

Antonina F. Gove

The Slavic Akathistos Hymn

Poetic Elements of the Byzantine Text
and Its Old Church Slavonic Translation

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ANTONINA FILONOV GOVE
THE SLAVIC AKATHISTOS HYMN
Poetic Elements of the Byzantine Text and
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Dedicated to the memory of my parents

Aleksandr Filonov (1901-1975)

and

Klavdija Andreeva Filonova (1913-1964)

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Nashville, March 1988

A. F. G.

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PREFACE

This study about the hymns of the Byzantine and Slavic liturgy owes its beginning to a happy convergence--Roman Jakobson's return late in his career to his early interest in the Byzantine heritage of Church Slavonic poetry and my own family heritage in the Old Believer community in the Latvian capital city of Riga. Jakobson's genius as a teacher, especially his flair for dramatic amplification of the archaic poetic texts, brought alive for me the figure of Constantine-Cyril, "the first teacher of the Slavs," as someone not only motivated by a religious and educational mission but also endowed with a poetic gift. Intrigued by Jakobson's discussion of Byzantine poetics, I wanted to learn more about Byzantine hymnography. I was surprised and delighted when I discovered the Greek texts that were the sources of the chants I had heard my mother sing in my childhood--the Christmas troparion Děva dnesī presuščestvennago raždaet (Ἡ παρθένος σήμερον "The Virgin today gives birth to the transsubstantial One"), the Easter troparion, and others. The familiar yet mysterious songs in their somewhat strange language that accompanied my mother's housework in our Riga home in the 1940s--songs which she had learned as a girl--went back to the magnificent sung poems created for the great churches in Constantinople in the sixth and seventh centuries by the master melodies John of Damascus, Andreas of Crete, and the Syrian Romanos.

During my explorations, I came upon Wellesz's then recently published transcription of the music of the Akathistos Hymn as well as Meersseman's German translation of the text of this masterpiece of Byzantine hymnody. I became curious about the Slavic translation of this great poem, especially in view of the fact that the akafist was later to become a popular form of church chant for the Russians. Finding a text of the Slavic Akathistos in Amfiloxij's edition of the Tipografskij Ustav, I was surprised to learn that the Slavic translation had

retained a great deal of the poetic structure of the Greek, including the striking antitheses and grammatical figures that so effectively embody in poetic language the theological doctrines of the mystery of Christ's Incarnation and of Mary's part as "mother of God" in "salvation history" that form the thematic heart of the Akathistos.

My research on the Greek and Slavic Akathistos resulted in the publication of four articles prior to this monograph:

- "Literalism and Poetic Equivalence in the Old Church Slavonic Translation of the Akathistos Hymn," International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics 22.123-35 (1976)
- "Slavic Liturgical Hymns as a Repository of Byzantine Poetics: The Case of the Akathistos Hymn," Folia Slavica Vol. 2, Numbers 1-3 (1978): Studies in Honor of Horace G. Lunt on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday, Part 1, pp. 130-140.
- "The Evidence for Metrical Adaptation in Early Slavic Translated Hymns," Fundamental Problems of Early Slavic Music and Poetry, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Subsidia VI (Copenhagen, 1978), 211-246.
- "The Relationship of Music to Text in the Akathistos Hymn," Studies in Eastern Chant, Vol. 5, in press.

The present work incorporates subsequent research in Byzantino-Slavic hymnographic studies.

To the best of my knowledge, the present study of the Akathistos is the only detailed comparative poetic analysis of a complete Old Church Slavonic translated liturgical work. I hope that the reconstruction and analysis of this masterpiece of Byzantinoslavic hymnody will contribute to the growing realization that the liturgical translations of the Slavs constitute an important and insufficiently appreciated part of the history of the Slavic literary languages and Slavic poetics. I offer it in homage to the poetic beauty and power of the Slavic translation of the Akathistos Hymn.

INTRODUCTION

This work offers a detailed analysis of the Slavic translation of a sixth-century Greek liturgical poem that is representative of the poetic genius of the best of the Byzantine melodies. The immediate goal has been to discover to what degree the poetic elements of the original text were reproduced in the translation. The analysis illuminates the question of the quality of the Slavic translations of Byzantine liturgical hymns. The inquiry has also been motivated by a larger purpose: to clarify our conception of early Slavic principles and practice of translating poetic texts and improve our understanding of the processes by which Byzantine poetic principles were transmitted to the Slavs.

Chapter I of this book describes the edited and manuscript sources from which the Greek and Slavic texts of the Akathistos Hymn were drawn. A close stylistic study of the Greek Akathistos--an indispensable preliminary to a comparative analysis--appears in Chapter II.

The comparative analysis made it necessary to devise a method of comparison and evaluation. The identification of relevant units of language and poetic form on which to perform the comparison, along with the results, is presented in Chapter III "The Evidence for Metrical Adaptation in Early Slavic Translated Hymns" and Chapter V "Transmission of Poetic Devices in the Translation."

The manuscripts that served as the sources of the Slavic text, although relatively non-corrupt, nevertheless are several stages removed from the 'original translation.' Also, it is not known with any certainty which Greek textual variants were the basis of the Slavic translation. Consequently, it is impossible simply to compare 'the' Greek text with 'the' translation, because the manuscripts offer numerous variant readings. Multiple comparisons of Slavic variants with Greek variants must be performed. This raises the problem of choosing among the Slavic variants those that are the 'best' or 'most archaic'

and ultimately leads to the task of attempting to reconstruct a Slavic 'Urtext' or prototext. Reconstructing a prototext, in turn, requires a decision about the presumed time and place of translation. The problems and results are posed and presented in Chapter IV "Textual Variants and Poetic Structure" and in the Appendix, which contains a reconstruction of the Old Church Slavonic text of the Akathistos with variants and a corresponding composite Greek text.

The Byzantine poetic tradition was not in direct competition with an indigenous Slavic poetic tradition, but was introduced together with the new religious concepts and forms of worship of Byzantine Christianity. Although the cultural contexts of the liturgy and folk poetry were disparate, it is interesting to compare the poetics of the Byzantino-Slavic translations with folk poetics. While this question is not emphasized in the present study, one can observe many similarities, ranging from sound repetition to verse parallelism and narrative and dramatic composition, which would have helped make the Byzantine poetic accessible to Slavic translators and worshippers alike.

In addition to textological questions and questions of poetic form and translation technique, there is also the problem of the relationship of music to text in these sung poems and in the translations, many of which were also sung. Although the textual analysis in this study has been carried out independent of musicological considerations, they are discussed in the sections on meter and in the concluding chapter.

Another question generated by the subject, and one that has been raised before in the literature on Slavic translation, is how the early translations of poetry compare with translations of prose. To this, no definitive answer can be given from the study of a single poetic text. The question is complicated by the conflicting opinions in the literature about prose translation and even about the earliest translations by Cyril and Methodius. The findings confirm the long-standing

impression that the translations of poetry conform to a principle of word-for-word translation, probably even more so than translations of Biblical prose texts. Observations on this subject are made in Chapter IV and in the concluding chapter, a key proposition of this study being that word-for-word translation, together with the grammatical compatibility of the Slavic and Greek languages, resulted in the especially effective transmission of Byzantine poetic form in Slavic.

The final question is how the word-for-word translation principle of the Slavs was related to the liturgical function of the hymns. According to Byzantine gnosis, the esthetic and poetic images and forms of icons and hymns "reflect" or "imitate" the inimitable divine nature. Given this gnoseological principle, word-for-word translation was a way of maintaining the essential God-disclosing tropes and figures of the hymns. This aspect of the Slavic translations of the Byzantine hymns is also discussed in the concluding chapter.

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I. THE SLAVIC AND GREEK TEXTS OF THE AKATHISTOS

The full Slavic text was available in a nineteenth-century edition of an early Russian manuscript and a photocopy of a thirteenth-century Bulgarian manuscript. A facsimile edition of a neumated text of the prooemium Vůzbranĭnumu voevodě and a photocopy of a neumated text of the same prooemium and of the prooemium Povelěno čyto taino were also used. Another full-length text in a thirteenth-century Serbo-Macedonian manuscript available in photocopy was consulted. The Greek text was taken from the several available published editions. Complete source references and brief descriptions of texts follow.

1. Slavic Texts

One of the two basic Slavic texts used in this study appears in a volume compiled by Archimandrite Amfiloxij and published in 1879.¹ The Slavic Akathistos in this edition was copied from what the compiler identifies (pp. 30-31) as a Slavic Kontakarion of the end of the eleventh century, contained in the Ustav (Typicon) No. 1 of the Typography Library of the Holy Synod and appearing on ff. 58r to 64v of this manuscript. The same ms. is described by Durnovo² and by Arne Bugge in his introduction to the facsimile edition of another Russian Kontakarion.³ It is part of the Tipografskij Tipikon or Ustav No. 142, (formerly of the Typographical Library of the Holy Synod, now in Tretjakov Gallery), is known as the Tipografskij or Pskovskij Kondakar', and is the oldest of five extant Russian

¹Arximandrit Amfiloxij, ed., Kondakarij v grečeskom podlinnike XIII--XIII v. . . . s drevnejšim slavjanskim perevodom kondakov i ikosov . . . (Moscow, 1879), pp. 108-111.

²N.N. Durnovo, "Russkie rukopisi XI i XII vv., kak pamjatniki staroslavjanskogo jazyka," Južnoslovenski Filolog IV (1924), 82.

³Contacarium Paleoslavicum Mosquense, ed. Arne Bugge Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Serie principale VI (Copenhagen, 1960), pp. XIII and XVII.

Kontakaria with neumated kontakia, dating from the late eleventh or early twelfth century.⁴ (Amfiloxij's edition does not reproduce any neumes.) According to Bugge's description, the Akathistos on ff. 58v to 64r has a lacuna of one folio between ff. 58 and 59. This indicates that Bugge's numeration of the folia, not Amfiloxij's, is correct. The lacuna immediately follows the prooemium which must, therefore, be on the bottom of the page, verso. In Amfiloxij's edition, the missing text is supplied from Triod' postnaja No. 311 of the Moscow Library of the Holy Synod, a twelfth-century ms., ff. 264r to 265v, which I have been unable to identify further. It will be referred to below as Tr. The lacuna (and substitute text) includes oikoi I, II, and III up to but not including the eighth chairetismos (Raduĭ sě běsomŭ mnogoplačĭnyĭ strupe).

Among the East Slavic features of the text in the Tipografskij Kondakar' (henceforth referred to as T) are the replacement of the 'juses' by (j)u and (j)a (burju vŭnutrĭ iměja), forms with Ź instead of Źd (prěže), a relatively correct writing of the 'jers', the third person suffix -tĭ, and the spelling Cŭrc (mŭlčanije). It contains a large number of uncontracted forms (neizdrečenĭnaago).⁵

It is regrettable that this ms. could not be consulted in the original or a photocopy, since its nineteenth-century editor, Amfiloxij, is notoriously error-prone. The Greek part of the volume in which our text appears is judged by Krumbacher

⁴For a discussion of the dating, see V.M. Metallov, Bogoslužebnoe penie ruskoj cerkvi v period domongol'skij (Moscow, 1912), pp. 165 and 186. A statement about the extent of neumatation in Ustav 142 appears on p. 187. Facsimile pages that originally appeared in V.M. Metallov, Russkaja Simiografija (Moscow, 1912), Tables II--V, are reproduced in R. Palikarova-Verdeil, La musique byzantine chez les Bulgares et les Russes, MMB Subsidia III (1953), Pl. XIa (Metallov's Table II, the initial page of Ustav 142) and in Oliver Strunk, "The Antiphons of the Oktoechos," Journal of the American Musicological Society XIII (1960), p. 65 (T III, 98r and T IV, 102v).

⁵Cf. Durnovo, op. cit., p. 82.

to be "unique in its utter lack of accuracy, critical judgment and textological method" and can easily boast (again according to Krumbacher) 15,000 to 20,000 errors.⁶ This is devastating criticism, and one can only hope that Amfiloxij's greater familiarity with Church Slavonic prevented him from a similarly disastrous management of his Slavic sources. This is in fact the (perhaps too hopeful) impression one gains from working with this text of the Akathistos, which offers a great many archaic readings and does not, on the whole, suffer from the kind of inexplicable peculiarities one might want to attribute to editorial error. It is quite clear that this is the single most valuable text of the Akathistos, whose reexamination would be imperative in a definitive study of this hymn.

2. The second Slavic text basic to this study was used in a photocopy of a Macedonian ms. from the mid-thirteenth century, now in Ljubljana, Narodna (formerly Universitetska) biblioteka (signature 9).⁷ Formerly the property of the famous Slavist Jernej Kopitar, it is called "Kopitarova Triod' XIII v." by Il'inskij⁸ and "Triod' postnaja XIII v." by Jacimirskij.⁹ It will henceforth be referred to as K.

Its main Eastern South Slavic features are substitution of 'jers' by 'jus bol'soj' (no for nŭ, roždostvo for roždŭstvo), confusion of i and y (G.S. věri; vydĕvŭše) and substitution of ě for 'a (višněgo) and of e for strong ŷ (ovecŷ, nerazumenŷ). Occasional o for strong ŭ and ca for cě show it to be from the hand of an eastern Macedonian scribe. This ms., though younger, than T, contains a relatively good copy of the Akathistos. It

⁶Karl Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur (Munich, 1897), p. 657.

⁷This and the photocopy of the Zagreb Macedonian Triod were made available to me by Horace G. Lunt.

⁸G. Il'inskij, "Kopitarova Triod' XIII v.," Russkij Filologičeskij Vestnik I-II (1906), 199-215.

⁹A.I. Jacimirskij, Opisanie južno-slavjanskix i russkix rukopisej zagraničnyx bibliotek I (Petrograd, 1921), p. 882.

starts at folio 58 and breaks off on chairetismos (7) of oikos XXI, at the end of folio 61v, for the next fascicle is lost.

3. A third Slavic text was available from a photocopy (see fn. 7) of the Yugoslav Academy's Macedonian Triodion of the early thirteenth century (signature IV d 107; henceforth referred to as Maced.). The ms. is described by Vladimir Mošin¹⁰ as being an apparently separately translated text diverging considerably from the usual version. The Akathistos appears on ff. 110v to 115r, with a lacuna of one folio after f. 133 and an interpolation of a page of text from a different Akathistos at this point, after which the original Akathistos is resumed. Oikoi II to XVII appear in an order different than the usual, and the order of lines in some of the stanzas or of words in the lines, as well as some of the lexical items, are also different. I have not included this text in the critical comparison, but I did use the prooemium Pověleno mi taino (sic), f. 110r, since this prooemium is absent from T and K.

4. The prooemium Vůzbranĭnumu vojevodě appears on ff. 78r to 79v in Contacarium Paleoslavicum Mosquense,¹¹ a facsimile edition of the Uspenskij Kondakar' (Russian, dated 1207). This text is neumated.

5. The same prooemium and the other prooemium, Povelěno čĭto taino, appear on 36v to 37r and 93v to 94v, respectively, of the Blagoveščenskij Kondakar'. They were available to me in photocopy.¹² This is a twelfth-century Russian ms., now in Leningrad.¹³ The text of Vůzbranĭnumu is neumated; the other

¹⁰Vladimir Mošin, Ćirilski rukopisi Jugoslavenske Akademije I (1955), 212-13.

¹¹Cf. note 7.

¹²Obtained through the good offices of Roman Jakobson.

¹³For a description see Bugge's introduction in Cont. Paleosl. Mosq., p. XVII.

is not, but has complete intonation formulae and spaces for neumes. It offers one of the few extant copies of Povelěno. (See Section 7 below.)

6. The canonical text of the Orthodox Church was consulted in two recent Church Slavonic editions, one published in Belgrade, the other in Moscow. Its lexicon shows numerous coincidences with the text of K as opposed to the text of T. It is referred to as Mod.

7. In revising this study for publication, I have consulted the edition of the Blagověščenskij Kondakar' by A. Dostál, H. Rothe, and E. Trapp published under the general title Der altrussische Kondakar'. The volumes available at the time of revision were: II, Blagověščenskij Kondakar' (B). Facsimileausgabe (1976); III, Das Kirchenjahr 1: September bis November (1977); IV, Das Kirchenjahr 2: Dezember bis März (1979); and V, Das Kirchenjahr 3: April bis August (1980). When completed, this edition will be a major resource for the study of the Byzantinoslavic kontakia. Unfortunately, the introductory volume of this edition, which is to contain the full description of the manuscripts as well as a discussion of the genesis of the translations and their relationship to the Greek sources, is not yet available. For understandable reasons, it will be published after the completion of the other volumes of this nine-volume series.

The text of the Akathistos is found on pages 178 to 227 in Volume IV of the Dostál-Rothe edition. The facsimile of the text begins on page 186 of Volume II. Variant readings of the Slavic text from this edition have been added to the critical apparatus in the Appendix.

2. Greek Texts

The Greek text presented in the Appendix represents a composite of the textual variants that best correspond to the Slavic translation. Other variants are cited when there are

corresponding Slavic variants. The stanzaic division is like that used by Wellesz for the oikoi, except that indentation has been added to set off periods made up of several cola. The chairetismoï are arranged one chairetismos per line, with no indication of caesura, i.e., without Wellesz's subdivision into cola of some of the chairetismoï, which he prints as two lines. The caesurae may be established on the basis of the metrical schemata in Chapter I of this study.

1. Pitra, J.-B., Analecta Sacra I (Paris, 1876), pp. 250-62. Annotated text with variants.

2. Christ, W., and M. Paranikas, Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum (Leipzig, 1871), pp. 140-47.

3. Wellesz, Egon, The Akathistos Hymn. Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae Transcripta IX (Copenhagen, 1957), pp. XXVI ff. This reproduces the text of the thirteenth-century Codex Ashburnhamensis--not known to Pitra--and cites variant readings from Pitra's edition.

4. Meersseman, G.G., O.P., Hymnos Akathistos (Freiburg, 1958), pp. 26-79. Text based on Pitra, Christ-Paranikas and Wellesz, as well as the canonical Triodion. Includes a competent if somewhat metaphorical German translation.

5. The Greek text from the Kontakarion published by Amfiloxij. (See footnote 1.)

6. In the revision of this study, the Greek text has been compared with that of the critical edition by C.A. Trypanis in his Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica. Variant readings from Trypanis that correspond to variants in the Slavic text have been included in the critical apparatus.

II. THE GREEK AKATHISTOS

1. Introduction

The anonymous Akathistos Hymn, which recent scholarship attributes to Romanos, is one of the most widely praised works of Byzantine hymnody and the most extensively studied. In his introduction to the critical edition of the Akathistos, Constantine Trypanis, a specialist in the genre of the kontakion (poetic sermon with music), of which the Akathistos is an example, states:

The Akathistos Hymn is rightly considered the greatest achievement in Byzantine religious poetry. Like most early Byzantine kontakia it draws on scripture and on a number of older prose sermons, yet it remains a remarkably fresh and in many ways original work. With a striking boldness of similes the poet succeeds in blending the overwhelming mystery of the Incarnation of the Word with the softer note of the cult of the Virgin, and the varied and intricate rhythms employed are enhanced by the music of the words.¹

Trypanis goes on to point out that the Akathistos had a far-reaching influence on subsequent Greek literature.

Like other poetry of the Byzantine period, the Akathistos has not always been treated with adequate critical understanding in our time. Schooled in the literary canons of the nineteenth century, the typical commentator deplored the rich ornamentation in the poetry of the Justinian and post-Justinian age, ornamentation which appeared excessive and unmotivated. Nonetheless, even those who could not appreciate the formal intricacy of works like the Akathistos expressed admiration for their inspired imagery. Such was the attitude of De Meester, who in 1905 was one of the first to devote a book-length study to the

¹C.A. Trypanis, Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica (Vienna, 1968), p. 25.

Akathistos.² De Meester felt compelled to point out that some of the images and rhetorical devices are of a "regrettable preciousness" (his example is Γνώσιν ἀγνωστὸν γνῶναι)³ and that the form occasionally forces [sic!] the poet to indulge in punning (here he quotes ἀφέντες τὸν Ἡρώδη ὡς ληρώδη/μὴ εἰδότα ψάλλειν· Ἀλληλοῦτα).⁴ Having revealed his critical bias "No, non neghiamo che difetti vi siano"--"No, we shall not deny that there are defects")⁵ and his lack of insight into the esthetic values of Byzantine poetics, De Meester went on to praise the freshness of some of the images (e.g., ζάλην ἐνδοθεὺν ἔχων), the "sincere piety" of the poet, and the dramatic quality of the hymn.⁶

Prior to De Meester's study, the text of the Akathistos had appeared in two editions, the anthology of W. Christ and M. Paranikas (1871) and in J.B. Pitra's Analecta Sacra I (1876), the latter citing textual variants. More recently the text (with some references to the music) has been treated in monographs by Carlo del Grande (1948), G.G. Meersseman (1958), and Giovanni Marzi (1960). Several earlier articles were devoted to a discussion of the authorship of the hymn.⁷ Some of these studies also included fragmentary observations on style and strophic form.

The appearance in 1957 of Wellesz's study of the Akathistos provided students of Byzantine music with the first full-length transcription of the music of a kontakion. Wellesz's book also reproduced a new text and the most important variants from Pitra. Together with the facsimile in Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, the Akathistos, as edited by

²Pl. De Meester, L'inno acatisto: Studio storico-letterario, Bessarione, 2. Serie, VI-VII (Rome, 1904).

³Ibid., p. 141.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., pp. 137, 141.

⁷For a review of the literature on authorship, see C.A. Trypanis, Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica, pp. 18-24; an earlier review appeared in Egon Wellesz, The Akathistos Hymn, MMB Transcripta IX (Copenhagen, 1957), pp. XX-XXXIII.

Wellesz, can serve both as a paradigm of Byzantine musicology and a magnificent example of Byzantine liturgical song.

For a time, literary scholarship did not keep pace with musicology in the area of Byzantine studies, owing to the extensive amount of textological work that had to be performed before the texts of the hymns could be established. The first volume of the cantica of the great melodist Romanos, edited by Paul Maas and Constantine Trypanis, appeared in 1963. A critical edition of the Akathistos did not become available until the publication of Trypanis' Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica in 1968. In his introduction, Trypanis reviews the literature on the date of origin of the Akathistos and speculations about its authorship. Trypanis' own conclusion is that the hymn belongs to the days of Justinian I in the first third of the sixth century.⁸ As regards the attributions to Romanos, Trypanis agrees that it is "possible, and even probable," but in the final analysis, prefers to leave the question of authorship open.⁹ In Trypanis' edition, the text of the Akathistos is established on the basis of nine of the oldest extant kontakaria, some of them dating from the tenth century. (Prooemium I is taken from the Christ--Paranikas Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum, as no kontakarion includes it.) In addition to the text and critical apparatus, Trypanis provides a metrical analysis of the hymn.

Other stylistic analyses of the lexical figures and tropes, in which the Akathistos abounds, and of the images with reference to Biblical narrative and symbolism and to Byzantine theology, are primarily to be found in studies published in Greek. These include N.B. Tomadakes, 'Η Βυζαντινὴ Ὑμνογραφία καὶ Ποίησις (1965) and Theodoros Xydes, Βυζαντινὴ Ὑμνογραφία (1978).

In what follows, I will first sketch briefly the characteristics of the kontakion as a genre and of the form and

⁸Trypanis, Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica, p. 24.

⁹Ibid., p. 25.

subject of the Akathistos as an example of this genre. In the absence of an existing stylistic analysis that would be fully adequate for use in the subsequent comparison with the Slavic translation, it will be necessary to go on to discuss some aspects of the form in considerable detail. It will be important to remember that we are dealing with a genre that combines poetry and music in a single composition. This does not mean that one cannot profitably discuss the literary form apart from the musical, but only that some aspects of the literary form have important implications for the musical form, so that without a consideration of the latter, the study of the genre remains incomplete.

2. Subject and Stanzaic Form

The Hymnos Akathistos is a kontakion¹⁰ in praise of the Virgin Mary--the theotokos--and of Christ's divine incarnation. The hymn consists of twenty-four stanzas (oikoi) with the first letter of each stanza forming an alphabetic acrostic. The first twelve stanzas of the Akathistos narrate the story of the Nativity according to Luke, beginning with the Annunciation and ending with the Presentation in the Temple. This section also includes the apocryphal account of the fall of the idols in Egypt. The twelve stanzas of the second half consist of a Christological and Marianic commentary and doxology.

The oikoi are preceded by the customary prefatory stanza (koukoulion or prooimion), which serves to link the hymn with the Gospel passage on which it is based and states briefly the theme that is to be developed in the body of the hymn. The Akathistos has a second prooemium which, rather than fulfilling the usual introductory and connective function, was composed at a dedication piece on a later occasion, when the Akathistos was performed at a service of thanksgiving for the liberation

¹⁰For a description of the kontakion as a genre, see the introduction to Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica, ed. Paul Maas and C.A. Trypanis (Oxford, 1963), pp. xi ff, where relevant earlier literature on the subject is also cited.

of Constantinople after a siege.¹¹ It is this prooemium that is traditionally performed with the Akathistos. In subsequent discussion it will be referred to as Prooemium II (incipit Τῆ ὑπερωμάχῳ). The other prooemium (Τὸ προσταχθέν) will be referred to as Prooemium I.

Each stanza of a kontakion, including the prooemium, concludes with a refrain. The Akathistos is atypical in that it has two alternating refrains instead of the usual single refrain. This is motivated by the dual subject of the hymn-- the mystery of the Virgin Birth and the mystery of the physical manifestation of God. The former is expressed in the refrain which is introduced by the prooemium and also appears after the odd-numbered stanzas (Χαῖρε νύμφε ἀνύμφευτε); the latter, in the refrain which follows the even-numbered stanzas (Ἀλληλοῦῖα).

The Akathistos differs from the typical kontakion in another important respect. Each odd-numbered stanza of the Akathistos is followed by twelve Marianic acclamations (chairetismoi) arranged in six metrically, grammatically, and semantically parallel pairs. These precede the concluding refrain, Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε. This unique feature of the Akathistos has been commented on before, notably by Wellesz, who sees it as a possible clue to the authorship of the hymn.¹² The acclamations emphasize the homiletic lineage of the kontakarian genre. Such litanies of praise, modelled after Gabriel's greeting in the Annunciation, were popular in the homilies of Eastern churchmen since Ephraim the Syrian (d. 373) and appear in Greek panegyrics beginning in the first half

¹¹C. A. Trypanis, Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica, p. 20; E. Wellesz, The Akathistos Hymn, p. XXV.

¹²E. Wellesz, A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography (Oxford, 1961), p. 369; The Akathistos Hymn, pp. XXX-XXXI.

of the fifth century.¹³ It is important to note that the chairetismoι are not just mechanically attached to the odd stanzas. Rather, each odd stanza is so constructed as to lead naturally into the Marianic acclamations, which begin with χαῖρε ("ave, hail, rejoice"), whereas the even stanzas are so constructed as to require an acclamation to Christ--'Αλληλούϊα. This speaks for a careful incorporation of the chairetismoι and of the two refrains into the body of the composition.

3. Meter

The meter of the Akathistos, as of the great majority of Byzantine hymns, is syllabic and accentual. That is, it counts the number of syllables in a line (which is also a syntactic unit, termed "colon") and has fixed accent positions. It is customary when discussing the stanzaic structure of the Akathistos to speak of the odd stanzas as being long, incorporating the chairetismoι into the stanza, and of the even stanzas as being short. However, it is more convenient to treat the metrical structure of the chairetismoι separately, and this for two reasons. In the first place, if one separates the chairetismoι (and the two refrains), one can treat what remains of all twenty-four stanzas, odd or even, together, because they have the same metrical structure.¹⁴ In the second place, the chairetismoι present the special feature of metrical and grammatical parallelism, which sets them stylistically apart from what will here be called "stanzas proper" or "oikoi proper" or simply stanzas or oikoi.

As in all kontakia (and in other types of hymnic poetry, such as the canon), the first stanza of the Akathistos is the

¹³Inter alii cf. Paul Maas, "Das Kontakion," Byzantinische Zeitschrift XIX (1910), 290-1. Other literature on the literary genre of the chairetismoι is cited in Trypanis, Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica, p. 25, fn. 58.

¹⁴This was already observed by J.-B. Pitra, Analecta Sacra I (Paris, 1876), p. 251.

metrical model for all the other stanzas. (The prooemium, characteristically, has a different meter.) Thus all the stanzas are isosyllabic and isotonic, with some allowances for variation in the presence or absence of a stressed syllable in a metrically accented position.

In view of the recent publication of several studies in which attempts are made to describe the meter of the Akathistos in terms of classical metrics, it is useful to discuss at some length how the principles of the metrical composition of a Byzantine hymn differ from other, more familiar metrical verse, such as the classical quantitative or traditional Western syllabic, accentual, or syllabo-accentual varieties. The prosodic feature used in Byzantine hymnic versification is word stress, and the meter consists of strophic patterns of stressed and unstressed syllables, with an established total number of syllables for each particular line or colon of the stanza. However, there is no alternation of thesis (i.e., accented syllable, "downbeat") and arsis (unaccented syllable, "upbeat") in a regular fashion such that the meter could be analyzed into regularly recurring "feet." Nor is there a limited number of established patterns of lines (such, as for example, the iambic pentameter or the dactylic hexameter), one of which is selected for an entire poem. The metrical principle can more nearly be compared to the "logaoedic" verse of antiquity, with the difference that Byzantine metrics allowed more room for strophic originality and rhythmic variation. Thus a Byzantine hymn may have its own unique metrical pattern (based on the possibilities and limitations offered by the distribution of word accent in Greek), with all the stanzas of the hymn modelled on the first stanza. A hymn such as this, having its own original metrical (and musical) pattern is called automelon. A Byzantine hymn may also be metrically modelled on another hymn and sung to the music of the model. It is then called proshomoion and labelled pros to followed by the incipit of the model hymn. When considering this genre of composition, we must keep in mind that it involved not only the invention of a verbal text but also of a melody. However, the verbal text may

be considered primary, since there were ways of adapting the music to the text, and we can therefore analyze the meter independently from the music without any difficulty.

The Akathistos is an automelon composition. Prior to the publication of the 1968 edition by Trypanis, its meter had been treated in three studies, none of which provided a fully adequate analysis. The first of these appears in the book by Carlo del Grande.¹⁵ Many of del Grande's general observations about the syllabic and tonic nature of the metre are correct, but he makes inexplicable errors in the metrical schemata (pp. 109, 110) and finally lapses into classical metrics.¹⁶ He comments only briefly on the metrical variations, which he calls anomalies, whereas there are in fact several metrical variants used alternately, and optionally stressed accentual positions are the rule of composition rather than the exception, as will be shown below.¹⁷

The more detailed analysis of Xydes¹⁸ is vitiated by his attempt to fit the cola into a classical metrical pattern of feet. Thus, in fifteen of the twenty-four stanzas, the first line is a "seven syllable paroxytone anapaestic," which Xydes represents as uu-uu-u and illustrates by the lines $\Gamma\upsilon\omega\sigma\iota\nu \acute{\alpha}\gamma\nu\omega\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ $\gamma\upsilon\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$ (III) and $\text{Ζάλην ἔνδοθεν ἔχων}$ (IV) (sic!). He then remarks that in the other nine stanzas the third syllable is not stressed

¹⁵ Carlo del Grande, ed., L'inno acatisto in onore della Madre di Dio (Florence, 1948).

¹⁶ p. 135, "Ancora qui domina probabilmente il trocheo, ma il ritmo è difficile a stabilire."

¹⁷ The question of metrical variants has been discussed with reference to the hymns of Romanos by J. Grosdidier de Matons, "L'Homotonie et l'isosyllabisme chez Romanos," Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses, München, 1958 (Munich, 1960), pp. 200-5. It was also raised by C. Floros, "Fragen zum musikalischen und metrischen aufbau der Kontakien," XII^e Congrès international des études byzantines, Rapports VIII (Ochride, 1961), p. 566.

¹⁸ Theodoros Xydes, Hē Metrikē tou Akathistou Hymnou (Athens, 1956).

and that these lines seem rather to be iambic; e.g., Ἄγγελος πρωτοστάτης (I) or Βλέπουσα ἡ ἀγία (II). This explanation shows a basic lack of understanding of the metrical principle of accent distribution in this kind of verse.

Only the third of these studies, that by Giovanni Marzi¹⁹ is of any real interest because the author realizes and is quick to point out that while the distribution of the accents in some lines of the hymn may coincide with one or another classical Greek meter, no relationship can be shown to exist, and questions such as whether the meter of the Akathistos is binary or ternary are meaningless.²⁰ Marzi notes some of the constants of the metre of the Akathistos and also touches on the question of metrical variations, but without exploring it in detail.²¹

At the time I undertook my comparative study of the Slavic and Greek Akathistos, the best information on the metres of kontakia was to be found in the Appendix to the first volume of the Maas and Trypanis edition of the kontakia of Romanos.²² In addition to some general remarks, the Appendix contains schemata for all the kontakia in the book, including No. 44, "On Joseph II," which is based on the meter of the Akathistos (though not identical with it). In my analysis of the meter of the Akathistos, I adopted, in modified form, the notation used by Maas and Trypanis. Subsequently in Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica, Trypanis provided a metrical schema of the Akathistos. My own analysis agrees with that of Trypanis with three exceptions. First, in the chairetismoι, lines 7 and 8, I have given syllable three as optionally accented where Trypanis' schema ("long strophe" lines 12 and

¹⁹Giovanni Marzi, Melodia e nomos nella musica bizantina, Studi pubblicati dall' Istituto di Filologia Classica VIII, Università di Bologna (Bologna, 1960).

²⁰Marzi, p. 7.

²¹Marzi, pp. 138-9.

²²Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica, pp. 511-13.

13) indicates syllable three of the corresponding lines as unaccented. My analysis is based on chairetismos 11 (Trypanis long strophe 1α'):

Χαῖρε, πύρινε στύλε ὀδευῶν τοὺς ἐν σκότει·

Χαῖρε, σκέπη τοῦ κόσμου πλατυτέρα νεφέλης·

This text appears in Trypanis as well (p. 34). Second, I have chosen to treat the chairetismoi separately rather than resorting to the notion "long strophe." This has the advantage of permitting one to set up a single metrical schema for all twenty-four oikoi. Third, I treat the sense pause in lines 6,7 of the oikoi as a "medium sense pause," i.e., a regularly occurring syntactic break instead of a "weak sense pause" (a regularly occurring word break) as does Trypanis in his corresponding line 5. As a result, my analysis shows a different variant pattern of line break. I believe my analysis to be preferable because it corresponds to the cadential phrasing of the music, as I have shown elsewhere.²³

There is some difficulty in determining what line-division to adopt in presenting the metrical structure of the Akathistos. The question might seem to be one of mere typography--how to arrange the cola on the page. In the del Grande arrangement (followed by Wellesz), each colon (Meyer's Kurzzeile,²⁴ Maas-Trypanis' "weak sense-pause") is printed as a separate line. In the Christ-Paranikas anthology, two or more cola may be printed in one line, separated by slash or space, and line-division corresponds to larger rhythmico-syntactic units (Meyer's Langzeilen, Maas-Trypanis' "medium sense-pause"). This practice is also followed in Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica. The principle of arrangement involves more than just typography, as will be seen shortly. The arrangement used in the

²³Antonina Gove, "Relationship Between Music and Text in the Akathistos Hymn," Studies in Eastern Chant V, forthcoming.

²⁴Cf. Wilhelm Meyer, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischer Rhythmik II (Berlin, 1905), p. 64. For a brief review of the problem of stanzaic division, see C. Floros, "Fragen zum musikalischen und metrischen Aufbau," pp. 563-6.

reconstructed text presented in the Appendix is (with one exception, noted below) the one Wellesz adopts following del Grande. This is done chiefly to facilitate comparison to Wellesz's study. For the purpose of metrical analysis, the arrangement offered in the Christ-Paranikas anthology, which is similar to the schema for "On Joseph" given by Maas-Trypanis, will be found preferable for some lines.

4. The Meter of the Oikoi

The general metrical scheme* of the twenty-four oikoi (exclusive of refrains, chairetismoι and proemium) is the following²⁵:

- (1) . x . x x ' x
- (2) x x ' x x ' x
- (3) x ' x x x . x x ' x
- (4) x x . x x . x x ' x
- (5) x x ' x . x x x '/ x x
- (6) x . x . x ' x x
- (7) x ' x x x . x ' x

Lines (6) and (7) have the following alternative scheme in stanzas IV, VII, X, XIV, XV, and XVIII:

- (6) x . x . x ' x x x ' x
- (7) x x ' x ' x

It can be seen that (6) and (7) in effect add up to make a seventeen-syllable line consisting of two variable cola: 8 syllables + 9 syllables or 11 syllables + 6 syllables; i.e.,

- A: (6,7) x . x . x ' x x/x ' x x x . x ' x
- B: (6,7) x . x . x ' x x x ' x/x x ' x ' x

Indeed, this is how these cola are presented in the Christ-Paranikas edition and by Trypanis. Combining the cola in this way has the obvious advantage of making graphically apparent

*In this scheme, x stands for unaccented syllable, ' for accented syllable, and . for a syllable which may or may not be accented.

²⁵The text used for the metrical analysis in this chapter is that which appears in Meersseman, with a few obvious emendations based on the text and notes in Wellesz and Pitra. It is not always identical with the text appended to this study, where variants have been selected to match the meaning of the Slavic translation without regard for metrical correctness.

both the regularity in accent positions and the variation in the position of the caesura. The del Grande arrangement obscures the regularity and the nature of the variation.

A few words are now in order about the accentual variations in the meter, i.e., the positions which are marked by a dot (.) in the schema, indicating that they are optionally filled by a stressed syllable. The schema does not tell the whole story. Let us take the first two lines and observe what actually happens in individual stanzas. The meter of the lines has been schematized as follows:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
(1)	.	x	.	x	x	'	x
(2)	x	x	'	x	x	'	x

However, a given stanza has to have one of the following three combinations:

A	(1)	'	x	x	x	x	'	x
	(2)	x	x	'	x	x	'	x

e.g., stanza I--Ἄγγελος πρωτοστάτης
οὐρανόθεν ἐπέμφθη

B	(1)	'	x	'	x	x	'	x
	(2)	x	x	'	x	x	'	x

eg., stanza III--Γνώσιν ἄγνωστον γνῶναι
ἡ παρθένος ζητοῦσα

C	(1)	x	x	'	x	x	'	x
	(2)	x	x	'	x	x	'	x

e.g., stanza VIII--θεοδρόμον ἀστέρα
θεωρήσαντες μάγοι

Here we see that in variant A there is a contrast in the two lines in syllables 1 and 3: syllable 1 is stressed in line (1), unstressed in line (2); syllable 3 is unstressed in line (1), stressed in line (2). In variant B, there is a contrast for syllable 1 only; syllable 3 is stressed in both lines. In variant C, the lines are wholly congruent. The essential parallelism of the two lines is of course established from the fact that each has seven syllables and an obligatory stress on the sixth syllable. It can also be seen that, contrary to what is implied by the schema, the first line must have at least two stresses.

On the basis of the above analysis of the first two lines one can begin to suspect the range of the rhythmical variation possible within the rather strict metrical framework of this hymn. We can describe the relationship between the constant factors of the meter, in this case the number of syllables in a line and those accentual positions which are obligatorily filled by an accented syllable, and the metrical tendencies--accentual positions optionally filled by an accented syllable--by considering the percent of times that a given accentual position is filled by a stressed syllable.²⁶ This information is presented in Figure 1.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
(1)	88%	0	58%	0	0	100%	0					
(2)	0	0	100%	0	0	100%	0					
(3)	0	100%	0	0	0	75%	0	0	100%	0		
(4)	0	0	91%	0	4%	66%	0	0	100%			
(5)	0	0	91%	0	66%	0	0	0	100%			
(6)	0	88%	0	21%	0	100%	0	0	0*	100%*	0*	0
(7)A	0	100%	0	0	0	76%	0	100%	0	100%*	0*	
(7)B				4%*	0*	100%	0*	100%*	0*			

Figure 1. Percentages of occurrence of stressed syllables in metrically accented positions. Figures at the top refer to syllables in a line; figures at the left refer to the line in the stanza.

*Starred figures refer to variant B of lines (6) and (7). Note that the starred figures in positions 9, 10, and 11 of line (6) are the syllables of variant B equivalent to positions 1, 2, and 3 of 7A (i.e., line 7 of variant A).

Figure 1 reveals some interesting facts. We see that the final metrical accent position in a line always contains a stressed syllable.²⁷ The first metrically accented position in

²⁶The analytical approach used here goes back to the metrical studies of Andrej Belyj in Simvolizm (1910), discussed by V. Žirmunskij, Introduction to Metrics (The Hague, 1966), pp. 37-8.

²⁷This is noted by Marzi, op. cit., p. 138.

a line has a high tendency to be stressed (100%, 91%, 88%). The second but non-final position has the lowest occurrence of stress (75-76%, 70%, 66%, 58%, 21%). We see that some positions (syllables) never or rarely fulfill the role of metrically accented position: position 1--only line (1) has an accented syllable; position 4--only line (6); position 5--only line (5); position 7--never. Some positions tend to be metrically accented: position 6--six out of seven lines; position 3--four out of seven lines; position 9--three out of four lines.

It is an important metrical principle that two adjacent syllables are never metrically accented except when separated by caesura (positions 9 and 10 in line (5)). In line (4), in those stanzas where position 5 carries the accent, position 6 does not. As pointed out by Maas and Trypanis, in the metrics of kontakia, the accent may be shifted to an adjacent syllable, and this is what we have in line (4) of oikos XVIII (cf. the 4% in Figure 1). It can also be seen that the meter allows no more than three unaccented positions between accented positions, although in an actual line the number of unaccented syllables in sequence may be much greater.

5. The Meter of the Prooemia

The prooemium of a kontakion is commonly composed in a different meter than the rest of the hymn. Here are the metrical schemata of the two prooemia of the Akathistos.

Prooemium I, Τὸ προοιχθέν

(1)	x x x ' x x '/x ' x ' x
(2)	x x x ' x x '/x ' x ' x
(3)	x x ' x x ' x/x x x x ' x
(4)	x ' x x x x ' x/x x x '
(5)	x ' x x x x ' x/' x x '
(6)	x x ' x x ' x x/x ' x ' x x '
(7)	x ' x x x ' x x/
	' x ' x x ' x x

Del Grande claims²⁸ that this prooemium is metrically similar

²⁸Del Grande, op. cit., p. 15.

to the entire hymn. According to him, the patterns of all the cola of the prooemium recur, wholly or in part, in the oikoi and chairetismoι.

Indeed, as del Grande points out, the first cola of lines (1) and (2) of the prooemium (his lines 1 and 3) correspond to the second colon of the chairetismoι (5) and (6): x x ' x x ' . In addition (not noted by del Grande), the first colon of line (3) corresponds to lines (1) and (2) of the oikoi and to the second colon of chairetismoι (7), (8), (11), and (12). The second colon of line (5) is the same as the first colon of chairetismoι (1), (2), (9), (10), (11), and (12). In fact, it is like the often repeated anaphora, Χαῖρε δὴ ἡς. Other cola show partial correspondence. As del Grande puts it, the accentuation is the same in the first part of the line [read "colon"] but shows variation in the position of the final accent, generally a shift by one syllable. (Del Grande is not correct when he says that the number of syllables is the same in these cola of the prooemium and the cola of the hymn.) The first colon of lines (6) of the prooemium corresponds partially to line (4) of the oikoi:

Pr. x x ' x x ' x x
Oi. x x . x x . x x '

The second colon of line (6) of the prooemium corresponds partially to line (7) of the oikoi:

Pr. x ' x x x ' x x
Oi. x ' x x x . x ' x

The refrain, which concludes the prooemium is, of course, the same that occurs after the chairetismoι. (Unfortunately, the neumated texts published by Wellesz do not contain this prooemium, so it is impossible to compare its musical structure with that of the rest of the Akathistos.)

Prooemium II, Τῆ ὑπερμάχῳ

(1) x x x ' x/x x ' /x x x ' x x
(2) x x x ' x/x x ' /x x x ' x x
(3) x x ' x x/x ' x x/x x ' x
(4) x x ' x x/x ' x/x x ' x x
(5) x x ' x x/x ' x/x x ' x x
(6) x x ' x x/

A glance at the metrical composition of the cola and the occurrence of two caesurae per line shows that del Grande²⁹ and others are indeed correct in pointing out that this prooemium is structurally quite different from the rest of the hymn. According to Wellesz, it is musically distinct, as well, although the same cadences recur in both.³⁰

Floros makes the observation that Τῆ ὑπερμάχῳ is structurally (and melodically) very similar to Εὐ καὶ ἐν τάφῳ on the model of which it may have been composed. A comparison of the meter seems to bear out this conjecture.³¹

6. The Meter of the Chairetismoι

The twelve chairetismoι which follow each odd-numbered stanza of the Akathistos are arranged in six pairs of parallel lines. The parallelism is obligatory on the metrical level and may also be displayed on the phonological, grammatical, and semantic levels.

The metrical parallelism of the chairetismoι can be described as follows:

1. The two lines of a parallel pair (i.e., lines 1 and 2, 3 and 4, etc.) are isosyllabic.
2. The two lines of a parallel pair are isotonic.
3. Each line has a caesura, i.e., each line consists of two cola. The caesura is fixed and in most cases occurs after the same syllable in both lines of a parallel pair, which means that not only the lines but also the cola are parallel. Exceptions to this rule will be pointed out below. Some pairs of lines have variant positions for the caesura.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ E. Wellesz, "Das Prooemium des Akathistos; Eine Studie zur Melodie der Kontakien," Die Musikforschung 6 (1953), p. 194.

³¹ Constantin Floros, "Das Kontakion," Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte XXXIV (1960), p. 98. A curious detail Floros does not mention is that the phrase Τῆ ὑπερμάχῳ rhymes with Εὐ καὶ ἐν τάφῳ. Perhaps this was a motivating factor in the selection of this kontakion as the model for the dedicatory prooemium of the Akathistos.

The metrical scheme of the chairetismoï is the following:*

(1)	' x x ' / x x ' x ' x	ab
(2)	' x x ' / x x ' x ' x	ab
(3)	' x x x ' x / x ' x x ' x x	cd
(4)	' x x x ' x / x ' x x ' x x	cd
(5)	' x . x x x ' x x / x x ' x x x '	ef
(6)	' x . x x x ' x x / x x ' x x x '	ef
(7)	' x . x x ' x / x x ' x x ' x	gh
(8)	' x . x x ' x / x x ' x x ' x	gh
(9)	' x x ' / x ' x x ' x x	ad
(10)	' x x ' / x ' x x ' x x	ad
(11)	' x x ' / x x ' x x ' x	ah
(12)	' x x ' / x x ' x x ' x	ah

Several observations can be made about this metrical scheme. For one thing, one can represent the relationship between syllable number and position of the caesura (i.e., the syllable number of the cola) numerically:

Chairetismoï 1 and 2:	4 + 6 = 10
3 and 4:	6 + 7 = 13
5 and 6:	9 + 7 = 16
7 and 8:	7 + 7 = 14
9 and 10:	4 + 7 = 11
11 and 12:	4 + 7 = 11

This kind of breakdown enables us to observe that in all but the first two chairetismoï, the second colon has seven syllables. We also see that both cola of the last two pairs of chairetismoï (9/10 and 11/12) are isosyllabic. At the same time, a look at the accentual pattern shows us that only the first cola of 1/2, 9/10 and 11/12 and the second cola of 3/4 and 9/10 and of 7/8 and 11/12 are isotonic. In this way we become aware of the metrical differences and similarities between successive pairs of lines.

*The letters at right identify recurrent metrical sequences, i.e., metrically identical cola. Note that the arrangement of cola into lines, separated by caesurae, is according to Christ-Paranikas, not del Grande and Wellesz. Additional variants are discussed in the text that follows.

The distribution of accents may be treated in two ways-- by cola and by lines. The basic patterns of the cola are represented in the general scheme above. However, one can also consider the accentual positions with respect to the lines, in which case the following syllables bear the accent:

Chairetismoi 1 and 2:	1	4	7	9	
3 and 4:	1	5	8	11	
5 and 6:	1	3	7	12	16
7 and 8:	1	6	10	13	
9 and 10:	1	4	6	9	
11 and 12:	1	4	7	10	
Refrain:	1	3	6		

A statement of the accent distribution in the line as a whole (instead of in the colon) is necessary because in those cases where the position of the caesura varies (see discussion below), the accents retain the syllabic position of the line, whereas the colon acquires a new accentual pattern.

In contrast to the greater number of accentual variants in the oikoi proper, in the chairetismoi variation is much more restricted. Out of a total of seventy-two pairs of chairetismoi (6 pairs x 12 sets of chairetismoi), only fifteen show any variation, six of these being in lines (1) and (2) and six in lines (3) and (4), all of them (i.e., all of the variants of lines (1), (2), (3), and (4)) involving a shift in the position of the caesura. Only one of these and the three other variants involve differences in accentuation. Details are presented below.

1. Variations in accentuation occur in the set of chairetismoi following oikos XI, in lines (7) and (8) and in lines (11) and (12), with the following variant patterns:

(7)	'	x	'	x	x	'	x/x	x	'	x	x	'	x
(8)	'	x	'	x	x	'	x/x	x	'	x	x	'	x
(11)	'	x	x	'	/x	x	x	x	x	'	x		
(12)	'	x	x	'	/	'	x	'	x	x	'	x	

In lines (7) and (8), position 3, which is regularly unaccented, is accented. In line (11), position 7, which is regularly

accented remains unaccented. In line (12), position 5, which is regularly unaccented, is accented.

In XIX, lines (5) and (6) have the following variation:

(5) ' x ' x x x ' x x/x x x ' x x '
 (6) ' x ' x x x ' x x/x x x ' x x '

Here position 13 is accented instead of position 12.

In XI, lines (1) and (2) have ' x x ' x x/x x ' x, i.e., the accent in position 7 has been eliminated.

These four instances exhaust the total number of variants involving differences in accentuation.³²

2. Variations in position of the caesura.

Lines (1) and (2)

a. First variant: ' x x ' x/x ' x ' x

Here the caesura falls after the fifth instead of the fourth syllable. Note that this means that it falls after an unaccented syllable or one syllable away from the second metrical accent, whereas in the basic variant (' x x '/x x ' x ' x) it falls immediately after the second accent. This variant occurs in both pairs of lines in the chairetismoi following oikoi XIII, XVII, and XIX; in line (1) only of IX: and in line (2) only of XXIII. This means that in IX and XXIII, the cola are not isosyllabic, although the lines are both isosyllabic and isotonic. For example, IX has:

(1) ' x x ' x/x ' x ' x
 (2) ' x x '/x x ' x ' x

b. Second variant: ' x x ' x x/x x ' x in XI.

Lines (3) and (4)

³²In addition, it must be noted that in lines (5) and (6) of VII, XVII, XIX and XXI, position -3- has a so-called praepositivum (in this case σύ in XIX and ὄτι elsewhere), which according to Maas and Trypanis are considered unaccented. However, in view of the fact that no unambiguously unaccented syllable occurs in this position (i.e., a syllable of a polysyllabic word with the accent on another syllable), we would conjecture that the praepositiva may be accentually variable, i.e., accented in some metrical positions or under certain syntactic and accentual conditions.

a. First variant: ' x x x ' / x x ' x x ' x x in V, XV (only line (4), XIX, XX XXI, XXIII.

b. Second variant: ' x x x ' x x / ' x x ' x x in XXIII.

The variations in the position of the caesura may be summed up by saying that the caesura must occur in every line between the second accent and the one that follows and that in lines (1) and (2) it may be moved one or two syllables to the right from the basic position, whereas in lines (3) and (4) it may be moved one syllable to the left or one syllable to the right of the basic position.

The refrains 'Αλληλοῦῖα and Χαῖρε νύμφε ἀνύμφευτε have the following respective accentual patterns:

x x ' x
' x ' x x ' x x.

7. Formal Devices of Composition Other than Metrical

The Akathistos abounds in elaborate rhetorical devices of many kinds. Most conspicuous are the numerous instances of interplay between sound and meaning or between grammar, sound, and meaning, illustrated in the following examples.

Oikos III begins Γνώσιν ἀγνωστον γνῶναι/ἡ παρθένος ζητούσα/ ἔβδῃσε πρὸς τὸν λειτουργοῦντα/κτλ. The first line is a multiple paregmenon: the same root gnō- appears in three derived forms--as a noun, γνῶσις, as an adjective, ἀγνωστος, and as a verb, γνῶναι. In a Byzantine hymn, this represents the height of perfection: even the verbal device has been successfully made to symbolize the paradoxical ontology ou tout se tient.

A different kind of verbal ornament appears in oikos II: βλεπουσα ἡ ἀγία/ἐαυτήν ἐν ἀγνεῖα/φῆσι τῷ Γαβριήλ θαρσαλέως/κτλ. Here ἀγία /hagia/ and ἀγνεῖα /hagnia/ form a paronomasia: the two words are different only in the presence/absence of a single phoneme /n/, and the phonic similarity, emphasized here by the parallel position of the words at the end of their respective lines, tends to suggest a semantic relationship which is not part of the ordinary "dictionary meaning" of the words. In

this case a natural or necessary relationship between chastity and holiness is implied.

