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44

Београд, 2022

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<sup>х</sup>мнхнѣакнмѣ  
б<sup>д</sup>акюгамакѣсѣ  
кокрѣмѣкннн  
хвѣлажгѣвѣстѣ  
ѡпрѣ<sup>с</sup>а<sup>н</sup>нс<sup>н</sup>антѣ<sup>н</sup>

нѣлѣтоѣ  
нежеоцкѣ  
тѣнѣзѣнн  
црѣкнѣ  
хѣгана  
пѣсто





## THE SLAVONIC SABBATE *HOROLOGION*: A PRELIMINARY REVIEW OF THE SOURCES

ALEKSANDR ANDREEV\*

**Abstract:** The earliest Slavonic Horologion sources have been studied and classified, but the study of the reform of the Horologion contemporaneous with the introduction of the Jerusalem Typicon in *Slavia Orthodoxa* has largely been limited to one source, the so-called Augmented Psalter of Metropolitan Cyprian. This paper presents a review and preliminary classification of the Slavonic sources of the Sabbate *Horologion* up through the first printed editions. Correcting the definitions and typology offered in the previous literature, the author defines the terms *Chasoslovets* and *Chasovnik* and identifies the key liturgical characteristics of each type. The author also analyzes the function of an archaic service known as Middle Compline.

**Keywords:** Liturgy of the Hours, daily office, Jerusalem Typicon, *Slavia Orthodoxa*, *Chasovnik*, *Chasoslovets*, Augmented Psalter, Middle Compline.

The traditional point of view dates the transition to the Jerusalem Typicon among the Serbs and Bulgarians to the early to mid 14<sup>th</sup> century and in the Russian Church – to the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> This timeline has been based on the study of various Slavonic translations of the Jerusalem Typicon and on one source of the Augmented Psalter – Moscow, Russian State Library (RGB), fundamental collection of Moscow Theological Academy (coll. 173/I), no. 142 (the “Augmented Psalter of

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<sup>1</sup> Мансветов 1885, 269–271.

Metropolitan Cyprian”).<sup>2</sup> This latter source, however, dated on the basis of watermarks to the 1430s–1470s,<sup>3</sup> must have been recorded after Metropolitan Cyprian’s tenure, and so is not that valuable a witness to the reform of the daily office during the time period in question.<sup>4</sup> So far there has been very little study of the Slavonic Sabbaite Horologion,<sup>5</sup> which contains the texts of the daily office that follows the Jerusalem Typicon and which forms part of the Augmented Psalter. The purpose of this paper is to fill this lacuna by reviewing the Slavonic Sabbaite Horologion sources, providing their typology based on their liturgical characteristics, identifying the earliest Sabbaite Horologia that can bear witness to the transition to the Jerusalem Typicon, and highlighting differences between East Slavic and South Slavic liturgical usage. The results offer key material for writing the history of the Slavonic Horologion from the beginning of the transition to the Jerusalem Typicon in the 13<sup>th</sup> century up to the introduction of the printing press.

#### STATUS QUAESTIONIS

The study of the Slavonic Jerusalem Typicon began with Ivan Mansvetov, who classified the source material into six versions.<sup>6</sup> Recent studies have clarified the typology of these translations, though a number of questions remain unanswered.<sup>7</sup> We can now identify at least five translations of the Jerusalem Typicon into Slavonic that took place before the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century: two Serbian, two Bulgarian, and one Russian. The first Serbian translation was authored in 1319 by the Serbian Archbishop Nikodim (1317–1324).<sup>8</sup> The autograph of this translation was destroyed in the bomb-

<sup>2</sup> Мансветов 1882, 67–73.

<sup>3</sup> Князевская, Чешко 1980, 284.

<sup>4</sup> The “Augmented Psalter of Metropolitan Cyprian” may be based on a protograph recorded by Cyprian in Constantinople prior to 1381, as was argued by Getcha 2010, but there is no direct evidence for this. Cyprian’s principal liturgical role is the creation of a new Slavonic Euchologion and a new translation of the Liturgy. On this see Афанасьева 2018; also Афанасьева, Козак, Мольков, Шарихина 2019, 151–182.

<sup>5</sup> Only a few comments are made in the seminal work of Диаковский 1913, 111–115.

<sup>6</sup> Мансветов 1885, 271ff.

<sup>7</sup> Пентковский 2004. More recent studies have updated some of the observations of this study (see below).

<sup>8</sup> Мирковић 1957–1958.

ing of Belgrade in 1941, but its photographs have been preserved,<sup>9</sup> and a number of copies of this version have also been identified.<sup>10</sup> The second Serbian translation (the “Typicon of Roman”) was carried out independently of the work of Archbishop Nikodim at the Monastery of Hilandar. Its earliest manuscript witness is preserved in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Ms. slav. Wuk 49 (dated 1331);<sup>11</sup> a number of other copies have also been identified.<sup>12</sup>

The first Bulgarian translation is associated with the work of Starets Ioann, and is also localized to Mount Athos. Dated to the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, it is represented by two manuscript witnesses, Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Slav. 13 (dated to the 1360s)<sup>13</sup> and Sofia, Church History Archive and Institute (TsIAI), No. 201 (dated to the 1370s).<sup>14</sup> The second Bulgarian translation is associated with the liturgical reform of Patriarch Euthymius of Tarnovo (second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century) and came to be quite widespread in *Slavia Orthodoxa*, supplanting the earlier translations. Aleksey Pentkovsky identified its earliest witness as Sofia, TsIAI, No. 44 (“Cherepish Typicon”), but this manuscript has since been re-dated to the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>15</sup> A number of other witnesses have been identified, but all of them are also Serbian: Belgrade, National Library of Serbia (NBS), No. 649 (“Danilchev Typicon”, dated 1416);<sup>16</sup> and St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia (RNB), collection of Tikhonov, No. 476 (2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>17</sup> According to Aleksey Pentkovsky, it is this version of the Slavonic Jerusalem Typicon that later formed the basis of the Russian translation of Afanasy Vysotsky, carried out in 1401 in Constantinople (the *Oko Tserkovnoye*), which subsequently became common among the Eastern Slavs and formed the basis, in turn, of the Muscovite *editio princeps*

<sup>9</sup> Трифуновић 2004.

<sup>10</sup> Пентковский 2004, 165.

<sup>11</sup> Matthes 1990, 62–64; Мирковић 1956.

<sup>12</sup> Пентковский 2004, 166.

<sup>13</sup> Dating on the basis of watermarks by Стоименов 2006, 1:127. The manuscript was microfilmed by the expedition led by Kenneth Clark and a digital reproduction is available on the Library of Congress website; see Checklist 1953, 21. Earlier descriptions: Красносельцев 1889, 16–17; Розов 1914, 33. Partial edition of the Synaxarion section by Христова-Шомова 2008, 141–168.

<sup>14</sup> Dating on the basis of watermarks by Стоименов 2006, 1:130.

<sup>15</sup> Савић 2014.

<sup>16</sup> Штавланин-Ђорђевић, Гроздановић-Пајић, Цернић 1986, 347–350.

<sup>17</sup> Левшина 2021, № 381.

of 1610.<sup>18</sup> However, given the re-dating of the Cherepish Typicon and the identification of further Serbian witnesses, the testimony of these Serbian sources to reforms carried out by Patriarch Euthymius remains unclear. The relationship of a further Russian source, Fekula 6 (first quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>19</sup> to these South Slavic translations remains to be established.<sup>20</sup>

The first Russian translation of the Jerusalem Typicon was carried out before the *Oko Tserkovnoye* of Afanasy Vysotsky. It may be dated to the late 1360s or early 1370s, localized to the Chudov Monastery in the Moscow Kremlin, and associated with the foundation of that monastery by Metropolitan Alexis in 1365.<sup>21</sup> This version is preserved in two witnesses, Moscow, State Historical Museum (GIM), Syn. 329 (14<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>22</sup> and Syn. 328 (14<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>23</sup> and partially contained in a number of other sources,<sup>24</sup> though it does not appear to have been in widespread usage and was replaced in the 15<sup>th</sup> century by the *Oko Tserkovnoye*.

The Slavic translations of the Jerusalem Typicon have recently been the subject of linguistic study.<sup>25</sup> This comparative study of their language and translation techniques has proved useful in understanding the relationship between the different sources, though at times has remained inconclusive. The study of their liturgical characteristics has so far been limited to the observations of Aleksey Pentkovsky about their relationship with the various Greek versions<sup>26</sup> and to an analysis of their menologia.<sup>27</sup> Clearly, a more comprehensive comparative liturgical study of these sources is badly needed.

Considerably less scholarly attention has focused on the Slavonic Horologion associated with the Jerusalem Typicon. Other than the “Augmented Psalter of Metropolitan Cyprian”, only two sources have been analyzed so far, again, largely focusing on linguistic characteristics and the

<sup>18</sup> Пентковский 2004, 168.

<sup>19</sup> The manuscript was part of the private collection of Paul M. Fekula; its present whereabouts are unknown, but a microfilm is available at the Hilandar Research Library at Ohio State University. See Matejic 1983, 43–48. I thank the Hilandar Research Library at the Ohio State University for making a digital copy available to me.

