

**SOME NOTES ON THE SLAVIC
TRANSLATION OF KONSTANTINOS
BYZANTIOS' *TYPIKON EKKLESIASTIKON*
*OF THE GREAT CHURCH OF CHRIST***

BY

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SOME NOTES ON THE SLAVIC TRANSLATION OF KONSTANTINOS BYZANTIOS' *TYPIKON* *EKKLESIASTIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH OF* *CHRIST*¹

BY
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*Τυπικὸν τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας δίδ,
τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν σλαβικὴν γλῶσσαν.*

In his 1866 Biography of the Patriarch of Constantinople Konstantios I, Theodoros M. Aristokles² mentions in the matter of fact fashion quoted above

1. This paper would not have been possible without the blessings and financial assistance of His Eminence Demetrios, Greek Orthodox Archbishop of America, in the form of the Taylor Scholarship for which I am grateful. This, along with the gracious hospitality and assistance of the chancellor of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, His Grace Savas, Bishop of Troas, afforded me the opportunity to travel to New York, where I was able to study the Neofit Slavic *Typikon* first hand.

2. Theodorou M. Aristokleous, *Konstantiou A' tou apo Sinaiou Patriarchou Konstantinoupoleos tou Byzantiou: Biographia kai Syngraphai kai Ekklesiastikal kai Philosophikal tines epistolai autou* (Constantinople: 1866), 14, 64-6. In mentioning the rich liturgical life of the Patriarchal Church of St. George in the Phanar district of Constantinople during Patriarch Konstantios I's patriarchate, Th. Aristokles recalls people and events as only a first-hand observer could. His intimate recollections from the liturgical life of the Patriarchal Church are also due to the fact that he served as Patriarchal Kannonarch for four years, serving next to the Protopsaltes Konstantinos. His description of the Patriarch Konstantios' serene and inspired presiding over the sacred services is accompanied by a note, 'On the Protopsaltes Konstantinos'. It is in this note that Aristokles draws again on his intimate, first-hand knowledge of the Protopsaltes Konstantinos' life and works. His description of the chanter's birth, retirement and death is the main source for anyone who would later write on Konstantinos' life.

that the *Typikon Ekklesiastikon*³ of the Great Church compiled by the then Protopsaltes at the Patriarchal Church, Konstantinos Byzantios, was translated into the Slavonic language. This little piece of information from Th. Aristokles' note on the Protopsaltes Konstantionos' life and works subsequently makes its way into a number of secondary sources⁴. The unfortunate reality regarding this piece of information on the translation and all the other sources that later quote it, however, is that no source ever mentions *who* translated the typikon, or *where* or *when* it was published.

Both Th. Aristokles and Geo. Papadopoulos⁵ write in an unambiguous manner of the existence of Konstantinos' *Typikon* in Slavonic translation, but for all my research and travels throughout Greece, the St. Panteleimon Russian Monastery on Mount Athos, the Patriarchal Library in Constantinople, the Library at the Patriarchal Theological School on the Island of Chalke and even my letters to the Theological Academy of St. Sergius in Russia, my searching bore no fruit. Looming in the back of my mind was also the fact that the Russian and other Slavic Churches were using the older forms of the St. Savas-Studite synthesis for their Order of Service. Hence, the question arose, what Church would have a use of such a *typikon*; what practical need would it satisfy? While it seems that Bulgarian historiography records Neofit Riski as the translator of Konstantinos Byzantios' *Typikon Ekklesiastikon* in scattered sources, it is not emphasized, possibly due to the particular ecclesiastical nature of the book genre⁶.

3. Konstantinou tou Byzantiou Protopsaltou, *Typikon ekklesiastikon*, 1st ed. (Constantinople: Adelphon Ignatiadon, 1838); Konstantinou tou Byzantiou Protopsaltou, *Typikon ekklesiastikon*, 2nd ed. (Constantinople: The Patriarchal Press, 1851).

4. Georgiou I. Papadopolou, *Symbolat eis ten historian tes par' hemin ekklesiastikes mousikes: kai hoi apo ton apostolikon chronon achri ton hemeron hemon akmasantes ephiphanesteroi melodoi, hymnographoi, mousikoi kai mousikologoi* (Athens: Kousoulinou kai Athanasiadou, 1890; reprint, Athens: Gkaleri 'Kouloura' 1977), 377, fn. 1124.