Another example of this kind occurs in oikos V:

τὸ δὲ βρέφος ἐκείνες εὐθύς/ἐπιγνοὺν τὸν ταύτης ἀσπασμόν/
ἐχαιρεν,/καὶ ἄλμασιν ὡς ᾄσμασιν/ἐβόα πρὸς τὴν θεοτόκον/
Χαῖρε, κτλ. Here a paronomasia is created by the juxtaposition of ἄλμασιν /hálmasin/ and ᾄσμασιν /ásmasin/, implying a relationship of similarity between the act of leaping and of singing, which in the given context are already related by virtue of temporal contiguity. This particular figure also happens to incorporate a homeoptoton--the similarity is not only phonic but also grammatical, since both words have the same grammatical suffix. This kind of device is also very frequent in the Akathistos.

On a different rhetorical level, it must be noted that kontakia in general and the Akathistos in particular make extensive use of prosopopoeia, i.e., narration through the introduction of direct speech. An example of this can be seen in Prooemium I, where Gabriel's words to the Virgin are quoted. Similarly, her questioning of the angel in oikos II is in the form of direct speech. It should be noted that the refrains and also the chairetismoi are also instances of quoted speech. This device reflects the influence of homiletic style on the kontakion.³³

There is one device which is deeply appropriate to the subject matter of the Akathistos. This is the oxymoron, which results quite naturally from the paradox inherent in the doctrines of the Virgin Birth and the dual nature of Christ, yielding lines such as the following: ἐξ ἀσπόρου βλαστήσας γαστρός/καὶ φυλάξας ταύτην, ὡπερ ἦν, εὐθορον, κτλ. ('having sprung from a womb without seed, and having left it as it was, incorrupt'--oikos XIII); or ὄλος ἦν ἐν τοῖς κάτω/καὶ τῶν ἄνω οὐδ' ὄλως/ἀπῆν ὁ ἀπερίγραπτος λόγος. ('The uncircumscribed Word was complete (ὄλος) among those below and had not at all

³³p. Maas, "Das Kontakion," pp. 290-1.

(οὐδ' ὄλως) departed from those above'--oikos XV); or again "Ἴδον παῖδες χαλδαίων/έν χειροῖ τῆς παρθένου/τὸν πλάσαντα χειροῖ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου·/καὶ δεσπότην νοοῦντες αὐτὸν,/εἰ καὶ δούλου ἔλαβε μορφὴν, ἔσπευσαν/τοῖς δώροις θεραπεῦσαι/κτλ. ('The sons of the Chaldaeans saw in the hands of the Virgin Him who formed men with his hand; and comprehending that He was the Lord, even though He had taken the form of a slave, they hastened to do Him homage with gifts'--oikos IX).

In many instances, an image is built on an allusion to a scriptural account. Thus in chairetismoi XVII, (7) and (8), the success of the "fishers of men" is contrasted with the downfall of the pagan philosophers. The antithesis is made to hinge on a detail extracted from the Scriptural allusion: the "nets" of the fishermen are comparable but ethically quite opposed to the "snares" of the Athenians.

Many of the epithets of the Virgin used in the Akathistos are loci communes appearing in other hymns and in sermons. To take an easily accessible example, the Theotokion quoted by Wellesz (A History, p. 242) contains three or four epithets in common with the Akathistos.

Μυστικῶς ἀνυμνοῦμεν σε,/θεοτόκε Μαρία·
ἀνεδείχθης γὰρ θρόνος/τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλέως,
σκηνη παναγία,/τῶν οὐρανῶν πλατυτέρα,
χερουβίμ ἄρμα,/ ἀνωτέρα σὲ τῶν Σεραφίμ,
νυμφῶν δόξης·
ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ προήλθε/σαρκωθείς ὁ πάντων θεός.
Αὐτὸν ἱκέτευε/σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

Compare with this the following chairetismoi from the Akathistos

- I (7) Χαῖρε, ὅτι ὑπάρχεις/βασιλέως καθέδρα
XI 8) Χαῖρε, σκέπη τοῦ κόσμου/πλατυτέρα νεφέλης
XV (5) Χαῖρε, δχημα πανάγιον/τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβίμ
(6) Χαῖρε, οἴκημα πανάριστον/τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν σεραφίμ
XXIII (1) Χαῖρε, σκηνη/τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λόγου

Some of the many correspondences between the Akathistos and the hymns of John Damascene listed by Papadopoulos-Kerameus³⁴ are probably paraphrases of the Akathistos by John.

³⁴A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ho Akathistos hymnos, hoi Rōs kai ho Patriarxēs Phōtios (Athens, 1903), pp. 50ff.

One such example would be the following passage from John's theotokion: Χαῖρε ἀστὴρ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τῶν ἡλίων ἐμφαίνων--a slightly modified version of chairetismos I (9) Χαῖρε, ἀστὴρ ἐμφαίνων τῶν ἡλίων. Other examples seem to be simply loci communes, reappearing in various works; e.g., compare chairetismos III (6) Χαῖρε, γέφυρα μετάγουσα/τοῦς ἕκ γῆς πρὸς οὐρανόν with the following quotations: Andreas of Crete, Χαῖρε γέφυρα ζωῆν πρὸς οὐράνιον τοῦς θνητοῦς ἢ μετάγουσα; and again in the same author, Χαῖρε θεία γέφυρα θνητοῦς μετάγουσα μόνη πρὸς ζωῆν τὴν ἀγήρω; John Damascene, Χαῖρε γέφυρο θνητοῦς ζωῆν πρὸς θεῖαν μεταγαγούσα, and Χαῖρε γέφυρα ζωῆν πρὸς τὴν ἀθάνατον βροτοῦς ἐπανάγουσα; Theophanes Χαῖρε γέφυρα θνητοῦς πρὸς ζωῆν ἢ μετάγουσα.

This brief survey is offered by way of indicating the salient stylistic features of the Akathistos and by no means accounts for all the types of imagery it contains. A more thorough discussion will appear in subsequent chapters, when we will try to determine which of the images and rhetorical devices are carried over into the Slavic translation and which are not.

In addition to the stylistic features illustrated above, which are descriptive of all parts of the hymn, the chairetismoi are characterized by an exceedingly intricate parallelism (of the type called paromoeosis in classical rhetoric)³⁵ which warrants a detailed examination. The metrical parallelism has already been discussed. Now we can proceed from the metrical framework to analyze the interplay of phonic, grammatical, and semantic parallelism.

8. Parallelism in the Chairetismoi

To begin with, let us classify the devices by means of which the parallelism is carried out, basing the classification on the linguistic (and extralinguistic) levels involved:

I. Obligatory metrical parallelism (see above).

³⁵Heinrich Lausberg, Handbuch der Literarischen Rhetorik (Munich, 1960), § 732.

- II. Syllabic parallelism of words in equivalent metrical positions; e.g., I (1), (2) χαρά/αρά (two syllables each).
- III. Prosodic parallelism of words in equivalent metrical positions; e.g., the above example (x ' /x ').
- IV. Phonic parallelism of words in equivalent metrical positions
- A. Paronomasia; e.g., χαρά/αρά (1234/234)
- B. Homoeoteleuton; e.g., XIII (1), (2) Χαῖρε, τὸ ἄνθος/τῆς ἀφθορίας; Χαῖρε, τὸ στέφος/τῆς ἐγκρατείας (os. . .-os; -ίας. . .-ίας). This frequently involves homoeoptoton, i.e., repetition of the same grammatical ending.
- C. Anaphora: e.g., XXI (5), (6) πολύφωτον/πολύρόδοντον (repetition of poly). This frequently involves paregmenon.
- V. Grammatical parallelism of words in equivalent metrical positions
- A. Syntactic parallelism, i.e., the same part of speech appearing in the same metrical position; e.g., III (3), (4) Χαῖρε, τῶν θαυμάτων/Χριστοῦ τὸ προοίμιον; Χαῖρε, τῶν δογμάτων/αὐτοῦ τὸ κεφάλαιον.
- B. Parallelism of grammatical categories, e.g., I (1) ((2)--χαρά and ἀρά are both Feminine Nominative Singular.
- C. Parallelism of morpheme constituents; e.g.,
 Χαῖρ-ε δι' ἧς/ἣ χαρ-ά ἐκ-λάμπ-σ-ει
 Χαῖρ-ε δι' ἧς/ἣ ἀρ-ά ἐκ-λείπ-σ-ει
- D. Parallel derivation (paregmenon); e.g., I (1), ((2) ἐκ-λάμπει/ἐκ-λείπει; I (5), (6) δυσ-ανάβα-τον/δυσ-θεώρητον.
- VI. Semantic parallelism
- A. Lexical parallelism (synonymy, antonymy, or membership in the same semantic class); e.g., I (5), (6) ὕψος/βάθος.
- B. Parallelism by allusion, in this case to Judaeo-Christian and Graeco-Byzantine tradition; e.g., I

(3), (4) Adam and Eve, or XVII (7), (8) Χαῖρε, τῶν Ἀθηναίων/τὰς πλοκάς διασπῶσα· χαῖρε, τῶν ἀλιέων/τὰς σαγήνας πληροῦσα. In the last example there is semantic parallelism on two levels--the linguistic proper in the comparison πλοκάς/σαγήνας 'devices for catching, trapping', which belongs to category A; and what might be called cultural non-lexical parallelism, semantic in a broader-than-dictionary sense--the failure of the "false teachings" of the pagan Athenian philosophers contrasted with the success of the true teaching of Christ's Apostles.

A special instance of parallelism is repetition, which incorporates all of the above-mentioned categories except XII. Repetition is permitted only anaphorically, at the beginning of lines. The repetition of χαῖρε is a constant, i.e., it must occur at the beginning of every line. Other words which may be repeated are connective function words following χαῖρε, for example, Χαῖρε, δι' ἧς.

In order to see how these various devices are used in the context of the hymn, let us analyze the linguistic elements of the first four chairetismoι. Before proceeding to examine the phonic, grammatical, and semantic parallelism (as well as combinations of these) in the two pairs of chairetismoι, let us look for the presence or, what is equally important, the absence of syllabic and prosodic parallelism of words in the entire first stanza of acclamations.

A. Lines (1) and (2) are syllabically and prosodically congruent:

' x x ' / x x ' x ' x
 ' x x ' / x x ' x ' x
 Χαῖρε, δι' ἧς/ἡ χαρὰ ἐκλάμπει·
 Χαῖρε, δι' ἧς/ἡ ἀρὰ ἐκλείψει.

B. Lines (3) and (4) are particularly congruent (in the first colon only):

' x x x ' x / x ' x x ' x x
 ' x x x ' x / x ' x x ' x x

καῖρε, τοῦ πεσόντος/Ἀδὰμ ἡ ἀνάστασις·

καῖρε, τῶν δακρῶν/τῆς Εὔας ἡ λύτρωσις.

- C. Lines (5) and (6) are congruent with the exception of a word in (5)--ἀνθρωπίνοις--being matched with a proclitic and a word in (6)--καὶ ἀγγέλων:

' x ' x x x ' x x / x x ' x x x '
' x ' x x x ' x x / x x ' x x x '

καῖρε, ὕψος δυσάναβατον/ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς·

καῖρε, βάθος δυσθεώρητον/καὶ ἀγγέλων ὀφθαλμοῖς.

- D. Lines (7) and (8) are congruent in the first colon only:

' x x x x ' x / x x ' x x ' x
' x x x x ' x x x ' x x ' x

καῖρε, ὅτι ὑπάρχεις/βασιλέως καθέδρα·

καῖρε, ὅτι βαστάξεις/τὸν βαστάζοντα πάντα·

- E. Lines (9) and (10)--as in (5) and (6) above, i.e., τὸν ἥλιον and σαρκώσεως:

' x x ' / x ' x x ' x x
' x x ' / x ' x x ' x x

καῖρε, ἀστήρ/ἐμφαίνων τὸν ἥλιον·

καῖρε, γαστήρ/ἐνθέου σαρκώσεως.

- F. Lines (11) and (12) are completely congruent:

' x x ' / x x ' x x ' x
' x x ' / x x ' x x ' x

καῖρε, δι' ἧς/νεουργεῖται ἡ κτίσις·

καῖρε, δι' ἧς/βρεφουργεῖται ὁ κτίστης.

Such variations in the relationship of word boundaries to metrical position and the degree of agreement in two parallel lines between words in equivalent metrical positions with respect to syllable number and place of accent are observed throughout the twelve sets of chairetismoi, ranging from complete congruence to complete non-congruence, as in chairetismoi III (5), (6):

' x ' x x x ' x x / x x ' x x x '
' x ' x x x ' x x / x x ' x x x '

Χαῖρε, κλίμαξ ἐπουράνιε/ἧ κατέβη ὁ θεός³⁶
 Χαῖρε, γέφυρα μετάγουσα/τούς ἐκ γῆς πρὸς οὐρανόν.

The great variety in the implementation of parallelism possible on this level alone is only a foretaste of the combinations on other levels, to which we shall now go on.

A. Lines (1) and (2)

1. Phonic parallelism³⁶:

I	II	III										
1 2 3 4 /	4 5 5 6 /	5 1 7 3 7 /	2 8 9 7 10	11 6 5								
x é r e	d i í s	i x a r á	e k l á m	p s i								
1 2 3 2 /	4 5 5 6 /	5 - 7 3 7 /	2 8 9 5 -	11 6 5								
x é r e	d i í s	i a r á	e k l í	p s i								

2. Parallelism of the parts of speech:

Verb / Prep. - Pron. / Art. - Noun / Verb
 " " " " " "

3. Parallelism of grammatical categories:

Imper. 2nd sg. / F. Gen. Sg. / F. Nom. Sg. / Future 3rd Sg.
 " " " "

4. Parallelism of morphemic constituents:

xer-e di-is i-xar-a ek-lamp-s-i
 xer-e di-is i- ar-a ek-lip -s-i

5. Derivational parallelism: ἐκ-λάμπει/ἐκ-λεῖψει

6. Semantic parallelism: joy shines forth/the curse
 is extinguished (antithesis).

It can be observed that the two lines are almost identical in their sequence of phonemes: there are two "omissions" and one vowel variation in the second line. The grammatical parallelism (syntactic and inflectional) is also complete. Consequently the parallelism of morphemes in this example amounts

³⁶ Slashes mark off accentual units, which will be referred to as positions I, II, III, etc. These have to do with the metrical position of words. Elsewhere, metrical position was treated in terms of syllables (1st, 2nd, etc., 1st accented, etc.).

The transcription used under the rubrics "phonic parallelism" and "parallelism of morphemic constituents" is phonemic.

to virtual phonic identity, which is a very special case, recurring in only a few other pairs of chairetismoι.

In traditional rhetorical terms, we have here an anaphora (repetition of $\chi\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \delta\iota' \eta\varsigma$ at the beginning), two homeoteleuta ($\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}/\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha} \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\psi\epsilon\iota/\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\psi\epsilon\iota$), two cases or paronomasia ($\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}/\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}; \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\psi\epsilon\iota/\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\psi\epsilon\iota$), and an anaphoric paregmenon ($\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\psi\epsilon\iota/\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\psi\epsilon\iota$). In addition, the lines display semantic parallelism in the form of antithesis.

These two lines make use of almost all the resource of the genre. They display the highest possible degree of parallelism short of outright identity or simple repetition, which is not permitted to extend to an entire pair of lines. It is significant that a pair of lines displaying such a high degree of parallelism should appear at the beginning of the chairetismoι, where it can serve as an illustration of what might be termed the upper bound of parallelism--a kind of extended grammatical rhyme. Later lines are seen to display a much lower degree of parallelism.

B. Lines (3) and (4)

1. Phonic parallelism

I	II	III	IV
1 2 3 4 / 4 5 6 2 7 8 9 4 8 7 / 10 11 10 12 / 13 10 9 10 7			
x é r e	t u p e s ó n t o s	a d á m	i a n á s
			4 10 7 13 7
			t a s i s
1 2 3 2 / 4 8 9 11 10 14 15 13 8 9 / 4 13 7 2 16 10 7 / 13			
x é r e	t o n d a k r í o n	t i s é v a s i	
			17 13 4 15 8 7 13 7
			l i í t r o s i s

2. Parallelism of the parts of speech:

V / Art. + Pple. / - + N / Art. + N
 V / Art. + N / art. + N / Art. + N

3. Parallelism of grammatical categories.

Imper. Pres. 2nd sg. / Gen. Sg. Masc. / Gen. Sg. Masc. /
 Nom. Sg. Fe.
 / Gen. Pl. / Gen. Sg. Fem. /

4. Parallelism of morphemic constituents:
xer-e t-u pes-ont-os adam-∅ i ana-sta-s-is
xer-e t-on dakry-on tis ev-as i litro-s-is
5. Derivational parallelism: anásta-sis/lýtro-sis
6. Semantic parallelism: fall/tears; Adam/Eve;
raising up/dissolving

Here, in contrast to the preceding pair of lines, phonic parallelism is minimal, being limited to the first word (a constant) and the final suffix of each line. The correspondence between the parallelism of parts of speech and grammatical categories is less thoroughgoing than in the first pair of lines. Position II is filled by different parts of speech (a participle and noun, respectively) which are, however, partially similar as to grammatical category (genitive). To be sure, the direction of syntactic dependence of the positionally parallel members is different in the two lines. I.e., in line (3), the "head word" ἀνάστασις (Position IV) is modified by τοῦ Ἀδάμ (III), which in turn is modified by πεσόντος (II); in line (4), the head word λύτρωσις (IV) is modified by δακρύων (II) which is modified by Εὔας (III). The direction of syntactic relationship may be represented by arrows leading from head word to modifier:

A	B	C
hē anástasis	→ tou Adám	→ (tou) pesóntos
hē lýtrōsis	→ tou dakrýōn	→ tēs Eúas

We have labeled the constituents ABC in the order of their dependence. If we put the labeled constituents back in the order in which they actually appear in the poetic text, we find that the order of the modifiers constitutes a chiasmus (CB:BC), while the headwords are parallel:

C	B	A
tou pesóntos	Adám	hē anástasis
B	C	A
tōn dakrýōn	tēs Eúas	hē lýtrōsis

This is an important example for demonstrating the great range of variation that is possible in this kind of parallelism.

Taken in isolation, the two items of position II (τοῦ Ἀδάμ

and τῆς Εἴας--appear to be not only semantically equivalent but also grammatically equivalent (genitive singular); however, in the context of the phrase in which each is included, their syntactic function proves to be different.

Going on to consider the intersection of grammatical and phonic parallelism, we find again a case of homeoptoton and homoeoteleuton (anásta-sis, lýtro-sis). We have also two words in parallel position which belong to the same grammatical category but do not have phonically identical suffixes (Adám, G. Sg., -ø; Eúas, G. Sg., -(a)s). This is a case of partial homeoptoton without homeoteleuton.

As regards semantic parallelism, the two lines combine synonymy and antithesis. Both lines illustrate Mary's good services to man in her role as theotokos. In one instance by giving birth to the Savior she corrects a negative condition (Adam's fall) by the appropriate positive action (raising him); in the other instance, she corrects a negative condition (Eve's tears) by an appropriate negative action (dissolving them). The framework of the entire comparison is, of course, the allusion to Genesis and the relationship between the Old Testament and the New Testament.

One can relate this pair of lines to the preceding pair. The καρδιά of the first line is a function of the birth of Jesus and equivalent to ἀνάστασις and λύτρωσις of lines (3) and (4). The ἀρχή of the second line is the serpent's curse, which is further developed by reference to the fall of Adam and the tears of Eve.

C. Lines (5) and (6)

1. Phonic parallelism

I	II	III
1 2 3 2 / 4 5 6 7 6 / 8 4 6 9 10 9 11 9 12 7 10 /		
x é r e	í p s o s	d i s a n á b a t o n

IV	V
9 10 13 3 7 5 4 10 4 6 / 4 7 14 4 6 15 4 6	
a n t h r o p í n i s	l o g i s m í s

1 2 3 2 / 11 9 13 7 6 / 8 4 6 13 2 7 3 4 12 7 10 /

x é r e b á t h o s d i s t h i ó r i t o n

16 2 9 10 14 2 17 7 10 / 7 18 13 8 14 15 4 6

k e a n g é l o n o f t h a l m í s

2. Parallelism of the parts of speech:

V / N / Adj. / - Adj. (denominative) / N

V / N / Adj. / "Cj." + N / N

3. Parallelism of grammatical categories:

Imper. Pres. Sg. / Nom. Neut. Sg. / Nom. Neut. Sg. /

Dat. Pl. / Dat. Pl.

Nom. Neut. Sg. /

Gen. Pl. / Dat. Pl.

4. Parallelism of morphemic constituents:

xer-e ips-os dis-ana-ba-t-on anthrop-in-is log-ism-is

xer-e bath-os dis-theore-t-on ke angel-on ofthalm-is

5. Derivational parallelism: dys-anába-ton/

dys-theó[́]rē-ton

6. Semantic parallelism: height/depth; human mind/

eyes of angels (antitheses); inaccessible/

invisible (synonymy)

In this pair of lines, the phonic parallelism is, as in the preceding pair, limited to prefixes and suffixes (and, of course, xaíre), with the exception of the coincidence of -m- in logismoís and ophthalmoís, which causes extension of phonic identity one segment to the left of the suffix.

There is, again, grammatical variation in one of the positions, this time occurring on all three levels--parts of speech, grammatical categories, and morphemic form. The syntactic variation has to do with the nature of the dependence, rather than the order of constituents, as in the preceding pair of lines. That is to say, ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς displays "agreement," ἀγγέλων ὀφθαλμοῖς, "government."

Semantic parallelism is again in the form of antithesis--ὕψος/βάθος, ἀνθρωπίνοις/ἀγγέλων. There is also a metaphorical parallelism between "understanding" and "seeing" (λογισμοῖς/ὀφθαλμοῖς) which is emphasized by the derivational identity of the accompanying deverbative adjectives (δυσανάβατον,

δυσθεώρητον) so that the two lines show a very tight semantic parallelism.

D. Lines (7) and (8)

1. Phonic parallelism:

I	II	III
1 2 3 2 / 4 5 6 6 7 8 9 1 6 10 /	11 8 10 6 12 2 4 10 /	
x é r e	ó t i i p á r x i s	b a s i l é o s
		IV
		13 8 14 2 15 3 8
		k a t h é d r a
1 2 3 2 / 4 5 6 11 8 10 5 8 16 6 10 /	5 4 17 11 8 10 5 8 16	
x é r e	ó t i b a s t á z i s	t o n b a s t á z
		4 17 5 8 / 7 8 17 5 8
		o n t a p á n t a

2. Parallelism of the parts of speech:

V / Cj. _ V / - N / N

V / Cj. _ V / Art.+ Pple / Adj.

3. Parallelism of grammatical categories:

Imper. 2nd Sg. / 2nd Sg. Pres. / Gen. Sg. Masc. / Nom. Sg. Fem.
/ Acc. Sg. Masc. / Acc. Pl. Neut.

4. Parallelism of morphemic constituents:

xer-e oti ip-arx-is basile-os kathedr-a
xer-e oti bastaz-is ton bastaz-ont-a pant-a

5. Derivational parallelism: none

6. Semantic parallelism: chair/bear, bearing

In these two lines, phonic parallelism appears once more in repeated words (Χαῖρε, ὅτι) and in desinences (-eis, -a; note that the -a is not the same morpheme, merely homophonous). There is also an instance of a repetition of a sound sequence in a lexical morpheme (basiléōs, bastázonta), which might be viewed as a paronomasia.

The lines are grammatically parallel in the first colon; in the second colon there is a variation both in grammatical categories and parts of speech. There is also a variation of the second colon on the level of syntactic relationship. In line (7), the verb requires the noun in position IV to be in

the subjective case; in line (8), the verb requires the objective case.

There is a grammatical figure (paregmenon) in line (8) with two words which are derivatives of the same lexical morpheme: βασιτάζεις βασιτάζοντα. This, however, cannot be considered as a component of the parallelism because it does not function to relate the two lines of the parallel pair. One might view as a pseudo-semantic figure the relationship between ὑπάρχεις (cf. δρχω "rule") and βασιλέως "of the king."

Turning to the semantic parallelism of each line as a whole, we find that in the first line Mary is metaphorically referred to as the throne of the King. In the second line, the thought is presented directly, and she is called the bearer of the Bearer. Both images are motivated by Mary's function as the physical bearer of the embryonic Christ.

E. Lines (9) and (10)

1. Phonic parallelism:

I	II	III	IV
1 2 3 2 / -	4 5 6 7 3 /	2 8 9 2 10 11 10 /	6 11 10 7 12 7 11 10
x é r e	a s t í r	e m f é n o n	t o n í l i o n
1 2 3 2 / 13	4 5 6 7 3 /	2 10 14 2 15 /	5 4 3 15 11 5 2 11 5
x é r e	g a s t í r	e n t h é u	s a r k ó s e o s

2. Parallelism of the parts of speech:

V / N / Pple. / Art.+ N

V / N / Adj. / - N

3. Parallelism of grammatical categories:

Imper. 2nd Sg. / Nom. / Nom. / Acc.

" " Gen. Gen.

4. Parallelism of morpheme constituents:

xer-e astir-∅ em-fen-on ton ili-on

xer-e gastir-∅ en-the-u sark-os-eos

5. Derivational parallelism: perhaps ἐμοσίων/ἐνθεού

6. Semantic parallelism: extends to each line as a whole

Note that there is again (as in lines (3) and (4)) a chiasmic arrangement of syntactic dependences:

A	B	C
astér	+ emphaínon	+ ton hélión
gastér	+ sarkóseōs	+ enthéou

Reverting to the order of appearance of the constituents in the hymn

A	B	C
astér	emphaínon	ton hélión
A	C	B
gastér	enthéou	sarkóseōs

we have the chiasmus BC:CB.

The paranomasia ἀστήρ/γαστήρ helps create an implied semantic relationship between the two lines.

F. Lines (11) and (12)

1. Phonic parallelism:

I	II	III	IV
1 2 3 2 /	4 5 5 6 /	7 2 8 3 9 5 10 2 /	5 11 10 5 6 - 5 6
x é r e	d i í s	n e u r g í t e	i k t í s i s
1 2 3 2 /	4 5 5 6 /	12 3 13 6 11 5 7 5 10 2 /	13 11 10 5 6
x é r e	d i í s	p r o s k i n í t e	o k t í s
			10 5 6
			t i s

2. Parallelism of the parts of speech:

V / Prep. + Pron. / V / Art.+ N
 " " " "

3. Parallelism of grammatical categories:

Imper. 2nd Sg. / Gen. Mid. 3rd Sg. / Nom.
 " " "

4. Parallelism of morpheme constituents:

xer-e di is ne-urg-ite i ktis-is
 xer-e di is pros-kin-ite i ktis-tis

5. Derivational parallelism: κτίσις/κτίστης

6. Semantic parallelism: motivated by the paregmenon, κτίσις/κτίστης*

In this pair of lines we return to the close grammatical parallelism observed in the first pair of lines, but the two verbs in position III introduce variation on the phonological and semantic levels.

9. The Relationship of Byzantine Poetics and Theology

The complex poetic structures examined in the preceding pages are not the outcome of a predilection for arbitrary stylistic ornament or mere poetic exuberance. In an excellent synthesizing study of Byzantine esthetics, V.V. Byčkov amplifies the proposition that, like Byzantine icons, mosaics, and frescoes, Byzantine poetry is an intrinsic expression of Byzantine religious-philosophical thought. The esthetic is an essential component of Byzantine religious praxis, especially liturgy. For example, visual art transmits the iconographer's experience (πάθος) and knowledge (γνώσις) of God based on his (the iconographer's) contemplation or seeing (θεωρεῖν). As explained by Pseudo-Dionysius, the knowledge proceeds by means of mimesis of the inimitable idea of God (τὸ ἀμίμητον μύημα) by becoming like it (ἀπομιμῶσις). This "mimesis of God" (θεομίμησις) is organized on esthetic principles of correspondence, chief of which are symmetry and analogy. By the mediation of these principles, the perceptible images or "types" (τύποι) incorporating the image of God are imprinted (ἀποτυπῶ) in the icons and experienced by the worshipper. Music also has a liturgical function, first as the carrier of nonconceptual meaning and second as a means of attuning the emotions and imagination to the liturgical action.³⁷

*In the best readings of the Greek text, the parallelism is tighter: νεοφυεῖται ἢ κτίσις/βρεφουφυεῖται ὁ κτίστης. However, in the present analysis, the Greek text underlying the Slavic translation is used.

³⁷V.V. Byčkov, Iz istorii vizantijskoj èstetiki, "Vizantijskij vremmenik 37 (1976), pp. 173-174.

It is verbal art, however, that most clearly reflects the ruling principle of Byzantine gnoseology, namely the principle of antinomy. In the words of Byčkov, in liturgical poetry "dogmatic antinomies are transformed into a system of poetic oppositions."³⁸ Byčkov chooses the Akathistos Hymn as his illustration of the isomorphic relationships of theological antinomies and antithetical poetic figures:

The famous monument of Byzantine church poetry "Ἀκάθιστος ὕμνος", which incorporates mythological, dogmatic and terminological antinomies, fixes (snimaet) them in the structure of the artistic image. Especially saturated with poetic oppositions are the concluding parts of the oikoi [i.e., the chairetismoι, A.F.G.]. Many of the epithets found in them--addressed to the theotokos--are antithetical--"God's placeless place" (θεοῦ ἀχωρήτου χώρα), "one who has joined virginity and birth" (ἡ παρθέναν καὶ λοχεύσαν ζευγνῦσα), "bride unwedded" (νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε). In addition to this, the "chairetismoι" are strictly rhymed by twos, and often a rhymed pair consists of antithetical terms that are close to each other in sound. Exemplary in this regard are the following verses [here Byčkov cites three pairs of chairetismoι, including]:

Χαῖρε, τὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων πολυθροῦλητον θαῦμα
Χαῖρε, τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων πολυθρόνητον τραῦμα.

Byčkov concludes his illustrations by commenting on the intense oppositional quality of the poetic image in the Akathistos.³⁹

Besides the poetic oppositions that correspond to the logical antinomies of patristic theology and the symbolic nature of many of the images, liturgical poetry was intended to instruct and appeal to the worshipper.⁴⁰ The appeal was not only esthetic but also dramatic, witness the prosopopoeia (figures of direct speech) in the Akathistos, as well as the dialogic structure. For example, Mary asks the angel how it is possible for her, who has not known a man, to bear a child, and the angel responds with a series of ecstatic greetings.

³⁸Byčkov, p. 178. The translations from Byčkov's Russian text are my own.

³⁹Byčkov, pp. 178-179.

⁴⁰Cf. Byčkov, p. 185.

The repetitive quality of the acclamations and the semantic intensity of the images conforms to the Byzantine notion that mystical ecstasy was a chief means of knowing God. At the same time, the epithets are profoundly symbolic, often making use of scriptural material, e.g., Χαῖρε, ἀλιέων τὰς σαγήνας πληροῦσα: "Rejoice thou who hast filled the fishermen's nets." Finally, the kontakion has a narrative interest. Serving as a sermon following the reading of the Gospel pericope, it retells a story from the Gospel in an extensively amplified Byzantine homiletic style.

III. THE EVIDENCE FOR METRICAL ADAPTATION IN EARLY SLAVIC TRANSLATED HYMNS*

In an article published in 1919,¹ Roman Jakobson took exception to the opinion of Jagić--an opinion prevalent at the time--that Slavic translations of Byzantine poetry were apoetic. According to Jagić, who arrived at his negative evaluation as a result of editing the eleventh-century Russian manuscripts of the *Menaea*, Slavic translators paid no attention to the fact that the Greek texts they translated were poetry and did not observe the meter of the original hymns.² Jakobson urged that this misimpression be rectified by comparative reconstruction of optimally archaic readings or "proto-texts" from the younger variant readings of extant manuscripts in an effort to establish the correct syllabic and accentual structure of the Slavic translations and to ascertain their poetic characteristics. In the nearly seven decades that have elapsed since this pioneering proposal,³ a number of studies both by Jakobson and by others have dealt with this subject.⁴ Striking

*An expanded version of this chapter was published bearing the same title in Fundamental Problems of Early Slavic Music and Poetry, *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, Subsidia VI (Copenhagen, 1978), 211-246.

¹Roman Jakobson, "Zametka o drevne-bolgarskom stixosloženii," Izvestija Otdelenija ruskogo jazyka i slovesnosti Akademii Nauk XXIV, No. 2 (1919), p. 354.

²I. v. Jagić, Služebnye Minei za sentjabr', oktjabr' i nojabr' v cerkovnoslavjanskom perevode po ruskim rukopisjam 1095-1097, g. Pamjatniki drevneruskogo jazyka I (St. Petersburg, 1886), LXXVIII.

³A. I. Sobolevskij twenty years earlier also spoke of the need for textual reconstruction in the study of (original) Old Church Slavonic poetry. (See his "Cerkovno-slavjanskije stixotvorenija IX-X vekov i ix značenie dlja izučenija cerkovnoslavjanskogo jazyka", Trudy II-go arxeologičeskogo s'ezda v Kieve II, 1899 (Moscow, 1901). To judge from the literature, Sobolevskij's insights met with no immediate response.

⁴See especially R. Jakobson, "The Slavic Response to Byzantine Poetry," XIIe Congrès international des études byzantines,

examples have been adduced demonstrating that sometimes Slavic translators were indeed successful in reproducing, approximating or imitating the syllabism and occasionally even the accentuation of Greek originals. Instances have also been found in which the syllabism of Slavic hirmoi⁵ was closely mirrored in the troparia of original Slavic canons,⁶ testifying to an awareness of the rules of hymnic composition. An added impetus for delving into the problems of meter in the translations has been the interest evinced by musicologists in how the matching of music and text was accomplished in the transmission of Byzantine hymns to the Slavs.⁷

Rapports VIII (Belgrade-Ochride, 1961), pp. 249-65; and 1961), 249-65; and "Tainaja služ'ba Konstantina Filosa i dal'nejšee razvitie staroslavjanskoj poezii," Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta VIII (Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky) (Belgrade, 1963), pp. 153-66. For a conflicting view of Slavic and Greek syllabism, see J. Hamm, "Zur Verskunst Konstantin-Kyrills," Cyrillo-Methodiana: Zur Frühgeschichte des Christentums bei den Slaven 863-1963, ed. M. Hellman, et al., Slavistische Forschungen VII (Cologne, 1964). More recently Malik Mulić has made interesting observations about several stanzas from the služebnye minei, most of them drawn from Jagić's edition, including variant readings from other mss. See his "K voprosu o xudožestvennom masterstve v drevnejšix slavjanskix perevodax služebnyx minej," Simpozium 1100-godišnina ot smertta na Kiril Solunski 23-25 maj 1969, Skopje-Stip, Kniga 2 (Skopje 1970), pp. 239-56.

⁵For an explanation of terms, consult Egon Wellesz, A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography (Oxford, 2nd rev. ed.), 1961).

⁶Cf. J. Pavić, "Staroslovenski pjesnički kanon u čast sv. Metodija i njegov autor," Bogoslovska smotra 24 (Zagreb, 1936), p. 62; and R. Jakobson, "Methodius' Canon to Demetrius of Thessalonica and the Old Church Slavonic Hirmoi," Sbornik Prací Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University, F 9 (1965), p. 117. Cf. also Jakobson, "Tainaja služ'ba," p. 58f.

⁷See Kenneth Levy, "The Earliest Slavic Melismatic Chants," in Fundamental Problems of Early Slavic Music and Poetry, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Subsidia VI (Copenhagen, 1978). An abridged text appeared in German translation in Anfängen der slavischen Musik, Verlag der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Bratislava, 1966), 77-92; Chapter VI in Miloš Velimirović, Byzantine Elements in Early Slavic Chant, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae Subsidia IV (Copenhagen, 1960); N. Uspenskij,

It could be assumed that Jagić's categorical denial of poetic consciousness to the Slavic translators of hymns has been amply refuted were it not for a certain uneasiness occasioned by the fact that the outstanding characteristic of many or most of the translation in question is lexical and grammatical literalism, to the exclusion of metrical regularity or metrical correspondence with the Greek. This was seen by Velimirović, who felt it curious and worthy of note that while some of the Slavic hirmoi are, in his words, "translated with a great concern for form and with an amazing aptness, retaining . . . the metrical schemes of their Greek models," there are others "where no concern for form appears and where the desire to follow the translation, word for word, abolishes completely the poetic form of the Greek model."⁸ The paradoxical aspect of the coexistence of metrically good and bad translations emerges when one observes (as did Velimirović, expressing amazement and admiration)⁹ that most of the lines and even stanzas cited as examples of metrically successful translation are also characterized by literalism. That this is justifiable cause for amazement should be apparent to anyone who reflects that in modern translations of poetry a resolve to preserve

"Vizantijskoe penie v Kievskoj Rusi," Akten des XI. internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses, 1958 (Munich, 1960), 643-54; and Miloš Velimirović, "The Influence of the Byzantine Chant on the Music of the Slavic Countries," Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Main Papers IV (Oxford, 1966), 1-22.

⁸Velimirović, Byzantine Elements, p. 60. Similar sentiments have been expressed by E. Koschmieder, "Die ältesten Novgoroder Hirmologien-Fragmente," Abhandl. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., Philosoph.-Hist. Kl. N. F. XXXV (1952), 5. See also Velimirović's more recent article, "The Influence of the Byzantine Chant on the Music of the Slavic Countries," Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Main Papers IV (Oxford, 1966), 1-22. His succinct comments on the Slavic translations and the discrepancies in the number of syllables and placement of stresses correspond closely to my own findings.

⁹Velimirović, Byzantine Elements, p. 60.

the meter and stanza of the original can only be maintained by paraphrasing, a literal translation being unthinkable.

The apparent paradox of the Slavic translations suggests a need to reevaluate existing evidence in order to gain a new perspective on the questions of metrical regularity and of metrical correspondence to Greek originals in Slavic translated hymns. This chapter is an attempt at such a reevaluation in two frames of reference--the poetic and the musicological. In the paper he presented at the Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Velimirović took a more balanced view, stating "the first conclusion in the comparison of texts is that discrepancy in the number of syllables per verse is a rule rather than an exception. Especially frustrating are those examples in which the syllable-count happens to coincide in both languages, yet the stresses have been shifted so that they do not correspond."¹⁰ A reevaluation of existing evidence on the subject of metrical regularity and metrical correspondence to Greek originals in Slavic translated hymns was undertaken by the author of the present monograph,¹¹ who reviewed examples cited by Høeg, Palikarova-Verdeil, Velimirović, and Jakobson. Those observations and conclusions pertaining to the evidence for metrical adaptation in the Hirmologion will be summarized here. The summary will be followed by a discussion of the metrical character of the Slavic kontakion, including the interesting findings of Levy, and an analysis of selected stanzas drawn from the Akathistos hymn.

1. The Evidence for Metrical Adaptation in the Hirmologion
The examples cited by Høeg,¹² Palikarova-Verdeil,¹³ and

¹⁰"The Influence of the Byzantine Chant," p. 3.

¹¹Gove, "The Evidence for Metrical Adaptation."

¹²C. Høeg, "The Oldest Slavonic Tradition of Byzantine Music," Proceedings of the British Academy 39 (London, 1953), 37-66

¹³R. Palikarova-Verdeil, La musique byzantine chez les Bulgares et les Russes, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Subsidia III (Copenhagen, 1953).

Velimirović¹⁴ consist of isolated lines marked by metrical similarity to their Greek models. The examples in Velimirović are restricted to variants that involve semantic differences, omitting other variations among the Slavic manuscripts, such as the use of different verbal aspect (podavajušča vs. podajušča)¹⁵ or inversions of word order. Such non-semantic variants can, of course, create a difference in syllable number or accentual position and therefore represent potential instances of metrical adaptation. Only three of the semantic variants cited by Velimirović represent metrical variation and, of these, only one seems to be of definite interest. Velimirović's suggestion that the choice of variants milostive and miloserde for φιλόνηρωπε, rather than the literal calque equivalent člověkoljubīče, suggests the possibility of metrical adaptation in this instance because the non-literal translations are identical with the Greek as regards the number of syllables.¹⁶ In saying this, Velimirović disregards the fact that the meter of Byzantine hymns is characterized by homotony (regular positioning of accents in corresponding lines of all stanzas) as well as by isosyllabism (identical number of syllables in corresponding lines of stanzas), and that the two metrical characteristics are interdependent. Both homotony and isosyllabism play a part in the text to music relationship in the Byzantine hirmological style. Both must be kept in mind when considering the metrical correspondence between Slavic and Greek. It has been shown that, in the case of φιλόνηρωπε milostive/milosırde/člověkoljubīče, it is impossible to decide which Slavic word is the best equivalent on metrical grounds but only on the grounds of the text-music relationship.¹⁷

¹⁴ Byzantine Elements.

¹⁵ Byzantine Elements, p. 53.

¹⁶ Byzantine Elements, p. 54.

¹⁷ Gove, "The Evidence for Metrical Adaptation," pp. 216-17, and Levy's discussion of the adaptation of the musical notation of člověkoljubīče, "The Earliest Slavic Melismatic Chants," pp. 202-3, reviewed below.

Carsten Høeg, one of the earliest Byzantine musicologists to turn his attention to meter in the Slavic translations, suggested that changes in the Slavic were meant to improve correspondence to the Greek meter. Of the three examples cited by Høeg to support his hypothesis, it has been shown that only in two does the modified word order of the translation unquestionably improve metrical correspondence.¹⁸ In none of the examples does the translation achieve both the same number of syllables per line and the same pattern of stressed syllables relative to unstressed in the entire line. Rather, the inversions result in an improvement in the correspondence of stressed and unstressed syllables in part of the line only. This qualification is not intended as a criticism of the quality of the translation as a whole but only to put it into realistic perspective. The same strictures apply to the assertions in the study of Palikarova-Verdeil, who cites one example purporting to show perfect correspondence of syllable number and accent placement between a Greek line and its Slavic translation.¹⁹ If, however, one assumes that the Hirmologion was translated at a time when the "jers" (ǔ, ĭ) in weak position still had syllabic value, the correspondence of Palikarova-Verdeil's example is only partial:

Χρῖ	-	στὸς		γῆν	-	ῥᾶ	-	ταῖ		δο	-	ξά	--	σα	-	τε			
Xri	-	stó	-	sǔ		ra	-	žá	-	e	-	tǔ	sę		slá	-	vi	-	te.

This partial correspondence at the beginning and at the end of the line is important, particularly the latter, since in the formulaic method of musical composition practiced by the Byzantines, the concluding cadential formulae were most typically maintained as constants from one hymn to the next.²⁰

¹⁸Gove, "The Evidence for Metrical Adaptation," pp. 218-220.

¹⁹Palikarova-Verdeil, p. 40.

²⁰Cf. E. Koschmieder, "Zur Bedeutung der russischen liturgischen Gesangstradition für die Entzifferung der byzantinischen Neumen," Kyrios V (1940-41), 9.

As for extra unaccented syllables, it is well known that Byzantine composition had standard means at its disposal for accommodating them (by the addition of tenor notes, for example). Høeg himself was of the opinion that agreement in the number of syllables per line does not seem to have been a highly important criterion to the Slavs. More important in his view was the preservation of the same number of accented syllables in the line and only to a lesser extent, the number of unaccented syllables between them.²¹

Returning to the paradox of literal translation and metrical correspondence, there seems to be an important principle implicit in the examples cited by Velimirović and Høeg to the effect that when translation and original display metrical correspondence along with literal wording, there is no way of assessing to what extent the translator's concern for rhythmic (whether poetic or musical) form made the line what it is. Only when literal wording is abandoned and the paraphrase--whether semantic variant or inversion--has the virtue of approximating the Greek metrical and musical pattern more closely than would a literal rendition, can we claim to have possible evidence of a rhythmic purpose at work. So far, however, the collected evidence of metrically motivated paraphrases in the translations is meager. Perhaps a review of the inversions and grammatical variants that Velimirović omitted from consideration in his study of the Hirmologion would increase the amount of such evidence. As matters stand, however, it must further be recognized that word-for-word translation is compatible with some degree of metrical correspondence. This is seen in the example from Palikarova-Verdeil discussed above, where the beginning and end, though not the middle, of the line show a metrical correspondence of the Greek and Slavic. Part of the reason is that the Slavic and Greek vocabularies have a sufficient number of semantic equivalent pairs that have the same number of syllables and are identically accented.

²¹Høeg, p. 46.

Examples from the text of the Akathistos are: λό-γος, sló-vo 'word'; θαῦ-μα, čú-do 'miracle'; μή-τηρ, má'ti 'mother'; κύ-ρι-ε, gó-spo-di 'Lord'; τὸ κρά-τος drī-žā-va 'power, rule'; ἤ-κου-σαν slý-ša-še 'they heard'; βλέ-που-σα, ví-dę-šti 'seeing'; παν-ύμ-νη-τε, pre-pě-ta-ja 'praised in song'; δι-δά-ξα-σα, na-ú-čī-ši 'having taught'; με-γα-λύ-νο-μεν ve-li-čá-e-mu 'we magnify'. Given these metrically corresponding semantic equivalents, it should come as no surprise that the first line of the last stanza of the Akathistos Ὡ πανύμνητε μήτηρ has the same number of syllables (seven) and the same metrical pattern ('x'xx'x) in Slavic Ó prepětaja máti. This demonstrates that in any literal Slavic translation from the Greek, some words and phrases (and even whole lines) will have the same metrical configuration as in the original without adaptation on the part of the translator. So far, there is insufficient evidence to show that the number of such metrically good lines in the translations is greater than could be expected by chance when semantic equivalents are matched, i.e., greater than one would find in prose translations of the same period.

On the level of syllabism alone, however, there is one case where an entire stanza corresponds in the number of syllables per line to its Greek model--the hirmos Zemīnŭ kŭto (No., p. 136, Chil. 59v) discussed by Jakobson.²² I will take the liberty of subjecting this interesting example to a review and reanalysis in order to compare the import of such evidence with that discussed above. I quote the stanza in Greek and in Slavic as it appears in Koschmieder's edition (No.) Mode II, Ode 9

Τῶν γηγενῶν τίς ἤκουσε τοιοῦτον ἢ τίς ἑώρακε ποτέ.
 ὅτι παρθένος ἠὔρεθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα.
 καὶ ἀνωδύτως τὸ βρέφος ἀποτεκοῦσα.
 τοιοῦτον σοῦ τὸ θαῦμα.
 καὶ σέ ἀγνή θεοκύητορ Μαρία μεγαλύνομεν.

²²"The Slavic Response," pp. 251-2. The sources of the text are Koschmieder, "Die ältesten Novg. Hirm.-Fragm.," p. 136 and Fragmenta Chilandarica, 59v.

Zemīnū kūto slyša takovaja li kūto vidě. koli zě.
 jako děva obrěte se vŭ črěvě imušti.
 i bez bolězni mladenīca porodi.
 takovo ti je čudo.
 i tē čista. bogorodice marie veličajemŭ.

The syllabic breakdown of the Langzeilen²³ in the Greek is

5+6+8	total	19
8+6		14
5+8		13
7		7
4+5+3+8		17

The syllabism in the translation is identical, except in line (3), which has one syllable too few: $5+7 = 12$. The probability is very low that we would find as the chance by-product of word-for-word translation a stanza in which four lines out of five were identical with the original in the syllable number not only of each line taken as a whole but also of every constituent phrase--a total of eleven phrases out of twelve.²⁴

The question is whether there is paraphrase in this text that would give additional evidence in favor of metrical adaptation by the translator. For this it is necessary to consult the textual variants as well as to look at non-literal translation in the quoted text. In the first line, the variant quoted by Koschmieder from the 1899 Synod edition of the *Hirmologion* offers the more literal translation of $\gamma\eta\gamma\epsilon\nu\omega\nu$

²³The hirmus is divided into the larger rhythmico-syntactic units known as Langzeilen (cf. W. Meyer, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik, Berlin, 1905, p. 64) or "medium sense-pauses" (cf. the metrical appendix to Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica I, eds. P. Maas and C. Trypanis, Oxford, 1963, pp. 511-13). The Langzeilen are divided into cola (Kurzzeilen or "weak sense-pauses"). The punctuation is taken from the text in Koschmieder's edition.

²⁴As pointed out by Jakobson, "The Slavic Response," p. 252.

ot zemnorodnyxŭ kto. With the jers and compound desinence restored (otŭ zemnorodŭnyixŭ kŭto) this variant has seven syllables in excess of the Greek line. By choosing a shorter equivalent and using a simple genitive instead of a prepositional phrase, the author of the variant in the Novgorod Hirmologion was able to reproduce the syllable number of the original.²⁵

In line (3), the verb form in Slavic is aorist, whereas the Greek form is an aorist participle (ἀποτεκοῦσα). The use of a finite aorist form in Slavic could simply be a scribal modification of a sort quite common in Church Slavic texts, especially when there is more than one participle in a series, as in this sentence. Note, however, that if a participle (poroždŭši) were restored in the translation, the line would number thirteen syllables--the same as the Greek line.

In line (4) the Synod Hirmologion has the variant takovoe tvoe čudo. The use of a definite form in a phrase in which another modifier is used suggests that this is a younger reading of an earlier takovo tvoe čudo. This would be a correct translation of the Greek and would also have the correct syllable count. The variant of the Novgorod Hirmologion seems to represent a misreading of the Greek line as a complete sentence--τοιοῦτον σοῦ τὸ θαῦμα--rather than with the accusative as one of the two object clauses of μεγαλύνομεν. Such a misreading would explain the insertion of the copula in Slavic. The dative ti is a good alternative of the possessive pronoun for translating σοῦ. Both variants have seven syllables.

The last line is interesting because it has, in addition to a correct number of syllables, an accent distribution extremely close to the Greek, as is shown in the metrical

²⁵Presumably this was the original translator, since later emendations are more likely to have been made in the direction of a more literal reading, replacing zemnŭ by otŭ zemnorodŭnyxŭ, rather than to have been motivated by metrical considerations to deviate from literalism. In other words, we assume that the lectio difficilior represents a metrically motivated original translation.

comparison.²⁶ It appears, however, to be an entirely literal translation. Line (3) also has a good syllabo-accentual metrical correspondence of Slavic and Greek. This line may be viewed as containing a paraphrase that improves metrical correspondence, since one can conceive of a more literal translation using an adverb, bezbolezniŋo (xx'xx) for ἀνωδύτως instead of the prepositional phrase bez bolězni (xx'x).

Metrical Comparison of Τῶν γηγενῶν and Zemīnŋ kŋto²⁷

(1)									
Gr.	x x x ' x		' x	x		x x x ' x x x :			
No.	○ ○ x ' x	⊗ ⊙	' x	x	x	' x	⊗ x ' ○ ' x ' x :		16:6
Syn.	⊙ ⊗ x x x ' x	⊗ ⊗ ⊗ ⊙							
(2)									
Gr.	x x x ' x	x ' x	x x ' x						
No.	○ ' x ' x	⊗ x ' x	○ x ' ⊗			⊗ ' x ○			11:6
(3)									
Gr.	x x x ' x	x ' x	x	x	' x x				
No.	x x x ' x	x ' x	x	x	' x ○				12:1
*participle						x ' x x			13:0

²⁶It cannot be stressed too much that metrical analysis of the Slavic texts is beset with uncertainties. This is so because OCS accentuation is not known directly and has to be reconstructed from the accentuation in other Slavic languages of a later period. For some words or grammatical categories which have not survived, the evidence is fragmentary and must be used with caution. In other cases, the accentuation in different languages is contradictory and two or more alternative accentuations for a single OCS form must be admitted.

²⁷The metrical comparison is presented using conventional metrical symbols, where x stands for an unaccented syllable and ' for an accented syllable. For the purpose of making the comparison more graphic, we introduce two new symbols, (○) and (⊗), which indicate, respectively, a missing and a superfluous syllable in the Slavic line as compared to the Greek line.

(4)

Gr. x ' x ' x ' x

No. (x) x ' x x () ' x

6:2

*Syn. (x) x ' x x

6:2

(5)

Gr. x x x ' x x ' x x x ' x x x ' x x

No. () x ' ' (x) x x ' x x x ' x x x ' x x

16:2

The metrical analysis of this stanza raises the same question about the relative importance of syllabism and place of accent as did the case of *milostive*: $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\epsilon$ discussed above. The translation of the entire stanza shows nearly perfect line-by-line syllable-number correspondence to the original, but only a partial correspondence in accent distribution. Specifically, line (1) has perfect metrical correspondence in accentual positions two plus three; line (2), only partial correspondence throughout; line (3) perfect correspondence except for the final syllable of the line (the correspondence becomes complete if a participle is reconstructed); line (4), partial; line (5), complete correspondence, except for the first accentual position. The clear case of paraphrase--line (1), zemĭnŭ kŭto-- contributes to syllabism but apparently not to the accentual meter. On the other hand, an emendation replacing the aorist by a part participle in line (3) would improve both the syllabic and accentual correspondence. The apparent paraphrase bez bolĕzni in line (3) likewise contributes both to the syllabic and accentual aspect of the meter. In line (4), as noted by Koschmieder²⁸ and Jakobson,²⁹ the rare monosyllabic form je is used instead of the usual jestŭ, which would have given an extra syllable. This choice results in syllabic identity, whereas the longer form would have given better accentual correspondence. The

²⁸Koschmieder, "Die ältesten Novg. Hirm.-Fragm.," p. 4. As Oliver Strunk has pointed out, exact metrical correspondence is obviously lacking in the translations. Cf. his article in Anfänge der slavischen Musik, Verlag der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Bratislava, 1966), p. 70.