<sup>20</sup> The linguistic analysis of this version reveals mixed results: Пентковская 2018, 126–127.

<sup>21</sup> Пентковский 1993, 223–224.

<sup>22</sup> Горский, Невоструев 1869, 282–288.

<sup>23</sup> Горский, Невоструев 1869, 276–281.

<sup>24</sup> Пентковская 2018, 57–58.

<sup>25</sup> Пентковская 2018.

<sup>26</sup> Пентковский 2004.

<sup>27</sup> Христова-Шомова 2008; Грицевская 2019; Грицевская 2020; Стоименов 2020.

menologion section. Thus, it has been argued that the synaxarion that follows the Horologion in the manuscript Moscow, Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents (RGADA), Typ. 45 (second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century), belongs to the same version of the Jerusalem Typicon as the first Bulgarian translation represented by Jerusalem, Slav. 13, and Sofia, TsIAI, 201,<sup>28</sup> and that the menologion section of the Horologion Moscow, RGB, collection of Trinity-St. Sergius Laura (collection no. 304/I), No. 17 (first quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century) largely follows the menologion of the Russian translation represented by Syn. 329 and Syn. 328.<sup>29</sup> Both of these findings lead to the conclusion that the Sabbate Horologion was known in Moscow before the tenure of Metropolitan Cyprian. I am aware of no studies of the South Slavic Horologion sources.

#### THE SLAVONIC CHASOSLOVETS

The manuscripts referenced for this study are listed in Table 1. They can be divided into three types on the basis of the organization of their daily cursus: the *Chasoslovets* beginning with the Midnight Office, the *Chasovnik*, and the *Chasoslovets* beginning with Vespers. The *Chasoslovets* may either exist as a standalone book (sometimes with appendices, usually including a menologion) or as an appendix to the Psalter, forming an Augmented Psalter. The earliest *Chasoslovets* sources are two South Slavic manuscripts: the Serbian parchment manuscript Dečani 107 (last quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>30</sup> and the *Chasoslovets* attached to the Bulgarian Typicon Sofia, TsIAI 201 (dated to the 1370s).<sup>31</sup> The earliest East Slavic sources date to the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century: Moscow, RGADA, Typ. 45;<sup>32</sup> and St. Petersburg, RNB, Q.п.І.8.<sup>33</sup> The earliest source for an Augmented Psalter is the

<sup>28</sup> Пентковская 2009.

<sup>29</sup> Пентковская 2020.

<sup>30</sup> Богдановић и др. 2011, 443–446.

<sup>31</sup> I am grateful to Boris Marinov and Fr. Kozma Popovski for making available to me photographs of this manuscript. For its description see Стоименов 2006, 1:129–132.

<sup>32</sup> Dated to the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century by Каталог 1988, № 165; redated on the basis of the orthography by Пентковская 2009, 324.

<sup>33</sup> Dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> century by Гранстрем 1953, 56; redated on the basis of the orthography to the third quarter to end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century by Tatiana Afanasyeva (personal communication).



so-called Onezhsky Psalter, Moscow, GIM, Muzeisk. 4040 (dated 1395).<sup>34</sup> I have identified two earlier prototypes for an Augmented Psalter, both Serbian. The manuscript Hilandar, Slav. 79 (dated 1355–1365)<sup>35</sup> contains Saturday and weekday Midnight Offices attached to the Psalter; due to a lacuna, we cannot tell whether the beginning of the Midnight Office in this source had a title. The earliest, parchment portion of the manuscript Sofia, National Library of Sts. Cyril and Methodius (NBKM), no. 295 (middle or perhaps first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>36</sup> contains Great Compline, weekday and Saturday Midnight Offices, and Hours attached to a Psalter. The remaining sources of the Slavonic *Chasoslovets* date to the 15<sup>th</sup> century and later.

The name *Chasoslovets* is present in the title of these manuscripts. The most common title is: Часословець имѣя службу нощную и дневную по уставу преп(о)добнаго [и б(о)г(о)носнаго]<sup>37</sup> о(т)ца нашего Савы (“The *Chasoslovets*, containing the service of the night and the day according to the Typicon of our venerable [and God-bearing] father Sabbas”; Q.п.I.8, f. 2r). In the later sources we encounter a slightly longer title: Часословець имѣя службу нощную и дневную по уставу иже в Иерусалимѣ лавры преподобнаго и богоноснаго отца нашего Савы (“The *Chasoslovets*, containing the service of the night and the day according to the Typicon of the Laura of our venerable and God-bearing father Sabbas in Jerusalem”; thus in RNB, Kir.-Bel. 279/536, f. 4r, and some other sources). The closest analog among titles of Greek Horologia known to me is found in Sinai, Greek 877 (dated 1467; f. 1r): Ὁρολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ ἀγίῳ περιέχων τὴν ἅπασαν ἀκολουθίαν τοῦ τυπικοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Σάβα.<sup>38</sup> This suggests that the shorter title (mentioning the “Typicon of St. Sabbas” rather than the “Typicon of the Laura of St. Sabbas”) is the earlier version. The mention

<sup>34</sup> Лифшиц 2000. The 14<sup>th</sup> century manuscript Belgrade, Library of the Serbian Patriarchate, no. 324, listed as an Augmented Psalter by Богдановић 1982, № 1261, in fact is a Psalter with catenae and has no Horologion.

<sup>35</sup> Dating based on watermarks by Станковић 2007, 39.

<sup>36</sup> Цонев 1923, № 456. The dating of this manuscript is due to the identification of the same scribe in Hilandar, Slav. 78. See Турилов, Мошкова 2016, № 620. I viewed the manuscript on microfilm, so unfortunately I could not read the cinnabar headings.

<sup>37</sup> These words are added in the Onezhsky Psalter, f. 157r. In Typ. 45, the initial folios bearing the title have been lost.

<sup>38</sup> Frøyshov forthcoming, §5.1.3. I am thankful to Stig Frøyshov for providing me with an advance copy of his important paper.



of the Laura of St. Sabbas is also characteristic of all of the Slavonic versions of the Jerusalem Typicon, for example, in the first Bulgarian version: Типикъ ц(е)рк(о)внаго устава иже въ иер(уса)л(и)мѣхъ с(вя)тыя лавры преп(одо)бнаго и б(о)гоноснаго о(т)ца нашего Савы (“The Typicon of the church order of the Holy Laura of our venerable and God-bearing father Sabbas in Jerusalem”; Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Slav. 13).<sup>39</sup> The early South Slavic sources have slight variations in their titles, though also include the term *Chasoslovets* and mention of St. Sabbas: Dečani 107 is titled Съ Б(ого)мъ начало часословцу имущу дневн(у)ю и нощную службу по типу иер(усали)мьску с(вята)го Савы (“With God the beginning of the *Chasoslovets* containing the services for the day and the night according to the Jerusalem Typicon of St. Sabbas”) and the Horologion section of Sofia, TsIAI 201 is titled Часословець ... по уставу преподобнаго отца нашего Кyr Савы (“*Chasoslovets* ... according to the Typicon of Kyr Sabbas”; f. 237r).

Besides the title, the other characteristic feature of the *Chasoslovets* is the structure of its daily cursus, which always begins with the Midnight Office, followed by Matins, and concludes with Compline. In this the Sabbaitic *Chasoslovets* is similar to those earlier Slavonic “Studite” or “Studite-derived” Horologia that begin with the rite at Cock-crow (morning prayers), followed by Matins, concluding with the Midnight Office.<sup>40</sup> So the Midnight Office has shifted to become the first office of the daily cursus, rather than the last, undoubtedly the result of its becoming a communal, rather than private office.<sup>41</sup> Though I have used the term *Chasoslovets* also for the Studite-era Horologia, they have no title, beginning with the heading for the first office, Чин(ъ) куроглашения (“The order of Cock-crowing”; Sinai, Slav. 41/N, f. 1v).

<sup>39</sup> As quoted by Красносельцев 1889, 16. Cf. in the first Serbian version (RNB, Q.I.1125, f. 6r); the second Bulgarian version (RNB, Tikhan. 476, f. 8r); the second Serbian version (RGB, collection of P. Sevastyanov [coll. 270.II], no. 27, f. 8r); the first Russian version (GIM, Syn. 329, f. 12v); the *Oko Tserkovnoye* (RNB, F.n.I.25, f. 3r).

