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‘Bulgarian’ Polyeleos Refrains from Ukrainian and Belarusian Musical Manuscripts of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Their Origin and Adaptation

„Bulgariškų“ polielėjų refrenai iš XVII ir XVIII a. ukrainiečių ir baltarusių muzikos rankraščių: jų kilmė ir adaptacija

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Abstract

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Ukrainian and Belarusian church repertoire was intensively renewed through interaction with Balkan Orthodox chant traditions. This is evidenced by “Bulgarian,” “Greek,” “Serbian,” “Moldavian,” and “Wallachian” chants, written in Ukrainian and Belarusian *Heirmologia* of that time. Our object of study is the *polyeleos* refrains found in Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated *Heirmologia* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under the rubric “Bulgarian *prypila*.” These refrains are based on the poetic work of Filotei, a monk of the Wallachian Cozia Monastery in the southern Carpathians.

In liturgical practice, *polyeleos prypila* existed in both oral and written traditions. Our comparative study shows that all of Filotei’s *prypila* in Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts were combined with the same melodic model and were performed using the technique of chanting “na podobn” (“according to the model”). The melody of Filotei’s *prypila* in Ukrainian and Belarusian *Heirmologia* was based on the late-Byzantine tune from the antiphon to the Most Holy Theotokos—chiefly the tune associated with the non-psalmic text “Rejoice, joyful Maria” (*Χαίρε κεχαριστωμένη Μαρία*). The discovery of the Byzantine musical source of the “Bulgarian” *prypila* written in Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts, and the mapping of intersections among various church-chant traditions, enriches the history of Orthodox church music with new facts and contexts.

Keywords: *Polyeleos*, *polyeleos prypila* of the Wallachian monk Filotei, Bulgarian *prypila*, Bulgarian chant, Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated *Heirmologia* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Kyivan exegesis of Byzantine music, antiphon to the Most Holy Theotokos, magnification to Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv.

Anotacija

XVI a. pab. ir XVII a. Ukrainos ir Baltarusijos bažnyčios repertuaras buvo intensyviai atnaujinamas sąveikaujant su Balkanų ortodoksų giesmių tradicijomis. Tai liudija „bulgarų“, „graikų“, „serbų“, „muntenų“ ir „valakų“ giesmės, užrašytos to meto Ukrainos ir Baltarusijos irmologijoje. Mūsų tyrimo objektas – daugiabalsių giesmių, polielėjų, refrenai, randami XVII ir XVIII a. ukrainiečių ir baltarusių notuoto giesmyno „Heirmologia“ rubrikoje „Bulgariški *prypila*“. Šie refrenai grįsti Valakijos Kozijos vienuolyne pietiniuose Karpatuose gyvenusio vienuolio Filotėjo poetiniais kūriniais.

Liturginėje praktikoje polielėjas priedainiai egzistavo ir žodinėje, ir rašytinėje tradicijose. Šis lyginamasis tyrimas rodo, kad visi Filotėjo *prypila* ukrainiečių ir baltarusių rankraščiuose buvo pritaikyti tam pačiam melodiniam modeliui ir atliekami naudojant „na podobn“ („pagal modelį“) giedojimo techniką. Filotėjo *prypila* melodija ukrainiečių ir baltarusių irmologijoje buvo pagrįsta vėlyvosios Bizantijos Švenčiausiosios Dievo Motinos antifonos melodija – ši melodija labiausiai sietina su nepsalminiu tekstu „Džiaukis, džiaugsmingoji Marija“ (*Χαίρε κεχαριστωμένη Μαρία*). Ukrainiečių ir baltarusių rankraščiuose užrašytų „bulgariškų“ *prypila* bizantinės muzikos šaltinio radimas ir įvairių bažnytinių giesmių tradicijų sankirtų žemėlapiu sudarymas praturtina ortodoksų bažnytinės muzikos istoriją naujais faktais ir kontekstais.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: polielėjai, Valakijos vienuolio Filotėjo polielėjų *prypila*, bulgariški *prypila*, bulgariška giesmė, XVII ir XVIII a. ukrainiečių ir baltarusių natomis užrašyta irmologija, Kyjivo bizantinės muzikos egzėgėzė, Švenčiausiosios Dievo Motinos antifona, Kyjivo kunigaikščio Volodymyro šlovinimas.

Introduction

Most of our contemporaries associate Ukrainian church music with choral polyphonic *a cappella* singing. Widely represented in the work of Ukrainian composers of the modern era, choral polyphony has become the musical

calling card of Ukraine. Yet the Ukrainian tradition of monophonic church chant dates back a thousand years, beginning with the baptism of Kyivan Rus’ in the tenth century and continuing up to the present day. For six centuries, from the late tenth to the late sixteenth, only monophonic chant sounded in Ukrainian lands. Polyphonic singing appeared

at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, marking a new Western direction in the development of Ukrainian church music. However, traditional Eastern-style monophonic chant was not replaced by polyphony. More than 1,100 Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated musical manuscripts (*Heirmologia*¹) from the late sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries represent the traditional monodic church repertoire (Yasynovskiy, 1996). Monophonic and polyphonic church singing thus began to coexist, creating a unique profile of Ukrainian church music in the modern era (Ignatenko, "Ukrainian", 2023).

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Ukrainian and Belarusian church repertoire was intensively renewed through interaction with Balkan Orthodox chant traditions. This is evidenced by the "Bulgarian," "Greek," "Serbian," "Mulanian," and "Wallachian" chants written in Ukrainian and Belarusian *Heirmologia* of that time. The issues of their origin, adaptation, and reception in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands have not yet been sufficiently investigated. Ukrainian and Belarusian liturgical repertoire, which has roots in the chant tradition of Kyivan Rus', is almost completely anonymous: composers' names were usually not indicated in the manuscripts. The new Balkan chants were likewise marked only with toponymic notes. They are all anonymous.

Our recent comparative study of Ukrainian-Belarusian and Greek-Byzantine manuscripts has demonstrated the Byzantine origin of the so-called "Greek" chants. We have attributed a considerable number of them, particularly the kalophonic works, to Byzantine composers of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, such as Ioannes Glykys, Ioannes Kladas, Manuel Chrysaphes, Longin the Monk, Joakeim Harsianites, Manuel Gazis, Anthimos Lavriotes (Ignatenko, 2020). Joakeim Harsianites for a time held the position of *domestikos* of Serbia. All attributed kalophonic Greek chants from Ukrainian and Belarusian *Heirmologia* are also found in the manuscripts of the sixteenth-century Putna music school, a fact that indicates close contacts between Ukrainian, Belarusian, Moldavian, and Wallachian monasteries (Ignatenko, "Moldavian", 2023). Moreover, in the course of working with the Greek repertoire, we discovered that the Greek-language Cherubic hymn of the outstanding Moldavian composer Evstatie, the *Protopsaltes* of Putna Monastery (†ca. 1546), was written in Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts as an anonymous piece (Ignatenko, "Protopsaltes", 2023). Our study therefore revealed the close relationship between Ukrainian-Belarusian, Greek-Byzantine, Serbian and Moldavian-Wallachian Orthodox chant traditions and demonstrated the enormous heuristic potential of comparative research.

The object of our current research is *polyeleos* refrains written in Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated *Heirmologia* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under the

rubric "Bulgarian pryypila" (припѣла болгарскіє)². Can we prove that these *pryypila* are truly Bulgarian?

Our research pursues the following objectives:

- to provide an overview of historical and musicological studies on the *polyeleos* refrains;
- to identify the origins of the text and music of "Bulgarian *pryypila*" from Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated *Heirmologia* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries;
- to trace the history of the refrains as a literary and musical genre in the context of the development of *polyeleos*;
- to describe the peculiarities of the *polyeleos* refrains in Greek-Byzantine, Balkan and Slavic church chant traditions and determine their points of intersection;
- to analyze the *polyeleos pryypila* from Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts;
- to situate the Ukrainian and Belarusian *polyeleos pryypila* within the broader context of Greek-Byzantine, Balkan and Slavic church chant traditions.

The history of the *pryypila* is connected to the development of the *polyeleos*. It takes us back through centuries and across various Eastern Orthodox church chant traditions.

