vladimir, and sprinkled with the blood of passion-bearers and the new martyr Metropolitan Vladimir, Holy Rus, keep the Orthodox faith, which is your strength'.

The new saints are naturally compared with other Russian saints. National themes are widespread in the new services. This is particularly apparent in the service to the royal passion-bearers, because passion-bearers as a separate type of saints appeared in Russia with the glorification of Princes Boris and Gleb. In addition to the latter, the service to the Royal Passion-Bearers mentions the passion-bearer Prince Andrei Bogolyubsky, who was killed by conspirators in 1174:

(15) ра́дуйся, стр҃тоте́рпче нiкола́е, ꙗ̏коже ст҃íи стр҃тоте́рпцы и̏ мч҃ницы бори́съ, глѣ́бъ и̏ а҆ндре́й, ѿ бли́жнихъ твои́хъ пре́данъ бы́въ [MO 2011: 190]
'Rejoice, Passion-Bearer Nicolas, for you were betrayed by those around you just like the Holy Passion-Bearers and Martyrs Boris, Gleb and Andrei';

(16) по́сланъ бы́сть тебѣ́, царю̀ нiко́лае, кро́ткому и̏ смире́нному се́рдцемъ, вѣне́цъ мч҃нческiй, ꙗ̏коже ст҃ы́ми бори́съ, глѣбъ и̏ а҆ндре́ю [MO 2011: 192]
'Tsar Nicolas, meek and humble of heart, you were given a martyr's wreath just like Saints Boris, Gleb and Andrei'.

It is interesting to note the comparison between Nicolas II and Emperor Justinian:

(17) Ѽ бг҃овѣнча́нный царю̀ нiко́лае, сла́вный слуго̀ ст҃ы́я цр҃кве, храни́телю е҆я̀ и̏ защити́телю, и̏збра́нный бг҃омъ е҆я̀ покрови́телю, вели́каго Ꙋстинiа́на подо́бниче [MO 2011: 201]
'O crowned-by-God Tsar Nicolas, glorious servant of the Holy Church, its keeper and protector, and its God-chosen mentor, similar to the great Justinian'.

Justinian has not been canonized, and the comparison with him is quite un-expected. The National Corpus of the Russian Language mentions only one

occurrence of the name of Justinian in liturgical texts: in the service of the Sunday of Orthodoxy, he is mentioned as one of the pious Byzantine emperors. The above example is the first case of the use of the name of Justinian in such a context. The role of Justinian in consolidating Orthodoxy and renovating pilgrimage sites in the Christian East is well known. Justinian's Novels figure in the Slavic Nomocanon alongside the decrees of the Ecumenical Councils. Nevertheless, authors of hymnographic texts rarely refer to Justinian, and we cannot provide a clear interpretation for the present occurence.

We should separately consider comparisons that refer less to the source of citation than to a certain tradition of interpreting this source. Let us give an example. Prophetic texts connected with the imperial family and the Revolution circulated widely among Russian emigrants and, from the 1980s on, in Russia itself. Although the veracity of most of these texts is dubious, they are frequently printed in para-ecclesiastical and sometimes in ecclesiastical publications. The Service to the Royal Passion-Bearers contains a reference to such prophecies:

(18) є҆гда̀ оу҆го́дницы бж҃їн предреко́ша ва́мъ пꙋ́ть мч҃нческїй, ꙗ҆́коже па́ѵлꙋ прⷅро́къ а҆га́въ [МѲ 2011: 199]
'when holy people predicted martyrdom to you, just as the prophet Agabus to Paul'.

What is it alluding to? First and foremost, it refers to the prophecy of Blessed Pasha of Sarov (1903), who told Nicolas II about the impending catastrophe. One should also recall the legendary prophecy of Monk Abel (Vasilyev, 1757(55?)-1841), according to which the last Russian emperor Nicolas II "will be a redeemer who will sacrifice himself for his people, similarly to the bloodless sacrifice" [Zhitiye Avelya 1995: 42, cited from Kaverin 2005: 4]. Abel's prophecy cast the foundations for the so-called Tsarebozhiye (Tsar-as-God) Movement, whose adepts believe that the last Russian tsar atoned for the sins of the Russian people with his death. We won't examine the debates around the veneration of Nicolas II here. Curiously enough, we find echoes of these views in the Service to the Royal Passion-Bearers:

(19) слꙋжи́телїє беззако́нїа та́йнагѡ, вѣнецъ терно́вый спле́тше, возложи́ша на тѧ̀, ца́рственнаѧ главо [МѲ 2011: 197]
'adepts of secret wickedness wove a crown of thorns and placed upon you, o Royal Head'.

We are interested in the expression *терновый венец* 'crown of thorns' that occurs here. On the one hand, the expression "to place a crown of thorns on (somebody's) head" is a fixed phrase that occurs frequently in literature, too. Nevertheless, in religious discourse, crown of thorns is an attribute of the Passion of the Saviour, and the influence of secular literature is unlikely here. For this reason, the expression "to put a crown of thorns on" introduces a comparison between the suffering and death of Jesus Christ and the death of the

Tsar. The existence of a tradition of such comparison, though rejected by the Church, makes it possible to interpret this troparion in such a way.

8.2. Citations from the Holy Scripture and Other Sources

Christian culture and hymnography is based, among others, on Holy Scripture. In the previous section, we examined cases when 20th-century saints are compared with Biblical figures. Here we will speak of citations and cases when citations are a key that contains the purport of the text. Let us give an example from the service to Hieromartyr Hilarion:

(1) совопро́сники лꙋка́выⷯ ѿпрове́рглъ є҆сѝ, и҆́стинꙋ правосла́вїѧ ѹ҆твержда́ѧ. гдѣ̀ премꙋ́дръ, гдѣ̀ кни́жникъ, гдѣ̀ совопро́сникъ вѣ́ка сегѡ̀; сло́вомъ ѡ҆ крⷭ҇тѣ̀ ты̀ посрами́лъ є҆сѝ мꙋ́дрость мі́ра [MD 2008: 157]
'You debunked the wily philosophers, asserting the truth of Orthodoxy. Where is the wise person? Where is the teacher of the law? Where is the philosopher of this age? You brought the wisdom of the world to shame'.

This sticheron shows that, with his life, Hieromartyr Hilarion realized the words of Apostle Paul, "For it is written: 'I will destroy the wisdom of the wise; the intelligence of the intelligent I will frustrate.' Where is the wise person? Where is the teacher of the law? Where is the philosopher of this age? Has not God made foolish the wisdom of the world?" (1 Corinthians 1: 19–20). Another example of the description of the feats of new martyrs as the realization of Biblical commandments is found in the Service to the Royal Passion-Bearers:

(2) Въ годи́нꙋ страда́нїй за хрⷭ҇та̀ сохрани́ша любо́вь и҆ вѣ́рность є҆мꙋ́ дрꙋ́гъ дрꙋ́га тѧготы̀ носѧ́ще и҆ та́кѡ и҆сполнѧ́юще зако́нъ є҆гѡ̀ [МО 2011: 200–201]
'In the period of suffering for Christ, you preserved love and fidelity to Him, carrying each other's burdens and in this way fulfilling the law of Christ'.

Here the glorified saints heed Apostle Paul's appeal, "Carry each other's burdens, and in this way you will fulfil the law of Christ." (Galatians 6: 1–2)

The citation about the blood of the innocent Abel that cries out to God is found twice in the text of the service to the Russian hieromartyr:

(3) Да не дерза́ютъ ꙗ҆зы́цы рещѝ: гдѣ̀ є҆́сть бг҃ъ ва́шъ; кро́вь бо новомч҃нкѡвъ ѿ землѝ на́шеѧ вопїе́тъ [МО 2011: 33]
'Nations, do not dare say, "Where is your God?", for the blood of new martyrs cries out from our land';

(4) кро́вь твоѧ̀ ꙗ҆́кѡ а҆́велева, ѿ землѝ на́шеѧ вопїе́тъ немо́лчнѡ [МО 2011: 26]
'your blood, just like Abel's, cries out incessantly from our land'.

As we see, both hymns contain a direct citation from the Book of Genesis: "The Lord said, 'What have you done? Listen! Your brother's blood cries out to

me from the ground.'" (Genesis 4:10). The description of the fratricidal Civil War (see p. 72 above) and the shedding of fraternal blood clearly relates to this Biblical motif.

One should focus separately on the citation of Apostle Paul's words about temporary suffering and future glory: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall trouble or hardship or persecution or famine or nakedness or danger or sword? As it is written: 'For your sake we face death all day long; we are considered as sheep to be slaughtered.' No, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him who loved us. For I am convinced that neither death nor life, neither angels nor demons, neither the present nor the future, nor any powers, neither height nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus our Lord." (Romans 8: 35–39). In the service to the Russian hieromartyr, this theme occurs twice: in the 1st sticheron on "Lord, I have cried"

(5) ни темни́ца изнꙋри́ла є҆́сть, ни гла́дъ ᲂу҆мори́, ни ѡ҆ѕлобле́нїѧ и҆ ра́ны сᲂᲂ сма́тоша, во є҆́же разлꙋчи́ти тѧ ѿ любве́ бж҃їѧ и҆ бг҃ода́рованныѧ па́ствы [МО 2011: 25]

'neither prison wore you out, nor hunger killed you, nor persecutions and wounds dismayed you to separate you from the love of God and your God-given flock',

and in one of the troparia of Ode 6 of the Canon

(6) ничто́же возмо́же разлꙋчи́ти тѧ, бг҃опрїа́тне, ѿ любве́ хр҃то́вы: ни ско́рбь, ни гоне́нїе, ни сме́рть, всѧ̑ бо сїѧ̑ си́лою возлю́бльшагѡ тѧ гд҃а препобѣди́лъ є҆си́, сщ҃енномч҃нче [МО 2011: 35]

'nothing could separate you, o God-inspired, from the love of Christ: neither trouble nor persecution nor death, for you overcame all of this through the force of God who loved you, o Hieromartyr'.

Each of the hymns brings out a new meaning in the citation from the Epistle to the Romans. The first hymn emphasizes the inseparable and indestructible tie with God, on the one hand, and with the flock, on the other. The second hymn focuses on the theme of God's love from which the hieromartyr cannot be separated and that is the source of his victory.

In a number of cases, the citation of psalms serves to turn Soviet Russia into a sacral space to which the psalms' words relate. Real history acquires the status of sacred history. For example, the service to the Russian hieromartyr contains the following passage:

(7) гд҃и, гд҃ь на́шъ, ꙗ҆́кѡ чꙋ́дно и҆́мѧ твоѐ по все́й рꙋ́сстѣй землѝ [МО 2011: 33]

'Lord, our Lord, how majestic is your name in all the Russian land!'

that is based on the psalm text "Lord, our Lord, how majestic is your name in all the earth! You have set your glory in the heavens." (Psalms 8:1). As we see, the hymn specifies that the psalmic words "how majestic is your name in all

the earth!" apply to the Russian land. The same technique is used in the troparion of the ninth ode of the Canon of the Service to the Royal Passion-Bearers:

(8) да воскрнетъ р́усь ст҃а́а мл҃твами ца́рственных стр҃тотéрпецъ и нового́мч҃никъ твои́хъ гд҃и, и да расточа́тся вси врази̂ е҆а̀ вско́р̈е, и ѿ лица̀ е҆а̀ да б́ежа́тъ вси ненавы́дащїи ю̀ ѿ ны́н̈е и до в́ека [МО 2011: 200]
'May Holy Rus arise through the prayers of the Royal Passion-Bearers and your new martyrs, o Lord, and may all its enemies be scattered soon and may all its foes flee before it from now and to the ages'.

This text is based on the following fragment of Psalm 68: "May God arise, may his enemies be scattered; may his foes flee before him" (Psalms 68: 1). The hymnographer once again compares the events of sacred history with Holy Rus, giving the national idea a theological meaning.

The verse from Psalm 42 "As the deer pants for streams of water, so my soul pants for you, my God" (Psalms 42:1) undergoes a more complicated transformation. In the text of the general service to a hieromartyr, the image of the soul longing for God transforms into the image of a soul longing for voluntary suffering. In this way, suffering for Christ turns into the streams of water for which the soul longs:

(9) и́мже ӧбразомъ жела́етъ е҆ле́нь на исто́чники водны́а, си́це ты, стр҃тоте́рпче и҆м҃къ, къ живоно́снымъ страда́нїемъ за хр҃та̀ притéклъ е҆сѝ [МО 2011: 33]
'As the deer pants for streams of water, so you, Hieromartyr [name], were drawn to life-giving suffering for Christ'.

A vivid example of a hymnographer formulating his main idea with a citation from the Scripture is found in a sticheron after "Lord, I have cried" in the general service to a hieromartyr:

(10) всехва́льне сщ҃енномч҃нче и҆м҃къ, ѿ бра́тїй по пло́ти страда́нїа до кро́ве претерп́ева́лъ, въ себ́е помышла́лъ е҆сѝ и҆́кω гд҃а ра́ди оу҆мерцвла́еми е҆смы и н́есть на́ша бра́нь проти́ву пло́ти и кро́ви, но къ мїродержи́телю тьмы̀ в́ека сегὼ. т́емже хр҃ту̀, ст҃е, моли́са дарова́ти землѝ на́шей ми́ръ и вéлїю мл́ть [МО 2011: 25]
'O all-praised Hieromartyr [name], enduring suffering to death from your countrymen, you said to yourself that we are killed for God and that our struggle is not against flesh and blood but against the ruler of darkness of this world. Pray to Christ, o Saint, for peace and great mercy to descend upon our land'.

The essence of the feat of new martyrs does not lie in the struggle with political enemies but in the opposition to the devil. In this way, the sacrifice of the new martyrs turns out to be a means of fighting against the devil rather than against erring and fallen man. The service formulates this idea with the words of Apostle Paul: "For our struggle is not against flesh and blood, but against the rulers, against the authorities, against the powers of this dark world and against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly realms" (Ephesians 6:12).

One should say a few words about the use of Biblical citations in texts dedicated to the Royal Passion-Bearers. Citations from the Scripture are made here to confirm the thought about the tsar's special charisma:

(11) Не прикаса́йтеся пома́заннымъ мои́мъ, глаго́летъ гдⷭ҇ь вседержи́тель. бг҃опроти́вницы же бг҃овѣнча́ннаго царѧ̀ оу҆би́ша и҆ не наслѣ́доваша зе́млю бл҃ги́хъ, но оу҆лꙋчи́ша сме́рть безконе́чнꙋю [МО 2011: 189]

'"Do not touch my anointed ones," says God the Almighty. Atheists killed the God-anointed Tsar and did not inherit the promised land yet got eternal death'.

This passage contains a reference to Psalm 105: "He allowed no one to oppress them; for their sake he rebuked kings: 'Do not touch my anointed ones; do my prophets no harm.'" (Psalms 105: 14–15; cf. 1 Chronicles 16:22). It should be said that the words "Do not touch my anointed ones" are frequently cited in texts describing the mystical nature of royal power. Thus the citation from the Psalms is simultaneously a reference to these works. A citation from the Book of Proverbs has a similar function:

(12) Се́рдце царе́во въ рꙋцѣ̀ бж҃їей, глаго́летъ гдⷭ҇ь. ты̀ же, и҆́стинный пома́занниче и҆ сла́го гдⷭ҇ень, бл҃гоговѣ́йнѣ ре́клъ є҆сѝ: не то́кмш жи́знь моѧ̀, но ѡ҆ пꙋті́є страны̀ рѡссі́йскїѧ въ рꙋцѣ̀ гдⷭ҇ней сꙋ́ть [МО 2011: 194]

'The Lord says, "The king's heart is in God's hand. You, the true anointed and servant of the Lord, piously said, "not only my life but also the paths of Russia are in the Lord's hand"'.

The original text goes as follows: "In the Lord's hand the king's heart is a stream of water that he channels toward all who please him" (Proverbs 21: 1).

The texts of the services examined here make citations not only from the Holy Scripture but also from liturgical texts. For example, a sticheron at "Lord, I have cried" in the Service to the Royal Passion-Bearers has Nicolas II say the following words from the Coronation Rite:

(13) Є҆гда̀ на ца́рство рѡссі́йское вѣнча́шесѧ, пома́занниче нїко́лае, тогда̀ оу҆се́рдню моли́лсѧ є҆сѝ: вл҃ко и҆ гдⷭ҇и мо́й, наста́ви мѧ̀ въ дѣ́лѣ, на не́же посла́лъ мѧ̀ є҆сѝ, да бꙋ́детъ со мно́ю премꙋ́дрость твоѧ̀, да разꙋмѣ́ю, что̀ є҆́сть оу҆го́дно пред̾ ѻ҆чи́ма твои́ма, и҆ въ де́нь сꙋда̀ твоегш̀ непостꙋ́дню возда́мъ тебѣ̀ сло́во [МО 2011: 183]

'When you were crowned Tsar of Russia, o anointed Nicolas, you fervently prayed, "Lord God, instruct me in the task that you committed to me, so that Your wisdom be with me and I understand what pleases You and will answer you unashamedly on Judgment Day"'.

The authors included this text in the service alongside citations from the Scripture apparently because they wanted to emphasize the tsar's anointment and give it a certain historical concreteness.

8.3. Figures of Speech Connected with General Christian Symbols

Christian art possesses an arsenal of symbols, whose meaning and modalities of use have virtually remained unchanged over the centuries. They include, say, the Biblical motif of the Good Shepherd, who, in contrast to hired hands, lays his life down for his sheep and defends them from wolves and thieves (John 10: 1–18). Christ is portrayed as the Good Shepherd not only in hymns but also on icons. Similarly, the pair shepherd – sheep is actively used in texts that speak about a priest and his flock [Kravetsky 1997_2: 95]. Such symbols are used on numerous occasions in services to new martyrs:

(1) ꙗ́кѡ до́брый па́стырь, небоѧ́зненнѡ въ по́двизѣ твое́мъ ше́ствꙋѧ, заблꙋ́ждшаѧ горохи́щнаѧ ѻ́вча́та ѻ́брати́иши, та́тьми похи́щеннаѧ во дворъ ѻ́вчїй па́ки возврати́иши [MD 2008: 36]
'Like a good shepherd, you fearlessly performed your work, converting lost sheep erring in the mountains and abducted by thieves and returning them to the sheepfold';

(2) премꙋ́дрый наста́вниче па́стырей … хр҇то́вы ѻ́вцы ѿ во́лка мы́сленнагѡ спа́слъ є҆си́ [MD 2008: 156]
'The very wise teacher of shepherds … saved Christ's sheep from the spiritual wolf '.

Such figures of speech also include the comparison of "old man" Adam (and, correspondingly, any man) with the new God-man Christ [Kravetsky 1995_1: 102–103]:

(3) ве́тхагѡ человѣ́ка въ себѣ́ распа́лъ є҆си́ и҆ хр҇тꙋ́ въ се́рдце пребыва́ти да́лъ є҆си́ [MD 2008: 162]
'you crucified the old man within yourself and let Christ live in your heart'.

It should be said that universal metaphors play a greater role in general services. By their very nature, general services do not contain any concrete information about the life of a saint: after all, they must apply to all new martyrs and confessors. In general services, standard metaphors replace concrete historical facts.

Let us consider a few examples. The recurring reference to Christ as the "sun of truth" serves as a basis for the construction of a well-developed metaphor in which the saint is a ray of sun that dissipates the darkness of atheism. Ode 5 of the Canon in the General Service to a Hieromartyr contains the lines:

(4) ꙗ́кѡ лꙋ́чь со́лнца пра́вды ꙗ́вился є҆си́ сщ҇енномꙋ́чениче и҆́мкъ, и҆ страда́ньми твои́ми мглꙋ́ безбо́жїѧ над ѻ́те́чествомъ на́шимъ разгꙋ́алъ є҆си́ [MO 2011: 34]
'O Hieromartyr [name], you appeared as a ray of the sun of truth and dispelled the darkness of atheism over our fatherland with your suffering'.

The same ode mentions a lamp, which is yet another source of light that refers to the New Testament proverb of the lit lamp that is placed on its stand rather than being covered by a bowl (Matthew 5: 15–16; Mark 4: 21–25; Luke 11: 33):

(5) рꙋсскі́а цр҃кве свѣти́льниче сщ҃е́нный и҆м҃к кровьмѝ мꙋ́ченческими неꙋга́симѡ свѣта́й [MO 2011: 34]
'O [name], holy lamp of the Russian Church, shining inextinguishably with martyr blood'.

Both of these troparia, which play on the theme of light, relate to the irmos that sets this theme forth:

(6) ты̀, гд҃и мо́й, свѣ́тъ въ мі́рх пришѐлъ ꙗ҆сѝ, свѣ́тъ ст҃ый, ѡ҆браща́ай и҆з̾ мра́чна невѣ́дѣнїа вѣ́рою воспѣва́ющыа та̀ [MO 2011: 34]
'You, My Lord, came as light into the world, holy light that saves from dark ignorance those who sing to You'.

Another example is the image of the storm that symbolises persecution and suffering. This image, which remounts to antiquity, is connected with another symbol of Christian culture: the image of human life as a ship crossing a stormy sea. In the General Menaion to New Martyrs, this image is used in different ways. In some cases, it occurs in a very general form:

(7) е҆гда̀ бꙋ́ра гоне́нїй цр҃ковь рꙋсскꙋ́ю ѡ҆держа́ше, ты̀, и҆м҃к бл҃же́нне о҆́тче, ꙗ҆́кѡ па́стырь и҆́стинный, ѹ҆твержде́нїе и҆ по́мощь ѿ гд҃а прїе́мъ, во́лны многомате́жныа невреди́мѡ преше́лъ ꙗ҆сѝ [MO 2011: 49]
'when the storm of persecution descended upon the Russian Church, you, Blessed Father [name], safely crossed the greatly troubled waves'.

The second part of the troparion after the words "you, Blessed Father" could have just as well occurred in texts dedicated to early Christian martyrs. Another troparion contains facts from Russian life, making the text more concrete:

(8) е҆гда̀ бꙋ́ра нече́стїа на цр҃ковь рꙋсскꙋ́ю воздви́жеса, вы̀, ст҃і́и новомꙋ́нцы, страда́ньми ва́шими со тща́нїемъ ѹ҆кроти́сте ю҆̀ и҆ по́двиги ва́шими правосла́вїе ѹ҆тверди́сте [MO 2011: 14]
'when the storm of impiety descended upon the Russian Church, you, holy new martyrs, assiduously calmed it with your suffering and consolidated Orthodoxy with your feats'.

Through suffering, new martyrs triumphed over the storm of impiety and consolidated Orthodoxy. These specifications create an effect that is no longer commonplace.

In principle, the use of traditional images in services to 20th-century saints is quite normal. Nevertheless, the overindulgence in standard images may seem out-of-place for a service to a specific saint whose biography is known in detail. Let us cite just one example from the service to Metropolitan Vladimir:

(9) и́мꙋ́ѧ ре́вность ѡ҆ сла́вѣ бж҃їей, ст҃и́телю влади́мі́ре, всѧ̀ трꙋ́ды твоѧ̀ подалъ є҆сѝ во бл҃го цр҃кве, ꙗ҆́же є҆́сть невѣ́ста хр҃то́ва, тоѧ̀ ра́ди и҆ бг҃ъ просла́ви тѧ̀ и҆ дарова̀ ти дерзнове́нїе ве́лїе моли́тисѧ ѡ҆ чтꙋ́щихъ ст҃ꙋ́ю па́мать твою̀ [MD 2008: 260]

'with your zeal for the glory of God, o Metropolitan Vladimir, you directed all your efforts at furthering the weal of the Church, the Bride of Christ. For this reason, God glorified you and gave you great audacity to pray for those who celebrate your holy memory'.

Such a text could occur in any service to a hierarch, no matter when he lived, what talents he had, whether he was a martyr, missionary or other, etc.

9. General Services to 20th-Century Saints and the Mentality of Contemporary Russian Orthodox Christianity

General services provide very interesting material that helps us to understand the age in which they were written. They show what aspects of a saint's life were particularly important for the time when the service was written. A comparison of general services to a hieromartyr (from the standard General Menaion) and to a 20th-century Russian hieromartyr, whether priest or hierarch (from the General Menaion to the New Martyrs and Confessors of Russia) uncovers a number of differences. The most important difference is that the authors of the new services are concerned not only with the tragedy of martyrdom but also with the already apparent triumph of the worldly Church. For example, ordinary theotokia are read instead of stavrotheotokia at Vespers of the service to a Russian hieromartyr. In other words, one reads prayers glorifying the Theotokos instead recalling the Theotokos' lament at the Cross. Such texts are a lot less tragic. Moreover, the theotokia of the new services contain a lot of prayers about Russia:

(1) ѡ҆сѣнѝ рꙋ́сь правосла́внꙋю покро́вомъ твоеѧ̀ бл҃гости [МО 2011: 30]
'cover Orthodox Russia with the veil of your mercy'.

The theotokia emphasize that Russia is an appanage of the Theotokos:

(2) мт҃и бж҃їѧ, до́мъ твой, ст҃а́ѧ рꙋ́сь, мо́литъ тѧ̀ [МО 2011: 32]
'O Theotokos, Holy Rus, Your home, prays to you';

(3) ѽ всепѣ́таѧ дѣ́во, тѧ́ вѣ́мы покро́въ землѝ рꙋ́сскїѧ [МО 2011: 30]
'O All-Hymned Virgin, we know You to be the Intercessor of the Russian land';

(4) Стена̀ нешвори́маѧ и҆ покро́въ всемо́щный рѡссі́йскимъ новомч҃нкѡмъ ꙗ҆ви́ласѧ є҆сѝ, прест҃а́ѧ дѣ́во [МО 2011: 34]
'You showed Yourself to be an invincible wall and all-mighty intercessor of Russian new martyrs, o Most Holy Virgin'.

There are also a lot of prayers about the Church as an institution, which are read instead of prayers about the salvation of the souls of the congregation. For

example, the general service to a hieromartyr (in the stichera at "Lord, I have cried", the troparion, and the exaltation) contains a petition to save the soul of the worshipper, while the stichera in the service to a 20th-century Russian hieromartyr contain different petitions, including petitions about the Church, the Russian land, and the people living in it. In other words, the first-person pronouns in спаси нас 'save us' and спаси души наши 'save our souls' are replaced by nouns that do not refer simply to the worshippers: спаси землю российскую 'save the Russian land', спаси люди 'save the people', etc. The object of divine mercy becomes the country or state that has acquired religious significance rather than the petitioners themselves. The meaning of these prayers is not entirely clear. Orthodox theology explains what the salvation of the soul is. However, the meaning of saving a country that is not subject to enemy attack or natural disaster is harder to understand.

According to the new services, the feats of 20th-century new martyrs and confessors belong less to individual worshippers than to the Russian Church as a whole. The object of prayers is the salvation of the Church as an institution. Furthermore, many of the chants are written from the stance of a victor (s. *Table 3.*). As we see, 20th and 21st-century hymnographers see the personal feat of a saint from the standpoint of Russia as a whole. The saint not only dies for Christ but also saves the Russian land and consolidates Orthodoxy in it.

Table 3.

General Menaia	[MO 2011]
и҆ ны́нѣ мѡли́са дарова́ти дꙋша́мъ на́шимъ ми́ръ и҆ ве́лїю ми́ть *'And now pray that God grants our souls peace and great mercy'*	тѣ́мже хрⷭ҇тꙋ̀, ст҃е, мѡли́са дарова́ти ц҃ркви на́шей ми́ръ и҆ ве́лїю ми́ть [MO 2011: 25] *'Thus pray to Christ, o Saint, to grant our Church peace and great mercy'*
є҆го́же (т.е. Хрⷭ҇та) мѡли́ ѡ҆ пою́щихъ Тѧ̀ *'Pray to Him (i.e., Christ) about those who sing your praises'*	тѣ́мже хрⷭ҇тꙋ̀, ст҃е, мѡли́са дарова́ти землѝ на́шей ми́ръ и҆ ве́лїю ми́ть [MO 2011: 25] *'Thus pray to Christ, o Saint, to grant our country peace and great mercy'*
съ ни́миже (с во́инством мꙋ́чеников) мѡли́са дарова́ти дꙋша́мъ на́шимъ ми́ръ и҆ ве́лїю ми́ть *'Pray with them (with the host of martyrs) that God grant our souls peace and great mercy'*	и҆ ны́нѣ хрⷭ҇тꙋ̀, ст҃е, мѡли́са дарова́ти лю́демъ рѡссі́йскимъ ми́ръ и҆ ве́лїю ми́ть [MO 2011: 25] *'And now pray to Christ, o Saint, to grant Russian people peace and great mercy'*

сщ҃енномч҃нче и҆м҃реки моли х҃рта б҃га спстися д҃шамх нашими	х҃рта ради пострада́вый даже до кро́ве, е҆го́же моли оу҆се́рдно, ꙗ́кw нача́льника и совершителѧ спсе́нїѧ, р8си ст҃8ю оу҆тверди́ти вх правосла́вїи до скончанїѧ вѣ́ка [МО 2011: 29]
'Hieromartyr [name], pray to Christ the Lord for the salvation of our souls'	*'Having suffered for Christ even to the point of death, pray ardently to Him, as the beginning and end of salvation, to maintain Holy Rus in Orthodoxy to the end of time'*
велича́еми тѧ, сщ҃енномч҃нче и҆м҃реки и чте́мх ст҃8ю па́мѧть твою̀: ты́ бо мо́лиши за на́сх х҃рта б҃га на́шегw.	Велича́еми тѧ, сщ҃енномч҃нче и҆м҃ки и чти́ми чтⷩⷶа страда́нїѧ твоѧ̀, ꙗ́же за х҃рта во оу҆твержде́нїе на р8си правосла́вїѧ претерпѣ́лх е҆си [MO 2011: 30]
'We extol you, Hieromartyr [name], and venerate your holy memory, for you are praying to Christ the Lord for us'	*'We extol you, Hieromartyr [name], and venerate your suffering that you have endured for Christ so as to maintain Rus in Orthodoxy'*

In this new situation, the sticheron to all saints that have shone forth in the Russian land (Русь Святая, храни веру православную "Holy Rus, preserve the Orthodox faith") acquires a totally different meaning. This text began to be used by the Church in the atheist Soviet state. At that time, the preservation of Orthodox faith meant the opposition to the atheist state and a call to the feat of confession. However, the situation had changed greatly by the early 21st century. According to the just remark by the Church writer S. Chapnin, this is "the only citation from liturgical texts that has become a cliché" [Chapnin 2013: 32]. Indeed, these words have appeared on the dashboards of trucks, labels, tee-shirts, and bags. One clearly understands these words differently today than at the time when they were written. Whereas these words were associated with a persecuted minority a few decades ago, they have become the motto of the majority today.

10. Russia and Rus in Modern Hymnography

With regard to the role of national themes in Church services written in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, one should examine the toponyms that are used to denote Russia and, in particular, the relative frequency of the words *Русь* 'Rus' (and the adjective русский) and *Россия* 'Russia' (and the adjective российский), as well as the history of the appearance of the expression *Святая Русь* 'Holy Rus' in liturgical texts.

We will only examine here the use of the words *Русь* (*русский*) и *Россия* (*российский*) in liturgical texts and in the literary and folk tradition that had an impact on liturgical texts. We will not consider official state names and

documents here, as this is the subject of a recent monograph by B. Kloss [Kloss 2012]. Let us simply note that the ethnonym *Россия* (in its variant *Росия*) has Greek roots and was first used to denote the Russian Metropolis that was established in the 10th century. For a long time, this word was only used in Greek texts. The first Slavic occurrence of the name Росия dates to 1387. In the course of subsequent centuries, *Росия/Россия* replaced the variant *Русь* in the official domain.

The Church Slavonic sub-corpus of the National Corpus of the Russian Language contains 1,248 words with the root *росс-* and only 176 with the word *рус-*. Moreover, most of the words with the root *рус-* are found in 20th-century texts. This root occurs in only a handful of old services. Several cases of *рус-* are found in the Service to Boris and Gleb (May 2):

(1) и́мже хрⷭ҇то́съ просвѣти́ всю̀ странꙋ̀ рꙋ́сскую, дне́сь землѧ̀ рꙋ́сскаѧ ва́ми свѣти́тсѧ, ꙗ́кѡ со́лнце
'The land of Rus is shining like the sun thanks to you, through whom Christ enlightened all of Rus' [M_kab_may: 525], etc.