<sup>40</sup> On these see Andreev forthcoming. Three witnesses have survived, all of them East Slavic: St. Petersburg, RNB, Q.n.I.57 (first half or middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century); O.n.I.2. and Sof. 1052 (both 14<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>41</sup> Frøyshov forthcoming, §5.1.2, dates this shift in the beginning of the daily cursus to the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

## THE DAILY CURSUS OF THE CHASOSLOVETS

The daily cursus of the Sabbaites *Chasoslovets* deserves closer scrutiny. The book always begins with the weekday Midnight Office (полунощница) consisting of two units (unit 1: Ps. 50, Ps. 118, Creed, Trisagion, midnight troparia, prayers; unit 2: Ps. 120, Ps. 133, Trisagion, troparia for the deceased, prayers). This is followed by a variant of this office for Saturdays, entitled другая полунощница пѣваемая въ суботы (“another Midnight Office sung on Saturdays”; Dečani 107, f. 14v), containing Cathisma 9 in place of Psalm 118. There is no Midnight Office for Sundays provided in Dečani 107, TsIAI 201, Q.п.I.8, or the Onezhsky Psalter. However, RGADA, Typ. 45, which is missing its initial folios, begins with the Canon to the Trinity in Tone 1 sung at the Sunday Midnight Office, continuing with the other seven canons for all of the tones. Therefore the Sunday Midnight Office consisting of Psalm 50 and a canon to the Trinity (a form of the “Shortened Hagiopolitan Pannychis”<sup>42</sup>), already exists in the earliest sources. Nonetheless, some of the later sources also lack a Midnight Office for Sundays (RGB, TSL 16 and TSL 18; RGB, Nikiforov 514; RNB, Kir-Bel 255/512), and in many, the Sunday Midnight Office is placed in an appendix at the end of the Horologion (RGB, OR 728; GIM, Muzeisk. 2392; RNB, Kir-Bel 264/521; RNB, Kir-Bel 265/522; RNB, Sof. 1121). Since the key feature of the Jerusalem Typicon is the serving between Saturday and Sunday of an All-night Vigil consisting of Great Vespers and Matins, there is no room in this liturgical system for a communal Sunday Midnight Office.<sup>43</sup> For this reason, those *Chasoslovtsy* that do contain a Sunday Midnight Office typically provide only one canon, in either Tone 1 or Tone 6, thus indicating cell usage. Typ. 45 is an exception, containing all eight canons. Furthermore, its Sunday Midnight Office lacks the Megalynaria present in the later sources and the received text,<sup>44</sup> and concludes with two prayers: a general commemorative prayer Помяни Г(оспод)и всего мира

<sup>42</sup> The term is due to Frøyshov forthcoming, §4.2.2.

<sup>43</sup> Frøyshov forthcoming, §5.1.2, has suggested an origin for this office at the Evergetis.

<sup>44</sup> In the Slavonic, these are called triadica and attributed to St. Gregory of Sinai. The earliest sources for the Greek Sunday Midnight Office, Sinai, Gr. 867 (f. 27v) and 866 (f. 15v), contain only the first of these, Ἀξιόν ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς, τοῦ δοξάζειν σε τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον, and without any attribution.

и помилюи (и) заступи вся<sup>45</sup> and a penitential prayer Γρῆχῃ уности моя и невѣдения моего не помяни, вся бо неч(ист)оты исполненъ есмь.<sup>46</sup> Later sources conclude the Sunday Midnight Office with the prayer to the Trinity Всемогущая и животворящая святая Троице (“O omnipotent and life-creating Holy Trinity”), attributed to Mark the Monk.<sup>47</sup> Thus the Sunday Midnight Office is the most unstable part of the Liturgy of the Hours in our sources.

The Midnight Office is followed by Matins (начало утреницы), which always begins with the Royal Office<sup>48</sup> and concludes with Prime (or with its Mid-Hour, if present). The sources here may be divided into two types. Some, like RGADA, Typ. 45 and the Onezhsky Psalter, do not include any liturgical propers within Matins, or, like TsIAI 201 and Q.п.I.8, include a limited amount of variable hymnography (the daily troparia, kontakia, and photagogica; often also the triadica and photagogica chanted at an Alleluia service). These *Chasoslovtsy* may have been intended for either cell or communal use. The full text of the biblical odes is present in the earliest sources (Dečani 107, Typ. 45, Q.п.I.8)<sup>49</sup> but absent from the later sources (TSL 345, Kir.-Bel. 255/512), testifying to their gradual disappearance from liturgical practice. Some later witnesses, which are clearly intended for cell use, include within the corpus of Matins the text of a canon and stichera. Most often this is the Canon to the Sweetest Jesus<sup>50</sup> (RGB, OR 728; GIM, Muzeisk. 2392; RNB, Sof. 1122), recorded without the biblical odes (though in TSL 18 we find first the text of the odes, and then the Canon to the Sweetest

<sup>45</sup> This is an expanded version of the Greek prayer Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τοῦ κόσμου σου, ἔλεησον πάντας καὶ ἀντιλαβοῦ πάντων, which occurs in the Hypotyposis of Nicetas Stethatus at the end of the Mid-Hour of Sexte (see Parpulov 2014, 282). In Q.п.I.8 it is placed as the prayer of the second unit of the weekday Midnight Office (f. 19v), with the prayer for the deceased placed at this position for the Saturday Midnight Office (f. 32v). It is not found in any later sources.

<sup>46</sup> A Greek analog for this prayer is unknown, and it does not appear in the other sources.

<sup>47</sup> A Greek analog for this prayer is unknown; it persists in the modern printed Slavonic liturgical books as part of the Sunday Midnight Office, together with the triadica attributed to St. Gregory of Sinai.

<sup>48</sup> See Larin 2008. The Royal Office in our sources consists of Psalms 19 and 20; the inclusion of Psalm 60 in the “Augmented Psalter of Metropolitan Cyprian” is an idiosyncrasy; see Frøyshov forthcoming, §5.1.2.

<sup>49</sup> In the Onezhsky Psalter the Biblical Odes are not included in Matins but, of course, are part of the Psalter section. The Biblical Odes are absent from TsIAI 201 entirely.

<sup>50</sup> Incipit: Ἰησοῦ γλυκύτατε Χριστέ, Ἰησοῦ μακρόθυμε.

Jesus). We also find two other canons: TSL 16 includes the Canon to the Theotokos Hodegetria Радостно чистая нынѣ наставшее хваление<sup>51</sup> and TSL 17 includes the Supplicatory Canon by St. Cyril of Turov;<sup>52</sup> in both sources the canon is recorded with the biblical odes as refrains.

The morning office is followed by the Order of the Hours (чинъ часомъ), which consists of Terce, Sexte, None, and the Typica. The Mid-Hours are present in all of our earliest sources (Dečani 107, TsIAI 201, Typ. 45, Q.п.I.8, Muzeisk. 4040), but are absent from some of the later sources, including both those with (TSL 16, GIM, Muzeisk. 2392; Sof. 1122) and without (RNB, Kir-Bel 255/512, 265/522, 279/536; Sof. 1121 and 1124) propers for Vespers and Matins. In some sources we find indications that the Mid-Hour of Prime is optional (аще ли же хоцещи, RNB, Kir-Bel. 252/509, f. 20v) or private (не поется никогда в церкви, RNB, Kir-Bel. 264/521, f. 33v). The first Bulgarian version of the Typicon mentions the Mid-Hour of Prime in its description of daily services (TsIAI 201, f. 3v) and describes all of the Mid-Hours during the minor fasts (TsIAI 201, f. 6v). However, judging by its instructions that during the period of the Pentecostarion the Mid-Hours are abolished (TsIAI 201, f. 116v), it seems that they were a regular feature of the Liturgy of the Hours throughout the year. In the first Russian version of the Typicon, the Mid-Hours are also described during the minor fasts and on other days when Alleluia is chanted (Syn. 329, f. 268v), but on days when *The Lord is God* is chanted, they appear to be optional (Syn. 329, f. 34r).

In the majority of the sources the Typica are placed after None (and its Mid-Hour), including in three of the oldest, Dečani 107, Typ. 45, and the Onezhsky Psalter. However we also find Typica placed between Sexte and None in TsIAI 201 and Q.п.I.8. In RNB, Pogod. 360 we find the Typica placed after the Mid-Hour of Sexte, but preceded with a note: вѣдомо да есть егда постъ поется 9 часъ преже обѣдници (“it should be known that when it is a day of fasting, None is chanted before the Typica”; f. 31r). Typica would be chanted after None and its Mid-Hour on days of fasting (TsIAI 201, f. 7r); on ordinary days, None and its Mid-Hour are sung in the cells immediately before Vespers (TsIAI 201, f. 3v). The first Russian version of the Typicon supposes that the Typica are not said when Liturgy is served (since the Liturgy opens with the typical antiphons; Syn. 329, f. 35r),

<sup>51</sup> Quite probably an original Slavonic composition; see Желтов 2017.

<sup>52</sup> An original Slavonic composition; see Далмат 2020.

but in later Russian practice it was common to chant Sexte, None, and the Typica (without the typical psalms) before the Liturgy.<sup>53</sup> Regardless of its position, the Typica are usually followed by the mealtime prayers (чин трапезы, Typ. 45, f. 99v; идущие на трапезу, TsIAI 201, f. 292v), i. e. the Order of the Panagia.