Initially, the chanting of Psalms 134 and 135 with the refrain *Hallelujah* on Matins or All-Night Vigil of the great holidays was called *polyeleos*. The Greek title *polyeleos* (πολυέλεος) originates from the last refrain of all twenty-six verses of David's Psalm 135: "for His mercy endures forever" (ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ). Since the word "mercy" (τὸ ἔλεος) was repeated twenty-six times, the designation "many-mercy" (πολυ-έλεος) emerged. Byzantine and Slavic musical manuscripts from the late eleventh and twelfth centuries already contain *polyeleos* (Myers, 2023).

In the thirteenth century, the Byzantine scholar and theologian Nikephoros Blemmydes (Νικηφόρος Βλεμμύδης, 1197–1272) compiled for the *polyeleos* a collection of Selected Psalms (Ἐκλογή στίχων ἐκ τοῦ ψαλτηρίου). Initially, the singing of selected verses of the psalms related to the feast at the conclusion of the *polyeleos* was practiced only in the monastery of the "Christ Who Is," founded by Blemmydes. By the end of the fourteenth century, these Selected Psalms with the refrain *Hallelujah* were sung in all Orthodox Churches (Barvinok, 1911, 185–209).

From the fifteenth century onward, in Slavonic-language Churches of Byzantine rite, the Selected Psalms of Nikephoros Blemmydes began to be sung with *pryypila* instead of the *Hallelujah* refrain. The content of the Old Testament psalms is relatively neutral, while the *pryypila*—the short laudatory troparia—succinctly summarize the theme of a particular feast. Blessed Makarij and Filotei the monk are mentioned in many manuscripts as the creators of these *pryypila*.

The notated polyeleos refrains written in Ukrainian and Belarusian Heirmologia of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under the rubric “Bulgarian prypila” are based on the poetic work of Filotei, a monk of the Wallachian Cozia Monastery in the southern Carpathians.

Filotei’s autograph has not been found, but his work has survived in numerous handwritten copies and printed editions. The studies of Volodymyr Barvinok (1911, 185–209), Tit Simedrea (1970), Gheorghe Ionescu (1997), and Gabriela Ocneanu (2010) include lists of manuscripts and printed editions containing Filotei’s work.

The title of the prypila is the only source of information about Filotei: “The prypila on various feasts of the Lord and the Theotokos, to all the Venerable Great Fathers, and to the Holy and Great Martyrs, and to all the outstanding Saints that are singing with the selected psalm during the polyeleos. Starting from the eighth day of September. The work of sir Filotei the monk, the former logothete of the voivode Mircea” (Припѣла на въсѣкихъ влѣдчньихъ и бѣгѣрѣдичньихъ праздникъ. и въсѣмъ прѣдѣбнымъ ѡцемъ великымъ. И сътымъ и великымъ избраннымъ мѣчникомъ. и въсѣмъ нарѣчитымъ сътымъ. припѣващїася съ избраннымъ ѱлмомъ, егда поетсѣя полїелеѡ. Наченше ѡт осмаго дѣне, септемвриа мѣца. Творенїе кѡрѣ Филоѡфеа монаха. лѡгѡѡета бывшагѣ, Мирча воѡводѣж³). Thus, the polyeleos prypila were created by Filotei the monk, who was formerly the logothete of the Voivode Mircea the Elder (1386–1418).

A Brief Overview of the Main Historical and Musicological Studies on the Polyeleos Refrains

The polyeleos prypila of Filotei first attracted the attention of historians and later of musicologists. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Ukrainian historian Volodymyr Barvinok studied the non-notated prypila of Filotei in the context of Nikephoros Blemmydes’ work. Barvinok:

- justified dating Filotei’s work to 1400–1418, during the reign of the Wallachian ruler Mircea the Great or the Elder;
- observed that the Slavonic-language prypila of Filotei are absent in Greek sources but appear in Bulgarian, Serbian, Moldavian, Wallachian, Ukrainian, Belarusian and Russian manuscripts and printed editions;
- noted that in the Kyivan editions of the Psalter (1624, 1642, 1678, 1693, 1697) Filotei’s work received the title “Bulgarian prypila”;
- drew attention to the fact that the seventeenth-century Kyivan Psalters did not contain magnifications to the Saints of Rus’;
- suggested that Blessed Makarij and other unknown authors supplemented Filotei’s prypila with magnifications to the Saints of Rus’ (Barvinok 1911, 185–209).

The Romanian historian Tit Simedrea published the non-notated prypila of Filotei, revealed their liturgical content, and presented a study based on a large corpus of the manuscripts and early printed books.

For the first time, the non-notated prypila were printed by Božidar Vuković in the *Collection for Travellers (Zbornik za putnike)* in Venice in 1536. That collection contained thirty-three prypila written in Church Slavonic of the Middle Serbian recension. Later Filotei’s work was published in Transylvania (1580), Vilnius (1586) and Kyiv (1624, with the note “Bulgarian prypila”). Summarizing his observations, Simedrea concluded that

- Filotei’s work was quickly adopted by all Slavonic-language Orthodox Churches, “from the Balkans to Moscow”;
- twenty-six polyeleos prypila belong to Filotei, while the rest were added later;
- although written without notation, the prypila were nonetheless sung;
- Filotei, a monk of the Cozia Monastery, wrote his work in Church Slavonic of the Middle Bulgarian recension, which was the liturgical language of the Wallachian Orthodox Church at that time;
- Ukrainians in the seventeenth century called Filotei’s prypila “Bulgarian” because they were written in Church Slavonic of the Middle Bulgarian recension (Simedrea 1970).

The Ukrainian musicologist Yurij Yasinovskiy noted that Filotei’s work became part of the Ukrainian-Belarusian church chant tradition. Non-notated and notated prypila of the Wallachian monk are found in Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries written in *znamennaya* notation, as well as in the staff-notated Heirmologia of the late sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Yasinovskiy refuted Simedrea’s assertion that Filotei’s prypila disappeared from the liturgical books of the Eastern Slavs after the late seventeenth century. He documented that in 1789, the Pochaiv Lavra press published the non-notated *Magnifications (Величання)*, which were reprinted without changes in 1818 (Yasinovskiy 2001).

Filotei’s Non-notated Prypila in the Musical Manuscripts

Filotei’s non-notated prypila were inscribed in the musical manuscripts, which indicates their belonging to the oral chant tradition. They appear, for instance, in the Anthology (1550–1575) of the Putna school of music.⁴ In this manuscript, Filotei’s authorship was omitted in the heading to the prypila. Following his prypila, other magnifications were added, including those by Blessed Makarij.

As a result, the pryypila of different authors merged into one anonymous corpus. Despite this, they can be distinguished: “Come” (Прийдѣте) is the first word of most of Filotei’s troparia, whereas Makarij’s typically begin with “Magnify” (Величай). For this reason, Makarij’s pryypila are also referred to as *magnifications*.

In the Supraśl *Heirmologion* (1596–1601), one of the oldest Ukrainian-Belarusian staff-notated manuscripts, the non-notated pryypila of Filotei and Makarij were inscribed separately with an indication of authorship.⁵ The title of Filotei’s work follows the standard form. Blessed Makarij, as usual, was mentioned together with Mr. Nikephoros Blemmydes the

Selected psalms” (Блѣннаго макаріа и сщѣнномина. и честнаго философа и ритора г҃ла никифора, то влѣмида. Фалмы избранныа, fol. 568v). The word “τω” before the surname “Blemmydes” reflects translation from the Greek, where the surname “Blemmydes” (Βλεμμύδης) is preceded by the genitive article “του” (τοῦ Βλεμμύδου). In this *Heirmologion*, the text of Filotei was significantly expanded, presenting forty-seven troparia. Magnifications to Serbian saints Sava and Simeon, as well as to the Saints of Rus’—Serhij, Varlaam and Cyril the Wonderworkers, Khariton the Confessor, Peter and Alexy, Theodosius and Anthony of the Caves, Roman and David the martyrs, and Prince Volodymyr, were added among others (fols. 565r-567v).

