The Hymnographic Book of Tropologion

Sources, Liturgy and Chant Repertory

Svetlana Kujumdzieva

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The Tropologion is considered the earliest known extant chant book from the early Christian world, which was in use until the twelfth century. The study of this book is still in its infancy. It has generally been believed that the book has survived in Georgian translation under the name “ladgari,” but similar books have been discovered in Greek, Syriac and Armenian. All the copies clearly show that the spread and the use of the book were much greater than we had previously assumed and the Georgian ladgari is only one of its many versions.

The study of these issues unquestionably confirms the earliest stage of the compilation of the book, in Jerusalem or its environs, and shows its uninterrupted development from Jerusalem to the Stoudios monastery, the most important monastery of Constantinople. Over time many new pieces and new authors were added to the Tropologion. It is almost certain that it was the Stoudios school of poet-composers that divided the content of the Tropologion and compiled separate collections of books, each one containing a major liturgical cycle. In the beginning, all of the volumes kept the old title but in the tenth century the copies of the book were renamed, probably according to the liturgical repertory included, and by the thirteenth century the title ‘Tropologion’ is no longer found in the Greek sources as it became superfluous, and fell out of use.

Svetlana Kujumdzieva is Professor of Medieval Music at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and also at the National Musical Academy and Theological Faculty of the Sofia State University “St. Clement of Ohrid.” She has specialized in Byzantine and Slavic music at the Institute of Musicology, University of Hamburg (1986) and at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, University of Harvard (1994). She has been an associate member of the John W. Kluge International Center, Library of Congress, Washington DC; of the Resource Center for Medieval Slavic Studies, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH; of St. John College, Oxford; and of St. Louis University in St. Louis, MO. She has published eight books and over 150 articles.

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Abbreviations

BBGG	<i>Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
EMH	<i>Early Music History</i>
JL	<i>Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft</i>
JAMS	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
MMB	<i>Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae</i>
OCA	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i>
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
OC	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>
ODB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i>
OHb	<i>Oxford History of Byzantium</i>
OS	<i>Ostkirchlichen Studien</i>
PMM	<i>Plainsong and Medieval Music</i>
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
SL	<i>Studia Liturgica</i>
SP	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
BE	<i>Български език</i>
BM	<i>Българско музикознание</i>
Вр	<i>Византийский временник</i>
ГСУ	<i>Годишник на Софийския университет</i>
КМЕ	<i>Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия</i>
КМС	<i>Кирило-Методиевски студии</i>
СЛ	<i>Старобългарска литература</i>
СЛЕР	<i>Старобългарска литература. Енциклопедичен речник</i>

Preliminary words

Many different kinds of hymnographic liturgical books survive from the early medieval period. They vary in language, content, hymnodic genre, principles of organization, presence or absence of music notation, liturgical rite or regional tradition, etc. As a whole our knowledge about them is very limited. The Tropologion is one of the books that contain hymns for the Christian worship performed in the early Eastern Church. It is a central subject in the study of the origins of the early hymnographic liturgical books. The author's focus is on this book as a book type. The goal is to present manuscripts that have been called Tropologion, and the hymnographic sources related to the latter. Manuscripts in Greek, Syriac, Georgian and Armenian entitled, respectively, "Tropologion," "Tropligin," "Iadgari" and "Šaraknoc" are discussed. Hence, the designation "Tropologion" is used here as a collective term for all the early hymnographic books bearing these designations. In addition, some of the early Old Slavic books that reveal characteristics related to the book of the Tropologion are included.

The present study is based on both original source material and secondary literature that was published until now and is related to the topic. The critical approach to previous studies that seek to understand the Tropologion in its old and new forms is refreshing, since this book insists on studying the extant manuscripts of the Tropologion, limiting the amount of speculation that can be made about earlier periods for which no texts or source material have been preserved. In this sense, the topic is of great importance to the early hymnographic books, to the sources preserved, to their liturgy and chant repertory.

Two issues should be stressed. First, the author has worked with primary sources in Greek and Slavic only: primary sources in the other three languages are discussed on the basis of secondary sources, that is, manuscripts are consulted from catalogues and not through direct examination and study. That is why some descriptions of the manuscripts presented are longer than the other. Second, the discussions and comparisons of manuscripts are not based on the actual content of the hymns they contain. The concrete analysis of the text is not a research goal in this book. Such an analysis suggests a special philological knowledge and relevant studies,

which are outside the specialization of the author. The centre of research are three basic parameters: the arrangement of the repertory, the genres included and the liturgical calendar according to which the offices are organized. The sources discussed are described and compared according to these parameters. This book could be considered as a propaedeutic step of collected manuscript sources in the further comprehensive and thorough study of the Tropologion.