Several services contain a single occurrence of this root: Joseph Volotsky (September 9):

(2) прїиди́те оу҆блажи́мъ … свѣти́льника рꙋ́сскаго [M_kab_sent: 201]
'Come and extol … the light of Rus',

Alexis of Moscow (February 12):

(3) це́рквы рꙋ́сскїѧ, первопресто́льный і҆ера́рше [M_kab_fevr: 277]
'Leading Hierarch of the Church of Rus'

and Alexander Nevsky (November 23):

(4) ра́дꙋйсѧ, кнѧзе́й рꙋ́сскихъ похвало̀ [M_kab_noyabr': 448]
'Rejoice, praise of the princes of Rus'.

The appearance of the words *русский/Русь* in 19th and 20th-century hymnography was largely a result of processes taking place in secular culture. The notion of Holy Rus became important in the first half of the 19th century. The origin of this expression is not entirely clear. In all likelihood, it derives from folklore.

(5) *Выходил Егорий на святую Русь.*
  Завидел Егорий свету белого,
  Услышал звону колокольного,
  Обогрело его солнце красное.
  И пошел Егорий по Святой Руси,
  По Святой Руси, по сырой земле
  Ко тому граду Иерусалиму [Golubinaya kniga 1991: 54]

'Yegory went out to Holy Rus.
Yegory saw the wide world
And heard bells ringing.
The beautiful sun warmed him up.
Yegory went through Holy Rus,
Through Holy Rus, along damp earth
To the city of Jerusalem.'

As folklore was recorded throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, it is difficult to judge about the age of this expression. In her study of the expression "Holy Rus", I. Buseva-Davydova connected it with the canonizations of Metropolitan Macarius in 1547 and 1549: "One could not fail to compare the unprecedented expansion of sainthood in the Russian state with the situation in other countries, where sainthood mostly 'declined' (due to the destruction by non-Christians of relics, some of which came to Russia)" [Buseva-Davydova 2007: 37]. This conjecture does not seem convincing to us, as the expression "Holy Rus" appeared in hymnography only in the 20th century and not in the 16th. It is difficult to imagine that an innovation that was inspired by canonization (and the accompanying new services) was not reflected in services or saints' lives.

In folk traditions, Holy Rus (in the adjectival form святорусский 'of Holy Rus') is found already in the earliest recorded texts. For example, one of the songs recorded in 1619–1620 for the English pastor Richard James contains the lines:

(6)   *Зрадовалося царство Московское*
       И вся земля святорусская <...>
       И дай, Господи, здоровъ был православный царь,
       князь великий Михайло Федоровичъ,
       а ему здержати царство московское
       и вся земля Святорусская [Pesni Dzhemsa 1987: 538–539]

       'The Muscovite Kingdom rejoiced
       Along with the entire Holy Russian land <…>
       Lord, let the Orthodox tsar be healthy,
       Grand Prince Michael Fedorovich,
       And let him rule the Muscovite Kingdom
       And the entire Holy Russian Land.'

The Dictionary of the Russian Language of the 11th-17th Centuries states that the expression "Holy Rus" (Святая Русь) first occurred in the "Tale of the Siege of Azov" (*Povest' ob azovskom osadnom sidenii*), which, as one knows, was greatly influenced by the folk tradition: *Топере мы, бедные, роставаемся с вашими иконы чудотворными и со всеми христианы православными: не бывать уж намъ на Святой Руси! А смерть наша грешничья в пустынях за ваши иконы чудотворныя, и за въру христианскую, и за имя царское, и за все царство Московское* 'Now, poor us, we are parting from your won-

derworking icons and all Orthodox Christians: we'll never see Holy Rus again! We, sinners, will die in the wastelands for your wonderworking icons and the Christian faith and the name of the tsar and the entire Muscovite Kingdom' [Azovskoye sideniye 1988: 151]. The same text contains the following word form: Не впрям ли еще вы на Руси богатыри светорусские? 'Do you, mighty Holy Russian warriors, still exist in Rus?' [Azovskoye sideniye 1988: 141]

In modern Russian literature, this expression begins to be actively used after the Napoleonic War. In M. Zagoskin's novel *Yuri Miloslavsky or Russians in 1612* (1829), the expression "Holy Rus" occurs 22 times and another 7 times in his next novel *Roslavlev or Russians in 1812* (1830). This expression is also used by the poet V. Odoyevsky:

(7) Что за кочевья чернеются
            Средь пылающих огней -
   Идут под затворы молодцы
            За Святую Русь.
   За Святую Русь неволя и казни -
            Радость и слава!
   Весело ляжем живые
            За Святую Русь. [Odoyevsky 1958: 135]

   'What dark nomads' camps are visible
            Among the burning fires?
   Warriors are going to prison
            For Holy Rus.
   Prison and executions,
            Joy and glory for Holy Rus!
   We will gladly die
            For Holy Rus.'

Such examples abound. Let us only cite here V. Zhukovsky's programmatic text "On the Poem: Holy Rus (Letter to Prince P. Vyazemsky)":

The expression "Holy Rus" is as old as Christian Russia itself. It was given to it, as your poems say, during its Baptism, and it will never lose its profound meaning, although it has become a cliché (lieu commun). <…> The word "Holy Rus" has been repeated a lot and for a long time; we have become used to it; and many even employ it with irony. Nevertheless, when it is uttered now, does it not express for us with new conviction and in a single sound all that our faith, love and hope has become over the centuries? Does it not depict more clearly our special union with God, as a result of which his wonderful name "God of Rus" (Русской Бог) (not "God of Russia" (Российский Бог), as Ozerov would have it at the end of his Dimitry Donskoy) has come down to us from our fore-fathers. Apparently no European nation has such names for God and the fatherland as "God of Rus" and "Holy Rus". All of our unique history resounds in the expression "Holy Rus". Russia got this name from its Baptizer, yet the name acquired its profound meaning when Russia splintered into appanages and when a single chief Grand Prince stood over all the different subordinated princes. When there was a multitude of small principalities

that depended on a grand principality and when all of this constituted a single entity – not Russia but Rus, i.e., not a state but a family in which everyone had the same fatherland, faith, language, recollections, and traditions. This is why a common, living and indivisible Holy Rus existed for everyone even during the bloodiest intestine conflicts when Russia had not emerged yet and when appanage princes constantly fought each other for its regions. Everyone united to defend it against invasions and the plundering of non-Orthodox enemies. The sad times of Mamai gave particular power to this word: it became a uniting national war cry for us; it was used by our Church to console us; it was uttered by our princes when they risked their lives going to the Golden Horde for the sake of their fatherland; it resounded on Kulikovo Field; and it was given a remarkable meaning by the Great Ivan III, who put an end to Tatar slavery and suddenly became the absolute ruler of All of Russia. From that time on, Russia became a state ruled by a tsar, while Holy Rus remained a tradition and the joint treasure of the tsar and the people [Zhukovsky I: 121–122].

This letter by V. Zhukovsky is important for us insofar as it points out the opposition between Holy Rus (a spiritual, if not mystical, phenomenon) and the Russian Empire (a state).

Although we do not know for sure from where early 19th-century Russian literature took this expression, folklore is the most likely source. G. Fedotov, who took a special interest in the role of "Holy Rus" in spiritual poetry [Fedotov 1991: 95–96], noted that the word "Church" seldom occurs in spiritual poetry, where its place is taken by "Holy Rus".

The expression "Holy Rus" began to occur more frequently in church texts in connection with the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the House of the Romanov. Sermons delivered on this occasion often contain this expression. Let us give only a few examples. A sermon by Father Mikhail Slutsky [Slutsky 1913] contains the following passages: "about the holy celebration in Holy Rus" [Slutsky 1913: 4], "our poor suffering fatherland, Holy Rus" [Slutsky 1913: 8], "thousands of hearts of Holy Rus responded" [Slutsky 1913: 12], "popular celebration of the liberation of Holy Rus from the enemies", "when Holy Rus was purged of its enemies" [Slutsky 1913: 17], "prayers that the tsar of Holy Rus be elected by God's will", "Patriarch Hermogenes, Intercessor for Holy Rus" [Slutsky 1913: 17], "Holy Rus became stronger, grew and expanded under the scepter of the blessed House of Romanov" [Slutsky 1913: 20], "eternal memory to the mighty warrior of Holy Rus" [Slutsky 1913: 21] (Slutsky is speaking about Peter the Great here), "great leader that saved Holy Rus from Napoleon" [Slutsky 1913: 22], "may God help Him (Nicolas II) to triumphantly lead Holy Rus and the great Russian people to greatness and happiness" [Slutsky 1913: 23], etc. A lot of such sermons were given in 1913. It is noteworthy that, in a number of cases, the expression "Holy Rus" is used to denote the Russian state and even the Russian Empire.

The expression "Holy Rus" first occurred in a hymnographic text shortly before the Revolution. It first appeared in a service to Hermogenes of Moscow that was written between 1913 and 1917:

(8) Бг҃у на́шему токо́ю сла́ва, тебѣ́ же, сщ҃енному́ченче Е҆рмоге́не, довлѣ́етъ ра́доватися во свѣ́тѣ лица̀ Е҆гѡ̀ и҆ непреста́ннѡ моли́тися, да не поги́бнетъ ру́сь ст҃а́а....

'Glory to God through you; for you, Hieromartyr Hermogenes, it will suffice to rejoice in the light of His face and constantly pray to Him to save Holy Rus from perdition'.

This expression is not uncommon in hymnography of the second half of the 20th century thanks to the sticheron at stichoi from the Service to All Saints That Shone Forth in the Russian Land that we have cited numerous times already:

(9) Но́вый до́ме Е҆ѵфра́д̾ѻвъ, ѹ҆дѣ́ле и҆збра́нный, ру́сь ст҃а́а, хранѝ вѣ́ру правосла́внꙋю, въ не́йже тебѣ̀ ѹ҆твержде́нїе [M_kab_iyun': 519]

'New House of the Ephraths, select appanage, Holy Rus, preserve the Orthodox faith, which is the source of your strength'.

It is also found in the General Menaion:

(10) Е҆гда̀ земля̀ рѡссі́йская тьмо́ю безбо́жїя и҆ каі́новыми ѡ҆ѕлобле́нїемъ ѡ҆б́ята бы́сть, тогда̀ мно́зи хрⷭ҇толюби́вїи лю́дїе на го́рькїѧ рабо́ты и҆згна́ни бы́ша и҆ гла́дъ, мра́зъ, зно́й и҆ сме́рть лю́тꙋю мꙋ́жественнѣ претерпѣ́ша, вѣ́рою же, наде́ждею и҆ любо́вїю совокꙋ́плени, досто́йнꙋю воспѣва́хꙋ пѣ́снь: да бл҃гослови́тъ гдⷭ҇а ру́сь ст҃а́а [MO 2011:19]

'when the Russian land was covered by the darkness of atheism and Cain's rancour, then many Christians were forced to perform bitter labour and courageously endured hunger, cold, heat and terrible death. United by faith, hope and love, they sang the worthy song, "let Holy Rus bless the Lord and extol Him for ages"'.

Nevertheless, the opposition between the Russian Land that is overcome by rancour and Holy Rus does not occur regularly in the General Menaion.

As far as we can tell, the increased usage of the words *Русь/русский* at the expense of *Россия/российский* was the result of the influence of the Russian literary language on Church Slavonic. This is vividly shown by the brochure 300th Anniversary of a Great Remembrance, which opens with a prayer dedicated to the 300th anniversary of the House of the Romanov. In this prayer, the forms *Русь/русский* do not occur at all, while the word *российский* is used 9 times. At the same time, in the Russian-language sermons that follow it, *Русь/русский* is used 52 times, while *Россия/российский* occurs only 15 times. In other words, the form *Русь/русский* was considered inacceptable in the Church Slavonic text, while it was preponderant in the Russian text.

The official organisational name *Православная Российская Церковь* 'Orthodox Russian Church' hindered the replacement of the word *российский* by the word *русский*. Nevertheless, the vernacular expression was *Русская Церковь*.

In their discussions, the members of the Local Council of 1917–1918 preferred the expression *Русская Церковь*, while the official Council rulings mostly employ *Российская Церковь*. In the 1920s, the name *Русская*

Православная Церковь began to predominate. This was partly due to the fact that the Renovationist church organisation began to call itself *Российская Православная Церковь*. For example, the resolution of the Renovationist Great Pre-Council Assembly (June 10–18, 1924) demanded that one "recognise the Holy Synod … as the only canonically lawful supreme executive body of the Russian Orthodox Church (*Российская Православная Церковь*)" [Rezolyutsii 1924: 35]. During the same period, Patriarch Tikhon began to call himself the head of the Orthodox Church of Rus (*Русская Православная Церковь*) [АРТ: 322]. Nevertheless, this title does not become preponderant. The name *Русская Церковь* completely supplemented the former name only during World War II in the documents of Metropolitan Sergius (Stragorodsky). After the legalisation of the Moscow Patriarchy, *Русская Церковь* became the exclusive name of the Church in Russia. In the publications of the Moscow Patriarchy, this name is also used for the past, i.e., for a time when the Church was called *Православная Российская Церковь*.

Subsequently, the name *Русская Православная Церковь* became official, which evidently influenced the texts of hymnographers working after WWII. The word *русский* was increasingly used in liturgical poetry. We see it in services to Ambrose of Optina (October 10)

(11) ѡзарилъ є҆си вею землю рꙋсскꙋю [M_kab_okt: 612]
'you lit up the entire land of Rus';

Macarius of Moscow (December 30)

(12) кро́ве проли́тїе и҆ раздѣле́нїе земли рꙋсскїѧ
'bloodshed and division of the land of Rus';

(13) собо́ръ ст҃ы́хъ рꙋсскихъ, и҆́же тщанїемъ твои́мъ, ст҃и́телю, ди́вно просла́вленъ бы́сть [M_kab_dek: 664]
'the synaxis of saints of Rus, which was wonderfully glorified through your efforts, o Hierarch';

and Innocent, Metropolitan of Moscow,

(14) цр҃ковь рꙋсскаѧ въ земли а҆мериканстѣй ка́ѳедрꙋ ст҃и́тельскꙋю оу҆чреждаетъ [M_kab_sent: 773]
'the Church of Rus established a bishop's cathedra in the American land'.

The service to John of Kronstadt contains the acrostic

(15) свѣти́льниче земли рꙋсскїѧ [M_kab_dek: 645]
'light of the land of Rus'.

Let us now take a look at the distribution of the words *российский/русский* in the General Menaion. The collocations *новомученик российский* 'new martyr

of Russia', исповедник российский 'confessor of Russia', and страстотерпец российстий 'passion-bearer of Russia' are regular and apparently exclusive forms. With regard to the Church, the word русский is used more often:

(16) бꙋра нечестїѧ на цр҃ковь рꙋсскꙋю воздвижеса [MO 2011: 15]
'a storm of impiety descended upon the Church of Rus';

(17) потопити корабль цр҃кве рꙋсскїѧ [MO 2011: 17]
'sink the ship of the Church of Rus';

(18) бꙋра гоненїй цр҃ковь рꙋсскꙋю ѡдержаше [MO 2011: 49]
'the storm of persecution descended upon the Church of Rus';

(19) въ годинꙋ гоненїй на цр҃ковь рꙋсскꙋю [MO 2011: 52, 54]
'in the time of persecutions against the Church of Rus';

(20) избави цр҃ковь рꙋсскꙋю [MO 2011: 61]
'save the Church of Rus';

(21) враждꙋющихъ протівꙋ цр҃кве рꙋсскїѧ [MO 2011: 62]
'enemies of the Church of Rus';

(22) во дни же гоненїй на цр҃ковь рꙋсскꙋю [MO 2011: 63]
'during the days of persecutions against the Church of Rus', etc.

Nevertheless, Российская церковь also occurs:

(23) избранный бг҃омъ ѿ цр҃кве россійскїѧ [MO 2011: 57]
'selected by God from the Russian Church';

(24) столпъ ѡдꙋшевленный цр҃кве россійскїѧ [MO 2011: 61]
'living pillar of the Russian Church'.

As we mentioned above, *Российская церковь* was virtually the only acceptable variant in pre-Revolutionary service books. The replacement of the adjective российский by the adjective русский is quite natural. The association of Rus and sainthood goes hand in hand here with the official name *Русская Православная Церковь*. The form *Российская Церковь* is supported only by tradition.

Another pair of competing collocations is *земля русская* 'the Land of Rus' и *земля российская* 'the Land of Russia'. The collocation *земля русская* may occur somewhat more frequently yet not by much:

(25) всѣхъ ст҃ыхъ земли россійскїѧ [MO 2011: 55]
'all saints of the Russian land';

(26) е҆гда ѡскꙋдѣ вѣра въ земли россійстѣй … да не погибнетъ землѧ россійскаѧ [MO 2011: 56]
'when faith diminishes in the Russian land, … may the Russian land not perish'.

Examples of the second collocation include:

(27) посѣти гдⷭь зе́млю рꙋ́сскꙋ́ю [MO 2011: 50]
'God visited to the land of Rus';

(28) да блⷭгослови́тъ зе́мля рꙋ́сская гдⷭа [MO 2011: 50]
'may the land of Rus bless the Lord';

(29) соблюди́ гдⷭь зе́млю рꙋ́сскꙋю въ правосла́вїи [MO 2011:58]
'may the Lord maintain Orthodoxy in the land of Rus';

(30) ѡст҃и́ся зе́мля рꙋ́сская пꙋ́ты по́стническими [MO 2011:60]
'the land of Rus was sanctified by the efforts of fasters';

(31) кровьми́ мч҃ническими ѡст҃и́лъ є҆сѝ зе́млю рꙋ́сскꙋю [MO 2011: 61]
'you sanctified the land of Rus with martyr's blood'.

One can see no differences in meaning between the words *русский* and *российский* in the texts of the General Menaion.

Liturgical texts of the late 20th century begin to call Kiev once again the "mother of cities of Rus" (*мать городов русских*). The sticheron to Hieromartyr Vladimir of Kiev contains the following words:

(32) ꙗ҆́кw сщ҃е́нная же́ртва ѿ кі́ева, ма́тере градѡ́въ рꙋ́сскихъ, бг҃ꙋ прине́слася є҆сѝ [MO 2011: 6]
'you were brought to God like a holy sacrifice from Kiev, the mother of cities of Rus'.

The use of the expression "Kiev, the mother of cities of Rus" is quite significant. It is first recorded in the Primary Chronicle for the year 882:

(33) въ лѣто 6390 (882) … и сѣде Олегъ княжа въ Киевѣ, и рече Олегъ: "Се бꙋди мати градомъ рꙋ́сьскимъ" [PVL 1978: 38]
'In the year of 6390 (882) … Oleg began to rule in Kiev, and Oleg said, "You shall be the mother of cities of Rus"'.

This expression appears in the Service to Equal-to-the-Apostles Prince Vladimir (July 15):

(34) на высотѣ̀ стола̀ сѣдѧ̀ ма́тере градѡ́въ, бг҃оспаса́емагw кі́ева [M_kab_iyul': 540]
'sitting on the high throne of God-saved Kiev, the mother of the cities of Rus'

and

(35) мт҃и всѣ́хъ градѡ́въ вои́стиннꙋ, ца́рства твоег�[ѡ] гра́дъ ꙗ҆ви́ся кі́евъ [M_kab_iyul': 298]
'Kiev, the city of your rule, was truly the mother of all cities'.

It also occurs in the Service to Mikhail of Kiev (September 30):

(36) днесь торжеств꙼ꙋетъ па́мать твою̀, ст҃и́телю, ма́ти градѡ́въ преслов꙼ꙋщїй кі́евъ, и̂ лю́дїе рѡссі́йстїи хвала́ми почита́ютъ, въ вѣ́чнꙋю жи́знь твоѐ преставле́нїе [M_kab_sent: 604]

'Today Kiev, the famous mother of cities, is celebrating your memory, o Hierarch, and Russian people are singing the praises of your entry into eternal life'.

The expression then stopped being used, apparently because Kiev ceased to be considered the center of Russia. In the services to Russian saints, different epithets are used for Kiev:

(37) пресвѣ́тлый гра́дъ кі́евъ [M_kab_iyun': 199]
'the most-luminous city of Kiev',

(38) ѿ св꙼ꙋгѣю сщ҃е́ннагѡ гра́да кі́ева [M_kab_iyun': 469]
'from the most holy city of Kiev',

(39) ѿ ца́рств꙼ꙋющагѡ гра́да кі́ева
'from the royal city of Kiev',

and

(40) ѿ дре́внагѡ гра́да кі́ева [M_kab_noyabr']
'from the ancient city of Kiev'.

This archaic expression reappears once again in services to new martyrs.

11. Development or Corruption of Language? Conclusions

The services examined here are fairly correctly written from the standpoint of Church Slavonic grammar. Nevertheless, they contain a certain number of neologisms whose appearance was motivated by the Russian literary language. It is fairly difficult to assess such cases. They can be considered to be examples of the corruption of language or examples of the historical development of the linguistic norm. Let us give some examples from the domain of vocabulary.

We are referring to such words as *осуетитися* 'to go about vainly', *решимость* 'determination', *подвергнути* (кого, чему) 'to subject (someone to something)' and so on:

(1) гд҃а забы́хомъ, въ дѣ́лѣхъ на́шихъ ѡ̂сꙋети́хомса [MD 2008: 46]
'we forgot the Lord and vainly went about our affairs';

(2) да пода́етъ на́мъ рѣши́мость стажа́ти благоче́стїе ѻ̂ц҃е́въ на́шихъ [MD 2008: 49]
'may He give us the resolution to attain the piety of our fathers';

(3) глумле́нїа и̂ порꙋга́нїа, ꙗ̂же подверго́ша тѧ̀ гони́телїе [MD 2008: 267]
'derision and abuse that persecutors inflicted upon you'.

These words do not appear in the traditional cycle of service books.

One should separately say a few words about the forms постигшїй 'attaining', возвѣстивши́й 'announcing', посрамивши́й 'putting to shame', and побѣди́вши́й 'triumphing' that occur in the Service to Hieromartyr Hilarion. Strictly speaking, a participle ending in -*вший* (in the nominative and vocative cases) cannot be called a Russianism. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly a deviation from Church Slavonic grammar and is a Russianism to a certain extent, as this form exists in the Russian literary language, while the form ending in -вый does not.

* * *

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the history of Church Slavonic texts continued. New texts continued to be written, while old texts were edited. The history of Church Slavonic texts relates to the events of political and cultural life. Under the influence of these events, services to some saints went out of use and were forgotten, while services to other saints were revived after many years of oblivion. A case in point was the feast day of Cyril and Methodius, which was revived in the second half of the 19th century in connection with the ideas of the unity of Slavic culture. In Russia, the revival of the feast day of Cyril and Methodius stimulated the interest in Russian saints and their services. This interest led to ideas of "nationalizing the Typikon", i.e., introducing services to Russian saints into the Church statute.

These two themes (the veneration of the First Enlighteners of the Slavs and the veneration of Russian saints) were developed in the second half of the 20th and in the 21st centuries. A new edition of the Service Menaia was published towards the end of the Soviet period: it represented a grandiose project for the collection and introduction into church use of services that had either been in limited circulation or had not been used at all for various reasons. Although this process belonged to church culture, it took place in parallel with a mass interest in Medieval Russia ("Rus") and its art, culture and everyday life. The concept of "Holy Rus" was used by both church and unofficial secular culture at the time. After the fall of the Soviet regime, the relations between secular and church culture changed. The ideas of "Holy Rus" began to be actively used in ideological texts of the 21st century. This could not help but influence the reception of this concept. A vivid example is the fate of the chant "Holy Rus, preserve the Orthodox faith". The prayer for the salvation of the persecuted Church has become a church and state motto today.

The canonization of the martyrs and confessors of the Soviet period implied the creation of new services. As the realities faced by 20th-century Christians greatly differed from the realities described in classical services to martyrs, the authors of the new services had to find names denoting these new realities. Insofar as the Church Slavonic language does not have any special

means for describing the realities of Soviet Russia, hymnographers had to use traditional words and images. Still, the new context has led to some semantic shifts, as a result of which habitual words and expressions acquired new meanings. These changes are due to the influence of the semantics of modern Russian. Nevertheless, the new texts employ traditional grammar.

OLD BELIEVERS IN MASURIA: LITURGICAL BOOKS AND WORDVIEW

Old Belivers In Masuria

1. History of Research

The study of Old Believers in Poland began in the mid-20th century. Up until the end of World War II, the Masurian territory was part of East Prussia, and so the earliest accounts of the migration of Old Believers to the territory of modern Poland stem from German sources. In their works, Wiktor Jakubowski and Emilia Sukertowa-Biedrawina refer to the studies of Franz Tetzner, Emil Titius, August Ambrassat, Raimund Kaindl, Elisabeth Lemke, Max Toeppen and others [Jakubowski 1961: 102–103; Sukertowa-Biedrawina 1961: 41].

In his book *The Slavs in Germany* (*Die Slawen in Deutschland*, Braunschweig, 1902), which includes a 36-page-long chapter (pp. 212–248) about Old Believers living in Masuria, Franz Tetzner made use, in turn, of information that he got from an eyewitness of the migration of Old Believers to Masuria: Martin Gerß (Marcin Giersz), a teacher from Mikolajka. Following Gerß and others, Tetzner erroneously calls Masurian Old Believers "Philippons", a name that is still found in German-language guides to Masuria. Sukertowa-Biedrawina writes about Tetzner's treatment of Gerß:

> Martin Gerß <…> worked continuously from 1828 to 1835. His research resulted in a vast work consisting of 38 chapters or 450 finely handwritten pages that Gerß gave to the Leipzig professor Dr. Franz Tetzner. No publisher agreed to publish the unabridged manuscript on account of the detailed descriptions, yet Tetzner refused to make cuts. Different sections of the work were published in different journals. <…> Prof. Dr. Franz Tetzner used the materials that he got from Gerß in an article that was published in the journal *Globus* without mentioning Gerß. In 1912, he used once again the results of Gerß' long-term work in a 36-page article, only citing bibliographical sources in the introduction and mentioning that Gerß' manuscript was in his possession [Sukertowa-Biedrawina 1961:41].

Jakubowski writes that Gerß' manuscript disappeared without a trace yet notes that some of its sections were published after the author's death by Franz Tetzner [Jakubowski 1961:87–88].

German scholars were interested in Old Believers as an ethnographic phenomenon, and their works do not contain any information about the life of the Saviour-Trinity Monastery in Wojnowo or its history. They do not mention the name of its abbot, Paul of Prussia, either. Information about this exceptional individual can be found in Russian texts, including the works of Subbotin (1896), Kolosov (1985), Berensky (1899), and Kelsiyev (1923; 1941), which were used by Polish scholars.

The research of Polish scholars in the second half of the 20th century aimed, first and foremost, at the reconstruction of the history of the Wojnowo Monastery and its famous abbot. A separate object of study is the Pisz Typography of the Fedoseevtsy. Jakubowski wrote in 1961 that nuns from the Wojnowo Monastery were spreading rumours about a typography that had purportedly existed in Pisz (Johannisburg) and that these unfounded rumours were reproduced by I. Grek-Pabisowa in her articles [Jakubowski 1961: 98]. Nevertheless, Eugeniusz Iwaniec was subsequently able in 1977 to confirm the existence of the typography and found and published photographs of pages of books and journals printed in Pisz.

2. Migration of Old Believers to Masuria

The history of Old Believers in Masuria is recounted in the greatest detail by E. Iwaniec, who writes that about 380 families (about 1,213 people) came to the Masurian lakes in the Pisz Forest in 1830 from the Kingdom of Poland and the Rezhitsa Uyezd of the Vitebsk Governorship of the Russian Empire. These Old Believers belonged to the Fedoseyan rather than the Philippian creed and therefore were not "Philippons". Although both creeds belonged to the Pomorian community of Old Believer creeds, had common origins and held the same dogmas, the Old Believers that came to Masuria did not call themselves "Philippons." Fedoseyans tried to avoid the official registration of marriages and births as well as army service [Iwaniec 1977: 108], while Russian authorities compelled them to do so. Old Believers migrated to the territory of modern Poland in three waves: 1770, 1815 and 1830 [Grek-Pabisowa 1999: 37].

Prussian authorities had a favourable attitude towards the migrants, primarily for economic reasons [Iwaniec 1977: 108]. In a decree of December 5, 1825, King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia exempted the first generation of "Philippons" from army service on the condition of tilling the soil on which their families settled [Sukertowa-Biedrawina 1961: 46]. The lands sold to the Old Believers were not fertile and were surrounded by dense and impenetrable forests and marshes.

Over 10 small Old Believer villages appeared in Masuria: Onufriewo (1930), Wojnowo (1931), Zamieczec, Galkowo, Mostiski, Swignaino (1832), Paski, Kadzidlowo, Osinak, Petrowo, and Iwanowo (1940). According to the accounts of different scholars, between 790 and 1,277 Old Believers lived in the 10 villages (not counting Iwanowo) in 1830–1942.

In the spring of 1833, a special commission consisting of the treasurer Schulz from Johannisburg, the doctor Schloss, and the rector Schrag inspected the Russian colony. The commission established that the Old Believers that came to the wild forest had made dugouts, covered them with roofs, parceled the territories, sawed down trees, uprooted stumps, tilled fields, and sowed spring crops. Shoots of corn appeared on hundreds of hectares of land, while

the Old Believers began to clear the adjoining plots and, in the process, prepare timber and boards for building houses. They were good builders who constructed comfortable houses. A bathhouse was built next to each house, astounding the members of the commission [Sukertowa-Biedrawina 1961: 40–41; Iwaniec 1977: 114]. The German authorities kept close track of migrants' work, and a lot of documents about this process have been preserved in the archives. On August 27, 1832, an official of the Prussian administration in Gumbinnen reported to the Minister of Finances in Berlin that the individuals that had migrated to Prussia were not a band of fugitives but a close-knit group of people that were deeply religious, organised and hard-working. They were good farmers, fishermen and craftsmen. One particularly noted that the Old Believers were very industrial. The German officials were surprised to learn that Old Believers neither smoked nor drank. In 1833, Pastor Schulz wrote in the journal *Preußische Provinzial-Blätter* that "the diligence and sobriety of the colonists could have a positive impact on local inhabitants", i.e., on German Evangelists and Polish Protestants [Sukertowa-Biedrawina 1961: 40–41; Iwaniec 1977: 114].

Agriculture was the main activity of Old Believers in the Masurian lake region and the Suwalki territory in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The Russian settlers quickly refuted the views of local Germans that Masurian land was unfertile and unattractive. They were also considered to be good carpenters and (with regard to the poorer members of the community) good hired hands. German landowners willingly hired Russians, because the Old Believers were a lot more hard-working, honest, and sober than local inhabitants. Old Believer brigades quickly supplanted local Germans in road-building work, laying roads in East Prussia and the northern part of the Kingdom of Poland. The Russians leased all the gardens and orchards in the area, and the Old Believers soon became the best fruit and vegetable growers in East Prussia. In addition, they were good fishermen, wheelwrights, and merchants. On June 16, 1838, the Prussian crown prince and future king Friedrich Wilhelm IV visited Wojnowo, the centre of the Russian colony. The Old Believers made an excellent impression upon him, and the king subsequently refused to believe any complaints against them. Their jealous German neighbours complained that the Old Believers had fished out all the fish and crayfish in the lakes and rivers and sold them in Poland. One also heard complaints from those who could not make any money on the Old Believers: doctors, druggists, and alcohol and tobacco vendors [Sukertowa-Biedrawina 1961: 52].

The centre of the Old Believer colony was the village of Wojnowo, which had a population of about 400 by the year 1872. The village of Wojnowo ("Eckertsdorf" in German) was founded on December 2, 1831, by the brothers Sidor and Yefim Borisov on the bank of the Krutynia River near Lake Dus. A prayer house was built there in 1840 [Iwaniec 1977: 111].