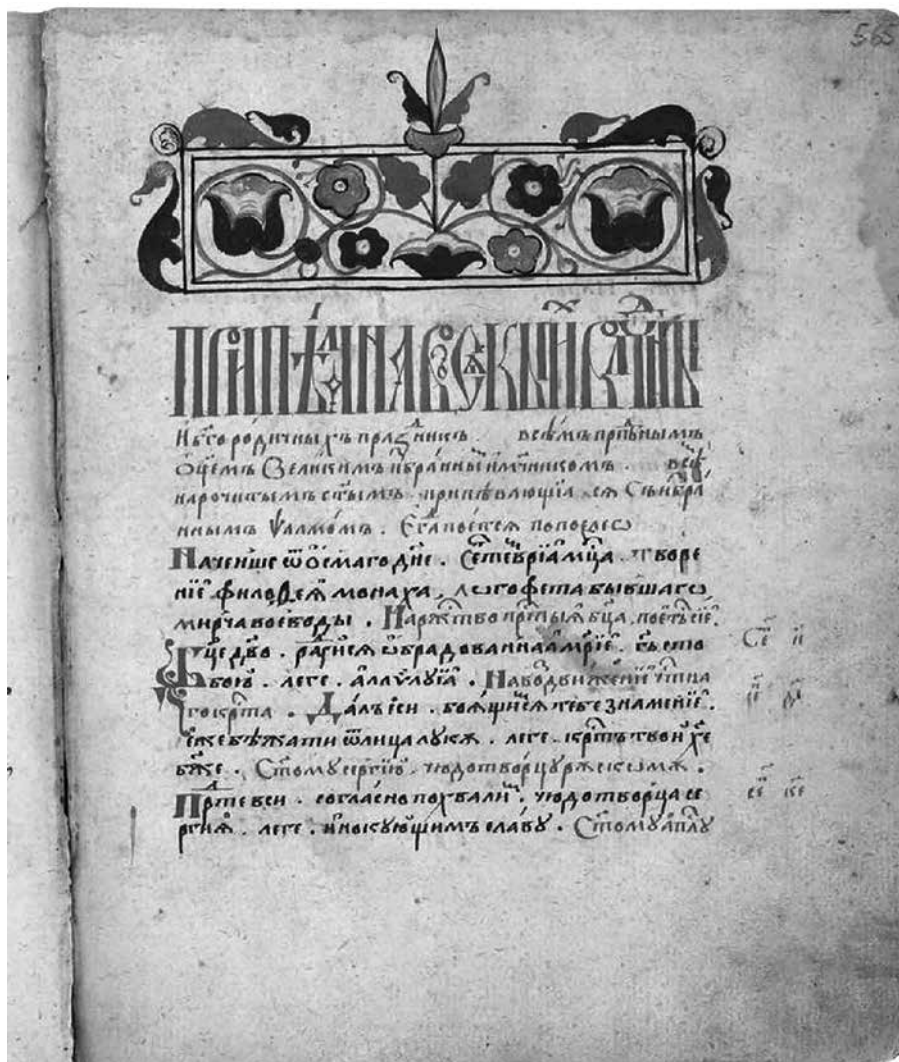


Figure 1. Beginning of the non-notated pryypila of Filotei under the title: “The pryypila on various feasts of the Lord and the Theotokos, to all the Venerable Great Fathers, and to the Martyrs, and to all the outstanding Saints that are singing with the selected psalm during the polyeleos. Starting from the eighth day of September. The work of Filotei the monk, the former logothete of the Voivode Mircea” (Припѣла на всьакихъ вдчны и бгородичныхъ праздникъ. всѣмъ прпдбнымъ отцѣмъ великимъ избраннымъ и мчникомъ. всѣмъ нарочитымъ стѣмъ припѣающіа са съ избраннымъ фалмомъ. Сгда поетса по по[ли]лелѣо. Наченше ѿ осмага днѣ. Септемврїа мса. Твореніе Филофеа монаха, логофета бывшаго, Мирча восводи). © Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv. Supraśl *Heirmologion* (1596–1601), fol. 565r, fond I, unit 5391.

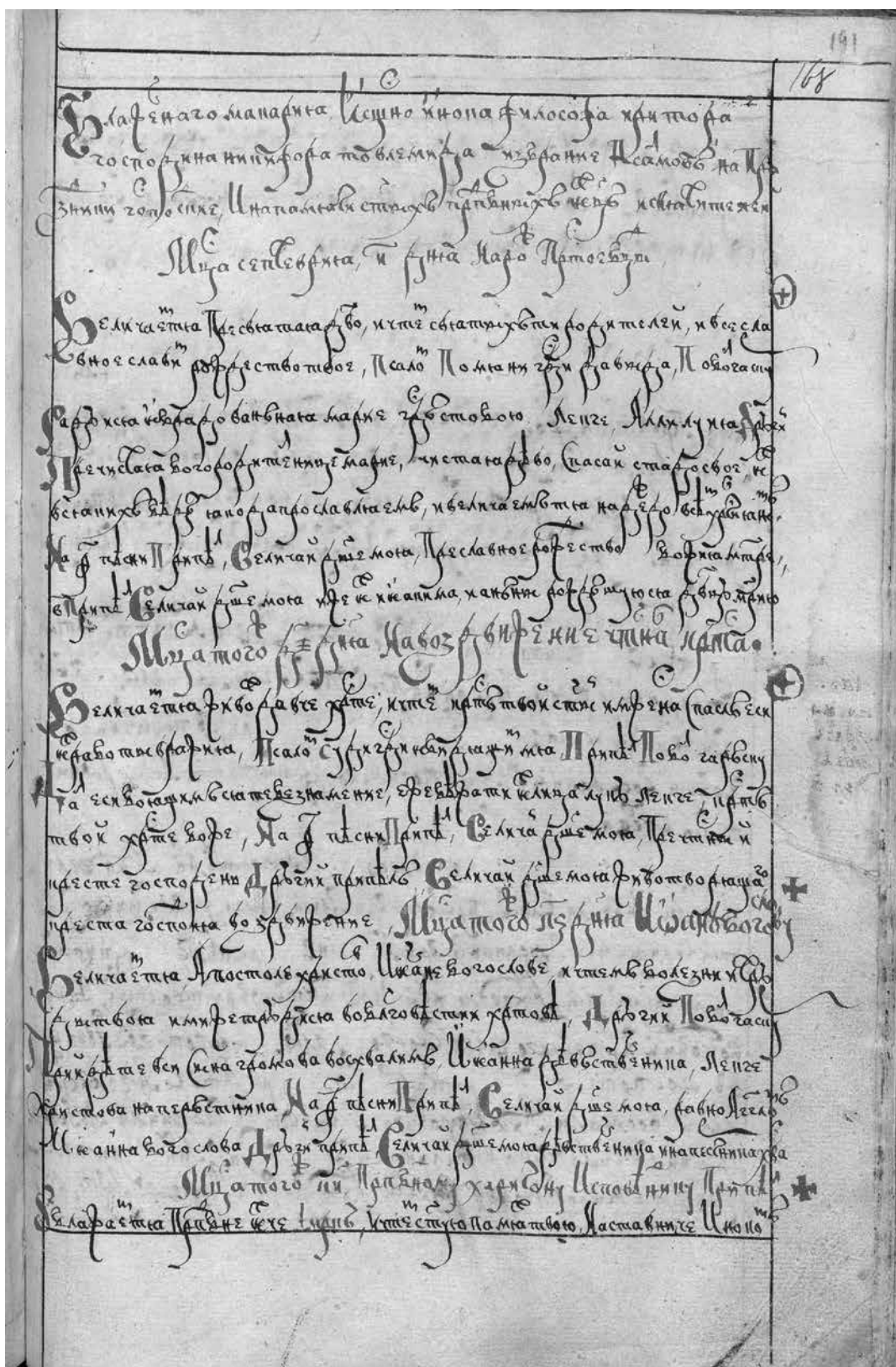


Figure 2. A combination of different prypila under the title: “By blessed hieromonk Makarij and philosopher and rhetorician Mr. Nikephoros Blemmydes the selection of psalms for the Lord’s feasts and for the memory of the Holy Venerable Fathers and Saints” (Блаженнаго макария и свщноинока философа и ритора господина никифора то влемеида избрание псалмовъ на праздники господские и на памяти стыхъ прпдбныхъ о҃тцъ и святителейъ). Non-notated Filotei’s prypily were inscribed with the note “in Bulgarian” (По болгарску). © Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv. Kyiv-Mezhyhiria Heimologion of the 1640s, fol. 191r, Collection of the Saint Sophia Cathedral of Kyiv, fond 312, unit 112/645.