²⁹Jakobson, "The Slavic Response," p. 252.

question that must be asked is the following: what was the rationale of the translator for reproducing the syllabism of his translation model in preference to its accentual meter? The answer, in the context of poetics, would have to be that he substituted (or at least gave precedence to) a purely syllabic principle for the syllabo-accentual principle of Byzantine hymnic versification. In the context of musicology, one would have to hypothesize that place of accent, hence the matching of textual and musical accent, played a subsidiary, non-obligatory role in relation to simple matching of syllables and tones regardless of accentuation; or, if this was not the case, that the melodic contour was readily adjustable and accentual adaptation therefore unessential.

2. The Metrical Characteristics of a Slavic Kontakion

With regard to metrical correspondence of the melismatic chant of the Kontakarion, Kenneth Levy has addressed the question by reviewing comparative material looking at both the text and musical notation.³⁰ His analysis of two stanzas, the Respond *Σήμερον τὸ προφητικὸν λόγιον*, for the Exaltation of the Cross, and the Great Troparion, *Ἐπεφάνης ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*, for the Vigil of Epiphany, is essential evidence for understanding the practice of Slavic translators and musicians. Levy makes the following observations at the conclusion of his analysis:

A good deal more must be said about cases like this, but provisional answers are available for our initial questions. Both the translator and the musician were concerned with the correspondence between the accents of the Slavic text and those of the Greek original. Each can be shown to have prepared individual lines so that the correspondence would exist. In a small group of cases, however, the accents do not coincide although they could have been made to do so with relative ease: here the translator supplied an adjustable line but the musician did nothing about the adjustment. In a final group of cases the translator supplied a line where the musician could make no adjustment. It is clear that the melismatic chants

³⁰Levy, "The Earliest Slavic Melismatic Chants," pp. pp. 199-205 and Figures 5-7.

will not be dependable guides to the accentuation of medieval Slavic texts. It is less clear, however, why the departures from proper accentuation occur. Perhaps they result from indifference. Or perhaps the treatment of text within this musical style reflects a degree of calculated mannerism, with unaccented syllables intentionally assigned to elaborate musical elements and vice versa. In the parent collection, the Greek Asmatikon, some of this mannerism exists, and it seems possible that this view of text-setting carried over to the Slavic practice which added some refinements of its own.³¹

So far in this discussion, the focus has been on cases of approximation to the Greek. The question of internal metrical regularity, which in the Byzantine hymnographic tradition means the recurrence of the same metrical pattern from stanza to stanza, has not been raised. For this one needs to examine a hymn--a canon or kontakion³²--in its entirety. This has been done by Jakobson with reference to the syllabism of some original canons, but not their accent distribution.³³ Here I propose to give a provisional metrical evaluation by analyzing several stanzas of the Akathistos.

In the comparison that follows, three stanzas are subjected to exhaustive metrical analysis in the belief that they are representative of the entire hymn. (This supposition is tested against five other stanzas selected at random.) In comparing the meter of the Slavic and Greek lines, the approach delineated below is used. Because the number of

³¹"The Earliest Slavic Melismatic Chants," p. 205.

³²The choice of canon or kontakion cannot be made with an a priori expectation of like results. It is important that in the Hirmologion the arrangement of syllables and tones is basically one-to-one, whereas in the Kontakaria one syllable may be sung to one tone or, what is more frequently the case, to many, with no prescribed upper limit on the number of tones that may be sung on one syllable. This means that the problems of adapting music and text were different in the kontakarion and the canonic genres, and this may in turn be reflected in corresponding differences in the translations.

³³Cf. "Tainaja Služ'ba," pp. 158-9 and "Methodius' Canon to Demetrius," pp. 117-9.

accents in a line is maintained in the Slavic translation in a predominating number of lines,³⁴ the accents of the words in equivalent metrical positions are aligned in the comparison. Word boundaries are also noted, although they (as opposed to caesurae) are not observed in matching unaccented syllables. The degree of metrical correspondence is assessed in terms of the number of matched and unmatched syllables. Evaluations are made not only of entire lines, but also of parts of lines. It is, in fact, typical that part of a line, e.g., the first word or the last word, or a phrase (but not the entire line) proves to be a good metrical match. In addition to the conventions of metrical notation that have already been introduced, I have used a rectangular outline to set off metrically identical cola or words, i.e., metrically identical sequences that coincide with word boundaries on both sides. Diagonal lines are used to connect matching syllables across word boundaries. Partially matching cola, i.e., matching sequences of syllables that are not set off by word boundaries on both sides, are left unmarked. Word boundaries are presented by large spaces. The syllable count is given in parentheses at the right of each line, as is the ratio of matched and unmatched syllables. The latter is an index of the general metrical correspondence of the line.

The stanzas chosen for analysis are the prooemium Τῆ ὑπερουάχῳ (Vŭzbranĭnumu), oikos I with chairetismoι (salutations), and oikos XXIV. (See the Appendix for texts.) The prooemium was chosen because it appears with neumes in the Slavic kontakaria, and therefore a metrical study might provide a point of departure for inquiring into a relationship of meter and music. Oikos I was chosen because it also appears in the kontakaria and was thus presumably sung or chanted, whereas the singing of the remaining stanzas had been discontinued.³⁵

³⁴ An examination of 107 randomly chosen lines, i.e., one third of the hymn, shows that over 80 percent of the lines have the same number of accents in the Slavic as in the Greek.

³⁵ Cf. Høeg's introduction to Contacarium Ashburnhamensis Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae IV (Copenhagen, 1956), 9.

Conceivably, greater care might have been lavished by the translators on the disposition of accents and syllables in the sung stanza than those that were not sung. The analysis of the chairetismoι to oikos I was made to see whether the metrical parallelism of the original chairetismoι was retained. Finally, oikos XXIV was chosen because it is the concluding stanza. Its meter has been compared to that of oikos I to observe whether there are any recurrent metrical patterns from stanza to stanza. (See the Appendix for the texts of these analyses.)

Prooemium (Tñ) ὑπερουάχω στρατηγῶ--Vŭzbranĭnumu voevodě)

(1)

Gr. x x x ' x / x x ' / x x x ' x x (5+3+6=14)

Sl. ○○x ' x ⊗⊗ x x ' ⊗ ○○x ' x x ⊗ 10:8 (5+4+5=14)

(2)

Gr.

x	x	x	'	x
---	---	---	---	---

 / x x ' /

x	x	x	'	x	x
---	---	---	---	---	---

 (5+3+6=14)

Sl.

'	x	x	'	x
---	---	---	---	---

 x x ' ⊗

x	x	x	'	x	x
---	---	---	---	---	---

 14:1 (5+4+6=15)

(3)

Gr. x x ' x x / x ' x

x

 / x x ' x (5+4+4=13)

Sl. x x ' x x ⊗ ○ ' x

'	x
---	---

 ⊗ x x ' x ⊗ 12:4 (6+4+5=15)

(4)

Gr.

x	x	'	x	x
---	---	---	---	---

 /

x	'	x
---	---	---

 / x x ' x x (5+3+5=13)

Sl. ⊗

'	x
---	---

 x ' x ○

x	'	x
---	---	---

 ⊗ x x ' x ○ (5+3+5=13)

(5)

Gr. x x ' x x / x ' x / x x ' x x (5+3+5=13)

Sl. ⊗ x x ' x x ○ ' x x x ' ○○ 10:4 (6+2+3=11)

K.* ○ x ' x ○ 10:4 (6+2+3=11)

*In line (5), Kopitar's Triod' has a variant which changes the accentual pattern of the last colon without affecting the ratio of metrical correspondence or the placement of word boundaries relative to syllabic position. In line (6), both the Tipografskij text and the Kopitar have variants which differ from the reconstructed reading. The T variant adds an unmatched syllable, the K variant (which involves a deviation from the Greek) adds a matched syllable.

(6)	Gr.	$\boxed{x x ' x x}$ / ' x ' x / x ' x x	(5+4+4=13)
	Sl.	x x ' x ○ ' x (x)(x) (x) ' x (x) x ' x x (x)	12:6 (4+7+6=17)
	T.*	(x) x x ' x ○	12:7 (5+7+6=18)
	K.*	$\boxed{x x ' x x}$	13:5 (5+8+6=18)

Greek--total number of syllables in the stanza	80
Slavic--total number of syllables in the stanza	86

Oikos I ("Αγγελος πρωτοστάτης--Angelŭ predŭstatelŭ)

(1)	Gr.	$\boxed{x x}$ x x ' x	(7)
	Sl.	$\boxed{x x}$ x x ' x (x)	7:1 (8)
(2)	Gr.	x x ' $\boxed{x x}$ ' x	(7)
	Sl.	○ x ' (x)(x) ○ (x) x $\boxed{x x}$ ' x	6:5 (10)
(3)	Gr.	x ' \boxed{x} x x ' x \boxed{x} ' x	(10)
	Sl.	○ ' \boxed{x} x x ' x \boxed{x} ' x (x)(x)	9:3 (11)
(4)	Gr.	x x x x x ' x \boxed{x} ' x	(9)
	Sl.	○ ○ x x x ' x (x)(x) \boxed{x} ' (x)(x)	7:6 (11)
(5)	Gr.	x x ' x x x x x ' / $\boxed{x x}$	(9+3=12)
	Sl.	○ x ' x x x ○ ○ ' (x)(x) $\boxed{x x}$	9:5 (8+3=11)
(6)	Gr.	x ' x x x ' x x	(8)
	Sl.	x ' x x (x) * (x) x ' x x *	8:2 (8-10)
(7)	Gr.	x ' x x x ' x ' x	(9)
	Sl.	(x) x ' ○ ○ x ' (x) (x) x ' x	8:5 (10)
	Gr., total		62
	Sl., total		69

*Depending on whether or not one decides to reconstruct an uncontracted form in the participle divlja(a)še se and stoja(a)še, this line has ten or eight syllables.

(1) Gr.	' x x ' / x x ' x ' x	(4+6=10)
Sl.	' x (x x) x ' (x) ○ ○ ' (x x) (x) x ' x (x)	8:9 (7+8=15)
(2) Gr.	' x x ' / x x ' x ' x	(as in 1)
Sl.	' x (x x) x ' (x) ○ ○ ' (x) x ' x (x)	8:7 (7+6=13)
(3) Gr.	' x x x ' ' x / x ' x x ' x x	(6+7=13)
Sl.	' x (x x) ' x (x x x) x ' (x) x ' x x	13:3 (9+7=16)
(4) Gr.	' x x x ' ' x / x ' x x ' x	(as in 3)
Sl.	' x (x x) ' x ○ ' x (x x x) (x) x ' x (x)	12:5 (5+10=15)
(5) Gr.	' x ' x x x ' x x / x x ' x x x ' ' x x	(9+7=16)
Sl.	' x (x x) (x) ' x (x x) x x ' x x (x) ○ x ' x (x x) (x x)	14:9 (15+8=23)
(6) Gr.	' x ' x x x ' x x / x x ' x x x ' ' x x	(as in 5)
Sl.	' x (x x) (x x) ' x x ' x x (x) ○ x ' x (x) x x (x x)	15:9 (14+9=23)
(7) Gr.	' x ' x x ' x / x x ' x x ' x	(7+7=14)
Sl.	' x (x x) ' x x ' ○ ○ ○ ' x (x x) x ' x (x)	10:8 (8+8=16)
(8) Gr.	' x ' x x ' x / x x ' x x ' x	(as in 7)
Sl.	' x (x x) ' x ○ ' x (x) ○ x ' x x (x) (x) ' x (x x)	12:9 (9+10=19)
(9) Gr.	' x x ' / x ' x x ' x	(4+7=11)
Sl.	' x (x x) x ' x ' x x ' x	11:2 (6+7=13)
(10) Gr.	' x x ' / x ' x x ' x x	(as in 9)
Sl.	' x (x x) x ' (x) x ' x (x x x) (x) x ' x x	11:7 (7+11=18)
(11) Gr.	' x x ' / x x ' x x ' x	(4+7=11)
Sl.	' x (x x) (x x) (x) x x ' x (x) x ' x	11:5 (7+7=14)
(12) Gr.	' x x ' / x x ' x x ' x	(as in 11)
Sl.	' x (x x) (x x) x x ' x (x x) (x) x ' ○	10:7 (7+9=16)
	Gr. total	150
	Sl. total	201

Chairetismos to Oikos I

Oikos XXIV (ὦν πανύμνητε μήτηρ - o prěpětaja mati)

(1)	Gr.	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td>'</td><td>x</td><td>'</td><td>x</td><td>x</td><td>'</td><td>x</td></tr></table>	'	x	'	x	x	'	x			(7)			
'	x	'	x	x	'	x									
	Sl.	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td>'</td><td>x</td><td>'</td><td>x</td><td>x</td><td>'</td><td>x</td></tr></table>	'	x	'	x	x	'	x		7:0	(7)			
'	x	'	x	x	'	x									
(2)	Gr.	x x ' x <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td>x</td><td>'</td><td>x</td></tr></table>	x	'	x			(7)							
x	'	x													
	Sl.	○ ○ ' x ⊗ <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td>x</td><td>'</td><td>x</td></tr></table>	x	'	x		5:3	(6)							
x	'	x													
(3)	Gr.	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td>x</td><td>'</td><td>x</td><td>x</td><td>x</td><td>'</td><td>x</td><td>x</td><td>'</td><td>x</td></tr></table>	x	'	x	x	x	'	x	x	'	x			(10)
x	'	x	x	x	'	x	x	'	x						
	Sl.	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td>x</td><td>'</td><td>x</td><td>x</td><td>x</td><td>'</td><td>x</td><td>x</td><td>'</td><td>x</td></tr></table>	x	'	x	x	x	'	x	x	'	x		10:0	(10)
x	'	x	x	x	'	x	x	'	x						
(4)	Gr.	x x ' x <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td>x</td></tr></table> ' x x ' x x ' x	x			(9)									
x															
	Sl.	○ x ' x <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td>x</td></tr></table> ' ⊗ ⊗ ⊗ ⊗ x x ' ⊗ ⊗	x		8:7	(14)									
x															
(5)	Gr.	x x ' x ' x x x ' / ' x x (9+3=12)													
	Sl.	⊗ x x ' x ⊗ ⊗ ' x ○ x ' ⊗ ⊗ ' x ○ 10:7 (12+3=15)													
(6)	Gr.	x x x ' x ' x x			(8)										
	Sl.	○ x x ' x ⊗ ⊗ ' x ○		6:4	(8)										
(7)	Gr.	x ' x <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td>x</td></tr></table> <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td>x</td></tr></table> x x ' x	x	x			(9)								
x															
x															
	Sl.	○ ' x <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td>x</td></tr></table> ⊗ <table border="1" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"><tr><td>x</td></tr></table> x x ' x ⊗ ⊗	x	x		8:4	(11)								
x															
x															
	Gr. total				72										
	Sl. total				61										

In evaluating the correspondence of a line of the original and its translation, partial correspondences (unmarked) are, per se, considered neutral, since they constitute a kind of constant. This is true in the sense that for every word in every line there is a partial correspondence of at least one syllable, the syllable under accent. (The relatively small number of cases in which Slavic has two accented words for one of the Greek, or vice versa, constitutes an exception to this rule). Actually, correspondences of one syllable only are much less frequent than correspondences of two, three or four syllables. Partial correspondences are, however, together with complete correspondences, taken into account in calculating the ratio of matched and unmatched syllable.

Of importance are the syllables which are unmatched (indicated on the diagrams by a circle). The presence of such syllables in a line would have necessitated an adjustment in the assignment of musical notes, melismata and cadences to the syllables of the Slavic text. This category (i.e., the category of lines necessitating adjustment) also includes unmatched accented syllables, but not when they occur in Slavic and can be matched with an unaccented syllable. I have marked separately those sequences of syllables where there is a complete correspondence of a word or colon (enclosed in a rectangle). These cases, too, would have special bearing on the adaptation of the music to the Slavic text, namely, that no special adjustment would need to be made.

It can be seen from the diagrams that although word boundaries have been indicated, they have not been considered in matching unaccented syllables. For example, in oikos I, line (3), the last syllable of the first word in the Slavic text has been matched with the first syllable of the second word in Greek. Both of these syllables are unmatched in their respective words. This has not been done across word boundaries that function as caesurae in the Greek, in view of the fact that in Wellesz's transcription it can be seen that syllables preceding caesura are generally sung to terminal or intermediate cadences.

Surveyed line by line, these stanzas are typical of the correspondences one finds. In the oikoi proper, there are, in XXIV, two cases of a perfect matching of an entire line (colon)--lines (1) and (3). In addition, there are three cases of a perfect match of a word, all of which happen to be trisyllabic (oikos I, lines (1) and (5); oikos XXIV, line (2)). In the chairetismoι to oikos I, if one followed the principle of matching unaccented syllables across word boundaries, there are three cases of complete correspondnece of cola--line (3), seven syllables; line (4), six syllables; and line (9), a word plus a colon, nine syllables. The prooemium has four cases of complete correspondence of cola (including the Kopitar variant for line (6)). Note, however, that each colon (or, perhaps

better, commaton) is only one word long. This means that we in fact have correspondences of words here.

In the oikoi proper there is one case of an extra Slavic accent in each; in the chairetismoï there are none; in the prooemium, three.

Looking at the stanzas as units, we find that there is a preponderance of matched syllables over unmatched. Furthermore, the ratio of matched to unmatched syllables is somewhat lower in the chairetismoï than in the prooemium and the two oikoi proper, as can be seen from the accompanying table.

Summary of metrical correspondences

	<u>Prooemium</u>	<u>Oikos I</u>	<u>Oikos XXIV</u>	<u>Chairetismoï I</u>
Greek unmatched syllables	11	9	8	13
Slavic extra syllables	16	18	17	66
Total matched	69 (71.9%)	53 (66.2%)	54 (68.4%)	136 (63.3%)
Total unmatched	27 (28.1%)	27 (33.8%)	25 (31.6%)	79 (36.7%)

A comparison of the ratios of matched and unmatched syllables shows that the proportion of matched syllables in the prooemium and in oikoi I and XXIV is very close--71.9, 66.2, and 68.4 percent matched syllables, respectively. To determine whether this proportion was representative of the entire hymn, five oikoi were selected at random from the twenty-four oikoi of the hymn. A metrical comparison of the Greek and Slavic texts of these oikoi was performed in the manner illustrated in the sample stanzas on the preceding pages. The resulting percentages of matched syllables were 66.3, 69.3, 63.3, 76.6, and 61.9, that is, very similar to the percentages of the original three stanzas, but with somewhat greater variation.

The large number of extra Slavic syllables in the chairetismoι (about 83 percent of the total unmatched, as opposed to 65 and 68 percent for the oikoi and 59 percent in the prooemium) is probably to be explained by the fact that in Old Church Slavonic, derivational and inflectional suffixes by and large have more constituent parts (i.e., are morphologically more complex) than the corresponding Greek suffixes and therefore also tend to have more syllables. Because the lexicon of the chairetismoι has a somewhat greater proportion of derivatives than the oikoi proper (including compounds and some elaborate calques), and, furthermore, because of grammatical parallelism in the chairetismoι (which means that derivatives in the odd lines are almost always matched by similar derivatives in the even lines), the tendency for longer words in Slavic is magnified.

In the chairetismoι and the prooemium, two additional metrical criteria come into play and must be considered in the comparison. One is the caesura, observed with complete regularity in the Greek. (In the oikoi, caesura occurs only in line (5)). The other is the fact of metrical parallelism.

As regards the caesura, in the chairetismoι to oikos I, there is one instance in which a word boundary in Slavic corresponds to a caesura in the Greek text. This is line (4), where both fall after syllable 6. In lines (3) and (9) there is coincidence of Greek caesura with Slavic word boundary if one counts from the end of the line, rather than the beginning. These also happen to be the lines which were found to have cola with complete metrical correspondence. In the prooemium, of a total of twelve caesurae in the Greek, the two caesurae of line (2) correspond to word boundaries in Slavic (provided one counts syllables from the right for the second one). Metrical parallelism, including parallelism of caesurae within the Slavic text, will be discussed below.

Coming at last to a consideration of metrical regularity, we must look for its presence or absence in two places. The Greek text shows metrical parallelism between all the oikoi and

also between parallel lines in the prooemium Τῆς ὑπερομάχῃ and in the chairetismoι. Comparing the meter of oikoi I and XXIV in the translation, one observes some extensive, though partial, metrical correspondence. However, to evaluate them correctly, it is necessary to establish exactly what we mean by 'metrical regularity.' This can only be done with reference to the meter of the Greek oikoi.

Line-by-line comparison of oikoi I and XXIV in the Slavic text.

(1)	' x x x x ' x x	8 syllables
	' x ' x x ' x	7
	(' x ' x x ' x ' x)*	9
(2)	x ' x x ' x x ' x	9
	' x x x ' x	6
	(' x x x ' x x ' x)*	9
(3)	' x x x ' x x ' x x x	11
	x ' x x x ' x x ' x	10
	(x x ' x x ' x)*	7
(4)	x x x ' x x x x ' x x	11
	x ' x x ' x x x x x x ' x x	14
(5)	x ' x x x ' x x / ' x x	11
	x x x ' x x x ' x x ' x / x ' x	15
(6)	x ' x x (x) x x ' x (x)	8-10
	x x ' x x x ' x	8
	(x x ' x x x ' x x ' x)*	11
(7)	x x ' x ' x x x ' x	10
	' x x x ' x x ' x x x	11
	(x x ' x x ' x x x)*	9
	x x ' x x ' x x x)*	9

*The alternative line division presented in parentheses of oikos XXIV follows the punctuation of T. In the reconstruction, the line division of the Greek oikoi was used as a model.

Line-by-line comparison of oikoi I and XXIV in the Greek text

(1)	' x x x x ' x	7 syllables
	' x ' x x ' x	
(2)	x x ' x x ' x	7
	x x ' x x ' x	
(3)	x ' x x x ' x x ' x	10
	x ' x x x ' x x ' x	
(4)	x x x x x ' x x '	9
	x x ' x x ' x x '	
(5)	x x ' x x x x x ' / ' x x	9+3
	x x ' x ' x x x ' / ' x x	
(6)	x ' x x x ' x x	8
	x x x ' x ' x x	
(7)	x ' x x x ' x ' x	9
	x ' x x x x x ' x	

On the basis of the metrical analysis of the individual stanzas, a metrical abstraction of the Greek text of oikoi I can XXIV can be made, using (.) to indicate optionally accented metrical positions:

(1)	' x . x x ' x	7
(2)	x x ' x x ' x	7
(3)	x ' x x x ' x x ' x	10
(4)	x x . x x ' x x '	9
(5)	x x ' x . x x x ' / ' x x	9+3
(6)	x . x . x ' x x	8
(7)	x ' x x x . x ' x	

No such abstraction is possible for the Slavic stanzas unless one introduces a new convention for symbolizing "optional (accented or unaccented) syllables." In other words, the Slavic text is found to have dispensed with both isosyllabism and homotony, which are the two dimensions of Byzantine meters. This leads us to conclude that the Slavic oikoi lack metrical regularity as it is understood in the Byzantine poetic. The observations that line (1) of oikos XXIV of the Slavic text can be viewed as a catalectic variation of the corresponding line, or that lines (2) are, in the reading of T, isosyllabic (though not homotonous) do not affect our general conclusion.

Turning to consider parallelism, first in the chairetismoi, we find that parallel word boundaries occur (i.e., qualify as caesurae) as a concomitant of anaphoric repetition in lines (1,2) and (11,12). Parallelism of stress distribution occurs in the same two pairs of lines, also as a consequence of anaphor. There appear to be no other indicators of metrical parallelism in these twelve lines.

In the prooemium, a metrical scheme of the Slavic texts shows that the second cola (words) of lines (1,2) are completely metrically parallel. In lines (4,5), cola one and two combined are also metrically parallel. (There is a much greater degree of parallelism if we consider syllable number only, as can be seen from the syllable counts given at the right of the metrical scheme, including near-isosyllabism of the periods³⁶ as well as the isosyllabism of cola. However, syllabic parallelism here and in the chairetismoi would not qualify as metrical parallelism in the sense established by the Greek texts

³⁶The metrical significance, if any, of the isosyllabism of large stanzaic segments remains unclear. See in this connection Jakobson's striking observations on the syllabic structure in the prayers of the *Fragmentum Liturgiarii Sinaiticum* ("The Slavic Response," p. 258) and the discussion of number symbolism in Byzantine hymns in E. Benz, H. Thurn

Metrical parallelism in the Slavic text of the prooemium

(1)	x ' x x x x x ' x x ' x x x	44	$\left. \begin{array}{l} 5+4+5=14 \\ 5+4+6=1 \end{array} \right\}$	29
(2)	' x x ' x x x ' x x x x ' x x			
(3)	x x ' x x x ' x ' x x x ' x x	41	$\left. \begin{array}{l} 6+4+5=15 \\ 5+3+5=13 \end{array} \right\}$	28
(4)	x ' x ' x x ' x x x x ' x			
(5)	x x x ' x x ' x x x '	41	$\left. \begin{array}{l} 6+2+3=11 \\ 4+4+11=1 \end{array} \right\}$	28
(6)	x x ' x ' x x x x ' x x x ' x x x			

The preceding survey of the prooemium, two stanzas and one set of chairetismoi (plus data on five other stanzas) in the Slavic Akathistos reveals no striking convergence of metrical correspondences, comparable to, for example, the syllabic correspondences of the hirmos Zemĭnŭ kŭto. Along with perfect or near-perfect metrical matches in some lines--oikos I (1), oikos XXIV (1) and (3) and chairetismos I (9)--there are other lines which are quite poor, such as oikos I (4), oikos XXIV (5) or chairetismos I (1). Nor does the accent distribution in the Slavic text, when examined apart from the Greek model, give any indication of metrical regularity. The two cases of metrical parallelism in the chairetismoi are due to anaphora; the two cases in the prooemium can be considered coincidental.

and C. Floros, Das Buch der heiligen Gesänge der Ostkirche (Hamburg, 1962), 59-60.

Although the results of this analysis appear to be entirely negative with regard to a hypothesis of metrical adaptation, it must be kept in mind that line-by-line metrical analysis represents only one approach to the problem. The ramifications introduced by the existence of textual variants are discussed in Chapter IV. Only a small percentage of the variants appears to fall in the category of metrically motivated paraphrase. However, neither an analysis of the optimal reconstruction of the translation nor of textual variants can permit us to conclude that the translation of the Akathistos is metrically tantamount to prose. This can only be done on the basis of a comparative statistical study of accentual distribution in texts whose translation sources are, respectively, poetry and prose. Thus the question of metrical adaptation still awaits a definitive answer.

The main observations made in this chapter can be summarized as follows.

1. There are no known texts of Slavic translated hymns where full syllabo-accentual identity to the Greek original has been achieved for the length of an entire stanza. Furthermore, the known texts where such identity occurs for the length of an entire line are literal translations, and it is highly probable that the metrical identity is accidental.

2. There are some known cases of paraphrase which are characterized by closer metrical correspondence to the original than would have been obtained in a literal translation. Such cases have legitimately been cited as evidence for metrical adaptation; however, their number is exceedingly small, which inclines one to suppose that fidelity to the word (including word order) was valued above metrical fidelity. It is of course also a possibility that while semantic accuracy was a universal desideratum among translators, only a few who were especially concerned with the singing of their texts were cognizant of a need for metrical adaptation and resorted to paraphrase where this could be done without distorting the meaning of the text.

3. It appears that in those texts of the Hirmologion which show marked metrical correspondence to their originals as well as containing metrically motivated paraphrase, the syllable number per line is approximated more closely than the syllabo-accentual metrical pattern. This raises some interesting musicological questions.

4. On the basis of a close comparative analysis of two stanzas from the Kontakarion, Levy has shown that both the translator and the musician can be seen "to have prepared individual lines so that the correspondence would exist." However, in a few cases "the translator supplied an adjustable line" but the musician did not take advantage of the adjustment. In a few other cases, the line that the translator supplied was not amenable to adjustment by the musician. It appears from Levy's analysis that the metrical adjustment of the text as well as a subsequent musical adjustment was an optional, not an obligatory, practice in the preparation of the Slavic translations and musical notation of the melismatic chants.

5. In the Akathistos, a very high proportion of lines in the translation is found to have the same number of accents as the corresponding lines of the original. Høeg hypothesized that such correspondence might reflect a significant aspect of the Byzantine text-music relationship. It must be pointed out, however, that this could also be simply a consequence of word-for-word translation. The question is, was word-for-word translation motivated primarily by an attitude of piety vis-à-vis the meaning of the hymns, with the number of accents a mere by-product, or did a requirement to maintain the accent number for musical purposes provide an additional impetus for word-for-word translation.

6. Analysis of metrical correspondences in the Slavic and Greek texts of the Akathistos reveals no metrical adaptation, but this evidence needs to be augmented by extending the comparison to a sample of prose.

IV. TEXTUAL VARIANTS AND POETIC STRUCTURE

In this chapter the usual textological procedures are complemented by the application of poetic criteria. In particular, certain types of textual variants are subjected to a metrical analysis within their respective line (or colon) and compared to the metrical pattern of the Greek line of which the Slavic text is a translation. This inquiry is a step in the process of applying in extenso Jakobson's precept that poetic analysis of works that are available only in younger manuscript copies with the original or autograph not extant (the typical situation in every literary tradition transmitted in manuscript) can only be properly performed after an authentic reading or Ur-text (proto-text) has been achieved by reconstruction.¹ Although the comparative method in textology, as in historical linguistics, does not enable us to meet the goal of reconstructing the 'real' original, which remains a methodological ideal, many errors and dialectal innovations can be identified and eliminated and archaic features proper to the period and place of the composition of the original restored.

1. The Methodology of Textual Reconstruction

One of the greatest methodological problems in reconstruction is posed by the existence of contemporary stylistic variants, one of which is younger or more informal or colloquial, the other older or more formal. An example in Old Church Slavonic that bears directly on our inquiry is the existence in the canonical texts of full and contracted forms of compound adjectives.² The same picture is presented by our

¹R. Jakobson, "Zametka o drevne-bolgarskom stixosloženii," p. 354.

²Cf. N. Van Wijk, Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache (Berlin-Leipzig, 1931), p. 227.

oldest manuscript of the Akathistos, the Tipografskij Ustav, which being an East Slavic text, preserves numerous uncontracted forms as well. In reconstructing we are forced to ask whether to reconstruct all forms as uncontracted (archaic, formal style), viewing the contracted forms as later textual accretions, or to assume instead that the original translator selected alternately uncontracted and contracted forms. (The same issue arises for a later period in connection with the jers.) This question becomes important in assessing the metrical properties of the translation. Unfortunately, there is no general criterion on which to base such decisions, and one must proceed to deal with each case on its own merits, keeping in mind the unresolved alternative possibilities.

A different kind of problem is posed by the lack of easily accessible and exhaustive information for the period of Old Church Slavonic texts and subsequent lexical dialectisms. Until recently to consult the literature on a particular variant pair, such as pastyrjĭ/pastuxŭ for ποιμήν found in our texts, one had to sift through a number of articles and dictionaries (from Jagić to L'vov and from Miklosich or Sreznevskij to Sadnik and Aitzetmüller) without assurance of finding the desired information. The publication of the Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenicae does not entirely eliminate the problem, because the essential difficulty is not just due to the fact that the information is dispersed among various sources. Rather, it is just one of the aspects of the fragmentary and inferential nature of historical linguistic data and the fact that labels applied to lexical items, such as 'archaic,' 'Cyrillo-Methodian,' or 'regional' are inferences made on the basis of two kinds of information: (1) the age and place of origin of the mss. that contain the word (as contrasted with the ms. distribution of its opposite number), and (2) the occurrence of the word in the modern Slavic languages. However, the nature of inferences that may properly be made from such facts, when available, is ultimately

in dispute.³ Even manuscripts that belong to the same period and region (and even different passages in the same manuscript) may display translation variants, as shown, for example, by L. P. Žukovskaja.⁴

Even more problematic than the dialectal indeterminacy of lexical items is the lack of direct information about the accent of words. The position of accents, from the earliest historical period, which is represented by the Old Church Slavonic canon of texts, up to the very last two centuries must (with the exception of a few relatively late textual data) be established by reconstruction based on the comparison of the contemporary Slavic languages. As might be expected under the circumstances, there are many forms for which it is impossible to reconstruct a single accentuation because the comparative data are contradictory. Another complication arises when a particular word or an entire grammatical category does not survive into the modern period or does so in only one or a few of the modern languages, as, for example, the Aorist.

From this it follows that in any metrical analysis of a work from one of the early Slavic periods, whether it be based on an Old Church Slavonic text, a younger Church Slavonic text, or a reconstruction of an archaic original from several different Church Slavonic texts, there will be words for which either alternative accentuations must be admitted (when forms from contemporary languages point to different antecedents) or only

³See for example the discussion on the determination of 'Cyrillo-Methodian' vocabulary on the basis of occurrence in younger texts in A. S. L'vov, "Kakŭv trjabva da bŭde krŭgŭt ot pametnici (s texnite xronologiĉeski i lokalni granici), kojto sledva da se privliĉa za vŭzstanovjavane na ezika ot kirilo-metodievskija period?" Slavjanska Filologija I (Sofia, 1963), 11.

⁴L. P. Žukovskaja, "O nekotoryx problemax istorii russkogo literaturnogo jazyka drevnejšego perioda," Voprosy jazykoznanija No. 5 (1972) 62-76, esp. pp. 70-71.

tentative accentuation can be assigned (when only information from a single language family is available). In either case, no clear conclusions concerning metrical correspondence or metrical adaptation can be reached. In the metrical analyses of Section 4 of this chapter, an attempt will be made to indicate the areas of uncertainty. In some cases, alternative analyses will be presented.

Another aspect of the accentological problem that must be mentioned here has, again (as in the cases involving sound change), to do with dialectal and/or chronological differences. It must be considered as a possibility that some of the variants observed in the manuscripts could have arisen in response to dialectal accent differences. In other words, metrical adaptation could have taken place not only at the time of the original translation or neumatation, but also in successive redactions in the different Slavic-speaking regions, for example, in the East Slavic Hirmologia and Kontakaria. At this time we can do no more than raise the issue, since the complexity and uncertainty of the problem precludes even a tentative solution.

2. Time and Place of the Slavic Translation

It has been assumed for the purpose of reconstructing a prototext that the translation of the Akathistos is contemporary with that of the Hirmologion, in other words, that it originated no later than the first half of the tenth century. The place of translation is assumed to have been Bulgaria. These assumptions about time and place of translation are not foregone conclusions, since it has been argued that the kontakia may have been transmitted on East Slavic soil in the tenth or eleventh century directly from Byzantium without South Slavic mediation. Such a hypothesis was first broached by Erwin Koschmieder, who eventually extended this assumption to the entire body of liturgical sung chant.⁵ The key part of the

⁵See especially Koschmieder, "Zur Herkunft der slavischen Krjuki-Notation," Festschrift für Dmytro Čyževs'kyj zum

argumentation is that not a single South Slavic manuscript with musical notation survives from the Old Church Slavonic period, whereas there are eleventh-century East Slavic mss. with notation. The second part of Koschmieder's argument is that Cyril and Methodius celebrated the liturgy using the Latin "lectio solemnis," which he infers from the ekphonic notation of the Kiev Folia. The third part of the case rests on the quality of translation Koschmieder observed in his examination of the Novgorod Hirmologion Fragments, in which the rather large number of translation errors is presumed to show that the translation was not made by the hand of Cyril and Methodius or under their supervision. Koschmieder's evidence and argumentation has been reviewed by Felix Keller in his study of the Christmas Kontakion.⁶ It should be noted that while Koschmieder speaks about translation with regard to the Novgorod Hirmologion in his other work he used the more general word "transmission" (Übertragung) and focuses on the transmission of neumatized books.

Keller in his study proposes a set of hypotheses that are both more limited than the proposals of Koschmieder and also more inclusive. He bases his conclusion on an extensive and detailed study of twenty-five examples of the Christmas Kontakion and its prosomoia with texts drawn from close to thirty Slavic manuscripts and twice as many Greek manuscripts. Keller's first proposal is that the melismatic notation of the East Slavic kontakaria was not transmitted via the South Slavs but adapted by the East Slavs directly from the Byzantines.⁷ His second observation is that variations from the East Slavic recensions with

60. Geburtstag (Berlin, 1954), 146-152; "Wie haben Kyrill und Method zelebriert?" Anfänge der slavischen Musik (Bratislava, 1966), 7-22; and Die ältesten Novgoroder Hirmologienfragmente I-III (Munich, 1952-1958) (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse, N.F. XXXV, XXXVI, XLV).

⁶Keller, Die russisch-kirchenslavische Fassung des Weihnachtskontakions und seiner Prosomoia (Bern) 1977. See especially pp. 7-11.

⁷Keller, pp. 189-190, 203.

regard to structure (Aufbau), line segmentation, and notation indicate that a development took place within the transmission of the kontakia among the Slavs. These two points are limited to the melismatic kontakarian genre.

Keller's third proposal, which is the only one with which I take issue (below) is that the translations of the kontakia likewise originated in the East Slavic area. To test this hypothesis, Keller makes a detailed examination of a set of lexical items from the Christmas Kontakion cycle to determine whether they are attested in Old Church Slavonic and whether that is in another form, or only in East Slavic or later South Slavic manuscripts.⁸ The judgment about this is made on the basis of information drawn from the dictionaries of Sadnik and Aitzetmüller, Miklosich, Sreznevskij, and the Czechoslovak Academy's Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenicae (1976 available through prosešti). Keller's conclusion is that the texts he has examined are unlikely to have been translated in the early South Slavic period. An argument for this conclusion is that the Slavic texts show considerable divergences both in the segmentation of the cola and in the variant translations, which are shown to be based on different Greek textual sources.⁹ As supporting evidence, Keller adduces the fact that in his sample he has found a number of words and word forms not attested in the Old Church Slavonic canon, but only in East Slavic or later South Slavic texts.

In evaluating Keller's conclusion, it is important to note that it is based entirely on inferential argumentation, not on direct evidence. Since the conclusion makes a large claim about the presumed history of South Slavic and East Slavic liturgy, other explanations of the evidence on which the inferences are based must be considered and the relative probability weighed. This Keller has not done. For example, the first type of evidence--the variety in line segmentation and lexical

⁸Keller, p. 191.

⁹Keller, pp. 202-3.

composition--could well be argued to mean that there existed an early South Slavic translation that was revised with reference to different Greek texts either on South Slavic soil or by East Slavic compilers. To assume that divergences in segmentation of cola and variant translations could only have arisen in translations and copies made by East Slavs seems to be an unfounded speculation.

As for the evidence used in the second part of Keller's argument, namely that some of the lexical items in the Slavic kontakarian texts are not found in Old Church Slavonic canonical manuscript sources, this appears to me to be unconvincing for the following reason. The Old Church Slavonic textual canon is relatively small. This means that the fact that a word is not attested in any of the extant Old Church Slavonic manuscripts cannot be taken to prove that the word did not exist in the language or usage of the South Slavic area of the old period. All the more so, it begs the question to argue that words found in manuscripts consisting of liturgical hymns (the kontakaria) that are not attested in manuscripts that consist of texts of different genres, namely of gospel pericopes, the Acts, epistle psalms, and some sermons and saints' lives (the Old Church Slavonic canon) must therefore have been translated in a different linguistic period and area. It is a given that the lexicon of the hymns, which by their very nature contain many concepts and images that are different from those in the extant Old Church Slavonic manuscripts, would not overlap with the Old Church Slavonic lexicon entirely. The kontakia are akin to Byzantine patristic theological treatises or sermons, with their proliferation of theological concepts, and hence a specific lexicon. One would, therefore, a priori expect to find in the hymns many words and forms that are not attested in the Old Church Slavonic canon, which differs by its content and cultural origin. Besides the conceptual differences, the texts of the liturgical hymns are also different from the majority of the Old Church Slavonic texts by virtue of the stylistic differences both with regard to their poetic form and their

figurative language. Here again, the kontakia would be similar only to the sermons but not to the other kinds of texts preserved in Old Church Slavonic manuscripts. Thus on the grounds of genre alone, the determination of the time and place of the origins of the hymnic translations on the basis of lexical divergence rests on problematic evidence.

There is an additional methodological problem with using lexical variation to establish the place of origin of a translation. Even in those cases in which it is possible to determine that a given lexical item is East Slavic, it remains to be established whether the usage represents the prototranslation or the substitution of an East Slavic variant for an original South Slavic counterpart by an East Slavic scribe. Indeed, L. P. Žukovskaja, whom Keller cites in support of his methodology of determining the origin of the kontakia translations on the basis of lexicographic evidence, says as much: "Old Slavic scribes, including Old Russian ones, dealt freely with the lexicon of the originals they were copying, and replaced with their own dialect words or with more established words of the literary language the lexicon even of liturgical monuments, whose texts, it is mistakenly thought, should have been treated with greater piety by the scribes."¹⁰ The difficulties of using lexical criteria for establishing origin of translation (as opposed to regional recensions) has been discussed by Western as well as Soviet scholars in connection with the translation of the Izbornik of 1076.¹¹

To summarize, my assessment of Keller's hypothesis that the translations of the kontakia are East Slavic in origin is that it rests on inconclusive evidence and methodologically

¹⁰Žukovskaja, "O nekotoryx problemax istorii russkogo literaturnogo jazyka drevnejšego perioda," Voprosy jazykoznanija (1972), No. 5, p. 73.

¹¹See the literature review in N. A. Meščerskiĭ, Istočniki i sostav drevnej slavjano-ruskoj perevodnoj pis'mennosti IX-XI vekov (Leningrad, 1978), pp. 24-25.

indeterminate argumentation and that the question about the origin of the translations of the kontakia remains open. In addition to the critique of evidence and argumentation, I would also like to raise a general speculative question about Bulgarian liturgical practice that to me seems to lend considerable weight to the opposing hypothesis of a South Slavic origin of the translations of the liturgical hymns. The question is why the Bulgarians during the "Golden Age" of their empire would have failed to translate the hymns, maintaining for more than a century a liturgical order that was so highly limited in comparison to that of their Byzantine neighbors, while proceeding to translate theological and didactic works. Such a restricted state of the Bulgarian liturgy seems highly improbable. In all their discussion, both Keller and Koschmieder speak of two alternatives--that liturgical hymns were translated in the Cyrillo-Methodian period (i.e., in the ninth century) or that they were translated in the (presumably late) tenth and the eleventh century after the establishment of Christianity by the East Slavs. Nowhere is the question of Bulgarian liturgy of the tenth century considered. It would to me appear more plausible that in the period of the disciples of Methodius and during the reign of Simeon (893-927) the service books containing hymns would have been translated, whether equipped with neumes or not. This speculation does not exclude the possibility that the kontakaria as discrete books originated in the East Slavic ecclesiastical centers, as Keller proposes, and that some of the kontakia may thus have been translated for the first time directly into East rather than South Slavic. However, it is far from clear what methods would be sufficient to establish the time and place of the origin of the translation of the hymns as part of the liturgical order. In any case, it is important to keep distinct the question of the time and place of translation from the questions raised by Koschmieder, which has to do primarily with the nature of liturgical celebration by the Slavic Apostles, on the one hand, and the

time and place of the introduction of musical notation, on the other.¹²

My assumption about the time and place of the translation of the Akathistos Hymn rests on inferences about its role in liturgy. In Byzantine liturgical practice, the Akathistos was sung on a major feast day and was also an important hymn of thanksgiving in the history of Constantinople. In the Preface to his transcription of the music of the Akathistos, Egon Wellesz stated: "Byzantine piety gave the Akathistos hymn the foremost place in Mariological devotion and the hymn holds this place until the present day." The thematic composition of the Akathistos points to its function as part of the liturgical observance of the feast of the Annunciation, a part of the church year that directs the attention of the worshipping community to the event of Christ's Incarnation in salvation history. This theological and dogmatic content would have made it of importance in the introduction of the liturgy to the Slavs. For this reason I believe it was very likely to have been translated not later than the beginning of the tenth century, when a full complement of liturgical service books would have been prepared in Bulgaria.

3. Typology of Variants

The types of variants observed in the Slavic texts can be grouped into four categories: textological, grammatical, other linguistic, and poetic-accidental.¹³ An assumption

¹²E. Koschmieder, "Ein Blick auf die Geschichte der altslavischen Musik," Byzantino-Slavica 31 (1970-71), pp. 13-14, 26-28.

¹³The term textological is here used in the narrow sense of 'having to do with the process of making copies from manuscripts,' including the use of mss. as sources of translation. In a broader sense, textology as the study of texts incorporates the other three categories, as well. Cf. D. S. Lixačev, Tekstologija (Moscow, 1962), p. 166 et passim. A more fully motivated typology of textual errors is outlined in K. H. Meyer's Fehlübersetzungen im Codex Suprasliensis, Altkirchen-slavische Studien I, Schrifter der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft XV-XVI (Halle/Saale, 1939), p. 69.

underlying the fourth category is that any variant that does not have a clear unambiguous explanation in textological or obligatory linguistic terms is potentially a product of poetic values at work. The decision about whether this is or is not the case must be reached separately for each variant assigned to the fourth category. An attempt at a complete list of categories follows.

Textological Variant Types

I. Errors

A. Translation errors

B. Scribal errors

Both A and B may occur in the form of one or a sequence of the following types of errors:

- *1. Graphic errors
 - a. Misreading of a letter
 - b. Problems introduced by sound change; i.e., failure to cope with cases of graphic overdifferentiation due to phonological merger
- *2. Errors caused by miscomprehension (especially in the process of translation)
- 3. Errors made under the influence of phonological, grammatical or semantic context
- 4. Errors made under the influence of formulas (epithets, topoi)

II. Scribal emendation

- *A. Variants in the Greek texts used as sources for correction of successive Slavic recensions
- *B. Erroneous emendation in cases of miscomprehension of a model Slavic text (may be influenced by various of the factors listed above under 'errors')
- C. Attempts to emend earlier errors

*An explanation of this use of the asterisk appears on page 82.

Grammatical Variant Types

The difference between variants consists of a difference in one or more of the following grammatical features:

1. Part of speech
2. Tense; aspect
3. Voice (passive/active)
4. Number
5. Finite verb form/participle
6. Transitive/intransitive verb
7. Person
8. Animate/Inanimate
9. Case
10. Gender
11. Definite/indefinite
12. Morphology
 - a. Inflection
 - b. Derivation
13. Agreement; government
14. Word order
15. Other syntactic features

Other Linguistic Variant Types

- A. Synonym
- B. Neologism
- C. Loanword
- D. Calque
- *E. Archaism/innovation
- *F. Dialectical lexical item
- G. Free variants (e.g., derivations)
- H. Extra word (e.g., periphrasis)

Poetic/Accidental Variant Types

- α Number of syllables in the line
- β Accent difference in metrical correspondence due to
 1. difference in metrical correspondence due to accent position
 2. extra stress in Slavic
- γ Paregmenon (presence/absence)

- δ Polyphton (presence/absence)
- ε Sound repetition (presence/absence)
- ζ Semantic trope (presence/absence)
- η Parallelism (presence/absence)
- θ Repetition of alliterative syllables avoided
- ι Repetition of same grammatical structure avoided
- κ Repetition of same word avoided
- λ Echo of Greek

There are some additional, overlapping types:

- + Variant resulting from obligatory grammatical features
- T Improvement in translation
- T₁ Modification in translation (reinterpretation)
- 'T' Change in sense--probably a post-translation emendation
- ? Uncertain

The preceding types are not to be interpreted as mutually exclusive categories with the following exception. The assignment of a variant to one of the textological or "other linguistic" categories marked with an asterisk or its designation as + "obligatory grammatical" precludes its assignment to any category in group four. In other words, items involving errors, obligatory grammatical rules, or features exclusive to a particular linguistic period or area are incompatible with the notion of purposeful poetic selection.

There are some instances in our texts that are not variants sensu stricto but rather deviations from the Greek. These are the cases where all the extant Slavic manuscripts depart from literal translation or have an outright error. All these cases fall into one or more of the categories established for variants.

These categories were established in the course of an analysis of all variants. This analysis is not presented here in full. It belongs, rather, in a critical edition of the texts. In this study only selected examples in categories α through λ are discussed.

4. Metrical Analysis of Variants

When subjected to metrical analysis, textual variants ideally fall into the following categories, with the last category in each of the first three paired oppositions (i.e., 2.0, 2.2, 2.22) defining (including) the subsequent categories.

- 1.0 The variants do not involve a metrical difference.
- 2.0 The variants involve a metrical difference (i.e., one is in a metrically different relation to the Greek than the other).
- 2.1 The variants appear to have a conventional textological or linguistic explanation (e.g., variant Greek model; graphic scribal error, such as haplography; misreading of the Greek; substitution of a younger form in a younger ms.; etc.).
- 2.2 The variants do not appear to have a conventional textological explanation, or only a doubtful one. (If a textological explanation is not certain, but is possible, the weight of metrical considerations is reduced. Non-metrical explanations have been favored as a matter of principle in this study to avoid weighting the metrical evidence with irrelevant cases.)
- 2.21 Neither variant is metrically measurably closer to the Greek model than the other variant. ('Measurably' is defined as 'by at least one less unmatched syllable, schematically represented by o.')
- 2.22 One of the variants is metrically measurably closer to the Greek model than the other variant.
- 2.221 The variants do not differ in syllable count for the line.
- 2.222 The variants differ in syllable count for the line.
- 2.2221 The metrically closer variant is less close to the Greek model in the syllable count than is the metrically more distant variant.
- 2.2222 The metrically closer variant is also closer in syllable count.

- 2.223 Neither of the variants presents a departure from literal translation.
- 2.224 One of the variants presents a departure from literal translation.
- 2.2241 The metrically more distant variant presents a departure from literal translation. (See example XI, Chapter 5.)
- 2.2242 The metrically closer variant presents a departure from literal translation.
- 2.223 One of the variants is metrically identical with the Greek in all or part of the line (i.e., at least one entire word), whereas the other variant is not.

Only 2.22 and subsequent categories are relevant in the search for evidence of metrical adaptation by the translator. Nor does 2.22 by itself, as here formulated, make possible a decision whether metrical adaptation is or is not indicated. To say that one variant is metrically closer to the original than another is merely to make an analytical observation. The best potential evidence on metrical adaptation by the translator is to be sought in variants that fall into categories 2.2242 and 2.223, the latter because they have the felicity of offering a perfect match, are relatively rare, and--in heavy concentration--would be highly indicative of metrical adaptation; the former because they are the only type in which the possibility of metrical agreement as an accidental by-product of a literal translation is eliminated.¹⁴

Although the hierarchy of variant categories outlined above provides an ideal typology separating variants according to whether they are or are not metrically interesting, when faced with actual cases, decision is often difficult. In particular, as can be seen in examples analyzed below, it is often difficult to decide--and impossible to establish categorically--whether a particular variant involving a metrical difference can be explained on textological or linguistic

¹⁴Cf. Chapter III.

grounds or whether it cannot be explained in those ways and is therefore metrically interesting.

Another difficulty inheres in our procedures for metrical comparison and measurement of metrical correspondence. (See explanation of the procedure in Chapter III, Section 2.) Particular aspects of this difficulty are discussed in the paragraphs for those variant lines in the analysis of which they are disclosed. (See analyses of V (ch. 4), (ch. 5); VI (4).)

For these reasons, rather than presenting only the clear cases falling under categories 2.2242 (marked by an asterisk in the right-hand margins) and 2.23, a large number of uncertain cases is also analyzed in detail enabling the reader to survey the entire range of potential evidence on the role of metrical matching in the translation of the Akathistos.

Let us follow a procedure used earlier, presenting a close analysis of an entire passage to serve as an illustration of the analytic method, with a more selective survey of the remaining variants to follow. The passage chosen for close analysis consists of the second half of stanza XV, lines (4), (5), (6), and (7).

In the presentation of variants in the following pages, graphic errors as well as the phonological peculiarities of each ms. have been removed except in those cases where they resulted in an ambiguous grammatical form, which is then discussed in the commentary. The "archaization" was performed in part because otherwise the Macedonian text, K, with its liberal exchanges of juses, jers, and other vowel-letters, is unnecessarily hard to read, and, in part, because it facilitates the comparison without affecting its accuracy. The exact ms. appearance of variants can in most cases be determined by consulting the text in the Appendix. Editorial addition of syllables is in all cases indicated by ().

XV (4)--(7)

Greek: (4) συγκατάβασις γὰρ θεϊκὴ
οὐ μετὰβασις δὲ τοπικὴ γέγονεν
καὶ τόκος ἐκ παρθένου
θεολήπτου ἀκούουσης ταῦτα (Χαῖρε, κτλ.)

T: (4) sŭxoždenije božije
ne přexoždenije městīnoje bystŭ
(6) i roždīstvo bystŭ
bogoprijētīny slyšēšteję sija (followed by
'Radujī sę', etc.)

K: (4) sŭxoždenije božīstvīnoje
ne s(u)mēs(tī)no bystŭ přexoždenije
(6) i roždīstvo otŭ děvy
bogoprijētīnyje slyšēšte vŭzŭpījemŭ
('Radujī sę', etc.)