Nevertheless, everything did not turn out the way the migrants wanted. The Fedoseevtsy, who refused to obey the state and were accustomed to leading a covert life, were not sinless angels, and the German police uncovered cases of banditism among the new inhabitants of Masuria from time to time. In addition, some of the Old Believers engaged in illegal trafficking and sold fake passports to fugitives from Russia, including Poles. These circumstances and the necessity of performing public duties, including paying taxes, led local authorities, upon an order from Königsberg, to conduct a census of the population, to which end the Fedoseevtsy were obliged to take last names such as Zayats ('hare'), Lebed ('swan'), Kusnezh, Slovik ('nightingale' in Polish), etc. During an inspection two years later, it turned out that the inhabitants had forgotten what names they had been given, and the officials had to invent new ones. As a result, inhabitants with surnames Makarowski, Krassowski, Sadowski, Malinka, Dembowski, Shlyakhtsits, Filipkowski, Slowikow, Pogozhelski, Lisowski, Kroll, etc., appeared in Wojnowo and the surrounding villages. Patronymics were soon abandoned, as they were not used. From 1842 on, the police office in Ukta begin to issue passports to all local Old Believers and keep a detailed registry of births and deaths. The compulsory registration and the necessity of getting a residence permit in East Prussia, which was issued exclusively to holders of Russian passports, closed the door to cheap labour that came from Russia illegally. Moreover, the Prussian government introduced mandatory military service for male Old Believers in 1843. These circumstances along with a number of other reasons led to the massive emigration of Old Believers from Masuria. According to Tetzner, only 442 "Philippons" lived in Masuria in 1899, which accounted to only 20% of the population of all the villages that they had founded (Tetzner 1902: 217).

After World War I, the former prisoner-of-war Alexander Avayev (a lieutenant of the guard according to some accounts and a grenadier captain according to others), who had been ordained priest in Optina Monastery, settled in Wojnowo and built an Orthodox church on the donations of Russian emigrants. Its parishioners became former Old Believers that had joined the Edinovertsy. The Orthodox monastery of the Dormition of the Mother of God was founded next to the church. It was the second monastery in the village.

In July 1930, the Russian colony in East Prussia celebrated its 100th anniversary. A festive procession in the village's main street was headed by two German policemen on bicycles. They were followed by a wind ensemble carrying German and Prussian flags and a series of carts bearing proud workmen in working clothes. These workmen represented different professions that were common in the local Russian colony: farmers, fishermen, weavers, road builders, etc. They carried green flags, which symbolised healthy vital forces according to the organisers of the celebration. Extant photographs show acrobatic

pyramids on the carts. A memorial sign was consecrated at the end of festival: a huge boulder next to the road leading to the church with the engraved dates "1830–1930".

All male Old Believers were mobilised during World War II. Many died, and some remained in West Germany after the war. After the arrival of the Soviet Army in East Prussia, the Old Believers suffered another wave of persecutions: not for their loyalty to their religious doctrine this time but for having betrayed their motherland. In January 1945, the inhabitants of Wojnowo, Galkowo, and other villages, mostly women, children, and old people, were arrested and convoyed to Pisz (people had to go 30 kilometres by foot in the bitter cold), from where few of them returned. Among them was the mother of mrs R. D., who lives in Galkowo today, who had four small children at the time. Many Old Believers were deported to Russia, along with the inhabitants of Old Believer villages that found themselves on the territory of the Soviet republics of Lithuania and Latvia after the war. According to Renata Danowska, the arrival of the Polish Army in Masuria, which was ceded to Poland by the terms of the Yalta Treaty, brought salvation to the Old Believers: the starving people were treated with empathy and given food from field kitchens.

Professor Wiktor Jakubowski of Jagellonian University in Cracow studied the culture and everyday life of Masurian Old Believers after the war and noted that the Masurian "Philippons" were reluctant to speak with outsiders and considered them with mistrust, in contrast to Suwalki and Augostow Old Believers [Jakubowski 1961: 101]. Today, the opposite is the case: the Old Believers remaining in Masuria are a lot more open to scholars than their counterparts in Suwalki and Gabowe Grądy. Representatives of the Supreme Council of Old Believers in Poland told us that they would not show us their books (at least, not for the next ten years).

The number of Old Believers living in Wojnowo and its environs is quite small today: there are only 42 people on the elder's list. These are mostly old people. Anna Shlyakhtsits (born 1919) and Anna Krassowskaya (born 1923) died recently. Usually, only 8–10 people assist at Sunday services in the summer, including visitors that are descendants of Masurian Old Believers that emigrated to Germany in the 1970s. In the 1960s, W. Jakubowski asserted that Masurian Old Believers were destined to total assimilation and that the group's existence depended on the awareness of its members of their ties with the Russian people and Russian culture [Jakubowski 1961: 102]. Things look different today, and Jakubowski's words apply more to the diaspora in Suwalki and Augustow. The hybrid (Polish-Russian) nature of the disappearing Russian language of the inhabitants of the villages of Gabowe Grądy and Bur in Augustow County is described in works by S. Grzybowsky, D. Paśko and M. Glushkowsky [see, for example, Grzybowsky/Glushkowsky 2008; Paśko 2007]. Assimilation no longer threatens Wojnowo Old Believers: there will not remain any more Old Believers after the death of the eldest generation in Masuria.

3. History of the Wojnowo Monastery

3.1. The beginnings

The Old Believer families migrating to Masuria were followed by monks, who came in order to accord spiritual guidance to members of the community and provide them with the necessary religious objects, including books.

As a priestless Old Believer creed, the Fedoseevtsy have no church hierarchy. Occasional offices are performed by laypeople that are versed in Scripture and rites: the elders (*nastavniki*) and service masters (*ustavshchiki*), which the faithful address by the title of "Father". Of the seven sacraments, Fedoseevtsy recognise only two: baptism and confession. Elders baptise children and perform funeral services for the defunct, as these offices can be performed by laypeople according to the church statute. However, the same church statute specifies that laypeople cannot conclude marriages. Fedoseevtsy believed that a marriage that was not concluded by a priest was sinful concubinage, which led to their name of "unmarrieds". Naturally, most Old Believers lived in families, yet, insofar as this was "sinful", married people stood in the rear during services as a sign of their "interdiction". The Old Pomorian creed was the largest priestless creed in Russia, and its spiritual centre was located in Moscow on Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery.

Several Old Believer monasteries, both male and female, were established in Masuria. The Wojnowo Monastery was built on the shore of Lake Dus on the site of Grigorichev Skete – a hermitage where the former elder Lavrenty Grigoryevich Rastropin (1762–1851) had lived from 1836 to 1851 [Iwaniec 1977: 121]. The solitary life of the old and almost blind monk led the officials of Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery to hold talks with Prussian authorities about the purchase of the Skete for the construction of a monastery. The directors of the Old Pomorian community wanted to have a place abroad where they could flee if the Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery was disbanded. The Wojnowo Monastery was intended to be such a place [Jakubowski 1961: 97; Iwaniec 2001: 36–37].

Preparatory work began in 1845 in Wojnowo: the site was bought, building materials were brought, and the skete was turned into a small wooden monastery. Finished in 1847, the monastery was called the Saviour-Trinity Monastery [Jakubowski 1961: 97]. At the order of Semyon Kuzmich, Head Abbot of Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery, two monks (Antony and Pyotr Lednev) and the new elder Alexius Mikheyev Kovylin (texts call him Alexius Mikheyev or Mikheich) came to Masuria with books and icons that were needed for the life of the monastery [Iwaniec 1977:123; Iwaniec 2001:37–38; Priest Nikolai A. Kolosov].

Pyotr Lednev was to play an outstanding role in the life of the monastery. He was born in January 1821 in an Old Believer family and was familiar from early on with the views of both priested creeds (to which his maternal grandfather belonged) and priestless creeds (to which his father belonged). He began to live as a hermit at the age of eighteen and joined the Fedoseyan creed.

In the autumn of 1846, Pyotr moved to Moscow in the hope of becoming a monk in the monastery at Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery. In the spring of 1847, he got acquainted with two monks (the brothers Thomas and Gerasimus Mironov), who lived in the village of Klimouts (present-day Romania) and wrote for them the pamphlet *Shield of Faith* (Щит веры) about the illegality of the new spiritual hierarchy that arose in Belaya Krinitsa (present-day Ukraine). The meeting with the Mironov brothers, who were preparing to dispute with priested Old Believers, was Pyotr Lednev's first direct contact with the priested movement.

In 1850, Pyotr Lednev was tonsured and given the name Paul [Jakubowski 1961: 97–98; Iwaniec 2000: 37]. The same year, he visited Wojnowo Monastery for the first time. He did not stay at the Saviour-Trinity Monastery for long: after a falling-out with Alexius Mikheyev, he went to visit the Mironov brothers in Bukovina in Austria-Hungary, and settled in the village of Klimouts, two kilometers away from Belaya Krinitsa, the centre of the Austrian hierarchy. He was followed by Antony, who was also unable to live with Mikheyev, either, and then by Mikheyev himself, who was severely reprimanded by Moscow for his high-handedness. At Mikheyev's request, Paul returned to Wojnowo in February 1852 and became abbot of the monastery and its undisputed master [Iwaniec 1977: 124].

In the space of fifteen years (1852–1867), Father Paul made the monastery flourish. Nevertheless, his main concern was the enlightenment and moral improvement of his disciples and other Old Believers. The children of rich Old Believers from Russia lived and studied at the monastery [Iwaniec 1977: 124–125]. Father Paul bought books, and a rich book collection was gradually amassed by the monastery. It became a library that was used not only by monks but also by laypeople from the village. Old Believers from Poland, Lithuania and other countries visited the monastery. The abbot was also held in esteem by non-Old Believers and was personally introduced to the Prussian crown prince. Father Paul also engaged in missionary activities, sending about 60 of his disciples to Russia, where they served as elders in prayer houses, many of which were built at his initiative [Iwaniec 1977: 125; 2000: 42].

Paul willingly conversed with Old Believers in an effort to inculcate moral principles. Thanks to his exceptional personality, he became an authority for young people in the village. At first, Paul determinedly and cat-

egorically opposed marriage (in keeping with Fedoseyan doctrine) and excluded married men and women from common prayers and meals [Iwaniec 2000: 39–40].

With the financial support of the Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery, Father Paul built a number of cells and the tower of the prayer house. He put a dome with a cross on the tower and an iconostasis in the prayer house. The monastery land was surrounded by a stone wall, and various auxiliary buildings were constructed inside. At the initiative of Paul of Prussia, a women's monastery was built in the village of Pupy, 15 kilometres from Wojnowo; about 20 nuns lived there [Iwaniec 1977: 125].

Paul of Prussia's views on marriage changed with time, and he began to have doubts about the correctness of Fedoseyan doctrine. The Fedoseyan insistence on celibacy was not compatible with the everyday life of lay members of the community that lived in families and had children. Coming to the conclusion that negating the sacrament of marriage meant negating all the other sacraments, Paul of Prussia decided that the True Church has existed, exists and will always exist and that there is a true (though invisible) clergy in it. For this reason, he organised prayers in the monastery for the revival of a true non-Nikonian clergy [Iwaniec 1977: 126].

To promote his new ideas, Paul founded the Slavic Typography in Johannisburg (present-day Pisz) in 1859 using monastic funds. The underground Old Believer typography was established under the front of the existing typography of Antony Aloise Gonserowsky (1821 – *ca.* 1888). Paul of Prussia sent his best disciple Konstantin Golubov as an assistant to the owner of the typography in order to learn printing; Golubov soon became the true director of the typography. He not only worked as a typesetter, printer and corrector but also wrote many of the published works, including polemical articles in the journal *Istina* (*Truth*).

E. Iwaniec has written a monograph [Iwaniec 2000] about the life, publishing activities and evolution of views of Konstantin Golubov, who joined the Edinovertsy together with his mentor.

Paul of Prussia's changing views led to a conflict with the authorities of Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery. In the autumn of 1858, he openly expressed in Moscow his conviction that marriage without a priest was a sacrament. Just before Easter of 1859, he allowed married people to participate in confession and common prayers. After giving the matter a lot of thought in an effort to find the right answer and after speaking with supporters and opponents in Wojnowo and Moscow, Paul came to the conclusion that the only true Church "shining in the Universe" and not condemned by any church council was the Greek-Russian Church. It was the true Church of Christ [Iwaniec 2000: 47].

Expelled from the monastery, Paul handed over all the deeds to monastic land and property to the monks Simon and Bartholomew. Leaving behind

all his possessions and books and taking 60 rubles for the road, he bid farewell to village inhabitants and left Wojnowo forever on January 27, 1867 [Iwaniec 2000: 49].

Paul became Abbot of St Nicholas Monastery in Moscow on Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery, which had been confiscated from the Fedoseevtsy by the government in 1866, and stayed at this post until his death. Paul along with 15 monks from the Wojnowo Monastery officially converted to Edinoverie on February 25, 1868, in St Nicholas Monastery. Dozens of Old Believers in Prussia, Russia and other countries followed his example [Iwaniec 1977: 133–134].

3.3. Wojnowo Monastery after the Departure of Paul of Prussia

Information about life in the monastery after Paul of Prussia's departure is fragmentary. It is known that the monastery lost its former spiritual significance after that time yet began to flourish materially.

As W. Jakubowski relates, discontinuation of support from Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery led to the growing influence of the faction of the Pomorian creed that accepted marriage (New Pomortsy). The monastery was financed by the well-known Pomorian millionaire Vasily Kokorev (1817–1889). A new stone temple was built in the monastery with his donations. This explains why the Wojnowo Monastery is still preserved in our day, while all other wooden monastic buildings in Masuria have burnt down [Jakubowski 1961: 99].

In the late 1870s, the monastery began to experience financial difficulties, fell into decline, and closed in 1884. Monk Macarius, to whom Paul of Prussia had handed over all monastic property, cast off his monastic habit, took all the valuable books and icons, and went to Russia. All of his property was seemingly confiscated by the Russian customs service at the border in the village of Graewo [Jakubowski 1961: 100].

Some scholars believe that Macarius sold the monastic land to nuns from another monastery [Sukertowa-Biedrawina 1961: 63–64], while others assert that all of the property passed into the hands of a creditor, the rich Wojnowo Old Believer Ulyan Slowikow (1847 – *ca.* 1923) [Jakubowski 1961: 100; Iwaniec 1977: 137; Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew 1995: 46].

3.4. Activities of Yelena Dikopolskaya (1863–1943)

Shortly before the last monk left the Wojnowo Monastery, the female monastery in Pupy (Spykhovo) burned down. The nuns temporarily settled in nearby villages in the houses of Old Believers. However, in 1895, the young nun Eupraxia (lay name Yelena Petrovna Dikopolskaya, 1863–1943) came to Masuria

and bought the monastic buildings and lands for 40,000 marks. (Nevertheless, Tetzner writes that the nuns inherited the Wojnowo Monastery [Tetzner 1902: 227].) Nuns from Pupy as well as newly arrived nuns from Russia settled in the monastery [Jakubowski 1961: 100]. This opened a new page in the history of the Wojnowo Monastery, which now became a female convent.

Around 1905, Eupraxia became the abbess of the monastery and held this post until 1928 [Jakubowski 1961: 100–101]. When Franz Tetzner visited the Wojnowo Monastery in 1897, 8 nuns and 25 novices along with old people and cripples lived there.

Freedom of religion was officially promulgated in Russia on April 20, 1905. This meant that any citizen of the Russian Empire could freely convert from one religion to another. All legal restrictions were removed from members of "noxious" religions, including Old Believers. On October 17, 1906, Nicholas ratified the "Rules for Communities" that allowed religious minorities to pursue their activities more or less freely. This had a direct influence on the life of the monastery. Its overall state improved. After freedom of religion was declared in Russia, donations, old icons, and books began to come to the monastery. New novices also arrived, including two daughters of the rich merchant Tikhonkin from Kazan. The merchant's dowry to his daughters included a wonderful silver-plated chandelier (which still hangs in the prayer room) and 4 bells cast in Yaroslavl. In addition, he gave money for the construction of a block of cells in the monastery. Thanks to personal contacts between the abbess and different Old Believer centres that supported foreign communities, not only money but also food and clothing came to Wojnowo [Iwaniec 1982: 237].

Information about the life of the monastery and the number of people living there is found in books by F. Tetzner, W. Jakubowski, E. Iwaniec, and Z. Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew. Iwaniec writes that between 40 and 46 nuns lived in the monastery in 1909 [Iwaniec 1977:140], besides the elders Stepan Laptev (Father Sergius) and Fathers Cyprian and Macarius [Iwaniec 1982: 239]. He also recounts the events of World War I, on the eve of which (in 1914) there were 65 people living in the monastery, including nuns, novices, servants, elders and orphans (14 in all, including 6 from Russia). After the war began, nuns with Russian citizenship were arrested and detained for two weeks in Olstyn. In 1915, they were arrested for the second time and deported to Zint near Königsberg [Iwaniec 1982: 239–240]. The remaining nuns managed to secure their liberation when Hindenburg and the crown prince visited the monastery [Jakubowski 1961: 102].

The political situation was complicated in the 1920s and 1930s. On account of the Revolution and Civil War in Russia, the economic crisis in Europe, and the change of political system in Germany, the flow of donations to the monastery ceased, and its inhabitants had to support themselves. By 1925, only 12 nuns (including 2 local women) and 12 novices, servants, elders

and orphans remained in the monastery. The nuns sold fruit that they grew in the monastery's orchard, yet the fruit trees died during the cold winter of 1928–1929, and the orchard was never revived [Jakubowski 1961: 102]. The nuns also fished and reared cattle (cows and horses). They sold milk as well as cloth that they spun for their own needs.

In June 1935, Melchior Wańkowicz, a well-known Polish writer and journalist, visited the monastery during a voyage in Masuria with his younger daughter Martha. In his travel notes, he wrote about the inhabitants of Wojnowo, the monastery, and its abbess. Wańkowicz wrote that the abbess looked Slavic and that two black braids with red bows were visible beneath her veil. The abbess recalled her defunct mother with whom she had arrived there 30 years previously and mentioned that she came from a merchant family in Chistopol. She said that her mother had bought the land and founded a monastery there. Her mother was a very pious woman who owned a wonderworking weeping icon that was known throughout Chistopol. Although Wańkowicz does not cite the name of his interlocutor in the book, everything points to the fact that he spoke with Eupraxia rather than Antonina. Thus Iwaniec' information (that he got from Jakubowski) that Antonina became abbess in 1928 is apparently incorrect [Jakubowski 1961: 100–101; Iwaniec 1982: 241–245]. The abbess complained that only 9 of the 20 women living in the monastery were able-bodied and that German tourists were greatly disturbing their work. (Guidebooks had given the monastery a star and the mention *berühmt* 'well-known, famous', and so refusing visitors access would have been tantamount to disobeying local authorities.) She also complained about the lack of novices in the monastery and invited Wańkowicz' daughter to stay in the monastery, promising to teach her how to do all the domestic work and said that she would send her back home if she didn't like it in the monastery [Wańkowicz 1988: 78–80].

Although tourists disrupted the quiet monastic life, they were a source of income for the impecunious women living there (as M. Wańkowicz wrote, "they live poorly, mostly eating porridge"). Nevertheless, the decision to collect a fee from people wanting to see nuns working in their cells provoked the indignation of tourists, who submitted an official complaint to the NSDAP in Mrongowo on June 3, 1936 [Sukertowa-Biedrawina 1961:39–40; Iwaniec 1982: 242].

Old Believers from other centres also visited the monastery. Ivan Zavoloko, a well-known scholar of Old Believer culture, came there [http://www.starover-pomorec.eu/starover/docs/zavoloko/]. During his trip, he studied the Masurian lakes, on whose shores and islands Old Believers lived. He wrote down the melodies of old chants and studied the everyday life of the monastery and its book collection. In Wojnowo, Ivan Zavoloko recorded the poems "On the Soul Parting from the Body" ("О разставании души с телом") and "On the Bird" ("О пташке") [Mech dukhovny 2005, № 17: 1]. According to

some sources, Ivan Zavoloko visited Wojnowo in 1936 and 1938. E. Iwaniec, citing Russian sources, dates Zavoloko's first visit to the monastery to 1932 and his second visit to 1936 [Iwaniec 1982: 242]. Zavoloko himself mentioned another set of dates: an inscription on a Torzhestvennik presented to Mother Eupraxia on her name day is dated July 25, 1938, while an inscription on popular prints depicting the bird Sirin and the bird Alkonost is dated January 1939. Thus, Zavoloko may have come to Masuria more than twice.

On January 21, 1937, Dikopolskaya wrote a will, specifying that the property of the monastery, which existed as a private estate, should pass to Antonina Kondratyeva (1890–1972) and Elena Lidia Polents – a cripple that had been abandoned next to the monastery as a baby.

Antonina (lay name Natalya), daughter of Ivan and Fevronia Vlasov, was born on June 10, 1890, in an orthodox family in Kazan. She came to Wojnowo from Alekseyevsk on the Volga after being persuaded by Dikopolskaya. She took the veil at the age of 17 with the name of Antonina, which figures in official documents. Although she did not get a good education, she could read and write and stood out through her beauty and organizational talent. She was active and energetic: she first became warden and then abbess. During World War I, Antonina kept a diary, which was subsequently published by E. Iwaniec [Iwaniec 1982: 235–262].

In the 20th century, the monastery had an insignificant impact on the life of the village community. It remained a bulwark of Fedoseevtsy that preached celibacy, while elders in the village allowed married people to attend common prayers and, already in 1897, the elder Nikifor Borisovich himself was married. Members of the village congregation mostly went to the village prayer house, while virtually only nuns attended the monastery prayer house. In 1939, only 7 nuns and 10 novices remained in the monastery.

The monastery did not suffer during World War II. The Soviet troops that entered Wojnowo on January 27, 1945, did not persecute the nuns and only kept them under surveillance [Iwaniec 1982: 240–243].

After the war, the monastery gradually fell into decline, as no new people entered it. Nevertheless, Polish authorities saw to the needs of the remaining nuns and novices. In 1959, the monastery was electrified. The nuns knew that the monastery would eventually become a museum, and the abbess told W. Jakubowski in a conversation that she would prefer putting the monastery on fire and burning along with it than letting it pass into the hands of non-Old Believers [Iwaniec 1977: 145]. During Mother Antonina's lifetime, 7 nuns lived in the monastery (not counting the abbess herself): Anna Ilyushkina, Anna Medvedova, Martha Shanina, Praskoviya Vavilova, Anna (Anisya) Gurkovska, Afimiya Kuschmierz and Helena Stopka.

Antonina Kondratyeva died on July 24, 1972, and was buried on the monastic cemetery. Before her death, she transferred her functions to Pras-

koviya Vavilova, the last nun from Russia [Iwaniec 1982: 24]. Before her death, Mother Antonina made a will dividing the monastery's property into three parts, which she bequeathed to two old nuns living at the monastery (Fima, a Wojnowo native inhabitant who had been at the monastery since 1929, and Lena, a native of Masuria who had been at the monastery since 1939) and to the Catholic Pole Leon Ludwikowski, who lived in Mikolajki. Ludwikowski had assisted the monastery for many years and promised Mother Antonina to support the two remaining nuns to their very death, which was subsequently done by his widow Galina and their son.

L. Ludwikowski died on May 14, 2002, and all the rights to the monastic property passed to his son Krzysztof, a former Warsaw lawyer who had come to live in Wojnowo and who turned the monastic ensemble into an agritourist estate. Krzysztof himself died in 2010. Today, the official owner of the monastery is Tomasz Ludwikowski, Leon's grandson and Krzysztof's son.

4. Monastery Book Collection

The history of the book collection of the Wojnowo Monastery has not been fully described in scholarly works so far. Today, a team of scholars from the Warmian-Masurian University in Olsztyn is working on the creation of a virtual library of Wojnowo books with the support of a grant from the Polish National Research Centre (Grant № 2011/01/B/HS2/03201).

The Wojnowo books were apparently destined to travel around the world just as their owners. As far as one can tell, the foundations of the book collection were laid by Paul of Prussia. If one posits that most of his books disappeared after having been confiscated by Russian customs agents from the monk Macarius at the Prussian-Russian border, it would appear that all the books (at least, all the early printed books and old manuscripts) came to the prayer house together with the newly arrived nuns. Nevertheless, this is not entirely the case: books published by the Pisz Typography have remained in the monastery since the time of Paul of Prussia (two copies of the *Statute of Christian Life* [*Устав обдержнаго христианскаго жительства*] and a *Menologium* [*Святцы*] are still in the prayer house). Moreover, there remained a large number of unbound copies of different publications, which gradually disappeared, and issues of the newspaper *Istina*, which L. Ludwikowski gave to E. Iwaniec. The unbound books most likely included copies of the anthology *On Marriages* [*О бракахъ*], two of which are at the Pisz Regional Studies Museum today.

Without a doubt, part of the book collection came to the monastery only in the 20th century: the 12 volumes of the pre-Nikonian Service Menaia were most likely brought by Y. Dikopolskaya along with her from Russia. In 1936, she got the Torzhestvennik as a gift from the Riga Circle of Antiquity Lovers. At the same time, part of the collection was given to Ivan Zavoloko,

who came to Wojnowo on several occasions. He gave a lot of the materials from Wojnowo to the Pushkin House in St. Petersburg in the 1960s and 1970s.

In the 1970s, some of the icons and books in the monastic prayer house (including an old manuscript of *Pomorian Answers* [Поморские ответы]) were bought by the Museum of Warmia and Masuria in Olsztyn. Several books got into the Polish National Library in Warsaw. Krzysztof asserted that public officials had forced his father to sell the most valuable books and icons, paying a fraction of their true price, and planned to return the lost valuables to the monastery through a judicial process.

In 1995, Prof. Zoya Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew published in his PhD dissertation a list of manuscripts and printed books in the Wojnowo Monastery [Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew 1994: 182–187]. The list contains 55 books. Nevertheless, a recent inspection of the Wojnowo book collection showed that Jaroszewicz's list differs substantially from the list compiled in 2006 by faculty members of the Chair of Slavic Linguistics of Warmian-Masurian University in Olsztyn. The list (rechecked in 2010) was published in Joanna Orzechowska's book *Wojnowo Synodic* [Orzechowska 2012: 333–340] and contains 73 items. The author notes that the lists differ not only in the number of books but also in their titles: only 33 items are common to both lists [*Ibid.*: 37]. Moreover, there are 11 manuscripts of different dates and with different contents in the Wojnowo prayer house. They include an anthology of apocrypha such as the "Conversation of Three Hierarchs" ("Беседа трех святителей"), the "Word about the Life-Giving Cross" ("Слово о животворящем кресте") attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus, John Damascene's *Logic* (*Логика*), the treatise *On Istinnorechnoye Chant* (*О пении истинноречном*, a primer for learning znamena notation), *Rite of Confession*, an anthology of spiritual poetry, a canon to John the Forerunner, etc.

The following chapters of the present monograph will analyse the content and language of Old Believer books from the Wojnowo Monastery collection.

Theotokia In Pre-Nikonian Menaia And Old Beliver Publications: Problems Of Determining The Protograph

1. Introduction

The study of the language of Old Believer liturgical books and manuscripts is complicated by the fact that the history of the Church Slavonic language of the 19th and 20th centuries is still mostly unstudied. The interest in Church Slavonic that emerged in the 19th and 19th centuries was tied to the appearance of a new research method called comparative historical linguistics. Linguists began to study the oldest extant Old Slavonic texts in order to reconstruct the Proto-Slavic language with the help of a comparative grammatical analysis of Slavic languages. Phonetics and the inflection system were the best studied at that time. In contrast, vocabulary and semantics as well as syntax have begun to be studied only recently. The history of late Church Slavonic was not studied at theological academies, either [Kravetsky/Pletneva 2001]. Authors repeated the assertion that, after the revision of texts during the time of Patriarch Nikon and his successors, the language and text of service books remained constant. B. Uspensky has argued that both the "concept of the 'Church Slavonic language'" and the concept of the "Russian language" have changed meaning in the process of historical evolution [Uspensky 1995: 80].

In his book *History and Structure of Slavic Literary Languages,* N. Tolstoy has written that the study of the history of Slavic literary languages and especially East and South Slavic languages is greatly complicated by our poor knowledge of the old literary Slavic language, i.e., Old Church Slavonic and Church Slavonic [Tolstoy 1988: 34]. S. Kotkov, the founder of Russian linguistic source studies, wrote that advances in language history studies "largely depend on the use of new <…> diverse sources, especially manuscripts" not only of North and Great Russian but also of South Russian origin, as the "manuscript heritage of South and Great Russian origin has been totally forgotten by historians of the Russian language" [Kotkov 1980: 4]. Thus, turning to the linguistic description of the language of Old Believer books, we run up against the problem of sources.

Proposing her own periodization of the history of Russian Cyrillic book printing, I. Pochinskaya, a specialist in Old Believer books, singles out three main periods in addition to a "new line" of development connected with the continuation of Patriarch Joseph's programme of reforming book publishing. She describes the three main periods of development of Cyrillic printing in Russia as follows:

1. The first period from the mid-16th century to 1619 is the time of the emergence of printing. The "last years of the period are marked by the reorganization of the system of managing book publishing that was undertaken by Patriarch Philaret."

2. The second period from 1620 to the end of the 17th century ended with the abolishment of the Patriarchate as a result of the church policy of Peter the Great and the introduction of major changes in the administration and financing of the Moscow Typography.

3. The third period covered the entire 18th century according to Pochinskaya and was marked by the "adaption of official Cyrillic book printing to the conditions of the accelerated transition of society from traditionalism to modernism."

The 18th century also heralded the beginning of Old Believer book printing, which has a periodicization of its own [Pochinskaya 2012: 12]. One should add that the literary language that took shape among Old Believer bookmen, printers, lectors and elders differs from the Russian literary language.

Old Believer printed books and manuscripts have traditionally been analysed with the historical literary method and the entire toolkit of book studies. The latter includes paleography, paper studies, printed book studies and other research tools as well as the study of the structure and content of books. In the present article, we will make use of linguistic research methods.

2. Research Goals and Targets. Research Material

Among the multitude of publications on Slavic hymnography [see, for example, Krivko 2004], there are few works that undertake a systematic analysis of the linguistic features of pre-Nikonian services that have been included in the printed edition of monthly menaia. We are referring to editions of the first half of the 17th century, some of which served as protographs of Old Believer menaia.

The present study attempts to systematize the graphic, grammatical, semantic, and logical principles that were used by Old Believers (including the Fedoseevtsy) in reproducing and/or editing menaia services, canons and other liturgical books in their manuscripts and printed works. Theotokia texts in a number of pre-Nikonian and post-Nikonian editions of service menaia were taken as the research material. These texts were compared with similar texts in Old Believer editions.

A. Voznesensky, comparing different editions of the Psalter, notes that its text constantly changed (during the pre-Nikonian period as well) "because

issues relating to the revision of the text of service books had a particular importance in the tradition of Moscow printing". Just as other service books published by the Moscow Printing Yard, the Psalter underwent revisions; its text

> By the early 1640s, after the appearance of the Festive Menaion (first in 1637–1638 in an expanded version with the name Trephologion and then in 1638 together with the General Menaion), the publication of the full cycle of service books was complete. People were aware of the imminence of this event already in the second half of the 1630s [Voznesensky 2008].

At the same time, one knows that the texts of services were constantly revised not only with regard to form (ways of writing words and word forms, accentuation, inflection, and the expression of the syntactic relations of equality and subordination) but also with regard to its lexical content (including morphology):

> The services that are preserved in our menaia have undergone a double censorship: the old non-written censorship and an organized state censorship from the 18th century on [Spassky 2008: 3].

Changes in the organization of book publishing and its management system show the major place and role that were allotted to it by the government in the state structure [Pochinskaya 2013: 4]. Nevertheless, one can conjecture that the revision of service texts with regard to formal grammar during the pre-Nikonian period was most likely done intuitively, and the only criterion in the vast choice of possible sources was the individual experience of the typesetter and censor (for example, Patriarch Philaret). We should note that the *Grammar* of Meletius Smotrytsky was published in Moscow only in 1648 after the publication of the entire set of "Joseph" Menaia. In all, four complete and four unfinished editions of service menaia were published in the 17th century [Krylov 2008: 131]. Thus 18th-century Old Believer printers theoretically had at their disposal an enormous number of versions of every text included in a given service. However, if we look at things practically and recall the conditions in which Old Believers existed, we see that their choice was most likely limited by what was available at hand and was made either on the basis of the date of publication of the book or in accordance with oral tradition.