It is my great pleasure, finally, to express my deepest gratitude to all the colleagues and institutions that supported this project. It could not have been accomplished if I had not had the rare chance to work with the rich literature of the Library of Congress in Washington, DC twice, during my association as a Fellow at the international John W. Kluge Center in 2003/2004 and 2009/2010. My deep gratitude goes out to all the colleagues from the Center's administration, especially to its two directors during my stay there, Dr Prosser Gifford and Dr Carolin Brown, who provided excellent conditions for my research. I also want to extend my gratitude to Dr Alice-Mary Talbot and Dr Margaret Mullett, directors of Byzantine Studies at the Dumbarton Oaks Center of Harvard University, who provided access to work in this unique Center during my stay in Washington, DC. I owe further thanks to the administration of the Vatican Film Library at St. Louis University in Saint Louis, Missouri, USA, and especially to its director, Dr Gregory Pass, and Dr Susan L'Egle, the editor-in-chief of the *Manuscripta* journal, where I also had the opportunity to do research work twice – in 2003/2004 and 2012. Especially deep is my gratitude to the late professor Miloš Velimirović (+2008), professor Ruth Steiner and professor Barbara Hagh-Huglo, who supported my project as my reviewers. My discussions with them were of utmost importance. To all of them – my gratitude and deep respect!

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1 The Hymnographic Book of Tropologion – Perspectives of the study

In 1980 the Georgian scholars E. P. Metreveli, C. A. Chankieva and M. Hevsuriani published a fundamental study with the texts of seven copies of a very early hymnographic book with non-biblical material known in Georgian under the name *Iadgari*.¹ The publication was epoch-making because – as the Georgian scholars claimed – *Iadgari* was the oldest hymnographic book that came to us, presenting the worship in one of the most important legislative centers in the field of early Christian worship in the East in the time up to the ninth century – Jerusalem. The publication of the Georgian scholars' work is in Georgian and until now there is no translation of the Georgian liturgical texts in any other language, which makes their study difficult. Fortunately, there are two large summaries in French and in Russian at the end of the book, and it is due to them that the results of the research are accessible to the wider international scientific audience. All the copies of the book are from the tenth century. However, the material included – in terms of the festal calendar, the order or the structure of the repertory and genres – goes back to the fifth century, which is a much earlier time than that of their writing.² Six manuscripts are from the library of St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai: Sinai Georgian 18, 20, 26, 34, 40 and 41; one manuscript is from Tbilisi: H-2123. The manuscripts 18, 40 and 41 are considered to have been written slightly earlier than 20, 26, 34 and H-2123.³ According to the Georgian scholars the Greek model of *Iadgari* should have been the Tropologion.⁴ The latter was the universal hymnographic book that was used in Jerusalem churches between the seventh and ninth centuries, according to the Jerusalem *Typikon* of that time.⁵ The book went out of use after the twelfth century. Its basic core was composed of chants of the immovable and movable cycles and also chants of the weekday cycle, resurrectional and penitential in eight modes. The latter cycle, according to the Georgian scholars, presents the earliest *Oktoechos* and was included in its content a little bit later.⁶ The Georgian scholars distinguished between two main layers in the book that were organically linked. They call the first one "old." It is composed of psalms and troparia by anonymous authors from the fifth to the seventh centuries. This layer was not older than the seventh century. The second layer is referred to as "new." It

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is composed of stichera and kanons by authors from the seventh through the ninth centuries such as Germanos Patriarch (ca. 630/650?–730/742?), John of Damascus (ca. 650 – before 754), Kosmas of Maiuma/of Jerusalem (ca. 675–752), etc.⁷ The development of the book – according to the Georgian scholars again – progressed in two directions: first, by extending the range of the feasts, and second, by extending the feasts with new works and genres, mostly stichera and kanons.

The Georgian scholars emphasized that the Greek-language model regarding the structuring of the composition of the Georgian *Iadgari* was not found. In terms of the chants included in the *Iadgari*, they found 5 percent common chants between preserved copies of this book and various liturgical books in Greek. Here I will only say that recently a Tropologion in Greek of the *Iadgari* type was found and the number of common chants between this book and the modern liturgical books turned out to be above 50 percent (see further).⁸ The Georgian scholars further found that the chants in the *Iadgari* were accurate translations from the chants in Greek. The scholars concluded that the oldest form of the *Iadgari* went through various modifications and if the earliest layers of the book go back to the fifth century, the later ones that are found in the Sinai Georgian 26 and 34 manuscripts show that the book was constantly updated.⁹ For instance, a memory for St. Abo, a Georgian saint from the end of the eighth century (died in 786), was included in last two quoted manuscripts.¹⁰ In these, and also in Sinai Georgian 20, an early form of *Heirmologion* was found, specifically the incipits of *heirmoi* from kanons by Kosmas of Jerusalem and John of Damascus in eight modes.¹¹ The manuscript Sinai 34 was compiled by the renowned tenth-century Palestinian monk John Zosime. Its compilation lasted several years: it started in St. Sabas monastery near Jerusalem and ended during the third quarter of the same century in 965. John Zosime was a writer of many other Georgian manuscripts housed in both St. Sabas and St. Catherine monasteries on Mount Sinai. The latter followed the tradition of the Holy City. Zosime was the first to indicate memories for every day of weekly worship: until him the weekdays had not been associated with a particular memory in written sources. Zosime reported the following weekly memories: Sunday, resurrectional day – the day of the Holy Resurrection; Monday and Tuesday – days of repentance; Wednesday and Friday – days of the Holy Cross; Thursday – the day of the Virgin Mary; and Saturday – the day of the saints and souls.¹² Hence, it is clear that the core of the modern weekly cycle with determined memories for each day of the week must have been formed in about the tenth century. A slightly earlier source, the manuscript Sinai 863 (a Book of the Hours from St. Sabas monastery representing an early Jerusalem monastic liturgical Typikon), confirms this.¹³ It is also confirmed by the earliest manuscript in the eight-mode consecutive order for weekly worship, Sinai Greek 776, which along with two other manuscripts, Sinai 1593 and London British Add. 26, dated by Boris Fonkich from the first half of the ninth century, are considered the earliest manuscripts

known later under the name *Paraklitike* or “Great Oktoechos” (containing the weekly liturgical cycle).¹⁴ The memories in this manuscript (Sinai 776) are not yet defined and fixed in the order of weekdays from Monday through Saturday, and the days are also not given by their names, as it is in all other manuscripts from the tenth century onwards.¹⁵