The Kyiv-Mezhyhiria Heirmologion of the 1640s contains a unique collection of non-notated pryypila.⁶ In this manuscript, the Selected Psalms of Nikephoros Blemmydes and various pryypila were combined into one text. Blessed Makarij and Nikephoros Blemmydes were both mentioned in the heading. Filotei's pryypila were labeled "Bulgarian" (Бѡл), "in Bulgarian" (По болгарску), while others were titled "the second" (в"), "another" (Другий), "on the 9th ode" (на 9 пѣсни), "in Ruthenian" (По руску).

Filotei's Notated Pryypila in Ukrainian and Belarusian Heirmologia of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

As many researchers have noted, the toponym "Bulgarian" in the title of Filotei's pryypila first appeared in the Kyiv edition of the Psalter of 1624. Around the same time, this toponym also began to appear in musical manuscripts.

One of the earliest staff-notated manuscripts containing the notated polyeleos pryypila of the monk Filotei with the note "Bulgarian" is the Zhyrovichy Heirmologion from the 1620s.⁷ Unlike the Kyiv editions of the Psalter, however, this musical manuscript omits Filotei's name from the title.

The Zhyrovichy Heirmologion contains Filotei's polyeleos pryypila for selected feasts: the Nativity of the Most Holy Theotokos, the Feast of Pentecost, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the Sunday of the Prodigal Son, the Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian, the Transfiguration of our Lord, and the Dormition of the Theotokos. A small cycle of chants is dedicated to the feast of the Nativity of the Most Holy Theotokos. It includes two pryypila by Filotei in honor of the Theotokos, the first verse of the Psalm 132 (131) marked with the note "verse" (запѣл), a lesser doxology with pryypila by Filotei to the Holy Trinity and to the Theotokos, and a final *Hallelujah*.



Figure 3. The polyeleos pryypila under the title: "Prypila for the feasts of the Lord and the Theotokos, and the Great Saints. <...> In Bulgarian" (Припѣла празникомъ гѣдскимъ и бгородичнымъ, і стымъ, наричитымъ. <...> по болгарску). © Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv. Zhyrovichy Heirmologion of the 1620s, fols. 14r-15v, fond I, unit 3368.



Figure 3. The polyeleos prupila under the title: “Prupila for the feasts of the Lord and the Theotokos, and the Great Saints. <...> In Bulgarian” (Припѣла празникомъ гспдскимъ и бгородичнымъ, і стымъ, нарочитымъ. <...> по болгарску). © Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv. Zhyrovichy Heirmologion of the 1620s, fols. 14r-15v, fond I, unit 3368.

Polyeleos Prupila Presented in the Zhyrovichy Heirmologion of the 1620s

On the Nativity of the Most Holy Theotokos
 Радуйся, обрадованная Маріе, Господь с тобою. **леге.**
 Аллилуия:
 (Rejoice, joyful Maria, the Lord is with you. **lege.** Hallelujah:)
 Помяни, Господи, Давида, і всю кротость его:
 (Remember, o Lord, in David’s favor, all the hardships he endured: ps. 132 (131):1)
 Пречистая богородительнице Маріе, чистая Дѣво, спасай стадо свое от всякихъ бѣдъ, яко да прославляемъ і величаемъ тя, надеждо всѣмъ христіяномъ:
 (The purest Theotokos Maria, pure Virgin, save your flock from all evils, let us glorify and magnify you, the hope of all Christians:)
 Слава Отцу и Сину, и Святому Духу:
 (Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit:)
 Слава Ти, Троице Святая. Отче, Слове и Душе Святыи. **леге.** Слава тебѣ, Боже:

(Glory to You, Holy Trinity. Father, Word and Holy Spirit. **lege.** Glory to you, God:)
 І нынѣ, и присно, и вѣки вѣкомъ аминь:
 (As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen:).
 Радуйся, обрадованная Маріе, Господь с тобою
 (Rejoice, joyful Maria, the Lord is with you).
 Аллилуя, аллилуя, слава тебѣ, Боже:
 (Hallelujah, hallelujah, glory to you, God).
On the Exaltation of the Holy Cross
 Дал еси знаменіе боящимся Тебе, Господи, еже бѣжати от лица луку. **леге.** Крестъ Твой, Христе Боже
 (You have given a warning sign to those who fear You, O Lord, that they may flee from before the face of the bow. **lege.** Your cross, Christ God).
On Sunday of the Prodigal Son
 Возврати, Господи, пѣвненіе душъ нашихъ и восади страхъ Твой во сердца наша, **леге.** насадителю благимъ
 (Return, O Lord, the captivity of our souls and plant Your fear in our hearts, **lege.** good planter)⁸.

To the Holy Apostle and Evangelist John the Theologian

Прийдѣте вси, Сына громава восхвалим, Иоанна
дѣвственника, **леге**. наперсника Христова
(Come all of you, praise the Son of Thunder, John the Virgin,
lege. breastplate of Christ).

On the Transfiguration of our Lord

Преобразується Исус мой и Господь на горѣ Фаворстѣй,
леге показав славу свою
(My Jesus and the Lord is transfigured on the Mount Tabor,
lege showed his glory).

On the Dormition of the Theotokos

Гѣснь ти исходную приношаем, Маріе, преставибося от
земных **леге** ко вѣчным обителем
(We bring you the last song, Mary, because you have passed
from the earthly **lege** to the eternal abode).

In the Heirmologion (1650–1675) from the village of Vaniv near Belz, the prypila conclude the polyeleos, which is labeled “Kyivan Polyeleos” (киевское пополюеое *sic!*) and “in Bulgarian” (по болгарьску, fol. 4v).⁹ This manuscript contains Filotei’s prypil to the Holy Trinity, which ends with “As it was in the beginning...” (І нынѣ...). It also includes two prypila by Filotei for the Nativity of the Most Holy Theotokos, one prypil dedicated to three Saints marked “to three Saints” (тѣмъ стѣлем), and the opening phrase of the second verse of Psalm 48 (49), annotated “the verse to the chant” (стих до напѣлу).

Polyeleos Prypila Presented in the Heirmologion of the Years 1650–1675 from the Village of Vaniv

Слава Ти, Троице Святая Отче, Слове и Душе Святый.
леге. Слава тебѣ, Боже
(Glory to You, Holy Trinity. Father, Word and Holy Spirit.
lege. Glory to you, God).

І нынѣ, и присно, и вѣки вѣком. Аминь
(As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world
without end. Amen).

Радуйся, обрадованная Маріе, Господь с тобою. **леге**.
Аллилуия
(Rejoice, joyful Maria, the Lord is with you. **lege**. Hallelujah).
Пречистая богородительнице Маріе, чистая Дѣво, спасай
стадо свое от всяких бѣд, яко да прославляем і величаем
тя, надежда всѣм хрестияном
(The purest Theotokos Maria, pure Virgin, save your flock
from all evils, let us glorify and magnify you, the hope of all
Christians).

Прийдѣте, Василия, Григорія восхвалим, Иоанна Златоуста-
го, **леге**. Троици поборники.
(Come, Basil, Gregory, praise, John Chrysostom, **lege**. the
defenders of the Trinity).

Услышите сия, вси языци
(Hear this, all peoples, *ps.* 48 (49):2).

Not only polyeleos prypila were called “Bulgarian.” The so-called “Bulgarian chant” (about 300 works, according to the Ukrainian musicologist Lidiia Kornii) made up a significant part of the liturgical chant repertoire recorded in Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated manuscripts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Kornii, Dubrovina 1998). The question of their origin is still debated, since chants called “Bulgarian” in Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts have not been found in Bulgarian ones, of which very few have been preserved (Ignatenko, “Bulgarian”).