The object of study is texts of theotokia that are frequently used in the liturgy and placed, for this reason, at the back of each volume of the monthly menaia. We began by analyzing texts included in the twelve volumes of pre-Nikonian menaia that are located in the prayer house of the former Saviour-Trinity Old Believer Monastery in Wojnowo. We will refer to them below as the "Wojnowo Menaia" or WM for short. 97 full texts are presented in the addenda to each monthly menaion, with the exception of the August and No-

vember volumes that have 82 texts each (without counting a group of texts that were used in various services on different days of the week and were not printed in their entirety but only with an indication of the first few words). The books were used during daily services by nuns at the monastery, as shown by the large number of bookmarks in the form of pieces of cloth, calendar pages, and postcards. In all likelihood, the menaia appeared in Wojnowo after the arrival of Yelena Petrovna Dikopolskaya, the owner of the monastic lands and the abbess of the monastery. Two books were donated by Dikopolskaya's countrywoman, the millionaire Yekaterina Vasilyevna Chelysheva, as shown by an inscription made by the abbess.

The Wojnowo Service Menaia do not make up a single cycle: the books were printed at different times and come from different sets. The following table presents the books arranged in the order of their date of publication. As the table shows, the menaia for May and June come from the cycle of so-called "Philaret" Menaia; most of the menaia (for January, March, December, November, February, August, April and July) are part of the "Joseph" cycle; and two volumes stand apart: one of the four volumes published by Ivan Timofeyev Andronikov in 1609 and the Service Menaion for September by Vasily Burtsov of 1636. Our research makes it possible to identify a chronological pattern in which the revisions were made to the texts in question, as we will describe below. In the text of the article, references to and citations from the Wojnowo Menaia indicate the month (with a Roman numeral) and folio.

Table 4. Volumes of the Wojnowo Menaia in Chronological Order

Service Month	Location of Press (Printer)	Year of Publication (Names of Tsar and Patriarch)
October (X)	Ivan Timofeyev Andronikov	(7118) 1609; Vasily, Hermogenes
May (V)	Moscow, Print Yard	(7135) 1627; Michael, Philaret
June (VI)	Moscow, Print Yard	(7135/6) 1627/8; Michael, Philaret
September (IX)	Vasily Fedorov Burtsov	(7144) 1635; Michael, Joasaphus
January (I)	Moscow, Print Yard	(7152) 1644; Michael, Joseph
March (III)	Moscow, Print Yard	(7153) 1645; Michael, Joseph
December (XII)	Moscow, Print Yard	(7153) 1645; Michael, Joseph
November (XI)	Moscow, Print Yard	(7154) 1646; Alexis, Joseph
February (II)	Moscow, Print Yard	(7154) 1646; Alexis, Joseph
August (VIII)	Moscow, Print Yard	(7154) 1646; Alexis, Joseph
April (IV)	Moscow, Print Yard	(7153/54) 1646; Alexis, Joseph
July (VII)	Moscow, Print Yard	(7154) 1646; Alexis, Joseph

The texts of theotokia from these books were compared with texts in different selected service menaia published after the reform: for example, the 1666 September Menaion ([Krylov 2008: 132] describes it as an intermediary work between Old Believer and New Believer books) and the so-called "Brown" Menaia. Moreover, the content and order of the texts was compared with the electronic texts of menaia posted on the Russian National Library website. The comparison with texts of theotokia published in 19th-century Sinodal editions is explained by the fact that "Polish" Old Believers widely used available publications of the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century. Thus the theotokia texts could also stem from post-reform editions [Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew 1995; Iwaniec 2001; Orzechowska 2012].

3. Composition of Texts

The theotokia placed at the end of each menaion book are divided into several collections (types or groups) in accordance with the day of the week when they are sung and the type of service to which they belong. In the Joseph Menaia (1645–1646), four different collections of theotokia are printed separately and arranged in the following order:

1. Бⷢ҇оро́дичны воскрⷭ҇ны, на҃ои́смь гла́со́вх. и́хже глⷢ҇емх потропарⷺ҇хх, сла́ва, и҆нн҃ѣ пра́здн҄емыми стⷺ҇ы́ми
'*Resurrectional theotokia in eight tones that we sing after troparia, "Glory…", "Both now…" to the saints of the day*'

2. Бⷢ҇оро́дичны, и҆ крⷭ҇тобⷢ҇оро́дичны, на и҃ гла́со́вх, и́хже глⷢ҇емх потропарⷺ҇хх стⷺ҇ы́хх, сла́ва, и҆нн҃ѣ
'*Theotokia and stavrotheotokia in eight tones that we sing after troparia to saints, "Glory…", "Both now…"*'

3. Бⷢ҇оро́дичны воскрⷭ҇ны, на и҃ гла́со́вх, пое́мыа ве́черх, на гⷣ҇и возва́хх. и на стихⷲ҇о́внахх. и́же ѿ ал҃давит҃х
'*Resurrectional theotokia in eight tones sung at Vespers at "Lord, I have cried" and at stichi in alphabetical order*'

4. Бⷢ҇оро́дичны ѻ҃сми гла́со́вх, поемх и́хх, егда е́сть сла́ва стⷫ҇ом҄ вⷨ҇минѣ́и, и҆нн҃ѣ по гла́с҄ сна́ бⷢ҇оро́дичны поемх
'*Theotokia in eight tones that we sing when there is a doxastikon to the saint in the menaion; they are sung after "Both now…" in the same tone*'

This order is not respected in all Wojnowo Menaia. In the October and November Menaia (Zernova I, 179), the collections are arranged in order 4–1-2. These books lack the theotokia of the 3rd group (Resurrectional theotokia in eight tones sung at Vespers at "Lord, I have cried" and at stichi in alphabetical order). However, these differences are the subject of liturgical rather than philological study. Archpriest Krylov cites in his monograph the names of cor-

rectors working on service texts (using Mansvetov's data and his own studies of archival materials) and notes that, in contrast to "Philaret" revisions, the Joseph Menaia cycle was not studied by 19th-century scholars, while recent studies examine only a few isolated issues. We should also note in this regard that the theotokia texts in the November Menaion are closer, from the formal linguistic standpoint, to the Nevezha texts than to texts found in other books of the same "Joseph" cycle and, from the lexical standpoint, to texts published in post-reform menaia.

In post-reform menaia, the theotokia collections are arranged in a different order that differs both from the most common order T1-T2-T3-T4 and from the order T4-T1-T2 found in some books. The addendum to monthly menaia in contemporary editions opens with a collection of Resurrectional theotokia "in the eight tones of the whole year" that correspond to the theotokia of the 3rd type (T3). In this collection, the texts of two theotokia (in tone 3 at "Lord, I have cried" and in tone 7 at the stichi) are replaced by newer and longer hymns. They are followed by theotokia of the 4th type (sung when there is a doxastikon to a saint in the menaion), after which come the "Resurrectional dismissal theotokia in eight tones" that correspond to theotokia of the 1st type in pre-reform menaia. The last (fourth) group of theotokia in post-reform editions of service menaia are the "Dismissal theotokia after troparia to saints sung all year round at Vespers, at "God is the Lord…", at Matins and once again at the end of Matins" (M 2002, X, 909). In this group of theotokia, only 10 out of 60 or more texts (theotokia and stavrotheotokia) were published as addenda to pre-reform menaia (T2). The make-up of texts in this group is the same in the September menaia of 1666, 1893 and 2002. This means that the most frequently used theotokia texts were reviewed during the reform; some of them began to be used less often and others stopped being employed altogether.

4. Comparative Analysis of the Linguistic Characteristics of Texts

4.1. Graphics and Orthography (General Remarks)

An in-depth comparative paleographic description of pre-Nikonian and post-Nikonian liturgical books would require a separate study. Here we will make only the most general remarks that can be used for comparing Old Believer editions which, as one knows, differ first and foremost in the typesetting method and the appearance of fonts. The theotokia texts differ from the standpoint of orthography not only in different cycles but also in editions of one and the same cycle. Moreover, for one and the same edition, addenda with theotokia were sometimes published separately and sometimes together with the text of

the entire book (the foliation could be separate or continuous). Nevertheless, it is visually clear that they were typeset for each book anew.

The variants of writing vowels traditionally include the following: printers chose between у and ѹ, о and ѡ, и and ı, and also write и or ы, у or ю after ш, ж, ч. The accentuation is unified on the whole, although diacritics sometimes vary: for example, the shift of the acute accent in the short form of the pronoun with a preposition [на́ны (V, VI, IX)/ наны́ (I, III, XII, II, VIII, VII)], which follows a chronological pattern [cf. Uspensky 2002: 440]. (The letter й is used systematically in the oldest menaion of 1609 by Ivan Timofeyev Andronikov, sporadically in the Philaret Menaia, and not at all in the Joseph Menaia. Thus the choice between и and й in adjective endings is not a reliable criterion for dating the protograph to before or after the reforms [for a different view, see Uspensky 2002: 442].

The phonetic spelling of prepositions and prefixes with з/с (из̾тебе/ ис̾тебе, ис̾ходитъ/из̾ходитъ) is more common in the older menaia, while the etymological spelling of prefixes tends to be used (moreover, with separately written prepositions) in post-reform publications and in 19th-century Old Believer texts. Sandhis at morphemic boundaries are also present in older texts (e.g., the October Menaion of 1609). Both a single and a double н are used in early printed menaia in such words as во́йстину/во́йстинну (вопіемъ) (only the double н is used in post-reform texts).

The spelling of words with titla also differs. In later editions, such spelling is used only for special words [Uspensky 2002: 314]. This rule is true of both "New Believer" and Old Believer texts.

4.1.1. Differences in Spelling Stemming from Historical Trends

The texts of pre-reform menaia contain different versions of reflexes of the Proto-Slavic consonant clusters *jь, and *dj and the vocalization of the imperative suffix *ĕ.

Different reflexes*jь occur in the root of the verb *иметь* (*jьmati):

(1) (арха́гг҃ла гаврı́ила гла́сх) воспрїе́мши (рцемх) (WM, IV 239) / (арха́гг҃ла гаврı́ила гла́сх) воспрїи́мши (рцемх) (WM, X 64)

(2) (арха́гг҃лское сло́во) прїи́мши (WM, X 309; XI 522) / (арха́гг҃лское сло́во) прїе́мши (in other Wojnowo Menaia texts). However: прїе́млетх

Such fluctuations in the realization of ь in the position under the accent are also found in early Old Church Slavonic texts [Tseytlin/Vecherka/Blagova 1999: 516–517]. The form прием- is used for the past participle in the Zog-

raphensis, Marianus and Assemanius Codices and certain other texts, while the form п#имхшиѧ is used in Sava's Book [*Ibid.*: 517]. The form прїи́мши is found in the 1666 September Menaion, while the participle form is replaced by the perfect прїѧ́ла є̀сѝ in the "Brown" Menaia.

It is well known that Old Believers, in contrast to "Nikonians", prefer the form *рожество* to the form with the South Slavic *жд*. Nevertheless, it is impossible to determine which form predominated in pre-Nikonian menaia, as this word, as a liturgical term, was mostly written with a titlo. At the same time, one can say for sure that fluctuations between the East Slavic and South Slavic vocalization were possible in the realization of Proto-Slavic reflexes of consonant clusters with **j*, at least before the reform:

(3) Всеми́рнꙋю сла́вꙋ человѣ́ком прозѧ́бшꙋю , ѝ вла́кꙋ ро́ждьшꙋю, нбⷭ҇нꙋю две́рь воспоѐм мр҇і́ю дв҃цꙋ. <…> та́ко ꙗ̀ви́сѧ нб҃о ѝ ц҃рквн бж҃е́твенаѧ. та̀ прегражде́нїе вражды̀ разрꙋши́вши, смире́нїе введѐ, ѝ ц҃ртво ̑вѐрзе. то́ѧ оу̀́бо ѝмоу́ще вѣ́рное оу̑тверже́нїе, покори́ника ѝмамы, ѝзне́ѧ ро́ждьшагосѧ гдⷭ҇а <…> (T3 tone 1, WM, XII, 473).

For determining the origin of the text, one can also use the form of the first person plural of the imperative mood of the verb воспѣти, cf. the pre-reform воспоѐмъ and the post-reform воспои́мъ.

4.1.2. Homonyms ми́рх1 and ми́рх2

An orthographic feature of Old Believer publications is the semantically non-differentiated spelling of the homonyms ми́рх 1 'world, universe, cosmos' and ми́рх 2 'peace, quiet, lack of war' [cf. Uspensky 2002: 330]. The authors of the first Slavic grammars do not use orthographic distinctions for differentiating between the meanings; Zizany and Smotritsky recommend writing и instead of і before consonants. [Kuzminova 2000: 112, 524]. Compare

(1) А҆́зъ є̀смь всемоу̀ ми́роу свѣ́тх; Жи́знь є̀смь всемоу̀ ми́роу (Ivan Fyodorov, *Primer*, 1574; cited in Yaskevich 1996: 96);

(2) Бꙋ́детъ тогда̀ ско́рбь вели́ѧ ꙗ̀ко́важе нѣ́сть была̀ ̑оннача́ла ми́ра досе́лѣ (Meletius Smotrytsky; cited in Kuzminova 2000: 442).

In his interpretation of the Lord's Prayer, Laurentius Zizany identifies another meaning of the lexeme *мир* (мі́рх!) that is based on the opposition of the spiritual and the corporal. Commenting the verse "*И не введи нас во искушение, но избави нас от лукавого*", Zizany writes,

(3) Про́тоⷤ ты́ми слова́ми ѝзба́ви на̀ ̑олꙋка́вого. Неꙁго́ла ̑ото́е про́симо, а̀быхмо во́лни бы́ли ̑онпекꙋше́нїй ꙗ́ле а̀бы̀ нам бꙋ́дꙋчимх вни́х бг҃х помага́л. а̀ ̑ошмата́на ѝ тѣ́ла ѝ ми́ра на̀ корони́лх. Ты́н бовⷡѣм сꙋ́т во́рогове на́шⷱ. плот, мі́рх, ѝ дїа́волх (cited in Kuzminova 2000: 112).

He employs the word свѣтъ to denote ‚world, universe, cosmos': а́кы ꙁ̑ повсе́мъ свѣ́тѣ во́ла є̑гѡ̀ ст҃а́а выполнꙗ́ласѧ; пан́ства тогосвѣ́тнїи; нестал́ое бо_ га́тство мѧ́зе́ного свѣ́та тогѡ̀, etc.

In post-reform texts, the word мі́рх begins to be spelled with і́ when it means 'world, universe, cosmos'. Cf., in the ode tone 5, the irmos мі́рх мі́рови подꙗ́ждь (IX, 13v.) — мі́рх мі́рови подꙗ́ждь (M 1666, 4v.). The difference in the spelling of the homonyms is set down in N. Grech's *Practical Russian Grammar* [Grech 1827: 524] and A. Vostokov's *Russian Grammar* [Vostokov 1831: 333]. It is also mentioned in V. Dal's dictionary [Dal 1955/2: 328, 330–331] but not in the dictionary of I. Sreznevsky [Sreznevsky 1902, II: 146–154]. The *Dictionary of the Russian Language of the 18th Century* gives different spellings of the word with an indication of their frequency (and with the remark "18th-century orthographic norm"): "мір, rarely мир" for *мир 1* and "мир, more rarely мір" for *мир 2*. M. Lomonosov gives no indications as to the spelling of these homonyms (cf. Section 123 of his *Russian Grammar* [Lomonosov 1952: 434]). Taking into account the above excerpt from the 1666 September Menaion that orthographically reflects the difference in the meanings of the homonyms, it becomes clear that the orthographic norm in question already appeared in the mid-17th century. Thus phrase мі́рх мі́рови подꙗ́ждь in the irmos of ode 5 in the *Bol'shoy kanonnik* does not correspond to Old Believer orthographic canons.

4.2. Inflection

The various texts have different variants of grammatical forms. The lexical makeup of theotokia determines their part-of-speech makeup. The texts mostly contain nouns and pronouns. We will examine the variants of grammatical forms that can be used for determining the origin of the text from which the material was reprinted.

4.2.1. Inflection of nouns

The choice of a given variant of a noun case cannot serve as a reliable criterion for the text's origin in our view. Nevertheless, a certain chronological pattern can be seen in changes in some endings: for example, the form of the genitive case of the noun with a consonant stem сѣ́мѧ looked the same in older editions as in modern Russian: безсѣ́мени (WM X, 63) and was revised in the Joseph Menaia in keeping with the South Slavic norm: безсѣ́мене (the same is true of the forms of the nouns плам́ѧ and мат́ь). The second form is employed in contemporary Church Slavonic as well. There are also fluctuations in the form of the locative case of the noun чꙋ́до/чюдо, although

no chronological pattern has been found in the variants: о чюдесѝ (WM V, VI, IX, I, XII, VIII) / о чюдесѐ (WM III, II, IV, VII; M 1666; M 1893).

Early printed menaia contain variants of the use of the nominative and vocative cases for addressing someone: Ра́дꙋйсѧ сѣ́нь; ра́дость, две́рь, правосла́вным похвала̀ (WM X, 309) (vocative/nominative) — Ра́дꙋйсѧ сѣне; ра́досте, двере, правосла́вным похвало́. In the October Menaion, in contrast to later editions, the forms of the vocative case are used irregularly. For example, the theotokion tone 4 with eleven chairetismoi that is sung on Sunday at Vespers contains both forms in the vocative case (masculine and feminine nouns with *ŏ and *ā-stem declensions) and in the nominative case (feminine nouns with the *ĭ-stem declension): Ра́дꙋйсѧ свѣ́та ѻ҆́блаче ...; ра́дꙋйсѧ ρ̀ꙋ́чко вне́йже ма́нна ...; ра́дꙋйсѧ горо̀ ст҃а̀ ...; ра́дꙋйсѧ две́рь та́йнаѧ. ра́дꙋйсѧ всѣ́мъ ρ̀а́дость (WM, X, 61v.). In pre-Nikonian texts, we find forms of the accusative plural after verbs, similar to what we know from dialectal materials: моли̇ спасти́сѧ дш҃а́/ѧ на́ша/ѧ; in post-Nikonian texts: дꙋша́мъ на́шимъ. At the same time, the form of the genitive plural with the ending овъ is not found: ρ̀абꙋ́въ. In post-Nikonian texts, there is a difference between genitive and accusative forms: моли́твы ρ̀а́бъ твои́хъ — моле́нїѧ твои́хъ ρ̀абꙋ́въ (cf. also M 1893, 6). However: на тво́ѧ рабы̑ оу҆ми́лосе́рдисѧ (M 1893, 1). At the same time, this ending is not appended to multi-syllable nouns, which are used without an ending both in pre-Nikonian and in post-reform texts [cf. Uspensky 2002: 450–451]. The frequency of occurrence of the noun мир in the inflection of the *ŭ-stem declension (мирꙋ́ / ми́рови) requires further study. The use of a given form of this noun is connected with the tradition of performance of the theotokion: for example, in the theotokion of the 1st tone sung on Monday at Vespers (T4), the dative form мирꙋ́ is used: ми́ρъ и̇спроси́ти всемꙋ́ мирꙋ́. In the text of the same theotokion printed in the 1666 September Menaion and in the 1893 "Brown" Menaion for September, we find: ми́ρъ и̇спроси́ти ми́рови with the omission of всемꙋ́ and the addition и̇ ве́лїю ми́лость. At the same time, in the theotokion of the 6th tone sung at Wednesday Vespers, the same dative form of the *ŏ-declension is used both in pre-Nikonian and post-Nikonian texts: е҆гда̀ сꙋ́дит сн҃ъ тво́й мирꙋ́ (WM X, 63v.; M 1893, 12). See also 4.3.1.

In addition to the aforementioned variants in case forms, one also finds fluctuations in the use of singular and plural forms: Тебѣ́ зове́мъ со а̑́ггеломъ бг҃онев҄ѣ́сто (WM X, 309v.; III, 303v.; I, 600v.; XII, 480v.; XI, 522v.; II, 327v.; IV, 238v.) — Тебѣ́ зове́мъ со а̑́ггелы бг҃онев҄ѣ́сто (WM III, 460v.; VI, 352v.; IX, 490v.; VII, 394v.) (T4 tone 7 at Sunday Vespers).

4.2.2. Inflection of Adjectives

It is fairly difficult to identify systematic differences between the use of adjective forms in pre-reform and post-reform texts, although short forms may have occurred more frequently in pre-reform and long forms in post-reform texts: твéрдш и̂ и̂зв҃ѣстнш о̂сновáнїе и̂мамы (WM IV, 233; etc.) / твéрдое и̂ и̂зв҃ѣстное оу̂твержéнїе и̂мамы (M 1666, 467) / твéрдое и̂ и̂зв҃ѣстное оу̂твержⷣéнїе и̂мамы (M 1893, 3). This also applies to short and long participle forms: for example, чистотóю запечатлѣ́нна (WM III, 294) / чистотѣ́ запечатлѣ́нней (M 1666, 470) / чистотѣ́ запечáтанной (M 1983, 15). About the different use of collocations of the type "adjective + noun" or adnouns in possessive clauses with government, see 3.3.2.3 and 3.3.4.1 below.

4.2.3. Pronoun Forms

Pre-reform texts are marked by the more frequent use of short forms of personal pronouns. Characteristic of South Slavic languages, short forms of personal pronouns with a possessive function are gradually replaced by possessive pronouns after the reform:

1. T4 tone 6 sung at Wednesday Vespers

(1) не прѣ́зри мáлое мѝ воздыхáнїе (WM; M 1966)

(2) не прѣ́зри мáлагш моегш̀ воздыхáнїа

2. T4 tone 7 sung at Monday Vespers:

(3) мт҃рьнею си мл҃твою не ѡ̂скꙋдѣ́й моляⷭ́ма преч҃тла (WM, XI, 522v.)

(4) мт҃рьнею твоéю мл҃твою не ѡ̂скꙋдѣ́й молѝтися преч҃тла (M 1666; M 1893).

The gradual specialization of demonstrative pronouns to match the communicational situation led the replacement of forms of the pronoun *том* by forms of the pronoun *сей*: таⷤ сїѧ́ прегражⷣéнїе враждьі̀ разрꙋшѝвши; тáкоⷤ сїѧ́ во га҃вися нб҃о; тоⷣ сїю̀ оу̂бо и̂мꙋ́ще вѣ́ры оу̂твержⷣéнїе (IV, 231v.; M 1666, 467; M 1893, 1).

The October Menaion of Ivan Timofeyev Andronikov employs a construction with the 1st person personal pronoun in the dative case with a possessive function, while a possessive pronoun is used in other Wojnowo Menaia:

(5) тьі́ко е̂сѝ спасéнїе намх (X 306);

(6) тьі̀ во е̂сѝ сп҃сéнїе нáше (IV 235v., etc.).

The word order is different in the 1666 September Menaion and the "Brown" Menaia:

(7) ты́ во є̂сѝ на́ше спасе́нїе (M 1666, 461; M 1893, 7).

The phenomenon of the replacement of the forms of the 3rd person possessive pronoun *свой* by the forms of the 2nd person pronoun *твой* requires a separate study. This substitution had a functional purpose: thanks to it, the communicational nature of the text changed, and the narrative turned into a dialogue. The use of the 2nd person pronoun instead of the corresponding reflexive pronoun creates a "speech situation in which the speaker and the addressee are well-defined individuals that are connected by the unity of time and place" [Knyazev 2008: 365]. Such replacement of pronouns already began during the Nikonian reform, though in a sporadic manner, as the text of the 1666 September Menaion shows.

Cf. the following excerpts from the service to Simeon the Stylite:

(8) сохраня́м свою̀ цр̃квь вессилне (WM, X, 10v.)

(9) сохраня́м твою̀ цр̃квь вессилне (M 1666, 3v.);

(10) ю̃же паче чл̃ка бл̃годать воєвою̀ оу҆тро́бꙋ прїе́мшꙋю (WM, X, 11v.)

(11) и̃же паче чл̃ка бл̃гть воєвою̀ ꙋ́тро́бꙋ прїе́мшꙋю (M 1666, 5v.)

(12) паче человѣ́ка благодать во твою̀ оу҆тро́бꙋ прїе́мшꙋю (M 1893, 17).

At the same time, besides general language development trends, another reason for the replacement of the forms of the possessive reflexive pronoun *свой* lies in the Greek originals of theotokia and in the corresponding texts of the West Russian tradition [cf. also Uspensky 2002: 459–461]. Cf. the translation of the following excerpt from the Book of Leviticus (Lev. 26: 3–4):

(13) да́мъ ва́мъ до́ждь во̀ вре́мѧ своѐ (M 1666, 1v.);

(14) и да́мъ ва́мъ до́ждь во вре́мѧ єгѡ̀ (M 1893, 17).

In the latter example, it is clearly not a case of relations between speaker and addressee: the 3rd person pronoun plays the role of the possessive pronoun, similar to the way in which the category of reflexivity is expressed in certain Western European languages (e.g., Germanic languages).

4.2.4. Verb Forms

The main changes in verb inflection concern verb tenses. One finds the aorist replaced by the perfect and vice-versa: сподо́бися > сподо́бился є̏си; и҆зба́вилꙗ є̏сть (WM, III, 294) > и҆зба́ви на́сх (M 1666, 470; M 1893, 15). The present tense of verbs could be replaced by the aorist in pre-reform editions, too: во́ чрево вмести́ся (WM XI, 500) / во́чрево вмеща́ется (other WMs).

Pre-reform and post-reform texts write reflexive verbs differently. The same text in editions of different periods can contain different reflexive and non-reflexive verb forms: молю̀ <...> ѡ̏кормѝ и҆ спасѝ мѧ (WM) — молю̀сѧ (M 1666, 468v.; M 1893, 10); моли́мх — моли́мсѧ.

One should note the gradual disappearance of the mobility of the reflexive particle сѧ: сра́дꙋйтемнсѧ (WM) > сра́дꙋйтесѧ мнѣ̀ (M 1666, 470). Cf. also the following excerpts from the theotokion from services to saints tone 3 that is sung at Sunday Vespers:

(1) Бц҃е помо́щнице всѣ́мх молѧ́щимѧ́тисѧ, натебе́сѧ надѣ́емх, и҆тобо́юсѧ хва́лимх (in the Wojnowo Menaia except for the November Menaion);

(2) Бц҃е помо́щнице всѣ́мх молѧ́щимх ти сѧ, тобо́ю дерза́ем, и҆᾿тобо́ю хва́ли᷍мсѧ (in the November Menaion f. 519v.);

(3) Влⷣце предста́телннце всѣ́мх молѧ́щымᷤтисѧ, тобо́ю дерза́емх, и҆ тобо́ю хва́лимсѧ (in the 1666 Menaia f. 467v.);

(4) Бц҃е предста́тельннце всѣ́хх молѧ́щихсѧ тебѣ̀, тобо́ю дерза́емх, и҆ тобо́ю хва́лимсѧ (in the "Brown" Menaia p. 9).

4.3. Morphological Variants

A comparison of texts with different dates of publication has shown the existence of a large number of morphological variants: suffixal variants for nouns and prefixal variants for verbs.

4.3.1. Morphology of Nouns

A clear novelty was the suffixal form of the word *дарование*, formed from the noun *дар*. The collocation прїе́млетх дарова́нїе appears in the November Menaion (one of the latest Joseph Menaia), while the other volumes in the cycle retain прїе́млетх да́рх (T4, Monday Vespers, 6th tone). This variant is used in the 1666 Menaia and becomes commonly accepted, figuring in the 1893 Menaia. The same lexeme in the plural appears in the "Brown" Menaia in the following theotokion of the same tone that is sung at Tuesday Matins: вели́кихх

дарова́нїй, чⷮⷮла дⷡⷡо бⷢⷢома́ти, ты̀ сподо́биласѧ є҆сѝ <…>. Here it reflects the contemporary government of the verb *сподобиться* + genitive noun. In pre-reform menaia, as well as in the 1666 Menaion (f. 469), the verb сподобиться is followed by the noun in the dative: сподо́биласѧ вели́кимъ да́ромъ.

The prefixal variants can be seen in comparing the stavrotheotokion of the 6th tone that is sung in post-reform menaia at Tuesday Vespers and on Wednesday at *Бг҃ъ Гдⷭ҇ь*:

(1) и҆ мíра ѿ ле́сти свобо́ждьшаго х҃а бг҃а на́шего;

(2) и мíрⷯ ѿпре́лести свобо́ждьшаго х҃а бг҃а на́шего.

One should also note the form of the noun *мир*, which is employed in these pre-reform texts in the genitive case.

(3) и҆зба́вилъ е҆́сть на́съ и҆зъ и҆стлⷭⷭ҇нïѧ (WM III, 294);

(4) и҆зба́ви на́съ ѿ тлѝ (M 1666; M 1893).

The ”Brown” Menaia retain the adverb безсⷭ҇менно, which apparently appeared for the first time in the 1666 Menaia and replaced the more concrete noun безсⷭ҇мене in the dogmatic formula рождьши бг҃а безсⷭ҇мене:

(5) Є҆ди́на чи́стаѧ и҆ непоро́чнаѧ дⷡⷡо, рождьши бг҃а безсⷭ҇мене, молѝ ѡ҆ дш҃а́хъ на́шихъ (in the Wojnowo Menaia);

(6) Є҆ди́на чтⷭⷭ҇аѧ и҆ пречтⷭ҇аѧ дⷡⷡо, ꙗ҆́же бг҃а безсⷭ҇менно ро́ждшаѧ, молѝ спасти́сѧ дш҃амъ на́шимъ (in the 1666 Menaia);

(7) Є҆ди́на чтⷭ҇аѧ и҆ пречтⷭ҇аѧ дⷡⷡо, ꙗ҆́же бг҃а безсⷭ҇менно ро́ждшаѧ, молѝ спасти́сѧ дꙋша́мъ на́шымъ (in the ”Brown” Menaia).

4.3.2. Morphology of Adjectives

The texts of theotokia also differ in the use of relative (possessive relative) pronouns and the corresponding nouns. The texts of pre-Nikonian menaia are marked by a particular semantic syncretism of adjectives. In post-reform texts, the syncretic adjective is replaced by a syntactic structure: гро́бнымъ — сꙋ́щимъ во гробⷷ҇хъ, земны́мъ — сꙋ́щимъ на землѝ (T1, tone 4).

Let us cite a few more examples:

(1) пріе́млетъ дарова́нїе къ поле́зномꙋ проше́нїю (WM, X, 522) — пріе́млетъ да́ръ напо́лзꙋ (по́льзꙋ) проше́нїа (other WM)

(2) сн҃ъ тво́й и҆ бг҃ъ на́шъ кр҃тнꙋю пріе́мъ стр҃ть / Кр҃то́мъ воспрїи́мъ стр҃ть (М҃)

A feature that can be used as a criterion for differentiating between pre-Nikonian and post-Nikonian editions is the frequency of occurrence of possessive adjectives [cf. Uspensky 2002: 451]. When comparing texts, one should pay attention to the use of constructions with a possessive genitive noun and constructions with the corresponding possessive adjective: ра́дꙋнса сподо́бльшаꙗсѧ бы́ти мт҃и х҃рта бг҃а (all WM) / бы́ти мт҃и бж҃іа (M 1666, 473; M 1893, 27). One finds other types of variants – for example, prefixes: препѣ́тꙗ > воспѣ́тꙗ; проти́вныхъ > сопроти́вныхъ < совѣ́ты разори́>. The first stems from the Nevezha Menaia (X, 60v.), while the latter is found in all the other pre-reform menaias considered in the present monograph as well as in the 1666 Menaia (f. 461) and the "Brown" Menaia (p. 7).

4.3.3. Morphology of Verbs and Participles

The appearance of morphological variants of verbs is primarily connected with the creation of morphological variants: пріе́мъ стр҃ть / воспрїи́мъ стр҃ть (M 1666); ѿрасти́ тебе́ плода́ живо́тнаго (WM; M 1666, 468) / и҆зрасти́ (M 1893, 7), изги́бшаꙗ дра́хма (WM; M 1666, 470) / поги́бшаѧ дра́хма (M 1893, 16); доне́си – принеси́; провеща́вшꙋ (WM) – веща́вшꙋ (M 1983, 15). Participle forms also differ in suffixes: запечатлѣ́нна / запеча́танной / запеча́тствꙋванна.