The daytime office is followed by Vespers (начало вечерни, Dečani 107, f. 105r). Again here the early sources and many of the later sources do not include liturgical propers, but some later sources include stichera to the Sweetest Jesus (Muz. 2392, Sof. 1122, TSL 18); other possibilities that we find are resurrectional stichera in Tone 6 in TSL 16 and general penitential stichera in TSL 17. The sources include daily prokimenena and alleluia verses for Vespers; almost all of the sources where alleluia verses are absent also contain propers for Vespers and Matins and so must have been intended for cell prayer (TSL 16 and 17; RGB, OR 728; Muz. 2392). Curiously, however, daily alleluia verses are absent from TsIAI 201. The usage of alleluia verses instead of a prokimenon at Vespers at Alleluia services throughout the year is a feature of both the Studite-Alexis Typicon<sup>54</sup> and the base version of the Jerusalem Typicon<sup>55</sup> and is reflected in the Slavonic translations of the Jerusalem Typicon (TsIAI 201, f. 3v; Syn. 329, f. 24r). Vespers is typically followed by prayers for the evening meal.

Next follows Compline (начало павечерницы, Dečani 107, f. 113v), which is the office known in the modern printed books as Great Compline (μέγα ἀπόδειπνον). TsIAI 201 contains only this Compline office, but Dečani 107 and the East Slavic sources contain also Middle Compline (in Q.п.I.8 it is labeled “usual Compline”; начало обычных павечерниц, f. 124v) and Little Compline (устав малой павечерницы; Typ. 45, f. 128r). The three versions of Compline are present in the later East Slavic sources as well. At this point the daily cursus section of the Horologion ends. Additional supplemental texts follow, including, usually, the Order before Holy Communion and a menologion (Typ. 45), Gospel stichera for Sunday Matins (Q.п.I.8), resurrectional and daily troparia and theotokia, canons to the Theotokos and to the Sweetest Jesus, and the prayers for a monk who has had a nocturnal emission (Onezhsky Psalter).

<sup>53</sup> For example, Служебник 1651, л. 103; see: Желтов, Правдолюбов 2000, 497.

<sup>54</sup> See, for example, GIM, Syn. 330, f. 65v, 74v; edited by Пентковский 2001, 275, 281.

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, Sinai, Greek 1094, f. 2r; edited by Дмитриевский 1917, 2.

The three types of Compline present in our sources are laid out in Table 2 and deserve greater scrutiny. Great Compline is essentially the rite of Great Compline preserved in the modern printed books, consisting of three parts: the historical Hagiopolite Compline built around the six psalms and the Song of Isaiah; a second part built around Psalms 50, 101, and the Prayer of Manasseh; and a third part containing Psalms 69, 142, and the Doxology. The canon is inserted in this third part; in all of our sources it is always the Lesser Paraclesis Canon Многими содержимъ напастьми = Πολλοῖς συνεχόμενος πειρασμοῖς. In Typ. 45 and in the cell *Chasoslovtsy* its text is placed within the text of Compline (TSL 17 and 18; RGB, OR 728), though often we find the canon mentioned by incipit only (as in Q.п.I.8). To the end of the third part is attached the standard Sabbaitic Lenten conclusion consisting of the final Trisagion and a prayer. However, there are two differences from the modern rite. First, in the earliest sources (Q.п.I.8 and the Onezhsky Psalter), the prayer Иже на всяко время = Ὁ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ is placed before the dismissal of the second part rather than before the dismissal of the third part. Second, the prayer Непорочная, нескверная = Ἄσπιλε, ἀμόλυντε occurs before the dismissal of the third part, while the prayer Дажь намъ Владыко = Καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν, Δέσποτα is placed after the final Trisagion. In Dečani 107 and TsIAI 201 the prayer Иже на всяко время is missing entirely, while in later sources it is placed in the third part of Compline (TSL 18, Muzeisk. 2392) and the prayers Непорочная, нескверная and Дажь намъ Владыко move to after the dismissal of Compline.<sup>56</sup>

Middle Compline consists of the first part of Great Compline, but begins with Psalm 90, rather than the full six psalms. To this is attached the third part of Great Compline, except that it opens with Psalm 50 followed by Psalms 69, 142, and the Doxology; the second part of Great Compline is omitted. Since this type of Compline is sung only outside of days of fasting, it lacks the lenten final Trisagion; rather, the prayer Дажь намъ Владыко is attached to the dismissal of the third part (Q.п.I.8 includes before it also the prayer Владыко Боже Отче вседержителю = Δέσποτα Θεέ, Πάτερ παντοκράτωρ from the second part of Great Compline; f. 125r). Instructions in the first Russian version of the Jerusalem Typicon (Syn. 329, f. 27r) indicate that this type of Compline is sung on ordinary non-fast weekdays throughout the year.

<sup>56</sup> Thus in the printed editions: Часовник 1565, f. 186v; Псалтирь слѣдованная 1636, f. 236r.

The origins of Middle Compline remain obscure. It is not mentioned in the section of the Jerusalem Typicon that describes daily services (о еже како звонити = πῶς δεῖ σημαίνειν). However, it is specifically described in the first Russian translation of the Jerusalem Typicon (Syn. 329, f. 27r; Syn. 328, f. 15v), while the Typicon Fekula 6 contains a special section following the Mark's Chapters Сказание о павечерняхъ всего лѣта, сие уже нѣсть Марково ("Description of Complines throughout the year, which already is not by Mark"; f. 203r), which specifically mentions that Въ прочая же дни, поеть(ся) отъ Живый въ помощи ("On other days [outside of Great Lent Compline] is sung from [Psalm 90]"; f. 203v). Middle Compline is not mentioned in other Slavonic versions of the Jerusalem Typicon or in the "Augmented Psalter of Metropolitan Cyprian".<sup>57</sup> However, I have identified three South Slavic sources containing this office: Dečani 107, our earliest (f. 132v); Great Lavra Z 4 (f. 24v; mid-15<sup>th</sup> century);<sup>58</sup> and the fragment Hilandar, Slav. 760/IX.<sup>59</sup> Dečani 107 and Lavra Z 4 provide a set of rubrics in a section Сказание о павечерницы како поется всегодище егда нѣсть постъ ("Description of Compline, how it is sung throughout the year when it is not a day of fasting"), which describes the order of Middle Compline, while Hilandar, Slav. 760/IX consists of one folio containing the end of such rubrics, followed by the rubrics for Little Compline, and the beginning of the daily Midnight Office. As well, we can perhaps see a connection between Middle Compline and the Compline office (called Mefimon<sup>60</sup>) found in the Studite-era Russian sources: the Tipografsky Ustav and Kondakarion Moscow, State Tretyakov Gallery (GTG), K-5349 (*olim* Typ. 1206 or Typ. 142; end of the 11<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century) prescribes a Mefimon beginning with Psalm 90 to be sung on Friday evenings of Lent (f. 3r)<sup>61</sup> and on the eve of Palm Sunday (f. 4r) and a further abridged Mefimon

<sup>57</sup> RGB, Moscow Theological Academy no. 142, f. 178–189; edited by Getcha 2010, 414–417.

<sup>58</sup> Matejic, Bogdanovic 1989, 29–38. While now beginning with Compline, this Horologion probably lost its initial folios and originally began with Vespers. This can be deduced from the presence of rubrics for Vespers for the first day of Lent (f. 97v) that provide only incipits for the ordinary texts.

<sup>59</sup> The surviving folio lacks watermarks, but was dated paleographically to the third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century by Турилов, Мошкова 2016, № 1068. The beginning of the Midnight Office indicates that Psalm 50 is recorded at the Third Hour, so this fragment seems to belong to an Horologion that originally began with Matins.

<sup>60</sup> On this term, see Пичхадзе 2021.

<sup>61</sup> Типографский устав 2006, 2:31, 2:33.



beginning directly with the Song of Isaiah on the eve of Great Saturday (f. 8v).<sup>62</sup> The presence of Middle Compline in early South Slavic sources suggests that this office existed in the liturgical system that was translated into Slavonic at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century but subsequently went out of use among the Serbs and Bulgarians. It was retained as an archaic feature in Muscovy and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until the reform of the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century.

Little Compline consists of the third part of Great Compline, to which Psalm 50 has been prefixed and the Creed has been added. The prayer *Иже на всяко время* is placed before the dismissal of this office, perhaps explaining why it subsequently moved to the third part of Great Compline, and the two prayers *Непорочная, нескверная* and *Дажь намъ Владыко* are placed following the dismissal. The same office is maintained in the modern printed liturgical books (μικρόν ἀπόδειπνον), where it is sung throughout the year (Great Compline being chanted only on the weekdays of Great Lent), however the earliest sources before the reform of the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century appoint for this office to be chanted only on the days of a Vigil-ranked or Polyeleos-ranked saint, during the period of Nativity and Theophany (from December 24 to January 14), and during the two weeks preceding Great Lent (Meatfare and Cheesefare).<sup>63</sup>

### THE SLAVONIC CHASOVNIK

The second type of Slavonic Horologion from this period is the *Chasovnik*. This type of Horologion is characterized by its peculiar organization of the daily cursus: Vespers comes first, followed by the Hours (consisting of

<sup>62</sup> Типографский устав 2006, 2:42. This particular case perhaps betrays the most ancient structure of Hagiopolite Compline, and the one that gave it its original name (Mefimon = Μεθ' ἡμῶν [ὁ Θεός], the opening words of the Song of Isaiah).