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Great Manyava, or the Galician Skete, became an important center for the cultivation of Bulgarian chant. The Manyava manuscript of 1684 even bears the title “Heirmologion of Bulgarian chant” (Ірмолой напѣлу болгарскаго).¹⁰ Three Manyava musical manuscripts contain polyeleos prypila under headings such as “prypila to the feasts” (припѣла празником) and “prypila to the feasts of the Lord” (припѣла гдѣским празніком). In fact, these texts polyeleos prypila for the feasts of the Lord and the Theotokos. In the Manyava manuscripts of 1675–1676¹¹ and 1684,¹² there are five prypila: for the Transfiguration of our Lord, the Sunday of the Prodigal Son, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the Dormition of the Theotokos and the Annunciation. Three of these are by Filotei. The prypila for the Sunday of the Prodigal Son and the Annunciation are later imitations of his work. In the Manyava Heirmologion of 1731–1733,¹³ there are four prypila: the same as in the Manyava manuscripts of 1675–1676 and 1684, except that the one for the Transfiguration of our Lord is omitted.

As we have seen, a single manuscript usually contained only a few prypila—most often dedicated to the Most Holy Theotokos and to the Holy Trinity. From this perspective, the Heirmologion from the first third of the eighteenth century in the collection of the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society is unique, as it contains over thirty prypila by Filotei!¹⁴ Moreover, in this manuscript Filotei’s cycle concludes with a magnification to Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv.

The Polyeleos Refrains in Greek-Byzantine, Balkan, and Slavic Church Chant Traditions: Intersection Points

An attributive feature of Filotei’s prypila, or their imitations, is the insertion of the untranslated Greek word *lege* (λέγε), written in Cyrillic as **леге**. *Lege*, meaning “say,” and *palin* (πάλιν), meaning “again,” are performance instructions woven into the chanted liturgical texts. In the manuscripts they were usually written in red and sung by the soloist to attract the attention of listeners and choristers, and to emphasize what was to be sung next (Chaldeakis 1997, 176). Such instructions were widely used in the Greek-Byzantine chant

tradition. Greek word *lege*, used in the work of Filotei, led us to search for a Greek-Byzantine source of “Bulgarian” *prypila*.

All researchers emphasize that Filotei’s cycle are absent from Greek manuscripts— a logical fact, given that they were written in Church Slavonic. The question, then, is how the Greek word *lege* came to appear in Filotei’s *prypila*. To answer it, we must turn to the history of the polyeleos genre.

Greek musicologist Achilleas Chaldeakis, who has studied the polyeleos in the Byzantine tradition, describes the special practice of inserting non-psalmic poetic texts into the chant of the polyeleos: “<...> there is a pre-existing Psalm (the Amomos or the Polyeleos or the antiphons), which is chanted at a specific part of the Matins service; and to this psalm, at certain major feasts, new poetic texts are added (by interpolation between its verses) with a view to celebrating the corresponding event of the church calendar. Hymnographical research has not, unfortunately, reached any sure and generally accepted conclusion concerning the time of the creation and insertion into liturgical practice, or the identity of the inventor of this kind of *enkomia*. The currently prevailing thesis places their composition in the early Palaeologan period, and dates their introduction into liturgical practice before the fourteenth century; the issue of the authorship of the *enkomia* (although we already know many imitators of this kind of poetry) remains obscure” (Chaldeakis 2011, 77). The practice of inserting non-psalmic texts between psalm’s verses was named “festive changes” (εόρτια ἀλλάγματα). The new poetic texts were called *enkomia* or *megalynaria*. Their interpolation was associated both with the polyeleos (especially the so-called *Latrinos Polyeleos*) and with the antiphons (notably the antiphon for the feast of All Angels).

Chaldeakis notes that the earliest interpolations of non-psalmic poetic texts appear in the *Latrinos Polyeleos*, specifically in the last ten verses (12–21) of Psalm 134. The history of this polyeleos began in Asia Minor: “The so-called *Latrinos Polyeleos* originated in the monastic state of Latros in Asia Minor (which flourished from the tenth to the thirteenth century), but was gradually, from the fourteenth century onwards, connected to the musical tradition of Constantinople, but also to that of «the whole world», as it is characteristically noted in the manuscripts” (Chaldeakis 2011, 79). The activity of the renowned Byzantine composer Saint Ioannes Koukouzeles gave the practice of inserting new poetic texts into the polyeleos an exceptionally broad dimension.

It is especially significant that the new poetic texts of the *Latrinos Polyeleos* contained the inserted performance cues *lege* and *palin* (Chaldeakis 2003, 553–577). This fact undoubtedly links the early Byzantine *enkomia* with Filotei’s *prypila*, since their poetic structures are strikingly similar.

Short verses of praise (*enkomia*) also appeared in the Bulgarian Church at roughly the same time. Bulgarian

researchers have identified them in a thirteenth-century musical manuscript for the service to Saint Joachim Osogovski (†ca. 1105), as well as in fourteenth-century manuscripts for the service to Saint Petka (Parask-eva) Tărnovska (Tončeva, “Полиелейните припели в ръкопис” 1994).

We may therefore assume that at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Wallachian monk Filotei developed the practice of inserting non-psalmic poetic texts into the chant of the polyeleos in the Slavonic-language churches of the Byzantine rite, presenting the Slavonic short verses of praise known as *prypila*.

Filotei’s Notated *Prypila* in the Fifteenth-century Anthology EBE 928 by Isaiah the Serb

The earliest notated *prypila* of Filotei were found in a fifteenth-century musical manuscript: the Anthology EBE 928 of Isaiah the Serb, written in the Matejče (*Zheg-ligovo*) Monastery (Skopska Crna Gora, near Kumanovo, present-day North Macedonia).¹⁵ This manuscript demonstrates many distinctive features. It is bilingual, in Greek and Church Slavonic, with multiple texts set to one melody and numerous marginal inscriptions. Short polyeleos verses of praise were written under the rubric “Psalomnik” (ΨΑΛΩΜΝΙΚ) for the feasts of the Theotokos (fol. 64r) and All Saints (fol. 68r). The “Psalomnik” occupies sixteen pages (fols. 64r–80v), testifying to the rich polyeleos practice of the Matejče Monastery.

Bulgarian musicologist Elena Tončeva, who devoted several articles to this manuscript and focused especially on its polyeleos repertoire,

- attributed a significant number of the verses of praise (*megalynaria*) to Saint Ioannes Koukouzeles and Xenos Korones;
- discovered that some melodies of the “Psalomnik” were taken from the *Latrinos Polyeleos* and the polyeleos of Koukoumas (Tončeva, “Полиелейните припели в ръкопис,” 1994: 645);
- noted that the anthology EBE 928 contains the earliest translation of Saint Ioannes Koukouzeles’ polyeleos repertoire into Church Slavonic;
- concluded that Isaiah the Serb composed his works using the technique of chanting “na podoben” (according to the model), selecting Byzantine melodies and formulas and adapting them to Slavonic texts (Tončeva, “Полиелейните припели в ръкопис,” 1994).

The name of Filotei is not mentioned in the Anthology EBE 928 of Isaiah the Serb. Scholars who first studied this manuscript did not realize that Filotei’s work might be connected to this anthology. Later, however, Tončeva

- identified four Slavonic prypila of Filotei within the “Psalomnik” cycle of the Anthology EBE 928: for the Nativity and the Dormition of the Most Holy Theotokos, the Nativity of Christ, and the Holy Trinity;
- compared Filotei’s cycle of prypila with the “Psalomnik” of Isaiah the Serb and observed that while the first prypil to the Most Holy Theotokos is the same in both cycles, the subsequent texts and the structure of the cycles differ significantly (Tončeva, “Полиелейните припели на Филотей,” 1994).

Given the substantial variation between the cycles of the polyeleos megalynaria of Isaiah and Filotei, Slovak musicologist David Pancha suggested that Isaiah’s cycle represented an older layer of the tradition, later edited and completed by Filotei (Pancha 2013). Indeed, the “Psalomnik” reads more like a draft. The working process is reflected in its bilingualism, its spontaneous notational style, and its varied handwriting. It appears more as a manuscript for private use than a chant book intended for church singers.