4.4. Synonymity of Syntactic Constructions

Comparisons of texts of pre-reform and post-reform services show differences in their syntactic structures at the level both of collocations and of complex sentences.

4.4.1. Syntax of Collocations

Speaking about the structure of collocations, one should keep in mind well-known differences in verb government. The systematic replacement of nouns and pronouns in the dative case in substantive and verbal collocations with a possessive meaning in pre-reform editions by forms in the genitive case in post-Nikonian texts is well known [Uspensky 2002: 452–458]. For the purposes of comparison, we cite the text of a theotokion (T4) that is sung on Wednesday afternoon:

(1) Ра́дꙋйса, ра́дость пра́д҃кдшꙋм, а҆́плюмх и҆ мꙋ́ченникюмх весе́лїе, и҆ покро́вх на́мх, д҃бо, твои́мх ракю́мх (Wojnowo Menaia IV, 234);

(2) Ра́дꙋйса, ра́дость пра́д҃кдшꙋм, а҆́плюмх, и҆ мч҃нкюмх весе́лїе, и҆ покро́вх на́мх, д҃бо, твои́мх ракю́мх (1666 September Menaion);

(3) Ра́дꙋйса, ра́дость пра́д҃кдшвх, а҆́плювх, и҆ мꙋ́ченнкювх весе́лїе, и҆ покро́вх на́сх, д҃бо, твои́хх ракю́вх (1893 September Menaion).

One should study separately the problem of contextual synonymity that comes to the fore during comparisons of texts from different time periods and that can derive both from the use of different earlier sources and from new translations. The latter apparently occurred when correctors did not limit themselves to choosing synonyms but introduced absolutely new meanings:

(4) Спаси́ны ѿ напа́стей ненмꙋ́щихх по́мощи҆ (WM, X, 60v.) / Спаси́ на́сх ѿ бѣ́дх помо́щнице не доꙋмѣ́емыⷨ (WM, XI, 519v.; BM, IV, 235v.; BM, IX, 411v.; M 1666, 468; M 1893, 7).

Cf. also:

(5) Ра́дꙋйса ꙗ҆ди́на спасенї҆е дш҃х на́шнхх (WM IV, 236v.) / ра́дꙋйса ꙗ҆ди́на ѡспасе́нїи дш҃ь на́шнхх (WM, X, 306)

(6) сохрани́ ма по́дкровомх свои҆мх (WM, IV, 236) – сохранни́ꙗ во свое́мжен кро́вѣ (WM, X, 61)

(7) оꙋпова́нї҆е мое на та возлага́ю (WM, IV, 236) — оꙋпова́нї҆е мое ктебѣ́ возлага́ю (WM, X, 308)

In the structure of verbal collocations with government, the change of the noun form leads to the appearance of new object relations instead of goal relations (ко̀ чрево в́местиса (WM, XI, 500)) or spatial relations ко̀ чре́вѣ в́местиса (M 1666, 469).

4.4.2. Predicative Units in a Complex Sentence

Post-reform texts are marked by a more transparent predicative structure. One sees the disappearance both of coordinating and of correlative conjunctions *u*, *ли* (*или*), *a* and others for equal sentence parts (хр̂тосх и҆ г҃ь > хр̂тосх г҃ь). Recall that the removal of the conjunction a in the Creed ("рожденна, а не сотворенна") evoked great indignation among proponents of old rites, going as far as the desire to die for a single "a" (this expression is attributed to Protopope Avvakum). Cf. the texts of the Resurrectional theotokion of tone 3:

(1) Тєбѣ̀ хода́танцꙋ̀ спасе́нїѧ ро́да на́шегѡ, воспѣва́ємх бц҃е дв҃о пло́тїю ко є҆ю́же и҆є́тєбѣ̀ проше́дх, сн҃х тво́й и҆ бг҃х на́шх кр҃тную прїе́мх стр҃ть. и҆ и҆зба́вилх є҆́сть на́сх и҆зх и҆стлѣ́нїѧ, ꙗ҆́кѡ человѣ́колю́бєцх (Wojnowo March Menaion, f. 294);

(2) Та̀ хода́тайствовавшꙋю спасе́нїє ро́да на́шегѡ, воспѣва́ємх бц҃е дв҃о. пло́тїю ко ѿ тєбѣ̀ воспрїѧ́тою, Сн҃х тво́й, и҆ Бг҃х на́шх Кр҃томх воспрїѧ́мх стр҃ть, и҆зба́ви на́сх ѿ тлѝ, ꙗ҆́кѡ ч҃лколю́бєцх (1666 September Menaion, f. 470);

(3) Та̀ хода́тайствовавшꙋю спасе́нїє ро́да на́шегѡ воспѣва́ємх бц҃е дв҃о: пло́тїю ко ѿ тєбѣ̀ воспрїѧ́тою сн҃х тво́й, и҆ бг҃х на́шх, кр҃томх воспрїѧ́мх стр҃ть, и҆зба́ви на́сх ѿ тлѝ, ꙗ҆́кѡ ч҃лколю́бєцх (1893 Menaia, p. 15).

In these texts, we see the disappearance of the conjunction и and the replacement of the relative clause є҆ю́же и҆є́тєбѣ̀ проше́дх by the participle воспрїѧ́тою, simplifying sentence structure.

Participles with a predicative function in clauses were replaced by personal verb forms, promoting the formation of new logical and semantic relations between the different clauses of a complex sentence. As an example, we cite the text of a theotokion tone 6 from daily services to saints that is sung at Monday Matins:

(4) А҆рха́гг҃льское сло́во прїе́мши, и҆ херꙋви́мхскїи пр҃то́лх показа́сѧ, и҆на́рꙋкꙋ̀ носи́ла є҆сѝ надє́ждꙋ дш҃а́мх на́шымх (WM, I, f. 600);

(5) А҆рха́гг҃льское сло́во прїи́мши, и҆ херꙋви́мскїй пр҃то́лх показа́сѧ, и҆ на рꙋко́у носи́ла є҆сѝ надє́ждꙋ дш҃а́мх на́шнмх (WM, XI, f. 522);

(6) А҆рха́гг҃лское сло́во прїи́мши, и҆ херꙋви́мскїй пр҃то́лх показа́сѧ, и҆ на рꙋ́кꙋ̀ носи́ла є҆сѝ бц҃е надє́ждꙋ дш҃а́мх на́шымх (1666 Menaion f. 469);

(7) А҆рха́гг҃льское сло́во прїѧ́ла є҆сѝ, и҆ херꙋви́мскїй пр҃то́лх показа́ласѧ є҆сѝ, н҃'на рꙋ́кꙋ̀ носи́ла є҆сѝ,́ бц҃е, надє́ждꙋ дꙋ́шх на́шнхх (”Brown” Menaia 1893).

4.5. Differences in the Lexical Content of Texts

Despite the canonic nature of the texts and their frequent use at daily services (or, perhaps, precisely for this reason), the texts of theotokia are marked by lexical differences. These differences seem quite significant for such small texts as the theotokia. Cf. the texts of the theotokion tone 4 that is sung on Monday at Vespers. In the 1666 September Menaia, this theotokion is also performed on Wednesday at Vespers.

Table 5. Texts of T4 tone 4 sung on Monday at Vespers

WM	M 1666, 458v.		M 1893, 9
	On Monday	On Wednesday	
Ѿзбави насъ ѿбѣдъ нашихъ,	Ѿзбави насъ ѿ бѣдъ нашихъ,	Ѿзбави ны ѿ нꙋ́ждъ нашихъ,	Ѿзбави насъ ѿ нꙋ́ждъ нашихъ,
мⷮти хрⷭта бга,	мⷮти Хрⷭта Бга,	мⷮти Хрⷭта Бга,	мⷮти хрⷭта бга,
рожд ь ш а а всѣмъ творцⷶ,	рождьшаа всѣхъ творцⷶ,	рождьшаа всѣхъ творцⷶ,	рождьшаа всѣхъ творцⷶ,
да вси вопїемъ ти	да вси вопїемъ ти	да вси зовемъ ти	да вси зовемъ ти
радꙋйсѧ едина спасенїе	радꙋйсѧ едина прⷭстателнице	радꙋйсѧ едино прⷭстателство	радꙋйсѧ едино предстательство
дꙋшъ нашихъ	дꙋшъ нашихъ	дⷲшъ нашихъ	дꙋшъ нашихъ

The last chairetismos appears in three variants in the Wojnowo Menaia: one of them is given in the table and is found in most editions considered here; the second appears only in the Joseph November Menaion (радꙋйсѧ едина прⷭстателнице дⷲⷲамъ нашимъ (XI, 499v.)); and the third in the October Menaion of Ivan Timofeyev Andronikov (радꙋйсѧ едина ѡⷭспасенїи дⷲⷲъ нашихъ (X, 62)).

Using the revisions made in the service texts, one can get an idea of the way in which synonymic relations formed within the text:

(1) вражїѧ крамолы неꙋбоимсѧ (WM, X, 309) – вражїихъ навѣтъ не ꙋбоимсѧ (WM, IV, 236v.- 237);

(2) спаси насъ ѿбѣдъ (WM, X, 306) – спасины ѿ напастей (WM, IV, 235v.);

(3) ѿзбави насъ ѿбѣдъ (WM) — ѿзбави ны ѿ нꙋждъ (M 1666, 458v.);

(4) основанїе (WM, IV, 235v.) – ꙋтвержденїе (M 1893, 3);

(5) застꙋпленїе (WM, IV, 235v.) – прⷭстателство (M 1666, 458v.) / предстательство (M 1893, 3) and others.

Post-reform menaia texts are marked by the broader use of the lexeme храмъ. In contexts where the lexeme цр҃ковь was used in pre-Nikonian menaia (in six texts of the WM) such as the epithet цр҃кви бж҃ственаѧ for the Theotokos, later texts (already in the 1666 September Menaion) employ only the lexeme храмъ: храмъ бж҃тва̀ (M 1666, 467; M 1893, 1). B. Uspensky [2002: 315], among others, writes about this. Compare:

1. At the stichos tone 1:

Моли́твъ свои́хъ ра̑бъ, во тво́е́й цр̃кви приноси́мыхъ тѝ не пре́зри (WM, IV, 233v.) – моле́нїа̀ тво́ихъ рабѡ́въ, въ тво́е́мъ хра́мѣ приноси́маа тебѣ̀, не пре́зри (M 1893, 1).

2. At the stichos tone 5:

Цр̃ковь и̑ две́рь е̑сѝ (WM, IV, 233v.) – хра́мъ и̑ две́рь е̑сѝ (M 1893, 3).

3. At the apolytikion tone 2 on Sunday evening:

Ст̃а̑ цр̃кви тво́а̀ ди̑вна вʼпра́вду̀ (WM, IV, 235v.) – свѧ́тъ хра́мъ тво́й, ди́венъ въ пра́вдѣ (M 1893, 6).

The synonymity of the participle forms запечатлѣ́нна with the meaning 'closed with a seal' (WM, IV, 229v.), чистотѣ̀ запечатлѣ́нней (M 1666, 470), чистотѣ̀ запеча́танной (M 1893, 15) as well as запеча́тствованнаа (врата̀) (*Ibid.*, 7) results from the synonymity of the verbs запечатати and запечатлѣ́ти in Old Russian [cf. Sreznevsky 1893, I, 933–934]. The second meaning of the verb *запечатлеть* 'corroborate, substantiate; secure, mark' led to the metaphorical meaning 'depict, embody; recreate' [*Slovar' russkogo yazyka XVIII v.*], resulting in the formation of a paronym. Nevertheless, compare in WM: та́йно зна́менана (две́рь) — та́йнѡ запеча́тствованнаа (врата̀) (about the Theotokos).

Historical dictionaries show that the Slavic words хра́мъ and хра́мина were primarily employed in OCS texts with the meaning 'house, building' [Tseytlin/Vecherka/Blagova 1999: 765], 'room' [Tseytlin/Vecherka/Blagova 1999: 765; Sreznevsky III: 1396–98] and 'receptacle' [Sreznevsky III: 1396–98]. In the works of the Church Fathers (Sreznevsky gives examples from Antiochus' Pandect and Gregory of Nazianzus), this word occurs with the meaning 'building for religious services'. The lexeme цьркы (цр̃квь) was borrowed from the Greek as a special term denoting a building designed for Christian religious services and the activities of the Christian community, while the Slavic lexeme хра́мъ acquired this meaning thanks to a metaphorical shift. Thus the use of the word хра́мъ in Old Believer publications may indicate that the text was taken from a post-Nikonian original.

One should also mention the replacement in the text of a theotokion 4 tone 2 sung on Monday at Vespers of the noun две́рь as an epithet for the Theotokos (WM) by the noun врата̀ (M 1893, 7). This replacement is not found in the texts of pre-Nikonian theotokia considered here.

4.6. Omissions and Insertions

Texts from different periods can differ in the number of words. Taking a chronological approach, we will speak of ”omissions” if separate words or fragments

are lacking in later editions. If an earlier text turns out to be shorter than a later version, we will speak of "insertions".

Quantitative differences in the texts of a given theotokion are also found in pre-Nikonian editions:

(1) ѡ҆бра́дованнаѧ безнѣ́вестнаѧ (X 64) — ѡ҆бра́дованнаѧ мт҃и безнѣ́вестнаѧ (IV 239);

(2) Ꙗ҆́же невмѣсти́магѡ прїе́мши (X 310) — Ꙗ҆́же невмѣсти́магѡ прїе́мши (XI 523) – ꙗ҆́же є҆ди́на невмѣсти́магѡ прїе́мши (in other volumes) (T4 on Friday evening tone 7).

Sometimes differences between pre-Nikonian and post-Nikonian editions are considerable: cf. the text of a theotokion 4 that is sung at Tuesday Matins:

(3) Вели́кимх дарѡ́мх чт҃аѧ дв҃о, є҆ди́на мт҃и бж҃їѧ сподо́биласѧ є҆сѝ сподо́бнеа҆̑, ꙗ҆́ко роди́ плѡ́тїю є҆ди́наго ѿт҃р҃цы, хр҃та жизнода́вца и҆ бг҃а, во спасе́нїе дш҃а́мх на́шимх (from the Wojnowo Menaia – in parentheses: a variant of the aorist form from volumes X 309; XI 480)

(4) Вели́кимх дарѡ́мх сподо́биласѧ є҆сѝ є҆ди́на пречт҃аѧ дв҃о мт҃и бж҃їѧ: ꙗ҆́ко роди́ла є҆сѝ намх є҆ди́ного ѿт҃р҃цы, хр҃та жизнода́вца. во спасе́нїе дш҃а́мх на́шимх (from the 1666 Menaia, f. 469);

(5) Вели́кихх дарова́нїй, чт҃аѧ дв҃о бг҃ома́ти, ты̀ сподо́биласѧ є҆сѝ, ꙗ҆́кѡ роди́ла є҆сѝ плѡ́тїю є҆ди́наго ѿ т҃р҃цы хр҃та жизнода́вца, во спасе́нїе дш҃а́мх на́шимх (from the "Brown" Menaia).

In the latest version of the text (printed in the "Green" Menaia in Russian type), the repetition є҆ди́на – є҆ди́наго is omitted and the lexeme плѡ́тїю, which had been removed from the 1666 text, is reinserted. Moreover, the determination of Christ as God is shortened (cf. хр҃та жизнода́вца и҆ бг҃а and хр҃та жизнода́вца), probably in order to eliminate repetition once again (мт҃и бж҃їѧ, бг҃ома́ти, жизнода́вца и҆ бг҃а).

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, we can say that the comparison between theotokia texts in pre-reform editions of service menaia and texts from the transition period (1666 September Menaion) and later points to typological regularities. Changes in the grammatical and semantic characteristics of the language of the texts that were introduced by correctors show what characteristic features distinguish pre-reform and post-reform texts. Pre and post-reform editions of liturgical texts can be distinguished by studying the following features:

1. Makeup and order of collections of theotokia printed as addenda after daily services in the different volumes of monthly menaia

2. Ways of writing words under titla;

3. Number of phonetic spellings as well as certain special orthographic characteristics such as the spelling *полата* instead of the later *палата;*

4. Number of short and long personal pronoun forms (ти – тебѣ̀, тѧ – тебѧ́);

5. Number of long and short adjective forms;

6. Relation of possessive adjectives to collocations "noun + noun in genitive case" for expressing a possessive meaning;

7. Presence of dative or genitive nouns in collocations with a possessive meaning;

8. Use of forms with personal possessive pronouns instead of forms with the reflexive possessive pronoun свой;

9. Use of the noun *храмъ* instead of the noun *церковь*; *врата* instead of *дверь*; *древо* instead of *крестъ*; etc.;

10. The structure of the simple sentence, the ways of connecting words, and predicative units within the sentence;

11. The structure of the complex sentence, the predicative units within it, and the means of connecting its elements.

These characteristic elements of the language of pre and post-reform liturgical texts can serve as a basis for studying a broader range of texts in service menaia. For example, on the basis of the above comparison of the texts of the dismissal Resurrectional theotokion tone 1 in editions from different periods, one can assert that, when typesetting the text included in the troparion to Gregory the Theologian printed in the *Bolshoi kannonik* and published by the Preobrazhensky Almshouse Typography in 1909, the printer used not only pre-Nikonian but also post-reform editions:

(1) Pre-Nikonian edition

Гаврі́илꙋ провѣщиꙗ́вшꙋ ти̏ дѣ̏о, е̏же ра́дꙋнсѧ. и̏оглаcомъ воплощꙗ́шесѧ всѣ́хъ влⷣка, в тебѣ̏ cт̏ѣмъ кивотѣ̏, ꙗ̏коже речѐ пра́ведныи дв̏дъ. ꙗ̏вилсѧ проcтра́ннѣишии нб̏cъ поноcи́вши зижди́телѧ cвое́гѡ. cла́ва вcельшемꙋ́cѧ в т̏ѧ. cла́ва прошⷣе́дшемꙋ и̏зꙋ́тебѐ. cла́ва cвоводи́вшемꙋ на́cъ рж̏тво́мъ cвои́мⷨ (WM V, 451).

(2) 1666 September Menaion and 1893 Menaia (variants from the 1893 edition are indicated in parantheses)

Гаврїнлȣ вѣцшáвшȣ тебѣ(,) дѣо, рáдȣнса.(,) со глáсомъ воплоцшáшеса всѣхъ влка(.) въ тебѣ сѣѣмъ кївштѣ, ѣакоже речè прáведнын(н) дѣдъ, ѣавилáса èси ширшаа нѣсъ понослвшн(е) знждителà ТВОЕГО.(:) слáва вѣсл(ь)шемȣса въ тà. (:) слáва прошéдшемȣ нˆзˆтекѣ (нˆзъ текѣ).(:) слáва свободившемȣ нáсъ рж҃твóмъ (рождествóмъ) ТВОИˆМ.

(3) Old Believer *Bolshoi kanonnik,* 1909

Гаврїнлȣ провѣцшáвшȣ ти дѣо, ѣеже рáдȣнса, нˆ сò глáсомъ воплоцшáшеса всѣхъ влка, въ тебѣ сѣѣмъ кништѣ, ѣакоже речè прáведнын дѣдъ, ѣависа прострáннѣншн нѣсъ понослвшн знждителà СВОЕГО: слáва вѣсльшемȣса въ тà, слáва прошéдшемȣ нˆзˆтекѣ, слáва свободившемȣ нáсъ рж҃твóмъ ТВОИˆМ.

The text of this theotokion clearly dates from the post-reform period on account of the use of a possessive 2nd-person pronoun instead of the reflexive-possessive pronoun.

The present study shows the need for compiling a methodological handbook for differentiating the language of pre-Nikonian and post-Nikonian liturgical texts. Such a handbook could be compiled by making a comparative description of the language of stably occurring or frequently repeating fragments of services that are also included in canons (theotokia, prosomoia, troparia, and irmosi) using the principles of analysis set forth in this chapter of the present monograph.

The patterns identified through such research would facilitate the subsequent study of the language of Old Believer texts and help to develop a methodology for analyzing original works by Old Believers. Their religious language developed in parallel to the Russian literary language and in constant contact with its different dialects. Old Believers also contributed to the emergence of social jargons in Russia.

Given that the history of Old Believers is simultaneously a history of the peregrinations of fairly large populations, the literary language of the Old Believers absorbed elements of the languages and dialects with which they came in contact. The language of polemic works, spiritual poems, apocrypha, and other Old Believer texts are sometimes called "Church Slavonic" for the simple reason that their manuscripts and printed books make use of the ancient Half-Uncial Cyrillic book hand [Jaroszewicz 1989: 465]. For this reason, it is very important to determine the role of old and new written traditions as well as written and oral (conversational and folkloric) traditions in extant texts as well as mechanisms of adapting Biblical texts, psalm fragments and prayers in manuscripts, as the "mosaic" nature of these texts requires a "special approach that may be called textual microsurgery" [Alpatov 2004, 127–128].

Depiction of Saints in Menaia Texts

1. Introduction

The choice of material analysed in this chapter of the present monograph is determined by the latter's overall theme and is dedicated to the study of the hymnography to saints or hagiographic hymnography. A leading specialist in hymnography, Prof. Y. Yevdokimova of the Gnesiny Russian Academy of Music has said in an interview that this type of spiritual poetry is the "core" of the services of the annual liturgical cycle. As a "school of individual spiritual experience", hymnography aims "not only to extol the memory of a given saint but also show man the paths of spiritual progress and the means of overcoming obstacles of different sorts" [Yevdokimova 2009].

The first printed editions of Greek menaia that began to appear in the 16th century included not only canons, stichera, etc., but also concise saints' lives taken from the Synaxarium, lections and liturgical instructions (Typikon).

> On the whole, a saint's life is less a description of his life (a biography) than a description of his path to salvation and his type of sanctity. Thus the set of standard motifs is less a result of literary techniques of composing a biography than of the dynamics of salvation, i.e., the path to the Kingdom of Heaven that was frayed by the given saint. The life abstracts this path to salvation, which explains why saints' lives are general and typological [Zhivov 1994].

The goal of our study is to identify the characteristics of the notion of "sanctity" that are emphasised in the menaia. To this end, we examine the characteristic aspects of sanctity as a basic notion of Christian dogma. We then model the notion of "sanctity" along the pattern of the article in V. Zhivov's *Concise Dictionary of Hagiographic Terms* (*Краткий словарь агиографических терминов*). We identify the main meanings that are characteristic of the notion of a saint as an individual who partakes of God. To be a saint means

1. To be a Christian, for "… Christians, following Christ, partake in His Divinity by grace and become saints… The entry into sanctity takes place through Christ: 'But just as he who called you is holy, so be holy in all you do; for it is written: "Be holy, because I am holy" (1 Peter 1: 15–16)."'

2. To be a member of a church congregation that participates in divine services and the Eucharist, receiving the Body and Blood of Christ

3. To perform feats to the Glory of God, including

4. Serving God and the Church. Saints are individuals whose closeness to God "has been manifested to the Church as an indisputable fact" such as in the case of apostles and Old Testament prophets and patriarchs

5. Martyrdom. The feats performed by a saint are seen to be less the accomplishment of the saint himself than an effect of Divine Grace and a manifestation of Divine Providence

6. Ascetic life and constant prayer

7. To acquire love, joy, and peace as the fruits of the Spirits

8. To acquire the gift of thaumaturgy as evidence of the closeness to God [Zhivov 1994]

In accordance with their feats, saints are identified with a certain type of sanctity: prophets, apostles, enlighteners, holy hierarchs, martyrs and great martyrs, confessors, passion-bearers, venerable monks, fools for Christ, pious princes, and holy unmercenaries.

In her doctoral dissertation, I. Bugayeva analyses the definition of the word *подвиг* 'feat' in Church Slavonic and modern Russian languages and its meanings in religious texts. Referring to G. Sklyarevskaya's *Dictionary of Orthodox Church Culture* (*Словарь Православной церковной культуры*), Bugayeva defines a feat as an effort made by man to approach God, as an inner movement of the soul, and as actions performed for God and for Christ [Bugayeva 2010]. According to V. Kolesov, two types of feats are characteristic of the Russian mentality: heroism and sanctity. A hero is the embodiment of honour; his marks are fearlessness and a disdain for death. A saint is the embodiment of conscience; his marks are indifference to death and dispassion [Kolesov 2004: 150–151].

In the present study, we will examine the ways in which menaia texts depict saints. The study makes use of contexts, i.e., fragments of a text that contain epithets given to a saint.

2. History of Research

The scholarly experience of describing the etymologization and symbolization of proper names in sacral texts is linked, as a rule, with the names of Christ and the Theotokos. For example, Putyata's Menaion contains the following symbols of the name of Christ: resurrection, sun, fruit, and ear of grain, as well as the evangelical symbols lamb, light, and word [Turtsova 2007; 2007a].

A number of studies examine names in religious texts. A case in point is works on the sacral onomasticon and the history of canonical names [Uspensky 1969; Suprun 1996; Bugayeva 2006; Bugayeva 2010a; Vereshchagin 2012; Litvintseva 2012].

> The study of the sacral onomasticon yields rich and diverse information about the religion, history and culture of a people [Bugayeva 2010a].

Following V. Neroznak, I. Bugayeva asserts that all the encyclopaedic information contained in a name is linguistically and culturally significant [*Ibid.*]. The sacral onomasticon has been studied only fragmentarily up to now. Most studies focus on sacral toponymics (M. Gorbanevsky, V. Deryagin, A. Minkin, I. Mullonen, N. Terebikhin, and others) or, more narrowly, on saints' names (B. Uspensky, V. Suprun and A. Yudin).

We should start by determining the terminological status of proper names. The term *anthroponym* has come to stand for the unique name or the totality of names identifying a person. However, anthroponyms contain proper names with different functions, which make it possible to classify the names into categories: the *name* given to an individual at birth, the *patronymic* (name from the father or grandfather), the *surname* (clan or family name), the *mononym* (the full name without patronymic and surname), the *nickname*, the *pseudonym*, the *cryptonym*, and the *ethnonym*. A person may have several names: civil name, Christian name, monastic name, and schema name.

According to V. Suprun, saints' names contain a sacral seme [Suprun 2000: 28–29]. Such an approach is based on the theory of the "semantics of the onym". Although the question of the meaning of the proper name has been discussed by many authors, it remains open. Without describing in detail the problem of the meaning of anthroponyms, let us describe M. Rut's approach, which directly bears on the matter at hand:

> An anthroponym has two faces: it exists by itself and as the personal name of a specific person. In itself, an anthroponym does not have real meaning: a personal name has a denotation within a specific social group and a connotation within the social group. In itself, an anthroponym absorbs cultural connotations, which leads to the emergence of phantom lexical meanings that turn it into an intermediary form between an onom and an appellative connotonym <…>. The personal name varies in a social group, taking on different variants and doublets to realize most fully the denotative and connotative content of the semantics of the name. An anthroponym exists in a language, and its functioning is determined by linguistic laws. The personal name exists in a sociolect, and the narrower the social group, the more explicitly the name functions. The semantics of the anthroponym is determined by the general

cultural connotations of an ethnic group. The semantics of the personal name is determined by its attachment to a specific member of the social group [Rut 2001].

Functioning in religious texts of different genres, popular plays and myths, the names of saints acquire a denotative and connotative content, which is reflected in the terminological classification. For example, N. Podolskaya denotes a saint's name as a *hagionym* [Podolskaya 1978], while I. Bugayeva uses the even more specific term *hagioanthroponym*, where the second part of the term (*-onym*) refers to a proper name in general. "Hagioanthroponym" refers to a vocative and anthroponymic set of words serving to denote Christian saints. A characteristic feature of a hagioanthroponym is its bipartite or multipartite structure, which differentiates it from an anthroponym [Bugayeva 2006]. The bipartite structure of a hagioanthroponym includes the type of sanctity and the saint's name. The type of sanctity is always present, leading to bipartite or multipartite hagioanthroponyms.

Bipartite hagioanthroponyms are fairly rare and "mostly denote Old and New Testament individuals and saints glorified during the early centuries of Christianity". More common are tri or quadripartite structures including the type of sanctity + name + differentiator. The latter may include nominators, descriptors, localizers, agnomens, cognomens, titles, and ethnonyms [Bugayeva 2006].

We will analyse saints' name in the services of the first two days of August in the Wojnowo Menaion for August. The latter contains three services to saints: the service of August 1 to the Holy Maccabees, the service to the Translation of the Relics of Holy Protomartyr and Archdeacon Stephen of August 2, and the service to Holy Basil the Blessed of Moscow of August 3. Thus the object of study will be the names of saints that lived during different periods of the history of the Orthodox Church. The study will take the following form: brief historical information about the saint's feat; a selection of hagioanthroponyms from menaia texts; their structural and semantic classification; and an interpretation of the research material. The research material consists of collocations and lexical series of bipartite and multipartite hagioanthroponyms as well as collocations (syntagmas) containing a symbolical characterization of the saint. The semantic classification of saints includes the type of sanctity based on the nature of the saint's Christian feats.

A "lexical series" is a stylistic term. The first hallmark of a lexical series as a stylistic term is that it does not exist apart from a text. Secondly, this term is based on a broad understanding of the notion of "lexical". A lexical series is a series of linguistic units of different semantic levels. A third feature of a lexical series is that it is not necessarily a continuous series of constituent units. Fourthly, the linguistic units making up a lexical series are united by general characteristics. Thus lexical series can be based on different characteristics yet must relate to a specific sphere of language use and a specific technique of textual composition [Gorshkov 2001: 155–156].

3. Service to the Holy Maccabees

The service bears the following title in the Menaion:

(1) ст҃ых мч҃нкъ седмѝ бра́тїи поплоти маккаве́й, и҆ оу҆чи́тела и҆̀хъ елеа́за́ра, и҆ мт҃ре и҆̀хъ соломѡні́н
'To the holy seven martyrs Maccabees, brothers by blood, and their teacher Eleazar and their mother Solomonia'.

God gave martyrs' laurels to confessors of faith long before the coming of the Saviour. Such confessors included the Maccabee brothers, their mother Solomonia and their teacher Eleazar. "Maccabee" is a Hebrew word that means "Who besides You, o God". This was the proper name of members of the Hasmonean Dynasty who were the leaders and rulers of Judea from 167 BC to 37 AD. Nevertheless, Christian history has preserved only the names of the martyrs for faith. According to tradition, the 90-year-old Eleazar and his disciples – the seven Maccabee brothers and their mother Solomonia – were tortured and killed "by the impious Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes" for their refusal to eat sacrificial meat. The brothers are particularly venerated for having endured sophisticated torments and, despite their young age, having courageously stood firm unto death, rejecting the false promises of the Syrian king. This story is described in the Second Book of Maccabees. P. Yungerov writes about its authenticity:

> It would be quite unjust to reject all the stories in the book as being untrue. There are many authentic accounts in it, too. For example, the martyrdom of Eleazar, the seven brothers, and their mother Solomonia (6:18–7: 42), which has been celebrated by the Orthodox Church for ages, should be recognized as being historically accurate [Yungerov 2013].

In Eastern Slavic folk culture, the name "Maccabee" has become associated with poppy seed (*мак*) that ripens at this time. In honour of the feast day of the saints, which coincides with the beginning of the Dormition Fast, one serves food with poppy seed or honey. The feast day has acquired the folk name of "Saviour of the Honey" or "Wet Maccabee".

The spiritual feats of the Maccabees have been extolled in homilies and chants by Gregory the Theologian, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, Augustine, John Damascene, and Cosmas of Maiuma. There are Russian icons depicting the martyrdom of the Maccabee brothers, their teacher Eleazar and their mother Solomonia. The relics of the Holy Maccabee Martyrs are at St. Andrew's Church in Cologne (Germany), while the relics of Solomonia are in the Church of St. George in Istanbul.

The hagioanthroponyms of this service are related to different concrete individuals. Eleazar is the "most holy and wise priest":

Here Eleazar is the first martyr before Christ (just as Stephen is the first martyr after Christ), a priest and elder, hoary in hair and hoary in wisdom, who had previously prayed and made sacrifices for the people and who now brings himself to God as a perfect sacrifice to atone for the entire people [Zhitiya svyatykh 2003–2004: 6].