5. Papadopolou, *Symbolai*, 337 f.n. 1124. Also, Georgiou I. Papadopolou, *Historike epistopesis tes byzantines ekklesiastikes mousikes, apo ton apostolikon chronon mechri ton kath' hemas (AD 1-1900)* (Athens: 1904; reprint, Katerine: Tertios Pub., March 1990), 171.

6. Cf. Petko Asenov, *Neofit Rilski*, 1. izd. ed. (Sofia: Durzh. izd-vo 'Nar, prosveta', 1983); Blagoi Chiflianov, *Liturgika* (Sofia: Universitetsko izd-vo 'Sv. Kliment Okhridski', 1996); Luka Iv Dorosiev and Ministerstvo na narodnata prosveta, *Neofit Rilski, patriarch na bulgarakitie knizhovniusi i pedagozi po sluchai 50-godishninata ot smurt'a mu* (Sofia: 1931); Rumiana Kamburova-Radkova, *Neofit Rilski i novobulgarskata kultura: purvata polovina na XIX vek* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1975); Metropolitan of Nevrokop. Pimen, *Otets ieromonakh Neofit Rilski*, 1 izd. et. (Sofia: Sinodalno izd-vo, 1984); Rumiana Radkova, *Neofit Rilski i novobulgarskata kultura: purvata polovina na XIX vek*, 2. izd. ed. (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1983).

Whatever the case may be in Bulgarian bibliography, the fact does not seem to have filtered into its Greek counterpart anywhere that I am aware of. Furthermore, the lack of important details in most sources connecting the Slavic translation with the Constantinopolitan ecclesiastical and psaltic culture, I felt, warranted the presentation that follows, offering valuable details for both the liturgical and musicological disciplines.

The present article, then, contains some preliminary notes on my findings. After first summarizing some general information on Konstantinos' *Typikon* and its importance, a short review of some important background of the historical milieu is offered, providing the broad historical environment for the Slavonic translations. This is followed by a description of the actual Slavonic translation publication and, finally, a few points on its legacy.

A. THE *TYPIKON EKKLESIASTIKON* BY KONSTANTINOS BYZANTIOS, PROTOPSALTES OF THE PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE († 1862)

The *Typikon Ekklesiastikon* compiled by Konstantinos Byzantios, Archon Protopsaltes of the Great Church of Christ from 1821 to 1862, was published in two editions. The first edition was published in the year 1838 and the second edition was published in 1851, both in Constantinople⁷. A third edition was prepared by its author in 1852, but was never published⁸. In the year 1888 a revision of Konstantinos' *Typikon* was prepared by a Patriarchal and Synodal committee with the then Protopsaltes Georgios Biolakes as its chairman. It is this publication and

7. Reprints would also be published at to 1855; cf. Konstantinou Byzantiou tou Protopsaltou, *Typikon ekklesiastikon kata ten taxin tes tou Christou Megales Ekklesias*, 9 Ekdoseis. ed. (Athenai: Typ. K. Antoniadou, 1855); Konstantinou Byzantiou tou Protopsaltou, *Typikon ekklesiastikon kata ten taxin tes tou Christou Megales Ekklesias* (En Athenais: K. Antoniadou, 1880); Konstantinou Byzantinou tou Protopsaltou, *Typikon ekklesiastikon kata ten taxin tes tou Christou Megales Ekklesias*, 3. ekdosis ed. (En Athenais: Ek tes typ. K. Antoniadou, 1855).

8. Konstantinou Byzantinou tou Protopsaltou, *Typikon Ekklesiastikon*. Athens: Private Collection of K. A. Psachos, No. 216, 1852. The third edition in manuscript form, an autograph of the Protopsaltes Konstantinos, exists in the private library of the late musicologist K. A. Psachos. This private library collection has recently been acquired by the Musicology Department of the University of Athens. An entire chapter is dedicated to Konstantios and his *Typikon* in my doctoral dissertation, Konstantinou Terzopoulou, 'Ho protopsaltes tes megalis tou Christou Ekklesias Konstantinos Byzantios: he symbole tou ste psaltike techne' (ThD, National and Capodistrian University of Athens, 2000), 153-75.

revision of the *Typikon*⁹ that is still used today in the Greek-speaking Orthodox Churches throughout the world and, as we shall discern below, that has had a lasting influence on the order of service and published *typika* of other Balkan Churches. The 1888 committee made minor revisions and corrections to Konstantinos' *Typikon* which are of no consequence to our discussion in the present article.