<sup>63</sup> Thus in the first Russian version, GIM. Syn. 329, f. 26r. The structure of the Sabbaites All-night Vigil does not envision a Compline office, however in Russian practice it was customary to chant Little Compline following Little Vespers, as continues to be maintained by the Old Believers (Арсений 2005, л. 6 об.) and even in some mainline monasteries, or as part of the All-night Vigil after Vespers (Желтов, Правдолюбков 2000, 496). Subsequent authors increase the number of days when Little Compline may be chanted instead of Middle Compline, thus Арсений 2005, л. 29, appoints it during all afterfeasts.



Terce, Sexte, None, and the Typica), then Matins (which concludes with Prime), and, finally, Compline. Such an arrangement of the daily cursus is unknown in the Greek Horologion sources and is probably related to the Byzantine Euchologion, which, typically, begins with Vespers. Manuscripts of this type are quite rare: I am aware of three that all date from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century: GIM, Eparkh. 262; RNB, Kir.-Bel. 250/507; RNB, Sof. 1123. These manuscripts are not titled, but begin immediately with Начало вечерни о Бозѣ починаемъ (“the beginning of Vespers, [which] we begin with God” – Eparkh. 262, f. 1r). The term *Chasovnik* occurs only in the archaic early East Slavic Horologia that have the same structure of the daily cursus, but are titled: Ча(с)овни(к)ъ съ Богомъ починається. Г(оспод)и бл(а)г(осло)ви о(т)че (“The *Chasovnik* is begun with God. O Lord, bless, father” – Sinai, Slav. 44; 13<sup>th</sup> century; f. 1r)<sup>64</sup> and Чи(нъ) часовни(къ) г(оспод)и (“The order [of the] *Chasovnik*. O Lord [bless]” – RGADA, Typ. 76; second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century; f. 133r).<sup>65</sup> Later, the term is used by Ivan Fedorov and Petr Timofeev Mstislavets in the colophon of their 1565 edition printed in Moscow: сия книга часовникъ (“this book, the *Chasovnik*”; f. [172]v).

The distinction between a *Chasoslovets* and a *Chasovnik* has been a matter of scholarly discussion. Fr. Georgy Krylov has proposed that the *Chasovnik* was a book intended for teaching children how to read, while the Augmented Psalter was used liturgically.<sup>66</sup> This argument does not explain, however, why the archaic Slavonic Horologion manuscripts are *Chasovniki*, why this type of liturgical book disappears only to reappear in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, or why the pedagogical process would necessitate an Horologion with a different organization of the daily cursus. On the other hand, Yevgeny Nemirovsky defined a *Chasovnik* as an abbreviated Horologion lacking the full text of the psalms and intended for lay congregants rather than clergy.<sup>67</sup> In fact, however, the *Chasovniki* manuscripts are not abbreviated and contain the full psalms. Horologia with only incipits of psalms

<sup>64</sup> Далмат 2022; Андреев, Далмат 2022.

<sup>65</sup> Here evidently the scribe wrote the name of the book (*Chasovnik*) instead of the name of the office (Vespers). The third such source, Sinai, Slav. 13 (end of the 14<sup>th</sup> or beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century), contains empty space before the beginning of Vespers, where a title was planned but never recorded. I am grateful to Hieromonk Dalmat (Yudin) for these observations.

<sup>66</sup> Крылов 2022.

<sup>67</sup> Немировский 2003, 395.

are always attached to a Psalter; these are all *Chasoslovtsy* except for one printed edition discussed below. Furthermore, there is no evidence that lay congregants used liturgical books during worship and no reason why they would have a different structure of the daily cursus.

What is then the explanation for the existence of this form of Horologion in the 16<sup>th</sup> century? It appears that the archaic early East Slavic *Chasovnik* testifies to a translation of a Constantinopolitan Horologion into Slavonic, perhaps carried out in Bulgaria in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. This is confirmed by the presence of *kata stichon* hymns at Compline, the absence of prayers at the Hours, and the presence of the text of the psalms in Redaction II of the Psalter.<sup>68</sup> Subsequently a new type of Horologion was introduced, based on a Byzantine monastic prototype, which began with Matins (or the morning prayers) and contained prayers at the Hours. The *Chasovnik*, however, remained in use for some time, with the two different liturgical books coexisting, as reflected in the East Slavic “liturgical compendia” of the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>69</sup> During the transition to the Jerusalem Typicon these liturgical books were supplanted by the Sabbaitic *Chasoslovets*, and manuscripts of the *Chasovnik* type completely went out of use. The return of a *Chasovnik* as a liturgical book in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century and its printing in 1565 can be explained by the archaizing tendencies of the time: the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Moscow is a time of collecting and adapting various older texts. This can be seen from the emergence of encyclopedic hymnals<sup>70</sup> and the return of euchological texts that had been pushed out during the reforms of the late 14<sup>th</sup>–early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>71</sup> In the same archaizing spirit, the texts of the Sabbaitic *Chasoslovets* were rearranged to produce a Sabbaitic *Chasovnik* that had the same organization of the daily cursus as its archaic namesake, though was not based on it.

Was this new *Chasovnik* intended for cell prayer or communal worship? The 1565 *Chasovnik* of Ivan Fedorov and Petr Mstislavets is certainly a communal Horologion, since it lacks propers for Vespers and Matins and provides for the exclamations of the priest. However, the manuscript *Chasovniki* studied so far (Eparkh. 262; RNB, Kir.-Bel. 250/507) seem to

<sup>68</sup> Андреев, Афанасьева в печати.

<sup>69</sup> Andreev forthcoming.

<sup>70</sup> For example, an expanded Hirmologion emerges in the 1550s and 1560s, which contains all known Slavonic hirmoi, even those not in liturgical use. See Andreev 2019.

<sup>71</sup> For example, the various prayers before the Liturgy; see Petrovski 1908. I thank Tatiana Afanasyeva for this observation.

be private, since they contain proper stichera at Vespers (though no canon at Matins). I am aware of only one *Chasovnik* that has no proper at Vespers and Matins, RNB, Sof. 1123, but it is quite late (1560s or 1570s based on watermarks), and so may well post-date the edition of Fedorov and Mstislavets. Whether the Sabbaitic *Chasovnik* emerged first as a liturgical book for cell or communal prayer remains a mystery. It is also unclear why Fedorov and Mstislavets chose to print a *Chasovnik*, but the growth in importance of this type of Horologion in Moscow in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century is evident from the fact that fifty some years earlier Schweipolt Fiol had printed a *Chasoslovets* (see more on this below).

#### THE DAILY CURSUS OF THE CHASOVNIK

The *Chasovnik* begins with Vespers and includes both the daily prokimenā and alleluia verses. Vespers is followed by the Hours: Terce, Sexte, None, and the Typica. In Eparkh. 262 there are no Mid-Hours and the Typica follow None; RNB, Kir.-Bel. 250/507 contains Mid-Hours and places the Typica after Sexte. This diversity parallels what we find in the *Chasoslovets*. The printed editions also lack Mid-Hours and place the Typica after None. The meal office is omitted. The Hours are followed by Matins and Prime. Matins always lacks the biblical odes, since by the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century they had fallen out of use except for Lent. The daily cursus is concluded by Compline. The edition of 1565 contains only Great Compline, which includes the text of the Paraclesis Canon. The manuscript sources contain also Middle Compline and Little Compline (Kir.-Bel. 250/507) or just Little Compline (Eparkh. 262). Following Compline we find various canons and the Acathist Hymn (Eparkh. 262); the printed edition only includes troparia and kontakia. It appears that the Midnight Office is not originally a part of this book. It is completely absent from the *editio princeps*. In Kir.-Bel. 250/507, which lacks the appendix of canons, the three varieties of the Midnight Office are included after Compline. Eparkh. 262 includes only the weekday and Saturday Midnight Offices following the canons; these services were copied from a *Chasoslovets*, since the weekday Midnight Office begins with the title “Часословець имѣя нощную и дневную службу...” (f. 158r).

### A CHASOSLOVETS BEGINNING WITH VESPERS

A third distinct group of Sabbaite Horologia appears to be represented exclusively by Serbian witnesses. These manuscripts, which are also titled *Chasoslovets*, begin the daily cursus with Vespers, but then continue with Compline, the weekday and Saturday Midnight Offices, Matins, and the Hours; Middle Compline is absent. Our earliest such sources are the manuscripts Dečani 108 (dated 1375–1385) and 115 (dated 1395–1400)<sup>72</sup> and Peć Patriarchate 75 (dated 1375–1390).<sup>73</sup> Later Serbian Horologia also have this structure, as represented by, for example, Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church (MSPTs), Gruić 3-I-81 (end of the 16<sup>th</sup>–beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>74</sup> In the 16<sup>th</sup> century this type of Horologion comes to be printed by Serbian typographers (see below). While this appears to be the standard organization of the daily cursus in the standalone Serbian Horologion, the Serbian Augmented Psalter nonetheless contains a *Chasoslovets* that begins with the Midnight Office, just as its East Slavic analog. Such sources are plentiful, and so I cite only two: MSPTs 50 (dated 1440–1450)<sup>75</sup> and NBS 30 (dated 1573).<sup>76</sup> The exception to this is a small number of Serbian Augmented Psalters that contain only the Mid-Hours and Compline, such as MSPTs 30 (dated 1590–1600),<sup>77</sup> probably because they were intended specifically for cell use and so do not contain the communal offices.