Solomonia is a wise-in-God mother:

There, a vigorous and courageous mother, who loves both her children and God, suffers in her motherly heart torments of an incredible kind. She does not pity her suffering sons but is worried by the thought that her sons would not suffer; she does not sorrow for those who have died but desires that the rest join them; she is more concerned about the latter than about those who have died. After all, the dead are already in safety while the others still have a difficult way before them. She has already entrusted the former to God, while she worries about how God will accept the latter. What a courageous soul in a woman's body! [Zhitiya svyatykh 2003–2004: 7]

The bulk of the text is devoted to the brothers, whose feat is recreated in a realistic and vivid manner by the Menaion.

The choice of hagioanthroponyms and vocatives for the Maccabee brothers appears in the following lexical series (the fragments are cited in the same order as they appear in the service):

Святые мученики 'holy martyrs', *братья по крови* 'brothers in blood', *верных Моисейским преданиям хранители* 'protectors of those who are true to the traditions of Moses', *добреи отроци* 'good children', *премудрые юноши* 'wise youths', *святые Маккавеи* 'holy Maccabees', *крепкодушные Авраамстии внуци* 'stout-hearted grandsons of Abraham', *седмочисленные страдальцы* 'seven sufferers', *божественные Маккавеи* 'divine Maccabees', *воистину доблеи Маккавеи* 'truly courageous Maccabees', *прехвалнеи мученицы* 'most-praiseworthy martyrs', *Маккавеи всемудрыи* 'all-wise Maccabees', *прежде мученик велицыи мученицы* 'great martyrs before martyrs', *отроци мудри* 'wise children', *закону поборницы* 'upholders of the law', *отцу послушницы* 'disciples of your father', *маккавеи крепкодушнии* 'stout-hearted Maccabees', *страстотерпцы христовы* 'passion-bearers of Christ', *многи муки страдальцы* 'sufferers of many torments', *мужеским умом Маккавеи* 'Maccabees with a courageous mind', *мученики святеи мученицы* 'martyrs, o holy martyrs', *Елеазара деми* 'children of Eleazar', *всехвалнии мученицы* 'all-praised martyrs', *молитвеницы доблии* 'courageous men of prayer', *ликъ седмочисленыи* 'group of seven'.

As we see, most of the hagioanthroponyms are bipartite (19 vocatives out of 26), which is in keeping with what we have said above about the structure of hagioanthroponyms of Old Testament saints.

The hagioanthroponyms are then classified according to the semantics of their components. The name of the saints makes use of the family name "Maccabee", which appears in five collocations. The type of sanctity appears in

9 collocations with the words "martyrs", "torments", "sufferers", and "passion-bearers". According to V. Zhivov's *Concise Dictionary of Hagiographic Terms*, "A martyr (Greek μάρτυς, Latin *martyr*) is a very early type of saint that is glorified by the Church for having died in torments for faith" and "Passion-bearer: a name for Christian martyrs. In principle, this name can be applied to all martyrs that endured suffering (passion, Greek πάθος, πάθημα, Latin *passio*) for Christ. At the same time, this name is mostly applied to saints that were martyred not by persecutors of Christianity but by fellow Christians through malevolence, guile, and conspiracy. This name emphasises the special nature of their feat: lack of enmity and non-resistance to enemies" [Zhivov 1994].

God gave martyr's laurels to confessors of faith long before the coming of the Saviour. Although the Maccabees' martyrdom for faith took place before Christ, the brothers are characterised in accordance with traditional Orthodox hymnography. The hagioanthroponym "passion-bearer" emphasises the nature of their feat: non-resistance and lack of enmity. Although all the world's religions have notions of sanctity, these notions differ considerably from religion to reigion (cf. [Svyatost' i svyatyye]). For example, the entire people is holy in Judaism, yet it must obey the divine laws of sanctity, preserving its moral and ritual purity. Ritual desecration through impure food was considered to be moral desecration and a violation of divine law. Although the Maccabee brothers, their mother Solomonia and their teacher Eleazar were not Christians, they have been canonized by the Christian Church for venerating the laws of their religion and for striving to preserve the purity of their souls:

(2) нечестїе ѡбличивше гордаго антиоха ничтоже предхпочетше временныѧ жизни вѣчныѧ ради

'having denounced the impiety of the proud Antiochus and not having preferred anything of temporal life to eternal life'.

The age of the young Maccabees is emphasised by the lexemes "children" (*отроки*) and "youths" (3 collocations): "good children", "most-wise youths", "wise children". Their ancestry is expressed by the lexemes "brothers" and "grandsons": "brothers in blood" and "stout-hearted grandsons of Abraham". The lexemes "children" (*дети*) and "father" are used in a metaphorical manner in the sense of "spiritual children, disciples" and "spiritual father, teacher": "disciples of your father" and "children of Eleazar". Another characteristic relates to the Maccabees' attitude towards the faith: "upholders of the law" and "courageous men of prayer". The chapter by A. Kravetsky and A. Pletneva in the present monograph contains a detailed discussion of the meaning and usage of the word "grandsons" in menaia texts.

Thus hagioanthroponyms characterise the saints' belonging to a particular people, family, age group and ancestry, emphasise their attitude to the faith and spiritual kinship and also contain evaluative characteristics about

the brothers' stoutness of heart and courage ("stout-hearted" and "truly courageous") and wisdom and goodness ("most-wise", "all-wise" and "beautiful in courageous mind"). Finally, their main characteristic is "holy, saintly" (*святые*): the definition "holy martyrs" opens the above lexical series.

Hagioanthroponyms and vocatives figuring in the service to the Holy Maccabees reflect several layers of content: historical, hagiographical, and metaphorical/symbolical layers (the latter is represented by the word/symbol "blood" and the numerical symbolism of the number seven) and a layer deriving from exegesis and uniting themes of the Old and New Testament.

4. Service to Holy Protomartyr Stephen of August 2

This service bears the following title in the Menaion:

(1) Пренесе́нїѧ моще́й ст҃а́гѡ первом҃чника и҆ а҆рхидїа́кона Стефа́на
'*Translation of the relics of Holy Protomartyr and Archdeacon Stephen*'.

St Stephen is venerated as the first Christian martyr and an archdeacon and apostle. He was brought to trial by the Sanhedrin on the charges of blasphemy against the temple and the law and stoned to death (33–36 AD). An account of his service and feats is found in the Acts of the Apostles (6: 8–15; 7: 1–60).

Stephen began to be mentioned by the Church Fathers with particular frequency in the 4th century, and the veneration of his relics began to spread from the early 5th century. St Stephen's relics are found in several Orthodox monasteries: Athonite monasteries, the Kiev Pechersk Lavra and the Trinity Lavra of St Sergius. There are three feast days celebrating St Stephen in the Orthodox calendar: December 27 (death of Protomartyr and Archdeacon Stephen), September 15 (uncovering of his relics), and August 2 (translation of his relics from Jerusalem to Constantinople *ca.* 428). The latter event is the subject of the service considered here.

The following lexical series contains the hagioanthroponyms and vocatives denoting St Stephen in the August Menaion:

Преславное чюдо '*Most glorious miracle*', *Стефане мучеником первострадалне* '*Stephen, first to suffer among martyrs*', *служителем основание* '*model for clergy*', *апостолом избранныи* '*elected by the apostles*', *венец благодатей* '*wreath of graces*', *мученик Христов* '*martyr of Christ*', *венец сущему честен* '*worthy wreath of all beings*', *Стефане всечестне* '*all-honourable Stephen*', *первый в мученицех* '*first among martyrs*', *венценосче Стефане* '*wreath-bearing Stephen*', *первомученик* '*protomartyr*', *всехвальне Стефане* '*all-praised Stephen*', *страдальцемъ начало* '*first to suffer*', *дверь страждущимъ* '*door for those who suffer*', *Подвигоположник* '*first to perform feats*', *богоявленик* '*witness to God's revelations*', *славне Стефане* '*glorious Stephen*'.

As we see, bipartite hagioanthroponyms predominate here. They can be further classified in several semantic groups.

The words of the first semantic group ("elected by the apostles" and "model for clergy") reflect Stephen's activities as a member of the Christian community. According to the Acts of the Apostles, he and six other Christians were elected by the apostles to serve as deacons (responsible for keeping order). He also preached God's word, for which he was brought to trial.

In his dictionary, G. Dyachenko defines the epithet *богоявленник* as meaning 'one who has been witness to God's revelations or manifestations' [Dyachenko 2007: 54]. As it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, Stephen experienced a theophany during the trial: "'Look,' he said, 'I see heaven open and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God'" (Acts 7: 56).

The fact that Stephen comes first in the history of Christian saints and of their feats is expressed in the epithets "Stephen, first to suffer among martyrs", "first to perform feats", "protomartyr", "first to suffer", and "first among martyrs".

The hagioanthroponym "martyr of Christ" points to the type of sanctity. "With the spread of persecutions against Christians, the gift of testimony predominantly became the domain of martyrs who testified, through voluntary death, about the power of grace that was accorded to them and that turned their suffering into joy. In this way, they testified about Christ's victory over death and about their union with Christ." In addition, being a martyr means following the path frayed by Christ, repeating his passion and bringing a propitiatory sacrifice [Zhivov 1994].

The vocative "O, most glorious miracle" is not only a laudatory exclamation that is characteristic of the genre of hymnography but also a reflection of spiritual and corporal changes that took place with Stephen, i.e., of a miracle: "All who were sitting in the Sanhedrin looked intently at Stephen, and they saw that his face was like the face of an angel" (Acts 6:15).

The epithets "wreath of grace", "worthy wreath of all beings" and "wreath-bearing Stephen" speak about the wreath of the martyr and saint, yet one should also recall that the Greek name "Stephen" (Στέφανος) means 'wreath, crown, garland'. In this context, the word "wreath" can be understood as a symbol of Stephen's spiritual victory over enemies and a symbol of power over those who became obedient to the faith (Acts 6: 7).

The collocation "door for those who suffer" contains the word/symbol "door", which is often used in Orthodox hymnography with regard to the Theotokos and saints and symbolises the entry into a new space of being. In the Gospel According to John, Christ says about Himself: "I am the gate; whoever enters through Me will be saved. They will come in and go out, and find pasture." (John 10: 9). In the Menaion text, the evangelical symbol acquires a new meaning when applied to Stephen: Stephen's feat serves as a model for the spiritual path of a Christian. показа́са всесто̃ы́и стефа́не поуть бо бы́сть сто̃ымх и мно́ги гд̃ви приве́лх есѝ мч̃нки 'You showed, o most holy Stephen, the path to sainthood and brought many martyrs to the Lord'.

The panegyrics "all-praised Stephen" and "glorious Stephen" reflect the hymnographic text's function of glorifying a saint's feat:

(2) красенъ й вида а҃ггельскаго, й премоу́дрости й в҄еры йсполнь. и бж҃ественыА зарй сїА лоучами. и бгогласными оу́сты, бгоглаголалъ еси га҃ко р҄ека, бж҃ественѣ витоуА, вышнее наслѣдїе бгоблаженне оулоучилъ еси

'Beautiful and with the face of an angel and full of wisdom and faith. Shining with the rays of the divine dawn, you preached God with God-inspired words, speaking divinely like a river, and attained the highest heritage, o blessed-in-God"

Agioanthroponyms and vocatives perform several functions here: first of all, they describe Stephen's feats; secondly, they speak about the first instance of Christian martyrdom; thirdly, they tell about Stephen's service; and, fourthly, they describe the recognition of his sanctity. These meanings are reflected in the saint's generally accepted anthroponym (Protomartyr and Archdeacon Stephen), which includes the type of sanctity + title + name.

Hagioanthroponyms and vocatives reflect the hagiographic layer of the text's content, which sets down the main stages of the saint's spiritual path; the historical layer; and the metaphorical/symbolical layer, which is realized through the symbols "wreath", "door" and "blood" ("The flow of your blood opens heavenly doors"). The metaphorical/symbolical content is also enriched through comparisons: га҃ко красенъ, га҃ко оу́тро, мирови га҃виса славне стефа́не 'o glorious Stephen, you appeared to the world beautiful as the morning'. The element of exegesis appears in the comparison between St Stephen and Adam: новъ ада́мъ за перваго ты быстъ 'You were the first, o New Adam'.

5. Service to Holy Basil the Blessed of Moscow of August 2

In the Menaion, the service is entitled

слоу́жба ст҃аго бл҄же́ннагw василїА оу҆ро́дивагw хр҃та ра́ди моско́вскагw чюдотво́рца

'Service to Holy Blessed Basil, Fool for Christ, Moscow Wonderworker'.

The forerunners of fools for Christ were many prophets of the Old Testament. In his dictionary, V. Zhivov writes about Byzantine sources that speak about "people of God" that took the guise of madmen, going about naked and wearing fetters, and were greatly venerated by Byzantine people. Nevertheless, the veneration of fools for Christ as saints was not sanctioned by the Byzantine Church [Zhivov 1994]. In contrast to Byzantium, the veneration of fools for Christ was very widespread in Russia.

Listing the most venerated Russian fools for Christ, Zhivov notes the same types of ascetic feats that were characteristic of Byzantine counterparts: external insanity, gift of prophecy, temptation as a principle of behaviour (inverted piety), denunciation of sinners, etc. At the same time, fools for Christ

performed a social function in Muscovite Russia: the denunciation of unjust government. This function of fools for Christ is described in classical Russian literature. A stereotyped image of the fool for Christ is found in the following excerpt from Alexander Pushkin's tragedy *Boris Godunov* [cited in the translation by Alfred Hayes, http://www.fullbooks.com/Boris-Godunov2.html]:

> *IDIOT. Boris, Boris! The boys are hurting Nick.*

> *TSAR. Give him alms! What is he crying for?*

> *IDIOT. The boys are hurting me...Give orders to slay them, as thou slewest the little tsarevich.*

> *BOYARS. Go away, fool! Seize the fool!*

> *TSAR. Leave him alone. Pray thou for me, Nick.*

> *(Exit.)*

> *IDIOT. (To himself.) No, no! It is impossible to pray for tsar Herod; the Mother of God forbids it.*

Pushkin's fool for Christ denounces the tsar, calling him the "killer of the tsarevich" and "tsar Herod". Basil the Blessed is apparently the best known fool for Christ in the history of Muscovite Russia, who was fearless and blunt enough to tell Ivan the Terrible the unpleasant truth about him [Kuznetsov 1900: 26].

The information about Basil the Blessed's life is scant and unreliable. Hagiographic texts speak about his gift of clairvoyance and the miracles that took place during the saint's life and after his death.

The lexical series (a selection of hagioanthroponyms and vocatives from the service of August 2) contains the following collocations:

Преславное чюдо 'Most-glorious miracle', преблаженне Василие (многократно) 'most-blessed Basil' (numerous occurrences), богоблаженне Василие 'God-blessed Basil', богодухновенне Василие 'God-inspired Basil', дом чистоты чуднее Василие 'wonderful Basil, house of purity', дом духу святому 'house of the Holy Spirit', богомудре Василие 'wise-in-God Basil', человече божии 'God's man', муже желаний духовных 'man of spiritual desires', царствие наследниче 'inheritor of the Kingdom', духом божиим наставляемый богоблаженный Василие 'God-blessed Basil, guided by the Divine Spirit', Русской земли светило великое 'great light of the Russian land', дом божии и жилище святого духа 'house of God and abode of the Holy Spirit', блаженнее Василие 'blessed Basil', премудре Василие 'most-wise Basil', чудный житием и мудрее Василие разумом 'Basil of wonderful life and wise reason'.

First of all, let us note the type of sanctity: "blessed". In Russia, the title "blessed" was used for holy fools for Christ. The Orthodox Church employs the term "fools for Christ" to denote religious ascetics and wandering monks

that feigned insanity to denounce worldly values, hide their virtues, and make themselves the objects of abuse.

The word *блаженный* 'blessed' served as a basis for the construction of the words *богоблаженный* 'God-blessed' and *преблаженный* 'most-blessed'. According to the *Dictionary of the Russian Language of the 18th Century* ("Словарю русского языка XVIII века"), the word *богоблаженный* had two meanings: (1) Slavonic. Glorified, exalted by God (about the Theotokos and saints) and (2) Pleasing to God; righteous [Slovar' russkogo yazyka XVIII veka]. Both characteristics apply to Basil the Blessed. The word *преблаженный* 'most-blessed' is a term of etiquette in addressing many saints, including St Nicholas, Archbishop of Myra in Lycia, and Simeon the God-Receiver ("Rejoice, you who have pleased God with all your life. Rejoice, o Simeon, righteous elder, most-blessed God-receiver." Akathist, kontakion 2). This term also figures in the prayer to Xenia of St. Petersburg ("O Mother Xenia the most-blessed, pray to Lord Jesus Christ and to our mother the Theotokos for us sinners").

The noun *чудо* 'miracle, wonder' and its adjective *чудный* 'wonderful' express the corresponding attitude and emotions about the saint's life and his reception of the Holy Spirit. The saint's lifestyle, wisdom and clairvoyance all inspire wonder: "Basil of wonderful life and wise reason".

The saint's symbolic names include the words "house" and "light". The meaning of the symbol is made manifest by the syntagmas "house of purity", "house of the Holy Spirit", and "house of God and abode of the Holy Spirit", where the symbol "house" and words with the meaning "abode", just as the word "abode" itself, are traditionally used for the Theotokos and saints in Greek and Russian liturgical texts [Turtsova 2007a]. The epithet "light" derives from the word/symbol "light" that symbolizes Christ according to His own words, "I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness, but will have the light of life" (John 8: 12). Light is also the symbol of immortality, eternity, Heaven, purity, revelation and wisdom. The meaning of the symbol is realised in the syntagma "great light of the Russian land".

The spiritual achievements of Basil of Blessed are described metaphorically: Basil is compared with a deer (и ꙗ́ко елень жажда̀ на исто́чники воды́ живы́ѧ поте́клъ есѝ и напитава́ѧ дш҃ю хрⷭто́вою любо́вїю 'And like a deer, you went to the sources of living water, panting and nourishing your soul with the love of Christ') and with a date and a cedar (пра́ведникъ ꙗ́ко фи́никъ процвѣ́те́тъ и ꙗ́ко ке́дръ и́же вливáнѣ оу̓мно́житсѧ 'the righteous will flower like a date and grow like a cedar in Lebanon').

The saint's hagioanthroponym "Blessed Bail, Fool for Christ, Moscow Wonderworker) includes the type of sanctity + name + type of sanctity + localizer + nominator, where "Moscow" is the localizer and "wonderworker" (the epithet of saints that have been glorified through the gift of thaumaturgy and intercession) serves as the nominator.

6. Conclusion

The texts of the Service Menaia provide interesting material for the study of the symbolical and metaphorical level of hymnography and are also rich in factual content. The semantic analysis of hagioanthroponyms and vocatives uncovers a personified understanding of sanctity. The personality of the saint, his feats and consequently his type of sanctity are important for the faithful, and thus the hymnographic text draws upon the content of the saint's life. The analysis of hagioanthroponyms and vocatives also uncovers the historical and meta-phorical/symbolical layers of the text's content. One finds syntagmas, compari-sons and symbols that point to meanings that relate to exegesis.

Gender Aspects Of Sanctity

1. Introduction

This section of the monograph is dedicated to the gender analysis of texts from early printed 17th-century menaia from the library of the former Saviour-Trinity Old Believer Monastery in Wojnowo.

1.1. Gender Studies in Linguistics

Sociological gender studies have become extremely popular in recent decades. These studies are interdisciplinary in nature, and their results are used for analyzing social phenomena and trends. The gender sphere is studied by sociologists, social psychologists, and cultural studies scholars as well as by linguists. The concept of *gender* was introduced into scholarly research by the American psychologist and sexologist John Money [Money 1955: 264–266]. Today, "gender" has become a key term of social science in many countries and languages [Dugin 2010].

Gender studies in linguistics are closely tied to research in the field of cultural linguistics, as they are linked with the notion of the language world view. The study of gender stereotypes in speech analyzes the role of different levels of the language system (from individual words to entire texts) as explicit instruments of social determination and stratification. Similar to the study of notions about class, ethnic, confessional, and other social groups, the linguistic interpretation of gender problems brings to light the dependence of important present-day social issues (power, aggression, self-perception and freedom) on gender status. Gender studies analyze the problems of human existence and the meaning and goal of life in connection with the social gender role of each individual and with the hierarchy that exists in every society and creates a predisposition to discrimination on the basis of gender.

1.2. Opposition of Male/Female as a Driving Force of Cultural Development

The gender approach assumes that all types of societies are marked by a dualist perception and image of the world stemming from the gender antinomy. The antinomy of male/female as a primordial opposition can be studied not only with respect to the members of society themselves but also to the artifacts they create and the relations they establish, including interpretations of natural and socio-cultural phenomena. The gender antinomy provides an exemplary cultural code for all possible types of dual combinations and oppositions. Some

scholars believe that the dichotomy man/woman engenders all other antinomies such as earth/sky, fire/water, is/isn't, day/night, yes/no, etc. [Ivanov/Toporov 1965; Dugin 2010].

In the structure of society, gender is a factor that has an impact on an individual's existence throughout his or her entire life. Men and women are accorded profoundly different statuses and roles, while the dualism of gender status in society is most often manifested through the structured inequality of functions. In the social (cultural, ethnic, etc.) structure, man is a social maximum, while woman is a social minimum. Man is maximally social, while woman is minimally social [Dugin 2010]. In this case, one speaks about the existence of a gender asymmetry [Ryabov 1999: 5–7].

The images of the valorous man and of the woman incapable of heroism lie at the foundation of the gender typology of Gilbert Durand [cited in Dugin 2010]. Durand identifies behavioural and psychological traits that constitute a set of social and psychological properties that are found (in different degrees and different combinations) in highly diverse aspects of culture and nature, determining two basic types: the masculinoid and the feminoid types.

The masculinoid embodies activity, his behavior is determined by willpower, and he creates vertical matches and oppositions in his activities through the application of force. In society, this type corresponds to the masculine gender as the fundamental norm, example, standard and paragon after which all social structures are patterned. In terms of psychology, this type is characterized by rapidity, orderliness, composure, incisive willpower, structured desire, and the striving to rule and organize [Dugin 2010]. A man as a masculinoid can be a participant in the active aggressive offensive activities of his ethnic group, a priest of the cult of the sun and skies, a transformer of chaos into order who rigorously separates them, the creator of a nation out of an ethnic group, the builder of an empire, the bearer of the will to power, the consolidator of self-identity and the separator of the objects of the outside world, and the creator of telluric culture who is devoted to logos and logic [*Ibid.*]. The man of the masculinoid type can independently assess good and evil, choose to fight for his faith, and undertake specific actions for attaining his goals.

The feminoid type appears in different societies in two forms: motherly and dramatic [Dugin 2010]. Although these female subtypes may exist under different names in different cultures, they are always present:

> The female image is extremely antinomic in all cultures: one half of the female persona, as B. Friedan wrote, consists of the image of a decent and pure woman that is worthy of adoration and the other half of the image of a fallen woman with carnal desires. Each culture contains both "dark" and "light" female personae [Ryabov 1999: 18].

The motherly feminoid (feminoid I) is marked by the following properties: indivisibility, gentleness, plasticity, and contentment. This type of femininity is connected with childbearing and rearing, domesticity, the home, and the family. It is associated with the harvest, peace, friendship, equality, and miniaturization. The representatives of this feminoid type are more often found in the masses and lower classes than among elites.

Feminoid II (sometimes called the "dramatic nocturne") is the beloved, mistress, bride or, in the register of courtly notions, ladylove [Evola 1996: 290––292]. The second female type tries to develop masculinity within her, and thus the relations between this type and masculinoid individuals are marked by asymmetry: either the male predominates and the female is subjugated or the female totally subordinates the male, who submits and yields. The femininity of the feminoid II type is neither subjugated nor victorious; man is dependent on it, sometimes getting the upper hand and sometimes being vanquished by it [Dugin 2010]. Feminoid II is a woman with an erotic desire for the other sex, a flirt engaging in amorous intrigues, and a frivolous personality with a love for celebrations, laughter, gaiety, alcohol and light drugs. This type realizes itself in art (especially in music and poetry) and voyages and is active in different spheres of life. The feminoid II type is characterized by frequent changes of residence, inventiveness, deceitfulness, unreliability, cunning and guile [Dugin 2010]. Representatives of the feminoid II type are more often found among elites than in the masses. The contemporary American sociologist Yuri Slezkine called it the "Mercurian type" [Slezkine 2005].

2. Outline of the Gender Approach to the Study of Hymnographic Texts

The social status of women is reflected in different written works and texts of different genres and in their language. We believe that religious texts are particularly interesting in this regard, as they contain ideological imperatives and serve as sources of the religious system of values. These texts set down important meanings used by the faithful try to organize their own lives. An interesting undertaking is the study of the texts of hymns and services to saints from the gender standpoint. These hymns and services were written not only to acquaint readers with the lives of real people but also to glorify their holy feats. The texts of hymns and entire services sum up saints' lives, explain the meaning of their feats, and highlight the most important aspects of their lives. One of the consummate examples of ecclesiastical hymnographic works are menaia service books, whose extensive size allows the creation of full-fledged works that belong to the canon of the Orthodox church.

In religious texts, especially hymns and saints' lives, one finds the aforementioned masculinoid and feminoid types. Christian ideology emphasizes the different ontological status of the male and the female [Evola 1996: 270].

Christian religion describes two types of feminoids: Maria, Mother of the Saviour, corresponds to the first type and Eve, the perdition of mankind, to the second type. We will try to analyze how the language of the hymns reflects the interaction between gender status and the striving for sanctity.

In Old Believer communities, women historically had a different place and carried out somewhat different functions than in social groups belonging to the mainstream church [Andreyev 1870; Kerov 2006; Tikas 2011]. It is well known that girls learned to read and write alongside boys in Old Believer communities (the parish school existed until the late 1930s in Wojnowo), while Pomorian women church elders and readers can lead services in oratories together with men or in their absence [oral account of Father Vladimir Shamarin, head of the St. Petersburg Pomorian Community]. A. Kamalova and L. Savelova have described the particularities of female culture in the Russian North (which is traditionally Old Believer) and the special role of women, who are independent and self-sufficient members of the peasant community [Kamalova/Savelova 2007: 128–129]. Assessing the role of women in Old Believer communities in the historic past and today, we pose the following research problem: to analyze whether the present-day social status of women in Old Believer communities is determined by the ideology of the Christian Sacred Tradition. To this end, we will try to compare the social status and feats of women and men canonized by the Orthodox Church.

3. Male and Female Feats as Depicted in Hymns

The present study began with a numerical analysis of saints whose names are cited in menaia texts. For example, the service to Hieromartyr Patrick, Bishop of Prusa, and his companions Presbyters Acacius, Menander, and Polyenus is treated as a service to four saints (V, 19). We did not count saints that the menaia mention without citing their names: say, the Seven Virgin-Martyrs (V, 18). The preliminary numerical analysis of services showed that the number of feast days of male saints is considerably higher than the number of feast days of female saints. The number of services to male and female saints differs correspondingly. Thus the first manifestation of the inferior social status of women in menaia is the considerably greater number of services to male saints.

Table 1 presents the resulting quantitative data. The number of services to female saints in menaia ranges from 2% to 21% of the total number of services, depending on the month. There is, on average, only one service to a woman for every ten services to men.

Why did the Church canonize men more often than women? Does the notion of male feats differ from the notion of female feats in Christianity? Do the hymns dedicated to saints reflect the opposition of men and women that traditionally exists in society? According to stereotypical notions of gender

differences, men have personality traits that allow them to perform feats (including religious feats), while the role of the warrior is not typical for women (everyone knows that Joan of Arc ended her life on the stake and was canonized only in 1904).

Table 6. Number of Saints in Monthly Menaia

Month	Total Number of Saints	Male Saints	Female Saints
January (I)	110	106 (96%)	4 (4%)
February (II)	42	40 (95%)	2 (5%)
March (III)	52	49 (94%)	3 (6%)
April (IV)	70	66 (94%)	4 (6%)
May (V)	70	63 (90%)	7 (10%)
June (VI)	67	59 (88%)	8 (12%)
July (VII)	62	52 (84%)	10 (16%)
August (VIII)	55	52 (94.5%)	3 (5.5%)
September (IX)	61	48 (79%)	13 (21%)
October (X)	72	62 (86%)	10 (14%)
November (XI)	82	76 (93%)	6 (7%)
December (XII)	73	65 (89%)	8 (11%)
Total	816	738 (90.5%)	78 (9.5%)

3.1. Semantics of Male Feats

The description of male saints is accompanied by the word мужество 'manliness, courage', whose form leaves no doubts about which sex has such traits as daring, courage, bravery, and belligerence in the social consciousness. In his Church Slavonic dictionary, Grigory Dyachenko lists words derived from the word мýжъ 'manly person, husband'. Their meaning in his interpretation includes the semantic keynote of manliness and courage [Dyachenko 1993: 319]:

1) мꙋжа́тиса 'to behave manfully'

2) мꙋжедо́блести́е 'manliness, fearlessness'

3) мꙋжемꙋꙬдреннаа 'like a wise man'

4) мꙋжемꙋꙬдренно 'with prudent manliness'

5) мꙋжеподо́бный 'resolute like a man'

6) мꙋже́ски 'manfully'

7) мꙋже́ство 'feat, glorious deed, victory'

8) мꙋже́ствꙋю 'to be manly or courageous, to oppose someone manfully'

9) мꙋжеꙋ́мно 'with a wisdom that is proper to men'

10) мꙋжеꙋ́мный 'having a male or perfect mind'

11) вмꙋжа́тисѧ 'to be manly, to fight manfully, to take heart, to perk up' [Dyachenko 1993: 80]

The menaia describe the character and traits of youths differently using derivatives of the word юноша 'youth', such as юношески 'with youthful verve, manfully' [Dyachenko 1993: 845].

Menaia use these words to describe the valorous feats of male saints both statically and dynamically. The static depiction of manliness includes the description of the saint's personality traits, behaviour, merits, and virtues. In such a description, manliness stands alongside other aspects of the saint's behaviour.

The meaning of the word *мужество* 'manliness' is often augmented and emphasized in the text with the help of the synonyms *подвиг* 'feat' and *доблесть* 'valour'. In the dynamic description, manliness is a means and a necessary condition for performing feats. In the menaia texts, the words *мужество* and *подвиг* often occur side-by-side, as in the following examples:

(1) в̾ мꙋ́ченническі́ѧ в̾ше́дꙋ мꙋ́жески по́двиги
'Having risen manfully into martyr feats' (Martyr Agathonicos, VIII, 22, 368v.);

(2) подвигѡ́мꙋ мꙋ́ченниче в̾зы́де мꙋ́жески
'Through feats, o Martyr, you rose manfully' (VIII, 22, 369v.);

(3) мꙋ́жьскими по́двиги до́блественно сиѧ́юще
'Shining manfully through valorous feats' (Martyrs Terence and Neonilla, X, 28, 4).

The courage of saints is also emphasized by the synonym *доблесть* 'valour':

(4) ѿ твоемꙋ́ мꙋ́жествꙋ ѿ дꙋ̈хо́вный до́блести сла́вне
'Glorious through your manliness and your spiritual valour' (Hieromartyr Eleutherius, XII, 15, 168);

(5) Мꙋ́камꙋ ѻ̈блацы не покры́ша, мꙋжество твое́ мӵнче й до́блесть
'The cloud of suffering did not obscure your manliness and valour, o Martyr' (Hieromartyr Charalampus, II, 10,143).