As a genre, two basic types of *typika* exist – the 'foundational' and 'liturgical' *typika*¹⁰. Konstantinos' *Typikon* is of the purely liturgical type and represents the culmination of a thousand-year tradition of liturgical life, spanning from Apostolic times to the present. The importance of his *Typikon Ekklesiastikon kata ten taxin tes tou Christou Megales Ekklesias* (according to the practice of the Great Church of Christ [read: Constantinople]) is that this is the first time since the 13th-century abandonment of the cathedral rite used in the Hagia Sophia Church,

9. Georgiou Biolake, *Typikon tes tou Christou megales ekklesias* (Athens: Bas. D. Saliberos, nd).

10. It is not within the scope of this article to discuss the differences of these two types of *typika*, as this would take us far from our subject. It is, however, helpful to mention here that the distinction between ktitoric, testamental or foundational and liturgical *typika* is basically a distinction of function and, with regards to the genre, historical development. While the ktitoric *typika* deal with the founding or establishment of a monastic community and the liturgical *typika* or *diataxeis* deal almost exclusively with the order of worship followed by a community, one would be hard pressed to find a ktitoric *typikon* that did not have some liturgical directions in it – worship being the main purpose for the establishment of a monastery. That said, it can be stated that the *typikon* as a genre has its roots, after the apostolic writings, in the early ascetic treatises of St. Basil the Great and the Pachomian monastic tradition and will emerge as a full-fledged genre in the tenth century with the Nikon of the Black Mountain, Studios, Sabas, Evergetis and Theodore Studites *typika* as important stations of development and which will combine elements of the cathedral and monastic byzantine rites, later giving birth to the various Athos *typika*. In the meantime, as far as liturgical *typika* go, these Jerusalem-Studite synthesis rubrics would be incorporated into the liturgical and musical books themselves – books like the *menaia*, *horologia*, *katanyktika*, *charmosena trioidia* and *sticheraria* – eventually finding their way into the published liturgical books. As different publishers would publish from different manuscripts many inconsistencies resulted, thus creating the need for an authoritative version of the *typikon* that Konstantinos' publication would fulfill. For further reading see: Miguel Arranz, 'Le typikon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine', (*Le typikon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine*), *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 185 (1969); Aleksei Dmitrievsky, [*Opisanie liturgicheskikh" rukopisei, khraniashchikhsia v" bibliotekakh" pravoslav-nago Vostoka*], 3 vols., vol. I: *Typika, Chast'* (Kiev: 1895; reprint, [Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1965]; Aleksei Dmitrievsky, [*Opisanie liturgicheskikh" rukopisei, khraniashchikhsia v" bibliotekakh" pravoslav-nago Vostoka*], 3 vols., vol. II: *Euchologia* (Kiev: 1901; reprint, [Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1965]); Aleksei Dmitrievsky, [*Opisanie liturgicheskikh" rukopisei, khraniashchikhsia v" bibliotekakh" pravoslavna-*

Constantinople that a description of the liturgical practice of the Patriarchal Church of Constantinople emerges, fully described and codified. As will be evident from the information presented below, this practice will have an effect on all the local churches that fell under the administrative and spiritual influence of the same Patriarchate, not only for the Greek speaking Orthodox parish churches for which it was intended, but also, especially through Slavic translation, for the Balkan Orthodox Churches of Bulgaria and Romania. It is the first time after the Byzantine epoch and almost four centuries of Ottoman Turkish domination that the liturgical adaptations to the monastic office as practised in the Patriarchal Church are clearly revealed. It is important to add that these adaptations were designed particularly for parish, not monastic practice. The monasteries continued to use the more ancient, Byzantine *typika*¹¹. The subject of the post-Byzantine liturgical *typika* is one that has not yet been sufficiently studied.