Reconstruction: (4) sŭxoždenije božīstvīnoje (=K)
ne přexoždenije městīnoje bystŭ (=T)
(6) i roždīstvo otŭ děvy (=K)
bogoprijētīny slyšēšte sija

Alternative

reconstructions: (4) sŭxoždenije božije (=T)
or:
sŭxoždenije bo božije
božīstvīnoje

Metrical schemata for line (4):

Gk.	x x ' x x x	x x ' x x ' x		9
T	x x ' x x ○	○○ ' ⊗ ⊗	5:6**	8
K	x x ' x x ○	○ x ' ⊗ ⊗ ⊗	5:7	11
Re. 1	= K			
Re. 2	= T			
Re. 3	x x ' x x x	○○ ' ⊗ ⊗	4:7	9
		○ x ' ⊗ ⊗ ⊗	4:8	11

Commenting first on the non-metrical aspects of the variants of line (4), we note that neither of the Slavic readings has bo for gar. This could be scribal haplography (bo božije) and/or conscious avoidance of the stuttering effect of bo bo-. (The latter would make it a stylistically motivated departure from literalness--our category 1.) If it is the former, it would be assumed to have occurred in a text in direct line of descent for both our mss.; if the latter, it was perhaps

*Number of syllables in line.

**Ratio of unmatched to matched syllables.

introduced by the original translator. Similar haplographies/ omissions occur in X (4), XVI (4) and XIX (7).

As regards the best equivalent for θεῦκος, it is božĭstvĭnŭ, on grammatical grounds--both are adjectives of quality. Božijĭ would be the expected equivalent for the possessive genitive θεοῦ. However, one cannot categorically state that one of these equivalents is a 'literal' rendering and the other a 'deviation,' especially in view of the fact that they seem to be characteristic of their respective mss.

(cf. XIX (ch. 4): θεῦκος, T božije, K božĭstvĭnyje; and XXI (5): θεῦκόν, T božije, K božĭstvĭnomu.) A choice of one of these variants for the reconstruction would have to rely on further research on the areal distribution of the variants.

How are the variants of this line reflected in metrical correspondence? The lack of bo accounts for the non-correspondence in position -6-. If we accept the hypothesis that it was intentionally omitted, we have before us a case where euphony takes precedence over meter. If we assume it was caused by haplography, we must restore it in the reconstructed reading, thus indicating that the metrical correspondence of the 'original' (as reconstructed) was better than that of the two readings attested in manuscript.

As regards the two adjectival derivatives, it is not possible to evaluate, using our criteria of metrical correspondence, which variant is 'closer' to the Greek. Each results in four unmatched syllables. It is possible in such a case that examination of the music of a neumated ms. at this point would provide additional criteria enabling us to judge whether it was preferable in terms of adjusting text to music to have three unmatched syllables before the last ictus and two after (so T) or vice versa, two unmatched syllables before the last ictus and three after (so K). However, the Akathistos is not the ideal vehicle for such inquiry, since we lack neumated Slavic texts of the oikoi. (They exist only for the prooemia,

and these are, furthermore, of a different musical tradition than the known Greek texts of the Akathistos.)¹⁵

Metrical schemata for line (5):

Gk.	x x ' x x x	x x ' ' x x		12
T	⊗ x x ' x x ○	' ⊗ ⊗ ⊗ ' x ○	8:8	12
K	x x ' x x ○	' ⊗ ⊗ ⊗ ' x x	6:96:9	12
Re. = T				

The divergence from literalness in K involves a change in word order. This text also has a synonym sūmĕstīno where T has mĕstīnoje.¹⁶ On the face of it, the divergent variant appears to provide a closer metrical correspondence. Particularly note worthy is the fact that in K both the beginning and especially the end of the line stand metrically improved over T.¹⁷

Does this mean that the K variant represents an intentional departure from literalness to improve the meter? I believe not. The arguments against it are, in the first place, that K frequently changes word order, often without gaining metrical advantage, so that such changes may be taken to be a feature of the manuscript or recension. In the second place, the departure from word order, as well as the introduction of a

¹⁵Cf. Kenneth Levy in The Musical Quarterly (1961), p. 557, where he points out that Slavic kontakia descend from an Asmatic (choral) tradition of the melodies, while the extant Greek kontakia represent the more florid Psaltikon (soloist's book).

¹⁶Note the alternative accentual possibility mĕstīnoĕ. As L. Sadnik points out (Slavische Akzentuation I, Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 104-5), adjectives with the derivational suffix -ĭn- tend to involve different types of accentuation, with the short forms being stem-stressed but the long forms stem-stressed in some adjectives (languages), end-stressed in others, so that reconstruction of the original accentuation for any particular adjective becomes uncertain.

¹⁷Cf. Koschmieder, "Zur Bedeutung. . .," p. 9 on the invariance of cadential formulae.

synonymous gloss for τοπική, result not just in a gain (metrical) but also in a loss, namely, the loss of parallelism. In T, sūxoždenije:ne prěxoždenije are two semantically (antithesis), grammatically (paregmenon, homoeoptoton) and phonically (homoeoteleuton) parallel words in metrically equivalent positions. In the reconstructed version, městīnoje and božīstvīnoje would also contribute to the parallelism of the line (homoeoptoton, homoeoteleuton). The K reading removes both the positional parallelism (prěxoždenije is no longer under the first metrical accent) and the potential homoeoteleuton in the adjectives. Thus the hypothesis that K is metrically motivated (and hence a possible 'original' reading, with T a later literalization) is rejected. Rather, K appears to be a younger, 'modernized' reading, stemming from a tradition where other requirements (whatever they may be) took precedents over those of parallelism.

Metrical schemata for line (6):

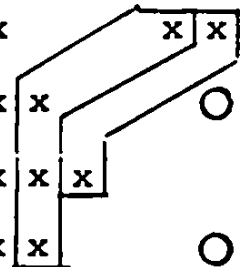
Gk.	x ' x	<u> x x ' x </u>		7
T	⊗⊗ x ' ○	○○ ' x	5:4	6
K	⊗⊗ x ' ○	<u> x x ' x </u>	3:6, 4=*	8
Re.	= K			

The variant in T appears to be a scribal error, perhaps under the influence of bystŭ in the preceding line. A conclusion that the T reading is genuinely corrupt must be derived from the fact that in its context it does not make sense or at best only a kind of garbled sense not consonant with what we know about the subject: "there was a birth of one beloved-of-God (Fem.)." Since bogoprijetīny is Genitive Singular Feminine, the object denoted by this word cannot be interpreted as Jesus, only as Mary, and she is not the one whose birth is here in question. Having established that this is an error, the

*The number of syllables in the word or colon that offers a perfect correspondence to the Greek.

question of relative metrical correspondence needs no longer be considered. The fact that the correct variant of K gives a much closer metrical correspondence than the corrupt variant is of no interest.

Metrical schemata for line (7):

Gk.	x x ' x		' x	' x		10	
T	⊗ x x ' x	x	○	' x ⊗ ⊗	⊗ ' ○	6:8	12
K	⊗ x x ' x	x x	' x	⊗ ⊗ ⊗	' x	5:10	15
Re.	⊗ x x ' x	x	○	' x ⊗	⊗ ' ○	5:8	11

The definite forms of T, slyšešteje and K bogoprijetinyje (e=e) are not uncommon reinterpretations when the Greek has an indefinite form referring to something that is definitely known such as here to the Virgin. I.e., the translator or scribe interpreted ἐκ παρθένου θεολέπτου ἀκούουσες not generally, as the Greek has it: "from a virgin beloved of God, hearing the following" but specifically: "from the Virgin beloved of God. . . ."

The K reading vŭzŭpijemŭ is to be explained by way of a reinterpretation of slyšešte. Since in the Bulgarian text ę = e, the present participle, Fem. Gen. Sg. form, is identical to the Masc. Nom. Plural, and in this line what is correctly the former came to be interpreted as the latter. As such it presumably referred to the congregation: "hearing (about) the birth from the Virgin beloved of God," and the logical further emendation was to change sija to vŭzŭpijemŭ: "we cry out."

The metrical scheme shows that variant K is metrically superior to T. The difference is in the needed two unstressed syllables provided by bogoprijetinyje and vŭzŭpijemŭ. It is not inconceivable that the function of such variants should be metrical, although note that the restoration of a short form of the participle in the reconstructed version reduces the difference. In any case, in view of the fact that an

alternative (textological) explanation is available for the variants, the metrical facts are assumed to be coincidental.¹⁸

The analytic procedures demonstrated in the discussion of the foregoing passage were applied in the pages that follow to all variants that involve a difference in metrical correspondence where (1) the variants are synonyms, or (2) the variant that departs from literalness presents a closer metrical correspondence to the Greek and cannot with absolute certainty be explained on textological or linguistic grounds. Cases of the second type are marked with an asterisk in the right margin. If a textological or linguistic explanation is strongly felt to take precedence over metrical considerations, the asterisk is enclosed in parentheses. Some cases where (3) the variant that departs from literalness does not result in a closer metrical correspondence are also included. (The illustrative device of circling unmatched syllables, etc., will be discontinued; however, the ratios cited after each OCS line serve to indicate the degree of correspondence.)

First we turn to examine all the variants of Prooemium II. Because it is the only part of the Akathistos to appear in the manuscripts supplied with neumes, the significance of any metrically interesting cases could be verified by relating the meter to the musical notation. Prooemium I was not used in this analysis because it does not appear in either T or K. The

¹⁸Note that the accentuation vŭzŭpĭjemu is also a possible one. Cf. Ch. Stang (Slavonic Accentuation, Oslo, 1957, p. 122), who shows that thematic verbs in -ie- with root-vowel -i- appear from the Slovene and Čakavian data to have been of two types--end-stressed or stem-stressed. On the other hand, certain Old Russian forms suggest a recessive stress paradigm. Thus no clear choice can be made between the paradigms vŭpijŏ / vŭpijěši, vŭpĭjŏ / vŭpĭješi and vŭpijŏ / vŭpĭješi. Russian shows no distinction of types here. It is possible that at the time of our mss. the dialectal differences were established, so that one dialect (E. Sl.) had vŭzupijémŭ and another, vŭzŭpĭjemŭ. In this passage, substitution of the latter does not significantly affect metrical correspondence.

text in the Appendix was taken from the Macedonian Triodion and the Blagoveščenskij Kondakar' (see Chapter I).

Prooemium II (2)

Gk. ὡς λυτροθεῖσα τῶν δεινῶν εὐχαριστήρια

T jako izbyvŭ otŭ zŭlŭ blagodarenija

K " izbyvŭše " " blagodarenije

Gk. x x x ' x x x ' x x x ' x x 14

T ' x x ' x x x x ' x x x ' x x 1:14, 6= 15

K ' x x ' x x x x x ' x x x ' x x 2:14, 6= 16

K changes the number of the participle izbyvŭše to agree with the change of the verb in line (6) from singular (zovŭ in T) to plural--zovemŭ. The change appears to be independent of metrical considerations. It is a reinterpretation of the original personification of the city: ἀναγράφω σοι ἡ πόλις σου by removal of the first person--vŭspisajetŭ ti gradŭ tvojŭ (so all Slavic texts, line (3)) and pluralization in lines (2), (4), and (6), with the plural verb forms presumably referring to the congregation of worshippers.

Pro. II (3)

Gk. ἀναγράφω σοι ἡ πόλις σου θεοτόκε

T vŭspisajetŭ ti gradŭ tvojŭ bogorodice

K ti vŭspisuetŭ " " "

Gk. x x ' x x x ' x x x x ' x 13

T x x ' x x x ' x ' x x x ' x x 2:13 15

K x x x ' x x ' x ' x x x ' x x 4:12 15

No metrical advantage results from the inversion in K.

Pr. II (5)

Gk. ἐκ παντοίων με κινδύνων ἐλευθέρωσον

T otŭ vŭsĕxŭ mĕ bĕdŭ svobodŭ

K " " ny " izbavi

Gk. x x ' x x x ' x x x ' x x 13

T x x x ' x x ' x x x ' 4:10 11

K x x x ' x x ' x x ' x 4:10 11

Use of a different synonym for ἐλευθέρωσον in K results in a redistribution of unaccented and unmatched syllables.

Pr. II (6)

(*)

Gk. ἵνα κράζω σοι · χαῖρε νόμφε ἀνύμφευτε

T i da zovŏ ti radujĭ sĕ nevĕsto nenevĕstĭnaja

K da zovemŭ " " " "

* da zovŏ ti " " ' "

Gk. x x ' x x ' x ' x x ' x x 13

T x x x ' x ' x x x x ' x x x 7:13 18

K x x ' x x ' x x x x ' x x x 5:14 18

* x x ' x ' x x x x ' x x x 6:13 17

The addition of i at the beginning of the line in T is probably due to scribal duplication of the last letter of the preceding word. Its motivation is not metrical, since it adds an unmatched syllable. The pluralization of the verb in K results in a metrically improved line, but as explained in the comment to line (2) above, its ultimate motivation was probably non-metrical.

*The asterisks at the right, opposite the stanza and line indication, mean that one of the variants is a non-literal translation with better metrical correspondence than the variant that is the literal translation.

The asterisk at the left (under K) means "reconstructed reading."

Thus none of the variants in Prooemium II appear to be metrically interesting.

III (1,2)

Gk. Γνώσιν ἀγνωστον γνῶναι / ἡ παρθένος ζητοῦσα

Tr* Razumǔ nerazumǐnǔ razuměti / děva ištǫšti

K " " ištǫšti / " razuměti

Gk. ' x ' x x ' x x x ' x

Tr ' x x x x ' x x x x ' x ' x

K ' x x x x ' x x ' x x ' x

x ' x 14

' x x 9:11 15

x x ' x 7:12 16

Two plausible motives for the change of word order in K suggest themselves. One is non-metrical--the desire of a later scribe to improve the passage stylistically, whether by introducing a word order more acceptable in Slavic (we do not know the actual syntactic or stylistic rules to support this conjecture) or by avoiding the repetition of three derivations from the same root (paregmenon with three members in a row in the same line). (Changes in word order in K tend to remove structural parallelisms and modify poetic figures, but whether this or something else was the stylistic intent governing the word-order changes is hard to ascertain.)

The other motive--a metrical one--would have been the opportunity for considerable improvement of the metrical correspondence by removing two syllables before the third ictus and one at the end of the line.¹⁹

*See Chapter I concerning the use of the twelfth-century Triod' Postnaja to fill the lacuna in T.

¹⁹The old accentuation of the present active participles of verbs with mobile accent paradigms in the present (e.g., iskati is not entirely clear. It appears from some of the obsolete Russian gerund forms like stéljuči, íščuči, etc. (cf. Stang, p. 138), and from various dialectal forms of such verbs, that

III (7)

(*)

Gk. ἐν φόβῳ πρὶν κραυγᾶζων οὕτως

Tr straxomĭ přěžde vŭpĭjaše sice

K sŭ straxomĭ přěžde vŭpĭje sice

Gk. x ' x ' x ' x ' x 9

Tr ' x x ' x x x ' x ' x 4:8, 2 = 11

K x ' x x ' x x x ' ' x 4:8, 2= 11

In the lines as they stand, the two divergent variants in Tr (absence of sŭ and use of the imperfect instead of a participle) subtract one syllable and add one syllable, the result being that each ms. has a line with a metrical deviation of four syllables. However, since it cannot be assumed that the two variants in Tr were introduced simultaneously, we must consider each separately. The reading with a prepositionless instrumental straxomĭ is probably older and the preposition a younger addition. The substitution of a finite verb form, here the imperfect, for a participle is common in prose translations as well as in poetic texts and probably reflects Slavic usage in contrast to the Grecism of participles. It is conceivable that particular instances of the substitution by a finite form could be metricaly motivated, as in this case, where the substitution yields an unstressed syllable to match the Greek. However, since another, non-metrical general explanation is possible, we do not insist on the metrical explanation.

Note that an alternative accentuation vŭpĭje, vŭpĭjaše is possible. Unlike in line XV (7) above, using the alternative accentuation does make a difference in the metrical correspondence of K:

Gk. x ' x ' x ' x ' x 9

Tr ' x x ' x x ' x x ' x 4:8, 2= 11

K x ' x x ' x x ' x ' x 2:9, 5= 11

the participles of these verbs had recessive accent. In the opinion of Stang, certain Štokavian verbs that contradict this are innovations.

III (ch. 4)

Gk. Χαῖρε τῶν δογμάτων αὐτοῦ τὸ κεφάλαιον

Tr Radujī sę velēnijī jego glava

K " povelēnijemū jego glava

Gk. ' x x x ' x x ' x x ' x x 13

Tr ' x x x x ' x x x ' x ' x ' 5:10 12

K ' x x x x x ' x x x x ' x ' 7:9 14

The variant in Tr. is a better match to the Greek by two syllables. The variance consists of subtraction of the prefix po- and the use of the Genitive rather than the Dative of possession. The evidence that speaks against accepting this as an outright case of metrical adaptation is the fact that the Dative of possession is used in this text (the Akathistos) in preference to the Genitive. On the other hand, we do know that povelēnije is the more common equivalent of δόγμα in the canonical texts, velēnije occurring only in the Euchologium Sinaiticum. This is not sufficient evidence to assert that velēnije is either a younger form or a dialectal variant. If the two words are synonyms, the translator would have had a clear option to choose--and a choice of the less common synonym would only enhance the hypothesis that the grounds for choice were metrical. On the other hand, if velēnije were found to be younger or regional, the metrical question is eliminated. An example in the same set of chairetismoι in which a younger form provides the poorer metrical fit appears in III (ch. 10) below.

III (ch. 8)

Gk. Χαῖρε τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων πολυθρήνητον τραῦμα

T Radujī sę bęsomū mnogoplačīnyjī strupe

K " " mnogoplačevīnyji "

Gk.	' x	x x x	' x	x x	' x x	' x	14
T	' x x x		' x x	x x	' x x x	' x	3:13,2= 15
K	' x x x		' x x	x x x	' x x x	' x	4:13,2= 16

Assuming that both variants were contemporary derivational alternatives (Sadnik and Aitzetmüller cite plačevīnū and mnogoplačīnū), the reading in T yields the better metrical correspondence. Its selection over an alternative mnogoplačevīnyjī could be an indication of metrical matching by the translator.

III (ch. 9)

Gk.	καίρε τὸ ὦς ἀόρητως γεννήσασα·					
T	Radujī se svētū neizdrečenīnū roždīšī					
K	" svēta neizdrečnenīno poroždīši					
Gk.	' x	x '	x ' x	x ' x x	11	
T	' x x x	' x	x x x	' x x	' x x	4:11 14
K	' x x x	' x	x x x	' x x	x ' x x	5:11,4= 15

The younger reading of K, which uses the personal Genitive for Accusative form of the object svēta, and the consequent change of the adjective modifying svētū into an adverb modifying poroždīši is of no consequence for the meter, and is, in any case, a linguistically and textologically motivated variant. The use of the synonym poroždīši where T has roždīšī, on the other hand, introduces an extra syllable. The result is that, although the total syllable count as well as the number of unmatched syllables for the whole line is increased by one in K, the added syllable yields a perfect metrical match on the last word of the line. (Both Greek and K have x ' x x). We have no independent criteria for adjudging one or the other variant metrically superior in such a case. Note that the same pair of synonyms is used for τεκούσα in our two Slavic texts in XIX (ch. 8), suggesting that a recensional variation is involved.

III (ch. 10)

Gk. χαῖρε τὸ πῶς οὐδένα διδάξασα

T Radujĩ sę nikakože nijedinogo naučĩši

K " " nijedinago naučivũši

Gk. ' x x ' x ' x ' x x 11

T ' x x x x ' x x x x ' x x x ' x x 6:11,4= 17

K ' x x x x ' x x x x ' x x x x ' x x 7:11 18

The younger Nominative form of the past active participle, naučivũši, adds an extra syllable and destroys the perfect metrical match of the last word in the line that we have for T. This, of course, is not an example of metrical accommodation, but rather one that supports the principle articulated by Jakobson that poetic analysis should be performed on reconstructed readings, after the younger variants have been identified and eliminated.

V (2)

*

Gk. ἡ παρθένος τὴν μήτραν

T dĕvica ložesna

K ložesna dĕvica

Gk. x x ' x x ' x 7

T ' x x x x ' 5:4 6

K x x ' ' x x 3:5 6

In this variation in word order, in which K departs from the order of the Greek, we again find a linguistic and a metrical explanation vying with each other. (For a similar case, see the commentary to III (1, 2).). The linguistic--or stylistic--reason would be the preference of the author of the text underlying K (i.e., the redaction from which it descends) for having an adjective (bogoprijetĩna, line (1)) appear adjacent to its noun head-word (ložesna). Again, we

have no grammatical and stylistic rules for OCS to which to refer such an explanation. If we turn to the metrical analysis of the variants, we find that K offers a closer metrical correspondence to the Greek than does the literal translation in T. This example then falls in category 2.2242, which we have indicated to be the most interesting type for the determination of the role of metrical influences in translation.

The K variant preserves the x x ' at the beginning of the line. The middle of the line and the end of the line are a mismatch, though in a different way from T. As regards the middle of the line, it may be conjectured (and such conjectures ought to be checked out by consulting the music) that it would be easy to sing the music of position -4-, which in Greek is unaccented, to an extension of the accented syllable of position -3- in K. Similarly, it would be easy to have the music of position -5-, which in Greek is unaccented, begin on the accented syllable dě- of K. It might be less easy to accommodate the two extra unaccented syllables of T (syllables -3- and -4- of T), unless a long melisma were available for distribution over four syllables instead of the two unaccented ones in Greek (syllables -4- and -5-).

An alternative accentuation must be considered for děvica. Both devíca and dévica exist in modern Russian. Serbo-Croatian has děvica, which points to an old acute accent on the initial syllable, if this is not an inter-dialectal loan in Serbo-Croatian. The Academy Grammar seems to indicate that stress on the suffix is normal for this type of noun,²⁰ quoting one exception--proróčica. However, there are others, for example in the semantic category of females of animals (treated separately by the Academy Grammar), e.g., kúrica, medvédica, bújvolica, verbljúdica, útica (vs. volčfca, lisfca). The decision is crucial, since děvica is a perfect syllabo-accentual match to parthénos and changes the metrical correspondence considerably.

²⁰ Grammatika russkogo jazyka I, Akademija Nauk SSSR (Moscow, 1960), 230.

Gk.	x x ' x	x ' x		7
T	x ' x	x x ' x	3:6	6
K	x x ' x	x ' x	1:6, 3=	6

In connection with this example, we may bring up a problem of reconstruction. Are we to assume that the (metrically motivated) deviation from literal word order comes from the original translator's pen (i.e., that the reading of K represents the original), and that T represents a later "correction" restoring literal word order without regard for the meter? Or is it rather that the original translator preserved literal word order and some later transcriber changed it to improve the meter?

Needless to say, such considerations must include the fact that, to judge from extant manuscripts, the stanzas of the Akathistos and other kontakia (excepting the prooemium and the first oikos) were at a somewhat later date no longer sung and may never have been supplied with neumes in the Slavic texts, since no ms. so neumated exists.²¹ If we then ask, what would have provoked concern with metrical correspondence, surely the answer is that it would have been an anticipation of the imminent task of matching the music to the text rather than purely poetic considerations, since adding or subtracting one unaccented syllable does not enhance the rhythm in this genre. Since it is the original translator who was the most likely to have been aware of the tradition of singing the entire hymn and left evidence of this by inscribing intonation formulae in the text,²² it is he who was the most likely to have been concerned with the next stage in the progress of the text, namely neumatation. Later copyists would already have been working within the Slavic tradition in which the Akathistos was read, with only the first stanza being sung.

²¹Cf. the Introduction by C. Høeg to Contacarium Ashburnhamensis, MMB Facsimilia IV (1956), 9.

²²As in the Blagoveščenskij Kondakar', cf. N. Uspenskij, "Vizantijskoe penie v Kievskoj Rusi," Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongresses (Munich, 1960), p. 648.

V (ch. 4)

Gk. Χαῖρε φυτουργὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν φύουσα·

T Radujī se nasaditelja života našego vūz(d)rastajōšti

K " saditelja životu našemu poroždīši

Gk. ' x x x ' x x ' x x ' x x 13

T ' x x x x x ' x x x x ' ' x x x x ' x x 7:13 20

K ' x x x x ' x x x x ' ' x x x ' x x 5:13 18

K is the closer metrical match in terms of total metrically matched syllables, by virtue of eliminating one unmatched syllable in each of the variants, saditelja and poroždīši. However, other poetic considerations lead us to consider the variant vuz(d)rastajōšti as primary. To wit, it preserves the metaphor of the line: "raising the husbandman of our lives," whereas K, correctly interpreting φύουσα in its other meaning, "giving birth," forfeits the metaphor.

As for saditelja, this is one of the cases that raises some doubt about the universal applicability of our procedure for matching syllables across word boundaries. When such matching is done, we can (for K) assign the last syllable of Radujī se (unmatched if the comparison is restricted to the same accentual group, i.e., to Χαῖρε) to the first syllable of the next accentual group (φυ- of φυτουργὸν), for which there is no match within its own accentual group (saditelja). This matching procedure is followed because a quick survey of the Ashburnhamensis text seems to indicate that word boundaries that are not caesurae (i.e., that are not obligatory word boundaries after a particular syllabic position) do not play a determining part with respect to musical structure. This does not categorically prove, however, that a translator would consistently match across word boundaries, even in preference to a variant which would provide a perfect match within an accentual group, as does the variant of T in this case: in accentual group two both the Greek and Slavic begin x x '.

V (ch. 5)

Gk. Χαῖρε ἄρουρα βλαστάνουσα εὐφορίαν οἰκτιροῦν.

T Radujī se nivo prozēbajōšti gobīzovanije štedrotū

K " brazdo " gobīzno "

Gk. ' x ' x x x ' x x / x x ' x

T ' x x x ' x x x ' x x x x x ' x x

K ' x x x ' x x x ' x x x x ' x x

x x ' 9+7

x ' x 4:15 11+9

x ' x 5:14 11+6

Nivo and brazdo are metrically equivalent, although brazdo is appealing on grounds of sound repetition (br-zd-pr-z-b- g-b-z- -dr-). They overlap in meaning, both being in use as equivalents of ἄρουρα, but niva more frequently so, whereas brazda is more commonly the equivalent of αὐλαξ 'furrow.'²³

As for gobīzno vs. gobīzovanije, which appear to be derivational alternatives, the latter is a better metrical match from the point of view of the entire line because its last syllable provides a match for the first syllable of the next accentual group (-je is matched with οἰκ-). Within its own accentual group, on the other hand, gobīzno has one less unmatched syllable than gobīzovanie. (See discussion of previous variant on the question of matching within and across word boundaries.) Unequivocal criteria for preferring one variant over the other for purposes of metrical correspondence are lacking in this case.

²³Cf. I. E. Sreznevskij, Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka (St. Petersburg, 1893), entries under brazda and niva.

VI (3)

Gk. ὁ σὼφρων Ἰωσήφ ἐταράχθη

T cělomodryjĩ iosifũ sũmetę sę

K cělomodrĩny " " "

K* cělomodrĩnyjĩ " " "

Gk. x ' x x x ' x x ' x 10

T x x ' x x x ' x x x ' x x 3:10 13

K x x ' x x x ' x x x ' x x 3:10 13

K* x x ' x x x x ' x x x ' x x 4:10 14

If read as it stands, the variant of K has the same accentuation as that of T. If, however, we restore the disyllabic definite suffix form to read cělomodrĩnyjĩ (K*), the K variant becomes metrically more distant from the Greek than the T variant, making the derivational form used in T a better metrical choice.

Note also that it is possible that the name Joseph was accented in the Slavic the same as in the Greek, i.e., iosífũ. The resulting metrical correspondence, while different in arrangement, yields the same ratio of matched and unmatched syllables:

Gk. x ' x x x ' x x ' x 10

T x x ' x x x x ' x x ' x x 3:10 13

K x x ' x x (x) x x ' x x ' x x 3-4:10 13-14

VI (4)

*

Gk. πρὸς τὴν ἀγαμὸν σε θεωρῶν

T přěžde děvojř tę viděvũ

K " nebračĩnř jř "

Gk.	x x	' x ' x	x x '			9
T	' x	' x x	'	' x x	4:7	9
K	' x	x ' x x	'	' x x	5:7	10
K*	' x	x ' x x x		' x x	5:7	10

The K reading of third person jō for second person tē is not the only occurrence in the Slavic texts of elimination of first and second person in favor of third person (cf. Prooemium II). It is a change rather than an error because in line (5) of this stanza the same substitution occurs in this manuscript. It is also possible, however, to read K as having the definite form nebraciŋjō with omission of the pronoun object.

As for the variant translation of the adjective ἀγαμῶν, K offers the presumably more literal reading in its adjective, which appears to be a calque. The translation děvojō represents a departure from literalness, but it is a good translation as far as conveying the meaning of ἀγαμῶν is concerned. It has the further merit of not only providing a closer metrical match but also a sound repetition: -ě(ž)d- děv-
-děv-. If we are inclined to concede our translator any skill as a practitioner of the Byzantine poetic, we should count this line, as it appears in T, as one of his minor triumphs, comparable to some of the "good Slavic" renditions in the translations of the New Testament.²⁴ The reading of K can then be explained as a later emendation in favor of a more literal reading. It is only fair to point out, however, that ἀγαμῶν forms a paregmenon with κλεψίγαμῶν in the next line, which the K reading exploits, the T reading eliminates.

The metrical analysis of this line reveals some of the conflicts created by different word and phrase accentuation rules in Greek and in Slavic. Thus while a proparoxytone

²⁴Cf., e.g., I. V. Jagić, Zum altkirchenslavischen Apostolus II, Akad. der Wiss. in Wien, Sitzungsberichten, 193, No. 1 (Vienna, 1919), pp. 82-3, 103; also O. Grünenthal, "Die Übersetzungstechnik der altkirchenslavischen Evangelienübersetzung," AfslPh XXXII (1911), 43.

followed by an enclitic receives a second accent on its last syllable (ἀγαμόν σε), the Slavic pronoun in this case is not enclitic, and presumably keeps its accent. The result is syllabic congruence (four syllables in Greek and in T) but a difference in accent distribution, even though the main words involved (ἀγαμον/děvojŕo) have the same place of accent.

It must be added that some uncertainties are introduced into our metrical analysis because the rules regarding the meter of kontakia are formulated (by Maas and Trypanis) in terms of "peculiarities of medieval Greek," and must be used in combination with the rules known for Classical Greek. As a result, some cases are not clearly covered. An example is the accentuation of πρὸς τὴν. The rules for Classical Greek give a list of proclitica which does not include πρὸς, thus it was presumably accented. On the other hand, the article τὴν is proclitic, so it was unaccented. The rule relating to this in Maas and Trypanis reads "Praepositiva (i.e., articles, relatives, prepositions, etc.) are regarded as having no accent."²⁵ The examples listed indicate that apparently any number of prepositive words may be strung together and be counted as unaccented: e.g., μέχρι γὰρ τοῦ νῦν = x x x x ' . The uncertainty is introduced by the "etc." in the definition. Presumably it means that there are no restrictions on the rule, and the conclusion is that πρὸς is unaccented. This interpretation is favored by the meter of this line which in all the clear cases has an unaccented initial syllable:
x x . x x . x x ' .

VII (1)

Gk. ἤκουσαν οἱ ποιμένες

T Slyšašę pastusi

K Slyšavŭšę pastyri

²⁵ Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica, p. 512.

Gk.	' x x x x ' x		7
T	' x x x x '	1:6	6
K	' x x x x x '	2:6	7

T is consistent in using pastuxŭ as a gloss for ποιμήν, and K, pastyrjĭ. According to Jagić,²⁶ the latter is preferred by older texts, but Zographensis does have two occurrences of pastuxŭ. It also occurs in Supraliensis and Savvina kniga, and in the latter pastyrjĭ does not occur. According to Vasmer,²⁷ pastuxŭ also occurs in Ostromir. If we could designate it as prevalent in the East, including East Bulgarian, the question would still remain, which variant would have appeared in the original Akathistos, whose translation very likely postdated the earliest period and may have originated in Bulgaria.²⁸

VII (4)

Gk. καὶ δραμόντες ὡς πρὸς ποιμένα

T i tekŭše kŭ pastuxu

K " " jako kŭ pastyrju

Gk.	x x ' x	x x x ' x		9
T	x ' x x	x x x ' x	3:7	8
K	x ' x x	' x x x x ' x	5:7	10

²⁶I. V. Jagić, Entstehungsgeschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache (Berlin, 1913), p. 290.

²⁷M. Vasmer, Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (Heidelberg, 1953).

²⁸Although modern Russian has initial stress on pástyr', the evidence of Serbo-Croatian pàstir, pastíra speaks for desinential stress. The evidence of Slovene and Bulgarian would permit reconstruction of either desinential stress or stress on the last syllable of the stem (-ýr'). Vostokov reconstructs a normalized desinential stress for all nouns in -ýrj. Cf. the discussion in V. Kiparsky, Der Wortakzent der russischen Schriftsprache (Heidelberg, 1962), pp. 182-3.

The omission of jako in T may be accounted a scribal error, and the use of pastuxŭ as against pastyrjŭ, a textual constant, probably indicating a dialectal variant (see comments on the preceding variant line). Note, however, that the omission of jako improves the metrical correspondence, thus a metrical motivation is possible.

It is not clear whether jako should be assigned a stress or not. It is possible that it was alternately accented or unaccented depending on its position in the sentence.

VII (ch. 5)

Gk. Χαῖρε ὅτι τὰ οὐράνια/συναγάλλονται τῇ γῆ

T Radujŭ sę jako nebesŭnaja/radujotŭ sę sŭ zemlŭnyimi

K " " " /sŭ zemlŭnyimi radujotŭ sę

First hemistich:

Gk.	' x		x x x x	' x x	/		9
T	' x x x	' x		x ' x x x		2:9	11
K	' x x x	' x		x ' x x x		2:9	11

Second hemistich:

Gk.	/	x x ' x x		x '			7
T		' x x x x	x x x	' x x		8:5	11
K		x x x ' x		' x x x x		7:5	10

It seems that neither variant line is metrically felicitous, particularly in the second hemistich, where there are more unmatched syllables than matched. K avoids the four extra syllables between ictus three and four only to add two more extra syllables at the end and one at the beginning of the hemistich. The relative merits and demerits of the two variants cannot be clarified without consideration of the disposition of neumes for the line. If we restore the form zemlŭnyimi in K, the correspondence is improved to 6:5 and the syllable number increased to 11.

Note that syllables have not been matched across the caesura in T. A brief survey of the treatment of caesurae in Codex Ashburnhamensis indicates that they frequently if not always are accompanied by a break in musical structure. Therefore it is probably preferable to treat the hemistichs as separate lines and not match syllables across caesurae.

VII (ch. 10)

Gk. Χαῖρε λαμπρὸν τῆς χάριτος γνώρισμα

T Radujǐ se svěťiløje blagodati sŭkazanije

K " " poznanije

Gk. ' x x ' x ' x x ' x x 11

T ' x x x ' x x x x x ' x x x ' x x 6:11 17

K ' x x x ' x x x x x ' x x ' x x 5:10 16

Sŭkazanije appears to be the most widespread equivalent for γνώρισμα (Sadnik and Aitzetmüller), although poznanije also is used (Sreznevskij). K offers a slightly better metrical correspondence--it does not have the extra syllable before the fourth ictus that T has.

VIII (3)

Gk. τῆ τοῦτου ἠκολούθησαν αἰγλη

T po tojǐ vŭslĕdovašę zari

K i tojǝ (read toję) poslĕdovav(ŭ)šĭ zari

Gk. x ' x x x ' x x ' x 10

T x ' x x ' x x x x ' 4:8, 3= 10

K x ' x x ' x x x x x ' 5:8, 3= 11

T offers a literal reading, whereas K has a participle and a conjunction at the beginning of the line. Two textological interpretations are possible. One is that the participle was introduced in a later copy, exchanges of finite forms and participles being quite common in Slavic texts. (Cf. the

reversal of participles and finite forms in lines (6) and (7) of the same stanza.) The Genitive toje is syntactically more similar to the Greek than the preposition with Locative, though the latter is probably more conventional OCS usage. The conjunction i would have been introduced subsequent to the substitution of the participle to connect it with the preceding participle in a series. Another possibility allowed for by the metrical pattern of this line is that there was a Greek variant (non-extant) with conjunction and participle (*καὶ τοῦτου κολουθήσαντες) which served as a model for "corrections" in the redaction of K. The first explanation is to be preferred to the postulation of a non-extant model.

Metrically K is somewhat inferior to T, and we conclude that since the deviation from literal translation (the participle) does not improve metrical correspondence, it was not metrically motivated; hence the textological explanation stands unchallenged. Note, however, that despite the variation in the beginning of the line, both versions have a perfect match of the first word (three syllables, x ' x). This suggests another possible explanation for the conjunction i in K, namely that it was added to improve metrical correspondence, where the Genitive alone would have resulted in non-correspondence (toje, ' x).

VIII (4)

Gk. καὶ ὡς λύχνον κρατοῦντες αὐτόν

T jako světilníkŭ drīžešte jŭ

K " světilníka " "

Gk. x x ' x x ' x x ' 8

T ' x x ' x x x x ' x ' 4:8 (& extra '), 3= 11

K ' x x ' x x x x ' x ' 4:8 " , 3= 11

Both Slavic texts fail to translate καὶ at the beginning of the line, thereby avoiding one extra unstressed syllable.

The cause for the omission could, of course, also be conventional textological. The syntax is not impaired by the omission.

Note again that there is a possibility that jako could be unaccented (cf. discussion of VI (4)).

VIII (6,7)

(*)

Gk. καὶ φθάσαντες τὸν ἀφθαστον/ἐχάρησαν αὐτῷ βοῶντες

T i postigūše nepostižimago / radovaše se vŭpijošte jemu

K i dostigošę nepostižīnago / raduęšte se vŭpijaxę

Gk. x ' x x x ' x x / 8

T x x ' x x x x x ' x x 3:8 10

K x x ' x x x x ' x x 3:8 11

Gk. x ' x x x ' x ' x 9

T ' x x x x x x ' x x ' 6:7 11

K ' x x x x x x ' x 4:7 9

K reverses the finite and participial form and in this way deviates from the Greek while maintaining translational equivalence of the whole sentence. A second deviation in K is the omission of the indirect object pronoun (Gk. αὐτῷ) at the end of the line. Undoubtedly the switching of participles and finite forms is attributable to successive scribal error and correction. One would also be justified in considering the omission of jemu in K as due to a scribal error. The omission results in a better over-all metrical correspondence, but no conclusion can be drawn that the omission was therefore intentional, because counter to such a conclusion would be the fact that the variant with the omission violates the general practice that the same number of accents appear in the Slavic text as in the Greek.

T has a departure from literalness in its inversion vŭpijošte jemu for αὐτῷ βοῶντες. A reconstruction of the literal word order yields the following metrical scheme:

* ' x x x x x ' x x ' x, which gives a better metrical correspondence (4:7) than the deviation in T; hence the deviation cannot be metrically motivated.

As alternative accentuations, vŭpíjōšte and nepostížimago must be considered. Regarding the former, see footnote 18 to XV, 7, and the discussion to III (7). Using the alternative accentuation would not affect the metrical correspondence. As for the accentuation of the second item, Kiparsky²⁹ proposes that the Russian accentuation (ne)postížímj may reflect an unattested *postížú. Our accentuation is based on the Russian form. Otherwise a present passive participle derived from postígnu could be expected to have the accent on the root vowel. The alternative accentuation would not affect metrical correspondence.

IX (6)

Gk. τοῖς δώροις θεραπεῦσαι

T darŭmi ugoditi

K " " jemu

Gk. x ' x x x ' x 7

T x x ' x x ' x 2:6, 4= 7

K x x ' x x ' x x ' 4:6, 4= (& extra ') 9

This line is presented not because of the variant in K (the addition of jemu is probably to be explained by the fact that ugoditi tends to require a Dative object),³⁰ but in order to make the observation that the use of a younger Instrumental form, which appears in both our texts, gives a different metrical pattern in the translated line than would the use of an older Instrumental form dary. Since the form darŭmi also occurs in the canonical OCS texts (Supraliensis

²⁹Kiparsky, p. 311.

³⁰Sreznevskij lists seven examples (an eighth is an asyndeton), all with dative object.

and Euchologium Sinaiticum, according to Diels), there is no reason for excluding this form from the original translation of our hymn on chronological grounds; therefore we would not be justified in reconstructing an 'original' dary on the grounds that it gives a better metrical correspondence.

A metrically better version of the K variant would have been *darŭmi jemu ugoditi (x x ' x ' x x ' x, 2:7). Failure to take advantage of this possibility suggests that the originator of this K variant was not concerned with metrical adaptation.

IX (7)

Gk. καὶ βοῆσαι τῇ εὐλογημένῃ

T i vŭzŭpiti blagodĕtĭnĕjĭ

K " " obradovanĕjĭ

Mod. " " blagoslovĕnnĕi

Gk. x x ' x x x x x ' x 10

T x x x ' x x x ' x x x 5:8 11

K x x x ' x x ' x x x x 7:7 11

M.* x x x ' x x x x ' x x x 4:9 12

(*With older ĭ restored in blagoslovĕnĭnĕi)

The terms blagodĕtĭnŭ, obradovanŭ are both most commonly used as equivalents for κεχαριτωμένος; blagoslovĕnĭnŭ is used as the most direct equivalent for εὐλογημένος. However, neither of the older texts offers the reading blagoslovĕnĭnĕjĭ. Of the two variants, T is metrically better, although the non-extant (restored modern) version would be the best metrical match of all.

IX (ch. 6)

Gk. Χαῖρε κύριον φιλάνθρωπον ἐπίδειξασα Χριστόν

T Radujĭ se gospoda ĕlovĕkoljubĭca pokazavŭši xrista

K " boga " pokazajŭštija

Gk.	' x	' x x	x ' x x /	x x ' x x		
T	' x x x	' x x	x x x ' x x	x x ' x x		
K	' x x x	' x	x x x ' x x	x x ' x x x		
					x ' 9+7	
					x ' 4:16,10=	13+7
					4:15	12+6

This line is cited in part to show that the correct reading of T offers a perfect match to the Greek in the second hemistich. This has no bearing on the issue of purposeful metrical adaptation, but rather supports the observation made in Chapter III about accidental occurrences of perfect metrical correspondence in a literal translation.

It is questionable whether the deviation boga in K improves the metrical correspondence. On the one hand it reduces the number of unmatched syllables; on the other, it eliminates a perfect match. It is most likely the result of a misread abbreviation 'ga' as 'ba.'

IX (ch. 7)

Gk.	χαῖρε ἡ τῆς βαρβάρου λυτρομένη θρησκείας		
T	Radujī se mŕnogobožīstvīnago izbavljajajōšti služenija		
K	" idolīskago " "		
Gk.	' x	x x x ' x	x x ' x
T	' x x x	x x x x ' x x x	x x ' x x
K	' x x x	x ' x x x	x x ' x x
			x ' x 14
			x ' x x 7:14 21
			x ' x x 4:14 18

It would appear that there was a problem in finding an equivalent for βαρβάρου. Our mss. offer two solutions, one

of them being a gloss of πολυθέου, the other of εἰδόλου. The solution of using the Greek word as a loan (varŭvarŭškago) was apparently rejected or ignored. Because εἰδόλου would fit the meter, one possibility is that the K variant was introduced on the basis of a Greek variant εἰδόλου (non-extant), but this is speculation. As regards the metrical fit of the variants, K eliminates three unmatched syllables and is thus superior.

IX (ch. 8)

Gk. Χαῖρε ἡ τοῦ βορβόρου ῥουμένη τῶν ἔργων

T Radujĭ se skvrĭnĭnyxŭ izbavljajŭŝti dělŭ

K " skvrĭn(ĭn)yxŭ* dělŭ izbavljajŭŝti

Gk. ' x x x x ' x x x ' x

T ' x x x ' x x x x x x ' x x

K ' x x x ' x x x ' x

x ' x 14

' x 4:13 16

x x ' x x 3:13 15

(*We restore the adjectival suffix -ĭn-, lost by haplology presumably at a date considerably later than the original translation. The contracted form of the inflectional suffix is retained, since it was a stylistic variant in the OCS textual canon. A counterargument in favor of reconstructing a full form is that in the Hirmologion such forms are uncontracted.)

The inversion in K removes repetition of the identical word (izbavljajŭŝti) in the same metrical position in parallel lines (7 and 8) which is prohibited by Byzantine canons of parallelism. In Greek the metrical position is filled by λυτρομένη and ῥουμένη. However, this may not be the stylistic motivation behind this particular change in word order. It may be that it was motivated by the desire to have the modifier skvrĭnĭnyxŭ adjacent to its headword dělŭ. (See the similar case in V (1,2).).

The inversion does make for a somewhat better metrical fit--note the elimination of three unmatched syllables in the middle of the line. However, because the inversion destroys the grammatical parallelism of this with the preceding line, it is doubtful that it could be considered a feature of the original translation.

IX (ch. 9)

Gk.₁ Χαῖρε πυρὸς προσκύνησιν σβέσασαGk.₂ " " " παύσασα

T Radujī se ognja poklanjanije ugasivŭši

K " " " sŭstavljīši

Gk. ' x x ' x ' x x ' x x 11

T ' x x x x ' x x ' x x x ' x x x 5:11, 2= 16

K ' x x x x ' x x ' x x x ' x x 4:11, 2= 15

The variants in Slavic are equivalents of Greek variants, so no metrical choice is in question. One might note that the Slavic equivalent that appears in this line for παύσασα is a metrically better fit than the Slavic equivalent for σβέσασα. Cf. IX (ch. 3) for a different equivalent of παύουσα.

IX (ch. 10)

Gk. Χαῖρε φλογὸς παθῶν ἀπαλλάττουσα

T Radujī se otŭ plameni strastii izmĕnjajōšti

K " plamene straš(ŭ)nago "

Gk. ' x x ' x ' x x ' x x 11

T ' x x x x x ' x x ' x x x x ' x x 6:11, 5= 17

K ' x x x ' x x ' x x x x x ' x x 5:11, 5= 16

T has a prepositional phrase as the indirect object of izmĕnjajōšti; K has a genitive. Furthermore, the modifier of the object is in the genitive of the noun in T, whereas it is

a genitive adjective in K. Strašīnago in K is presumably an error for strastīnago. Both grammatical forms of the object are proper with the verb in question, but the K variant offers closer grammatical parallelism to the preceding line. It may thus reflect an earlier version, with the prepositional phrase of T reflecting a later modification introducing a more common usage. Or, on the contrary, the K reading may be a later "correction" by a copyist with a penchant for literalism. Metrically the respective merits of the two variant readings are indeterminate. K reduces by two the number of unmatched unaccented syllables between ictus one and two, but increases by one the number of such syllables between ictus three and four.

X (1)

Gk. κήρυκες θεοφόροι

T propovĕdīnici bogonosivyi

K " bogonosīni

Gk.	' x x	x x ' x		7
T	x x ' x x x	x x x ' x x	5:7	12
K	x x ' x x x	x x ' x x	4:7	11

The two variants would appear to be synonymous, although Brodowska-Honowska cites Suprasliensis bogonosivyi as the calque of θεοφόρος (and similarly Sup. zlatonosivyi from χρυσσοφόρος), whereas bogonosīnyi appears in the same ms. as a free translatic of θεολόγος. K offers the metrically better variant. It is possible that the reading in T, which in the ms. is bĝonosivii, should be reconstructed as the indefinite bogonosivi indicated by the Greek. In that case T would have the same number of unmatched syllables as K (four).

X (3)

Gk. ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα

T vŭzvrativŭše se vŭ vavilonŭ

K vŭzvratiše se " "

Gk.	x ' x x	x x x x ' x		10
T	x x ' x x x	x x x ' x	1:10	11
K	x x ' x x	x x x ' x	2:9	10

The participle in T is probably to be taken as one more instance of the common type of scribal error interchanging past finite form and participle. Decisive in this respect is the fact that no other finite verbal form appears in the stanza. For this reason the fact that the T deviation introduces a better metrical correspondence is to be disregarded.

X (4)

★

Gk.	ἐκτελέσαντές σου τὸν χρησμόν
T	sŭkoničavŭše že proročĭstvo
K	" -- proročĭstvija

Gk.	x x ' x x x	x x '		9
T	x x x ' x x x	x ' x x	4:8	11
K	x x x ' x x	x ' x x x	6:7	11

Both readings fail to translate σου. The fact that T has že, suggests as one possible interpretation that the Greek text on which it was modelled read δε instead of σου, although such a variant does not survive in the Greek. Proceeding from this assumption, we would then consider that in K že was omitted either through scribal error or purposefully to avoid the sequence -še že. (For similar cases see XV (4) and XVI (4).) However, since we lack an extant Greek reading with δε, we prefer to consider že an addition in Slavic.

Metrically we observe that omission of an equivalent for σου in the translation prevents the introduction of a third accented word into the Slavic text, whereas addition of že gives a needed unaccented syllable. If this interpretation is followed, this line is an excellent example of metrical adaptation.

As regards the K variant proročĭstvija (either G.S. or N.P.), neither Sadnik and Aitzetmüller nor Sreznevskij

list such a form, but Miklosich lists it from the Šišatovac Apostle, thus it may be a later derivational synonym for the more usual proročĭstvo.

X (7)

8

Gk. μὴ εἰδότες ψάλλειν

T ne vědošta pěti

K i " "

Gk. x x ' x ' x

6

T x ' x x ' x

2:5, 2=

6

K x x ' x x ' x

1:6, 2=

7

The addition of the conjunction i at the beginning of the line improves the metrical correspondence. However, if we assume that the accentuation of the present active participle of the verb věděti was vědošta,³¹ then T is seen to have the better metrical correspondence. In fact, it is a perfect match:

Gk. x x ' x ' x

6

T x x ' x ' x

0:6, 6=

6

K x x x ' x ' x

1:6, 2=

7

XI (4)

Gk. τὰ γὰρ εἰδωλα ταύτης, Σωτήρ

T kumiri bo jeho sŭpase

K idoli " " "

³¹The evidence on the accentuation of the forms of věděti is contradictory (see Stang, Slavonic Accentuation, p. 127). There is indication from some of the modern forms (Slov. vědeti, R. védomo) that this verb had an original acute root-stress, unlike the other athematic verbs in Slavic, which appear to have had marginal end-stress. However, forms with end-stress are also attested both in texts and in the contemporary languages. Thus the possibility of an accentuation of the present participle as vědošta cannot be entirely excluded.

Gk.	x x ' x x	' x	x '		9
T	x ' x x	x '	x ' x	4:7	9
K	' x x x	x '	x ' x	6:6	9

Of the two synonymous variants, of which the one used by K is a direct loan from the Greek, the one in T gives a better metrical correspondence.

XI (5)

*

Gk. μη ἐνέγκαντά σου τὴν ἰσχὺν πέπτωκεν

T ne tripešte tvojeje krēposti padoše

K tvoje krēposti ne tripešti "

K* tvojeje " " "

Gk. x x ' x x x
 x x ' |
T x x ' x x x '
 ' x x |
K x ' ' x x
 x x ' x |
K* x x ' ' x x
 x x ' x |

' x x 12

' x x 3:10, 3= (& extra ') 13

' x x 2:11, 3= (& extra ') 12

' x x 1:12, 3= (& extra ') 13

It is not clear whether one should accept the contracted Genitive Singular form tvoje in K as an old reading (according to Diels there are several such occurrences in the canonical OCS texts) or assume that it was first introduced in the eleventh century and therefore reconstruct the full form. In either case, the inversion in K yields an improvement in metrical correspondence.

XI (ch. 1)

Gk. Χαῖρε ἀνθρώποις τῶν ἀνθρώπων

T Radujī se vūzvedenije člověkomū

K " vūzdviženije "

Gk.	' x	x ' x x	x x ' x		10
T	' x x x	x x ' x x	x ' x x	5:9	13
K	' x x x	x ' x x x	x ' x x	3:10	13

Of the two synonyms or near-synonyms used in the variant readings of this line, the one in K provides a better metrical match.

XI (ch. 4)

Gk. Κατρε τῶν εἰδώλων τὸν δόλον ἐλεγεῖσα

T Radujĭ se idolĭskoje lqkavĭstvo obliĭivŭŝi

K " idoliskyje lĭsty "

Gk.	' x	x x ' x	x ' x	x ' x x		13
T	' x x x	' x x x x	x ' x x	x x ' x x	5:13	18
K	' x x x	' x x x x	x ' x	x x ' x x	3:13	16

The use of the shorter synonymous variant lĭsty in K results in an improved metrical correspondence. (Note that in this, as in the preceding line (ch. 3), K changes the case/number of the object. Whether the new forms are intended to be Genitive Singular or Accusative Plural is impossible to tell given the Middle Bulgarian phonology, as reflected in the orthography of the manuscript.)

XI (ch. 5)

Gk. Κατρε θάλασσα ποντίσαοα/φαραῶ τὸν νοητὸν

T Radujĭ se morje potoplĭjaje/faraona myslĭnago

K " jako vŭ mori pogrŭziŝi mislĭnago faraona

* " morje potoplĭŝeje/faraona myslĭnago

Gk.	' x	' x x	x ' x x /		9
T	' x x x	' x	x x ' x	3:8	10
K	' x x x	' x x ' x	x ' x x /	6:8, 4=	13
*	' x x x	' x	x ' x x x	4:8	11

Inversion and use of the Genitive of the noun (cf. Diels on this form, which is to be interpreted as οσηγι) give no metrical advantage, unless the reduced number of syllables in K is so considered.

Note that this is one of the relatively few lines in which the consensus of mss. shows one more accent than in the Greek. In this case it occurs because the personalizing function of the Greek Masculine Plural article (unaccented) can only be conveyed in Slavic by a participle (accented).