Among the main characteristics of the book that are pointed out by the Georgian scholars, an important note should be stressed. The festal calendar is very early: it was found in Georgian sermons of the fifth and sixth centuries. This conclusion confirms that the roots of the Tropologion date back to this early time.¹⁶ The *Iadgari* starts with the Annunciation, which is given on March 25 and is put before Christmas on December 25. The Annunciation, as a separate feast, is not encountered in some of the oldest sources representing the liturgical practice in Jerusalem – the Diary of the nun Egeria (also known as Eteria or Sylvia) from the end of the fourth century and the Armenian Lectionary from the first half of the fifth century (for these sources, see next chapter). The oldest reference of the Annunciation celebrated in Jerusalem worship was found in a homily of Patriarch Sophronios of Jerusalem (550–638) from the first half of the seventh century.¹⁷ This fact provided grounds for the conclusion that the *Iadgari* was one of the very earliest liturgical books. It documents the great feast of the Virgin Mary, the *Theotokos*, as occurring around Christmas – a very old liturgical practice that goes back to at least the fifth century.¹⁸ The feasts according to the Menaion and Triodion cycles follow an uninterrupted order of the church calendar. The yearly liturgical cycle runs from December through November. The immovable feasts run up to February 2, the Hypapante or the Purification; they are followed by the movable cycle up to April 23, the feast of St. George; and after that date the immovable festal cycle returns. In the last sections of the *Iadgari*, resurrectional and penitential chants for the weekly cycle are included in eight modes. In each mode, they are given in the succession of the offices: for Vespers, Orthros and the Liturgy. Kathismata and hypokoiai that are performed in all of the feasts during both the yearly and weekly cycles are given as a separate section.¹⁹ In addition to these two genres, prokeimena with verses, alleluaria, stichera and kanons are also included. The Georgian scholars pay special attention to the kanons. They stress that the kanons are the main hymnographic form in the two large sections in the *Iadgari*: those of the Menaion and the Triodion. There are both full kanons, with nine odes, and incomplete ones, composed of two, three and four odes. Twenty-five of them are full kanons for the feasts of the Lord, for the great church feasts and for the common services. All of them have a second ode. There are two kanons for most of the services. The second canon is designated as “other” (ἄλλος). That the kanons in the *Iadgari* are very old is proven by the fact that in the book they are still very closely related to the Biblical odes, which means that many kanons, especially those designated as “other,” do not have a *heirmos*. In other words, their first strophe is not related thematically to the other strophes, respectively, which

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means that it does not determine their melody and rhythm. Also, the ninth ode of the kanons is not designated as *theotokion*, that is, it is not intended for the praise of the Virgin Mary yet.²⁰

The results of the Georgian scholars' research are discussed in many publications by Andrew Wade,²¹ Peter Jeffery,²² Maya Momina,²³ Gabriele Winkler,²⁴ Hans-Michael Schneider,²⁵ Olga Krasheninnikova,²⁶ Stig Simeon Frøyshov²⁷ and others. All of them point out that the Georgian *Iadgari* is the oldest hymnographic book and as it was the only Georgian translation that survived, that is how the book came to us. The Greek prototype of the book is the Tropologion. The *Iadgari* actually presents a full Jerusalem Church Tropologion, containing chant texts for the whole church year: for the feasts of saints, Lent, Easter and post-Easter time, as well as for the resurrectional and common services. The book emerged as a result of recording troparia used in the worship. The name Tropologion comes from the main genre included in the book – a book with collected troparia. The troparia are called *dasadebeli* in Georgian. The term “Tropologion” was known by both generations – of John of Damascus in the Sabas monastery and of Theodore the Studite (759–826) in the Studios monastery in Constantinople.²⁸

Scholars agree that the book was known only in its Georgian translation under the name *Iadgari*.²⁹ The translation was done from Greek into Georgian. In Georgia, which is not far away from Jerusalem, worship was adopted from the Holy City in the same way it was practiced there in the seventh and eighth centuries. The Jerusalem worship was preserved in the *Iadgari* in its “purist” form.³⁰ According to Peter Jeffery, the *Iadgari* was the first attempt to write down what had previously existed only in the minds of singers; this happened by the end of the sixth or in the seventh century.³¹ In earlier times there was only one universal liturgical hymnographic book – the Tropologion.³² Most likely in the eighth or in the beginning of the ninth century, due to the increased festive repertory included in it, the hymnographic material began to split into separate collections corresponding to the three major sections of the Tropologion. This marked the beginning of the modern liturgical books – the Menaion, Triodion and the Oktoechos.³³ The Tropologion as a type of book ceases to exist after the separation of its repertory and the compilation of the latter in separate individual types of books. Here I will only say that of all modern liturgical books, the notated full Sticherarion (composed of the Menaion, Triod-Pentekostarion and Oktoechos) is the closest to it in terms of its structure notwithstanding some differences.