Was a *Chasoslovets* beginning with Vespers known in Muscovy before the liturgical reforms of the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century? The answer to this seems to be negative. Though we encounter examples of East Slavic *Chasoslovtsy* that begin with Vespers, they are all rearrangements of a *Chasoslovets* that once began with the Midnight Office. One such example is RNB, Sol. 1146/1256 (mid-16<sup>th</sup> century), called the *Chasoslovets* of Metropolitan Philip, which he used when he was a monk at the Solovetsky Monastery.<sup>78</sup> Here the daily

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<sup>72</sup> Богдановић Д., и др. 2011, 446–50, 480–2.

<sup>73</sup> Мошин 1971, 83. The original first quire of this manuscript was lost and a new first quire was added in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but it is clear that this Horologion originally began with Vespers.

<sup>74</sup> Богдановић 1982, № 1845.

<sup>75</sup> Станковић 2003, 20.

<sup>76</sup> Штавланин-Ђорђевић, Гроздановић-Пајић, Цернић 1986, 56.

<sup>77</sup> Станковић 2003, 40.

<sup>78</sup> I am grateful to Hieromonk Dalmat (Yudin) for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

cursus begins with Vespers, continuing with Great Compline, nighttime prayers, and the daily Midnight Office, but the Midnight Office is titled “Часословець имѣяй службу нощную и дневную...” (f. 52r), so this Horologion (or its protograph) must have been copied from a *Chasoslovets* that began with the Midnight Office and then was rearranged by a scribe. That such rearrangements were possible is demonstrated by the curious example of the Horologion RGB, TSL 344 (first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century), which begins with Great Compline, followed by Little and Middle Compline and then the Midnight Office. Here again the Midnight Office begins with the title *Chasoslovets*. While Yevgeny Nemirovsky is wont to explain this manuscript as a scribal mistake<sup>79</sup>, it seems to me that it simply testifies to the variety of different possible schemes for organizing private prayer in Muscovy, all of which are, however, based on the original Sabbaitic *Chasoslovets* beginning with the Midnight Office.

### THE EARLY PRINTED TRADITION

The *editio princeps* of the Slavonic Horologion was printed in Kraków in 1491 by Schweipolt Fiol.<sup>80</sup> This edition is a *Chasoslovets* beginning with the weekday Midnight Office, followed by the Saturday and Sunday varieties of this service. It also includes the three varieties of Compline, with the prayer Иже на всяко время placed before the dismissal of the second part of Great Compline. These liturgical features are consistent with the characteristics of the oldest Muscovite *Chasoslovets* manuscripts and the first Russian translation of the Jerusalem Typicon. Observations of the menologion section of Fiol's Horologion have also revealed its Muscovite sources<sup>81</sup>. This is indirectly confirmed by studying inscriptions in the surviving copies, which seem to indicate that they were in use in Muscovy and did not circulate in the Balkans.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Немеиовский 2003, 395–397.

<sup>80</sup> Description and listing of known surviving copies: Немеиовский 2009–2012, № 2.

<sup>81</sup> Немеиовский 2003, 405–408. This conclusion is confirmed also by an analysis of its liturgical terminology: Пентковская 2019.

<sup>82</sup> Only two copies are now preserved outside of the former political boundaries of Muscovy and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The copy in Rome probably originated in Vilnius, while the origins of the copy in Cetinje are unknown; see: Немеиовский 2003, 386–392.

Among the South Slavs, the first *Chasoslovets* was printed as part of the Augmented Psalter produced in 1495 in Cetinje at the press of Đurađ Crnojević.<sup>83</sup> The Horologion section begins on f. 371v with the daily Mid-night Office. In Great Compline the prayer Иже на всяко время is placed in the third section; there is no mention of Middle or Little Compline. The next edition of the Augmented Psalter was printed in 1520 in Venice by Božidar Vuković;<sup>84</sup> its *Chasoslovets* (on f. 385r) reproduces that of the Cetinje edition. Another Augmented Psalter was printed in Goražde in 1521.<sup>85</sup> Its structure agrees with that of the 1520 edition, but here we find what may be the first use of the term *Chasoslov*, as the Horologion section is titled Начало часослову, имущу нощную и дневную службу по уставу великия Лавры иже въ святыхъ отца нашего Савы (“The beginning of the *Chasoslov* containing the service of the night and the day according to the Typicon of the great Laura of our father among the saints Sabbas”; f. 196r).

In addition to the Augmented Psalter, the Horologion in the Serbian early printed tradition also forms part of a book typically classified as a *Molitvennik* (Prayer Book), whose editions were printed by Božidar Vuković in 1521, 1536, and 1547.<sup>86</sup> This book must have been based on the Serbian *Chasoslovets* manuscripts, since here the *Chasoslovets*, placed following a menologion section (on f. 31v), begins with Vespers, which is followed by Little Compline (Great Compline is absent), then the daily and Saturday Midnight Offices, Matins, and Hours, with Typica placed after Sexte, without Mid-Hours, and with the two meal offices placed after None. The placement of a collection of prayers before sleep and various didactic materials following the texts for the Liturgy of the Hours indicates that this book was intended for private prayer.<sup>87</sup> Both the Serbian Augmented Psalter and the *Molitvennik* reflect a South Slavic Horologion distinct from that of Muscovy, and this is confirmed by the fact that their copies predominantly circulated in the Balkans.

<sup>83</sup> Немировский 2009–2012, № 7.

<sup>84</sup> Немировский 2009–2012, № 38.

<sup>85</sup> Немировский 2009–2012, № 39.

<sup>86</sup> Немировский 2009–2012, № 40, 64, 77. Unfortunately, the 1521 edition was not accessible to me.

<sup>87</sup> The meal offices, such as the Order of the Panagia, could be served by laymen: Getcha 2010, 379.

In Moscow the Horologion appears in print as a *Chasovnik*, rather than a *Chasoslovets*, with the two editions printed in 8° in 1565 by Ivan Fedorov and Petr Timofeev Mstislavets.<sup>88</sup> Like the manuscripts of this book, the editions are not titled, beginning with Начало вечерни (“the beginning of Vespers”). The daily cursus consists of Vespers, Hours (without Mid-Hours and with the Typica placed after None), Matins, and Great Compline, which includes the Paraclesis Canon Многими содержимъ напастыи. Compline is followed by an appendix of troparia and theotokia; texts for Little Compline, Middle Compline, and the Midnight Offices are not provided. This tradition of the printed *Chasovnik* is continued at the Moscow Print Yard up until the edition of 1654.<sup>89</sup> The liturgical reform that took place in Moscow in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century affected also the Horologion. A new type of this liturgical book was first printed in 1652, still during the tenure of Patriarch Joseph,<sup>90</sup> and is titled Часословъ имѣяи въ себѣ вечернюю и всенощную и дневную службу по уставу иже во святѣмъ градѣ Иеросалимѣ святыя и великия лавры преподобнаго и богоноснаго отца нашего Савы Освященнаго (“*Chasoslov* containing the evening, and all-night, and daily service according to the Typicon of the holy and great Laura of our venerable and God-bearing father Sabbas the Sanctified in the holy city of Jerusalem”). The term *Chasoslov* may be borrowed here from the 1598 Ostroh edition (see below) or may be simply used as the augmentative of the term *Chasoslovets* since this book is printed in 2° and is expanded in scope: all prayers and psalm verses are given in full and additional appendices of troparia, theotokia, biblical odes, and liturgical instructions are supplied. Although the book is, thus, an expanded *Chasoslovets*, it begins with Vespers, rather than the Midnight Office. However, unlike the *Chasovnik*, the texts of the Liturgy of the Hours follow the order of the daily cursus: Vespers is followed by Great, Middle, and Little Compline, the Midnight Offices, Matins, Hours (with Mid-Hours), the Typica, and the Order of the Panagia. A reformed *Chasoslov* beginning with the Midnight Office was printed in 1653,<sup>91</sup> and the modern editions

<sup>88</sup> Немировский 2009–2012, № 117, 118; Зернова 1958, № 8. The first edition survives as a unique copy preserved in Brussels, which has been reproduced in facsimile: *Orationes* 1967.

<sup>89</sup> Зернова 1958, № 254. This edition survives in a unique copy in Moscow, RGADA, БМСТ/СПК 2334; see: Московские кирилловские издания 2003, 58.

<sup>90</sup> Зернова 1958, № 238.

<sup>91</sup> Зернова 1958, № 249.



of this liturgical book follow its structure and organization.<sup>92</sup> In addition to the printed tradition of the *Chasovnik* and *Chasoslov*, the Moscow Print Yard also produced editions of the Augmented Psalter, which, of course, included a *Chasoslovet*s. The first Augmented Psalter was printed in Moscow only in 1625,<sup>93</sup> so it appears that the *Chasovnik* was the principal liturgical book used for the Liturgy of the Hours in Muscovy up until the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, the edition of Schweipolt Fiol notwithstanding.