XI (ch. 8)

Gk. Χαῖρε σκέπε τοῦ κόσμου πλατυτέρα νεφέλης

T Radujī se krove miru širīšii oblaka

K " pokrove " širīši oblakŭ

* " krove " " oblaka

Gk. ' x ' x x ' x x x ' x

T ' x x x ' x ' x x x

K ' x x x x ' x ' x ' x x

* ' x x x ' x ' x ' x x

x ' x 14

' x x 7:11,2= 15

' x x 7:11 15

' x x 6:11,2= 14

The variants are use of prefixed (K pokrove) vs. unpre-
fixed (T krove) synonyms for σκέπε and the use of a definite
form širīšii in T where no definite form is required by the
Greek or by Slavic syntax. Although a mechanical evaluation of
each variant line as a whole shows identical degrees of metrical
correspondence, the deviation in T (širīšii) is probably
incorrect and should be eliminated from the comparison. On the
other hand, the use of the disyllabic, initially stressed krove
for σκέπε provides a perfect metrical match in that accentual
group, whereas the synonym used in K introduces an extra

unstressed syllable. The variant of T, as shown emended in the reconstruction, is thus metrically superior.

XI (ch. 9)

Gk. Χαῖρε τροφή τοῦ μάννα διάδοχε

T Radujī sę pitatelīnice maññe priimalište

K " pište mañny prijemalište

Gk. ' x x ' x ' x x x ' x x 11

T ' x x x x ' x x x x ' x x x x ' x x 7:12 18

K ' x x x ' x ' x x x x ' x x 3:11 14

In this and in the next line, confusion was created in the translations due to the fact that Greek has three closely similar words--τροφή 'food, nourishment,' τροφός 'one who feeds, brings up, nutrix,' and τρυφή 'softness, delicacy, luxury.' Confusion between the latter and the first one is all the more likely when one considers the graphic similarity of omikron and upsilon.

In the first place, T apparently presents a misreading of τροφή (Vocative of τροφή) as τροφέ (Vocative of τροφός) in line (9) and offers the vocative of 'feeder, nutrix' instead of 'food,' as correctly in K. A difficulty of interpretation is introduced by the fact that the Greek text has two vocatives in this line, probably as a corruption of an earlier version, where the first word appeared as a Genitive, τροφῆς, serving as a modifier of διάδοχε (and parallel to the Genitive of τροφῆς in the following line). (Extant for line (9) is only a Genitive reading τροφῆς, also a corruption.)

XI (ch. 10)

Gk. Χαῖρε τροφῆς ἀγίας διακονε

T Radujī sę pišta svętaja služitelju

K " svętyję pišti služitelju

Gk.	' x	x '	x ' x	x ' x x		11
T	' x x x	' x	x ' x	x ' x x	2:11, 7=	13
K	' x x x	x ' x	' x	x ' x x	2:11, 4=	13

Although in (9) both T and K keep the two vocatives, in (10) T reinterprets the Vocative form služitelju (διδάκονε) as a Dative, and the Genitive τροφῆς ἁγίας (correctly translated in K) is converted to Nominative pišta svētaja: 'rejoice holy food of the servant.' K remains the correct reading Genitive + Vocative, inverting the order of the first phrase.

Having made the strictures about the corruption of T and the syntactic obscurity of the Greek model for line (9), one may point out that the variant pitatelnice is clearly inappropriate as far as metrical correspondence is concerned. However, in spite of this, and in spite of the fact that the variant in K is a correct reading of extant Greek texts, one can make no decision about which reading contains the "original" translation, only the observation that K is the better reading. It could well be that the original contained the product of misreading as we observe it in T, which was corrected in subsequent redactions by reference to different Greek mss.

XI (ch. 12)

*

Gk.	χαῖρε ἔξ ἧς ῥέει μέλι καὶ γάλα		
T	Radujī se otŭ neje že tečetŭ medŭ i mlěko		
K	" " iz " " " " maslo		
Gk.	' x	x '	' x ' x
T	' x x x	x x x ' x	x ' x ' x
K	' x x x	x x ' x	x ' x ' x
		x ' x	11
		x x ' x	8:10, 2= 17
		x ' x	5:11, 5= 16

Of the two prepositions that constitute equivalents of the Greek ἔξ, iz is metrically the better choice. The correct

translation mlěko in T is metrically inferior to the deviating variant maslo.

XII (4)

Gk. ἐπεδόθης ὡς βρέφος αὐτῷ

T vŭdanŭ bystŭ jako mladeniċi jemu

K " jemu bystŭ mladeniċi

Gk. x x ' x x ' x x ' 9

T x ' x ' x ' x x ' x x ' 5:8, 5= 12

K x ' x x ' ' x x ' x x 4:8 11

The variant of K, by omitting jako, diverges considerably from the meaning of the Greek and can therefore be considered an error of omission. The omission is easy to understand if we recall that the OCS auxiliary bystŭ can be 2nd or 3rd person, and the immediate syntactic environment of line (4) does not preclude interpreting it (even as the sentence stands correctly in T) as either 2nd or 3rd person; it is ambiguous. The clue comes only in the next sentence, from the 2nd person possessive pronoun. It was quite a natural mistake, then, for a scribe to read 'an infant was given to him' instead of 'you were given to him as an infant.' This variant is cited only because the omission results in a grammatical sentence and because it does eliminate three unmatched syllables in the middle of the line, though at the cost of adding two at the end of the line and destroying the perfect match of the last two words offered by T. We feel this example cannot be legitimately considered evidence of metrical adaptation.

Since the Greek passive can only be translated periphrastically, it characteristically creates a metrical problem, in this case the addition of the extra accent of the auxiliary. Note again that although we assign an accent to jako in T, the possibility that it was unstressed must also be considered.

XIII (4)

Gk. ἐξ ἀσπόρου βλαστήσας γαστρός
 T iz besěmenīnyje prozěbǔ ōtroby
 K otǔ besěmen(īn)yje ōtroby prozěbe

Gk.	x x ' x	x ' x	x ' x		9
T	x x ' x x x x	x ' x	x ' x	4:9, 3=	12
K	x x ' x x x x	x ' x	x ' x	5:9, 3=	13

Change of word order and introduction of an aorist form in K does not affect the degree of metrical correspondence. Iz is metrically superior to otǔ. (Cf. the same situation in XI, ch. 12, except that K has iz and T has otǔ.)

XIII (5)

Gk. καὶ φυλάξας ταύτην ὡςπερ ἦν, ἄφθορος
 T i sǔkranivǔ jŋ jakože bě čista
 K " " že " " net(ī)lěna

Gk.	x x ' x	' x	' x	' x x	12
T	x x x ' x	'	' x x	' x	4:10, 1= 12
K	x x x ' x x	' x x	' x x	' x	6:10, 1= 14

The synonymous variant čista of T yields a metrically better line. K forfeits one accent by substituting the enclitic že for the personal pronoun jŋ.

III (ch. 1)

Gk. Καίρει τὸ ἀνθος ἀφθαρσίας
 T Radujī sę cvěte netīlěnija
 K " " " děv(ī)stva

Gk.	' x	x ' x	x x x ' x		10
T	' x x x	' x	x x ' x x	3:8	11
K	' x x x	' x	' x x	5:6	9

The T variant is better both semantically and metrically.

XIII (ch. 3)

Gk.	Χαῖρε ἀναστάσεως τύπον ἐκλάμπουσα				
T	Radujĩ se vřskrĩsenija obrazũ sĩ javljajøřti				
K	"	"	"	"	-- oblistajøřti
Gk.	' x	x x ' x x	' x	x ' x x	13
T	' x x x	x x ' x x	' x x x	x ' x x	4:13, 9= 17
K	' x x x	x x ' x x	' x x	x x ' x x	4:13, 5= 17
T*	' x x x	x x ' x x	' x x	x ' x x	3:13, 9= 16

The variant sĩ javljajøřti in T is presumably a scribal error under the influence of the following line with the si being a remnant of the first syllable of an earlier sijajøřti. When thus emended, T* is seen to yield a better metrical correspondence than K with oblistajøřti.

XIII (ch. 5)

Gk.	Χαῖρε δένδρον ἀγλαόκαρπον/ἐξ οὗ τρέφονται πιστοί				
T	Radujĩ se drěvo světiloplodĩnoje/otũ njego že pitajøřtũ se věrĩnii				
K	Radujĩ se drěvo světoplodĩnoje/ " " " pitajøřtũ se věrĩnii				
Gk.	' x	' x	x x ' x x /		9
T	' x x x	' x	x x x ' x x x	4:9, 4:9, 2=	13
K	' x x x	' x	x x ' x x x	3:9, 2=	12

Even though the variant světoplodĩnoje (K) instead of světiloplodĩnoje (T) brings the meter closer by one less

unaccented syllable to the meter of the Greek, it looks too much like a typical scribal error of omission to be confidently considered anything else.

XV (2)

Gk. καὶ τῶν ἄνω οὐδ' ὄλωσ

T i vā vyšīnixŭ nikakože

K " " " --

Gk. x x ' x x ' x 3:7 7

T x x ' x x x x ' x x 3:7 10

K x x ' x x x 1:6 6

The reading of K is metrically better, except for the missing accent. (See the following line for negation omitted in K.)

XV (3)

Gk. ἀπὴν δ ἀπερίγραφτος λόγος

T otŭstopi neispisanīnoje slovo

K ne otŭstoplī (neispisanīnoje) slovo*

(*Ms. has neispisana.)

Gk. x ' x x x ' x x ' x 10

T x x ' x x x ' x x x x ' x 3:9, 2= 13

K x x x ' x x x ' x x x(x) ' x 3-4:9, 2= 13-14

The continuation of the variant of line (2) of K, i.e., the alternate way of stating the negation, giving a poorer metrical correspondence.³² For XV (4, 5, and 7) see pp.

³²Reconstruction of the accent on otŭstopi is problematic. According to Serbo-Croatian evidence, -iti verbs always have

XV (ch. 5)

Gk. Χαῖρε ὄχημα πανάγιον/τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ,

T Radujī sę nosilo přěsvętoje/sqštago (na xeruviměxǔ*)

*omitted in ms.

K Radujī sę kolesīnice přěsvět(ī)laja/sqštago na
xeruviměxǔ

K* Radujī sę kolesnīce přěsvętaja " "
xeruviměxǔ

Gk. ' x ' x x x ' x x / x x '

T ' x x x x ' x x x ' x ' x x

K ' x x x x x x ' x x ' x x x ' x x

K* ' x x x x x x ' x x x ' x ' x x

x x x ' 9+7

x x x ' x x 10:13 11+9

x x x ' x x 13:13 14+9

x x x ' x x 12:13 13+9

In reconstructed K*, in which the proper equivalent prěsvętaja has been restored, the variant kolesīnica adds two unmatched syllables, showing that the partially synonymous variant nosilo is a metrically better choice.

short falling stress in the 2nd and 3rd person singular aorist with retraction to a prefix; e.g. (with a mobile paradigm like that of stupiti), nòsiti, nòsīm: nòsi, dònosī. Clearly, some of the forms must originate under the influence of analogy, since no retraction occurs from originally acute root-syllables. Thus both the form *ótǔstopi and *otǔstopf are serious possibilities. Cf. Stang, Slavonic Accentuation, pp. 129-30.

XV (ch. 8)

Gk. Χαῖρε ἡ παρθενίαν καὶ λοχείαν ζευγυῖσα

T Radujī se ježe dēvistvo i roždīstvo sūčetavūši

K " " -- " sūčetavūši (i) roždīstvo

Gk. 'x x x x ' x / x x ' x

T ' x x x x x ' x x x x x ' x

K ' x x x ' x x x x ' x x

T* ' x x x ' x x x x x ' x

x ' x 7+7

x x ' x x 4:14 9+9

x x x ' 7:10 7+8

x x ' x x 3:12 7+9

Inversion in K makes for a poorer metrical correspondence. On the other hand, omission of ježe (which is a common though syntactically awkward equivalent for the Greek article) would improve the metrical correspondence of T.

XVI (2)

Gk. κατεπλάγε τὸ μέγα

T udivi se veliju

K " " velikomu

Gk. x x ' x x ' x 7

T x x ' x ' x x 2:6, 4= 7

K x x ' x x ' x x 1:7, 4= 8

The synonymous variant of K appears to be metrically superior

XVI (4)

Gk. τὸν ἀπρόσιτον γὰρ ὡς θεόν

T nepristopīna bo jako boga

K nepristopīnago bo jako boga

*

Gk.	x x ' x x x	x x ' x		9
T	x x ' x x x	' x	' x	0:9, 6= 10
K	x x ' x x x x	' x	' x	2:9 11

The omission of -go in T is probably an accidental (or intentional) avoidance of adjacent rhyming syllables (-go bo . . . boga). (Cf. similar omissions X (4), XV (40), XVI (4).) On the other hand it also yields an improvement in metrical correspondence.

In this line we are again faced with an uncertainty regarding the metrical accentuation of Greek 'enclitics.' The rules in Maas and Trypanis³³ specify their accents if so indicated by the meter. However, line (4) of the oikoi of the Akathistos has a variable metrical accent in position -6-, i.e., x x . x x . x x ' , so that we do not know whether γόρ in the line under consideration is to be taken as accented or not. If we count it as accented, our Slavic line has the same number of accents as the Greek. If we count γόρ as unaccented (as in the scheme above), the Slavic line has one accent less. On the other side of the coin is the unresolved question of whether jako is to be considered as bearing an accent or not.

XVI (7)

*

Gk.	ἀκούοντα δὲ παρὰ πάντων
T	slyšęšta že otŭ vĭsęxŭ
K	i " -- otŭ vĭsęxŭ

Gk.	x ' x x x	x x ' x		9
T	' x x x	x x x ' x	2:8	9
K	x ' x x	x x x ' x	0:9	9

The variant of K, which departs from literalness, offers (except for placement of the word boundary) a perfect metrical correspondence.

¹³Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica, p. 512.

XVII (ch. 1)

Gk. Καίρε σοφίας θεοῦ δοχεῖον

T Radujī se mōdrosti božiję priimalište

K " " " " sūkrovište

Gk. ' x x ' x x ' x x ' x x 10

T ' x x x ' x x ' x x x x ' x x 5:11 15

K ' x x x ' x x ' x x x ' x x 4:11 14

XVII (ch. 2)

Gk. Καίρε προνοίας αὐτοῦ ταμεῖον

T Radujī se promyšljenija jęgo xranilo

K " " " " prijētilište

Gk. ' x x ' x x ' x x ' x x 10

T ' x x x x x ' x x x ' x x 5:11 15

K ' x x x x x ' x x x ' x x 4:11 14

In ch. 1, K turns out to have the metrically better variants; in ch. 2 it is T. The variants of K are due to exchange of equivalents: ch. 1 of K translates ταμεῖον of line (2), not δοχεῖον of line (1); ch. 2 has the reverse. The cases are presumably metrically uninteresting.

VIII (ch. 3)

Gk. Καίρε φιλοσόφους ἀσόφους δεικνύουσα

T Radujī se filosofy nemōdryję javljajōšti

K " " " (ne)mōdry* " (*ms. has mōdry)

Gk. ' x x x ' x x ' x x ' x x 13

T ' x x x x x ' x x x ' x x 3:13, 8= 14

K ' x x x x x ' x x ' x x 2:13, 11=

The variant in K appears more satisfactory both semantically and metrically. It reads 'showing the philosophers as

unwise' instead of T's 'showing the unwise philosophers.'
 Note that apart from the usual and inescapable non-correspondence of χαῖρε and radujǐ se, K offers a perfect match.

XVII (ch. 6)

Gk. χαῖρε ὅτι ἐμωράνθησαν οἱ τῶν μύθων ποιηταί

T Radujǐ se jako ubujišę se basnĭni tvorĭci

K " " " obujišę se basnotvorĭci

Gk. ' x x x x x ' x x x x ' x

T ' x x x ' x x x ' x x ' x x x

K ' x x x ' x x x ' x x x x ' x x

x x ' 16

' x x 6:14* 18

(& extra ' in 1st hemistich) 4:14 16

K substitutes a compound (calque of μυθοποιός current in OCS) for the Greek noun phrase, which T translates literally. This modification reduces the number of accents in the second hemistich to one where the Greek and T have two. On the other hand, it improves the correspondence of unaccented syllables before the first ictus of the hemistich (ictus three of the Greek line in the above analysis). This is one more case in which it is difficult to evaluate the relative metrical merits of the variants. (Cf. XIX, ch. 11 in Appendix I for a reverse treatment of the compound κουροτρόφη by T and K.)

In this line the lack of precise information about the sentence accentuation of ὅτι and jako is particularly vexing. It is conceivable that both were unaccented, in which case the Slavic translation has the same number of accents as the Greek.

XVV (ch. 9)

Gk. καίρει βυθοῦ ἀγνοίας ἐξέλκουσα

T Radujī se otŭ glŭbiny nevěždīstviĭa izvodešti

K " " iz " nevěděniĭa izbavljajŭšt(i)*

(*Ms. has -a)

Gk. ' x x ' x ' x x ' x x 11

T ' x x x x x x x ' x ' x x x x ' x x 7:11,4= 18

K ' x x x x x x ' x ' x x x x x ' x x 7:11 18

The use of the monosyllabic preposition in K results in one less unmatched syllable; the non-literal gloss of ἐξέλκουσα adds an unmatched syllable and destroys a perfect metrical match of the final word in the line.

XVIII (6)

Gk. ὁμοίῳ δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον καλέσας

T podobĭnumu podobĭnoje prizŭva(vŭ)* (*Ms. has an aorist)

K podobĭnikŭ podobiju prizŭvanŭ

Gk. x ' x x x ' x x x ' x 11

T x ' x x x x ' x x x x x '(x) 3-4:10-11 13-14

K x ' x x x x ' x x x x ' x 2:11 13

K is metrically somewhat improved at the cost of considerable syntactic revamping. It looks very much like a modification due to the vagaries of scribal craft (with confusion of subject and indirect object) and should probably be regarded as such, rather than an inversion.

XIX (4,5)

*

Gk. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς/κατεσκεύασε ποιητής, ἀχραντε

T tvorĭcĭ bo nebu i zemli/ukrasi tĕ čistaja

K ibo nebu i zemli/tvorĭcĭ sŭvrĭši tĕ přĕcĭstaja

T	tvorícĭ bo nebesi/(?)i zemli/(?)ukrasi tĕ čistaja		
K*	ibo nebesi i zemli/tvorícĭ sŭvrĭši tĕ přčistaja		
*	ibo nebesi i zemli/tvorícĭ sŭvrĭši tĕ čistaja		
Gk.	x x . x x ' x x ' /		9
T	x ' x x ' x x x ' 2:8, 3=		9
K	' x ' x x x ' 4:6, 3=		7
T* ₁	x ' x x ' x x 2:7		7
T* ₂	x ' x x ' x x 6:5		7
T* ₃	x ' x x ' x x x x ' 4:8		10
K*	' x ' x x x x ' 5:6		8
same as K			
Gk.	/ x x ' x . x x x ' ' x x 9		
T	x ' x . ' x x 5:7, 3=		7
K	x ' x x ' x . x ' x x 7:8		11
T* ₁	x x ' x ' x . ' x x 5:9, 3=		10
T* ₂	x x ' x ' x . ' x x 2:10, 9=		10
T* ₃	x ' x . ' x x 5:7, 3=		7
K*	same as K		
*	x ' x x ' x . ' x x 5:6, 3=		10
*1	x ' x x ' x . ' x x 2:10, 3=		10

In this set of variants, T, which involves inversion with the placement of the subject first in the sentence (inversion is unusual in this ms.), gives a better metrical correspondence in line (4) and in line (5) than does K, which has the literal word order and which also has a different (more literal) translation of κατασκευάζω and a synonymous variant for ἀχραντε.

If one restores a more archaic variant nebesi both in T and in K, the analysis becomes very complex (as can be seen from the schemes above) as a consequence of different possibilities of matching the Slavic lines to the Greek. The optimum possibility would be that of T* arranged as follows:

T tvorĭcĭ bo nebesi/i zemli ukrasi tĕ čistaja

Gk. x x . x x ' x x '/ 9

T*₁ x ' x x ' x x 2:7 7

Gk. / x x ' x . x x x ' ' x x 9

T*₂ x x ' x ' x . ' x x

Needless to say, the placement of caesura in this analysis is entirely arbitrary. Evidence from a neumated text might speak for a different division into cola and give support to one of the alternative ways of matching the accents.

The difficulties of analysis are compounded by uncertainties of accent assignment for several of the Slavic words: tĕ--is it accented or not in such a position? ukrasi--was the accent retracted to the prefix in 2nd and 3rd person aorists (general in Serbo-Croatian) in this period? ditto for sŭvrĭši.

XIX (6)

Gk. οὐκῆσας ἐν τῇ μητρὶ σου

T vŭselĭ sĕ vŭ otrobŭ tvojo

K i vŭseli sĕ vŭ " "

Gk. x ' x x x ' x x 8

T x ' x x x x ' x x ' 2:8 10

K x x ' x x x x ' x x ' 3:8 11

K deviates from the Greek in that it has an aorist instead of a past active participle. This is a common textological type of substitution. The addition of the conjunction

to achieve proper syntax results in one more unmatched syllable than in the literal translation of T.

XIX (7)

(*)

Gk. καὶ διδάξας προσφωνεῖν σοὶ πάντας

T naučivŭ priglašati sice

K i nauči višę priglašati

* i naučivŭ priglašati ti višę

*₁ i naučĭ

Gk.	x x ' x	x x ' x	' x		10
T	x x ' x	x x ' x	' x	0:10, 10=	10
K	x ' x x	x '	x x ' x	2:9	10
*	x x x ' x	x x ' x x	x '	4:9	12
* ₁	x x ' x	x x ' x x	x '	3:9	11

Both T and K lack an equivalent of σοὶ, whether by haplography or intentional omission. (Cf. discussion of XV (4) at the beginning of this section.) T further omits the line-initial conjunction and substitutes sice "thus" for višę. Neither modification impairs syntax or meaning. In fact, the substitution of sice produces a typical transition to the refrain (cf. lines (7) of oikoi III, IV, and XXII). The result of the modifications in T is a perfect metrical match. Note especially that the accentual pattern of sice matches that of πάντας (' x), whereas that of the correct translation equivalent višę does not (x '). The aorist of K is probably due to haplography.

A reconstruction (*) of a literal translation of the Greek, using the participial form that appears in T, is metrically the least felicitous. Use of an older form of the participle (*₁) is a slight improvement.

XIX (ch. 4)

Gk. Χαῖρε χορηγέ θεϊκῆς ἀγαθότητος

T Radujī se podatelīnice božiję (blagoděti*)

(*Omitted in ms.)

K Radujī se podatelju božīstvīnyję blagoděti

Gk. ' x x x ' / x x ' x x ' x x ' x x

T ' x x x x ' x x x x ' x x

K ' x x x x ' x x x ' x x x

x x ' x x 5+8

x x ' x 10:10 10+7

x x ' x 7:11 8+9

The degree of metrical correspondence for variants of this line is different depending on whether one allows matching syllables across caesura or not. Our practice has been not to do so (cf. the discussion of VII, ch. 5), in which case the use of the more literal masculine gender in K is found to result in the reduction by two of the number of unmatched syllables. On the other hand, the use of the longer adjectival derivation in K adds an extra unmatched syllable. (See the analysis of XV (4) at the beginning of this section concerning the consistent use of this derivation in K vs. the Genitive of the adjective in T.)

XIX (ch. 7)

Gk. Χαῖρε ἡ τὸν φθορέα τῶν φρενῶν καταργοῦσα

T Radujī se gubitelja umomū razarjajqšti

K " " " sūmyslomū upraznivūši

Gk. ' x x x x ' x x ' x x x ' x 14

T ' x x x x ' x x x ' x x x ' x x 2:14 16

K ' x x x x ' x x x ' x x x x ' x x 2:13 16

The T variant razarjajošti is probably modeled on a (non-extant) Greek variant reading *καθαλοῦσα or due to a misreading of καταγοῦσα in this way.

K deviates from the Greek in having a past participle where the Greek has the present. The correct translation would be upražnjajošti. (Both have the accentual pattern x x ' x x. The use of the synonym umomū in T gives a perfect metrical match for that word.

XIX (ch. 8)

Gk. Καίτε ἡ τὸν σπορέα τῆς ἀγνεύας τεκοῦσα

T Radujī se sějatelja čistoty roždīši

K " " " čistotě poroždīši

Gk. ' x x x ' x x x ' x x x ' x x ' x 1.

T ' x x x ' x x x x x ' ' x x 6:11 1.

K ' x x x ' x x x x x ' x ' x x 5:12 1!

The use of the synonymous variant poroždīši in K results in a metrically better line. However, note that this same alignment of variants is found in III (ch. 9), (where it also results in a metrically superior version) and thus seems to represent a form favored in the recension of K.

XIX (ch. 9)

Gk. Καίτε παστὰς ἀσπόρου συμπεύσεως

T Radujī se ložīnice besēmēnīnaago nevěstitelja

K " " črītože (božīstvinago) "

Gk. ' x x ' x ' x x ' x x 1.

T ' x x x x x ' x x ' x x x x x x x ' x x 9:11 2!

K ' x x x x ' x x ' x x x x x ' x x 6:12 1!

The synonymous variant črītože results in one less unmatched syllable. If the other possible accentuation of

ložnice (on the first syllable) is used, giving T ' x x x, etc., and the syllable ratio 12:10, the K variant becomes even more superior by contrast.

The other variant in K, božestvīnago, is a departure from the meaning of the original. Its resemblance to the original (in the ms. it appears abbreviated as bestovīnago) suggests it is a scribal error substituting a more common word (which already appears in the same stanza, five lines earlier) for a more unusual one--besēmēnīna(a)go.

Gk. Χαῖρε πιστοῦς κυρίῳ ἀρμόζουσα

T Radujī se gospodevi věřinyjē obrōčajōšti

K " " gospodu " sūčetavūši

T* " věřinyjē gospodevi obrōčajōšti

K* " gospodu sūčetavūši

Gk.	' x	x '	x ' x	x ' x x		11
T	' x x x	' x x x	' x x x	x x ' x x	6:11	17
K	' x x x	' x x	' x x x	x x ' x x	5:11	16
T*	' x x x	' x x x	' x x x	x x ' x x	6:11	17
K*	' x x x	' x x x	' x x	x x ' x x	5:11	16

Both Slavic texts have inversion of the direct and indirect object. The use of the shorter Dative form gospodu in K reduces the number of unmatched syllables by one. Reconstructing the line according to Greek word order makes no difference metrically.

XX (2)

Gk. συνεκτείνεσαι σπεύδων

T rasprostrēti tūštetšti se

K prostrēti " "

Gk.	x x ' x x	' x			7
T	x x ' x	x ' x x	1:7		8
K	x ' x	x ' x x	2:6		7

The variant in K leaves the initial syllable unmatched.

XX (7)

Gk. ᾧ δέδωκας τοῖς σοῖ βοῶσιν

T (corrupt; see text in appendix)

K ixŭže darovalŭ jesi vŭpijŏštīmŭ

* " " " " tebě vŭpijŏšti(i)mŭ

Gk.	x ' x x		x x x ' x		
K	' x x	x x ' x x .	x x ' x x	7:8	9
*	' x x	x x ' x x .	x ' x x ' x(x)x	9-10:8	16-17

The translation of the Greek Perfect δέδωκας by a periphrastic Slavic Perfect darovalŭ jesi increases considerably the number of syllables in the Slavic line and may increase the number of accents. It is hard to say whether the omission of the disyllabic tebě (or the enclitic ti, for that matter) could be considered as sufficiently improving matters. Note again the possibility of an alternative accentuation of vŭpfjŏštiimu.

XXI (5)

Gk. ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς γινῶσιν θεϊκὴν ἀπαντας

T navoditŭ kŭ razumu božiju vīsěxŭ

K nastavljajetŭ vīsě kŭ razumu božīstvīnomu

K* nastavljajetŭ kŭ razumu božīstvīnomu vīsě

Gk.	x x ' x ' x	x x ' ' x x			11
T	x ' x x	x ' x x	' x x	x ' x	8:8 14
K	x x ' x x	x ' x ' x x	x ' x x x	8:8	16
K*	x x ' x x	x ' x x	x ' x x x	x ' 8:10	16

Use of a synonymous variant, nastavljajetŭ, in K results in the same count of unmatched syllables as in T, although the correspondence of the initial word is improved. When we compare the inversion in K to a non-inverted reconstruction, we see that the inversion makes no difference in the count of unmatched syllables, although the number of matched syllables is raised. (On the variant equivalents of θεῖκος see the comments to XV (4) at the beginning of this section.)

XXI (7)

Gk. κραυγῆ δὲ τιμωμένη ταύτη

T zŭvanijemŭ že čĭstima simĭ

K " -- (čĭstima simĭ*) (*ms. has čĭstymĭ, omits simĭ)

Gk.	x ' x	x x ' x	' x		9
T	x ' x x x x	x ' x	' x	2:9, 3=	11
K	x ' x x x	x ' x	' x	1:9, 3-	10

Omission of že in K removes an unwanted unaccented syllable. However, such omissions are common as scribal errors as well.

5. Conclusions Drawn from the Metrical Analysis of Variants

In the foregoing pages we have analyzed 74 variant lines involving differences in metrical correspondence to the Greek. In each case the question asked was what kind of evidence do we find in this pair of variants bearing on the possibility of metrical adaptation by the translator? Looking at the answers collectively, what do we see?

According to our assessment, the metrical relevance of the cases considered falls into five groups, described below.

1. The variant which departs from a literal translation is metrically closer to the Greek, while at the same time there appear to be no compelling conventional textological or linguistic reasons to account for it. These are our asterisked cases, belonging to category 2.2242. Number of cases: 12.

2. The variant which departs from a literal translation is metrically no closer or less close than the literal variant. This is category 2.2241. No attempt was made to present an exhaustive list of these cases. Number of cases described: 7.

3. The variant is perhaps metrically relevant. It is, in any case, not controverted by any specific textological or linguistic explanation. These are mostly cases involving synonyms and derivations with different suffixes. Number of cases: 32 or 33.

4. The variant is probably not metrically relevant. These are cases in which a conventional textological or linguistic explanation can be offered, but some doubt remains whether such an explanation should be considered imperative or merely plausible. Number of cases: 19.

5. The variants are metrically different, but indeterminate; i.e., it is impossible to evaluate which variant is metrically better using our criteria of metrical correspondence alone. Use of musical evidence may be indicated where available. Number of cases: 6. (Of the figures quoted, the one for group two is not indicative, since it does not represent the total number of such cases in the texts.)

From this rough tabulation we see that only about 12 out of 74 cases (16.2 percent) fall into the category which we have designated as likely to comprise the best potential evidence on metrical adaptation. (See p. 84.) Of these, only one instance (XI (5)) was felt to yield to no specific alternative explanation. (Perhaps a second that could be so qualified is XIX (7).) None of the cases could be called striking or dramatic evidence in favor of the hypothesis that metrical adaptation occurred.

These observations, together with those of Chapter III, lead to the conclusion that metrical adaptation did not occur in the Akathistos, at least not at the expense of other considerations, such as semantic fidelity, and, perhaps, parallelism. We conclude this from the low rate of occurrence of metrically superior semantically deviant or reordered variants.

Such a conclusion is supported by external evidence. The kontakion being a musically florid genre, considerable mutual adaptations of text and music were possible simply by adjusting the syllabification; for example, the singing of several notes to one syllable (repeating the vowel),³⁴ where the translated text was short on syllables, or singing two or more syllables on an extended melisma (where in the Greek only one syllable was sung) in those cases where the translation had more syllables than the Greek. It was also possible to accommodate the melodic line to the text by actual modification of the former. When there were fewer syllables than melismas, there could be suppression of a neume or combination of two neumes. When there were too many syllables, an ison (↔) could be added.³⁵

More problematic is the question of how strong the requirement was that linguistically accented syllables be sung to musically accented syllables. In the thirteenth-century texts of the Akathistos, this was no longer a simple one-to-one relationship even in the Greek, although there may be indications that such a requirement existed at an earlier time.³⁶ Our method of metrical comparison was predicated on the belief that accents were important, based on the observation first made by Høeg³⁷ concerning the preservation of the number of theses (accented syllables) in the translations of the canons. This observation is also born out in the translations of kontakia. According to Høeg, in the canons the "distance" between the theses (i.e., the number of arses or unaccented

³⁴N. Uspenskij, "Vizantijskoe penie v. Kievskoj Rusi," p. 649.

³⁵Cf. K. Levy, "The Earliest Slavic Melismatic Chants."

³⁶A review of the distribution of kratemata (emphasis and lengthening) in Wellesz's transcription of the Akathistos shows that out of about 550 kratemata, 520 are sung on accented syllables. Cf. A. F. Gove, "Relationship Between Music and Text in the Akathistos Hymn."

³⁷C. Høeg, "Oldest Tradition," p. 46.

syllables) also seemed to be approximately observed.³⁸ No such characteristic can be claimed for our texts of the Akathistos. The hypothesis that Slavic translators and "neumators" of kontakia engaged in adapting the translated text to the music and vice versa is in the process of being tested by musicologists.³⁹

Should our negative conclusion, made on the basis of textual study of a single kontakion, be taken to mean that the hypothesis of textual adaptation is refuted for all Slavic kontakia? If based on our study alone, the answer would be "no," but we have a second kind of external evidence that would seem to support such a general conclusion. It is presented by Høeg in his introduction to the facsimile edition of Codex Ashburnhamensis.⁴⁰ To paraphrase Høeg's French in English, in the Slavic Kontakaria, of which the oldest date from the twelfth [perhaps even the eleventh] century, the texts and melodies of the proemia (kondaki) only are included. As for the oldest neumated and liturgically used Greek Kontakaria, which date from the thirteenth century, they give the text and music of the proemium and the first oikos.⁴¹ From this Høeg deduces that (1) in the Slavic tradition, proemia were sung to special, highly ornamented melodies (as witness the notation), whereas the oikoi were chanted "sur un ton simple" that did not necessitate written notation; (2) Greek usage, on the other hand, prescribed that both the proemium and the first oikos be sung to two different, though related, melodies, while the other oikoi were presumably neither sung nor read in the service.

This hypothesized description of Slavic tradition is in accord with modern church usage, and perhaps Høeg is

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Cf. paper by Levy, cited in note 35 above.

⁴⁰Codex Ashburnhamensis, p. 9.

⁴¹Ibid.

disrupt parallelism in the chairetismoι. In the oikoi, where canonical parallelism is not a constant device, a change in word order may have little or no effect on poetic form. Apart from word order, the relative poetic values of synonymous or partially synonymous lexical variants depend on the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic characteristics of the words in question. Thus one variant may be poetically more appropriate than another. This will be illustrated in the following pages with selected examples.

Variants affecting parallelism are syntactic or morphological. No cases of semantic or phonological variants disrupting parallelism of lexical pairs were observed. The role of inversion is so obvious as to require no discussion. An example occurs in XV ch. (7) (and there are many others):

Χαῖρε τὰ ἐναντία εἰς ταῦτὸ ἀγαθοῦσα

χαῖρε ἡ παρθενίαν καὶ λοχείαν ζευγνύσα

T Radujī se protivīnaja vŭ tožde sŭbravŭši

Radujī se ježe děvīstvo i roždīstvo sŭčetavŭši

K Radujī se protivīnaja vŭ tožde sŭbīravŭši

Radujī se děvīstvo sŭčetavŭš-i-roždīstvo

The parallelism of the line-final words, which in Greek occurs on the levels of grammatical categories (Past Active Participle, Feminine Nominative Singular) and of phonological form of the suffix (ύ/ί)sa, is in T reproduced and even intensified: besides the grammatical categories (same as in Greek plus aspect--Perfective--and Indefinite) and the suffix -avŭši (which has a longer sequence of identical sounds), it also has identity of prefixes sŭ-. In addition, the concluding pair of phrases of the translation is phonologically parallel in T:

T*OŽDe SŭbīR*AVŪŠI

T*OŽDīstvo SŭčeT*AVŪŠI

The variant of K removes the second member of the line-final pair to a different metrical position, thereby destroying

the parallelism. (Of course, the paregmenon děviŝtvo/roždīŝtvo, as well as the alliteration radujī se . . . roždīŝtvo, are present in both variants regardless of the inversion.) The two manuscripts, T and K, seem to reflect two different traditions with respect to word order. While it is apparent that the tradition represented by T set great store by preserving the exact word order, for whatever reason, it is equally apparent from the great number of changes in word order in K that a younger generation no longer shared this value, subordinating it to considerations of Slavic syntactic style.

The second type of variant affecting parallelism, the morphological, is less frequent. An example occurs in III ch. (9). The pair of line-final words in Greek is γεννήσασα and δολόξασα; in T they are roždīŝi and naučīŝi; in K, poroždīŝi and naučivŝi. The parallelism of grammatical categories is reproduced in both variant pairs. In T the phonological identity of suffixes is also transmitted;

καῖρε θάλασσα ποντίσασα φαραῶ τὸν νοητόν

T Radujī se morje potopljaje faraona myslīnagc

K Radujī se jako vŝ mori pogrŝzīŝi mislīnago faraona

In K Mary is no longer addressed antonomastically as 'the sea.'

Observations of sound repetitions in the variants reveal nothing that one might call a tendency for introducing them in the OCS translation, although in a few cases, one of the variants enhances the phonological structure of a line or even of a whole stanza. An example of the latter is oikos X, where every line of the stanza abounds in v's, ranging from at least one per line (so in line 7) to as many as five (line 3). To this the variant of T contributes the -v- in bogonosivyi, whereas the variant of K has a derivative without v--bogonosīni. This stanza is discussed at greater length in Chapter V, Section 4. A similar case occurs in XVII ch. 1, where the K variant prijetiliŝte alliterates with the first noun of its line, promyŝljenija, and is derivationally parallel to its positional counterpart in the preceding line, sŝkroviŝte.

The variant of T, xranilo, contributes to neither device. Another example of this type is to be found in VI (4), discussed in an earlier section of this chapter.

In addition to the relatively few instances of variants that improve the poetic quality of the translation, there are a large number of interesting cases in which poetic figures and tropes are successfully transmitted in the translation and other cases in which poetic devices, such as alliteration or paregmenon, appear in the translation without a corresponding figure in the original Greek. These are discussed in the next chapter.

V. TRANSMISSION OF POETIC DEVICES IN THE TRANSLATION

1. Predicted Tendencies of Transmission

A proposition motivating this inquiry is that Slavic translated literature was an effective vehicle for transmitting Byzantine poetic values to the Slavs. The Akathistos is taken as a test case for determining to what extent textual transmission of specific poetic devices identifiable in the Greek original actually occurred. This entails consideration both of the relative number of transmissions and also of which kinds of devices were more readily (frequently) transmitted and which less so.

The broader aim of such an inquiry, and one towards which the present study is only a beginning, is to determine the reasons for the successes and failures of transmission in translation (translation equivalence). The reasons sought are linguistic, whether inherent in linguistic structure (e.g., grammar) or of a linguistically universal nature (e.g., the essentially conventional relationship between the phonological composition of a particular morpheme and its meaning). This does not include an attempt to establish to what extent transmission of poetic devices involving reference to particular cultural information--such as mythological allusions--actually took place, since such judgments would require knowing whether, for example, a Slavic audience knew about Adam and Eve, knew the apocryphal story of certain events during the Flight to Egypt, etc. This kind of information cannot be extracted by the analyst from the text of the hymn, but would have to be deduced from external evidence.¹ In this study we are concerned

¹The effect produced by the accumulation of allusions and loci communes would have depended first on the familiarity of the audience with the Bible, with other hymns, and with the sermons of the Church Fathers. Presumably a church-going Slavic audience would have been exposed to this material in works other than the Akathistos--other kontakia and canons; sermons, including those of the Church Fathers that were prescribed for certain holidays and the sermons of their own bishops and priests who adopted the Byzantine homiletic style; and readings from

only with those devices that are linguistically based, i.e., consist of the poetic exploitation of the phonology, the grammar and the semantics as observed in the original and the translated text, without making any inferences (other than informally) about the actual effect of particular aspects of the poem on a Slavic audience.

It seems possible from an informal explanation of the poem, a familiarity with the grammars of Byzantine Greek and Old Church Slavonic, and past experience with poetic translation to make some predictions about which kinds of devices are more likely and which less likely to be transmitted in a Slavic translation from the Greek. The accuracy of such predictions is increased because of the early Slavic practice of word-for-word translation both for the texts of the Gospels and of the liturgical hymns. The notion of word-for-word translation is here used in the sense described by Vereščagin.² Word-for-word translation (poslovnij princip perevoda) is differentiated from sentence-by-sentence translation. In the latter, idiomatic

the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. In other words, one could expect such allusions and epithets to have had some recognition value. Second, and much more difficult to assess, the response to the sung text of the Akathistos would have depended on the integration of the Judaeo-Christian teachings and doctrines into the world view and fabric of life of the worshippers. In the earliest Slavic audiences, one may imagine first-, second-, or third-generation Christians whose religious roots were embedded in the pantheon of the indigenous Slavic gods and who were surrounded by a continuing ethos of the narrative and poetic imagery of the native Slavic mythological traditions. The experience of the Christian doctrine and liturgy by such people would be far different from that of the urban Byzantines in Constantinople in the sixth century, when the Akathistos was composed. At that time, Orthodox dogmatics were being vigorously defended against the several heresies and these defenses were reflected in the homiletic kontakia. It would be different, too, from the experience of the Byzantines in the seventh and eighth centuries, after the sieges of Constantinople by the Persians, Avars, and Slavs, and by the Arabs, when the beloved Akathistos was sung as a hymn of thanksgiving for military victory.

²E. M. Vereščagin, Iz istorii voznikovenija pervogo literaturnogo jazyka slavjan. Perevodčeskaja texnika Kirilla i Mefodija. (Moscow, 1971).

usage is the guiding principle of translation. In word-for-word translation the element or basic unit of translation equivalence is the word. As observed by A. Dostál, "the Greek text of the Gospels may be viewed as parallel [to the Slavic translation, A. G.], taking the words of the Greek text to be lexical correspondence of the Old Slavonic words."³ Vereščagin supports this observation by a comparative analysis of passages from Marianus and Savvina kniga. In this regard, the translations of the Gospels and liturgical texts differ from translation of hagiographic and homiletic genres. In translating the latter, the translators felt free to deviate from the originals.⁴ While Grivec has argued that the cyrillo-methodian translations show more freedom in liturgical texts (for example, in the Kiev Folia), paying attention to the rhythm,⁵ the examination of the translation of the Akathistos shows a very close adherence of the Slavic text to the wording of the Greek. Paraphrase is found to occur only in the variants of one or another of the manuscripts, and that only rarely. Vereščagin stresses that, in his analysis of texts demonstrating the word-for-word principle of translation, the word is understood as a morphological unit (including relational, that is, grammatical elements). Interestingly enough, in the translation of the Akathistos, one could speak of sublexical morphemic translation correspondences, since the grammatical constructions of the Greek in many cases find a correspondence in the Slavic. However, it has been found preferable to carry out this part of the comparison in terms of grammatical categories rather than the morphemes themselves.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the word-for-word translation principle was, for both the Gospels and the

³A. Dostál, "Voprosy izučeniya slovarnogo sostava staroslavjanskogo, jazyka," Voprosy jazykoznanija (1960), 6, p. 14.

⁴Vereščagin, citing J. Kurz, Iz istorii vznikovenija, p. 13.

⁵Id., ref. in Vereščagin, p. 13.

liturgical texts, based on the fact that these were the texts at the center of the doctrine and worship of the Church. As for the fact that the liturgical hymns were poetry, in Chapter III we reviewed the question of whether paraphrase was used in the hymn translations to effect metrical adaptation. In the Akathistos this does not seem to have been the case, as shown in Chapter IV. Now we would like to propose the possibility that in the translation of the Akathistos, and perhaps of other hymns, the practice of word-for-word translation would have been fostered by the elaborate poetic structure of the original and the translator's desire to preserve it. Certainly in passages where the predominant device is parallelism, as in the chairetismoι of the Akathistos, observance of the same word order and careful imitation of other syntactic structures contribute a great deal towards transmission of the parallelism in translation. It should be quite clear, however, that while we entertain thoughts of such an explanation, the inquiry into the transmission of poetic devices is not contingent on an assumption that the word-for-word translation in the hymnic literatures was conditioned by poetic requirements.

Given the observation that the Akathistos was translated with as close an adherence to the original as was possible in the production of a meaningful, grammatical translation, what might be the expected rates of transmission of particular kinds of poetic devices.

It would seem to be generally true that devices involving sound repetition tend not to be transmitted in translation, at least not to an equivalent extent, when embedded in grammatical figures. An example of a typical non-transmission occurs in lines (9) and (10) of the first set of acclamations:

Χαῖρε ἀστὴρ ἐμωαίνων τὸν ἥλιον
 Χαῖρε γαστήρ ἐνθέου σαρκώσεως

The paronomasia astēr/gastēr does not appear in Slavic:

Radujī se dzvězdo javljajōšti slūnīce
 Radujī se qtrobo božīstvīnaago vūplūštenija

The translator has matched each of the Greek words with their obvious semantic equivalents in OCS, which happen to be dissimilar in their phonic make-up, while the Greek words are coincidentally similar. Of course, this is not to say that these two similar-sounding Greek words occur in the parallel lines by accident when viewed from the aspect of their poetic origin, but only from the strictly linguistic view of the general lexicon. The Greek hymnodist was pleased to be able to select these particular words to give force to his comparison by their paronomastic similarity, which is, however, accidental in the sense that in the lexicon of any natural language the relationship between phonological composition of any particular morpheme and its meaning is conventional. Obviously only a coincidence of infinitesimally low probability could have permitted the Slavic translator, bound by the requirements of a close translation, to match the feat of the author of the original lines quoted above.

A similar situation would obtain in the case of syllabo-accentual parallelism, where parallel lines in Greek have in parallel positions words with the same number of syllables and the same place of accent. Here again one would predict non-transmission in translation, except by accident, and the rates of transmission should be similar to the rates of transmission for primary (non-etymological, non-grammatical) sound repetition, though higher than extended paronomasia. A typical example of non-transmission is found in *chairetismoι* I (1) and (2):

χαῖρε δὲ ἧς ἡ χαρὰ ἐκλάμψει
 χαῖρε δὲ ἧς ἡ ἀρά ἐκλείψει
 ' x / x ' / x x ' / x ' x

But in OCS

Radujĭ sę jejože radostĭ vŭsĭjajetŭ
 Radujĭ sę jejože klętvā išteznētŭ
 ' x x x / x ' x / ' x x / x x ' x x
 ' x x x / x ' x / ' x / x ' x x

Note that the transmission of anaphora necessarily involves transmission of syllabo-accentual parallelism. However, such cases are not considered precisely because they are entirely predictable.

In contrast, when a sound repetition is part of a device such as paregemenon or polyptoton, we would expect it to be reproduced in Slavic, provided the grammatical figure is successfully transferred. An example of this is found in the same set of chairetismoi, lines (11) and (12): The sound repetition κτίσις/κτίσ(τ)ης (orthographic η equals phonological i) is matched by the OCS tv(á)rĭ/tv(o)rĭ(cú). Note that the equivalence exists only on the level of phonological segments, not on the syllabic or the prosodic level. (In Slavic the accent participates in the derivation process and must therefore be considered part of the morphophonemics.) Transmission of sound repetition in paregmenon does not occur when the OCS equivalents are not derived from the same root:

I (6) ἐξίστατο καὶ ἴστατο
divljaše se i stojaše

As shown by the example, the statement about failure of transmission must be qualified to the extent that limited phonological identity of stem may occur. In this case, identity extends to the left of what can be described as identity of inflectional morphemes, i.e., homeoptoton: -še . . . -še. This is so because the identity of -ja...-ja involves (if we follow the morphological analysis in Horace G. Lunt's Old Church Slavonic Grammar) both stem (-j- of divljaše se and -ja- of stojaše) and suffix (-a- of divljaše se). It seems that such cases are best included under homoeoteleuton.

In a related type of figure, in which sound repetition is the byproduct of the repetition of the same derivational morpheme and which we will include in paregmenon: e.g., ἐκ- in chairetismoi I(1) (2), ἐκλάμπει/ἐκλείπει, transfer fails to occur when the Slavic equivalents of the words in question are

formed by means of two different prefixes: vŭsijajetŭ/iŝteznetŭ.⁶ Again we must note that a minimal amount of sound repetition does exist in the root, particularly if viewed in combination with the homoeoptoton: -i-etŭ/i-etŭ.

A device which would be expected to be successfully transmitted in Slavic even more frequently is sound repetition in homoeoteleuton that is a result of homoeoptoton, i.e., the use of the same inflectional suffix, as in chairetismoι I, (1) and (2): ἐκλάμπει/ἐκλείψει: vŭsijajetŭ/iŝteznetŭ. Homoeoteleuton which is the result of the phonic identity of different inflectional suffixes in Greek, e.g., II (1) (2) ἀγία (N.S.) and ἐν ἀγνεῖα (D.S.) would not ordinarily be expected to be reproduced in Slavic: svĕtaja/vŭ ĉistotĕ.

Not all cases which in Greek combine homoeoptoton with homoeoteleuton do so in Slavic. Occasionally an obligatory difference in grammatical category (such as gender or number) interferes; e.g., chairetismoι I (5) (6) λογισμοῖς/οφθαλμοῖς--OCS romyslomŭ but oĉima, or chairetismoι III (3) (4) προόμιον/κεφάλαιον--naĉalo/glava. (Actually, in the first of these examples, the inflectional suffixes do contribute to the pattern of phonological play: -ó-om-/ó-m-.)

To recapitulate, of the two types of sound repetition--primary (or "inorganic" according to Lausberg⁷), in which the sound repetition is not dependent on a grammatical device with repetition of a morpheme (e.g., χαρά/ἀρά), and secondary (or "organic" in Lausberg's terms),⁸ in which it is (e.g.,

⁶This kind of failure calls to our attention the fact that these equivalents were well-established in the OCS lexicon at the time of this translation. The translator was not free to coin at will calque equivalents that would make poetry. Contrast to this the ad hoc calques in I (5, 6)--jedvavŭsxodijnaja and jedvavidimaja for dysanábaton and dystheōreton.

⁷H. Lausberg, Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik (Munich, 1960), § 638.

⁸Ibid.

κτίσεις/κτίστης; ἀνάστασις/λύτρωσις)--only the second type is regularly, though not invariably, reflected by the Slavic text.

With regard to transmission of grammatical devices, the rate of transmission could be predicted to be close to, and probably higher than, that of the transmission of secondary sound repetitions. I.e., we would expect paregmenon, homoeop-ton, and polyptoton (and, of course, grammatical parallelism) to be transmitted in a large number of cases. Our expectations are based on the considerable similarity of the morphemic and syntactic patterning of OCS and Greek. Coincidences in grammatical category occur with respect to case (which includes adjectival and participial as well as nominal forms--with expected differences when Slavic usage dictates a case non-existent in Greek, namely the Instrumental or Locative, or simply a different usage of the other cases); number (in both nominal and verbal forms, with an expected difference when the Slavic dual is required); person; and tense (in which we ordinarily find Slavic Present equivalent to Greek Present, Slavic Aorist--and Perfective Aspect--equivalent to the Greek Aorist, Slavic Imperfect--and Imperfective Aspect--equivalent to Greek Imperfect, and Slavic Perfect to the Greek Perfect). Similarly for Mood (Slavic Imperative is equivalent to Greek Imperative--occurrence of Greek categories without direct equivalent in OCS, the Optative and Subjunctive, is nil in this text); and for Voice (Slavic Passive [or Reflexive]/Active is equivalent to Greek Passive/Active, with some variability where Greek dependent verbs are involved). It is also possible in OCS in a predominant number of cases to construct a sentence with use of the same parts of speech repeated in parallel position using a syntactic structure analogous to the Greek. This means that one can imitate quite extensively the grammatical parallelism of the chairetismoι or the grammatical figures of the oikoi in OCS. In striking contrast to the Greek-Slavic situation, where similarity of syntax favors transmission of the particular types of poetic devices prevalent in this genre, are translations

of the Akathistos into English,⁹ where dissimilarities of English and Greek syntax render extensive imitation of the kontakarion poetic impossible.

As regards transmission of semantic devices, one would predict that those devices that are based on semantic categories which appear to be universally antonymous (high/low, light-dark, fast/slow) would be most readily transmitted, as would be devices that involve comparable categories in similar cultures (rich/poor, wise/foolish). A high transmission rate would be expected to occur for tropes involving reference to the many widely or universally experienced phenomena, such as birth, death, eating, drinking intoxicating liquids, fire, sunsets, rain, etc.; and, more specifically, experiential phenomena shared by the cultures of the source and target languages; e.g., in a modern context, Bach, rock-and-roll, typewriters, surgical anesthesia, special canned food for household pets, or what have you. The latter type (in fact, any type) is by definition not transmissible when the phenomenon in question is not experienced by both of the two cultures in question, though the difficulty in communication can be partly circumvented by calque and paraphrase. The category consisting of references to culture-specific phenomena, then, will have a moderate to low rate of transmission, depending on the degree of cultural similarity or contact between speakers of the target and source languages. Finally, allusion is likewise transmissible when the knowledge of the object of the allusion is common to speakers of both the source and target languages, but non-transmissible when it is unknown to speakers of the target language.