The two separate layers in the *Iadgari*, referred to by the Georgian scholars as “old” and “new,” were interpreted further and put into some chronological frames. Some recent studies in this respect belong to the Norwegian scholar Stig Simeon Frøyshov.³⁴ In his research, he included the new finds from the library of St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai discovered in 1975 by the archimandrite Sophronios and the monk Damianos during the renovation of one of the rooms in the monastery.³⁵ According to

Frøyshov, the development of the Tropologion/*Iadgari* (he calls the book “Hymnal,” as well) went through two major stages. This is evidenced by the above-mentioned manuscript Sinai Georgian 34 from the tenth century: John Zosime has marked the “old” and the “new” repertory in it. The two designations gave reason for Frøyshov to build his hypothesis of the existence of an “ancient” *Iadgari*/Tropologion and of a “new” one. The “ancient” *Iadgari*/Tropologion was known in Georgian only. It was identified according to the old layers determined in the copies of the Georgian *Iadgari*. The translation was done in Georgian before 638, that is, before the Islamic period and the death of Patriarch Sophronios.³⁶ Hence, according to Frøyshov’s hypothesis, the “old” *Iadgari*/Tropologion was available between the fourth and the sixth centuries and was the oldest Christian collection of hymns, preserved in Georgian only. A separate copy of this book has not survived. The number of immovable feasts was still limited in the book. The common services – for martyrs, hierarchs, etc. in the eight modes – prevailed. In terms of its liturgical calendar, structure and rubrics, the “old” *Iadgari* corresponded to the Georgian Lectionary (see next chapter about the latter). The “new” *Iadgari*/Tropologion existed in Greek, Georgian and Syriac; some of its fragments were also in Palestino-Syriac.³⁷ Frøyshov suggests that the process of compiling the “new” *Iadgari* began as early as the seventh century and most likely in its first half. According to him, the first hymnographer of the “new” Tropologion was Patriarch Sophronios of Jerusalem. His successors were John of Damascus and Kosmas of Jerusalem, whose flourishing time was the first half of the eighth century. The formation of the “new” Tropologion lasted at least until the tenth century. It is evidenced by the inclusion of the memory of the late eighth-century Georgian St. Abo in the book. Frøyshov concludes that the Georgians had translated the “old” Tropologion from Greek and continued to update the book even after the hymnographic reform made by John of Damascus and his generation; this occurred during the seventh and eighth centuries and would include their additions to the book, though not immediately.³⁸ Frøyshov also suggests that there were elements of a third archaic stage in the book. He does not consider it, but summarizes that the three stages were closely related to each other and represented different stages in the development of the Jerusalem Book of Hours.³⁹ Differences between them were revealed in terms of the layers of hymnody and available rubrics. In terms of their repertory, however, they were very close since a large part of this repertory was common. Frøyshov calls the “old” Tropologion “global,” meaning that it contained both the yearly (immovable and movable) cycle and the weekly one. He stresses that such a “global” repertory has not been found in the “new” Tropologion in Greek, that is, the “new” Tropologion did not contain the yearly and weekly cycles together but separately.⁴⁰

Whether there was an “old” *Iadgari*/Tropologion still remains disputable because the study of the Orthodox notated sources shows that they are constantly updated: up to the nineteenth century, pieces are systematically

marked as to which of them are “old” or “new”; there are also indications of who the “old” authors and “new” authors were. Hence, until the discovery of a book containing repertory up to the seventh century only, the existence of an “old” Tropologion will remain questionable. It is very likely that the available copies of the *Iadgari*, which without doubt are translations from Greek originals, have been compiled in the way that we know them – with both old and new repertories. The compilation may have happened as early as the eighth century: the newest material in the book belongs to this time. In other words, the Tropologion was compiled in the eighth century and included the hymnographic material that was only practiced and transmitted orally until that time.

Among the issues discussed by scholars related to the *Iadgari*/Tropologion were also those concerning when and how the book emerged, what its composition was like, what genres were included, and so on; these are issues that will be discussed further.

Studies in recent years testify that books with collected non-biblical hymnic repertory from the early Christian time, such as the *Iadgari*-type, had a much wider dissemination and use than was previously thought. The Georgian *Iadgari* is just one version and, as we shall see, it was not only this book that contained hymnic material.⁴¹ For instance, as pointed out by Gabriele Winkler, a book called *Šaraknoc* was compiled at the beginning of the eighth century in Armenia. It is considered analogous to the Georgian *Iadgari*.⁴² Like the *Iadgari*, it includes a non-biblical hymnic repertory and it represents the oldest collection of troparia in eight modes in Armenian. The book is named after the major chant form included in it – *šakan*, which corresponds to both the Greek troparion and the Georgian *dasadebeli*.⁴³ Winkler establishes a close link between the toposes of the Georgian *Iadgari* and the Armenian *Šaraknoc*.⁴⁴ She pointed out a connection between some of the toposes in these two books and their Syriac predecessors that went back to the first half of the fourth century.⁴⁵ As stated by the researcher, the Armenian ritual in the greater part of its daily worship displayed the oldest form of the cathedral service connected with Jerusalem. There were clues from several liturgical layers of this ritual that came primarily from Syria.⁴⁶ Hence, the Tropologion existed not only in Greek, Georgian, Syriac and Syro-Palestinian, as Frøyshov concludes, but also in Armenian (in its “old” layer). Winkler’s studies support the above-mentioned thesis that the formation of one of the main hymnographic liturgical books (or of its major parameters), the Oktoechos, might have referred to Syria.⁴⁷ This would make the Antioch-Syrian-Palestinian region one of the most likely places where the early Oktoechoi were both compiled and spread from.