A combination of three sources were used by Konstantinos in his compilation of the *Typikon*, as he reveals in the published Prologues:

- the opinions of various Patriarchs,
- the written notes of past Protopsaltai, and
- his many years of experience.

go Vostoka], 3 vols., vol. III: *Typika Chast' 2* (Petrograd: 1917: reprint, [Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1965]); Ioannes Koniadares, *Nomike theorese ton monasteriakon typikon* (Athens: 1984); Konstantinos Manaphes, *Monasteriaka typika-diathekei* (Athens: 1970); J. Mateos, 'L' office monastique à la fin du ive siècle: Antioche Palestine, Cappadoce', (L' office monastique à la fin du ive siècle: Antioche, Palestine, Cappadoce), *Oriens christianus* 47 (1963); J. Mateos, *Le typicon de la Grande Église: Ms. Sante-Croix, no. 40, Xe siècle, Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*, 2 vols., *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 165-6 (Rome: 1962-63); J. Mateos, 'L' office monastique à la fin du ire siècle: Antioche, Palastine, Cappodocè', *Oriens christianos* 47 (1963), J. Mateos. 'The origin of the divine office', *Worship* 41 (1967); Io. Phountoule, *Leitourgika Themata*, vol. 6 (Thessalonike: 1986); Robert F. Taft, *The Byzantine rite: a short history* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1992); Robert F. Taft, *Liturgy in Byzantium and beyond* (Aldershot, Hampshire, Great Britain: Brookfield Vt. USA: Variorum, 1995); Robert F. Taft, *The liturgy of the hours in East and West: the origins of the divine office and its meaning for today* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1986); Robert F. Taft, *The liturgy of the hours in the Christian East: origins, meaning, place in the life of the church* (India: s.n., 1983); Robert F. Taft, 'Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite', in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1988); John Thomas, Angela Constantinides, and Giles Constable, eds., *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, 5 vols., *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, XXXV (Washington, D. C. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000).

11. Protopsaltou, *Typikon ekklesiastikon* a-e.

Behind this last source is a notebook or *Semeiomatarion*¹², which I have located with my professor Gr. Th. Stathis in a private library collection in Athens. He begins his notebook in the year 1808 and in it he wrote notated chants, folk cures for minor ailments and other personal notes, but, most importantly, he kept detailed observations and notes on the liturgical practices and commemorations as they took place in the Patriarchal Church of St. George in the Phanar, Constantinople.

Konstantinos began chanting at the Patriarchate in 1800 as second *Domestikos* and was already Protopsaltes for seventeen years by the time the first edition of his *Typikon* was published in 1838. To put this in perspective, one need only remember that during those first thirty-eight years of his chanting in the Patriarchal Church (he would chant another twenty-odd years yet) he would serve no less than seventeen patriarchs! While the Patriarch himself was leader of the entire liturgical assembly, the Patriarchal practice was a bit more complex than in the parish churches or even other cathedrals, due to the common co-celebration of multiple patriarchs, archbishops, metropolitans and bishops, so it was normal for the chief celebrant to often confer with the Protopsaltes on particular observances and special 'patriarchal' practices.

The fundamental problem that brought about the writing of the new *Typikon*, according to Konstantinos' Prologues in the first and second published editions, was the so-called *asymphonia* or inconsonance in the ways the various divine services were being conducted from church to church. For this reason, Konstantinos' *Typikon*, like most other early liturgical *typika*, concentrates on the order of service for days when various great feasts, seasons and saint celebrations concur or fall on a Sunday – the day whose main commemoration is that of the Resurrection of Christ – as well as on determining which lectionary readings were to be used and on clarifying questions as to which commemorations took precedence on any particular day. Thus, it is an all important guide to how the liturgical assembly was to be conducted and remains so even to this day.

For the purposes of the present investigation we need only mention how Konstantinos' *Typikon* is the main and most authoritative source today for the history of (a) the development of the *typikon* of the divine service at the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople during the post-Byzantine period and (b) the important place and role held by the Patriarchal chanters or *psaltai* with

12. Konstantinou Byzantiou tou Protopsaltou, *Epi patriarchias deuteris Kuriou kyr Gregorion. Typikon periechon ten taxin tes akolouthias tou eniautou*. Athens: Private Collection of K. A. Psachos, No. 178, 1808.

the responsibility toward the preservation of the order of worship or *taxis* of the same Patriarchal Church¹³. All subsequent liturgical *typika* would simply make adjustments to or refer back to Konstantinos' *Typikon* as a point of authoritative reference. That said, a look at the historical backdrop for the Slavic translation is in order.