The aforementioned edition *Collection for Travellers* (*Zbornik za putnike*, Venice, 1536) published by Božidar Vuković, where Filotei’s non-notated prypila first appeared in print, reflects a later stage of the development and systematization of Slavonic polyeleos practice. In this edition, before Filotei’s cycle, a “Theotokos prypilo to the polyeleos” (припѣло Бци на полиелеω) was included. In this work, the last verses of Psalm 134 alternate with Theotokos megalynaria, some attributed to Saint Ioannes Koukouzeles and also present in the Anthology of Isaiah the Serb. Koukouzeles’ name, however, appears in neither the manuscript nor Vuković’s edition.

As already mentioned, the fifteenth-century Anthology of Isaiah the Serb EBE 928 preserves the earliest notated prypila of Filotei. Tončeva analyzed them within the context of the late-Byzantine polyeleos repertoire and identified the first melody of the “Psalomnik” in the Byzantine manuscript *Papadiki* EBE 2401 (mid-fifteenth century), among the chants of the antiphon to the Most Holy Theotokos Λόγον ἀγαθόν¹⁶ (Tončeva, “Полиелейните припели на Филотей,” 1994, 181). The same melody was also combined by Isaiah the Serb with troparia to the Holy Trinity and in honor of the Serbian Saint John of Rila. Thus, the “Psalomnik” clearly begins within the Greek-Byzantine tradition.

Antiphons are additional psalms sung at particular feasts, either after or instead of the polyeleos Psalms 134 and 135. By the late fourteenth century, six antiphons already appear in Byzantine musical manuscripts. Thus, the term “antiphon” refers not only to alternating choirs but also to psalmic substitutes for the polyeleos psalms (Chaldeckis 2003, 114–119, 170).

Psalm 44 (45), “My heart overflows with a pleasing theme” (Ἐξηρεύξατο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν / Отрыгну сердце мое слово благо), was sung at feasts of the Most Holy Theotokos. Isaiah the Serb selected for his “Psalomnik” the first-mode melody combined with a non-psalmic text inserted after the opening phrase of the second verse of the Psalm 44 (45). This interpolation ends with the exclamation *Hallelujah*, separated from the preceding words by the instruction *Lege*:

Ἐξηρεύξατο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν

(My heart overflows with a pleasing theme, ps. 44 (45): 2).

Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη Μαρία, ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ. *Λέγε*. Ἀλληλούια (Rejoice, joyful Maria, the Lord is with you. **Lege**. Hallelujah).

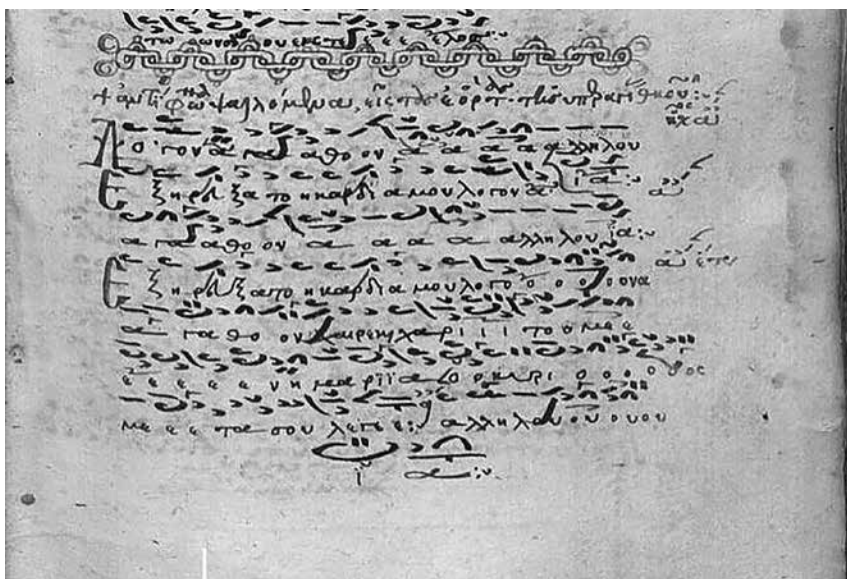


Figure 4. Beginning of the antiphon to the Most Holy Theotokos Λόγον ἀγαθόν with the inserted text *Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη Μαρία* (Rejoice, joyful Maria). © National Library of Greece in Athens, Papadiki of the years 1452–1469, fol. 136r, EBE 2401.



Figure 5. First troparion to the Most Holy Theotokos from the “Psalomnik,” with parallel text in Slavonic and Greek: Радуїся, обрадованная Маріє / *Χαίρε κεχαριτωμένη Μαρία* (Rejoice, joyful Maria). © National Library of Greece in Athens, Anthology of Isaiah the Serb of the fifteenth century, f. 64r, EBE 928.

The non-psalmonic text related directly to the Theotokos, presenting the Annunciation as narrated in the Gospel of Luke: the angel Gabriel’s words to the Virgin Mary that she would conceive a son to be called Jesus by the power of the Holy Spirit: “And the angel came to her and said, «*Rejoice, favored woman! The Lord is with you*»” (Luke 1:28).

Isaiah the Serb replaced the opening phrase of the second verse of the Psalm 44 (45) with the first phrase of the fourth verse of the Psalm 97 (98):

Ἐξηρεύσατο ἡ καρδία μου λόγον ἀγαθόν
(My heart overflows with a pleasing theme, ps. 44 (45): 2).
Воскликните Богови вся земля
(Make a joyful noise to the Lord, all the earth, ps. 97 (98): 4).

At the same time, the final two words of the original Greek phrase (*λόγον ἀγαθόν*) were inscribed in cinnabar above the Slavonic phrase (*вся земля*). The following megalynarion to the Theotokos presents the same text in both Greek and Slavonic:

Χαίρε κεχαριτωμένη Μαρία, ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ. Λέγε. Ἀλληλούια
Радуїся, обрадованная Маріє, Господь с тобою. **Λεγε.**
Аллилуия
(Rejoice, joyful Maria, the Lord is with you. **Lege.** Hallelujah).

The Greek-Byzantine musical manuscript EBE 899 (second half of the fifteenth century) contains a closely related melodic version of the megalynarion “Rejoice, joyful Maria,” written in the plagal of the first mode under the rubric “On the Annunciation” (*Εἰς τὸν Εὐαγγελισμόν*)¹⁷. Unlike manuscript EBE 2401, this megalynarion continues the final phrase of the second verse of Psalm 95 (96) and omits the instruction *Lege*:

Εὐαγγελίσεθε ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ
(Tell of his salvation from day to day, ps. 95 (96): 2).
Χαίρε κεχαριτωμένη Μαρία, ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ. Ἀλληλούια
(Rejoice, joyful Maria, the Lord is with you. Hallelujah).

The studied megalynarion—a non-psalmonic text from the Byzantine antiphon to the Most Holy Theotokos, translated into Slavonic—became the first prypil of Filotei’ cycle:

Χαίρε κεχαριτωμένη Μαρία, ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ. Λέγε. Ἀλληλούια
Радуїся, обрадованная Маріє, Господь с тобою. **Λεγε.**
Аллилуия
(Rejoice, joyful Maria, the Lord is with you. **Lege.** Hallelujah).

Filotei’s polyeleos cycle is organized in a chronological order, as the holidays run throughout the church year. The church year starts in September, so the cycle begins with a prypil “Rejoice, joyful Maria” for the Nativity of the Most Holy Theotokos. This prypil was also sung on the feast for Meeting of the Lord and the Annunciation, as stated in Vuković’s edition *Collection for Travellers* of 1536.

Returning now to the Ukrainian and Belarusian musical manuscripts containing Filotei’s works labeled “Bulgarian prypila”: Ukrainian musicologist Yuriy Yasinovskiy observed that all of Filotei’s prypila were sung to the same melody, and that the magnification in honor of Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv is nearly identical with another prypila. He concluded that a local Ukrainian melody, stylistically related to the Balkan-Slavic chant tradition, had been combined with the text honoring Volodymyr, and that this melody was therefore designated “Bulgarian” (Yasinovskiy 2001).