We would expect a fairly high rate of transmission of lexical tropes in the Akathistos because the culture-specific references are mainly of a commonly widespread type within the

⁹Cf. Vincent McNabb, translator, Ode in Honour of the Holy Immaculate Most Blessed Glorious Lady Mother of God and Ever Virgin Mary (Cover title: The Akathistos Hymn) (Oxford, 1947).

European ancient and medieval experience (e.g., quiet harbors; cultivation of soil). As for allusion, they are restricted to persons, events, and symbols forming part of the Christian and Judaic history and mythology that had been introduced to the Slavs and was being actively propagated at the time of the translation of the Akathistos, so that one can assume some knowledge in common, although this question, as we have already stated, will not be specifically evaluated here.

In obtaining objective evidence relating to these predictions, we have analyzed 108 (i.e., one-third) of the 325 lines of the Akathistos. The methodology used in the analysis and a summary of results is presented in the next two sections of this chapter. The 108 sample lines were selected using a table of random numbers. This procedure was followed to avoid, on the one hand, the laborious (and unnecessary, since we are interested in transmission tendencies, not total number of occurrences) examination of the vast number of devices in the entire hymn; and, on the other hand, to enable us to select a sizable unbiased sample, i.e., one not weighted in favor of lines with cases of transmission (or non-transmission).

2. Poetic Devices, their Linguistic Definitions, and the Criteria Used in Determining Occurrence of Transmission

The poetic devices observed in the Akathistos are of seven types: (1) primary or inorganic sound repetition (recurrence of the same phoneme or sequence of phonemes in different morphemes in a line or set of adjacent lines); (2) secondary or organic sound repetition (the result of a repetition of the same morpheme in the same or adjacent lines); (3) grammatical figures (repetition of the same morpheme in the same or adjacent lines, when the morpheme in question is in combination with different morphemes, i.e., excluding anaphora, or epiphora, where a whole word is repeated); (4) syllabo-accentual parallelism (two words in parallel position having the same number of syllables and the same place of accent); (5) syntactic parallelism (which includes repetition of words with the same grammatical categories in parallel metrical position and also recurrence of the

same syntactic order of dependence and word order in similarly parallel position); (6) semantic parallelism (which consists of the occurrence of semantically related words or phrases in metrically parallel position); and (7) semantic tropes. An additional category (8) for which rates of transmission were calculated in Section 3 has to do with the number of accents in a line. The acrostich of the original was not transmitted in the translation.

As regards semantic devices--items (6) and (7)--no attempt has been made to go beyond traditional rhetorical and poetic classification. In other words, no "linguistic definition" or componential analysis is offered for this category in our analysis.¹⁰

Identification and classification of semantic devices was made on the basis of the definition in J. Besharov's study of Choeroboscus¹¹ and in the handbook by H. Lausberg.¹² The criteria used to decide whether a particular case did or did not represent transmission were intuitive. An example of a transmission occurs in Prooemium I, line (3), which contains a similitudo as part of the antonomastic designation of the Archangel Gabriel as the 'incorporeal' and his addressee, the Virgin Mary, as 'unwed' (literally 'not tried in marriage'), i.e., virgin. The semantic characterization of both personae as existing in a negative relationship to things of the flesh is present in the Slavic line as well as in the Greek:

. . . ὁ ἀσώματος, λέγων τῇ ἀπειρογάμῳ

. . . besplŭtĭnŭ. vŭpiję kŭ brakuneiskunsĭnĕjĭ.

Cases of allusion have not been included in the category of semantic devices, since they are, presumably, not merely "semantic" in the ordinary linguistic sense but involve

¹⁰Cf. Uriel Weinreich, "Explorations in Semantic Theory," Current Trends in Linguistics III (The Hague, 1966), 396 et passim.

¹¹Cf. Justinia Besharov, Imagery of the Igor' Tale (Leiden, 1956), p. 47 f.

¹²Lausberg, p. 638.

reference to particular institutions or myths. In this sense they are comparable to proper names in that they cannot be defined in terms of general semantic categories or by paraphrase but require reference to individual persons, places, or things. Regarding the consequences of such an omission in our numerical data, see the next section.

For devices other than semantic it was possible either to perform the analysis using recognized analytic linguistic categories or to define devices in linguistic terms. What follows is a list of the types of devices found in the text together with a statement of the criteria used in deciding what constituted a transmission in the translation, and examples (either quotations or references) of the same.

1. Primary sound repetition

- a. Alliteration. Transmission is constituted by repetition of an initial consonant or consonant cluster in a minimum of two words in the same line; or in two adjacent lines in parallel position or in two semantically related words or adjacent to each other (i.e., one word at the end of a line, and the next word at the beginning of the next line). Example of transmission (the sole occurrence), *chairetismos XI, 6*:

Χαῖρε πέτρα ποτίσασα τοὺς διψῶντας τὴν ζωὴν

Radujŕ se kameni napoivyjŕ ŹeŹdŹstije Źivota

The alliteration is *p-/p-* in Greek, *Ź-/Ź-* in OCS.

This is counted as a transmission because the alliterative pair in Slavic occurs in the same line as in Greek, even though a different part of the line is involved. There were thirteen cases of alliteration in Slavic that occurred independent of the Greek text. These will be discussed in Section 4 of this chapter.

- b. Assonance. Transmission is constituted by repetition of a stressed vowel in a minimum of two words in the same line or in adjacent lines in parallel position or in two semantically related words, or adjacent

lines in parallel position or in two semantically related words, or adjacent (cf. above). For unstressed vowels, transmission is constituted by a minimum sequence of two ($V_1 \dots V_i$) in the same order. There are no examples of transmission.

- c. High consonant frequency. Transmission is constituted by a minimum triple occurrence of a consonant in one line, or two (or more) occurrences of a consonant in one line and two (or more) occurrences of the same consonant in the adjacent line. This category also includes recurrent sequences of consonants. A set of recurrent sequences composed of the same consonants is counted once. Example of transmission, Prooemium I, line (1) (2):

τὸ προσταχθὲν μυστικῶς/λαβὼν ἐν γνώσει
ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ/σπουδῇ ἐπέστη
povelěniŋoje tajĭno. priimŭ vŭ rozumě
vŭ krově iosifově spěšino pride

The repetitions in Greek are p-st -st- / sk- s-
sp- p-st; in OCS, p-v- pr- v-r- / v-kr- (v-

(v-) p- pr-. (The parenthesized v's actually are part of a homoeoteleuton that appears in Slavic but not in Greek. Cf. Section 4 of this chapter on independent devices in the translation.)

- d. Repetition of consonant-vowel sequences (paronomastic figures). Transmission is constituted by a repetition of a CV (VC) sequence in a line or in adjacent lines in parallel position, etc. (see above), or a combination of a consonant repetition and a vowel repetition in the same positions.

Example of transmission, chairetismos XI (12):

Χαῖρε ἐξ ἧς ρέει μέλι καὶ γάλα

Radujĭ se iz neježe tečetŭ medŭ i mlěko

Repetition in Greek: -é-e e-í- -éi (i.e., orthographic -é-ει) -é-i -e-á-a and ´-lV ´-lV; in Slavic, -é-ŭ -é-ŭ and m- m-.

An example of non-transmission occurs in the line cited above, under "alliteration." There the

sound repetition in the Greek is actually more extensive than simple alliteration: pet- pot-s-s- -ps-t-s and -a -o-i-a-a i-ó-a (two sequences of o and i, in inverted order, with the second member stressed, surrounded by a's, and substitution of e by o between p- and -t). No repetition of sequences of comparable complexity occurs in the Slavic text.

- e. Homoeoteleuton. Phonic identity of two or more suffixes, which are not, however, identical morphemes (i.e., not homoeoptoton). Transmission is constituted by repetition of the majority of consonants and vowels. In a suffix containing one stressed and more than one unstressed vowels, identity of the stressed vowels constitutes a majority. It did not seem satisfactory in this category and in other suffix categories (homoeoptoton) to accept only the cases of complete identity because that would have made it impossible to give any account of the many cases of partial identity. To be sure, since the criterion in Greek is complete identity, it can also be argued that anything less than complete identity does not really satisfy it. For a more explicit solution of an analogous problem, see the discussion of transmission criteria for syntactic parallelism under point 4 below and also in Section 3 of this chapter.
- f. Paronomasia. This term is here used to refer exclusively to the highest degree of 'inorganic' paronomasia per adiectionem vel detractionem and per immutationem¹³ so conspicuous in the kontakarion genre. The parcnomasias here included consist of two closely neighboring (often positionally parallel) words which have different root morphemes and which

¹³ Ibid.

differ in their phonological composition by at least one but by no more than two phonemes, either vowels or consonants, one of which may be zero in one of the pairs. The effect is that of two (pseudo-) etymologically related words, i.e., an illusion of a repetition of the same morpheme, but with a difference that resembles ablaut, affixation or infixation; e.g., /eklɪpsi:eklámpsi/ or /xará:ará/. A parano-mastic pair may include some morphemes that are the same, such as ek-, -s-i and -a in the examples quoted, but they may not be based entirely on repeated morphemes; i.e., paregmenon is not included in this category, being a 'secondary' or 'organic' type of sound figure.

There was no problem of determining criteria of transmission, since there were no cases even remotely resembling transmission.

2. Secondary sound repetition

a. In paregmenon (derivational figures)

There are three types, with transmission determined as follows

- (1) The root morpheme is repeated with a different derivational affix
- (2) The derivational prefix is repeated with a different root
- (3) The derivational suffix is repeated with a different root

b. In polyptoton--the same stem morpheme is repeated with a different inflectional suffix

c. In homoeoptoton--the same inflectional suffix is repeated, with criteria for transmission the same as in homoeoteleuton (see paragraph 1.e. above).

3. Grammatical figures

a. Paregmenon (derivational figure)

- (1) Repetition of root morpheme
- (2) Repetition of derivational prefix
- (3) Repetition of derivational suffix

- b. Homoeoptoton (inflectional figure)
Repetition of inflectional suffix (without requirements of phonological identity)
 - c. Polypoton (inflectional figure)
Repetition of the same stem with different inflectional suffixes
4. Syllabo-accentual parallelism--syllabic and accentual identity of words in parallel position
 5. Grammatical parallelism
 - a. Repetition of the same part of speech
 - b. Repetition of the same grammatical categories (subclasses)
 - c. Repetition of the same syntactic dependence
 - d. Repetition of the same word order

Two 'degrees' of transmission were computed in the case of grammatical categories. In the first degree, transmission meant maximal transmission, i.e., for the noun, transmission of three categories if three were parallel in the Greek text, of two if there was parallelism of two in the Greek text; and, similarly, for participles, parallelism of seven categories in Slavic if six were parallel in the Greek text (Slavic has one more category in participles than does Greek--aspect), etc. In this degree, called 'maximal transmission,' cases of transmission of fewer parallel categories in Slavic than were parallel in Greek--e.g., for nouns, of only two when three were parallel in the Greek--was counted as non-transmission, along with zero transmission, i.e., complete absence of parallelism in Slavic.

In the second degree, cases of partial transmission were counted as transmission if 66 percent or more of the categories were transmitted; e.g., for nouns, if two categories were parallel when three were parallel in Greek, etc. For other

remarks about the computation of transmission for this category, see Section 3.

- (1) If Noun, parallelism of Gender, Number and Case.
- (2) If Participle, parallelism as for Noun above and Adjective below, and also of Voice, Tense and Aspect
- (3) If Adjective, parallelism as for Noun and also of the Definite/Indefinite category
- (4) If Verb, parallelism of Tense, Aspect, Person, and Number; also Voice in those cases in which the Greek model has a passive and Gender when the compound tenses are used

6. Semantic parallelism

- a. Antithesis, b. Pleonasm, c. Metonymy, d. Anaphora,*
- e. Simile and contrarium, f. Unspecified

7. Semantic tropes

- a. Metaphor, b. Metonymy, c. Synecdoche, d. Antonomasia,
- e. Pleonasm, f. Simile and contrarium, g. Oxymoron,
- h. Hyperbole, i. Prosopopoeia, j. Personification,
- k. Antithesis

3. Rates of Transmission of Poetic Devices

The sample of 108 randomly selected lines was examined with the purpose of identifying the poetic devices that occurred in the Greek and determining whether each of the devices did or did not also occur in the OCS translation. Occurrence in the translation was recorded as a transmission, non-occurrence as a non-transmission, according to the criteria outlined in the preceding section of this chapter. Note was also made of those cases in which a device occurred in the translation when it did not occur in the Greek model. A separate count was made of such cases (cf. below).

*The constant anaphora of the chairetismoι (Χαῖρε . . .) was not included in the computation, though its extended variations (Χαῖρε δὲ ἡς, κτλ.) were.

In many instances, and typically in the chairetismoï, a poetic device was found to extend over more than one line. Whenever any part of a device was located in a line of the sample, such a device was counted. If two lines of the sample were adjacent in the text and happened to share a device between them, the device was counted once.

In the pages that follow, a tabulated summary of the number and percent of transmissions is presented according to type of device. The tables are accompanied by an analysis of the statistical significance of differences in the rates of transmission of the different types of devices. The data on the number of additional occurrences of devices in OCS when not the result of transmission will be presented and analyzed separately in Section 4, since they yield not rates of transmission but indications about the density of poetic devices in the OCS text as a whole and make possible a comparative evaluation of the style of the translation and the original in terms of the entire hymn, including all possible poetic features of the translation, not only those directly transmitted from the original.

The tables in this section give figures only for the general categories (such as 'primary sound repetition,' 'paronomasia,' 'paregmenon,' 'grammatical parallelism,' etc.) in terms of which we have made our comparison of rates of transmission.

A few further prefatory remarks are in order about two of the categories--the semantic and that of primary sound repetitions. Speaking first of the categories of semantic tropes and parallelism, it may appear surprising to a reader of the hymn to find on consulting the tables that there are so relatively few occurrences of semantic devices--only 46 cases of lexico-semantic parallelism and 50 cases of semantic tropes--in our sample. The impression is that the text of our hymn is richer in semantic imagery than would be suspected from these figures. At this point we must remind ourselves that the count does not include allusions. The omission of this

device, so prominent in the hymn, is what in large part accounts for the seemingly inappropriately low number of semantic tropes. Another omission in this category is that of paregmenon and polyptoton, for which no analysis of semantic characteristics has been provided.

Some comment is also called for when we consider the rates of transmission for semantic parallelism and semantic tropes. For both categories it is 100 percent. Although it is quite clear that the degrees of transmission of semantic devices is extremely high, it is impossible to assert that a more refined methodology based on semantic analyses of the Greek and Slavic tropes would not show transmission to be less than absolute. However, when the analysis is performed in terms of general rhetorical concepts, the results indicate complete transmission, with the following reservations.

In the analysis, two cases of non-transmission of semantic devices were observed--both anaphoras. They occurred in XIX (5) (6) and (7) (8):

Χαῖρε σὺ γὰρ ἀνεκαίνισσας. . .

Χαῖρε σὺ ὅτι ἐνέδυσσας. . . .

Radují se ty bo obnovila jesi. . . .

Radují se jako ty oděla jesi. . .

and

Χαῖρε ἡ τὸν φθορέα. . .

Χαῖρε ἡ τὸν σπορέα. . .

Radují se gubitelja umomů. . .

Radují se sějatelja čistoty. . .

However, since non-transmission here is caused not by semantic exigencies but by demands of OCS syntax, it was felt that to include them as semantic non-transmissions would be misleading. A third potential semantic non-transmission was rejected for a different reason. It was a potential metonymy, whose status rests on the question of whether there is a semantic relationship between Χριστός 'Christ, the anointed one' and χρησμός 'prophecy' (X, 4 and 5). One fact about the Messiah was that his coming had been prophesied. A metonymic

relationship might be construed for this lexical pair, as a kind of folk-etymology, on the basis of the homonymy of the two morphemes /xris-/. In other words, this would be a case of either a pseudo-paregmenon or paronomasia. As such, it would not be transferrable to Slavic, since the morphemes used in the translation are dissimilar (proročĭstvo and xrista). Since, however, the existence of metonymy in the original is uncertain in the first place, the case was not counted.

Turning now to the figures of sound repetition, another of the total occurrence figures that appears in need of explanation is that of maximal paronomasia. It may seem surprising that so demanding a device should make up twenty-three of the total sixty-four occurrences of primary sound repetition in our sample, i.e., 35.9 percent. In fact it is a very prominent device in this genre, especially in the Akathistos with its parallel structure of the chairetismoi. However, it should be noted that our method of counting devices conceals the fact that for the other types of primary sound repetition, both the total length (i.e., number of phonemes involved) and the number of repetitions of sequences counted as one device are generally somewhat greater than for maximal paronomasias. That is to say that while a paronomasia encompasses a pair of single words, each containing some three to eight phonemes, i.e., three to eight pairs, the other types of sound repetitions may encompass one or two (occasionally three) lines with from two to some five or six intermittent occurrences of the same consonant, vowel or consonant-vowel pattern. In other words, comparison of the number of occurrences of the respective types of devices cannot be taken as a measure of the relative 'amount' and complexity of sound repetition contributed by each. It is not clear, in fact, what the units of a meaningful measure of such an amount and complexity might be.

Having made these strictures on methodology, we shall now apply the data to our initial predictions. We find that our prediction about the tendency not to transmit primary sound repetitions was confirmed absolutely in the case of maximal paronomasia, with no transmission occurring in any of the twenty-

three cases (see Table I). For partial paronomastic figures and alliteration, the ratio of transmission to non-transmission was about 1 to 3 (see Table I). The fact that about one-fourth (28.6%) of such devices could be judged as transmitted is interesting and warrants further investigation, particularly in order to ascertain that this is not an unintentional byproduct of the criteria used in making decisions on transmission.

TABLE I
TRANSMISSION OF FIGURES OF PRIMARY SOUND REPETITION

	Not including maximal paronomasia	Maximal paronomasia
Transmitted	12 (28.6%)	0
Not Transmitted	30 (71.4%)	23 (100.00%)
Total in Greek	42	23

TABLE II
TRANSMISSION OF FIGURES OF SECONDARY SOUND REPETITION

	Paregmenon	Poly- and homoeoptoton
Transmitted	18 (52.9)	49 (56.3)
Not transmitted	16 (47.1)	38 (43.7)
Total in Greek	34	87

TABLE III
TRANSMISSION OF FIGURES OF SOUND REPETITION
(PRIMARY AND SECONDARY)

	Primary	Secondary
Transmitted	12 (18.6)	67 (55.4)
Not transmitted	53 (81.4)	54 (44.6)
Total in Greek	65	121

TABLE IV
TRANSMISSION OF FIGURES OF SOUND REPETITION
(TOTAL)

Transmitted	79 (42.5)
Not Transmitted	107 (57.5)
Total in Greek	186

Comparing the total figures for the transmission of primary sound repetition (18.6% transmitted, including maximal paronomasia) with the rates of transmission of secondary sound repetitions (55.4% transmitted), which we predicted would be transmitted in a considerable number of cases, we find that the difference in rates of transmission of these two categories is statistically significant ($p < .001$, $\chi^2 = 23.740$, $df = 1$), that is, highly significant, with the transmission of the secondary sound figures occurring much more frequently (see Table III).¹⁴

On the other hand, when we compare the rates of transmission of secondary sound repetitions in derivational figures (paregmenon: 52.9% transmitted) and inflectional figures (poly- and homoeoptoton: 56.3% transmitted), the difference is found to be non-significant ($p < .80$, $\chi^2 = .113$, $df = 1$) (see Table II).

Within the category of grammatical figures, the differences between the transmission rate of derivational figures (paregmenon: 50% transmission) and inflectional figures (polyptoton and homoeoptoton: 72.4% transmission) is statistically significant ($p < .02$, $\chi^2 = 5.689$, $df = 1$), with transmission of inflectional figures occurring more frequently (see Table V).

¹⁴For help in calculating chi square and the level of statistical significance I am grateful to my husband, Walter Gove.

TABLE V
TRANSMISSION OF GRAMMATICAL FIGURES

	Paregmenon	Poly- and homoeoptoton
Transmitted	18 (50.0)	63 (72.4)
Not transmitted	18 (50.0)	24 (27.6)
Total in Greek	36	87

TABLE VI
TRANSMISSION OF GRAMMATICAL FIGURES (COMBINED)

Transmitted	81 (65.9)
Not transmitted	42 (34.1)
Total in Greek	123

When we go on to compare the rates of transmission of the parallelism of grammatical categories with transmission of other types of devices, we are faced with a special problem. In calculating the transmission of semantic and phonological devices, as well as grammatical figures, decisions were made on an item-by-item basis, using impressionistic criteria in the case of semantic devices, arbitrarily set minimum numerical requirements of phoneme identities for phonological devices, and identities of specified morphemes for grammatical figures. The resulting decisions of transmission or non-transmission in each of these categories were privative, i.e., at each occurrence of one of these devices in Greek, a yes-or-no decision was made about the presence or absence of a device in Slavic. For grammatical parallelism, the situation is different, since each case has been analyzed according to its grammatical characteristics, e.g., gender, case and number for nouns, etc. This means that we have not only cases of clear transmission, where the number of categories is identical in a pair of words in Slavic and in the Greek model; or clear cases of non-transmission, where none of the categories is identical in

Slavic; but also cases of partial transmission, where fewer of the categories are parallel in Slavic than in Greek. The results of this threefold break-down--maximal, partial, and zero transmission--are presented in Table VII.

TABLE VII
TRANSMISSION OF PARALLELISM OF GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES
(COMPUTED PER PAIR OF LEXICAL TERMS)

Maximally transmitted	63 (64.9)
Partially transmitted	28 (28.9)
Completely non-transmitted	6 (6.2)
Total in Greek	97

However, since we want to compare the transmission of grammatical category parallelism with the other devices, it has been necessary to convert the threefold scheme into a twofold, privative one. This has been done in two ways: (1) counting as transmissions only those cases where complete transmission took place (cf. definition in Section 3) and interpreting partial transmission as non-transmission, and (2) counting as transmission all cases in which 66 percent or more of the categories involved in each parallel pair were transmitted, as non-transmissions all cases where transmission was less than 66 percent, including zero transmission. (See Tables VIII and IX.)

TABLE VIII
TRANSMISSION OF PARALLELISM OF GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES
(PARTIAL TRANSMISSION INTERPRETED AS NON-TRANSMISSION)

Transmitted	63 (64.9)
Not transmitted (partial or zero transmission)	34 (35.1)
Total in Greek	97

TABLE IX
TRANSMISSION OF PARALLELISM OF GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES
(PARTIAL TRANSMISSION OF 66 PERCENT AND ABOVE
INTERPRETED AS TRANSMISSION)

Transmitted (66% or above)	86 (88.7)
Not transmitted (less than 66%)	11 (11.3)
Total in Greek	97

It seems that the second way of differentiating between transmission and non-transmission is the more appropriate one. The 66 percent level was chosen on the basis of the part of speech with the smallest number of categories--the noun. At the 66 percent level, only those pairs of nouns with two out of three categories identical can be counted as transmitted. (There were fifteen such cases.) At this level the verbs and adjectives, with four categories each (the categories of Mood and Voice were applied only in those few cases in which a non-indicative or non-active form was present in the Greek), require identity of three out of the four for transmission (there was one such case in the verbs) or identity of two out of three, if the number of categories that are parallel in the Greek model is one less than maximum. (There was one such case in the adjectives.) Finally, for the participles, with seven categories, five must be identical for a parallelism to be counted as transmitted at the 66 percent level. (There were four such cases.)

The reason this definition of transmission is favored is that in Greek there are a number of cases of incomplete parallelism, which nevertheless appear to qualify as parallelism. In such cases, identity of, e.g., two categories in the noun, plus identity of the part of speech and identity of syntactic dependence, produces an unmistakable effect of parallelism, and the same is true of the OCS passages. An example in Greek is II (1) (2): Βλέπουσα ἡ ἀγία/ἑαυτὴν ἐν ἀγνείᾳ where ἀγία is Nominative, ἀγνείᾳ is Dative, and both are Feminine Singular.

In this case, though both are Nouns, their syntactic dependence in the sentence is different. A comparable example in OCS is chairetismoι IX (11) (12): Radujī se persomŭ nastavīnice cĕlomŏdrija/Radujī sĕ vīsĕxŭ rodŭ veselije, where the Dative of possession is used in the first of the pair of lines (persomŭ), but the Genitive of possession in the second line (vīsĕxŭ rodŭ). The other two categories are identical--Masculine Plural--as is the syntactic dependence in each case, but on the level of parts of speech there is a difference. The fact that the difference in category may result in non-transmission of homoeoptoton is a separate question of organic phonological identity.

Setting the cut-off line for transmission at the 66 percent level also makes the procedure more comparable to that used in determining transmission of phonological figures. The procedure differs in that in the evaluation of phonological figures, the criteria of transmission are arbitrary in an impressionistic way, due to the analyst's inability to arrive at a proper unit of measurement that could be used for an accurate comparison of stretches of recurrent identical sequences of phonemes in the original with recurrent identical sequences of phonemes in the translation involving, as they do, sequences of different length and composed of different phonemes. The solution to this problem of determining equivalence was that anything in the translation that could be identified as a sound repetition on its own terms (with the minimum requirements made explicit in Section 2) would be counted as an equivalent to a sound repetition occurring in the same line of the original, regardless of relative complexity or length, short of maximal paronomasia, for which different requirements were set. In the evaluation of transmission of grammatical parallelism, on the other hand, determination of equivalence seems much less arbitrary, assuming, of course, that we are correct to give the same weight to the respective categories in Greek and in Slavic, i.e., that noun gender in Greek is somehow equivalent to noun gender in Slavic, etc. This may turn out to be an

oversimplification, but so far we have not encountered any situation that would prove this assumption unworkable. In defining grammatical parallelism, then, it was possible to be entirely explicit about the kinds and numbers of units used in evaluating transmission. Taking into account this difference in method, the similarity between the two cases is that in neither (i.e., in phonological figures, on the one hand, and in grammatical category parallelism at the 66 percent level, on the other hand) was a requirement of total identity set in determining transmission, but, rather, a requirement of a specified minimum amount of identity.

Although we are inclined to favor the 66 percent level of computation for the reasons stated, in the analysis that followed, all comparisons that involve parallelism of grammatical categories will be carried out using both the 66 percent and the maximum transmission levels. Comparing the rate of transmission of grammatical figures (65.9% transmitted, see Table VI) with that of parallelism of grammatical categories (64.9% transmitted, see Table VIII), we find that the difference in rates of transmission is statistically non-significant ($p < .90$, $\chi^2 = .021$, $df = 1$). However, when we compare the rates of transmission of the same two types of devices with the transmission of grammatical parallelism calculated at the 66 percent level (88.7% transmitted, see Table IX), the difference is highly significant ($p < .001$, $\chi^2 = 15.424$, $df = 1$). At the 66 percent level, the transmission rate of the parallelism of grammatical categories is significantly higher than the transmission rate of grammatical figures.

Continuing the comparison, we find that the rates of transmission of parallelism of syntactic dependence (89.2% transmitted, see Table X) and parts of speech (92.2% transmitted, see Table X) differ significantly from those of the parallelism of grammatical categories (64.9%, Table VIII) when the latter is calculated at the level of maximal transmission (for syntactic dependence $p < .001$, $\chi^2 = 18.018$, $df = 1$; for parts of speech $p < .001$, $\chi^2 = 15.753$, $df = 1$).

However, when computed at the 66 percent level (88.7% transmission of grammatical categories, see Table IX), the difference is non-significant ($p < .50$, $\chi^2 = .613$, $df = 1$ and $p < .90$, $\chi^2 = .017$, $df = 1$, respectively). In other words, at the 66 percent level, we find that the rates of transmission of the parallelism of syntactic dependence (92.2%) and parts of speech (89.2%) is about the same as the rate of transmission of the parallelism of grammatical categories (88.7%). Transmission of parallelism of word order shows a highly significant difference in rate (97.5%, Table X) from that of parallelism of grammatical categories computed as maximum transmission ($p < .001$, $\chi^2 = 28.672$, $df = 1$) and approaches significance when the latter is calculated at the 66 percent level ($p < .02$, $\chi^2 = 6.218$, $df = 1$).

TABLE X
TRANSMISSION OF GRAMMATICAL PARALLELISM ON THE
LEVELS OF (1) PARTS OF SPEECH, (2) SYNTACTIC
DEPENDENCE, AND (3) WORD ORDER

	Part of speech	Syntactic dependence	Word order
Transmitted	83 (89.2)	71 (92.2)	78 (97.5)
Not transmitted	10 (10.8)	6 (7.8)	2 (2.5)
Totals in Greek	93	77	80

TABLE XI
TRANSMISSION OF GRAMMATICAL PARALLELISM ON ALL
LEVELS (PARALLELISM OF CATEGORIES COMPUTED
AT MAXIMAL TRANSMISSION)

Transmitted	295 (85.0)
Not transmitted	52 (15.0)
Total in Greek	347

TABLE XII
TRANSMISSION OF GRAMMATICAL PARALLELISM ON ALL
LEVELS (PARALLELISM OF CATEGORIES COMPUTED
AT 66 PERCENT)

Transmitted	318 (91.6)
Not transmitted	29 (8.4)
Total in Greek	347

The comparison of the rates of transmission of semantic devices, both tropes and parallelism (100% transmission, see Table XV), and grammatical devices, including grammatical figures and syntactic parallelism on all levels, is highly significant, whether the level of transmission of grammatical category parallelism is computed at the maximum (80% transmission, see Table XVII) ($p < .001$, $\chi^2 = 23.024$ and 16.618 , respectively, $df = 1$). Semantic devices are transmitted at a rate considerably higher than grammatical devices.

TABLE XIII
TRANSMISSION OF SEMANTIC TROPES

Transmitted	46 (100.0)
Not transmitted	0
	46

TABLE XIV
TRANSMISSION OF SEMANTIC PARALLELISM (COMPUTED
PER PAIR OF LEXICAL ITEMS)

Transmitted	50 (100.0)
Not transmitted	0
Total in Greek	50

TABLE XV
TRANSMISSION OF SEMANTIC DEVICES
(TROPES AND PARALLELISM)

Transmitted	96 (100.0)
Not transmitted	0
Total in Greek	96

TABLE XVI
TRANSMISSION OF GRAMMATICAL AND SEMANTIC DEVICES (WITH
PARALLELISM OF GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES AT
MAXIMUM TRANSMISSION)

	Grammatical devices (figures & parallelism)	Semantic devices (tropes & parallelism)
Transmitted	376 (80.0)	96 (100.0)
Not transmitted	94 (20.0)	0
Totals in Greek	470	96

TABLE XVII
TRANSMISSION OF GRAMMATICAL AND SEMANTIC DEVICES
(WITH PARALLELISM OF GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES
AT 66 PERCENT)

	Grammatical devices	Semantic devices
Transmitted	399 (85.1)	96 (100.0)
Not transmitted	71 (14.9)	0
Totals in Greek	470	96

TABLE XVIII
TRANSMISSION OF GRAMMATICAL AND SEMANTIC PARALLELISM
(GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES AT MAXIMUM)

	Grammatical parallelism	Semantic parallelism
Transmitted	295 (85.0)	50 (100.0)
Not transmitted	52 (15.0)	0
Totals in Greek	347	50

TABLE XIX
TRANSMISSION OF GRAMMATICAL AND SEMANTIC PARALLELISM
(GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES AT 66 PERCENT)

	Grammatical parallelism	Semantic parallelism
Transmitted	318 (91.6)	50 (100.0)
Not transmitted	39 (8.4)	0
Totals in Greek	347	50

Comparison of the rates of transmission of parallelism only, i.e., of semantic parallelism and syntactic parallelism (Tables XVIII and XIX) shows that the difference in rates is significant when parallelism of grammatical categories is computed at maximum transmission ($p < .01$, $\chi^2 = 8.622$, $df = 1$) and approaches significance when parallelism of grammatical categories is computed at 66 percent ($p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 4.508$, $df = 1$). In other words, if the criterion of maximal transmission is used for grammatical categories, then transmission of semantic parallelism is seen to occur at a higher rate than transmission of syntactic parallelism. On the other hand, when cases at the 66 percent level and above are counted as transmitted, the difference in transmission is reduced to the point where the rates of transmission of semantic and grammatical parallelism are seen to be very close.

TABLE XX

TRANSMISSION OF SYLLABO-ACCENTUAL PARALLELISM AND OF
FIGURES OF PRIMARY SOUND REPETITION

	Syllabo-accentual parallelism	Primary sound repetition
Transmitted	16 (17.2)	12 (18.6)
Not transmitted	77 (82.8)	53 (81.4)
Totals in Greek	93	65

Turning to examine a very different level of parallelism, that of syllables and accent position, we complete the circle begun when we discussed the transmission of phonological devices. In Section 1 of this chapter it was predicted that the transmission of syllabo-accentual parallelism would be similar to that of primary sound repetition, since in both types of device, exploitation of fortuitous similarities is decisive. That our prediction is born out by the data can be seen from Table XX. Comparison of the rates of transmission of figures of primary sound repetition (18.6%) and of syllabo-accentual parallelism (17.2%) shows them to be very close and without a statistically significant difference ($p < .90$, $\chi^2 = .041$, $df = 1$).

As indicated in Section 2 of this chapter, we have also made a count of the number of Slavic lines in our sample that have the same number of accents as the corresponding Greek lines. Although "number of accented syllables in the line" is not, as such, a poetic device, there is the possibility that it may stand in a significant relationship to musical accent in the melismatic genres (cf. the hypothesis of Høeg discussed in Chapter III). For this reason it is interesting to know the exact degree of correspondence of the Slavic lines to the Greek in this regard. In this count, "number of accented syllables" means the number of such syllables occurring in an actual line, not the number of "metrical accents" (i.e., maximum number of

accents indicated by the meter). It may be that subsequent inquiries will point at the desirability to measure the accentuation of the Slavic lines against the over-all meter of the Greek, as well.

In a few cases it was not clear whether a particular word should be counted as accented or unaccented--a difficulty that was encountered before in the evaluation of variants in Chapter IV. For Greek, the accentual rules given by Maas and Trypanis in the metrical appendix to *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica* (pp. 511-6) have been followed. In Slavic the principle of assigning an accent whenever possible (e.g., on a postposed monosyllabic pronoun, such as jō or other postpositions, e.g., radi) was followed, since the conditions under which such words might have been unaccented are not known. Among these, a particularly persistent problem was the accentuation of jako because of its high frequency of occurrence. Since it occurred ten times in our sample, an arbitrary decision to accent each occurrence introduced a considerable bias. We decided instead to present two sets of figures--one counting jako as accented and the other as unaccented--to indicate the possible range of variation.

TABLE XXI
TRANSMISSION OF THE NUMBER OF ACCENTS IN A LINE

A. With Accent on <u>jako</u>	
	Number of lines
The same number of accents in Greek and in Slavic	84 (78.5%)
One more accent in Slavic than in Greek	21
Two more accents in Slavic than in Greek	2
Total number of lines	107
B. Without Accent on <u>jako</u>	
The same number of accents in Greek and in Slavic	92 (86.0%)
One more accent in Slavic than in Greek	15 (14.0%)
Two more accents in Slavic than in Greek	0
Total number of lines	107

4. The Poetic Texture of the Translation

It is an often repeated dictum that a poetic translation can be considered successful only to the extent that it is successful as a poem in its own right. Unfortunately, it is a hazardous undertaking to judge, at a remove of a millennium, the poetic merits of a translated work in a language which we know from records consisting almost exclusively of translations, as is the case in Old Church Slavonic. One is plagued by the realization that the proliferation of syntactic inversions, participial clauses and compound calques that one finds in the Akathistos (and in other Church Slavic texts) resulted in a style that must have struck its hearers as very different from the indigenous style of oral epics, songs, and tales. One wonders what kind of response it evoked. Did it have esthetic appeal, at least in the sense of the religious esthetic, in which artistic form is viewed in its function of enhancing the act of worship, and beauty is an integral and proper part of worship. Or did the excesses of imitative syntactic and lexical innovation overwhelm the poetic properties of the works in question, preventing the fusion of the esthetic and the spiritual and merely creating a form that was marked "religious"? Or was it just the fact that these works were religious and thus functionally different from other genres that lent them an esthetic quality?

Along with the new religious concepts and new forms of worship, the liturgy with its hymns and sermons introduced a new poetic and rhetoric. It is tempting to conjecture that the very circumstance of the new poetic being part of a completely new ethos would have been an important factor favoring the acceptance of the new forms (together with or in spite of their syntactic and lexical complexities), since they were not in direct competition with the indigenous secular forms. (To be sure, there was also some overlap between the Byzantine and the indigenous poetic, for example in the area of sound repetition, of anaphora, of parallelism, of homoeoptoton, and so forth.) That the esthetic worth of the Byzantine liturgical

setting was readily acknowledged is witnessed by the rationale that the Russian Primary Chronicle ascribed to the Kievan princes' choice of the Eastern form of Christianity as their new religion. According to the chronicle, it was done on esthetic grounds. That is, it was judged appropriate that religious worship be surrounded by splendour and beauty, as it was in the Byzantine church.¹⁵ That this is an ex post facto rationalization based on Byzantine values, which by the eleventh century were assimilated at least by the educated Russian clergy, of which the compiler of the Chronicle was a member, does not detract from the argument, but quite the contrary. Further testimony of the receptivity of the Slavs to Byzantine religious art can be found in the flourishing iconography of Russia as well as in the cultivation of Byzantine-derived church music, reflected in the early neumated manuscripts that have come down to us and in the still-viable, Byzantine-based chants of the Old Believers.¹⁶ Of course the fact of successful transplantation of painting and music cannot per se be taken as proof of a similar viability of the translated poetry. More relevant is the evidence of original compositions according to Byzantine rhetorical and poetic rules (albeit without the elaborate inversions and tautological participles we find in the translated texts); e.g., the sermons of Cyril of Turov or Ilarion, or the canons composed in honor of local saints. There are also the akafisty, modeled on the Akathistos, being composed in the Russian church to this day as a kind of fossil genre. (The most recent one is in honor of St. Ioann Kronštadtskij, canonized by the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church in Exile in 1964.)

It is not our intention in this study to attempt a critical evaluation of the Slavic Akathistos, much less of OCS translated

¹⁵Povest' vremennyx let, ed. V. Adrianova-Peretc, vol. I (Moscow, 1950), 6495 (987).

¹⁶E. Koschmieder, "Teoria i praktyka rosyjskiego śpiewu neumatycznego na tle tradycji staroobrzędowców wileńskich," Ateneum Wileńskie X (Wilno, 1935), 295-306.

literature. However, our data do give interesting indications for conclusions of more modest scope, namely numerical indications that permit us to gain some idea of the density of poetic images and ornamental devices of the OCS translation in comparison to the same characteristics of the original.

As already seen in the preceding pages of this chapter, the translation is completely lacking in one of the most conspicuous and dramatic devices of the original--maximal paronomasia--of which our Greek sample of 108 lines had 23 cases. To this extent the ornateness of the translation is diminished. At the other pole, that of semantic imagery, the translation appears to be entirely coextensive with the original, insofar as can be determined from a second-hand knowledge of the two languages, and assuming that the wealth of allusions was comprehensible to auditors of the translation. For all devices other than primary (inorganic) sound repetition, we find that 50 percent or more of the devices in Greek also appear in Slavic. In fact, for the grammatical devices (with the exception of paregmenon) the rates of transmission are considerably higher: 72.4 percent for polyptoton and homoeoptoton, 88.7 percent for parallelism of grammatical categories (at 66 percent transmission of categories per parallel lexical pair), and 92.2 percent for parallelism of syntactic dependence.

From these figures alone we might conclude that the translation achieves a moderately high to high degree of equivalence on the semantic and grammatical levels of poetic form, and that the transmission of secondary figures of sound repetition (55.4 percent transmission of phonological figures embedded in paregmenon, polyptoton, and homoeoptoton), together with the few transmission of figures of primary sound repetition (18.6 percent), which add up to 42.5 percent of the cases in the Greek, reflect to some extent the phonological (and etymological and pseudo-etymological) ornateness of the original, though without achieving its high density of phonological effects. To this must be added the fact that the meter of the translation is marked only by regularity of number of accents

per line, without the additional factor of a patterned distribution of accented and unaccented syllables.

One could justifiably claim that the loss of the elaborate paronomastic figures and of half of the paregmena is serious enough to change the entire physiognomy of the poem, since it is precisely these devices that manifest the most highly abstract symbolic level the subject of the poem--the Menschenwerdung of God and the paradoxes involved in the event. Among the most important passages are those referring to the antithesis of "the Fall" and "Redemption" (I, ch. 1,2): ἀρά . . . χαρά), the mystery of divine conception by a virgin (III (1): Γνώσιν ἀγνωστον γῶναι, κτλ.), the confrontation of human morality and divine will (VI (4), (5): πρὸς τὴν ἀγαμὸν σε θεωρῶν/καὶ κλεψίγαμον ὑπονοῶν, ἀμεμπτε), and the ultimate paradox of the God-Man (VIII (6): καὶ φθάσαντες τὸν ἀφθαστον, and XV (1-3): ὁλος ἦν ἐν τοῖς κάτω/καὶ τῶν ἄνω οὐδ' ὅλως/ἀπῆν). But in fact, in three of these five crucial passages the supporting figures appear in Slavic as well to add their rhetorical weight to the propositions, thus lending the translation some of the same quality of substantial linguistic manifestation of the sense expressed in the propositions. When we view this against the background of the extensive grammatical and semantic parallelism of the translation, the inevitable conclusion is that the translation is poetic, at least in some of its parts, judged by the poetic criteria of the original.

So far we have spoken only about rates of transmission of poetic devices in Slavic as compared to the total number of the occurrences of such devices in the original. However, our analysis reveals that transmission was not the only factor contributing to the poetic qualities of the translation. In a number of cases, devices such as alliteration or paregmenon were observed to occur independently in the Slavic text without having underlying models in the corresponding lines of the original. It goes almost without saying that a meaningful comparison of the translation and its original must take into account all the poetic effects of the translation, not just those that have underlying models. Obviously, if only

transmitted effects were of value, no one would ever attempt poetic transpositions, some of which are precisely among the most highly successful poetic analogues to their originals even as they transmute many details.

Let us review the data on independent occurrences of primary and secondary sound repetition and grammatical figures as they appear in Tables XXII to XXVII. Surprisingly, we find (Table XXII) that 52.0 percent of the figures of primary sound repetition occurring in Slavic in the lines of the sample do not have immediate models in the Greek text. All but one of these are cases of alliteration, a device prominent in native Slavic poetry as well.¹⁷ The latter observation is not meant to be offered as an explanation of the high frequency of alliteration in the Slavic text of the Akathistos. There are fourteen cases of alliteration in the Slavic sample (two of them transmitted from Greek) and only six cases of alliteration in the Greek sample. There is, of course, no way to rule out accident as a possible explanation of the higher frequency--along with relative frequency of initial consonants in Slavic and in Greek as a second possibility, and translator's intention as a third--except by calculating the frequency of alliteration in the Slavic Akathistos and comparing it with a count of alliteration in a non-rhetorical prose text of the same length, and this has not been done. We can observe, however, that whereas transmission of primary sound repetition devices occurred in only 18.6 percent of cases (Table III), the number of total occurrences of primary sound repetitions in the translation amounts to 38.5 percent of the number of total occurrences of such devices in Greek (see Table XXV A).

In the case of secondary (organic) sound repetitions, ten independent occurrences (six in paregmenon and four in poly- or homoeoptoton--see Table XXIII) increase the proportion to Greek from 55.4 percent transmitted (Table III) to 63.7 percent transmitted and independent (Table XXV A). If we look at the total percentages of sound repetitions (both primary and

¹⁷Cf. R. Jakobson, "Retrospect," Selected Writings IV (The Hague, 1966), 680.

TABLE XXII
 FIGURES OF PRIMARY SOUND REPETITION IN SLAVIC

	Not including maximal paronomasia	Maximal paronomasia
Transmitted	12 (48.0)	0
Additional in Slavic (not present in Greek)	13 (52.0)	0
Total in Slavic	25	0

TABLE XXIII
 FIGURES OF SECONDARY SOUND REPETITION IN SLAVIC

	In paregmenon	In poly- and homoeoptoton
Transmitted	18 (75.0)	49 (92.5)
Additional in Slavic	6 (15.0)	7 (7.5)
Total in Slavic	24	53

TABLE XXIV
 FIGURES OF SOUND REPETITION IN SLAVIC
 (PRIMARY & SECONDARY)

	Primary	Secondary
Transmitted	12 (48.0)	67 (87.0)
Additional in Slavic	13 (52.0)	10 (13.0)
Total in Slavic	25	77

secondary) we see that while transmissions amount to 42.5 percent (Table IV), the number of total sound repetitions in OCS (both transmitted and independent) amounts to 54.8 percent of the total number of such devices in Greek (Table XXV B). This means that the over-all density of phonological figures of all kinds is somewhat greater than what is achieved by transmission alone.

TABLE XXV
 FIGURES OF SOUND REPETITION IN SLAVIC AND GREEK

A. Primary and Secondary		
	Primary	Secondary
In Slavic	25 (38.5)	77 (63.7)
In Greek	65	121
B. Combined		
In Slavic	102 (54.8)	
In Greek	186	

A similar situation exists for occurrences of grammatical figures. There are eighteen cases of transmitted paregmena, or 50 percent (Table V) and six independent paregmena, which adds up to twenty-four paregmena in OCS, or 66.7 percent of the Greek (see Table XXVII). The increase in the number of polyp-tota and homoeoptota is quite small--four independent cases in addition to sixty-three cases of transmission (Table XXVII), i.e., from 72.5 percent transmitted to 77.0 percent total (transmitted and independent).

TABLE XXVI
 GRAMMATICAL FIGURES IN SLAVIC

	Pareqmenon	Poly- and homoeoptoton
Transmitted	18 (75.0)	63 (94.0)
Additional in Slavic	6 (25.0)	4 (6.0)
Total in Slavic	24	67

TABLE XXVII
GRAMMATICAL FIGURES IN SLAVIC AND GREEK

A. Paregmenon and Poly- and Homoeoptoton		
	Paregmenon	Poly- and homoeoptoton
Slavic	24 (66.7)	67 (77.0)
Greek	36	87
B. Combined		
	Slavic	91 (74.0)
	Greek	123

In grammatical parallelism, the independent cases of parallelism are found to occur in terms of individual linguistic categories (e.g., parallelism of noun case in an instance where Greek did not have parallelism of case). Since such instances formed only a minute part of the total number of categories involved, they do not add appreciably to the extensiveness of grammatical parallelism in the translation and have therefore not been considered. No cases of independent semantic tropes or semantic parallelism were observed.

The following are examples of poetic devices that appear in the translation independent from the Greek model, together with an exhaustive list of all such passages in the sample. Two examples of independent alliteration in OCS are:

IX ch. (3)

της ἀπάτης τὴν κάμινον παύουσα
prělistĩnojq peštĩ prěstavljajqšti

XXIII ch. (9,10)

. . . ἐγείρονται τροπαία
. . . ἐχθροὶ καταπίπτουσι
. . . vñstajqtd pobědy
. . . vradzi padajqtd

The first of these examples offers an extended paronomastic figure: prě-stĩ-. . . p-štĩ prěst-. The second is a case of parallel alliteration. The other passages with independent

alliteration are XI ch. (12), XV (1,2), XVIII (6), XIX ch. (7,8), XIX ch. (11,12), XX (4), XXI (6,7), XXI ch. (1,2) XXIII ch. (7,8), XXIII ch. (11,12). There is also an instance of independent homoeoteleuton in Prooemium I, line (2).

Examples of secondary sound repetition occurring independently in the translation are:

Paregmenon, XX (3):

τῷ τῶν πολλῶν οἰκτιρωμῶν σου
m(ũ)nožĩstvomũ m(ũ)nogyixũ ťtedrotũ tvoixũ

and XXI (1):

Φωτοδόχον λαμπάδα
Svĕtopriimĩnq svĕťtq

homoeoptoton, VII ch. (5,6):

. . .τὰ οὐράνια συναγáλλονται τῇ γῆ
. . .τὰ ἐπίγεια συνευφραίνονται πλοστοῖς
. . .nebesĩnaja radujotũse sũ zemĩnyimi
. . .zemĩnaja likujotũ sũ vĕrĩnyimi

and polyptoton, XXII (2,3):

χάριν δοῦναι θελήσας
ὀλημάτων ἀρχαίων
ὁ πάντων χρεωλύτης ἀνθρώπων
Blagodati dati vũsxotěvũ
dlũgomũ drěvĩnimũ
vĩsěxũ clevěkũ dlũgu razdrěťiteljĩ. . .

Other occurrences are, for paregmenon, XV ch. (7,8), XXVII ch. (7,8), XXI (5,6), XXI ch. (2) and for homoeoptoton, XXI ch. (1,2) and XXIII ch. (9,10). The examples and list of grammatical figures are included in the preceding.

So far all the comparative observations made have been statistical, i.e., the number n of occurrences of a device x in the translation sample was shown to constitute m percent of cases in comparison to the number of occurrences of this device in the original sample, where the entire text, from

beginning to end, was randomly sampled. These data were also used to determine the relative rates of transmission of different devices.

A different approach, and one without which no evaluation can be complete, is to analyze a continuous segment of text. We select the first two such segments because they are the most striking examples of the tendency for the OCS text to introduce patterns of sound repetitions that are independent from the Greek model. The two passages selected are oikoi X and XXI, presented below in that order. Oikos X is distinguished by an unusually high frequency of the consonant v (see Figures 1 and 2) as well as by alliteration and by paronomastic figures involving v's.

Propovědĭnici bogonosivyi

byvŭše vlŭsvi
 vŭzvratíšę sę vŭ vavilonŭ
 sŭkonĭčavŭše že proročĭstvo
 i propovědavŭše tę xrista vĭsĕmŭ
 ostavlĭše Iroda jako blędiva
 ne vĕdŏšta pĕti: Aleluija

Note the alliterated pr-, b- and v- and the sequences BogonoSĭVYi BŶVŬše VLŬSVĪ and VLŬSVĪ/VŬzvratĭšę sę VŬ VaVILŌnŬ; or the antithesis embodied in the paregmenon propovědĭnici. . . propovědavŭše, as contrasted with ne vĕdŏšta derived from a homonymous root.

18 v	4 l
8 s	3 b
7 r, t	2 k, č
6 p, š	1 g, z, ž, x, m, j
5 d, n	

Figure 1. Consonant Frequencies in Oikos X

15 (-2)* = 13	o	5 (-1) = 4	ě
12 (-4) = 8	i	4 (-2) = 2	ę
10 (-3) = 7	a	4 (-1) = 3	ř
9 (-3) = 6	ů	2 (1) = 1	y
6 (-4) = 2	e	1 (-1) = 0	q

Figure 2. Vowel Frequencies in Oikos X*

The sound frequencies presented in Figures 1 and 2 are meant to be merely suggestive. Comparison with the vowel frequencies calculated by Robert Abernathy for Codex Zographensis¹⁸ shows a close correspondence. The order of frequency in Abernathy's sample was o, e, and a, i and ů as the highest frequency vowels in that order. In our small sample, the only deviation is that of e, which appears less frequently than ů and the appearance of a and i in inverted order. No consonant frequency count for an OCS prose text was available for comparison. However, the much higher frequency of v (more than twice as high as the next most frequent consonant) makes it seem very probable that it was a perceptible deviation contributing to poetic effect.

Oikos XXI is, if anything, more rich in paronomastic sequences.

Světopriimīnq svěštq
 soštiimũ vũ tīmē javlišq sę
 vidimũ svętojq dęvicq
 besplŕtīnyi bo vŕžagajqšti ognjī
 navoditu kŕ razumu božiju vīsęxũ
 zarjejq umũ prosvęštajqšti
 zŕvanijemũ že čīstima simī:
 Radujī sę. . . .

*Vowels occurring in desinences are subtracted in parentheses. Note that the vowel u does not occur in this passage.

¹⁸Robert Abernathy, "Some Theories of Slavic Linguistic Evolution," American Contributions to the Fifth International Congress of Slavists, Sofija, 1963 (The Hague, 1963), p. 24.

In this stanza note (besides the paregmenon of the first line) the sequences SVĚTOPRIIMĚNO SVĚŠTO/SOŠTIIMŮ VŮ TĚMĚ (javljšŏse/VidiMŭ) SVĚTOJO (děvicŏ)--where the words in parentheses are only partial echoes; or VĚDIMŮ (svetojo) (DĚVICŏ (or DĚVÍCŏ)/.../NAVÓDITŮ; and the alliterations with sv- and z-. (In this stanza the number of v's is only eleven, which still seems considerable.)

As for the poetic quality of the translation dependent on aspects other than the phonological, it is quite uneven, as might have been suspected from the figures quoted in the first part of this section. The failure to transmit the meter (cf. Chapter III and IV) is most noticeable in the chairetismoι, since metrical parallelism is forfeited (except for the repetition of the same number of accents). On the other hand, the constant anaphora Radujš se and the extremely high rates of transmission of syntactic and semantic parallelism, along with a moderate rate of transmission of secondary figures of sound repetition (especially homoeoptoton implied by grammatical parallelism) impose a strong parallel structure on the successive sets of acclamations, even though the striking parano-mastic features of the original are also lacking. This can be seen by comparing any set of chairetismoι with its Greek model in the text presented in the Appendix.