B. HISTORICAL MILIEU

During the first half of the nineteenth century the Bulgarian people experienced the beginnings of their so-called national revival¹⁴. While new socio-economic relations with their Balkan, eastern Mediterranean and central European neighbors are notable factors, the Bulgarian national revival is more closely connected to an intellectual flowering that resulted in the formation of a nationalist Bulgarian intelligentsia, especially between the years 1835 and 1878¹⁵. The first personality mentioned by most historians in this respect is a certain Paisius of the Hilandari monastery on Mount Ahtos¹⁶. In 1762 he writes the first *Slaveno-Bul-*

13. Cf. Angelou L. Boudoure, *Hoi mousikoi choroi tes megales tou Christou ekklesias kata tous kato chronous* (Konstantinoupolei: 1935, 37; reprint, Reprint in two volumes from the periodical *Orthodoxia*), vol. 2, 22-25; M. Gedeon, *Paideia kai ptocheia par' hemin kata tous teleutaious chronous* (Konstantinoupolis: 1893), 59-65; K. M. Ralle, 'Peri tou axiomatos tou Protopsaltou', *Praktika Akademias Athenon* 11 (1936): 66-70.

14. Cf. Nikolai Todorov, *Bulgaria: historical and geographical outline* (Sophia: Sophia Press, 1968), 46-64; Nikolai Todorov, *A Short History of Bulgaria*, trans. from Bulgarian (Sophia: Sophia Press, 1975), 92-108. See also, Raina Gavrilova, *Bulgarian urban culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (Cranbury, N.J.: Susquehanna University Press, 1999); Nikolai Genchev, *The Bulgarian National Revival Period* (Sophia: Sophia Press, 1977); Iliia Konev, *Bulgarskoto Vuzrazhdane i Prosveshthenieto* (Sofia: Izd-vo na Bulgarskata akademiia na naukite, 1983); Iliia Konev, *Bulgarskoto vuzrazhdane i prosveshthenieto: istoriia, istorichesko suznanie, vzaimodestviia* (Sofia: Izd-vo na Bulgarskata akademiia na naukite, 1983); Assen Nicoloff, *The Bulgarian Resurgence* (Cleveland, Ohio: A. Nicoloff, 1987); Velcho Velchev, *Paissi of Hilendar, father of the Bulgarian Enlightenment* (Sofia: Sofia Press, 1981).

15. Mikhail Arnaudov, *Stroiteli na bulgarskoto dukhovno vuzrazhdane: Paisii Khilendarski, Sofroni Vrachanski, Neofit Rilski, Neofit Khilendarski Bozveli* (Sofia: Sinodalno kn-vo, 1954); Thomas A. Meininger, *The Formation of a Nationalist Bulgarian Intelligentsia: 1835-1878* (New York and London: Garland Pub., Inc., 1897), 78ff.

16. On Paisii Khilendarski and his role in the Bulgarian revival see the following: Panko Anchev, *Stranitsi za Paisii Khilendarski: tvorchestvoto na pisatelii v bulgarskata literaturna kritika, Stranitsi za ...*; (Varna: Izdatelska Kushta 'Andina', 1991); Nadezhda Dragova, *Domashni izbori na "Istoriia slavianobulgarska: Paisii Khilendarski i negovata epokha (1762-1962) = Bulgarische quellen*

garian History, which will earn him the title of founder of this Bulgarian national revival. Written in the spoken Bulgarian of the people, the monk Paisius raises the consciousness of his people, exhorting them to be proud of both their history and their language.

Take care, you readers and listeners, Bulgarian people, who love and keep close to your heart, your race and your Bulgarian country, and who wish to understand and hear what is known about your Bulgarian race and your fathers, forefathers and kings, patriarchs and saints, how they once lived and fared. For you it is necessary and useful to hear what is known about the deeds of your fathers, just as all other tribes and nations know their race and language, have a history and as every literate man knows, speaks about and takes pride in his race and language¹⁷.

Another church figure, Sophronius, bishop of Vrasta (Sofronii Vrachanski, born Stoiko Vladislavov, 1739-1813)¹⁸, continued monk Paisius' work with an emphasis on education. He will author what is considered the first book printed in the Bulgarian language, a *Kyriakodromion*¹⁹.