A book closely related to the Georgian *Iadgari* and the Armenian *Šaraknoc* was found in Syriac manuscripts as well. The book is called in Syriac *Troplygyn*. Numerous copies of this book are kept in the British Museum in London. They were written at the same time as the Georgian and the Armenian manuscripts – between the ninth and the twelfth centuries.⁴⁸

The Syriac Tropologion contains non-biblical material as well. The main genre included in it and corresponding to the troparion is called *maneyato* (*ma'nyotho*).⁴⁹ The study of this book supports Frøyshov's opinion that a Tropologion-type book from its early period was preserved in the Syriac translation as well. At the same time, it refutes the opinion of other scholars that such a book had only ever existed in Georgian.⁵⁰

* * *

My interest in the problems related to the Tropologion and, respectively, to the *Iadgari*, was provoked during my work on the early Oktoechoi. I had set myself the task of investigating all the early Greek liturgical Sinai manuscripts until the thirteenth century in order to find the “roots” of the book of the Oktoechos, since scholarly opinions about its origins differ. The Sinai collection, as it is already well known, is unique in the context of the early Greek liturgical manuscripts – it does not have any parallel. The Sinai manuscripts are one of the best sources for research on the early hymnography and liturgy in some of the oldest and most important literary centers in the East – St. Sabas monastery near Jerusalem, St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai and the Studios monastery of St. John Prodromos in Constantinople. What I found during my study of the early Menaia, Triod-Pentekostaria and the Oktoechoi was amazing and it exceeded any and all expectations. In particular, studying three major parameters – the festal calendar, compilation and structure of the books, and genres – confirmed some of the conclusions about the *Iadgari*/Tropologion, but not all of them. The results of this study were published in my book, *The Early Oktoechoi: Sources, Liturgy and Chant Repertory (Based on the Sources until the 13th Century)*.⁵¹ The focus of this research is placed on the book of the Tropologion in its versions in various languages. Some new sources have been added, including Slavic ones, and recent literature on the problem is discussed critically. The author is convinced that only in the broadest possible context of sources and documents involved in the study could be objectively ascertain the characteristics of the research object. It is not enough to draw general conclusions about a single manuscript without placing it within a broader research context (see further).⁵² It is necessary to view the entire evolution of any given book, along with its genealogy, and all the stages it has gone through, respectively, in its transmission as a **type of book**. As it is well known, there are no two identical manuscripts: in the early period (at least until the twelfth century), manuscripts vary greatly – they reflect various and diverse practices. The coexistence of various liturgical practices is characteristic to the time up to the thirteenth century. This is evidenced by multiple versions of different *Typika* used in different places. Hence, it is important to keep in mind how a given manuscript was perceived as a type of book by its contemporaries in the environment in which it was compiled and used. We don't know very much about the early hymnographic books. It would be

better to disregard our later knowledge about them in order to objectively characterize their development and transmission. Otherwise, we are in danger of being biased in drawing conclusions regarding the stages of development of a given type of book. In other words, the methodological position of this study is to investigate the book of the Tropologion in its development and transmission as a type of book – the book that is designated as a Tropologion. This designation was kept by the contemporaries that used this book. We read it in its initial rubrics where it usually indicated the book type. The designation “Tropologion” ceased to exist when the new types of books were established. The study of liturgical books until the nineteenth century (I have in mind the notated books) implicitly indicates that the new type of book replaced the old one when the former was fully completed and accomplished. That is why a large number of early sources in different languages (Greek, Georgian and Syriac) are included here, designated as “Tropologion,” “Iadgari” and “Tropligin.” Also, “Šaraknoc” in Armenin, as well as sources showing some relation to this type of book are discussed. Additionally, various Menaia, Triodia and Oktoechoi from the period until the thirteenth century, in which the repertory of the *Iadgari*/Tropologion happened to be later distributed, are studied. The three main parameters that I have pointed out above are the focus of the research. A thorough study of them confirmed an earlier compilation of the book, contextualized its transmission between the time of the fifth/sixth and thirteenth centuries, and showed its spread throughout the Byzantine world, especially from Jerusalem to Constantinople and beyond. The book could have been compiled in a literary center either in Jerusalem or in a region that belonged to it. The most probable such center could have been the St. Sabas monastery. This was the most important legislative liturgical center in the East almost until the ninth century.