A thorough study of Filotei’s prypila, based on numerous sources, was undertaken by Slovak researcher David Pancha (2013). He focused on the “Bulgarian” prypila found in seventeenth- and eighteenth- century Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts. In particular, he:

- compared the various versions of the pryypila with other “Bulgarian” chants of the first mode, showing their melodic similarity;
- compared the melody of the pryypila from the Ukrainian-Belarusian Heirmologia with those from the Anthology EBE 928, concluding: “A short comparison reveals some common features; however, the evolution of the Ruthenian melody from the old Serbian model I consider to be improbable” (Pancha 2013, 480).
- summarized: “The melodies in various Ruthenian and pre-Chrysanthine Romanian sources from the seventeenth century to the present day are based on one common archetype, built up on motifs from the ‘Bulgarian’ first mode. The relationship of the old

Serbian psalomniki to the Filotean pripěla remains an open question” (Pancha 2013, 484).

The Results of Our Research

In liturgical practice, the polyeleos pryypila existed in both oral and written traditions. Our comparative study showed that all of Filotei’s pryypila recorded in Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated manuscripts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under the rubric “Bulgarian pryypila” were based on the same melodic model. They were performed using the special technique of chanting “na podoben” (according to the model), in which a familiar melody was combined with different texts. Each time, the

Ра - ду - и - ся, об - ра - до - ванна - я
Сла - ва Ти, Трой - це
Дал е - си зна - ме - ні - е бо - я - щим - ся Те -
Воз - вра - ти, Гос - по - ди, плъ - не - ні - е
Прий - дъ - те вси, Сы - на гро - мо - ва
Пре - об - ра - зу - ет - ся И - сус
Пъсьнь ти ис - ход - ну - ю при - но - ша -

Ма - - - - - рі - е, Гос - подъ с то -
Свя - - - - - та - я, От - че Сло - -
бе, Гос - - - - - по - ди, е - же бѣ - жа -
душ на - ших и во - са - ди
вос - - - - - хва - лим, И - о - ан -
мой и Гос - подъ на го - рѣ
ем, Ма - - - - - рі - е, пре - ста - ви - бо -

бо - - - ю. ле - - ге.
 ве и Ду - ше Свя - тый. ле - - ге.
 ти от ли - ца лу - ку. ле - - ге.
 страх Твой во серд - ца на - ша. ле - - ге.
 на двѣст - вен - ни - ка. ле - - ге.
 Фа - вор - стѣй. ле - - ге
 - ся от зем - ных. ле - - ге

Ал - ли - лу - и - я.
 Сла - ва те - бѣ, Бо - же.
 крест Твой, Хрис - те Бо - же.
 на - са - ди - те - лю бла - гим.
 на - перст - ни - ка Хрис - то - ва.
 по - ка - зав сла - ву сво - ю.
 ко вѣч - ным о - би - те - лем.

Figure 6. Filotei's prypila from the Zhyrovichy Heimologion of the 1620s, fols. 14r–15v. Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv, fond I, unit 3368.

melody was slightly adjusted according to the length of the verbal text and its accentual pattern. Comparative analysis demonstrates the recurrence of the same melodic framework and closely related tunes, more or less elaborated.

The melody of all of Filotei's prypila in Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts derives from the late-Byzantine tune of the antiphon to the Most Holy Theotokos *Λόγον ἀγαθόν*, particularly the setting combined with the non-psalmic text "Rejoice, joyful Maria" (*Χαίρε κεχαρισταμένη Μαρία*). Isaiah the Serb most likely adapted the Church Slavonic translation of this Greek text (Радуйся, обрадованная Маріє) to the same melody.

EBE 2401

Ε ξη ρευ ξα το η καρ δι α μου λο γο ο ο ο ο ο να α γα θε ον

EBE 928

λο γο ον α α α α γα α θε ο ον.
Въс клик нѣ те бо го ви въ са а а а а а въ са зем лна а а.

NLUV I 3368

По-мя-ни, Гос-по-ди, Да-вы-да и всю кро-тость е - го:

EBE 2401

χαι ρε και χα ρι ι ι το ο με ε ε ε ε ε νη

EBE 928

χαι ρε και χα ρι ι τω ω με ε ε ε νη η
ρα δου и се. об ра. а до о о. ва а. а а а нна а а

NLUV I 3368

Ра - ду - и - ся, об - ра - до-ван-на - я

EBE 2401

μα ρι ι α ο ο κυ ρι ο ο ο ο ο ος

EBE 928

μα α ρι αμ. ο ο κυ ρι ι ο ο ος
ма а а рї є. го о о сподь го ос подь

NLUV I 3368

Ма - - - ρι - є, Гос - подь с то - бо -

Figure 7. The megalynarion “Rejoice, joyful Maria” (collation of sources): Papadiki, mid-fifteenth century, National Library of Greece, Athens, EBE 2401, fol. 136r; Isaiah the Serb’s anthology, fifteenth century, National Library of Greece, Athens, EBE 928, f. 64r; Zhyrovichy Heirmologion, 1620s, Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, fond I, unit 3368, fol. 14r.

породившаго нас святым крещенієм

(Come, all Rus’ cathedrals, praise our forefather Basil¹⁸, **lege** who birthed us by the holy baptism).

Filotei’s *prypila* written in the anthology EBE 928, were sung with various melodies. Instead, only one melody entrenched in the Ukrainian and Belarusian liturgical practice. In musical manuscripts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this melody was recorded using five-line notation.

The later imitations that complemented the cycle of Filotei, followed the tradition of chanting “na podobn”. Thus, the magnification to Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv was combined with the same late-Byzantine melody from the mid-fifteenth century.

Magnification to Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv

Прийдѣте, вси Русїи собори,
похвалим праотца нашего Василїя, **леге**

Such a text without music was written in the *Suprasl* Heirmologion of 1596–1601 (fol. 567r). With a melody, this text was fixed in the later manuscript of the first third of the eighteenth century, where the word “*Rus*” (Русїи) was replaced by the word “*Russian*” (Росїїстїи)¹⁹. By that time, a big part of the Ukrainian territories had already been integrated into the Russian Empire. For ideological reasons, the Old Rus’ in the megalynarion to Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv became Russia.

The studied megalynarion to the Most Holy Theotokos “Rejoice, joyful Maria” was rendered in Middle Byzantine notation in the Greek-Byzantine manuscripts and in five-line Kyivan notation in the Ukrainian and Belarusian Heirmologia. Therefore, Middle Byzantine notation was decoded by five-line Kyiv one.



Figure 8. Prypil in honor of Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv. © Vasyly Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv. Heirmologion of the first third of the eighteenth century, Collection of the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society, fond I, unit 235, fol. 247v.

Middle Byzantine semeiography did not contain sufficient information about the rhythmic and temporal organization of chant. Kyiv exegesis gave us this information. The mode of the megalynarion to the Most Holy Theotokos “Rejoice, joyful Maria” was not indicated in Ukrainian and Belarusian manuscripts. A five-line notation provokes contemporary performers to imagine a musical scale that consists of tones and half-tones. In our opinion, this approach is erroneous, since it does not correspond to the Byzantine modal system. Greek-Byzantine manuscripts contain the necessary information. The studied megalynarion “Rejoice, joyful Maria” is of the first mode / the plagal of the first mode.

The comparison of two different notational systems of Byzantine music’s codification yielded interesting results. Parameters of the work, that were not defined by authentic Middle Byzantine semeiography, were complemented by Kyivan notation, and vice versa, parameters of the work, that were not defined by Kyivan notation, were complemented by Middle Byzantine semeiography. It significantly enriches our understanding of the musical work and allows us to offer its historically informed performance interpretation and analysis.

The discovery of the Byzantine musical source of the “Bulgarian” *prypila* written in Ukrainian and Belarusian staff-notated manuscripts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the mapping of intersections among various church-chant traditions, enriches the history of Orthodox church music with new facts and contexts. Our study shows the unity of Eastern Christian church chant traditions, which is not obvious due to the variety of their linguistic and sound implementations. Melodies that were used as models have been sung in different areas of Christendom throughout the centuries. They have become sacred and canonical. They ensure a symbolic unity of all believers in

their prayers to God and in their desire to praise the Lord alongside angels.