Sometimes *мужество* 'manliness' and *мудрость* 'wisdom' (*разум* 'reason', *смысл* 'understanding, reason', *ум* 'mind, intellect') are a saint's two main personality traits:

(6) Мꙋ́жествомъ и̏ мꙋ́дростїю пожи́въ прпⷣбне
'Having lived with manliness and wisdom, o venerable' (Martyr Ignatius the God-Bearer, I, 29, 452);

(7) Ӧу̏мъ на враги̏ мꙋ́жьски воѡ̏рꙋ́живше
'Having manfully armed your mind against enemies' (Martyrs Sergius and Bacchus, X, 7, 62);

(8) ꙗ̏звы многоѡ̈бра́зны и̏ растерза́нїꙗ претерпѣ́лъ е̏си̏ ст҃ы́й, мꙋ́жественымъ ра́зꙋмомъ
'You endured different wounds and lacerations, o Saint, with a manly mind' (Martyr Sabinas, III, 16, 118);

(9) Мꙋ́жествомъ ра́зꙋма препоꙗ́санъ въ чресла̀ тара́сїе
'With your loins girt with the manliness of mind, o Tarasius' (St Tarasius, II, 25, 298v.);

(10) Мꙋ́жескимъ и̏ тве́рдымъ сїꙗ́ѧ смы́сломъ. Т҃ы развращенїꙗ нечести́вы̏ и̏ ѡ̈полче́нїѧ побѣди́лъ е̏си̏
'Shining with a manly and steadfast mind, you overcame the snares and attacks of the wicked' (Martyr Acacius, V, 7, 78v.);

(11) мꙋ́жескимъ ӧу̏мо́мъ, непоща́ди́въ пло́ть
'With a manly mind, you did not spare your flesh' (Martyrs Adrian and Natalia, VIII, 26, 401).

Manliness can be the manifestation of the saint's personality or temper (*нрав*):

(12) болѣ́зни тѧ́жкїѧ и̏ нестерпи́мыѧ ра́ны, мꙋ́жескимъ нра́вомъ претерпѣ́вша
'You have endured with manly temper strong pains and intolerable wounds' (Martyrs Thyrsus, Leucius, Philemon, Apollonius, Arianus, and Callinicus, XII, 14, 159v.);

(13) Зако́нно пострада́въ мч҃нче, мꙋ́жьскимъ нра́вомъ дѣ́ѧ. всѧ̀ беззако́ннꙋющꙙ̈ посрами́лъ е̏си̏ сові́ты.
'You rightfully suffered, o Martyr, with your manly temper. You put to shame all the plans of the wicked' (Martyr Longinus the Centurion, X, 16, 154).

The menaia also speak about the manliness of the male soul:

(14) Мꙋ́жествомъ дꙋши̏ бж҃е́ственѣ воѡ̏рꙋ́живсѧ, и̏ непреста́ннꙋю моли́твꙋ ꙗ̏ко ко́пїе прїе́мъ держа́вно, разско́калъ е̏си̏ дѣ́моньскаѧ во́ньства
'Having armed yourself with the manliness of soul and truly received incessant prayer like a spear, you scattered, o Saint, the demonic armies' (Venerable Dius, VII, 19, 238v.).

The textual static image of manliness employs pairs of expressively connoted nouns: manliness – feat, manliness – valour, manliness – temper, manliness – wisdom, manliness – mind, manliness – reason, and manliness – soul.

The dynamic picture of manliness presents an image of the saint's struggle against demons, which are the representatives of evil on earth, or against

his own weakness. Thanks to manliness, the saint gives his actions decisive strength and resolution:

(15) Егда̀ ѕлонмени́тыи вра́гъ. тща́шеся ласка́ньми ѹ҆кра́сти твою̀ мы́сль, тогда̀ мѹ́жествомъ ѹ҆добря́емъ, сопроти́вися тве́рдѣ
'When the evil enemy tried to steal your thought with caresses, you, adorned with manliness, resisted firmly' (Martyr Myron, VIII, 17, 299).

In the dynamic image, the word *manliness* is paired with verbs that have the semantics of victory and the end of struggle:

1) To dare (*дерзнуть*):

Мѹ́жества Ѻ҆бразꙑ ꙗ҆вльса, насо́нмнцꙑн дерзноу́лъ є҆сѝ пода́ти себѐ сѹди́щꙋ страда́нїа
'Being the image of manliness, you dared to deliver yourself to suffering at the trial (Martyr Andrew, VIII, 19, 320);

1) To destroy (*погубить*):

мѹ́жески хра́брова со враго́мъ е҆плѣ́атъса и҆ сего̀ погѹби́лъ є҆сѝ
'You manfully and courageously fought with the enemy and destroyed him' (Martyr Andrew, VIII, 19, 320);

2) To defeat (*победить*):

Мꙋ́жескꙑм и҆ тве́рдꙑмъ сїа́а смы́сломъ. Тꙑ развраще́нїа нече́стивꙑ̃ і҆ ополче́нїа побѣди́лъ є҆сѝ
'Shining through your manly and stout mind, you defeated the snares and attacks of the wicked' (Martyr Acacius, V, 7, 78v.);

Мѹ́жествовавъ, побѣди́лъ є҆сѝ страстна́а възыгра́нїа вса̀
'You manfully defeated all passionate desires' (Venerable Nikon, XI, 17, 249);

3) To resist (*сопротивляться*):

Мече́мъ и҆ о҆гню̀, и҆ мѹче́ными сосѹ́домъ, мч҃нче сѹпроти́вилса мѹ́жески
'You resisted manfully the sword, the fire and the instruments of torture, o Martyr' (Hieromartyr Mocius, V, 11, 156v.);

4) To subdue, enslave (*понудить, поработить*):

мѹ́жески бо є҆стество̀ понѹ́дивъ, и҆ пло́ть порабо́тити дх҃ꙋ
'Having manfully subdued your nature and enslaved your body to your spirit' (Venerable Paphnutius, V, 1, 7);

5) To fight (*подвизаться*):

мꙋ́жески подвиза́сѧ нале́сть
'You manfully fought against cunning' (Martyr Christopher, V, 9, 128v.);

6) To crush (*сокрушать*):

вереа́ми желѣ́зными, го́лени сокрꙋша́еми, страстоте́рпцы гд҃ни. нече́стїѧ ко́сти терпѣ́нїѧ вереа́ми, и҆ мꙋ́жествомх во́инꙋ сокрꙋши́сте
'With their legs crushed by iron chains, the Lord's martyrs truly crushed the bones of impiety with the chains of patience and manliness' (Martyrs Adrian and Natalia, VIII, 26, 401);

7) To extinguish (*погасить*):

и҆до́льскꙋю же погаси́лѧ е҆сѝ пре́лесть мꙋ́жески, лютаго бѣ́са
'You manfully extinguished idolatrous delusion, that ferocious demon' (Martyr Christopher, V, 9, 130).

The semantic space of the text is fashioned by noun-verb pairs: manliness – to dare, manliness – to destroy, manliness – to resist, manliness – to subdue, manliness – to enslave, manliness – to fight, manliness – to crush, etc.

Thus our semantic analysis shows that men that have performed feats of faith and been extolled in menaia correspond to the masculinoid type, the active fighter, commander, organizer, creator, and transformer [Dugin 2010].

3.2. Semantics of Female Feats

The aforementioned behavioral traits are not characteristic for the two feminoid types described above. Women belonging to the motherly type are peaceable, love calm, and seek outer and inner harmony. Women of the second ("dramatic") type strive to take pleasure in life. Neither the first nor the second type belongs to the sphere of social activity necessary for feats of faith. Nevertheless, some women have performed feats and have been canonized. To this end, they have had to acquire personality traits that do not belong to the stereotype of female gender and to perform other social functions. The feminoid personality had to acquire masculine traits, i.e., effectuate the transition from imperfection to perfection, from the corporal to the spiritual, and from chaos to order [Ryabov 1999: 8–12].

The analysis of hymns has shown that the stereotypes set down in language turn out to be so strong that a woman's change of gender functions is not reflected in language. Language has no special words for describing female saintly feats. The bravery and daring of women, just as the bravery and daring of men, are described only from the standpoint of the male sex: as "manliness". Young men (youths) perform manly deeds ю́ношески (ю́ношеско) 'youthfully', and young women and girls also do it ю́ношески (ю́ношеско). The lack of a

special word denoting the 'manliness of women' shows that there was no such phenomenon in the cultural and social space of the Early Christian Period. Although Dyachenko's dictionary contains the word жѣнство, yet it is not the antonym of мужеству, as it denotes 'female sex', 'female trait', and 'menstruation' [Dyachenko 1993: 181].

Women that perform feats of faith behave manfully (*мужественно, мужески, мужествуют*) or 'like a youth' (*юношески*), i.e., they come to resemble men. Martyr Bassa behaved manfully (*мужески*) during her ordeals:

(1) Не ѹстрашисѧ по велѣнїи богомерскихъ, страхомъ гднимъ ѡграденаѧ ти дша, бїєнїи разлічныхъ и бѣдъ. тѣмже моѵжески дерзноѵла єси
'Your soul, shielded by the fear of God, was not daunted by the impious orders, beatings, and calamities. In so doing, you dared manfully' (VIII, 21, 344v.).

Martyr Matrona Юношско показа̀ терпѣнїе 'demonstrated youthful fortitude' (III, 27, 252v.). Great-Martyr Euphemia demonstrated male fearlessness during torture:

(2) И к колеси привѧзаема, и звѣрьми растерзаема, и ѡгнемъ и водою ѡбострившисѧ промыслом бжїѧ дха . тꙑ кнѧза теченїи кровными, мѹжьски ѹдавила єси
'Tied to the wheel and torn apart by animals and strengthened by fire and water by the providence of the Holy Spirit, you manfully defeated the prince of darkness at the bloody spectacle' (IX, 16, 211).

Holy Protomartyr and Equal-to-the-Apostles Thecla manfully opposed her tormentor:

(3) Преста̀ мѹчителево велѣнїе, прегордое. на него̀ко. и женꙑ бгочтно ѡ хѣ мѹжьствоваша
'The tormenter's haughty will ceased. The pious women had manfully opposed him for the sake of Christ' (IX, 24, 310).

Martyr Charitina suffered with prudent manliness:

(4) Бгть престꙑаго дха тѧ ѡдаровавши, бгодѣтными ѹкраси плетенїми и радость вѣчнѹющѹю наслѣдити ѹкрѣпи, мѹжемѹдрено пострадавшю
'The grace of the Holy Spirit enriched you, adorning you with the ornaments of virtue, and fortified you, who suffered with prudent manliness, to inherit eternal joy' (X, 5, 47v.).

Thanks to her manliness, Martyr Glyceria was able to withstand wild animals: звѣри побэжда́юши мужески 'defeating animals manfully' (V, 13, 170).

The description of female feats in the menaia does not differ from the description of feats performed by men. Manliness is simultaneously a woman's personality trait and her feat or concrete action.

The static characteristics of women's manliness are described by the same noun pairs that were used to describe male feats:

1) Manliness – feat (*подвиг*):

Претерпѣла є҆сѝ мꙋ́жески по́двигъ
'Manfully endured the ordeal' (Great-Martyr Marina, VII, 17, 223);

2) Manliness – temper (*нрав*):

мꙋ́жьскїи прїа́ша нра́въ
'Took on a manly temper' (Martyrs Menodora, Metrodora, and Nymphodora, IX, 10, 144);

3) Manliness – wisdom (*мудрость*):

и҆ мꙋ́жемꙋ́дрено претерпѣла є҆сѝ бїе́нїѧ, и҆ расторга́нїѧ ст҃а́го тѝ тѣлесѝ
'You endured beating and dismemberment of your holy body with prudent manliness' (Martyr Aquilina, VI, 13, 146v.);

4) Manliness – mind (*ум*):

оу҆мо́мъ к҆ мꙋ́жескимъ дѣѧ́нїемъ востече́, оу҆подо́блышнсѧ бл҃года́тїю
'Elevating your mind to manly deeds, in which you participated through grace' (Venerable Eugenia, XII, 24, 341);

5) Manliness – valour (*доблесть*):

ра́дꙋйсѧ и҆́же вже́ньстѣмъ тѣлѣ мꙋ́жьски доблествова́вши
'Rejoice, you who showed valour like a man in a woman's body' (Venerable Euphrosyne of Alexandria, IX, 25, 316);

6) Manliness – reason (*разум*):

мꙋ́жескимъ ра́зꙋмомъ и҆ ѻ҆́бразомъ
'With male reason and likeness' (Holy Protomartyr and Equal-to-the-Apostles Thecla, IX, 24, 311–311v.);

мꙋ́жеподо́бнымъ ра́зꙋмом мч҃нце, и҆ крѣ́пости и҆спо́лнилѧ є҆́сть; Мꙋ́жескимъ сла́внаѧ ра́зꙋмомъ
'O Martyr, you were full of male reason and strength and glorious in manly reason' (Martyr Irene, V, 5, 68v.-69);

7) Manliness – soul (*душа*):

ꙗ҆ви́сѧ на сꙋди́щи мꙋ́жьскꙋ́ю дш҃ꙋ носѧ́щи
'You came to the trial with a manly soul' (Great-Martyr Euphemia, IX, 16, 214).

In the oppositions manliness – wisdom and manliness – reason, the composite words мꙋ́жеподо́бнаѧ 'resolute like a man' and мꙋ́жемꙋ́дрено 'with prudent manliness' are used, pointing to the medieval belief of the imperfection of the

female mind. Intelligence and prudence were considered to be the attributes of men, and these qualities were taken to be exemplary [Ryabov 1999: 8–12]. However, even a woman that manages to attain male wisdom cannot compare with a man, who attains higher levels of sanctity. Whereas Martyr Matrona's virtue is male wisdom (йюде́йском8 шата́нїю и на́глом8 с8ро́вьств8, по́мыслом сопроти́вльшисѧ м8жемоу́дренаѧ 'like a wise man, you resisted in thought to Jewish pride and insolent arrogance' (III, 27, 250v.)), Saint Acacius' virtue is divine reason: Ра́з8мом бж̃твеными, и прем8́дромтїю и сло́вом оу́кра́шен. м8́дрецем плете́нїѧ неразу́мнаѧ разори́л еси 'Adorned with divine reason and wisdom and eloquence, you destroyed the foolish casuistry of wise men' (V, 7, 79v.).

Women are capable of active behaviour that is described dynamically in the menaia:

1) Manliness – to dare (*дерзнуть*):

стра́хом гд̃ним ѡграде́наа ти дш̃а, бѣ́снїи разли́чных и бѣ́дх . тѣ́мже моу́жески дерзну́ла еси .
'With your soul protected by the fear of God from various torments and ordeals, you dared manfully' (Martyr Bassa, VIII, 21, 344v.);

2) Manliness – to kill (*удавить*):

И к колеси́ привѧза́ема, и звѣ́рьми растерза́ема, и ѡгне́м и водо́ю ѡкостри́вшисѧ про́мыслом бж̃їа дх̃а . ты̑ы кнѧ́за тече́нїи кро́вными, м8́жьски оу́дави́ла еси .
'Tied to the wheel and torn apart by animals and strengthened by fire and water by the providence of the Holy Spirit, you manfully killed the prince of darkness at the bloody spectacle' (Great-martyr Euphemia, IX, 16, 211);

3) Manliness – to defeat (*победить*):

(1) звѣ́ри побѣжда́юши м8́жески
'Defeating animals manfully' (Martyr Glyceria, V, 13, 170); ;

(2) м8чи́телей томле́нїѧ побѣди́ла еси моу́жески
'You manfully defeated the torments of torturers' (Martyr Christina, VII, 24, 293v.);

4) Manliness – to overcome (*разразить*):

како м8́жьствеными сплете́нїем, врага́ невиди́маго разрази́ла еси
'You overcame the invisible enemy in manly combat' (Martyr Parasceva, X, 28, 23).

In the menaia, similar static and dynamic constructions are used to describe male and female feats. This means that men and women were subject to the same torments, demonstrated the same character traits, and suffered similarly.

Nevertheless, female feats do not stem from female nature but are always oriented at the example of male behavior, require male guidance, and aim to overcome the imperfect female nature and transcend it.

While descriptions of male feats do not include semantics of the opposition of male and female, female feats take shape in the collision between female corporality and male spirit [Ryabov 1999: 8–9]. Whereas manliness is connected with intelligence, temper, and feats, the female nature is connected with corporality and weakness. The static image of femininity is based on the following pairs:

1. Femininity – weakness (*слабость*):

(1) Ни и́го рабо́тное, ни сла́бость же́ньскаѧ, ни гла́дь ни ра́ны запѧ́ша тѧ̀
'Neither hard work nor female weakness nor hunger nor wounds stopped you' (Martyr Matrona, III, 27, 250v.);

(2) мꙋ́жескꙋю кре́пость пріе́мши, а̀ же́нскꙋю не́мощь ѿве́ргши дїа́вола побѣди̂
'Receiving male strength and rejecting female weakness, you defeated the devil' (Martyr Parasceva, X, 28, 14).

2. Femininity – lust or passion (*похоть*):

Премꙋ́дрость бж҃їѧ пре́жде ѡ тебѣ̀ написа́ла е̑сть. сѝ е̑сѝ до́браѧ моѧ̀ и̂ прекра́снаѧ, и̂ по́хоти же́нскіѧ нѣ́сть въ тебѣ̀
'Divine Wisdom wrote about you in advance: you are my good and beautiful [woman] and have no female lust in you' (Blessed Princess Olga, VII, 11, 150v.).

3. Femininity – body (*тело*) (corrupt, imperfect):

(1) сме́рть го́рькꙋю терпѧ́ще и̂ же́ньскими тѣ́лѡмъ змїа̀ ѿстꙋ́пника сокрꙋша́юще.
'Enduring bitter death and defeating the apostate serpent with your female body' (Martyrs Menodora, Metrodora, and Nymphodora, IX, 10, 145);

(2) въ же́ньстѣмъ тѣ́леси, мꙋ́жьскіѧ воспрїе́мше пѡ́двиги
'You performed male feats in a female body' (150);

(3) Несъверше́нными оу̑бо тѣ́лесы̀ и̂ съверше́номъ оу̑мо́мъ
'With imperfect bodies and perfect mind' (141v.).

In the menaia, the female sex is simply designated as non-male, and the word немꙋ́жествена 'non-male' is used instead of the word женщина 'woman':

(4) Ꙗвѝсѧ на сꙋди́щи мꙋ́жьскꙋю дш҃ꙋ носѧ́щи, и̂ врага̀ ꙗ́ко немꙋ́жествена побѣди́ла е̑сѝ
'You appeared at the trial with a manly soul and, although you were non-male, defeated the enemy' (Great-Martyr Euphemia, IX, 16, 214).

3.3. The Woman's Path to Sainthood: Becoming a Man

What is the path to sainthood of women extolled in the menaia?

The path of a woman towards the ideal involves subordinating herself to a man, obeying his precepts, and taking him as an example. Medieval philosophers believed that a woman is unreasonable and incapable of self-control and therefore has need of guidance. For a woman, the model of behaviour should be her husband, because the man is the image and likeness of God [Ryabov 1999: 8–25]. Thus, following the guidance of her husband, imitating her husband, and acting together with her husband, a woman behaves like a man. The menaia mention numerous married couples in which the wife emulates her husband and fights courageously and manfully at his side:

(1) стрⷭ҇тотѣ́рпцы мⷱ҇нцы хⷭ҇а на сꙋди́щи мꙋ́жески проповѣ́дасте
'Passion-bearer martyrs manfully professed Christ at the trial' (Martyrs Timothy and Maura, V, 3, 40v.);

(2) Свꙗза́еми мⷱ҇нцы всѧ вѧза́нїѧ вра́жїѧ, мꙋ́жески разори́сте
'The bound martyrs manfully destroyed all the snares of the enemy' (Martyrs Timothy and Maura, V, 3, 43);

(3) вереꙗ́ми желѣ́зными, го́лени сокрꙋша́еми, страстотѣ́рпцы гⷭ҇дни. нечести́ѧ ко́сти терпѣ́нїꙗ вереꙗ́ми, и мꙋ́жествомъ вои́стинꙋ сокрꙋши́сте
'With your knees crushed by iron chains, the Lord's passion-bearers truly crushed the bones of impiety with the chains of patience and manliness' (Martyrs Adrian and Natalia, VIII, 26, 401);

(4) къ миродержи́телемъ сопроти́вистесѧ, и си́хъ лꙋка́вство, мꙋ́жьски побѣ́ждьше
'You opposed rulers and manfully defeated their cunning' (Martyrs Eulampius and Eulampia, X, 10, 79v.);

(5) Многоѡбра́зными мꙋ́ками, мꙋ́жьски приближи́стесѧ
'You manfully approached the different torments' (Martyrs Terence and Neonilla, X, 28, 1);

(6) мꙋ́жьскими по́двиги до́блественно сиꙗ́ющⷷ
'Valorously shining through manly feats' (Martyrs Terence and Neonilla, X, 28, 4).

The path of a woman to sainthood requires displaying male virtues and overcoming female nature. The text frequently reflects the change of status of the female sex. The woman is socially unworthy to carry out "male" functions and incapable of "male" actions and therefore must pass over to the zone of the opposite sex, i.e., become a social man. A series of steps leads to the feat of faith: woman → man → feat → sainthood. A woman cannot attain sainthood without passing through the intermediary level of manliness.

The first stage of the transition to the opposite sex is external masculinization, i.e., donning male clothing. This was the start of the feat of faith of Venerable

Theodora (Въ мꙋжескꙋю ѻдеждꙋ ѻблекшиса 'Donning male clothes', IX, 11, 155v.), Venerable Pelagia (вмꙋживъ си женьство врага попра и страсти ѹгаси тѣлесныа 'Fighting manfully, the female sex defeated the enemy and extinguished corporal passions', X, 8, 65) and many other female saints. Male clothing hides the woman's flaw: her body

(7) Несъвершенными ѹбо тѣлесы и съвершеномъ ѹмомъ, ветхаго змїа злоначалнаго, побѣдисте славнїи силою дховною, и немощинꙋ того крѣпость показасте
'Imperfect in body and perfect in mind, the glorious [martyrs] defeated the ancient serpent, the source of evil, with the force of the spirit and showed its power to be impotent' (Martyrs Menodora, Metrodora, and Nymphodora, IX, 10, 141v.).

A woman who takes the step of external masculinization acts reasonably and makes the Lord rejoice:

(8) вмꙋжьствѣко женьство мꙋдрѣ ѹкрывши; радꙋйса їже вженьстѣмъ тѣлѣ мꙋжьски доблествовавши
'You wisely covered your femininity with manliness; rejoice, you who performed manly feats in a female body' (Venerable Euphrosyne, IX, 25, 315v.);

(9) женьскꙋю слабость ѹкрѣпивши, нбными надеждами. посредѣ вселиса несꙋмѣнною мыслїю, мꙋжеи бгодохновеннѣ
'Strengthening your female weakness with heavenly hopes, you joined the ranks of God-inspired men thanks to an unflinching mind' (IX, 25, 317v.);

(10) Зарею бжественыхъ дѣанїй їако камень измарагдъ, чтаа видѣна быст посредѣ мꙋжь. мꙋжескаа боренїа показꙋющи ивеселаищи га
'Shining through divine actions like an emerald, you were seen to be pure among men, showing manful resistance and making the Lord rejoice' (IX, 25, 318v.).

A woman can also hide her femininity from her own self, i.e., forget about it. This is what the Nun-Martyr Eugenia did on her path to sainthood:

(11) женьское єстество забывши, ѹмомъ вмꙋжескимъ дѣанїемъ востече, ѹподобльшиса блгодатїю
'Forgetting female nature, your mind sought manly feats, which you attained with the help of grace ' *(XII, 24, 340v.).*

Another stage of the transformation of the woman into a masculinoid is to live with men like a man, most often in a male monastery. This step was taken by Venerable Theodora after her transvestment:

(12) мꙋжьски подвиги воздержанїа претерпѣвши, низложила єси многокознненаго, єже смꙋжи жизнь поживши
'Manfully performing feats of abstinence, you defeated the cunning enemy, having lived with men' (IX, 11, 156v.);

(13) їако жена тѣломъ посредѣ мꙋжь жити
'Live in body like a woman among men' (IX, 11, 160).

External transformation promotes inner change: the awareness of the weakness of the female body and the imperfection of the female mind and their rejection allow a woman to rise to the highest rung of the social ladder:

(14) Слабость женьскꙋ, мꙋжьски иꙁмѣни, ꙁванїю воистинꙋ, и новомꙋ ѻбраꙁꙋ
'You manfully transformed female weakness in keeping with your standing and new image' (Venerable Euphrosyne, IX, 25, 156).

Venerable Euphrosyne of Alexandria and Saint Thecla went down this path of masculinization:

(15) посредѣ мꙋжъ вселшиса, совершенными раꙁꙋмомъ. како ꙋтаи женьскꙋю немощь, ꙋкрѣпляема бжⷵтвеною силою
'Settling among men with perfect minds, how did you hide your female weakness, strengthened by divine power?' (IX, 25, 315v.);

(16) мꙋжескими раꙁꙋмомъ и ѻбраꙁомъ
'With male intelligence and likeness' (IX, 24, 311–311v.).

As a result of external transformation, women acquire male qualities: male intelligence, strength, and character. The change of female status to male status is accompanied by the rejection of the former. This involves not the acquisition of male traits in addition to female characteristics but the total loss of femininity and the emergence of a masculine personality. Martyr Parasceva went down this path of sainthood:

(17) к подвигѡмъ вмѣстиса, мꙋжьскимъ смысломъ. женьскꙋю слабость ѿвергши
'Rising to feats with male intelligence, you cast away female weakness' (X, 28, 10);

(18) мꙋжескꙋю крѣпость приемши, а женⷵкꙋю немощь ѿвергши дїавола побѣди
'Assuming male strength and rejecting female weakness, you defeated the devil' (X, 28, 14);

(19) невѣсто бжⷠїѧ мꙋжеоꙋмнаа
'Bride of God with a manly mind' (X, 28, 18);

(20) ꙁабывши женьскꙋю немощь, мꙋжество ꙋкрѣпившиса терпѣниемъ
'Forgetting female weakness, you manfully armed yourself with patience' (X, 28, 20v.);

(21) ниꙁложила еси шатание прелести беꙁбожныѧ, силою крⷵтною, мꙋжьственымъ раꙁꙋмомъ
'You cast down the arrogance of godless delusion through the power of the Cross and a manly mind' (X, 28, 22v.).

Martyr Irene had male intelligence and strength:

(22) Їже миръ тебѣ подаваaи, мироименитаа. мира ради пособьствꙋющꙋ тѧ вида, мꙋжеподобнымъ раꙁꙋмом мⷱнце, и крѣпости исполнила есть; Крѣпкимъ ꙋсердіемъ, превꙁыде женьскꙋю немощь пребⷤженнаа; Мꙋжескимъ славнаа раꙁꙋмомъ, хⷵа бга всѣхъ

ꙗ́сно и҆сповѣ́даше. сло́вомже тве́рдымх, сꙋпротивхобо́рца страстоте́рпнце посрамила є҆сѝ
'Giving peace to you, the namesake of peace, and seeing your struggle for peace, Martyr, He filled you with manlike intelligence and strength; with intense effort, you surpassed female weakness, o most blessed; glorious through manly intelligence, you clearly professed Christ, God of all, and put the adversary to shame with your resolute words, o passion-bearer' (V, 4, 68v.-69).

Martyr Aquilina managed to bear the ordeals only thanks to male wisdom and strength:

(23) Послѣ́довати хꙋ́бымх сла́бнымх вожделѣ́ла є҆сѝ, страда́нїемх дѣо. и҆ мꙋжемꙋ́дрено претерпѣ́ла є҆сѝ бїе́нїѧ, и҆ расторга́нїѧ ст҃́аго тѝ тѣ́леси
'You strove to emulate Christ's glorious suffering, o Virgin, and, with manful wisdom, endured beating and dismemberment of your holy body' (VI, 13, 146v.).

A male intelligence helped Venerable Xenia to take decisive steps:

(24) мирскꙋ́ю пре́лесть, и҆ плотьскаго ѿбрꙋ́чника ѿвещи́сѧ понꙋ́ди оу҆мо́мх мꙋ́жескимх
'thanks to your manly mind, you rejected worldly delusion and a corporal suitor' (I, 24, 403).

A woman's acquisition of male qualities allows her to engage in struggle and perform feats like a man:

(25) Кх болѣ́зненомꙋ́ возде́ржа́нїю, кх мꙋ́жескимх бо́ре́нїемх проти́вꙋ врага̀ ѡ҆полче́нїю, запе́ншаго є҆стество человѣ́комх, ѿлꙋчи́ласѧ є҆сѝ цѣ́лиши стра́сти
'Having devoted yourself to painful abstinence and manly struggle against the enemy who corrupted the nature of mankind, you heal passions' (Venerable Martha, VII, 4, 22–23).

A male body and mind are perfect and identical to God's:

(26) Ра́зꙋмомх бж҃́твеными, и҆ премꙋ́дростїю и҆ сло́бомх оу҆кра́шенх. мꙋдреце́мх плете́нїѧ неразꙋ́мнаа разо́рил є҆сѝ; Мꙋ́жеским и҆ тве́рдымх сїѧ́л смы́сломх. Ты̀ развраще́нїѧ нечести́выꙵ і҆ ѡ҆полче́нїѧ побѣди́лх є҆сѝ
'Adorned with divine reason and wisdom and eloquence, you destroyed the foolish casuistry of wise men; shining with manly and resolute intelligence, you defeated the contortions and attacks of the wicked' (Martyr Acacius, V, 7, 78v.).

The female body and mind are corrupt and must be improved and enlightened in order to attain a male (divine) level:

(27) Просвѣ́щéнїи оу҆мо́мх, бг҃о нача́лными зара́ми. мглꙋ̀ и҆до́льскꙋ́ю ѡ҆черни́сте
'Enlightened by reason and divine illumination, you vilified idolatrous darkness' (Martyrs Menodora, Metrodora, and Nymphodora, IX, 10, 149).

Martyrs Menodora, Metrodora, and Nymphodora did not reject the female body but changed their personalities and minds, which allowed them to perform male feats in a female body:

(28) мꙋ́жьскїи прїа́ша нра́вх
'Assuming a manly temper' (IX, 10, 144);

(29) Просвѣще́нïи у҆мо́мъ, є҆̀го нача́лными зара́ми. мглу̀ и҆́дольскую ѡ҆черни́сте
'Enlightened by reason and divine illumination, you vilified idolatrous darkness' (IX, 10, 149);

(30) И҆зхостри́вшесѧ любо́вïю творца̀, притупи́сте жа́ла змïи́ная. въ же́ньстѣмъ тѣлесѝ, му́жьскïя воспрïе́мше по́двиги
'Aroused by the love of the Creator, you blunted the serpent's tooth, having performed manly feats in a female body' (IX, 10, 150);

(31) сме́рть го́рькую терпѧ́ще и҆ же́ньскимъ тѣ́ломъ змïѧ̀ ѿступника сокруша́юще
'Enduring bitter death and defeating the apostate serpent with your female body' (IX, 10, 145).

The masculinity of the former woman is preserved after her death. For example, Great-Martyr Euphemia appears before her Creator with a male soul:

(32) Я҆ви́сѧ на суди́щи му́жьскую ду́шу носѧ́щи, и҆ врага̀ я҆́ко немужествена побѣди́ла є҆сѝ
'You came to the judgment bearing a male soul and defeated the enemy being a non-man' (IX, 16, 214);

(33) ра́дуйсѧ всехва́льнаѧ, я҆́же же́нское є҆стество̀, в му́жеское преложи́вши ѡ҆полче́нïе
'Rejoice, o all-praised, who transformed female nature into male power' (IX, 16, 221v.).

The image of a woman that attains perfection by turning into a man appeared in the course of medieval disputes, whose echoes are present in the works of Maxim the Greek. The latter argued that the female sex was initially created in male guise and that its appearance was tied with original sin. During the resurrection of the dead, the female sex will rise in its initial male guise and image [Ryabov 1999: 11–13].

3.4. Sainthood without the Rejection of Femininity

Nevertheless, it is also possible to attain sainthood without rejecting femininity. A special path to sainthood is presented in the service to Blessed Princess Olga. She managed to combine in her personality all three gender types: the masculine and both feminine types. After all, she was a wife, mother and ruler. Such transcendence of gender structures is strange for the medieval cultural space. This may be the reason why the authors of the menaion tried to justify and correct this situation, denying the saint's female nature:

(1) Прему́дрость бж҃їѧ пре́жде ѿ тебѣ̀ написа́ла є҆́сть. си҆̀ є҆сѝ до́браѧ моѧ̀ и҆ прекра́снаѧ, и҆ по́хоти же́нскïѧ нѣ́сть в̾тебѣ̀
'Divine Wisdom wrote about you in advance: you are my good and beautiful [woman] and have no female lust in you ' (VII, 11, 150v.);

(2) Женоу̀ по є҆стество́у нарица́емъ тѧ̀, но па́че си́лы же́нскïѧ подви́жесѧ
'We call you a woman by nature, yet you performed feats that were beyond a woman's power' (VII, 11, 151v.).