The main research goals of the work are the following: to collect the available copies of the Tropologion and to identify the repertory included in them; to trace the development of the compiled repertory in terms of the liturgical calendar, liturgy and genres; and to point out what remains as traditional in the book and what enters it as something new. One of the main issues in looking for the answers is whether the book itself has been modified as a whole, and if so, what happened to its entire included repertory when it went out of use. The concrete research tasks are connected with the above-mentioned research goals, namely to bring into prominence and to present the available copies of the book in Georgian, Syriac, Greek and Slavic; to consider them in the context of various Typika that were in use until the thirteenth century; and to display the specifics of the book’s typology, considering its chronological transmission in the time up to the thirteenth century. It should be stressed again that the textual analysis, that is, the concrete analysis of the text of the book’s copies, is not a research goal here. Such an analysis suggests a special philological knowledge and relevant studies, which are outside the specialization of the author.

In Bulgarian medieval science, the book of the *Iadgari*/Tropologion is almost completely unknown. The study of both this book and the problem about the oldest hymnographic books is of significance to the early history of Old-Bulgarian culture. The Bulgarian sources preserved from the time until the thirteenth century are very few in number, and they are mostly fragments. The period from the ninth to the eleventh centuries was very poor in terms of preserved Bulgarian sources. Such sources are known from the thirteenth century onwards but they are in Cyrillic, the alphabet that was accepted after the Glagolitic alphabet in Bulgaria and replaced it. The thirteenth century was a time when the book of the Tropologion had already gone out of use. A book with the designation “Tropologion” in Bulgarian is not known. That does not mean that such a book never existed in Bulgaria, if we keep in mind the wide distribution of this book in the East, on the one hand, and on the second, that Bulgaria was the first Slavic country in the East to accept Christianity in 863/4, and that the first liturgical books in Slavic were spread from Bulgaria. The study of typologically similar hymnographic manuscripts in Greek, Georgian and Syriac from the eight/ninth to the thirteenth centuries could shed light on the earliest Old-Bulgarian period in terms of the existence of these books. Therefore, the actuality of the topic about the Tropologion, especially for Bulgarian science, could be seen here to provide material for reconstructing the history of hymnography related to the time just before the activity of the two brothers, St. Cyril the Philosopher (826/7?–869) and St. Methodios (ca. 815–885). We do not know very much about this period.

Notes

- 1 Metreveli, E. P., C. A. Čankieva, and L. M. Hevsuriani. *Udzvelesi Iadgari*. Tbilisi, 1980 [Метревели, Е. П., Ц. А. Чанкиева, Л. М. Хевсуриани. *Древнейший иадгари*. Тбилиси, 1980].
- 2 Metreveli, E. P. Op. cit. ..., p. 923; Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office of Seventh Century Jerusalem in the Georgian Chant Books (A Preliminary Report). *SL*, 21, 1991, 52–75; idem. The Earliest Oktoechoi: The Role of Jerusalem and Palestine in the Beginning of Modal Ordering. In: *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges. East and West*. In Honor of Kenneth Levy. Ed. by P. Jeffery. Cambridge, 2001, 147–211; Renoux, C. Jerusalem dans le Caucase: Anton Baumstark verified. *OCA*, 265, 2001, 305–321.
- 3 The six Georgian manuscripts determined to be “liturgical” in the Checklist of K. Clark are dated as follows: N 18 – about the tenth and the thirteenth centuries; N 20–987; N 26–954; N 34–932; N 40 – about the tenth century; and N 41 – the tenth century, see Clark, K. *Checklist of Manuscripts in the St. Catherine's Monastery Mount Sinai*. Washington, DC, 1952, pp. 19–20.
- 4 Charles Renoux stresses that he prefers using the terms hymnal and hymns instead of Tropologion as Elena Metreveli has translated the name of *Iadgari*, because the Tropologion refers to a later Byzantine liturgical book that appears for the first time during the activity of Theodore the Studite (759–826), crf. Schneider, H.-M. Lobpreis im rechten Glauben. Die Theologie der Hymnen an den Festen der Menschwerdung der alten Jerusalemer Liturgie im Georgischen