The poetic quality of the translated oikoi rests on semantic tropes, paregmena, occasional parallelism and homoeoptota, and the intermittent aggregations of primary sound figures. In a stanza such as VII, we find the essential gospel image of the shepherds' visit to the Shepherd who is the Lamb essentially unaltered, and the same is true of the metaphor of his grazing in Mary's womb:

Slyšašę pastyri
 angely pojŏšte
 plŭtiskoje xristovo prišštvije
 i tekŭše jako kŭ pastyrju
 viděšę togo jako agniča neporočŭna

vů črěvě mariině pasoma
jǫže pojǫšte rěšǫ:

Radujĭ se. . .

ἤκουσαν οἱ ποιμένες
τῶν ἀγγέλων ὑμνοῦντων
τὴν ἑνσαρκον Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν·
καὶ δραμόντες ὡς πρὸς ποιμένα
θεωροῦσι τοσοῦτον ὡς ἀμνὸν ἀμωμον
ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς Μαρίας βοσκηθέντα,
ἦν ὑμνοῦτες εἶπον· Χαῖρε, κτλ.

In this particular stanza even the loss of the metrical parallelism of the first two lines is not total:

Greek	' x . x x ' x
	x x ' x x ' x
OCS	' x x x x '
	' x x x ' x

The most serious loss in the translation is the motivation of the epithet "blameless," which in Greek is paronomastic: ἀμνὸν ἀμωμον but agnīca neporočīna. It is not entirely divorced from the phonological figures of this stanza, however, since it contains a p as the initial consonant of the stem. This is the predominating consonant of this stanza in the translation and occurs initially in the last words of the lines immediately preceding and following the line containing the epithet in question: (4) kŭ pastyrju/(5) neporočīna/(6) pasoma. These three words are thus positionally parallel and also share the same referent (i.e., the referent of pastyrjĭ is also the referent of the headword and logical object of neporočīna and pasoma respectively). It is an alliteration of p's with added medial sound repetition and homoeoteleuton in PLŮTĪSkoJE. . . PRiŠĪSTviJE that provides a modicum of approximation of the triple repetition of s and r in line (3) of the Greek: enSaRkón xRiStÚ paRUSÍas. There is a further alliteration in

lines (1) and (2) of the translation, in parallel position: pastyri/pojqšte. Note, furthermore, that the relationship between neporočina and pasoma indicated above extends beyond the initial consonants: nePorÓčina/PasÓma. The paregmenon ποιμένες (1) /ποιμένα (4) as well as the polyptoton δυνούτων/δυνούτες (actually identical forms in OCS) are reproduced, one member of each appearing in the two periods of the stanza.

On the whole, the impression produced by the transmission of this stanza is very much like that of the original. Both combine the pastoral simplicity of the setting, whether actual (shepherds) or metaphorical (lamb grazing in the womb), with the significant drama of the narrated event--angelic song heralding the divine incarnation. In both the narrative is enhanced by metrical, phonological, grammatical, and lexical symmetry of presentation.

It is our impression that in its poetic quality this stanza is by and large representative of the twenty-three other stanzas of the translation. To be sure, there are passages that appear less expressive, particularly in the second part of the hymn, where narration of events from the early life of Jesus gives way to more abstract Christological allusions. These require the translator to provide lexical equivalents for a more abstract or metaphorically terminology and seemingly also are characterized by a more involved syntax. An example of this type is provided by stanza XIV:

Straniño roždĭstvo viděvŭše
 ustranimŭ se mira
 umŭ na nebo přěložĭše
 sego bo radi vysokyjĭ
 na zemli javi se sŭměrenŭ člověků
 xotę privesti na vysotę
 kŭ nemu vŭpijŭstęę: aleluija

Ξένον τόκον ἰδόντες
 Ξενωθῶμεν τοῦ κόσμου
 τὸν νοῦν εἰς οὐρανὸν μεταθέντες·
 διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ ὑψηλός
 ἐπι γῆς ἐφάνη ταπεινός ἄνθρωπος,
 βουλόμενος ἐλκύσαι πρὸς τὸ ὕψος
 τοὺς αὐτῷ βοῶντας· Ἀλληλούϊα.

Here this reader, at least, is not as impressed with the successes of the translation, such as the paregmena straniño/ustranimŭ se and vysokijŭ/vysoto. The latter, in particular, involving as it does two antonomastic tropes (in Greek, ὁ ὑψηλός is a common epithet for 'God' and ὕψος refers to 'heaven') seems awkward and opaque, perhaps because there is no grammatical signal in Slavic that the first member of this pair--vysokijŭ--is to be interpreted not as an adjectival modifier of some nominal headword (which the reader gradually discovers does not exist) but as the subject of the entire sentence constituting the second period of this stanza. The impulse (syntactically justifiable) to interpret vysokijŭ as referring to člověku as a qualifier antithetical to sŭměrenŭ distorts the meaning intended in the original, where the contrast presented is not between a particular 'high' or 'superior man' and his transformation into one of the other, 'humble' men, but more radically between 'God on high' and 'man.'

One ought not overlook the phonological unity of the translated stanza, which, though not as striking as in the preceding two stanzas quoted, is not negligible:

- | | | |
|----------------|-------|--------|
| (1) stran- | r- | -stv- |
| (2) stran(im)- | mira | |
| . . . | | |
| (3) s- | ra- | vys- |
| (4) -vis- | -mĕr- | |
| (5) -vest- | | vys-t- |

It must, in all fairness, be said that the imagery of the original is also not of the same order in this stanza as in the

preceding stanza we looked at. Its allusions are more "cerebral" in that they are more abstractly theological, whereas in stanza VII use was made of the most natural of images suggested by familiar events (Luke 2:8-20) and equally familiar and at least ostensibly earthbound epithets (the Shepherd, the Lamb). Stanza XIV is also more directly didactic, as it addresses the congregation with an invitation to engage in pious contemplation.

We would like to suggest as the explanation that what accounts for the especially favorable effect of stanza VII are precisely the metaphors and the contrast between the natural and the supernatural, which are present both in the original and the translation. Lacking vivid semantic images and contrasts, the poetic effect of stanza XIV rests more heavily on structural symmetry such as is provided by the meter, the paregmena, and the complex extended simile (the congregation is enjoined to "translate" its thoughts to heaven, for God came to earth from on high in order to lead us from here to there)--and any flaw in the structure (e.g., a distortion of the meter) has more serious consequences for the whole because it is not compensated by the overriding vividness of metaphor.

With this brief critical digression we will conclude this chapter, postponing the attempts to consolidate the implications of our findings until the concluding chapter.

VI. PRINCIPLES OF EARLY SLAVIC TRANSLATION, THE
RELATIONSHIP OF MUSIC AND TEXT,
TRANSLATABILITY FROM GREEK TO SLAVIC, AND THE
LITURGICAL FUNCTION OF THE BYZANTINE HYMNS

The close study of the Slavic translation of the Akathistos Hymn invites questions basic to Slavic translation and Byzantine chant. These are addressed in the present, concluding chapter. The discussion is divided into four sections: (1) the quality and principles of Old Church Slavonic translation, especially of the liturgical hymns; (2) the relationship of music and text in the translation of the hymns; (3) similarity of linguistic structure of Greek and Slavic as a condition of the translatability of language-dependent poetic forms; and (4) word-for-word translation as a means of transmitting the essential gnoseological antinomies of the Byzantine liturgical hymns in the Slavic.

1. The Quality and Principles of Old Church Slavonic Translation

Since the second half of the nineteenth century, generations of Slavists have scrutinized Old Church Slavonic translations, making assessments about the quality and methods of translation. Most of this inquiry has focused on the translations of prose texts, with problems of the translation of poetic texts touched only in passing, if at all. The reasons for this are not difficult to understand. First, the greater part of the manuscripts of the Old Church Slavonic canon consists of translations of prose. These are the Gospels (Zographensis, Marianus, Assemanianus, Savvina kniga), saints' lives, and sermons (Suprasliensis, Clozianus). The Psalter (Ps. Sinaiticum) was also translated from a prose text, namely the Greek prose translations from the Hebrew. Only a very small part of the Old Church Slavonic translations had underlying poetic texts, notably the translation of liturgical and other prayers in the fragments of the Kiev Missal, in the Euchologium Sinaiticum, and the Fragmenta Sinaitica. As long as inquiry was restricted to the oldest manuscript texts, it was reasonable

that the study of prose texts should occupy the foreground. In addition, from the first, the liveliest interest has centered upon the earliest known Slavic translation activity--that of Cyril-Constantine, his brother Methodius, and their immediate disciples--witness such titles as E. Berneker's "Kyrills Übersetzungskunst" (1912).¹ The texts for which Constantine's authorship could be claimed with greatest certainty, and whose style and content were most familiar and offered the fewest pitfalls for the scholar, were the prose translations of the Gospels, the Epistles, and the Acts.²

Interest in the oldest texts was not the only reason for the neglect of poetic translation. The other relevant circumstance is that, while the quality of translation in general was a concern from the beginning of the systematic Old Church Slavonic scholarship,³ the realization that some Old Church Slavonic translations (as well as a few original Slavic works of the period) had formal poetic characteristics was slow in coming. The first positive proposals for the study of Old Church Slavonic poetry (dealing mainly with original texts) were made by A. I. Sobolevskij at the Second Archaeological Congress in Kiev in 1899.⁴ Although farreaching in their

¹Indogermanische Forschungen 31 (1912), 399-412. Interest in clarifying the nature of Cyrillo-Methodian translation continues, cf. E. M. Vereščagin, Iz istorii vznikovenija pervogo literaturnogo jazyka slavjan, Perevodčeskaja texnika Kirilla i Mefodija (Moscow, 1971).

²An important exception to the focus on Cyrillo-Methodian translation was another historical figure, John the Exarch, whose translating activity took place at a later time, but who was also well known. A. Leskien, "Die Übersetzungstechnik des Exarchen Johannes," AfslPh 25 (1903), 48-66. Cf. Anneliese Lägheid, Der rhetorische Stil im Šestodnev des Exarchen Johannes. Monumenta Linguae Slavicae Dialecti Veteris Fontes et Dissertationes IV (Wiesbaden, 1965).

³E.g., in Služebnye Minei (1886) and elsewhere.

⁴"Cerkovno-slavjanskije stixotvorenija IX-X vekov i ix značenie dlja izučenija cerkovno-slavjanskogo jazyka," Trudy II-go arxeologičeskogo s"ezda v Kieve II, 1899 (Moscow, 1901).

formulation and intent, Sobolevskij's proposals for textual reconstruction and for the utilization of metrical expectations to establish the place of accent in words (pp. 29-30) did not meet with an immediate response. (The studies of I. Karabinov, 1908-1910, were of a more generally historical orientation.) The question of the translation of poetic texts was illuminated by the observations of R. Abicht in 1914 on the punctuation in Old Church Slavonic texts, which included the discovery that the periods of Menaea edited by Jagić indicated division into poetically and musically significant cola.⁵ The need to discriminate between prose and poetic translations and to take advantage of the new linguistic and stylistic information that could be extracted from the latter was argued by Roman Jakobson in 1919.⁶ Unfortunately, the political upheavals of the next several decades largely prevented the study of still unpublished manuscripts, especially those of a religious nature.

Most of the studies of this period dealt with published, well-known prose texts, as, for example, the studies of Cuendet (1924-1929) and K. H. Meyer (1939), continuing in the tradition established by Jagić in the 1880s and furthered by O. Grünenthal (1910-1911). Exceptions to the predominant study of prose are provided by J. Pavić, who made a study of the Canon to Methodius, based on published texts, in 1936, and E. Koschmieder, who made contributions to the study of the Slavic Hirmologion, also in the thirties. An important attempt at the reconstruction of several poetic texts of original Slavic composition in the Byzantine style were made by R. Nahtigai and appeared in 1943. As regards the translated sung poetry--the hymns--the fifties witnessed the beginning of a new era, initiated by the publication of a Russian Hirmologion by

⁵"Die Interpunktion in den slavischen Übersetzungen griechischer Kirchenlieder," AfslPh 35 (1914), 437.

⁶"Zametka o drevne bolgarskom stixosloženii," Izv. Otd. rus. jaz. i slov. Ak. Nauk XXIV, No. 2 (1919).

Koschmieder⁷ and by a series of publications in the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, including both facsimile editions and analytic studies. Some thoughtful hypotheses on the subject appeared in the articles of the editor of the MMB, Carsten Høeg,⁸ and new contributions were made by Jakobson.⁹ (This period also saw the appearance of studies of translations in the early regional Slavic languages, such as Old Russian and Old Serbian.)

From the pertinent literature, I single out those observations and hypotheses that are important in distinguishing between poetic translations and prose translations. (The evidence that some OCS translations appear to exhibit metrical regularity reviewed in Chapter III will not be repeated here.) An important criterion characteristic of the oldest Slavic prose translations was the achievement of convincingly idiomatic, accurate readings. This was already apparent to Jagić:

. . . der Übersetzer, mag es einer oder mehrere gewesen sein, steht als verständnisvoller Kenner des griechischen Textes da, der die verschiedenen Bedeutungsnuancen des griechischen Ausdrucks richtig erfasste, vor allem aber als feiner Beherrscher seines slawischen Idioms, das ihn dazu führte, an vielen Stellen lieber von der wörtlichen Wiedergabe abzustehen, als der eigenen Sprache einen

⁷Die ältesten Novgoroder Hirmologien-Fragmente," Abhandl. d. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss., Philosoph.-Hist. Kl., N.F. XXXV (1952), XXXVII (1955).

⁸"The Oldest Slavonic Tradition of Byzantine Music," Proceedings of the British Academy 39 (London, 1953), 37-66; "Ein Buch altrussischer Kirchengesänge," AfslPh XXV (1956), 261-84.

⁹"Early Slavic Poetry and Its Byzantine Background," Symposium on Byzantium and the Slavs held at Dumbarton Oaks in 1952 (unpublished); "Tajnaža služ'ba Konstantina Filosa i dal'nejsše razvitie staroslavjanskoj poezii," Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta VIII (Belgrade, 1963), 153-66; "The Slavic Response to Byzantine Poetry," XII^e Congrès international des études byzantines, Rapports VIII (Belgrade-Ochride, 1961), pp. 249-65; "Methodius' Canon to Demetrius of Thessalonica and the Old Church Slavonic Hirmoi," Sborník Prací Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University F 9 (1965), pp. 115-21.

bezeichnenderen Ausdruck, eine gefälligere Übersetzung abgehen zu lassen.¹⁰

(. . . the translator, whether it was one or several, emerges as someone with a knowledgeable understanding of the Greek text, who correctly grasped the various nuances of the meaning of the Greek expressions. Above all, however, he had a fine mastery of his own Slavic idiom, which led him, in many places rather to give up literal reproduction than to forego using a more appropriate expression, a more satisfactory translation in his own language.)

In the same connection it was repeatedly pointed out that younger Gospel texts tend to be characterized by corrections aimed at word-for-word translations.¹¹ These observations were succinctly summarized by Grivec in his study of the Assemanianus: "Le nombre de traductions libres est un criterium de l'ancienneté de la tradition des manuscrits vieux-slaves."¹² (The number of free translations is a criterion of the age of the Old Church Slavonic manuscript tradition.)

It was generally held that the criterion of "free" translation applied only to prose texts. As again noted by Jagić, this time with reference to the translation of the *Menaia*, these translations of poetry are marked by extreme literalism.¹³ Jagić concluded that they reflected a faulty knowledge of Greek on the part of translators and a general lack of translation skills, as evidenced by what he took to be an unreflecting automatism of word-for-word translation frequently seeming to be lacking in meaning. On the face of it, this conclusion conformed to the expectation that the oldest texts are characteristically more grammatical,

¹⁰ Zum altkirchenslawischen Apostolus II (Vienna, 1919), (1919), 4.

¹¹ Cf. O. Grünenthal, "Die Übersetzungstechnik der aksl. Evangelienübersetzung," AfslPh 32 (1911), 21.

¹² F. Grivec, "Dikcija Assemanijevega glagolskega evangelistarja," Slovo 3 (1953), 33.

¹³ Služebnye Minei, p. LXXIV.

idiomatic, and non-literal, and that younger translations are more literal and sometimes correspondingly more opaque. Subsequent studies of the translated hirmologia and kontakia, however, have shown that many of the translations of poetry not only tend to be highly literal but are also accurate and intelligible.¹⁴

This reevaluation led to the new position that the literal translation of the hymns was not a negative quality resulting from lack of linguistic skills, but the product of an exacting standard imposed on the translators by the poetic and musical demands of the originals. Such a view was expressed by Koschmieder, though phrased in tentative terms, pending further study:

Wenn ich auch Jagić natürlich zustimmen muss, dass die Übersetzungen von Fehlern strotzen, so meine ich aber doch, dass sich vieles, besonders die unverständlichen Unebenheiten des Textes, nicht lediglich als grosse Torheit der Übersetzer interpretieren lassen. Ich möchte vielmehr, ohne hier das Material vorzulegen, doch der Ansicht Ausdruck geben, dass bei der Übernahme der Melodien dem Umsetzer ein tiefes Verständnis für das eigenartige Wesen dieser Musik die Feder geleitet hat. Die bisher offenen Fragen, die dabei zu beantworten sein werden, sind sehr viele. . . .¹⁵

(Even though I of course have to agree with Jagić that the translations are full of mistakes, it is nevertheless my opinion that a great deal, especially the puzzling unevenness of the text, cannot simply be interpreted as ignorance and foolishness on the translators' part. Indeed, without presenting the evidence here, I would like to express the view that in the process of transmitting the melodies the translator's pen was guided by a deep understanding of the special nature of this music. The questions that remain open and that require an answer are many. . . .)

¹⁴So I. Dujčev, "Les rapports littéraires byzantino-slaves," Centre d'information et de documentation scientifique et technique, Académie bulgare de sciences (Sofia, 1961, mimeog.), p. 1; also in Istorija na bŭlgarskata literatura I (Sofia, 1962), p. 155; cf. also A. Bugge, Cont. Paleosl. Mosq., p. XII.

¹⁵"Die ältesten Novgoroder Hirmologien-Fragmente," p. 5.

Nine years later, after the appearance of the work of Velimirović as well as the facsimile editions of the *Fragmenta Chilandarica* and the *Uspenskij Kondakar'*, I. Dujčev could speak more confidently:

Le traditionalisme de l'Église orthodoxe exigeait, en traduisant le texte, de l'adapter d'une façon aussi fidèle que possible à la musique, ce qui obligeait les traducteurs slaves de rendre non seulement le sens des mots, mais s'efforcer de donner, dans leurs versions, un texte dont les syllabes correspondaient à celles de l'original. L'acribie des traducteurs venait dans ces cas jusqu'à suivre scrupuleusement la forme et le contenu du texte grec.¹⁶

. . . Imposé par le désir de ne pas s'écarter du texte et de la musique byzantine, cette manière d'adaptation des traducteurs, loin d'être sujet de reproches, faisait preuve d'une grande maîtrise.¹⁷

(The traditionalism of the Orthodox Church required that in translating the text one adapt it in as faithful a manner as possible to the music, which obliged the Slavic translators not only to render the sense of the words but to make an effort to give in their versions a text whose syllables corresponded to those of the original. The precision of the translators in these cases went as far as following scrupulously both the form and the content of the Greek texts.

. . . Imposed by the desire not to deviate from the Byzantine text and music, this manner of adaptation by the translators, far from being a cause for criticism, instead is proof of great mastery.)

Despite the assured tone of Dujčev's assertions, it continues to be the case that the proposition that the translators' close adherence to the wording of their models had positive motivation remains in need of support by further evidence. Some of the inaccuracies that resulted from an overly broad interpretation of this position have already been pointed out in Chapter III. One of the remaining tasks is to determine more exactly the circumstances and constraints influencing the process and principles of translation. What, for example, determined the wide range in accuracy, style, and formal

¹⁶ "Les rapports littéraires," p. 1.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 2.

symmetry noted by Koschmieder and Velimirović? One might conjecture that it was the result of greater or lesser skill on the part of different translators; of especially thorny problems of linguistic equivalence; of happy linguistic coincidences; of particular demands placed on the text by the music; or a combination of several conditions. The exploration of such questions has been largely unsystematic and, in the case of inquiries into the text-music relationship, frequently cryptanalytic, due to the incomplete decipherment of the Slavic neumes.

Inquiry into the relationship between text and music holds promise of still deeper insights into the problems of early Slavic translation.¹⁸ A notable contribution is the analysis by Kenneth Levy of two stanzas from the Slavic Kontakarion. Levy shows that "both the translator and the musician were concerned with the correspondence between the accents of the Slavic text and those of the Greek original. Each can be shown to have prepared individual lines so that the correspondence would exist."¹⁹ However, Levy goes on to point out that the adjustments were not consistently carried out. He therefore concludes that the melismatic chants do not provide dependable evidence for the accentuation of Slavic words. As for the question of why proper accentuation in the translations was not carried through more fully, Levy finds the answer unclear, conjecturing that it may be an indication of "calculated mannerism, with unaccented syllables intentionally assigned to elaborate musical elements and vice versa," such a mannerism being observable in the parent text, the Greek Asmatikon.²⁰

In the meantime, the long-accepted contrast between the allegedly "free" character of Cyrillo-Methodian translation

¹⁸For a particular proposal for the investigation of Greek and Slavic hirmoi see R. Jakobson, "Methodius' Canon . . . ," p. 120.

¹⁹Levy, "The Earliest Slavic Melismatic Chants," p. 205.

²⁰Ibid.

of the Gospels and the supposedly much more literal translation of the liturgical hymns has been put in question by the work of E. M. Vereščagin. His argument, supported by a comparative demonstration based on passages from the Codex Marianus and Savvina Kniga, is that Cyrillo-Methodian translation cannot be viewed as representing a translation principle of sentence-to-sentence correspondence based on usage. Rather, Vereščagin terms the principle of translation observed in the Gospels "word-for-word" (poslovnoe) translation.²¹ In describing this principle, he agrees with A. Dostál, whom he quotes: "na grečeskij tekst Evangelij možno smotret' kak na parallel'nyj, sčitaja slova grečeskogo teksta leksičeskimi sootvetstvijami staroslavjanskix slov."²² (The Greek text of the Gospels can be viewed as parallel [to the Slavic], considering the words of the Greek text to be lexical counterparts of Old Slavonic words.) On the basis of Vereščagin's extensive comparison of textual passages, I agree that, while the translations of the Gospels are sufficiently idiomatic to avoid distortion of the sense (and to this extent they deviate from "literal" translation), the governing principle of translation is that of word-for-word correspondence, followed whenever possible without violating established lexical and grammatical usage in Old Church Slavonic.

Given this reformulation about the nature of Cyrillo-Methodian translation of prose, one is led to conclude that the translations of the hymns are very similar in principle to the translations of the Gospels, that is to say that the translation in both cases is based on the word-for-word principle. Two limitations differentiate the translations of the hymns: (1) the inherent structural demands of translating poetic texts, and (2) variation in the ability to translate poetry on the part of the many translators who transmitted the large

²¹Vereščagin, Iz istorii vozniknovenija, p. 27.

²²A. Dostál, "Voprosy izučenija slovarnogo sostava staroslavjanskogo jazyka," Voprosy jazykoznanija 6 (1960), quoted in Vereščagin, loc. cit.

corpus of liturgical chant over a period of time. It is the first of these conditions--the poetic constraints on the principles of translation--that have been explored in this study of the Akathistos. While the metrical constraints have been treated in earlier chapters, the question of how the word-for-word principle of translation is expressed in the translation of poetry on the lexical level requires further attention.

A striking characteristic of the Slavic translation of the Akathistos is the large number of derived and compound words that are formed in the Slavic translation as calques from the Greek. The Slavic calques show an attentive differentiation of the meaning of the component morphemes of the underlying Greek words by the translator. Examples abound. In I, ch. 5 and 6, $\delta\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ and $\delta\upsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\tau\omicron\nu$ are translated as jedvavŭsxodĭnaja and jedvavidimaja. That these are not familiar words of the Slavic lexicon can be seen from the scribal error in the twelfth-century Triodion cited by Amfiloxij, which has dŭvovŭsxodĭnaja and dvovidimaja. In oikos II, $\delta\upsilon\sigma\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron\nu$ is translated as neudobĭprijetĭno, as the translator continues to be concerned with finding the most appropriate contextual equivalent for the prefix $\delta\upsilon\sigma-$. The other member of this antithesis, $\tau\acute{o}\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\zeta\omicron\nu$, is translated as prĕslavĭnoje. In oikos IV, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\nu$ is translated as brakuneiskusĭnĕi. In oikos V, $\theta\epsilon\omicron\delta\acute{o}\chi\omicron\nu$ is transmitted as bogoprijetĭna. In oikos VI, the antithesis $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\mu\omicron\nu/\kappa\lambda\epsilon\psi\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha\mu\omicron\nu$ becomes nebračĭno/braokradovanŕ. Some of these calques, of course, were widely used and entered the larger Church Slavonic vocabulary, for example prĕstaviti se from $\mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\tau\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (oikos XII). But many are probably nonce-words created to maintain the morphological antitheses (paregmena) that are an integral part of the theological function of the poetics of the Akathistos.

It is this kind of persistent effort of the Slavic translators to "imitate" the morphologically constituted poetic figures of their models that drew Jagić's negative judgment. Given his attitude that good translation was "free translation," he could not help but perceive that the Slavic translators

of the hymns seemed "glued" to the words of the originals, producing awkwardly literal, unidiomatic Slavic texts. Today the attitude towards the Slavic canons and kontakia has changed. My own conclusion is that the practice of an "imitative" mode of translation means that the translators understood their task extremely well. It is in the nature of the Byzantine hymns that there is an indivisible bond between the images, figures, and tropes of poetic expression and the divine mysteries presented to the minds of the worshippers in Byzantine liturgy. "Free translation" would have destroyed this essential link between poetry and "knowing the divine." The practice of word-for-word and even morpheme-for-morpheme translation preserved the "God-reflecting" poetic forms of the Byzantine liturgy.

2. The Relationship of the Music and Text in the Translations of the Hymns

One of the questions that remains to be asked about the translations of the hymns is whether the difference in melodic style of the Hirmologion and of the kontakia had an effect on the translations. Two steps must be taken in attempting to answer this question. One is to give a description of the relationship of music and text in the Hirmologion and the Kontakaria, respectively, in terms of the relation of syllables to tones and of accented syllables to accented tones. The second step is to look for differences and/or similarities that may be observable between the translations of the hirmoi and canons, on the one hand, and the oikoi of the kontakia on the other. This process should include the examination of the neumatation of manuscripts and the relevant stylistic properties of the translations.

Since one of the fundamental relationships between a text and its music is metrical, we refer to the well-documented observation that in the Hirmologion the arrangement of syllables and tones is primarily one-to-one. In the Kontakaria, however, one syllable may be sung to one tone or, what is more frequently the case, to many with no prescribed upper limit on the number

of tones that may be sung on one syllable. The other aspect of the metrical relationship is the relationship between the accents of the verbal text and those of the music. This is less easy to document, owing partly to lack of direct knowledge about the accentuation of Old Church Slavonic words of this period, partly to problems of notational decipherment, and partly to the evolution undergone by the musical tradition (both Greek and Slavic) that obscures some suspected earlier relationships. It is generally assumed that there is a positive correlation between accented syllables and musical accent; i.e., that accented tones are sung to accented syllables. This relationship is clearly seen in the Greek canons, less clearly in the Greek kontakia.²³

If one accepts these musicological propositions, it would follow that the difference in tone-syllable relationship would be reflected by a difference in the translations. In the Hirmologion there would be evidence of attempts to approximate the syllable number of Greek lines as well as to match the distribution of unaccented and accented syllables to that of the original. The evidence would consist of larger texts (e.g., whole stanzas) closely reproducing the meter and/or syllabism of the Greek models. There would also be cases of paraphrase leading to better syllabic and/or metrical correspondence than would have resulted from a literal translation. In the Kontakarion the number of large texts closely reproducing the meter and/or syllabism of the Greek models and cases of paraphrase leading to improved metrical correspondence would be significantly smaller. The similarity in the relationships of textual and musical accent would be reflected by a tendency to preserve the same number of accents in the Slavic line as in the Greek line both in the canons and the kontakia.

²³Cf. Antonina F. Gove, "The Relationship between Music and Text in the Akathistos Hymn," Studies in Early Slavic Chant, in press.

The evidence provides partial but not conclusive support of these hypotheses. A substantial number of instances has been quoted in the literature showing syllabic congruence between Greek lines and their Slavic translations in the *Hirmologion*, although there seem to be no cases of extensive metrical (syllabic and tonic) congruence. While a few cases of paraphrase have been described, a more systematic marshaling of facts is needed before we can draw any general conclusions.

As regards the kontakia, Levy has shown that textual and musical adaptation of the Slavic kontakia occurred but was not consistently carried through.²⁴ Our own observations indicate that in the Akathistos there are no extensive syllabic or metrical approximations to the Greek (see Chapter III) and that the cases of metrically superior paraphrase are too few to constitute evidence of metrical adaptation (see Chapter IV, Section 4).

Although no detailed evidence has to date been adduced on the question of the number of accents per line, the tendency towards word-for-word translation would ensure the same number of accents per line in the Slavic as in the Greek (with certain predictable exceptions) both in the canons and the kontakia. The evidence we have regarding the transmission of accents in the Akathistos is presented in Chapter V. Here 78.5-86.0 percent of the lines in a random sample are found to have the same number of accents as the corresponding Greek lines. Reasons for deviations, also discussed in Chapter V, reduce to certain ways of translating certain grammatical categories from the Greek into Slavic and to cases of semantic equivalence between enclitics and stressed words. Whether literalism or translation is a consequence of the pursuit of accentual equivalence or vice versa remains an open question pending closer inquiry into the differences between Slavic translations of prose and poetry.

²⁴Levy, "The Earliest Slavic Melismatic Chants," pp. 203-205.

Another important issue is that of text-music "content" relationship and what it can contribute to the understanding of Slavic hymnic translations. This might be called the "semantic" or "expressive" relationship between music and text. It is a vast realm, in modern music encompassing such things as musical climaxes (crescendoes, high notes, large intervals, melismas, and the like) written to coincide with the high points of the text (key words or significant names, exclamations, words with strong affective properties, the resolution of suspense in a narrative, poetic images, etc.); or shifts to the minor mode coinciding with dolorous utterances; or staccato rhythms representing excitement; or strong downbeats--emotional force, and so forth. This field is virtually unexplored in Byzantine musicology. It has been suggested that the eight modes might have had particular ritual significance, and have been sung only at given times of the year or day. For example, Wellesz has suggested: "We may suspect that this was the case from the fact that the melodies of the third plagal mode, the Barys, or grave mode, are used primarily for hymns of a mournful character, and, as the name indicates, which had to be sung in a slow tempo."²⁵

What is of interest, however, is whether particular musical formulae or parts of formulae were felt to be appropriate to particular kinds of textual content. If it could be determined that matching musical formulae to textual meaning was a practice in the composition of Byzantine hymns and that such relationships were perceived by the Slavic translators, we would have the basis for yet another explanation regarding word-for-word translation of the Slavic hymns. This explanation would be that, given a correlation between semantic elements of the text and certain elements of the music, Slavic translations (whether of canons or kontakia) be characterized by a high degree of literalism, this being the optimum method for the preservation of the "semantic"

²⁵ A History of Byzantine Music, p. 71.

text-music relationship of the original. Since we already know that the translations are highly literal, it remains for musicological inquiry to establish whether the proposed "semantic"-musical relationship as source of motivation for the literalism is anything more than conjecture.

3. Similarity of Linguistic Structure as a Condition of the Translatability of Language-Dependent Poetic Form

A significant aspect of the Slavic translation of the Byzantine hymns has to do with the respective linguistic structures of Byzantine Greek and Old Church Slavonic. Comparing line after line of original and translation, it becomes evident that the translation was facilitated by the high degree of linguistic similarity or isomorphism of the grammars of the two languages, both on the level of syntax and of word formation--derivation as well as inflection. The similarity enabled the Slavic translators to imitate Greek syntax and to form lexical calques using the grammatical resources available in Slavic. In other words, linguistic similarity made possible the practice of word-for-word translation, while creating a relatively idiomatic, grammatically fully well-formed Slavic text.

The condition of grammatical similarity also made possible an extensive recreation of Byzantine poetic forms based on lexical derivation and inflection and on grammatical and lexical parallelism. The reality of this linguistic fact can be vividly seen by looking at two English translations of a passage of the Akathistos and comparing them with the Slavic translation.

The strategy of examining translations of the same text in two different languages allows us to approach some insufficiently studied questions of translation theory. One is to what extent the success or failure of a translation is correlated with the verbal style of the original text. The other is to what extent translation equivalence is dependent on the degree of grammatical and lexical similarity of the two languages involved.

The two questions are interdependent. Let me illustrate by an example. The ornamental and relational morphological figure called homeoptoton is likely to be cultivated only in a language with a complex inflectional morphology because only in such a language can variety be readily achieved. A lexically literal, word-for-word translation for a work replete with homeoptoton into language with sparse inflectional resources will eliminate most of the homeoptota. The only way the device can be approximated in such a language is by introducing internal and external rhymes, but this requires deviation from lexical literalism. Such is the procedure adopted in one of the translations of the Akathistos into English, as can be seen from the first three pairs of chairetismoι in Vincent McNabb's translation²⁶:

Hail! by whom true hap had dawned
Hail! by whom mishap has waned.

Hail! sinful Adam's recalling.
Hail! Eve's tears redeeming.

Hail! height untrodden by thought of men.
Hail! depth unscanned by angels' ken.

Χαῖρε δι ἧς ἡ χαρά ἐκλάμπει·
Χαῖρε δι ἧς ἀρά ἐκλείψει·

Χαῖρε τοῦ πεσόντος Ἀδάμ ἡ ἀνάστασις·
Χαῖρε τῶν δακρύων τῆς Εὐας ἡ λύτρωσις·

Χαῖρε ὕψος δυσανάβατον ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς·
Χαῖρε βάθος δυσθεώρητον καὶ ἀγγέλων ὀφθαλμοῖς·

Radujĭ se jejože radostĭ vŭsijajetŭ
Radujĭ se jejože kletva išteznetŭ

Radujĭ se padušaago adama vŭstanije
Radujĭ se slĭzŭ jevŭžiny(i)xŭ izbavlenije

Radujĭ se vysoto jed(ŭ)vavidamaja člověčisky(i)mŭ pomyslomu
Radujĭ se glŭbinŭ jed(ŭ)vavŭsxodĭnaja i angelĭsky(i)ma očima

²⁶Vincent J. McNabb, Ode in Honour of the Holy . . . Virgin Mary [Cover title, The Akathistos Hymn] (Oxford, 1947).

Chairetismoι (1) and (2) transmit the anaphora and substitute a lexical paregmenon 'true hap/mishap' for the paronomasia Χαρά/ἄρα at the cost of using awkward archaisms instead of the the powerful direct equivalents of 'joy' and 'curse.' The use of the perfect at the end of the line instead of the future does no harm and introduces a more explicit homeoptoton. In chairetismoι (3) and (4) the parallelism is maintained by a somewhat lame substitute of ad hoc gerundive nouns 'recalling' and 'redeeming' for the Greek nouns ἀνάκλησις/λύτρωσις. The deviation from literal translation in the use of 'sinful' instead of 'fallen' for πεσόντος is not motivated by poetic form. In chairetismoι (5) and (6) the deviation from accurate translation is based on poetic constraints and is considerable. The element of 'seeing' appears in the participle 'unscanned' of (6) but not in the noun ('ken' instead of eyes' for ὀφθαλμοῖς), so the resulting semantic trope is a pleonasm ('ken'/'thought') instead of a metonymy (λογισμοῖς/ὀφθαλμοῖς). The archaism 'ken' is introduced to maintain the rhyme, which in Greek is a result of the inflectional parallelism.

In an English translation in which no preferential treatment is accorded to the devices of homeoptoton and homeoteleuton, they are considerably fewer in occurrence, witness the prose translation of the same lines quoted by Wellesz²⁷: 'Hail, thou through whom joy will shine forth. Hail, thou through whom the curse will be lifted. Hail, Restoration of the fallen Adam. Hail, Redemption of the tears of Eve. Hail, Summit inaccessible to human minds. Hail, Depth scarce visible even to angels' eyes . . .' Anaphora is reproduced, as expected. The parallelism of each pair of lines is skillfully preserved. But of the sound repetitions, only one includes a homoeoteleuton (derivational) 'inaccessible'/'scarce visible' (instead of 'invisible'--clearly a bow to extended sound repetition). There also is alliteration in

²⁷ A History of Byzantine Music, p. 71.

'Restoration'/'Redemption' and assonance in the parallel, sentence-final 'minds' and 'eyes'.

A comparison of the English translation with the Slavic text shows that in the latter a lexically exact translation has produced more in the way of homeoptoton, approximating the Greek quite closely. The same is true of paregmenon, a figure dependent on word derivation, for which both Slavic and Greek have extensive resources.

The comparison of the English and Slavic translations of a single passage of the Akathistos serve as a dramatic example of the facility with which homeoptoton and paregmenon are transmitted from Greek to Slavic. This example, taken together with the high degree of transmission of morphological and lexical figures and tropes observed in Chapter V, is clear evidence that the success of a poetic translation is conditioned by an intersection of the poetic style of the original and the similarity of the syntactic and morphological structures of the two languages.

4. Word-for-word Translation as a Means of Transmitting the Essential Gnoseological Antinomies of the Byzantine Liturgical Hymns in Slavic

I conclude by considering how the translations relate to the theological and liturgical role of the Byzantine hymns.

As so persuasively argued by V. V. Byčkov, Byzantine gnoseology was to an extraordinary degree bound up with Byzantine esthetics, ranging from iconography to homiletics, poetry, and music. All these modes of esthetic cognition received their brilliant synthesis in the liturgical order and praxis of the Byzantine millennium.²⁸ In the following pages I will paraphrase and quote Byčkov's article at some length, because his thesis that the idea and practice of the antinomic "unimitable imitation" essential to Byzantine gnosis

²⁸V. V. Byčkov, "Iz istorii vizantijskoj èstetiki," Vizantijskij vremennik, 37 (1976), 160-191.

was an ontological-esthetic category helps clarify the importance of the practice of word-for-word translation of the early Slavic translators.

The Byzantine principle of theological and philosophical antinomism, in which the existence of equally well-founded mutually exclusive judgments is viewed as intrinsic to the nature of being, in part continues the ancient "dialectic" and antithetic mode of the Skeptics, in part develops the antinomic elements of old Biblical literature.²⁹ Citing the extreme tension of inner contradictions in Paul, especially Romans, as one of the sources of Christian antinomism,³⁰ Byčkov discusses the philosophical formulations of Maximus the Confessor, St. John Damascene, and Pseudo-Dionysius and his predecessors to argue that the antinomic systems of thinking that were characteristic of all Christendom, but especially of the East, gained their deepest grounding with the development of the assertion of the world-immanence of transcendent divinity. According to Byčkov, the scholastic idea that the divine first cause of all being is simultaneously part of an unthinkable higher being and of our own earthly existence, that it simultaneously is and is not, can and cannot be known, and so on, became an active part of Byzantine culture when contradiction came to be accepted as a real fact of being and mind.³¹ The consequence of the acknowledgment of paradox or antinomy as the basic and most exact form of the cognitive expression of truth led to a renewed seriousness in the attitudes towards imagination, fantasy, and interior representation. Spiritual knowledge was recognized as relying on the multiple signification and associativeness characteristic of perception, which in turn led to the antinomic description of divine unity of Christian dogma.³²

²⁹Byčkov, p. 165.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 166.

³¹Ibid., pp. 168-169.

³²Ibid., p. 169.

As dogmatic antinomism became progressively static in the cognitive sphere during the development of Orthodoxy, psychic creative energy was transferred into the sphere of the esthetic and artistic creation. Thus, says Byčkov, "Byzantine gnoseology comes to us as a specific system, which does not present its 'noesis' on the level of cognition and formal-logical constructs, but strives to feel it, to 'experience' it on a trans-cognitive level in the form of certain psychic states."³³ The forms of knowing are therefore realized in an interweaving of mystical doing, liturgical action, and artistic practice.³⁴

Most pertinent to the study of the poetics of the Akathistos is the discussion of Pseudo-Dionysius' notions of hierarchy as mimesis of the idea of the divine and "of the activity of every hierarchy as divided into a holy reception and transmission (to others) of the perfect purification, divine light and hidden knowledge." According to Pseudo-Dionysius, the chief function of the heavenly orders as an informational system is the 'non-substantive knowledge of God' (ἀύλοτάτην νόησιν), which consists of 'imitation of God' (θεομίμητον) and 'becoming like (God)' (ἀφομοίωσις) that is possible only in a structure of maximal isomorphism. The basic esthetic principles involved are symmetry and analogy. Based on these principles and taking into account the peculiarities of representation by images, this mimesis is of a special kind that differs from the mimesis of antiquity, for the imitation is not of objects of the real world but of an inimitable transcendent idea. Thus the mimesis takes place not in the artistic images as such but in the very being of the knowing subject. For this reason the ideal of such mimesis is antinomic--it is 'inimitable imitation' (τὸ ἀμίμητον μίμημα).³⁵ On the earthly level the system of representations emerges in "unclear representations of truth, in reflections

³³ Ibid., pp. 170-171.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ p. 175.

distant from the archetype, in difficult figurative language and images (lit. 'enigmas' and 'types')."³⁶

In this language of Pseudo-Dionysius we find several of the key words and concepts of the Akathistos, such as *δυσθεώρητον αίνίγμα καὶ τύπος*, for these antinomic images permeated Byzantine theology of the time. Indeed, Byčkov cites the Akathistos as one of the prime examples of "the transformation of dogmatic antinomies into a system of artistic oppositions" in a work of liturgical poetry.³⁷ It is instructive that Byčkov finds that Averincev's modern translation, although 'successful', nevertheless 'softens' the antitheses of the Akathistos in comparison with the intense oppositional quality of the images in the original.³⁸

Byčkov's thoroughgoing demonstration of the profound gnoseological function of Byzantine works of liturgical art, including the hymns, helps us to understand why the Slavic translators' principles for maintaining the elaborate figures and tropes of the Greek liturgical poetry were extremely important. The poetic images, figures, and tropes were not merely a poetic quality of the original texts but were an inseparable part of the efficacy of the liturgical action of the hymns as an act of a communal knowledge of God. It is apparent that the founders of the Slavic translational practices understood and instilled in their successors their understanding of the spiritual significance of the texts they were translating.

The Slavic Akathistos Hymn is highly effective as a translation of a Byzantine liturgical hymn. The word-for-word translation principle maximized the transmission of the poetic images and antinomies that played a key role in the Byzantine system of 'reflecting' (*ἀποτυπῶ*) the image of God. Deviations in wording would have led to a loss of poetic figures, tropes, and images and resulted in the disruption of the 'theomimetic' liturgical function of the hymns. Since Cyril-Constantine,

³⁶ Ibid., p. 175.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 178-179.

³⁸ Ibid.

Methodius, and other early Slavic Church Fathers were extremely learned, one may assume that their principles of translation were informed by an understanding of the function of poetic form in leading the faithful to the knowledge of the Divine.

Fortuitously, the similarity of the Greek and Slavic languages enabled Cyril-Constantine and Methodius, as well as some of their successors, to transmit the texts so heavily laden with theological significance with the least possible loss or disruption of their liturgically functional poetic values. Word-for-word translation was the principle and practice that was most conducive to preserving the antinomies inherent in Christian gnosis and doctrine and manifest in the poetic antitheses conveyed by every line of the Akathistos Hymn and other canons and kontakia of the Byzantine church. Far from being a flaw or shortcoming, the word-for-word principle of translation was an expression of sophisticated poetic and theological awareness.

It is my conclusion that word-for-word translation of the liturgical hymns was an intentional practice of the Slavs, based on principles of liturgical gnosis.

APPENDIX

GREEK AND SLAVIC TEXTS

The Slavic text presented here is a reconstruction based primarily on Amfiloxij's edition of Tipografskij Ustav (T) and secondarily on Kopitarova Triod' of the thirteenth century (K) and indications from the Greek Akathistos. (For a description of the mss., see Chapter I and the Index of Abbreviations below.) The text is normalized Old Church Slavonic. Editorial modifications and insertions appear in parentheses. Uncontracted verbal and compound adjectival desinences are so reproduced when they appear in this form in T (e.g., padušaago). When T has a contracted form, the extra syllable of the uncontracted form is given in parentheses (e.g., divlja(a)še se).

The verse lines are arranged as in the corresponding Greek stanzas. No punctuation is used; however, the punctuation of the mss. generally corresponds to ends of lines (cola), and in T (and sometimes K) also marks the caesura before the last word in line (5) of the oikoi.

Variants are cited only where they are indicative of a form, word, or order that differs from the reconstruction.

The Greek text is a composite made with the Slavic text as the point of departure; i.e., those Greek variants are selected which find a correspondence in the Slavic. Greek variants corresponding to Slavic variants are noted. The text is based on editions listed in Chapter I.

Index of Abbreviations (for additional information see Chapter I)

- A Codex Ashburnhamensis (Wellesz's editions)
a2 Textkondakarion; twelfth century. Location: GPB Pogod 43. Cited in Dostál et al., Der altrussische Kondakar', vol. IV, pp. 178-227.
AK Der altrussische Kondakar', ed. Dostál et al.
Maced Yugoslav Academy's Macedonian Triodion of the early thirteenth century

- Mod Tr Canonical text of the Orthodox Church in recent editions
- K Kopitarova Triod' from the mid-thirteenth century
- P Pitra, Analecta Sacra
- R Rothe--refers to editorial corrections in Der altrussische Kondakar'
- T Tipografskij Kondakar' (Ustav 142) of the eleventh century (consulted in Amfiloxij's edition)
- Tr The Triod' postnaja of the twelfth century used by Amfiloxij for the text missing because of the lacuna in Tipografskij Ustav (see Chapter I, p. 2).

PROOEMIUM I

1 Povelěňinoje tajĭno.

priimŭ vŭ razumě.

2 vŭ krově iosifově.

spěšĭno pride

3 besplŭtĭnŭ. vŭpiję

kŭ brakuneiskusĭnĕjĭ.

4 překlonejĭ sŭxoždenijemĭ nebesa.

5 vŭměštajetŭ sę neizmenĭno visĭ vŭ tę.

6 jegože vidę vŭ čřevě ti

priimĭša(jego). rabĭnŭ obrazŭ

7 divę sę vŭpijŏ ti.

radujĭ sę nevěsto nenevĕstĭnaja.

This prooemium appears neither in T nor in K. The text is taken from the Zagreb Macedonian triod', normalized as to orthography and grammatical forms, and tentatively emended on the basis of the modern (canonical) Church Slavic Triodion and of the Greek text. A transcription of this prooemium as it appears in the Blagoveščenskij Kondakar' (with omission of the intonation formulae and repeated vowels) is presented on the following page.

- 1) Maced. Povelěno mi tajĭno; 6) Maced. viždę; prijemĭšago;
7) Maced. beznevĕstĭnaja.

Blagoveščenskij Kondakar', 93v to 94v

- 1 Povelěno cĭto taino* priimŭ vŭ razumě*
- 2 vŭ xramŭ iosifŭ* skoro pride
- 3 besplŭtĭnyĭ glagoleŕ* neiskusĭnĕi braku*
- 4 prikloni(i?) sŭxoženijemĭ nebesa*
- 5 vŭmĕštajetĭ se* neprĕmĕnĭno vĭsĭ kŭ tebe*
- 6 jegože vidĕ* vŭ ložĭsnĕxŭ tvoixŭ*
priimŭša rai obrazŭ*
- 7 ĉjudja se da zovyi te. (end of folio)

*The asterisk indicates an intervening intonation formula.

Greek text

- 1 Τὸ προσταχθὲν μυστικῶς
λαβὼν ἐν γνώσει,
- 2 ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ
σπουδῇ ἐπέστη
- 3 ὁ ἀσώματος, λέγων
τῇ ἀπειρογάμῳ·
- 4 Ὁ κλίνας τῇ καταβάσει τοῦς οὐρανοῦς
χωρεῖται ἀναλοιώτως ὁλος ἐν σοί.
- 6 Ὅν καὶ βλέπων ἐν μήτρῳ σου
λαβόντα δούλου μορφῆν,
- 7 ἐξίσταμαι κραυγάζειν σοι·
Χαῖρε, νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε.

7) Trypanis κραυγαζῶν

PROOEMIUM II

- 1 Vŭzbranĭnumu vojevodě pobědĭnaja
 2 jako izbyvŭ otŭ zŭlŭ blagodarenija
 3 vŭspisajetŭ ti gradŭ tvojĭ bogorodice
 4 nŭ jako imoŝti drižavŭ nepobědimŭ
 5 otŭ vĭsěxŭ me bēdŭ svobodi
 6 da zovŭ ti radujĭ sę nevěsto nenevēstĭnaja

Greek text

- 1 Τῆ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ τὰ νικητήρια
 2 ὡς λυτρωθεῖσα τῶν δεινῶν εὐχαριστήρια
 3 ἀναγράφω σοι ἡ πόλις σου θεοτόκε·
 4 ἀλλ' ὡς ἔχουσα τὸ κράτος ἀπροσμάχητον
 5 ἐκ παντοίων με κινδύνων ἐλευθέρωσον·
 6 ἵνα κράζω σοι· χαῖρε νύμφε ἀνύμφευτε.

This prooemium appears in T and in K, as well as in the Uspenskiĭ and Blagoveščenskiĭ Kondakari.

- 2) K izbivĭše; bl(a)godarenie; 3) K ti vĭspisuetĭ;
 5) K ni bēdi izĭbavi, 6) T i da zovu; K da zovemĭ

I

1 Angelŭ prědŭstatelĭ
 sŭ nebese poslanŭ bystŭ
 3 reštĭ bogorodici radujĭ se
 i sŭ besplŭtĭnyimĭ glasomĭ
 5 vŭplŭštĭša se (vidę) tę gospodi
 divlja(a)še se i stoja(a)še
 7 vŭpije kŭ nejĭ takovaja

1 Ἄγγελος πρωτοστάτης
 οὐρανόθεν ἐπέμφθη
 3 εἰπεῖν τῇ θεοτόκῃ τὸ χαῖρε·
 καὶ σὺν τῇ ἀσωμάτῳ φωνῇ
 5 σωματούμενόν σε θεωρῶν, κύριε
 ἐξίστατο καὶ ἕστατο,
 7 κραυγάζων πρὸς αὐτὴν τοιαῦτα·

3) K radujĭ se) sĭsode; 4) K om. i sŭ; 5) k vyždŏ, Tr vižju

5) K, a2, Tr = Gk. θεωρῶ var. lect.

- 1 Χαῖρε δι' ἧς ἡ χαρὰ ἐκλάμπει·
Χαῖρε δι' ἧς ἡ ἀρὰ ἐκλείψει·
- 3 Χαῖρε τοῦ πεσόντος Ἀδάμ ἡ ἀνάστασις·
Χαῖρε τῶν δακρύων τῆς Εὐας ἡ λύτρωσις·
- 5 Χαῖρε ὕψος δυσανάβατον ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς·
Χαῖρε βάθος δυσθεώρητον καὶ ἀγγέλων ὀφθαλμοῖς·
- 7 Χαῖρε ὅτι ὑπάρχεις βασιλέως καθέδρα·
Χαῖρε ὅτι βαστάζεις τὸν βαστάζοντα πάντα·
- 9 Χαῖρε ἀστὴρ ἐμφαίνων τὸν ἥλιον·
Χαῖρε γαστήρ ἐνθέου σαρκώσεως;
- 11 Χαῖρε δι' ἧς νεουργεῖται ἡ κτίσις·
Χαῖρε δι' ἧς προσκυνεῖται ὁ κτίστης·
- Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε·

3) Trypanis ἀνάκλησις

II

- 1 Videšti svĕtaja
sebe vñ čistotě
- 3 reče kñ gavriilu krěpŭcě
prěslavīnoje tvojego glasa
- 5 neudobīprijětīno duši mi javljajetñ se
(besěmenīna) bo začětija
- 7 roždīstvo prědŭglagoleši zovę
aleluija

- 1 βλέπουσα ἡ ἀγία
ἑαυτὴν ἐν ἀγνείᾳ
- 3 φησὶ τῷ Γαβριὴλ θαρσαλέως·
τὸ παράδοξόν σου τῆς ὠνῆς
- 5 δυσπαράδεκτόν μου τῆ ψυχῆ φαίνεται·
ἀσπόρου γὰρ συλλήψεως
- 7 τὴν κύησιν προλέγεις κράζων·
Ἀλληλούϊα.