The asymmetry of the gender status of men and women brings to mind the possibility of overcoming the antinomy of the male and the female and the existence of a "third sex" that would be neutral in another discourse and another social space. This idea is clearly expressed in New Testament texts, continuing the tradition stemming from Apostle Paul, who urged overcoming gender in his vision of the Christian community: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is no male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus."

One way to overcome gender limitations is to take an oath of chastity. Such vows are taken both by men and women, as well as married couples:

(3) Непорабощённу соблюлъ ѥси дшїю свою страстьми и сластьми тѣлесными
'You kept your soul from being enslaved to passions and carnal lust' (Venerable Stephen, VII, 13, 171v.);

(4) Чтое чтоты своеа сокровище беспорока ѿ мужъ сохранила ѥси
'You preserved the pure treasure of your chastity without blemish from men' (Venerable Euphrosyne, IX, 25, 315v.).

In the life of Venerable Andronicus and his wife Athanasia, the path to sainthood passed through the rejection of nuptial life. In the process, Athanasia rejected femininity in the aforementioned way: she dressed up as a man:

(5) Пременивши одѣанїе ѥстествꙋ таи. тѣмх несꙋмѣнно путь спасенїа прошла ѥси
'You changed your clothing secretly. Thereby you wholeheartedly travelled down the path of salvation' (X, 9, 72v.).

Many saints and married couples rejected their sexuality, which "was viewed in Christian culture as a distortion of the image and likeness of God and as something that is unworthy of man and is connected with animal or satanic nature" [Ryabov 1999: 8–12].

The only case of the attainment of sainthood by a feminine personality of the first type (the mother) is the example of Saint Anna, mother of the Theotokos (naturally, with the exception of the Theotokos herself, who has a special status among women in Christianity). In the works of Maxim the Greek, the woman is considered to be an assistant in the reproduction and continuation of the human species, which is her only virtue [Ryabov 1999: 8–35]. However, this virtue rarely led to sainthood in the Middle Ages. It may well be that women, who had less pronounced characters and were less individualistic than men, were not considered to be subjects in their own right [Ryabov 1999: 8–25]. Even if a woman became a respected mother, this was not her merit or the result of her determined activities, but the consequence of purely biological processes that took place outside and independently of the female consciousness. In the hymn to Saint Anna, the idea of the non-subjec-

tivity of the motherly feminoid is clearly expressed through the extolment of genitals that are intended for childbearing rather than of the woman herself as an individual:

(6) блаже́нна ложесна̀ твоѧ а҆́нно, ꙗ҆́ко мт҃рь живота̀ на́шего прозѧбла̀ є҆сѝ, блаже́ннаѧ сосца̀ и҆́маже воздои́ла є҆сѝ млеко́мъ пита́вшꙋю
'Blessed are your loins, Anna, for they gave birth to the Mother of our life. Blessed are your breasts that gave milk to Her who feeds' (IX, 9, 111).

4. Conclusions

The results of the above analysis showed that the texts of menaia services contain the traditional medieval views of the division of the sexes in society, their functions, and their social status. The asymmetry of male and female natures is seen to lie in the following:

1. The man is a perfect being, while the woman is an imperfect being

2. The only behavioural model for a woman is the behaviour of man

3. The woman should be subordinated to the man and imitate him in everything

4. To attain perfection, the woman should behave like a man (dress in male clothes, live in a male monastery)

5. External changes in a woman's appearance promote the development of male virtues (especially intelligence)

6. A woman on the path to sainthood must reject her sex, her corporality, and her femininity

7. Menaia texts rarely contain cases of the combination of different gender structures in one female individual (exception: Princess Olga)

8. The attainment of sainthood by women-mothers is also rare

The image of women in menaia services preserves and develops the traditions of the Holy Scripture and the Sacred Tradition that are present in the works of the Church Fathers. The analysis of the texts of services showed that, even in those cases when a woman acquires masculine personality traits and becomes capable of functioning in the male gender space, she attains this property not as a woman but as a likeness of man with the exclusive aim of implementing an extreme task: becoming a saint.

Thus the source of the higher social status of women in Old Believer communities is not connected with Eastern Christian ideology as it is expressed in church hymns that have been incorporated into daily church services. Most likely, this status is conditioned by the historical conditions of existence of Old Believer communities, in which the tradition of knowledge was passed on to each of its members in accordance with the behest of Apostle Paul and under threat of extinction. Today, sociologists speak about the activation of women in all spheres of public life (administration, science, business, etc.), and so the leadership of women in the spiritual domain, including religion, is nothing exceptional today.

On The Problem Of The Preservation Of Old Believer Book Culture And Confessional Self-Awareness

A lot of stereotypes have been created over the many years of research on Old Believers, their culture, life and worldview. The attitude towards Old Believers has ranged from derogatory and disparaging to reverent and admiring. As A. Kartashev wrote as far back as 1924,

> [Scholars] have passed from an official polemic or abstract theological attitude towards Old Believers through all kinds of new methodological approaches in historiography to a totally objective and even rapturous depiction [Kartashev 2013].

Scholars must take an objective attitude towards their object of study. The development of an objective scientific approach requires the rejection of the axiological aspects that are implicitly present in most works on Old Believers that we know of. The general public has a favourable notion of the fidelity of Old Believers to tradition, which they consider to be infallible, and to their faith, language and culture [Durnovo 1969: 42; Spassky 2008: 3]. Scholars support such a view of Old Believers. In the introduction to her book, S. Nikitina writes that she was lucky to observe in the course of archeographic expeditions

> [how] people continue to harbour notions of a turning-point in Russian history that took place in the mid-17th century during the age of church schism: notions that determine the attitude towards life, church books and cultural texts living in the oral and written traditions, in church and secular songs and, of course, in the language, which is the heart of culture [Nikitina 1993].

In his book *History of the Russian Literary Language from the 11th to the 17th Centuries* (*История русского литературного языка XI–XVII вв.*), B. Uspensky writes that "the church pronunciation of Muscovite Russia has been fully preserved in the reading practice of priestless Old Believers" [3rd edition, Uspensky 2002: 126]. Nevertheless, Uspensky is not entirely coherent in his views: he first says that medieval Russian book scribes were simultaneously editors and even, to a certain extent, co-authors of books and then asserts that, when dealing with 11th-century works that have come down to us in 14th-century manuscripts, we "can only make conclusions about the language of the 14th century and not at all about the language of the 11th century" [*Ibid.*: 89].

Our notions of public consciousness in 17th-century Russia (whether before the schism or after) are fragmentary and incomplete. We do not know for sure which worldviews were typical of the inhabitants of Moscow, Smolensk and Novgorod, what attitude they had towards books and "cultural" texts and whether they differentiated between texts that lived in oral and written traditions, considering language abstractly as a cultural phenomenon. After all, a person that has neither the experience of a reader nor any specialised education can objectively analyse the particularities of texts that are important for his milieu only if he has a special mentality. For example, it is doubtful that, lacking the methodological and factological framework that is at the disposal of a modern scholar of Old Believer texts, a member of an Old Believer community could determine the age of a given artifact even approximately. Before the Schism, the ability to write and speak Church Slavonic was the privilege of the clergy [Uspensky 2002: 90]; after the Schism, the study of Church Slavonic became a mass phenomenon in Old Believer communities (today, we connect the world information revolution with the democratization of language). Although Old Believer printing houses reedited liturgical books that had been published before 1666, a lot of texts circulated in manuscripts:

> Old Believers not only tried to give the manuscripts that they copied an outer resemblance to printed books but also began (from 1667 on) to call manuscript anthologies "books", striving to make readers treat them in the same way as official publications. Nevertheless, books were copied not only by professional scribes (in particular, at the commission of clients) but also by the readers themselves, which led to the appearance of a large number of artless manuscripts that were often written in primitive semi-ustav script [Beloborodov 2000].

As one knows, one of the external criteria that Old Believers used for determining the origins of a book was the presence of clasps (cf. the word *беззастежный* 'without clasps': "Schismatics derogatorily call all civil books 'claspless' [*беззастежными*]'", wrote Vladimir Dal [1955, I: 63]). The origin and functioning of popular fragments of liturgical texts in the form of charms that were "sewn into hats" have been studied by folklorists [Alpatov 2004: 124].

Although O. Bakhtina and Y. Dutchak assert that "a reader is a metaphorical image of Old Believer culture" [Bakhtina/Dutchak 2008: 286], it should be said that this image is totally non-historic and characterises Old Believers only in a very general fashion. Old Believer book and everyday culture is anything but homogeneous. Even if one agrees with the assertion that Polish Old Believers came to the Great Duchy of Lithuania from ethnic Russian territories (although the latter term does not have an objective historical meaning in this context, in our opinion), it would be profoundly mistaken to say that all the territories of the Muscovite Principality were homogeneous in culture

and language in the 17th century. Without a doubt, the isolation of each group of Old Believers led to its consolidation and the emergence of its own holistic worldview. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe in the preservation of the latter over a period of over 300 years in the conditions of geographical dissemination and of constantly aggravating ideological differences between Old Believer groups.

This can be seen from the following remarks by Avvakum (Avakum) Komissarov, a bookman of the Saviour's confession and author of an 800-page treatise entitled *Eternal Truth (Вечная правда)*, which may well be the most extensive and comprehensive description of the ideological and dogmatic foundations of the Old Believer movement after the *Pomorian Answers (Поморские ответы)*. The reasons leading Avvakum Komissarov to write the treatise are set forth in the Preface. On December 13, 1893, in the village of Gramotina of the Sofronovskaya Volost of the Poshekhonsky Uyezd of the Yaroslavl Governorship, a public discussion took place between schismatics and Nikolai Kasatkin (Kosatkin), a missionary of the Yaroslavl Eparchy and (incidentally) a former Old Believer. The "district dean Priest V. Alferov" and five parish priests were also present at the discussion "before a crowd of people". Kasatkin asked the villagers eight questions about the foundations of the organisation of the Old-Orthodox Church and about the concrete principles of operation of Saviour's religious communities. Komissarov's polemical treatise consists of detailed answers to these eight questions. In the preface to his work, Komissarov, addressing Kasatkin directly, explains the reasons for his "long silence" and describes the different circumstances that prevented him from giving a written answer to his opponent immediately. Komissarov cites the absence of state, church or other types of public libraries in his rural district (yet what Old Believer books could he have found in these libraries?!) and the lack of mutual assistance and support in the Old Believer milieu, where no person with ideas or written materials gave him "a helping hand" [Vechnaya pravda: Predisloviye 2]. It should be said that Komissarov takes his descriptions of the persecution of schismatics not only from his confessional and personal experience [Vechnaya pravda: 205ff.] but also from generally available works on the history of the schism that had been published by state presses. On ff. 214–216, he cites G. Yesipov's book *Schismatic Affairs in the 18th Century* (*Раскольничьи дела XVIII столетия*, St. Petersburg, 1861) and paraphrases materials from destroyed files of the Preobrazhensky Prikaz and the Secret Chancellery of Investigative Inquiries and articles from the newspaper *Golos* (№ 180, 1880) and *Russkaya tserkovnaya zhizn'* (especially G. Suvorin's article "Russian Press" in issue № 348 of 1893). These facts indirectly point to the lack of unity in Old Believer communities, to the different educational and ideological levels of their members, and to the differing attitudes to community affairs. They also confirm the lack of reliable recorded book traditions and of a collective con-

fessional memory, which Komissarov had to recreate with the help of external "Nikonian" sources. Wojnowo inhabitants were unfamiliar with Komissarov's treatise, although notes written in pencil in the margins show that nuns at the monastery had read it [Pociechina 2013: in press].

The unwillingness of Old Believers to speak with outsiders frequently led to misunderstandings. E. Sukertowa-Biedrawina wrote,

> When I visited a senile 82-year-old man in 1949 (he died in the spring of 1951), I asked him about the differences between the Old Faith and Orthodoxy. The old man raised two fingers (the fore and middle fingers) in the air and pressed the others to his palm so as to say that the sign of the cross was purportedly the principle difference. <…> A few days earlier, a student from the Sociology Department of Warsaw University visited the old man <…> to collect material for her master's thesis. When she asked him the same question, he was so taken aback that he did not know what to say and asked her to come again the following day. When the student returned, the old man was lying sick in bed [Sukertowa-Biedrawina 1961: 58–59].

The evaluative tone of this passage ("a senile 82-year-old man", "purportedly the principle difference", and "he did not know what to say") shows the author's critical attitude towards the ignorance of Old Believers that do not understand anything about their own faith. Scholars may be unaware that the unwillingness of Old Believers to speak with outsiders can lead to an erroneous interpretation of facts. I. Grek-Pabisowa critically assessed the conclusions (calling them "hasty") of the aforementioned student, who claimed that historical and cultural traditions were lacking among Old Believers and asserted that they did not know anything about their origins [Grek-Pabisowa 1999: 305–306].

Many centuries of persecution have taught Old Believers to be cautious, to be wary of outsiders and not to trust them. This has led to the traditional Russian stereotype of Old Believers who would not even give a glass of water to an outsider. For this reason, they are not ready to invite unknown people to their home or tell them about their life and faith. One can imagine the extent to which Masurian Old Believers trusted the teacher Martin Gerß (1808–1895) if they allowed him to spend time together with them and to enter the prayer house during services and showed him their books [Sukertowa-Biedrawina 1961: 44, 56]. Martin Gerß said that they did not allow him to touch the books and, when he looked at them, an Old Believer ("Philippon") turned the pages, as non-Old Believers are never allowed to take the books into their hands. Moreover, Gerß reported that the Old Believers "revere their books, teach their children to revere them, and always make the sign of the cross and bless the books before picking them up. They do the same thing after reading. Married persons or individuals that drink alcohol are now allowed to touch the books" [*Ibid.*: 61].

When we were on a field trip in Wojnowo with students, we carefully asked the Wojnowo elder G. N. (born in 1928 in Gabowe Grądy) about the liturgical books that he had at home. Here is fragment of the dialogue:

> — *Na co paniom potrzebne te nasze stare książki?*
> — *Przecież to są zabytki!*
> — *Ale teraz już są lepsze, nowe!*[1]

Nowikow immediately showed his new editions of the Potrebnik (Euchologion) and Psalter published by the Riga Grebenshchikov Community. Naturally, his words show that books continue to be valuable for Old Believers. Last year, N.'s wife, an *ustavshchitsa* or service master (born in Wojnowo in 1940) showed us a manuscript *in quarto* with at least 700 leaves that she had gotten as a gift from relatives in Germany. Nevertheless, changing living conditions (including a growing standard of living) have inevitably altered the attitude of Old Believers towards books. The appearance of the contemporary technologies of photocopying and computer word processing has made it obsolete to copy books by hand, just as the technology of audio recording allows people to learn tone melodies aurally without spending a lot of time studying *kryuki* notation or memorizing the *znamena*.

Our own experience of talking with Old Believers in rural areas suggests that Old Believers have no concrete temporal reference points.

An old woman from Vetka, at whose house we lived as students during a dialectological expedition in 1982, recalled how the communists burned down a prayer house in Popsuevka during the period of collectivization and how she took icons out of the fire with her bare hands. She had 16 icons in all at her house. We do not know whether these were the icons that she had saved as a young girl. Naïve intellectuals, we tried to find out when these icons were painted:

> "What century does your icon date from, Granny?"
> "What century? It dates from the beginning of creation (*сканамирная*[2])!"

The old woman believed that her icons had always existed. Today, after thirty years of experience dealing with Polish Old Believers and with scholars of their culture, seeing icons of "south-western" Old Believers, scrutinizing them and holding them in my hands, and speaking with Professor Grażyna Kobrzeniecka-Sikorska, a specialist in Old Believer icons, I suppose that the big icon with vivid colours and new gilding that we saw and that the old woman recom-

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[1] – Why do you ask about these old books of ours?
– But they're historical artifacts!
– Yet we have better newer books!

[2] Cf. the words "skonivechny" and "iskonivechny" (Slovar' russkoho yazyka XI-XVII vv., vol. 24, Moscow, 2000, p. 226).

mended wiping every day with a wet cloth was most likely painted in Vetka quite recently.

In our conversations, the old woman did not identify herself with Old Believers; like most of her fellow villagers, she said, "We're Russians (*москали*)". Did this manner of self-identification emerge as a result of many centuries of persecution and the recollection of being repeatedly expelled from Vetka? Although the theme of religion was taboo during the Soviet era, the old woman spoke out fearlessly. She told us about the outrageous practices in the kolkhoz and about how people killed all the birds in the fields and woods with fertilizers and herbicides. She did not say a word about religion, however. Did she pray? Did she repeat the "daily prayer-rope for those in power"? The village was tended by a "dyak" (rather than a priest!). He served an office for the dead in the house next door, and we students were invited afterwards to commemorate the defunct. Our hostess had neither books nor time to read them. It was no accident that a plaque with the words "House in Exemplary Condition" hung on her hut.

Two weeks of field work studying the "Russian dialects of Belorussia" left an indelible impression upon us. Nevertheless, when the materials that we collected were processed at the laboratory headed by Prof. A. Manaenkowa, there arose doubts about the scientific validity of what we were doing. The untrained ears of students had difficulty identifying phonetic differences between the pronunciation of Russians and Belorussians. Unable to fill out the long questionnaires, some of the students wrote answers at random, while others were more creative.

At the request of Prof. I. Semenenko-Basin, I asked Pomorian elders whether they prayed for the tsar. A. Zhilko, Elder of the Riga Grebenshchikov Community, declared that Pomortsy have never prayed for the tsar. Perhaps he meant that they have never prayed for the tsar by name. Nevertheless, the Statute of Household Prayer (Оу́ста́въ дома́шнїѧ моли́твы) or "Red Statute" prescribes the traditional daily repetition with prayer beads of a prayer for "those in power and all people" (ѡ̀ предержа́щїей вла́сти, и̂ ѡ̀ всѣ́хъ чл҃цѣ́хъ) [f. 131]. The Wojnowo ustavshchitsa (service master) I. N. confirmed that a daily prayer was recited for "those in power". The Fedoseyan "Rite of Confession" prescribes that the penitent be asked, "do you honour the all-merciful ruler of the fatherland?" (ѡ̂тече́ствїю г҃да всеми́лостнваго чте́шильли, f. 36v.). The contemporary website of the Old Pomortsy-Fedoseevtsy contains the following text:

> The state and the atheistic society are considered to be the servants of the Antichrist. It is not the government that governs but the Antichrist that is incarnated in each ruler in turn, with each ruler worse than his predecessor. The notion of the government as a "servant of the Antichrist" means that praying for the government is tantamount to praying for the triumph of the Kingdom of the Antichrist. If the government is

an "image of the Antichrist", then everything that stems from the government also bears the mark of the Antichrist. Every code of civil or criminal law is "a deceitful and anti-spiritual book hated by God"; government officials are the servants of the Antichrist; the heretical church is the "Jewish sanhedrin"; the supreme government is the "Council of the Antichrist"; and legal proceedings are a "Nikonian atheistic trial". The world believes in the trinity, yet the latter is an impure and corporal trinity, a most-impious trinity: civil society as the Serpent Devil; false prophets in the guise of the false-doctrinal and impious church; and the government of the Antichrist [http://www.staropomor.ru/index.html].

It is not known for sure when Wojnowo Fedoseyan Old Believers officially joined the Pomorian creed. This may have taken place after World War I and the Russian Revolution when ties with Russia were cut and the community began to work closely with the Riga Grebenshchikov Community. G. Potashenko identifies three periods in the development of relations between priestless factions in the Baltic States and Poland: the Fedoseyan period, the transitional Fedoseyan-Pomorian period (from 1831), and the Pomorian period proper. As he writes,

> By the early 20th century, most Old Believer communities in Lithuania had become Pomorian. By the 1920s, all Old Believer communities in Poland (together with the Vilnius Region) and Lithuania had apparently become Pomorian. In Latvia, the absolute majority of Old Believer communities had joined the Pomortsy by 1964 when the Rezekne Cemetery Community became Pomorian. In Estonia, this process was apparently complete by the mid-20th century, although there are 10 Pomorian and one Fedoseyan community (in Raja) there today [Potashenko 2013].

The struggle of Paul of Prussia for the moral purity of the Wojnowo Unmarried Fedoseevtsy, which led him to join the Edinovertsy, has left no trace in the minds of present-day Wojnowo inhabitants. The question of the attitude towards marriage provokes their perplexity. E. Iwaniec searched for over twenty years for information about the typography of Konstantin Golubov in Pisz (Johannisburg) [Iwaniec 2001]. Nothing remains of the typography, while the books that were printed in Pisz, including the *Collection of Works about Marriage by Various Fervent Men* (Сборникъ сочненїй ѿ бракахъ разныхъ ревностныхъ мужей), have become bibliographic rarities (no local inhabitants have any today). The Potrebnik (Euchologion) published by the Publishing House of the Riga Grebenshchikov Community in 2002 includes the "Rite of Confession" in an abridged and generalised version. In contrast to this generalised rite, the Wojnowo manuscript contains a number of ideological temporal indicators, such as неѡправдаешли чемъ поморцовъ, или новоженовъ 'Do you exonerate Pomortsy or new-marrieds in any way?' Their inclusion in contemporary texts would not be considered politically correct.

Wojnowo Old Believers do not remember a lot about the nuns of the monastery. No recollections about Yelena Dikopolskaya (Mother Eupraxia) have come down to us, and we can only tenuously identify her on a photograph. More information is available about Mother Antonina (Kondratyeva). O. L., whose house stands next to the monastery, recalls that Mother Antonina was strict yet gave children apples from the monastic garden. Mother of O. L. told her that Mother Antonina was very pretty and, when she went to town, she put on a fashionable dress and a hat with a veil, for which she was condemned by local inhabitants when they happened to meet her in the train.

R. D., an inhabitant of Galkowo, who comes from a traditional Old Believer family, does not know Church Slavonic, although she has a university degree in Russian Philology from the University of Warsaw. Although she takes no special interest in the history of Old Believers and their ideology, she told us about her early childhood and the entry of Soviet troops into East Prussia.

In answer to my question about which liturgical books are used by elders of Pomorian communities today elder of the Pomorian community of Old Believers in St. Petersburg, wrote, "Pomorian Old Believers celebrate all the services indicated in the menaia. As services are celebrated virtually only on Sundays and feast days in most communities, a menaia service is celebrated only if it falls on a Sunday. In addition to the menaia, one celebrates select services to the Theotokos: the Pskov Icon (from the *Trefoloy* or Festal Menaion), the St. Theodore Icon, the Tikhvin Icon, and the Icon "Joy of All Who Sorrow" (from a printed anthology), and the Korsun Icon (from a manuscript). A canon to Paisius the Great is also read from manuscript during occasional offices (we do not do it in our community). One celebrates a service to Martyr Isidore of Yuriev in Estonia, and one may also read canons to saints from manuscript in certain places." This letter suggests that services occur in prayer houses only on Sundays and feast days and thus, the elder's claims notwithstanding, far from all menaia services are celebrated. Pomortsy complain about the lack of educated elders that not only understand the content of hymnographic and Biblical texts but are also familiar with the basics of Demestvenny chant. In 2006, the Grebenshchikov Old Believer Seminary reopened in Riga.

A study of the services that we transcribed in Wojnowo shows that only a relatively small number of liturgical texts are used during services in the Wojnowo prayer house. The same troparia and irmoi are repeated numerous times during the service; they can be learned by heart, and thus one does not always need to know how to read Church Slavonic. We have seen the eldest inhabitant of Galkowo, Anna Krassowskaya, reciting by heart the text of the Pascha Service instead of reading it from the Chasovnik (Horologion), which she had opened at random. Not all members of the Wojnowo community are able to read Church Slavonic. Young members of the Suwałki community

told me about their difficulties with reading Church Slavonic texts. With the death of people who were born in the first few decades of the 20th century, the knowledge of Kryuki notation has largely disappeared. I. N., *ustavshchitsa* of the Wojnowo community, does not know the *znamena*: she sings chants by heart after listening to tape recordings. Still, this year at Pascha, young Old Believers that had come from Berlin, Germany, to visit their relatives sung parts of the Paschal Canon of John Damascene with books in their hands. At first, N. did not understand our question about the use of the Synodik in Wojnowo houses. Although the elder had two printed editions of the book at home (the 1989 Moscow edition in the *Old Believer Prayer Book* and the 1991 Riga edition), and its text is also found in the aforementioned manuscript anthology, the word "synodik" was unfamiliar to the *ustavshchitsa*. When she understood what I was talking about, N. called it the "universal" (*вселенская*) book after the titles of the articles.

Elder at Gabowe Grądy and Chairman of the Head Council of the Old-Orthodox Pomorian Church in the Republic of Poland published the textbook *Old Church Slavonic without Secrets* (Starosłowiański bez tajemnic) in Białystok in 2009. The textbook aims to assist "Old Believers living in Poland" in the study of "the Old Church Slavonic alphabet". It contains such traditional texts as the "Tale of the Prayer Rope According to the Statute" and "Dream of the Theotokos". Calling upon people to study "this wonderful and mysterious language", the author furnishes the texts printed in semi-ustav with a simplified transcription in Latin characters. Moreover, some of the texts are rewritten in civil Cyrillic, while the interpretations and commentaries are given in Russian and Polish. Thus handbook provides clear evidence that not only oral speech but also the textual tradition of Polish Old Believers reflects a somewhat different nature of the process of the "interaction between man and book/religious text" [Bakhtina/Dutchak 2008: 286] than one commonly believes.

Polish Old Believers were divided into two groups in the first half of the 19th century (on July 20, 1930, the inhabitants of Wojnowo celebrated the 100th anniversary of the migration of a group of Old Believers to East Prussia) and, over less than 200 years, the consciousness of the two groups has diverged so much that Suwałki-Sejny and Augustów Old Believers identify themselves with Lithuanian and Latvian Old Believers, while Masurian Old Believers consider themselves to be ethnically related to Germans. As Anna Zelinska writes,

> Old Believers are a type of minority brought together by religion and language. Nevertheless, if they are deeply aware of their religious and linguistic distinctness, they do not attach a lot of importance to their ethnicity. The historical knowledge of their origins is not important for them. No accounts of the migration patterns and homeland of Polish Old Believers circulate apart from the legend "About the Belomors (Pomors)" in the Augustów community. The external group to which they

relate themselves are the more numerous and better organised Old Believer communities in Lithuania and Latvia rather than the Russian state or the Russian people [Zielińska 1996, 46].

The Old Believers that live in Masuria and that were born and grew up in Wojnowo, Galkowo, and other villages have a good knowledge of German. At the same time, even if they begin a conversation in Russian, they switch after an elementary phrase or two to Polish. An everyday conversation looks approximately as follows. In 2006, after the funeral of Afimia Kuschmerz that died a few days before Palm Sunday, the author of the present chapter was witness to the following dialogue between I. N. and O. L.. One of them reminded the other about the festive service in the prayer house:

> N.: — В воскресенье, в воскресенье!
> L.: — *Jo-jo, Palmsontag!*
> N.: — *No to do widzenia!*

Anna Krassowskaya, who willingly agreed to perform a Russian song at a meeting with the members of a field trip, sung the German national hymn and then "From the Island to Mid-River", also in German, saying that she had learned this song in school (German school). In reply to our question of whether she knew any spiritual poetry (such as *По делом нашим* 'For Our Sins', *Иосаф и камень* 'Ioasaph and the Rock', etc.), she said that her grandfather (!) had sung poetry. When we asked O. L. (born 1939), a Wojnowo Old Believer, to show how spiritual poetry was sung, she performed the post-revolution soviet song *Позабыт-позаброшен* ("Forgotten and Abandoned") with a lot of feeling and began to cry.

As far back as the mid-20th century, Prof. Wiktor Jakubowski of Jagiellonian University wrote that Masurian Old Believers have not preserved their folksongs, dances or rites in contrast to Old Believers living in the Białystok Voivodeship (today, the Podlaskie Voivodeship). Nevertheless, I. Grek-Pabisowa managed to write down several fairy tales [of apocryphal origin – H.P.] in 1959. All of this was most likely lost long ago. It is noteworthy that Martin Gerß writes nothing about the folklore of the Old Believers ("Philippons") [Jakubowski 1961: 95]. Nevertheless, Jakubowski argued that the further existence of Masurian Old Believers as a distinct ethnic and religious group depends on their awareness of their ties with the Russian people and its culture or, more precisely, on their ability to establish and support such ties [*Ibid.*: 102].

As far as we have observed, Polish Old Believers are more open and less traditional than their Lithuanian and Latvian counterparts. Only 20 years ago, journalists from State Polish Television that were making a film about Old Believer culture were not allowed to attend a service at the Saint Nicholas prayer house in Suwałki, while members of the Ryabina Folk En-

semble were penanced for having performed the Russian song "Katinka" before a TV camera [according to Zoya Yaroshevich-Pereslavtsev]. In 2012, all Polish scholars studying Old Believers were invited to a festive prayer and a scholarly conference dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the Suwałki prayer house. Nevertheless, the members of the Supreme Council of Old Believers of Poland refused to show us their liturgical books. The Old Believers themselves, both from priested and priestless creeds, have begun to attend and participate regularly in conferences on Old Believers that have been frequently held in recent years.

In private conversations, one hears ecumenical phrases about the unity of all Christians, although a Fedoseyan would have been penanced (with a thousand prostrations) at the beginning of the century for considering all Christians to be equal or for eating or praying with them [Rite of Confession]. There is a sign in German and Polish on the doors of the prayer house in Wojnowo asking visitors for donations. In his leaflet "What a Christian Should Know When Visiting Services in an Old-Orthodox Temple", elder asks cell phone owners to turn them off before entering a temple.

G. Potashenko's research has shown that Lithuanian Old Believers were mostly farmers [Potashenko 2006; Potashenko 2010: 36]. As to Polish Old Believers that belonged to the Fedoseyan and later the Pomorian creed, they also engaged exclusively in agriculture. This is also shown by our own study of the Wojnowo manuscript "Rite of Confession". Thus sociolinguistic studies of Old Believers should take into account the model of the agricultural consciousness. We believe that Bakhtina and Dutchak's call to supplement "classical archeographical studies with socio-archeographical research so as to raise them eventually to the socio-anthropological level" is also very pertinent for the study of the language and culture of contemporary Polish Old Believers. Fully agreeing with their assertion that systemic analysis is the only scholarly method of working with social objects whose properties are conditioned by the tenets, values and experience of different historical periods, we find the authors' "Rough List of Questions for Surveying Local Communities in Centres of Traditional Book Culture" to be extremely interesting and useful [Bakhtina/Dutchak 2008: 293]. The questions on the list represent four research aspects and make it possible to study the origin, everyday life, worldview, and social structures of Old Believer communities systematically. Using the survey methodology developed by these scholars in Tomsk, one can compare survey results and make conclusions about similarities and differences between Old Believer communities in different countries. It should be said the description of the Old Believer micro-society in the village of Nenoksa of the Arkhangelsk Region in A. Kamalova and L. Savelova's book *Linguistic and Culturological Description of a Northern Russian Village* (*Лингвокультурологическое описание северной русской деревни*) follows a similar pattern [Kamalova/Savelova 2007].

The post-Perestroika period in Russia has witnessed people that have been brought up in the ideology of atheism returning to God and the Church. The specialised Orthodox term "churching" (*воцерковление*) has acquired a new secular meaning in recent years: the preparation of adult members of Russian society for life in a church community. Whereas there is a clear secularist trend in Polish society, especially among young people, that is also affecting the Old Believer communities of Suwałki and Augustów, the reverse is taking place in Russia and the former Soviet republics that are part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: the number and population of Old Believer communities is growing. In the conditions of the radioactive contamination of part of the Vetka district, new Old Believer congregations have been registered in Gomel. Old Believer councils actively use the Internet for publishing not only information about the current state of affairs in their communities but also, and more importantly, historical materials: digital versions of books and manuscripts and scholarly works. Thus the religious consciousness of modern Old Believers is developing before our very eyes. To determine the impact of religious texts on the consciousness of modern Old Believers, one should develop a special method for studying the reception of such texts and the understanding of their content.

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