10 *The Hymnographic Book of Tropologion*

- Udzvelesi *Iadgari*. In: *Studien zur alten Kirchengeschichte*, 23, Borengasser-Bonn, 2004, S. 7.
- 5 Metreveli, E. P. Op. cit., pp. 921, 924.
- 6 Ibidem, p. 923.
- 7 Ibidem, pp. 923–925.
- 8 Nikiforova, A. The Tropologion Sin. gr. NE/МГ 56-5 of the Ninth Century: A New Source for Byzantine Hymnography. *Scripta & E-Scripta*, 12, 2013, 157–185 (p. 182).
- 9 The two manuscripts were compiled by John Zosime in the tenth century, see Крашенинникова, О. А. *Древнеславянский Октоих св. Климента архиепископа Охридского. По древнерусским и южнославянским спискам XIII–XV веков*. Москва, 2006, с. 300.
- 10 This is the only Georgian saint included in the *Iadgari*. His memory is celebrated on January 7, the second day of the Epiphany, see Schneider, H.-M. Op. cit., S. 265.
- 11 Бруни, А.-М. Древнеславянский ирмологий и гимнографические традиции Святой земли: к вопросу о происхождении византийского прототипа. In: *Jews and Slavs*. Vol. 20. Jerusalem-Sofia, 2008, 301–316 (с. 307–308).
- 12 According to Крашенинникова, О. А. Цит. съч., с. 301.
- 13 Ibidem.
- 14 Stig Frøyshov determines this manuscript to be a Tropologion, probably written in Sinai according to C. Hannick, see Frøyshov, S. S. Greek Hymnody. In: *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*. Ed. by J. R. Watson and E. Hornby. Norwich, 2013, p. 33.
- 15 See Куюмджиева, С. Отново за ранните осмогласници: какво ни казват синайски гръцки ръкописи 1593 и 776. *Старобългарска литература*, 37–38, 2007, 26–48; about these manuscripts see Куюмджиева, С. *Ранните осмогласници. Извори, богослужение и певчески репертоар (по ръкописи до XIII в.)*. София, 2013, с. 118–129. See also the quoted literature there.
- 16 See Schneider, H.-M. Op. cit., S. 10.
- 17 Ibidem, S. 163.
- 18 Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office..., p. 57.
- 19 Metreveli, E. P. Op. cit., p. 925.
- 20 Ibidem, pp. 926, 928.
- 21 Wade, A. The Oldest *Iadgari*. The Jerusalem Tropologion, V–VIII Century. *OCP*, 50, 1984, 451–456.
- 22 Jeffery, P. Jerusalem and Rome (and Constantinople): The Musical Heritage of Two Great Cities in the Formation of the Medieval Chant Traditions. In: *Cantus Planus*. Budapest, 1980, 163–175; Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office...; Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi...
- 23 Момина, М. О происхождении греческой триоди. *Палестинский сборник*. Вып. 28. Москва, 1986, 112–121.
- 24 Winkler, G. Die Licht-Erscheinung bei der Taufe Jesu und der Ursprung des Epiphaniestes. *OC*, 78, 1994, 177–229.
- 25 Schneider, H.-M. Op. cit.
- 26 Крашенинникова, О. *Древнеславянский октоих...*
- 27 Frøyshov, S. S. R. The Early Development of the Liturgical Eight-Mode System in Jerusalem. *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 51, 2–3, 2007, 139–178.
- 28 *Triodion und Pentekostarion nach slavischen Handschriften des 11.-14. Jahrhunderts*. Herausg. von M. A. Momina, and N. Trunte. Paderborn, München, Wien, and Zürich, 2004, S. 44.
- 29 Jeffery, P. The Lost Chant Tradition of Early Christian Jerusalem: Some Possible Melodic Survivals in the Byzantine and Latin Chant Repertories. *EMH*, 11,

- 1992, 151–190 (p. 158); Winkler, G. Das Sanctus. Über den Ursprung und die Anfänge des Sanctus und sein Fortwirken. *OCA*, 267, 2002, p. 244.
- 30 Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi..., p. 197.
- 31 Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office..., p. 53.
- 32 Момина, М. О происхождении...
- 33 *Triodion und Pentekostarion*..., S. 46.
- 34 Frøyshov, S. S. R. The Early Development..., pp. 143–144; Frøyshov, S. S. R. Greek Hymnody..., p. 20 and next.
- 35 Gehin, P. and S. Frøyshov. Nouvelles decouvertes sinaitiques: a propos de la parution de l'inventaire des manuscrits Grecs. *Revised English Bible*, T. 58. Paris, 2000, 167–184. The new finds refer to 55 papyruses, 1148 parchments (836 in Greek; rest of them – in Georgian, Old Slavic, Arabic, etc.) and 20 incunabula, see also Никифорова, А. Ю. “Сокрытое сокровище”. Значение находок 1975 года на Синае для истории Миней. В: *Гимнология*. Т. 6. Москва, 2011, 8–31.
- 36 Gehin, P. and S. Frøyshov. Op. cit., p. 169.
- 37 Frøyshov, S. S. R. The Early Development..., p. 144.
- 38 Ibidem.
- 39 Frøyshov, S. S. Greek Hymnody...: III. Hymnody of the Rite of Jerusalem, p. 18.
- 40 Ibidem, p. 31.
- 41 See Кюмджиева, С. Проучвайки ранните осмогласници: нови данни. In: *KMC*, 17, 2008, 453–464; also: Kujumdzieva, S. In Searching for the Earliest Oktoechoi: The Book of the Tropologion. In: *Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis*, XIV. Bydgoszcz, 2006, 55–65.
- 42 Winkler, G. Der armenische Ritus: Bestandsaufnahme und neue Erkenntnisse sowie eine kürzere Notizen zur Liturgie der Georgier. *OCP*, 251, 1996, 265–298. The oldest compilation of the Šaraknoc was found in a manuscript from the end of the twelfth century, Matenadaran 9838 from 1193. The repertory included in this manuscript starts with Christmas on January 6, see Winkler, G. Das theologische Formelgut über den Schöpfer, das omoou/sioj, die Inkarnation und Menschwerdung in den georgischen Troparien des *Iadgari* im Spiegel der christlich-orientalischen Quellen. *OC*, 84, 2000, 117–178. C. Renoux considers the Armenian Šaraknoc as an analogue of the Georgian *Iadgari* as well, see Renoux, C. Jerusalem dans le Caucase..., 305–321.
- 43 A. Arevshatian quotes a troparion with the designation “kzurd.” This troparion appeared in the fifth century. It represented the short, independent chant of psalmodic type that followed the psalms. The text of this troparion was both a paraphrase of various biblical episodes and acts of Christ's life. The *kzurds* are the base of Šaraknoc, the Armenian liturgical chant book. In the early manuscripts from the fifth to the seventh centuries, the designation *kzurdaran* is encountered. The latter refers to both the Georgian *Iadgari* and the Greek Tropologion. The oldest chant layer in Šaraknoc was made of these *kzurds* for Christmas, Lent, the Holy Week, Easter, etc. Also, the earliest Oktoechos in Armenian was found in Šaraknoc, see Аревшатян, А. Жанровая типология шараканов в системе восточнохристианской гимнографии. In: *Гимнология*. Вып. 3, 2003, 12–20.
- 44 Winkler, G. Anhang zur Untersuchung: “Über die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Armenischen Symbolums” und seine Bedeutung für die Wirkungsgeschichte der Antiochenischen Synoden von 324/325 und 341–345. *OCA*, 271, 2004, 107–159. See also Winkler's article: Das theologische... C. Renoux points out such a connection especially for the repertory of Resurrection, see Renoux, C. Jerusalem...
- 45 Winkler, G. Die Licht-Erscheinung..., S. 196.
- 46 A. Arevshatian also considers the seventh and eighth centuries as a period of important changes in Armenian hymnography. Among these changes, she points