The history of the Horologion in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (aside from the edition of Schweipolt Fiol) begins with the *Malaya podorozhnaya knizhka* of Francisk Skaryna, printed in Vilnius in 1522 or 1523. This edition is an Augmented Psalter consisting of psalms, an Horologion, Acathists, a *Shestodnev*, and a Menologion, intended probably for private prayer.<sup>94</sup> In this edition the Horologion section is titled Часословець имѣя ношную и дневную службу по уставу иерусалимския церкви и прочих восточных обителей (“The *Chasoslovet*s containing the services for the night and the day according to the Typicon of the Church of Jerusalem and other eastern monasteries”; f. [1r] – 2<sup>nd</sup> numbering). The daily cursus begins with the weekday Midnight Office, continuing with the Saturday Midnight Office, then Matins, the Hours (with Mid-Hours and the Typica placed after the Mid-Hour of None), Vespers, Great Compline, Little Compline, the Paraclesis Canon, and the Sunday Midnight Office. This is the first printed edition of the Slavonic Horologion that contains proper texts for Vespers and Matins: penitential stichera and the penitential canon Нынѣ приступихъ азъ грѣшный (printed separately as the “Canon said at Matins every day”; f. 1r – 21<sup>st</sup> numbering).<sup>95</sup> The placement of the Sunday

<sup>92</sup> The reform of the Horologion under Patriarch Nikon remains a badly needed area of study, notwithstanding the work of Сазонова 2007, regarding which see the review of Крылов 2022.

<sup>93</sup> Зернова 1958, № 58.

<sup>94</sup> For a description, see Вознесенский, Николаев 2019, № 1. Немировский 2009–2012, № 41–61, treats the *Malaya podorozhnaya knizhka* as multiple distinct editions, however their unity as a single edition was argued by Вознесенский 1999.

<sup>95</sup> The intended placement of this canon within the *Malaya podorozhnaya knizhka* is unclear. In the table of contents printed at the beginning of the book (ff. [2]r–[4]v) it is mentioned at the end of the *Shestodnev*. However, the copy at the RNB in St. Petersburg, I.5.8<sup>a</sup> (volume 2) contains two copies of this canon, one of which is placed between Typica and Vespers. This placement may have been intentional, since Typica ends on f. 28v and Vespers begins on f. 5r (3<sup>rd</sup> numbering), while the folios containing the canon are numbered 1 through 4.



Midnight Office at the end of the Horologion (f. 24r – 3<sup>rd</sup> numbering), as we saw above, is common in *Chasoslovets* manuscripts and may well have been intentional, though in the table of contents the Sunday Midnight Office is mentioned together with the weekday and Saturday varieties.<sup>96</sup> As well, this edition lacks any indications of Middle Compline, and so appears to be independent of the Muscovite liturgical tradition.

The subsequent printed tradition in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, however, is associated with Ivan Fedorov and Petr Timofeev Mstislavets who, following their departure from Moscow, printed an Augmented Psalter in Zabłudów in 1570.<sup>97</sup> All of the surviving copies of this edition are defective and lack the title page, but, based on the subsequent reprints of this book produced by the Mamonich Press in Vilnius in 1586, 1590, and 1593,<sup>98</sup> it was titled simply Psalter. In the catalogs this book has been described as a Psalter with *Chasoslovets*,<sup>99</sup> but it is, in fact, a unique Psalter with *Chasovnik*: the Horologion section begins with Vespers (f. 1r – 2<sup>nd</sup> numbering) and proceeds with the Hours (without Mid-Hours and with Typica placed after None), Matins, and Great Compline (with the Paraclesis Canon). The daily and Saturday Midnight Offices are printed in an appendix, following the various troparia and theotokia. Unlike the Moscow *Chasovnik*, the psalms in this edition are only given by incipit since the Horologion is attached to a Psalter. A standalone *Chasovnik* without a Psalter was also printed in Vilnius around 1576.<sup>100</sup>

A different structure of Augmented Psalter in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is represented by the *Правило истиннаго живота христіанскаго* (*The Rule of a True Christian Life*) printed by Vasily Malyushitsky (surname Surazhsky) at the press in Ostroh in 1598.<sup>101</sup> Here the psalms and biblical odes are followed by an Horologion titled *Часословъ съ Богомъ имѣяи службу нощную и дневную по уставу святыя соборныя восточныя церкви* (“The *Chasoslov* with God, containing the service for the night and day according to the Typicon of the holy catholic eastern church”; f. 112r). The Horologion begins with Vespers (f. 112v), which is

<sup>96</sup> Вознесенский 1999, 338, considers the placement of the Sunday Midnight Office there an accidental omission.

<sup>97</sup> Вознесенский, Николаев 2019, № 5.

<sup>98</sup> Вознесенский, Николаев 2019, № 14a, 19a, 26.

<sup>99</sup> Beginning with Каратаев 1883, № 77.

<sup>100</sup> Вознесенский, Николаев 2019, № 8.

<sup>101</sup> Немировский 2009–2012, № 254.

followed by Great Compline (with the archaic name of Начало неѡимена; f. 117r). The rubrics for Little and Middle Compline are placed at the end of Great Compline (f. 131v); then follow the three types of Midnight Office, Matins, and the Hours. The Typica are located after None and the Mid-Hours are relegated to an appendix (f. 156v). This edition is the first witness of the use of the term *Chasoslov* among the Eastern Slavs. Subsequently the term *Chasoslov* is used in the title of a *Chasoslovet*s printed in Vilnius in 1612:<sup>102</sup> this is a book for communal prayer that begins with the Midnight Office. The structure of the daily cursus of the Ostroh Psalter is preserved in a compendium for private prayer printed in Vilnius in 1622 with the name *Poluustav* (“Half-Typicon”).<sup>103</sup> This book consists of an Augmented Psalter with an Horologion beginning with Vespers and followed by Great Compline. Both the *Chasoslov* and the *Poluustav* contain Middle Compline. In 1616 an Horologion was printed in Kyiv – the first surviving book produced at the Laura of the Caves.<sup>104</sup> Though the title page has not survived, the book begins with the title Часословъ съ Богомъ святымъ имѣяй нощную и дневную службу по уставу иже въ Иер(уса)лимѣ великиа лаври иже въ св(ят)ыхъ отца нашего Савы (“With the Holy God, the *Chasoslov*, containing the service of the night and day according to the typicon of the Great Laura of our father among the saints Sabbas in Jerusalem”; f. 1r – 2<sup>nd</sup> numbering). This book already lacks Middle Compline and, judging by its appellation in the first preface (composed by Archimandrite Yelisey Pletenetsky) using the Greek term Орологион (f. 2v), it may have been revised on the basis of Greek sources, perhaps the Horologia printed in Venice. The *Poluustav* subsequently printed in Kyiv by Metropolitan Peter (Moghila) in 1643 also lacks Middle Compline and is probably based on this edition.<sup>105</sup> So, quite possibly, the 1616 edition marks the beginning of the reform of the Slavic Horologion in the 17<sup>th</sup> century – the same reform process that saw other liturgical books edited on the basis of Greek books printed in Venice, a process that began in Kyiv and then moved to Moscow.

<sup>102</sup> Вознесенский, Николаев 2019, № 53.

<sup>103</sup> Вознесенский, Николаев 2019, № 67. The term *Poluustav* is explained in the preface to the edition: “It is not possible for many to have with them a full church Typicon” – the term “full church Typicon” (уставъ церковный полный) refers to the entire corpus of liturgical books needed to serve the Liturgy of the Hours. See Далмат 2017.

<sup>104</sup> Каменева, Гусева 1976, № 24. On the history of this edition, see Титов 1916, 86–92.

<sup>105</sup> Каменева, Гусева 1976, № 82.

## CONCLUSIONS

A review of the surviving manuscript sources shows that the Sabbaite Horologion appears in the Balkans no later than the 1370s and in the East Slavic lands no later than the 1390s. Its translation from Greek took place probably earlier and was contemporaneous with the translation of the Jerusalem Typicon. The sources of a standalone Horologion are earlier than the sources of an Augmented Psalter, and this probably reflects the actual development of these books: the Horologion is probably indeed older than the Augmented Psalter.

The typology offered in this paper is based mostly on the system of organizing the daily cursus. A more detailed classification requires textual criticism and a deeper study of the versions of the Jerusalem Typicon. However, one key liturgical element is evident – the office of Middle Compline. Given the presence of this office in all East Slavic Horologia and in the first Russian version of the Jerusalem Typicon, it appears that these two sets of sources reflect the same liturgical tradition. Since the “Augmented Psalter of Metropolitan Cyprian” lacks Middle Compline, it must represent a different liturgical tradition, which it shares with the later Balkan sources. Thus, relying on it as a key source for the introduction of the Jerusalem Typicon in Moscow or Kyiv has been a methodological flaw. This line of argument, however, is complicated by the presence of Middle Compline in three early South Slavic sources. Perhaps the office was known in the Balkans but then disappeared, another example of the more peripheral Muscovite sources preserving more archaic practices.