References

- 1 In Ukrainian and Belarusian traditions multi-genre church chants’ collections containing the main liturgical repertoire were called *Heirmologia*. From the late sixteenth century Heirmologia were written in Kyivian square notation, which is a local variant of the European five-line musical semeiography.
- 2 The Slavic-language term for the notion “refrains” was written in two ways: *prypila* (припїла) or *prypily* (припїли).
- 3 Typicon of the Neamț monastery of the years 1519–1523, fol. 269v, BAR, ms. slav. 101, Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest, see: (Simedrea 1970).
- 4 Anthology (1550–1575), fols. 236r-240v, BAR 283, Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest.
- 5 Supraśl Heirmologion (1596–1601), fols. 565r-573r, fond I, unit 5391, Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv, https://irbis-nbuv.gov.ua/cgi-bin/irbis_ir/cgiirbis_64.exe?S21CNR=20&S21STN=1&S21REF=2&C21COM=S&I21DBN=ELIB&P21DBN=ELIB&S21All=%3C.%3EID%3D0000281%3C.%3E&&S21FMT=fullwebr [last checked: 2025 20 03].
- 6 Kyiv-Mezhyhiria Heirmologion of the 1640s, fols. 191r-195v, Collection of the Saint Sophia Cathedral of Kyiv, fond 312, unit 112/645, Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv.
- 7 Zhyrovichy Heirmologion of the 1620s, fols. 14r-15v, fond I, unit 3368, Institute of Manuscript of V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv. “Bulgarian” *prypila* were published in: (Kornii, Dubrovina 1998: 173–177).
- 8 The troparion on Sunday of the Prodigal Son is a later imitation of Filotei’s work.
- 9 Heirmologion of 1650–1675 from the village of Vaniv near Belz, fols. 5r-6v. National Library of Poland in Warsaw, Rps 12058 I, <https://polona.pl/preview/36e09068-c7ca-4dbc-b86f-6a9339ce9614> [last checked: 2025 26 03].
- 10 Manyava Heirmologion of 1684, fol. 10r, ms. slav. 10845, National Library of Romania, Bucharest.

- ¹¹ Manyava Heirmologion of 1675–1676, fols. 118v–120v, ms. slav. 10846, National Library of Romania, Bucharest.
- ¹² Manyava Heirmologion of 1684, fols. 134r–135v, ms. slav. 10845, National Library of Romania, Bucharest. Facsimile: (Tončeva 1981: 282–286).
- ¹³ Manyava Heirmologion (1731–1733), fols. 184v–185v, BAR 525, Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest.
- ¹⁴ Heirmologion of the first third of the eighteenth century, fols. 243r–47v. Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv, Collection of the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society, fond I, unit 235.
- ¹⁵ Anthology of the fifteenth century, EBE 928, National Library of Greece in Athens.
- ¹⁶ Papadiki of 1452–1469, fol. 136r, EBE 2401, National Library of Greece in Athens.
- ¹⁷ Papadiki of the fifteenth century, fol. 83v, EBE 899, National Library of Greece in Athens.
- ¹⁸ Prince Volodymyr of Kyiv was baptized with the name Vasyl.
- ¹⁹ Heirmologion of the first third of the eighteenth century, Collection of the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Society, fond I, unit 235, fol. 247v, Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv.

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Santrauka

XVI a. pab. ir XVII a. Ukrainos ir Baltarusijos bažnytinis repertuaras buvo intensyviai atnaujinamas sąveikaujant su Balkanų ortodoksų giesmių tradicijomis. Tai liudija „bulgarų“, „graikų“, „serbų“, „muntenų“ ir „valakų“ giesmės, užrašytos to meto Ukrainos ir Baltarusijos irmologijoje. Jų kilmės, adaptavimo ir priėmimo Ukrainos ir Baltarusijos žemėse klausimai dar nėra pakankamai ištirti.

Mūsų tyrimo objektas – XVII ir XVIII a. ukrainiečių ir baltarusių notuotos irmologijos rubrikoje, pavadintoje „Bulgariški *prypila*“, rasti polielėjų refrenai. Šie refrenai grįsti Karpatų pietuose Kozijos vienuolyne, Valakijoje, gyvenusio vienuolio Filotėjo poetiniais kūriniais. Toponimas „bulgariški“ Filotėjo *prypila* pavadinime atsirado 1624 m. Kyjive išleistame psalmyne. Maždaug tuo pačiu metu šis toponimas pasirodė muzikos rankraščiuose. 1620 m. pasirodęs Žyrovicų *Heirmologion* yra vienas seniausių rankraščių, kuriame natomis užrašyti vienuolio Filotėjo polielėjų *prypila* turi priedą „bulgariški“.

XV a. serbo Izaijo antologija „EBE 928“ pateikia seniausius notuotus Filotėjo *prypila*. Bulgarijos mokslininkė Elena Tončeva išanalizavo juos vėlyvosios Bizantijos polielėjų repertuaro kontekste ir bizantiniame rankraštyje „Papadiki EBE 2401“ (XV a. vid.) tarp giesmių Švenčiausiajai Dievo Motinai atrado pirmąją serbiško „Psalomnik“ melodiją.

Liturginėje praktikoje polielėjų *prypila* egzistavo ir žodinėje, ir rašytinėje tradicijose. Mūsų lyginamasis tyrimas rodo, kad visi Filotėjo *prypila*, užrašyti ukrainietiškuose ir baltarusiškuose rankraščiuose, buvo sujungti su tuo

pačiu melodiniu modeliu. Jie buvo atliekami pasitelkiant giedojimo techniką „na podoben“ („pagal modelį“). Filotėjo *prypila* melodija ukrainiečių ir baltarusių irmologijoje buvo pagrįsta vėlyvosios Bizantijos Švenčiausiosios Dievo Motinos antifonos melodija – ši melodija labiausiai sietina su nepsalminiu tekstu „Džiaukis, džiaugsmingoji Marija“ (*Χαίρε κεχαριστωμένη Μαρία*). Vėlesnės imitacijos, papildžiusios Filotėjo ciklą, sekė „na podoben“ giedojimo tradiciją. Taigi Kyjivo kunigaikščio Volodymyro šlovinimas buvo susietas su ta pačia vėlyvosios Bizantijos melodija iš XV a. vidurio.

Tyrinėta Švenčiausiąją Dievo Motiną šlovinanti giesmė „Džiaukis, džiaugsmingoji Marija“ graikų-bizantiniuose rankraščiuose buvo užrašyta vidurinės Bizantijos notacijos stiliumi, o ukrainiečių ir baltarusių irmologijoje – Kyjivo notacijos stiliumi. Todėl vidurinės Bizantijos notacijos stilius buvo iššifruotas naudojant Kyjivo notacijos stilių. Vidurinės Bizantijos semiografijoje nepakanka informacijos apie šios giesmės ritminę ir laikinę struktūrą; šią informaciją pateikia Kyjivo egzegezė. Ukrainiečių ir baltarusių rankraščiuose megalinarijaus „Džiaukis, džiaugsmingoji Marija“ modusus nėra nurodytas; reikalingą informaciją suteikia graikiški-bizantiniai rankraščiai: kūrinys yra pirmojo moduso.

Dviejų bizantinės muzikos kodifikavimo notacijų sistemų palyginimas davė rezultatų, kurie gerokai praturtino mūsų supratimą apie kūrinį ir leido pasiūlyti jo istoriniu požiūriu pagrįstą atlikimo interpretaciją ir analizę.

„Bulgariškų“ *prypila*, užrašytų XVII ir XVIII a. ukrainiečių ir baltarusių rankraščiuose, kaip bizantinės muzikos šaltinio radimas ir įvairių bažnytinių giesmių tradicijų sankirtų žemėlapis praturtina ortodoksų bažnytinės muzikos istoriją naujais faktais ir kontekstais. Mūsų tyrimas atskleidžia Rytų krikščioniškų bažnytinių giesmių tradicijų vienovę, kuri dėl jų kalbinės ir garsinės įvairovės nėra akivaizdi. Melodijos, kurios buvo naudojamos kaip modeliai, per amžius buvo giedamos įvairiose krikščioniškojo pasaulio srityse. Jos tapo šventos ir kanoninės. Tokios melodijos užtikrina simbolinę visų tikinčiųjų vienovę jų maldose Dievui ir troškimuose šlovinti Viešpatį kartu su angelais.

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