out the introduction of both new genres and the system of the eight modes. The latter was linked to the name of Stepan Sunetcy who was also known as an author of numerous kanons. According to Arevshatian Stepan, writing his kanons, he should have learned a lot from Andrew of Crete. Arevshatian stresses also that in the works of the hymnographers of the cited time the best features of the Syrian and Byzantine hymnography were synthesized and developed on Armenian soil. The Šaraknoc according to Aravshatian (she calls the book also “Hymnal”) brings together all the books that were differentiated in the Byzantine Church and existed separately – the Tropologion, Heirmologion, Sticherion, Oktoechos, Kontakarion, see Аревшатян, А. Жанровая типология..., pp. 16–19.

- 47 Jeffery, P. *The Earliest Oktoechoi...*, p. 151. According to F. Desby, there was a cycle of hymns in Syria in about the sixth century that were systematized in eight modal groups. The patriarch Severus had arranged these hymns in modal cycles in a way that they had to fit the eight Sundays during the seven weeks between Easter and Pentekost. The final compilation and adaptation for the worship in both the monasteries and churches was done by John of Damascus, see Desby, F. H. *The Modes and Tuning in Neo-Byzantine Chant*. Ann Arbor, MI, 1974, p. 41. The study has also shown that Syria was the main source for Eastern rituals in the shaping of their earliest anaphoras used in the Liturgy of St. Basil the Great, see Winkler, G. *Licht-Erscheinung...*, S. 206. According to the investigation of P. Tarchnišvili, from the very beginning the Georgian church belonged to the Syro-Palestinian region: its liturgical practice was linked with Jerusalem or with Antioch, see Tarchnišvili, P. M. *Die Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur. Studi e testi*, 185, 1995, S. 440.
- 48 Wright, W. *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838*. Vol. 1. London, 1870.
- 49 A. Baumstark believes that *manito* was a translation from Greek and meant antiphon in the sense of a hymnic, non-biblical response corresponding to the Latin *responsorium*, crf. Baumstark, A. *Das Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jakobiten*. In: *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*. B. 3, 3–5. Paderborn, 1910, S. 47. About this genre see also: Cody, A. *The Early History of the Oktoechos in Syria*. In: *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*. Ed. by N. Garsoian, T. Mathews, and R. Thomson. Washington, DC, 1982, 89–111; Taft, R. *The Great Entrance*. OCA, 200, 1975, p. 84.
- 50 The latter opinion is defended by: Метревели, Е. *Op. cit.*; Wade, A. *Op. cit.*; Jeffery, P. *The Lost Chant Tradition...*; idem. *The Sunday Office...*, p. 53; idem. *The Earliest Oktoechoi...*, p. 197; Момина, М. *О происхождении...*
- 51 Куюмджиева, С. *Ранните осмогласници...* About the Sinai manuscripts see there pp. 13–17.
- 52 Crf. Никифорова, А. Ю. *Рождение Миней: греческие Миней IX–XII вв. Вестник ПСТГУ, III: Филология*, 2010. Вып. 4 (22), 103–122; Никифорова, А. Ю. *Из истории Миней в Византии. Гимнографические памятники VIII–XII вв. Из собрания монастыря святой Екатерины на Синае*. Москва, 2012; Кривко, Р. Н. *Синайско-славянские гимнографические параллели. Вестник ПСТГУ “Филология”*. Вып. 1 (11). Москва, 2008, 56–102; also: Krivko, R. *A Typology of Byzantine Office Menaia of the 9th–14th Century. Scrinium. Journal of Patrology, Critical Hagiography and Ecclesiastical History*. Vol. 7–8: Ars Christiana. In *Memoriam Michail F. Murianov (21.XI.1928–6.VI.1995)*. Part 2. Ed. by R. Krivko, B. Lourie, A. Orlov. Piscataway, NJ, 2011–2012, 3–68.

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