The other distinguishing feature of Muscovite practice is the emergence of an archaizing *Chasovnik*, which contains the Sabbaite office arranged in the same daily cursus as the archaic early East Slavic Horologion manuscripts of the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries. The emergence of such an Horologion appears to be part of a general archaizing tendency in Moscow in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. That the *Chasovnik* is a Muscovite innovation is confirmed by the fact that it appears in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth only due to the work of the Muscovites Ivan Fedorov and Petr Mstislavets and remains completely unknown in the Balkans. Since the Nikonian reform obliterates much of the idiosyncratic Muscovite usage, it is natural that the *Chasovnik* disappears in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, remaining in use only among the Russian Old Believers.

An alternative tradition existed in the Balkans, reflected by a number of Serbian sources of a *Chasoslovets* beginning with Vespers. Such manuscripts appear at the same time as *Chasoslovtsy* beginning with the Midnight Office, but perhaps reflect a different Greek prototype. They persist up to the printed tradition and appear to have influenced the Ruthenian printer Vasily Surazhsky who produced the Ostroh Augmented Psalter of 1598, and through it – the unique Muscovite edition of 1652. Thus, a preliminary analysis of the liturgical features of the Slavonic Sabbaites Horologion reveals at least two, and probably three translations of this book from Greek before the reforms of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Further study of its text and comparison with the various versions of the Jerusalem Typicon will serve to clarify this result.

SHELFMARK	DATING	TYPE	PROBERS FOR VESPERS / MATINS	SUNDAY MIDNIGHT OFFICE	MID-HOURS
Dečani 107	Last quarter of the 14 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Absent	Present
RNB, Q.п.I.8	End of the 14 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Absent	Present
RGADA, Typ. 45	End of the 14 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Present	Present
Dečani 108	1375–1385	<i>Chasoslovets</i> starting with Vespers	Absent	Absent	Present
Peć Patriarchate 75	1375–1390	<i>Chasoslovets</i> starting with Vespers	Absent	Absent	Present
Dečani 115	1395–1400	<i>Chasoslovets</i> starting with Vespers	Absent	Absent	Present
GIM, Muzeisk. 4040	1395	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Absent	Present
TSL 16	1423	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Present	Absent	Absent
TSL 17	Beginning of the 15 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Present	Present	Present
Athos, Great Lavra Z 4	Mid 15 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i> starting with Vespers	Absent	Absent	Present
TSL 18	15 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Present	Absent	Present
TSL 345	15 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Present	Present
RGB, Nikiforov 514	15 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Absent	Present

GIM, Muzeisk. 2392	15 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Present	Appendix	Absent
GIM, Muzeisk. 3481	15 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Present	Present
Dečani 118	15 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Absent	Present
RNB, Kir.-Bel. 255/512	1489–1506	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Absent	Absent
RNB, Kir.-Bel. 252/509	End of the 15 <sup>th</sup> / beg. of the 16 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Present	Present
RNB, Kir.-Bel. 279/536	End of the 15 <sup>th</sup> / beg. of the 16 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Present	Absent
RNB, Sof. 1121	End of the 15 <sup>th</sup> / beg. of the 16 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Appendix	Absent
RNB, Sof. 1124	End of the 15 <sup>th</sup> / beg. of the 16 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Lacuna	Absent
RGB, OR 728	End of the 15 <sup>th</sup> / beg. of the 16 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Present	Appendix	Present
RNB, Kir.-Bel. 264/521	16 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Appendix	Present
RNB, Kir.-Bel. 265/522	16 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Appendix	Absent
RNB, Sof. 1122	16 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Present	Present	Absent
BAN, Kargop. 4	16 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Present	Present
GIM, Eparkh. 262	1540s–1550s	<i>Chasovnik</i>	Present	Absent	Absent
RNB, Kir-Bel 250/507	1558	<i>Chasovnik</i>	Present	Appendix	Present
RNB, Sof. 1123	1560s–1570s	<i>Chasovnik</i>	Absent	Absent	Absent
RNB, Pogod. 360	1570s–1580s	<i>Chasoslovets</i>	Absent	Present	Present
MSPTs, Gruić 3-I-81	End of the 16 <sup>th</sup> / beg. of the 17 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i> starting with Vespers	Absent	Absent	Present
NBS 56	17 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Chasoslovets</i> starting with Vespers	Absent	Absent	Lacuna

Table 1. Slavonic Horologion manuscript sources consulted

Great Compline	Middle Compline	Little Compline
Psalms 4, 6, 12, 24, 30, 90 Song of Isaiah Troparia <i>День пребывъ</i> Hymn <i>Бесплотное естество</i> Creed Verses for Theotokos and Saints <i>Trisagion to Our Father</i> Troparia <i>Lord, have mercy</i> × 40 Dismissal Prayer <i>Господи, Господи</i> <i>избави насъ отъ всякия</i> <i>стрѣлы</i>	Psalm 90 Song of Isaiah Troparia <i>День пребывъ</i> Hymn <i>Бесплотное естество</i> Creed Verses for Theotokos and Saints <i>Trisagion to Our Father</i> Troparia <i>Lord, have mercy</i> × 40 Dismissal Prayer <i>Господи, Господи</i> <i>избави насъ отъ всякия</i> <i>стрѣлы</i>	(omitted)
<i>O come, let us worship</i> Psalms 50, 101; Manasseh <i>Trisagion to Our Father</i> Troparia <i>Lord, have mercy</i> × 40 Prayer <i>Иже на всяко время</i> <sup>106</sup> Dismissal Prayer <i>Владыко Боже Отче</i> <i>вседержителю</i>	(omitted)	(omitted)
<i>O come, let us worship</i> Psalms 69, 142; Doxology Canon to the Theotokos <i>Trisagion to Our Father</i> <i>Troparia or Господи силъ</i> <i>Lord, have mercy</i> × 40 Prayer <i>Непорочная,</i> <i>нескверная</i> Dismissal <sup>107</sup>	<i>O come, let us worship</i> Psalms 50, 69, 142; Doxology Canon to the Theotokos <i>Trisagion to Our Father</i> Troparia <i>Lord, have mercy</i> × 40 Prayer <i>Непорочная,</i> <i>нескверная</i> Dismissal <sup>108</sup>	<i>O come, let us worship</i> Psalms 50, 69, 142; Doxology Creed Canon to the Theotokos <i>Trisagion to Our Father</i> Kontakia <i>Lord, have mercy</i> × 40 Prayer <i>Иже на всяко время</i> Dismissal

<sup>106</sup> Omitted in Sofia, TsIAI 201.

<sup>107</sup> RGADA, Typ. 45, has a different conclusion of Great Compline: “Lord, have mercy”, 40 times; dismissal sequence; Prayer of St. Ephraim with prostrations; then the prayer *Непорочная, нескверная*; *Trisagion to Our Father*; “Lord, have mercy”, twelve times; prayer *Дажь намъ Владыко* and the final dismissal.

<sup>108</sup> RGADA, Typ. 45, has a different conclusion of Middle Compline: “Lord, have mercy”, 40 times; prayer *Иже на всяко время*; prayers *Непорочная, нескверная* and *Дажь намъ Владыко*; dismissal.

Prayer of St. Ephraim	[Prayer Владыко Боже Отче	Prayer Непорочная,
Trisagion to <i>Our Father</i>	вседержителю]	нескверная
<i>Lord, have mercy</i> × 40	Prayer Даждь намъ Владыко	Prayer Даждь намъ Владыко
Prayer Даждь намъ Владыко	Dismissal	Dismissal
Dismissal	Order of Forgiveness	Order of Forgiveness
Order of Forgiveness		

Table 2. The different varieties of Compline in the Horologion sources

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СЛОВЕНСКИ САВАИТСКИ ЧАСОСЛОВ:  
ПРЕЛИМИНАРНИ ПРЕГЛЕД ИЗВОРА

АЛЕКСАНДАР АНДРЕЈЕВ

У досадашњим истраживањима историје словенског Часосолова проучени су најстарији преписи ове богослужбене књиге и представљена је њихова типологија, али проучавање реформе Часослова која је била предузета приликом увођења Јерусалимског типика у словенским земљама тек треба да буде истражена. Истраживачи су се до сада у значајној мери дотакли само једног извора, тзв. *Псалтира с њоследовањем митройолиџа Киријана*. У овом раду дат је преглед и прелиминарна класификација словенских извора „саваитског” Часослова, почев од најстаријих преписа па све до првих штампаних издања. Аутор објашњава термине *Часослов* и *Часовник*, описује кључне богослужбене одлике сваког појединачног типа и издваја посебну редакцију Часослова који постоји искључиво у српским рукописима. Аутор, такође, анализира функцију архаичне службе, познате као *средња њавечерњица*.

**Кључне речи:** *служење Часова, служба дана, Јерусалимски типик, Slavia Orthodoxa, Часовник, Часослов, Псалтир с последовањем, средња павечењица.*



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