3) Tr om. kñ; 4) K prěslavīnago tvoego gŕa; 5) a2, Tr duša,
om. mi; dušě corr. R.; 6) Tr besěmenīnaago, K besěmenaago; a2
besěmenīnago mi; 7) K prĕglši zovīni; a2 predŭglagolišī mi;
8) aŕija bis

III

- 1 Razumŭ nerazumŭnŭ razuměti
 děva ištŏšti
 3 vŭzŏpi kŭ služeštuumu
 iz boku čistu syna
 5 kako jestŭ roditi moštŭno rŭci mi
 kŭ nejŭže onŭ reče
 7 sŭ straxomŭ prěže vŭpije sice

- 1 Γνωσιν άγνωστον γνωσαι
 η παρθένος ζητοῦσα
 3 έβόησε προς τον λειτουργοῦντα·
 εκ λαγόνων άγνωῶν [μου] υιόν
 5 πῶς έστι τεχθῆναι δυνατόν; λέξον μοι·
 προς ην εκείνος έφησεν
 7 έν φόβῳ, πριν κραυγάζων οὔτως·

2) K ištŏšti děvaja razuměti; a2 děvaja; 7) Tr, a2 om. sŭ;
 Tr vŭpija kŭ bčŭ

III

- 1 Radujĭ se s(ŭ)veta neizdrečenaago tajĭno
Radujĭ se mlĭčanije proseštiimu věro
- 3 Radujĭ se čudesŭ xristovyxŭ načalo
Radujĭ se povelĕnijemŭ jego glava
- 5 Radujĭ se lĕstvice nebesĭnaja
jejqzĕ sŭnide bogŭ
Radujĭ se moste převodejĭ
otŭ zemlĕ na nebo
- 7 Radujĭ se angelomŭ m(ŭ)nogoslovqšteje cŭdo
Radujĭ se *bĕsomŭ m(ŭ)nogoplačĭnyjĭ strupe
- 9 Radujĭ se svĕtŭ neizdrečeniĭno roždĭšĭ
Radujĭ se nikakože nijedinogo naučĭšĭ
- 11 Radujĭ se mqdryixŭ přexodešti razumŭ
Radujĭ se vĕrĭnyixŭ ozarjajošti sŭmysly
Radujĭ se nevĕsto nenevĕstĭnaja

2) K věri, Tr věrno, Mod. Tr. (canonical text) R. molčanija prosjaščixŭ věro; the Greek means 'o, faith of those who wa
in silence'; 3) K xŭĭ, Tr xŭu; 4) Tr velĕnii; 6) K přexodq
7) Tr anglkoje; a2 angelĭsko; 8) K mnogoplačevĭni; Radujĭ
here the text of T resumes; 9) K svĕta, poroždqšĭ; neizr
nĭnŭ; 10) K naučivŭšĭ; 12) K sĭmislĭ

- 1 Χαῖρε βουλῆς ἀπορρήτου μύστις·
Χαῖρε σιγῆ δεομένων πίστις·
- 3 Χαῖρε τῶν θαυμάτων Χριστοῦ τὸ προσίμιον·
Χαῖρε τῶν δογμάτων αὐτοῦ τὸ κεφάλαιον·
- 5 Χαῖρε κλίμαξ ἐπουράνιε δι' ἧς κατέβη [ὁ] θεός·
Χαῖρε γέφυρα μετάγουσα τοὺς ἐκ γῆς πρὸς οὐρανόν·
- 7 Χαῖρε τὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων πολυθρύλητον θαῦμα·
Χαῖρε τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων πολυθρήνητον τραῦμα·
- 9 χαῖρε τὸ φῶς ἀρρήτως γεννήσασα·
Χαῖρε το πῶς οὐδένα διδάξασα
- 11 Χαῖρε σοφῶν ὑπερβαίνουσα γνῶσιν·
Χαῖρε πιστῶν καταυγάζουσα φρένας·
- Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε·

2) Ρ ολιγῆς δεομένων

IV

1 Sila vyšĭnja(a)go
 osěni tŭgda
 3 na začęti je brakuneiskusĭneĭ
 i plodovitŭ je jeę ętroboę
 5 jako selo pokaza (viděti) vĭsěmŭ
 xotęsti(i)mŭ žęti sŭpaseni je
 7 vŭnjegda pęti sice
 aleluija

1 Δύναμις τοῦ Ἰφλάτου
 ἐπεσκίασε τότε
 3 πρὸς σύλληψιν τῆ ἀπειρογάμῃ·
 καὶ τὴν ἐγκαρπον ταύτης νηδύν
 5 ὡς ἀγρὸν ὑπέδειξεν, [ἠδύν] ἅπασιν
 τοῖς θέλουσιν θερίζειν σωτηρίαν
 7 ἐν τῷ ψάλλειν οὕτως·
 ἀλληλούϊα.

2) K osěnitŭęę = osěnitŭ tę (togda; 4) K blagoplodĭnŭę ętroboę (om. eę); 5) T viděti, K om., Mod Tr sladŭko; 6) K žiti

4) P εὐκαρπον; 5) P ἠδειν

V

- 1 Imošti bogoprijetina
 dēvica ložesna
- 3 teče kŭ jelisaveti
 mladēnīcī že onoję abije
- 5 poznavŭ toję cēlovanije radova(a)še sę
 (i) igranijemī jako pēnijemī
- 7 vŭpijaše kŭ bogorodici

- 1 Ἐχουσα θεοδόχον
 ἡ παρθένος τὴν μήτραν
- 3 ἀνέδραμε πρὸς τὴν Ἑλισάβετ·
 τὸ δὲ βρέφος ἐκείνης εὐθύς
- 5 ἐπιγνοῦν τὸν ταύτης ἀσπασμὸν ἔχαιρεν·
 καὶ ἄλμασιν ὡς ῥιπασμῶν
- 7 ἐβόα πρὸς τὴν θεοτόκον

1) T b̄oprijatīnaja; 2) K ložezna d̄vca; 4) T i (mladēnīcī;
 K om. že; 5,6,7) K poznavī q cēlovaniemī: i igraniemī pēmi
 vīpījaše b̄ci: 6) T pēnija; Tr pēnii; 7) T vŭpija

4) A καὶ τὸ; 5) A ἐπιγνοῦσα; 6) A συν

V

- 1 Radujĭ se (T) prozĕbenije neuvĕdoma(a)go grŭzna
(K) otrasli (neuvĕdajŏštĕjĕ) lozo
Radujĭ se ploda besŭmrĭtĭna(a)go sŭtĕžanije
- 3 Radujĭ se dĕlatelja dĕlajŏšti ĉlovĕkoljubĭca
Radujĭ se nasaditelja Źivota našego vŭz(d)raštajŏšti
- 5 Radujĭ se nivo prozĕbajŏšti gobĭzovanije Źtedrotŭ
Radujĭ se trapezo noseŹti obilije ocĕŹtenija
- 7 Radujĭ se jako cvĕtŭ piŹtĭnŭjĭ rastiŹi
Radujĭ se jako tiŹinŏ duŹi gotoviŹi
- 9 Radujĭ se prijatĭnoje molitvy kadilo
Radujĭ se vĭsego mira ocĕŹtenije
- 11 Radujĭ se boŹije kŭ mrĭtvyimŭ blagovolenije
Radujĭ se mrĭtvyixŭ kŭ bogu drĭznovenije
- Radujĭ se nevĕsto nenevĕstĭnaja

1) Tr R. se prozĕbenija neuvĕdomaja grŭzna; Mod Tr R. se otrasli neuvĕdajemyjĕ rozgo; K neovĕdaŏstija; 3) K dĕlaŏŹta; T ĉlovĕkoljubija; 4) K R. se saditelĕ Źivotu našemu poroŹdŏŹi; 5) brazdo; gobĭzno; 6) K nosŏŹtija obilĭno ocĕŹtenie; 7) K R. se vĭzrastivĭŹa rai piŹtĭni; 8) K R. se prozŏbŭŹi (prozĕbŭŹi) Źivota našego drĕvo; 9) K om. prijatĭnoje; kanĭdilo; 11) mrĭtvyimŭ, mrĭtvyixŭ [sic], Gk. θνητός 'mortal'; K blagovĕŹtenie.

- 1 Χαῖρε βλαστοῦ ἀμαράντου κλῆμα·
Χαῖρε καρποῦ ἀκηράτου κτήμα·
- 3 Χαῖρε γεωργὸν γεωργοῦσα φιλόανθρωπον·
Χαῖρε φυτουργὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν φύουσα·
- 5 Χαῖρε ἄρουρα βλασάνουσα εὐφορίαν οἰκτιρῶν·
Χαῖρε τράρεζα βαστάζουσα εὐθηνίαν ἰλασμοῦ·
- 7 Χαῖρε ὅτι λειμῶνα τῆς τρυφῆς ἀναθάλλεις·
Χαῖρε ὅτι λιμένα τῶν ψυχῶν ἐτοιμάζεις·
- 9 Χαῖρε δεκτὸν πρεσβείας θυμίαμα·
Χαῖρε παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἐξέλασμα·
- 11 Χαῖρε θεοῦ πρὸς θνητοὺς εὐδοκία·
Χαῖρε θνητῶν πρὸς θεὸν παρρησία·
- Χαῖρε νύμφε ἀνύμφευτε.

6) P var. εὐθενίας ἰλασμὸν; Tryp. ἰλασμῶν; P var. βροτῶν

VI

1 Burjɔ vŭnotrĭ imějɛ
 pomyšlenijĭ nevěriŭnyxŭ
 3 cělomɔdryjĭ iosifŭ sŭmęte sɛ
 přězde nebračĭŭŭ tɛ viděvŭ
 5 i brakookradova(nĭ)ŭ pomyšljajɛ přěčĭstaja
 uvěděvŭ že tvoje začętije
 7 otŭ svęta(a)go đuxa reče
 aleluija

1 ζάλην ἔνοδοθεν ἔχων
 λογισμῶν ἀμφιβόλων
 3 ὁ σώρων Ἰωσήφ ἐταράχθη,
 πρὸς τὴν ἀγαμόν σε θεωρῶν
 5 καὶ κλεψίγαμον ὑπονοῶν, ἀμεμπτε·
 μαθὼν δὲ σου τὴν σύλληψιν
 7 ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἔφη
 Ἄλληλούϊα.

4) T dŭnoju, i.e. děnoju; 5) T brakoneokradovanu

4) P, A πρώην

VII

- 1 Slyšaše pastyri
angely pojǫšte
- 3 plūtīskoje xristovo prišīstvije
i tekūše jako kū pastyrju
- 5 viděše togo jako agnica neporočina
vū črěvē mariině pasoma
- 7 jǫže pojǫšte rěše

- 1 Ἦκουσαν οἱ ποιμένες
τῶν ἀγγέλων ὑμνούντων
- 3 τὴν ἑνσαρκου Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν·
καὶ δραμόντες ὡς πρὸς ποιμένα
- 5 θεωροῦσι τοῦτον ὡς ἀμνὸν ἀμωμον
ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς Μαρίας βοσκηθέντα,
- 7 ἦν ὑμνοῦντες εἶπον·

1) K slišaviše; T pastusi, K pastirie; 4) T om. jako; T pastuxu; 5) K jęgo

VII

- 1 Radujĭ se agnica i pastyrja mati
Radujĭ se dvore slovesinyxĭ ovicĭ
- 3 Radujĭ se nevidimyixĭ zverĭjĭ moĉenije
Radujĭ se rajisky(i)xĭ dverĭjĭ otŭvrizenije
- 5 Radujĭ se jako nebesinaja radujotĭ se sĭ zeminyimi
Radujĭ se jako zemĭnaja likujotĭ sĭ verĭnymi
- 7 Radujĭ se apostolomĭ nemlŭĉinaja usta
Radujĭ se strastotripicemĭ nepobĕdimaja drizostĭ
- 9 Radujĭ se tvrĭdoje verĕ utvrĭzdenije
Radujĭ se svetĭloje blagodati poznanije
- 11 Radujĭ se jejozĕ obnaženĭ bystĭ adĭ
Radujĭ se jejozĕ odĕxomĭ se slavojĭ

Radujĭ se nevĕsto nenevĕstĭnaja

1) T pastuxa; 3) K zverĭ, Mod Tr vragovĭ; 4) raisky dveri, K;
5) Mod Tr sradujut se; T zemĭnyimi; K R. se jako nebesnaa
sĭ zemĭnimi raduotĭ se; 6) Mod Tr nebesnymi; 9) tvrĭdoi
verĕ osnovanie; 10) T sĭkazanije; 12) K odĕxomĭ sĭ

- 1 Χαῖρε ἄμνοῦ καὶ ποιμένος μήτηρ·
Χαῖρε αὐλή λογικῶν προβάτων·
- 3 Χαῖρε ἀοράτων θηρῶν ἀμυντήριον·
Χαῖρε παραδείσου θυρῶν ἀνοικτήριον·
- 5 Χαῖρε ὅτι τὰ οὐράνια συναγάλλονται τῇ γῆ·
Χαῖρε ὅτι τὰ ἐπίγεια συνευφραίνονται πιστοῖς·
- 7 Χαῖρε τῶν ἀποστόλων τὸ ἀσίγητον στόμα·
Χαῖρε τῶν ἀθλοφόρων τὸ ἀνίκητον θάρσος·
- 9 Χαῖρε στεροδὸν τῆς πίστεως ἔρεισμα·
Χαῖρε λαμπρὸν τῆς χάριτος γνῶρισμα·
- 11 Χαῖρε δι' ἧς ἐγυμνώθη ὁ ᾄδης·
Χαῖρε δι' ἧς ἐνεδύθημεν δόξαν·

Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε·

3) P ἐχθρῶν; 6) P οὐρανοῖς; 9) P ἔγευμα; ἔδρασμα

VIII

- 1 Bogotočīnoǰo dzvėzdø
vidėnvėše vlėsvi
- 3 po tojī vėslėdovaše zari
jako svėtilīnikū drīžėšte ǰo
- 5 toǰo pyta(a) xø krėpūkā(a)go cėsarja
i postigūše nepostižima(a)go
- 7 radovašėšė vūpiǰošte jemu
- aleluia

- 1 θεοδρόμον άστέρα
θεωρήσαντες μάγοι
- 3 τῆς τούτου ήκολούθησαν αγγελη·
καί φς λύχνον κρατοῦντες αὐτόν,
- 5 δι' αὐτοῦ ήρεύνων κραταιόν άνακτα.
καί καθάσαντες τόν άωθαστον
- 7 έχάρησαν αὐτῶ βοῶντες

Ἄλληλούϊα.

1) K b̄ḡotoč̄noǰo zvėzdi; R (corr.) bogotečīnuju 3) K i toǰo
(=toǰe?) posiėdovanši zari; 4) K jako svėtilīnika drīžašte ǰo;
5) K pitėxo; 6) K dostigošø nepostižīnago; 7) K raduošte sø
vīpijaxø (om. jemu)

IX

- 1 Viděšę otroci kaldějĩscii
 na rǫku děviceę
 3 sũzdanũsa(a)go rǫkama člověky
 i vladykǫ razumějǫšte jęgo
 5 ašte i rabĩjĩ priję zrakũ potũštašę sę
 darũmi ugoditi
 7 i vũzũpiti blagodětĩnějĩ

- 1 Ἴδον παῖδες Χαλδαίων
 ἐν χερσὶ τῆς παρθένου
 3 τὸν πλάσαντα χερσὶ τοῦς ἀνθρώπους·
 καὶ δεσπότην νοοῦντες αὐτὸν,
 5 εἰ καὶ δούλου ἔλαβε μορφὴν, ἔσπευσαν
 τοῖς δώροις θεραπεῦσαι
 7 καὶ βοηθαὶ τῇ εὐλογημένῃ

2) K dñičju; 3) T člověka 6) *dary(?); K ugoditi)emu;
 7) K obradovaněi, Mod Tr blagoslovenněi

IX

- 1 Radujŕ se dzvězdy nezaxodimyje mati
Radujŕ se zare tajŕnago dŕne
- 3 Radujŕ se přelŕstinŕjŕ peštŕ přestavljaŕŕŕti
Radujŕ se troice učeniky sŕxranŕŕŕ
- 5 Radujŕ se močitelja nemilostiva izmetajŕŕti izŕ vlasti
Radujŕ se gospoda člověkoljubŕca pokazavŕŕŕ xrista
- 7 Radujŕ se mŕnogoboŕŕstvina(a)go izbavljaŕŕŕti sluŕenija
Radujŕ se skvrŕnŕyixŕ izbavljaŕŕŕti dělŕ
- 9 Radujŕ se ognja poklanjanije ugasivŕŕŕŕ
Radujŕ se otŕ plamene strastii izmetajŕŕŕti
- 11 Radujŕ se persomŕ [sic] nastavŕnice čelomodrija
Radujŕ se vŕsěxŕ rodŕ veselije
- Radujŕ se nevěsto nenevěstŕnaja

1) K zvězde nezaxodŕŕŕtei mŕti; 3) K ugasiŕŕŕ; 5) nemilostivago;
6) K R. sŕ bŕ člŕkoljubca pokazŕŕŕŕti (om. xrista); 7) K
idolŕŕskago; 8) K skvrŕnŕixŕ dělŕ izbavlěŕŕŕŕti; 9) K sŕstavlŕŕŕŕŕ;
10) K R. sŕ plamene straŕnago i.; T, K izměnjajŕŕŕti, corr. R;
11) Mod Tr věrnŕxŕ

- 1 Χαῖρε ἀστέρος ἀδύτου μήτηρ·
Χαῖρε αὐγῆ μυστικῆς ἡμέρας·
- 3 Χαῖρε τῆς ἀπάτης τὴν κάμινον παύουσα·
Χαῖρε τῆς τριάδος τοὺς μύστας φυλάττουσα·
- 5 Χαῖρε τύραννον ἀπάνθρωπον ἐκβαλοῦσα τῆς αρχῆς·
Χαῖρε κύριον φιλόανθρωπον ἐπιδείξασα Χριστον·
- 7 Χαῖρε ἡ τῆς βαρβάρου λυτρομένη θρησκείας·
Χαῖρε ἡ τοῦ βορβόρου ρυομένη τῶν ἔργων·
- 9 Χαῖρε πυρὸς προσκύνησιν σβέσασα·
Χαῖρε ὁλογὸς παθῶν ἀπαλλάττουσα·
- 11 Χαῖρε Περσῶν [sic] ὀδηγὲ σωτηροσύνης·
Χαῖρε πασῶν γενεῶν εὐφοροσύνη·
- Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε·

3) P σβέσασα; 9) P παύσασα, A σβέσασα; 11) P πιστῶν, P var. περσῶν

X

- 1 Propověděnici bogonosivyi
byvŭše vlŭsvi
- 3 vŭzvratiše se vŭ vavilonŭ
sŭkoničavŭše že prorociŭstvo
- 5 i propovědavŭše te xrista vŭsĕmŭ
ostavliše Iroda jako blĕdiva
- 7 ne vĕdŏšta pĕti
- aleluija

- 1 κήρυκες θεοφόροι
γεγονότες οἱ μάγοι
- 3 ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα,
ἐκτελέσαντές σοῦ τὸν χρησμόν
- 5 καὶ κηρύσαντές σε τὸν Χριστὸν ἅπασιν,
ἀφέντες τὸν Ἡρώδη ὡς ληρώδη
- 7 μὴ εἰδότα ψάλλειν·

Ἄλληλούϊα.

1) K bŏnosni; 3) T vŭzvrativŭse se; 4) K pŕŭčŏstvija (om. že); 5) K propovědaŏšte xā (om. te, vŭsĕmŭ); 6) K i ostavišŏ; 7) K i (ne vĕdŏšta

4) οὖν (pro σοῦ)
6) P ὡς εἰρῶνα

XI

1 Vŭsija(vŭ) vŭ eguptě
 prosvěštenija istiny
 3 otŭgnalu jesi lŭžę tŭmŭ
 kumiri bo jego sŭpase
 5 ne trŭpęšte tvojeje kreposti padošę
 otŭ tĕxŭ že izbavlišę sę
 vupijaxŭ kŭ bogorodici

1 λάμψας ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ
 φωτισμὸν ἀληθείας
 3 ἐδίδωξας τοῦ ψεύδους τὸ σκότος·
 τὰ γὰρ εἰδῶλα ταύτης, Σωτήρ,
 5 μὴ ἐνέγκαντα σου τὴν ἰσχὺν πέπτωκαν.
 οἱ τούτων δὲ ρυσθέντες
 7 ἀνεβόων πρὸς τὴν θεοτόκον

1) T Vŭsija-vŭ-euptě, K vŭsija v egypŭte; 3) K lŭžŭ tŭmy;
 4) K idoli; 5) K tvoŭ kreposti ne trŭpęšti padošŭ; 7) K
om. kŭ

XI

- 1 Radujĭ se vŭzvedenije ĉlovĕkomŭ
Radujĭ se padenije bĕsomŭ
- 3 Radujĭ se prĕlĭstĭnoĵo driŭŭavŭ popĭravŭŭŭi
Radujĭ se idolĭskoje lŭkavĭstvo obliĉivŭŭŭi
- 5 Radujĭ se morje potopljajĕ faraona myslĭna(a)go
Radujĭ se kameni napoivyjĭ ŭŭŭdoŭŭtije ŭivota
- 7 Radujĭ se ognĭnyjĭ stlŭpe nastavljajĕ vŭ tĭmĕ soŭŭtĕŭ
Radujĭ se krove miru ŭirĭŭi oblaka
- 9 Radujĭ se (piŭŭtĕ) manĭny priimaliŭŭe
Radujĭ se (piŭŭtĕ) svĕtyjĕ sluŭŭitelju
- 11 Radujĭ se zemle obĕtovanija
Radujĭ se iz neĵe ŭe teĉetŭ medŭ i mlĕko
- Radujĭ se nevĕsto nenevĕstĭnaja

1) K vĭzdviŭenie; 3) K R. so prĕlĭstĭniŭ sĭblazni popravŭŭe;
4) K R. so idolĭskyŭ lĭsty obliĉivĭŭi; 5) (potopljĭŭeje?);
K R. so jako vŭ mory pogrŭziŭi mislĭnago faraona; 6) K
kamene, ŭŭŭdoŭŭŭ; 7) K R. so stlĭpe ogni nastavliŭŭŭi vĭ
tĭmĕ soŭŭtĕŭ; 8) K pokrove; T ŭirĭŭii; K oblakĭ; 9) T
pitatelĭnice. manĭnĕ priimaliŭŭe; K piŭŭte manŭni priemaliŭŭe;
10) T piŭŭta stĕja sluŭŭitelju; K styŭ piŭŭti sluŭŭitelju; 11)
K obĕtovanaa; 12) T ŭ; K medĭ (= medŭ) i maslo

- 1 Χαῖρε ἀνόρθωσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων·
Χαῖρε κατάπτωσις τῶν δαιμόνων·
- 3 Χαῖρε ἡ τῆς πλάνης τὸ κράτος πατήσασα·
Χαῖρε τῶν εἰδώλων τὸν δόλον ἐλέγξασα·
- 5 Χαῖρε θάλασσα ποντίσασα φαραῶ τὸν νοητόν·
Χαῖρε πέτρα ποτίσασα τοὺς διψῶντας τὴν ζωὴν·
- 7 Χαῖρε πύρινε στύλε ὁδηγῶν τοὺς ἐν σκοτει·
Χαῖρε σκέπε τοῦ κόσμου πλατυτέρα νεφέλης·
- 9 Χαῖρε τροφή τοῦ μάννα διάδοχε·
Χαῖρε τροφῆς ἁγίας διάκονε·
- 11 Χαῖρε ἡ γῆ ἡ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας·
Χαῖρε ἐξ ἧς ῥέει μέλι καὶ γάλα·
- Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε·

3) P var. τῆς ἀπάτης τὴν πλάνην; 9) A τροφῆς; 10) A τροφῆς

XII

- 1 Xoteřtu symeonu
 otũ sořta(a)go vĕka
- 3 přestaviti se otũ vrĕmenĩna(a)go
 vũdanũ bystũ jako mladenĩcĩ jemu
- 5 nũ rozna se jemu bogũ sũvrĩšenũ
 tĕmũ že udivi se tvojejĩ
- 7 neizdreĕenĩnĕi mođrosti vũpije
- aleluija

- 1 Μέλλοντος Συμεῶνος
 τοῦ παρόντος αἰῶνος
- 3 μεθίστασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος
 ἐπεδόθης ὡς βρέφος αὐτῷ.
- 5 Ἄλλ' ἐγνώσθης τούτῳ ὡς θεὸς τέλειος·
 διόπερ ἐξεπλάγη σου
- 7 τὴν ἄρρητον σοφίαν, κράζων
- Ἄλληλούϊα.

2,3) K přestaviti so / ot přelĩstinago žitiija; 4) K vũdanĩ
 emu byst mladenecĩ; 5) Tr jemu) i

3) P μεθίστασθαι τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος; 5) P, Τρυρ. τούτῳ καὶ θεὸς, A
 τούτῳ ὡς θεός

XIII

- 1 Novø pokaza tvarĩ
 javivũ sę tvorĩciĩ
- 3 namũ otũ nego byvũšiimĩ
 iz besěmenĩnyje prozěbũ ōtroby
- 5 i sũxranivũ jø jakože bě čista
 da čudo viděšte
- 7 vũspojemũ jø vũpijōšte

- 1 Νέαυ ἐδειξε κτίσιν
 ἐμφανίσας ὁ κτίστης
- 3 ἡμῖν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένοις·
 ἐξ ἀσπόρου βλαστήσας γαστροῦς
- 5 καὶ φυλάξας ταύτην, ὥσπερ ἦν, ἀφθοροῦς
 ἵνα τὸ θαῦμα βλέποντες
- 7 ὕμνησωμεν αὐτὴν βοῶντες·

2) K javi sø; 4) K ot besěminiø ōtrobi prozøbe; 5) K i
 sxranivĩ že jakože bě netlēna; 6) K vĩnidōšte; 7) K vĩspoemĩ
 glōšte, T vũspoinũ ju, Rom. ju

5) (A, Τρυρ., ἀφθορον)

XIII

- 1 Radujĭ se cvĕte netĭlĕnija
Radujĭ se vĕniĕe vŭzdrižanija
- 3 Radujĭ se vŭzkrĭsenija obrazŭ oblistajŭšti
Radujĭ se angelĭskoe žitije javljajŭšti
- 5 Radujĭ se drĕvo svĕtĭloplodĭnoje
otŭ njego že pitajŭtŭ se vĕrĭnii
Radujĭ se drĕvo blagosĕnĭnolistŭvĭnoje
podŭ njimi že prikryvajŭtŭ se
mŭnoazi
- 7 Radujĭ se raždajŭšti izbavitelja plĕnĭnymŭ
Radujĭ se plodonosešti nastavĭnika zablŭždišimŭ
- 9 Radujĭ se sŭdiję vĭsemŭ umolenije
Radujĭ se mŭnogyimŭ přegrĕšenijemŭ proštenije
- 11 Radujĭ se odeždę nagy(i)mŭ drĭznovenije
Radujĭ se ljuby vĭse želanie pobĕždajŭšti
Radujĭ se nevĕsto nenevĕstĭnaja

1) K dŭštva; 2) K vĭzdrižaniju; 3) T obrazŭ) sĭ javljajušti;
5) K svĕtoplodĭnoe; 6) K blĕgosĕnĭnoe.listvie; pokrivaŭtĭ sŭ;
7) K roždŭšija; plĕnikomŭ; 8) plŭdnosešti; line om. K; 9) K
sŭdiŭ pravĕdnago umĕnie; 10) K ŭpuštenie; 11) K i
drĭznovenie; 12) K vsĕko; T přepitajušti, Tr pripirajŭšti,
R prepirajušti

- 1 Χαῖρε τὸ ἄνθος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας·
Χαῖρε τὸ στέμμα τῆς ἐγκρατείας·
- 3 Χαῖρε ἀναστάσεως τύπον ἐκλάμπουσα·
Χαῖρε τῶν ἀγγέλων τὸν βίον ἐμφαίνουσα·
- 5 Χαῖρε δένδρον ἀγλαόκαρπον, ἐξ οὗ τρέφονται πιστοί·
Χαῖρε ξύλον εὐσκιόφυλλον, ὑφ' οὗ σκέπονται πολλοί·
- 7 Χαῖρε ἀπογεννώσα λυτρωτὴν αἰχμαλώτους·
Χαῖρε κυφοροῦσα ὁδηγὸν πλανωμένους·
- 9 Χαῖρε κριτοῦ τοῦ πάντων δυσώπησις·
Χαῖρε πολλῶν παισμάτων συγχώρησις·
- 11 Χαῖρε στολή τῶν γυμνῶν παρρησία·
Χαῖρε στοργὴ πάντα πῶθον νικῶσα·
- Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε·

7) Τρυφ. κυφοροῦσα 8) Τρυφ. ἀπογεννώσα ΑΚ καρποφοροῦσα ν. 1
9) Ρ κριτοῦ δικαίου δυσώπησις; 11) Ρ παρρησίας

XIV

1 Straniño roždǐstvo viděvůše
 ustranimů se mira
 3 umů na nebo přeložiše
 sego bo radi vysokyjǐ
 5 na zemli javi se sǔměrenů člověků
 xote přivesti na vysotq
 7 ků nemu vŭrijqšteq

 aleluija

1 ξένον τόκον ἰδόντες
 ξενωθῶμεν τοῦ κόσμου
 3 τὸν νοῦν εἰς οὐρανὸν μεταθέντες·
 διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ ὑψηλὸς
 5 ἐπὶ γῆς ἐφάνη ταπεινὸς ἄνθρωπος,
 βουλόμενος ἐλκύσαι πρὸς τὸ ὕψος
 τοὺς αὐτῷ βοῶντας

 Ἄλληλούϊα.

5) K na zemi; 6) člŭky xotq sp̄sti (om. na vysotq); 7) K vŭrijšte (om. ků nemu)

XV

- 1 Vĩsĩ bẽ vŭ nižĩni(i)xŭ
 i vŭ vyšĩni(i)xŭ nikakože
- 3 otŭstŕpi neispisanĩnoje slovo
 sŭxoždenije božije
- 5 ne přexoždenije městĩnoje bystŭ
 i roždĩstvo otŭ děvy
- 7 bogoprijětĩny slyšěště sija

- 1 ὁλος ἦν ἐν τοῖς κάτω
 καὶ τῶν ἄνω οὐδ' ὅλως
- 3 ἀπῆν ὁ ἀπερίγραφτος λόγος·
 συγκατάβασις γὰρ θεϊκῆ
- 5 οὐ μετάβασις δὲ τοπικῆ γέγονεν,
 καὶ τόκος ἐκ παρθένου
- 7 θεολήπτου ἀκουούσης ταῦτα

1) K ^Sχῖ (= xristosŭ) bẽ; T vŭ zemlĩnyixŭ; 2,3) K i višĩni^X
 ne ōstŕplĩ: neispisana slovo; 4) T, K om. bo; K běstŕvĩnoe
 (= božestvĩnoe); 5) K ne směsno (= sŭměstĩno) by^S (= bystŭ)
 přexoždenije; 6) T i roždĩstvo) bystŭ; 7) K bogoprijětĩniŕ
 (= bogoprijětĩnyjě) slyšěště vĩzŕpiemĩ (om. sija); T
 slyšaštija.

XV

- 1 Radujĭ se boga nevŭmĕstimago selo
Radujĭ se ĉistago tajĭnŭstva dvĭri
- 3 Radujĭ se nevĕrĭnyixŭ (nevĕrĭnoje) slyšanije
Radujĭ se vĕrĭnyixŭ nenevĕrĭnaja poxvalo
- 5 Radujĭ se nosilo prĕsvĕtoje sošta(a)go na xeruvimĕxŭ
Radujĭ se selenije prĕslavĭnoje sošta(a)go na serafimĕxŭ
- 7 Radujĭ se protivĭnaja vŭ tozde sŭbravŭši
Radujĭ se (jeze) dĕvĭstvo i roždĭstvo sŭĉetavŭši
- 9 Radujĭ se jejoze razdruši se prĕstŕplenije
Radujĭ se jejoze otŭvrĭze se rajĭ
- 11 Radujĭ se kljuĉu xristova ĉesarĭstvija
Radujĭ se upŭvanije blagŭ vĕĉĭnyixŭ
- Radujĭ se nevĕsto nenevĕstĭnaja

1) K bĭe (bozĭije) selo nevĭmĕstimago; 2) T R. se ĉistaja
ĉistago (tainĭstva; K ĉĭnago (ĉĭst(i)nago; 3) T nevĕrĭnyixŭ
slyšanije; K nevĕrĭnimĭ poslušanie; Tr nevĕrĭnyixŭ
nenevĕrnoje slyšanije; 4) K vĕrĭnimĭ izvĕstnaa poxvalo;
5) K R. so kolesnice prĕsvĕtlaa; 6) K om. this entire line;
5-6) telescoped in T: R se nosilo prĕstŕoe. suštaĝo na
serafimĕxŭ; 7) K R. so protivĭniŕ (protivĭnyje ?) vĭ tozde
sĭbravĭše; 8) so T; K R. so dvtŕvo soĉetaviši roždŕstvo
(sŭĉetavŭš-i-roždĭstvo); 9) K razrĕši so; 11) T kljuĉi; K
crtvy (ĉesarĭstvii?), om. x-va; 12) K naslaždĕnie vĕĉnixĭ blagiĭ

- 1 Χαῖρε θεοῦ ἀχωρήτου χώρα·
Χαῖρε σεπτοῦ μυστηρίου θύρα·
- 3 Χαῖρε τῶν ἀπίστων ἀμφίβολον ἀκουσμα·
Χαῖρε τῶν πιστῶν ἀναμφίβολον καύχημα·
- 5 Χαῖρε ὄχημα πανάγιον τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβίμ·
Χαῖρε οἴκημα πανάριστον τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν σεραφίμ·
- 7 Χαῖρε τὰ ἐναντία εἰς ταυτὸ ἀγαθοῦσα·
Χαῖρε ἡ παρθενίαν καὶ λοχείαν ζευγνύσα·
- 9 Χαῖρε δι' ἧς ἐλύθη παράβασις·
Χαῖρε δι' ἧς ἠνοίχθη παράδεισος·
- 11 Χαῖρε ἡ κλεῖς τῆς χριστοῦ βασιλείας·
Χαῖρε ἐλπίς ἀγαθῶν αἰωνίων·
- Χαῖρε νόμῳ ἀνύμφευτε·

7) Ρ ἡ τάναντία

XVI

1 Vísěko jestiŝtvo angeliško
 udivi se veliju
 3 tvojego vŭčlověčeniija dělu
 nepriŝtopīna bo jako boga
 5 viděšte [sic] vísěmŭ priŝtopīna člověka
 sŭ nami ubo přěbyvajōŝta
 7 slyšěŝta že otŭ vísěxŭ
 aleluija

1 Πᾶσα φύσις ἀγγέλων
 κατεπλάγε τὸ μέγα
 3 τῆς σῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ἔργον·
 τὸν ἀπρόσιτον γὰρ ὡς θεόν
 5 ἐθεώρει πᾶσι προσιτὸν ἄνθρωπον
 ἡμῖν μὲν συνδιάγοντα
 7 ἀκούοντα δὲ παρὰ πάντων
 Ἀλληλούϊα.

1) K anĝlīskoe; 2) K velykomu; 3) K tvoemu; T čīnkolibija
 [sic] dělo (nb érgon!); 4) K nepriŝtopīnago 5) so T; K
 viděvīše; 6) T kŭ namŭ že približajuŝta se; 7) K i sliŝōŝta
 t o vísě

5) P ἐθεώρουν

XVII

1 Větije m(ň)nogoglasiny
 jako ryby bezglasiny
 vidimŭ otŭ tebe bogorodice
 nedomyslētŭ bo sę glagolati kako
 i děvojŭ prěbyvaješi i roditi vŭzmože
 my že tajinīstvu
 divęšte sę vęriŭno vŭpijemŭ

1 ῥήτορας πολυφθόγγους
 ὡς ἰχθύας ἀφθόγγους
 3 ὁρῶμεν ἐπὶ σοί, θεοτόκε·
 ἀποροῦσι γὰρ λέγειν τὸ· πῶς
 5 καὶ παρθένος μένεις καὶ τεκεῖν ἰσχυσας.
 ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸ μυστήριον
 7 θαυμάζοντες πιστῶς βοῶμεν

2) K om. this line; 4) K nedoumēmī bo glāti: jako;
 5) K om. i (děvojo; 7) T čjudęšte sę

2) P, T, ἰχθύας ἀρώνους

XVII

- 1 Radujĩ se mŏdrosti boŏiję priimalište
Radujĩ se promyšljenja jego xranilo
- 3 Radujĩ se filosofy nemŏdry javljajŏšti
Radujĩ se xytroslovesĩniky beslovesĩniky obličajŏšti
- 5 Radujĩ se jako uvędoše zũlii vũziskatele
Radujĩ se jako obujiše se basnotvorĩci
- 7 Radujĩ se athinejĩskyje plenice rastrĩdzavũši
Radujĩ se rybarjĩskyje mreŏe isplũnjajŏšti
- 9 Radujĩ se otũ glŏbiny nevęzdĩstviya izvodeŏšti
Radujĩ se mũnogy vũ rozumę prosvęstajŏšti
- 11 Radujĩ se korablju xoteŏsti(i)mũ sũpasti se
Radujĩ se tiŏino ŏitijĩska(a)go plavanja
Radujĩ se nevęsto nenevęstĩnaja

-
- 1) K skrovište; 2) K priŏtylište (prijetilište); 3) K filosofy) mŏdry, T nemudryja; 4) K x. javlęŏsti obličajŏsti;
5) K zli vĩskateli; 6) so K; T ubuiša se basnĩni tvorĩci;
7) K rastreŏaŏsti; 9) K iz g. nevęnija izbavlęŏsta

- 1 Χαῖρε σοφίας θεοῦ δοχεῖον·
Χαῖρε προνοίας αὐτοῦ ταμεῖον·
- 3 Χαῖρε φιλοσόφους ἀσόφους δεικνύουσα·
Χαῖρε τεχνολόγους ἀλόγους ἐλέγχουσα·
- 5 Χαῖρε ὅτι ἐμαράνθησαν οἱ δεινοὶ συζητηταί·
Χαῖρε ὅτι ἐμωράνθησαν οἱ τῶν μύθων ποιηταί·
- 7 Χαῖρε τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰς πλοκάς διασπῶσα·
Χαῖρε τῶν ἀλιέων τὰς σαγῆνας πληροῦσα·
- 9 Χαῖρε βυθοῦ ἀγνοίας ἐξέλκουσα·
Χαῖρε πολλοὺς ἐν γνώσει φωτίζουσα·
- 11 Χαῖρε ὀλκάς τῶν θελόντων σωθῆναι·
Χαῖρε λιμὴν τῶν τοῦ βίου πλωτήρων·

Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε·

XVIII

- 1 Sŭpasti kotę mira
 vĭsěxŭ ukrasitelĭ
- 3 kŭ semu samooběštanĭno pride
 i pastyrĭ sy jako bogŭ
- 5 nasŭ radi javi se po nasŭ jako ovĭče
 podobĭnumu podobĭnoje prizŭnavŭ
- 7 vŭsxotě slyšati
- aleluija

- 1 Σῶσαι θέλων τὸν κόσμον
 ὁ τῶν ὄλων κοσμήτωρ
- 3 πρὸς τοῦτον ἀτεπάγγελτος ἦλθεν·
 καὶ ποιμὴν ὑπάρχων ὡς θεός
- 5 δι' ἡμᾶς ἐώρανη καθ' ἡμᾶς πρόβατον,
 ὁμοίῳ δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον καλέσας
- 7 ὡς ἠθέλησεν ἀκούειν
- ἀλληλούϊα

1K K prosvětiti; 4) T pastuxŭ; 5) k javi se) namĭ pŏbenĭ
 (podobenŭ), om. jako ovĭče; 6) K pŏbnikŭ pŏbiju prizŭnavi?
 U prizŭva; 7) T da vŭpijem [sic], om. vŭsxotě slyšati

XIX

1 Stěna jesi děvamŭ
 bogorodice děvo
 3 i vīsēmŭ kŭ tēbě priběgajōšti(i)mŭ
 tvorīciŭ bo nebu i zemli
 5 ukrasi tē čistaja
 vŭseljī sē vŭ ōtroboŭ tvojoŭ
 7 naučivŭ priglašati sice

1 Τείχος εἶ τῶν παρθένων,
 θεοτόκε παρθένε,
 3 καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰς σε προσφευγόντων·
 ὁ γὰρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς
 5 κατεσκεύασέ σε ποιητής, ἀχραντε,
 οἰκήσας ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ σου
 7 καὶ διδάξας προσφωνεῖν σοὶ πάντας

3) K om. i; 4) *nebesi (?); K ibo nebu i zemli; 5) K tvorecī:
 sŭvrīšī (sŭvrīšitŭ: *sŭvrīši tē?) prěctaa; 6) K i vīseli sō;
 7) K i nauči vsō priglašati, om. sice; Maced. nauči ti

3) προστρεχόντων var. lect.
 7) A καὶ πάντας προσφωνεῖν διδάξας

XIX

- 1 Raduji se tělo děvřstva
Raduji se dvřř sŭpasenija
- 3 Raduji se načalřnice myslřnaago sŭzdanija
Raduji se podatelřnice božije blagoděti
- 5 Raduji se ty bo obnovila jesi okradenyje umomř
Raduji se jako ty oděla jesi života obnaženyje
- 7 Raduji se gubitelja umomŭ razarjajošti
Raduji se sějatelja čistoty roždřř
- 9 Raduji se ložřnice besěmenřnaago nevěstitelja
Raduji se gospodevi věřřnyje obrŭčajošti
- 11 Raduji se dobraja mladopitatelřnice děvamŭ
Raduji se dušamŭ čřřtože světyjř
- Raduji se nevěsto nenevěstřnaja

3) K om. entire line; 4) K podatelju bĕstŭviniŭ
(božestvřnyje) blĕgoděti; T om. blagoděti; 5) K ukradenie
tlĕniju; 6) K R. sŭ ty bo nakazala esi okradenie umomř;
7) K g. smislomř upraznivřř; 8) čřřotě poroždŭšti; 9) K
čřřtože bĕstŭvřnago (božřstvřna(a)go); 10) K ĕu (gospodu);
sřčetavše; 11) K mladaa pitatelřnice; 12) K svĕtli

- 1 Χαῖρε ἡ στήλη τῆς παρθενίας·
Χαῖρε ἡ πύλη τῆς σωτηρίας·
- 3 Χαῖρε ἀρχηγέ νοητῆς ἀναπλάσεως·
Χαῖρε χορηγέ θεϊκῆς ἀγαθότητος·
- 5 Χαῖρε σὺ γὰρ ἀνεγέννησας τοὺς συληθέντας τὸν νοῦν·
Χαῖρε σὺ ὅτι ἐνέδυσας τοὺς γυμνωθέντας τῆς ζωῆς·
- 7 Χαῖρε ἡ τὸν φθορέα τῶν φρενῶν καταργοῦσα·
Χαῖρε ἡ τὸν σπορέα τῆς ἀγνείας τεκοῦσα·
- 9 Χαῖρε παστάς ἀσπόρου νυμφέυσεως·
Χαῖρε πιστοὺς κυρίῳ ἀρμόζουσα·
- 11 Χαῖρε καλὴ κουροτρόφε παρθένων·
Χαῖρε ψυχῶν νυμφοστόλε ἀγίων·

Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε

5) P var. σὺ γὰρ ἀνεκαίνισας τοὺς συλ.; 6) P var. and Meers. ὅτι ἐνουθέτησας τοῦ συληθέντας τὸ νοῦν; 7) καταργοῦσα = upraznivŭši, better upraznjajŏšti (so all Greek texts); razarjajŏšti = *καθαίροῦσα

XX

- 1 Pěsnī vīsěka povimuetŭ se
rasprostrěti tŭštetšti se
- 3 m(ŭ)nožĭstvomŭ m(ŭ)nogy(i)xŭ štedrotŭ tvoixŭ
ravĭnočislĭnyje psalŭmy i pěsni
- 5 ježe prinosimŭ ti cěsarju svętyjĭ
ničĭtože tvorešte dostojĭno
- 7 ixŭže darovalŭ jesi tebě vŭpijŭštĭimŭ
aleluija

- 1 ὕμνος ἅπας ἠτιᾶται
συνεκτείνεσαι σπεύδων
- 3 τῷ πλήθει τῶν πολλῶν οἰκτιρῶν σου·
ἰσαριθμούς ψαλμούς καὶ ᾠδὰς
- 5 ἂν προσφέρωμέν σοι, βασιλεῦ ἅγιε,
οὐδὲ τελούμεν ἄξιον
- 7 ὧν δέδωκας τοῖς σοὶ βοᾶσιν·
ἀλληλούϊα.

1) K poběždaet sq; 2) K prostrěti; 3) T množĭstvo mŭnogŭxŭ
(množĭstvo-mŭ-nogyixŭ ?); K kĭ množĭtvu; 4) aplŭ^s [sic]; T
pěni, K pěmi, AK pěnija; 5) jaže (=ježe), K eže; 6) k ne dŭino;
7) T ixŭže tebě vŭpijuštĭixŭ, om. darovalŭ jesi; K ixže
darovaiĭ esi vĭpijŭštĭimĭ, om. tebě, AK ixŭže dalŭ jesi

XXI

- 1 Světopriimīno svěštq
 soštiimũ vũ tīmě javlišq sę
 3 vidimũ svętojq dęvicq
 besplůtinyi bo vũžagajqšti ognjĩ
 5 navoditũ kũ razumu božiju vīsęxũ
 zarjejq umũ prosvęštajqšti
 7 zũvanijemũ že čĩstima simĩ

- 1 φωτοδόχον λαμπάδα
 τοĩς έν σκότει φανεĩσαν
 3 ορῶμεν τήν άγίαν παρθένον·
 τὸ γάρ ἄϋλον ἄπτουσα πύρ
 5 ὀδηγεĩ πρός γνῶσιν θεϊκὴν ἅπαντας,
 αύγη τὸν νοũν φωτίζουσα
 7 κραυγῆ δε τιμωμένη ταύτη·

1) K světopriemīnēi svěštii; 2) K javliši so; 3) K soštq (dęvicq; 4) K vižizaqšti; 5) K nastavlęeti vsq vsq [sic] kũ razumu bęštynomu (=božĩstvĩnomu); 6) K prosvęštaqšte; 7) K zvaniemĩ čĩstymi, om. že, simĩ, T, AK cĩstimu

XXI

- 1 Radujī se luče myslīnago sl̄nīca
Radujī se svētilīnīce nezaxodima(a)go svēta
- 3 Radujī se ml̄nija dušę osijajōšti
Radujī se jako gromū vragy ustrašajōšti
- 5 Radujī se jako m(ū)nogosvētīloje vūsijaješi
prosvēštenije
Radujī se jako m(ū)nogovodīnoje istačaješi napojenije
- 7 Radujī se kōpēli prosijajōšti obrazū
Radujī se *grēxa otūmyvajōšti skvrīnō
- 9 Radujī se bane omyvajōšti sūvēstī
Radujī se čaše počrīpljōšti radostī
- 11 Radujī se vone xristova blagoqxanija
Radujī se žizni tajīnago veselija
Radujī se nevēsto nenevēstīnaja

1) T luča; K R. so luče bēstōvīnio (=božīstvīnyje) zari: sl̄nca razumnago; 2) K n. sl̄nca; 3) K oblistaōšti; 4) T, K om. this line, quoted by Amfiloxij from Tr, so in AK; 5) K jako) mnogo vīsīlala [sic] esi (prosvēštenije; T vūsijavūši; Tr vūsijaješi; 6) K jako) mnogotekōštō i. rēkō; 7) K propisaōšti; *HERE ENDS THE TEXT OF THE AKATHISTOS IN THE KOPITAR TRIO' (end of folio 6lv); 10) Maced počřipajōšti

- 1 Χαῖρε ἀκτίς νοητοῦ ἡλίου·
Χαῖρε λαμπτήρ τοῦ ἀδύτου φέγγους·
- 3 Χαῖρε ἀστραπή τὰς ψυχὰς καταλάμπουσα·
Χαῖρε ὡς βροντή τοῦ ἐχθροῦς καταπλήττουσα·
- 5 Χαῖρε ὅτι τὸν πολύφωτον ἀνατέλλεις φωτισμόν·
Χαῖρε ὅτι τὸν πολύδωρον ἀναβλύζεις ποτισμόν·
- 7 Χαῖρε τῆς κολυμβήθρας ζωγραφοῦσα τὸν τύπον·
Χαῖρε τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀναιροῦσα τὸν ρύπον·
- 9 Χαῖρε λουτήρ ἐκπλύνων συνείδησιν·
Χαῖρε κρατῆρ κερνῶν ἀγαλλίασιν·
- 11 Χαῖρε ὁσμὴ τῆς Χριστοῦ εὐωδίας·
Χαῖρε ζωὴ μυστικῆς εὐωχίας·
- Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε·

3) P καταυγάζουσα; 6) P τ. πολύρρυτον ἀ. ποταμόν

XXII

- 1 Blagodatī dati vūsxotevū
 dlūgomū drěvīniimū
- 3 vīsěxū člověkū dlūgu razdrěšiteljī
 pride sobojq
- 5 kă ošīdīšimū svojejq blagodětijq
 i rastrīdzavū rōkopisanije
- 7 slyšitu otū vīsěxū sice
- alleluija

- 1 χάριν δοῦναι θελήσας
 ὀφλημάτων ἀρχαίων
- 3 ὁ πάντων χρεωλύτης ἀνθρώπων
 ἐπεδήμησε δι' ἑαυτοῦ
- 5 πρὸς τοὺς ἀποθήμους τῆς αὐτοῦ χάριτος·
 καὶ σχίσας τὸ χειρόγραφον
- 7 ἀκούει παρὰ πάντων οὕτως·
- ἀλληλούϊα

7) T slyšažu

XXIII

1 Pojďte roždĭstvo tvoje
 xvalimĕ tĕ vši
 3 jako duševĭnu crĭkŭvĭ bogorodice
 vŭ tvoju bo (vŭselivŭ sĕ) ōtrobo
 5 sŭdrĭžajĭ vŭsĕ rokojŕ gospodĭ
 osvĕti i proslavi
 7 i nauči vŭpiti vŭsĕmŭ

1 ψάλλοντες σου τὸν τόκον
 εὐφημοῦμέν σε πάντες
 3 ὡς ἔμψυχον ναόν, θεοτόκε·
 ἐν τῇ σῆ γάρ οἰκῆσας γαστρὶ
 5 ὁ συνέχων πάντα τῇ χειρὶ κύριος,
 ἠγίασεν, ἐδόξασεν,
 7 ἐδίδαξεν βοᾶν σοι πάντας·

4) T, AK vŭseli sĕ; 7) T om. ti, corr R

5) συνέχων] κατέχων A, AK

XXIII

- 1 Radujŕ se sĕni boga i slova
Radujŕ se svĕtaja svĕtyxŭ boljiŕi
- 3 Radujŕ se koviĕeže pozlaŕtenŭ duxomŕ
Radujŕ se sŭkroviŕte ŕivotu neizgotovanŕnoe
- 5 Radujŕ se ĕiŕtŕnyji vĕniĕe ĕĕsarĕmŭ blagovĕrŕnyimŭ
Radujŕ se poxvalo ĕiŕtŕnaja ierĕomŭ blagobojaznŕnymu
- 7 Radujŕ se criĕŭvamŭ nedviŕimyji ŕtlŭpe
Radujŕ se ĕĕsarŕŕstviju nerazorimaja ŕtĕno
- 9 Radujŕ se jejŕzĕ vŭŕtajŕtŭ pobĕdy
Radujŕ se jejŕzĕ vradzi padajŕtŭ
- 11 Radujŕ se svĕtu mojemu sluŕitelju
Radujŕ se duŕe mojejĕ sŭpasenije

Radujŕ se nevĕsto nenevĕŕtŕnaja

1) Maced b(og)aŕlova; 4) Maced neizdaemoe, Mod neistoŕtimoje;
7) Maced nepodiŕimi; 8) Maced nedviŕimaa; T ŕtĕna; 10) Maced
padajŕtŭ vrazi; 11) Maced sluŕitelje

- 1 Χαῖρε σκηνή τοῦ θεοῦ καί λόγου·
Χαῖρε ἅγία ἁγίων μελίζων·
- 3 Χαῖρε κιβωτὲ χρυσοθεῖσα τῷ πνεύματι·
Χαῖρε θησαυρὲ τῆς ζωῆς ἀδαπάνητε·
- 5 Χαῖρε τίμιον διάδημα βασιλέων εὐσεβῶν·
Χαῖρε καύχημα σεβάσμων ἱερέων εὐλαβῶν·
- 7 Χαῖρε τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁ ἀσάλευτος πύργος·
Χαῖρε τῆς βασιλείας τὸ ἀπόρθητον τεῖχος·
- 9 Χαῖρε δι ἧς ἐγείρονται τρόπαια·
Χαῖρε δι ἧς ἐχθροὶ καταπίπτουσι·
- 11 Χαῖρε φωτὸς τοῦ ἔμοῦ θεραπεία·
Χαῖρε ψυχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς σωτηρία·

Χαῖρε νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε·

XXIV

1 O přepřetaja mati
 roždīši vīsěxŭ
 3 svętyxŭ přěsveta(a)go slova
 priimŭši nyněšīneje prinošenije
 5 otŭ vīsěkoje zastopi napasti vīsěxŭ
 i grędęšteje izbavi
 7 męky kŭ tebě vŭprijęštīixŭ
 aleluija

1 Ὡ πανύμνητε μητηρ
 ἡ τεκοῦσα τὸν πάντων
 3 ἀγίων ἀγιώτατον λόγον·
 δεξαμένη τὴν νῦν προσφορὰν,
 5 ἀπὸ πάσης ῥῆσαι συμφορὰς ἅπαντας,
 καὶ τῆς μελλούσης λύτρῶσαι
 7 κολάσεως τοῦς σοι βοῶντας·
 ἀλληλούϊα.

1) T dŭo mŕi; 4) Maced ispovędanie i prinošenje

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