Three streams of development will feed the revival: [i] the growth of a progressive bourgeoisie, [ii] the penetration of foreign ideas and [iii] the Bulgarian voices of progress and nationalism²⁰. By the 1830s the Bulgarian intellectuals

zur "Istorija slavjanobolgarskaja" (Sofia: Bulgarska akademiia na naukite. Institut za istoriia, 1962); M. Moskov, *Istoriata na o. Paisiia Khilendaarskii* (Turnovo: P. Kh. Panaiotov, 1893); Kiril Neshev, *Ot Khitler do Paisii: natsionalizmite*, 1. izd. ed. (Sofia: 'FIL-VEST', 1995); Boian Penev, *Paisi Khilendarski*, [2. izd., znachitel'no dop. i popravleno] ed., *Etiudi vurkhu bulgarskata* 1995); Boian Penev, *Paisi Khilendarski*, [2. izd., znechitel'no dop. i popravleno] ed. *Etiudi vurkhu bulgarskata literatura*,; kn. 1 (Sofia: Obrazovanie, 1918); Dimitur Penov, *Otets Paisii kato filosof na bulgarskata istoriia = Vater Paissij als Philosoph der bulgarischen Geschichte*, *Godishnik na dukhovnata akademiia 'Sv. Kliment Okhridski'*; t. 13; (Sofia: Sinodalno izd-vo, 1963); Riccardo Picchio, *La istorija slavenobolgarskaja sullo sfondo linguistico-culturale della slavia ortodossa* (Roma: Edizione di Recerche Slavistiche, 1958); Velchev, *Paissi of Hilendar, father of the Bulgarian Enlightenment*.

17. Todorov, *A Short History*, 47.

18. Arnaudov, *Stroiteli na bulgarskoto*.

19. Cf. James F. Clarke, *The first Bulgarian book* (Cambridge: Mass., 1940).

20. Meininger, *The Formation*, 78. Cf. Demetriou B. Gone, *Historia ton Orthodoxon Ekklesion Boulgarias kai Serbias*, 3rd ed. (Athens: Harnos Publications, 2001), 114-9; Nicoloff, *The Bulgarian Resurgence*.

and elite were educationally and linguistically Hellenized²¹. Along with the impact of the French Revolution, the 1807 Serbian uprising, the Russo-Turkish War and even the 1821 Greek uprising, this reality helped to feed the Bulgarian people's thirst for freedom. The Bulgarian revivalists now felt an urgent need to develop native Bulgarian schools. The old monastery cell schools that had served them during the long years of Ottoman domination were not in a position to meet the needs of the times.

The Bell-Lancaster monitorial educational method²², brought to the Middle East by English missionaries, had spread widely used by the Greeks and by now passes on to the Bulgarian intelligentsia. The Bulgarian scholar, Peter Beron (1797-1871) would be the first to try to implement the method for the new Bulgarian school, but it would be Vassil Aprilov (1789-1842) who in 1833 would acquire funds from merchants in Odessa and Bucharest to construct and establish the first such Lancaster school in the north-central Bulgarian town of Gabrovo. When Aprilov would inquire to the Metropolitan of Turnovo as to who should teach in the new school a monk by the name of Neophytos from the Rila Monastery²³ who had received a Greek education in Melnik (north of Prague) would be recommended.

21. Gone, *Historia*, 117-9.

22. Mora Dickson, *Teacher extraordinary: Joseph Lancaster, 1778-1838* (Sussex, England: Book Guild, 1986); Carl F. comp. Kaestle, *Joseph Lancaster and the monitorial school movement; a documentary history, edited, with an introduction and notes* (New York: Teachers College Press, [1973]); Joseph Lancaster, *The British system of education: being a complete epitome of the improvements and inventions practised by Joseph Lancaster: to which is added, a Report of the trustees of the Lancaster school at Georgetown, Col* (Georgetown: Joseph Milligan and by William Cooper, Washington, 1812); Joseph Lancaster, *The practical parts of Lancaster's Improvements and Bell's Experiment*, edited by David Salmon (Cambridge [Eng.]: University Press, 1932); Joyce Taylor, *Joseph Lancaster: the poor child's friend: educating the poor in the early nineteenth century* (Kent: Campanile Press, 1996).

23. Located in the Rhodope Mountains in southwestern Bulgaria 70 miles south of Sofia, the monastery has played an important cultural and religious role since its foundation in the 10th century by St John of Rila. It was designated a World Heritage Site in 1961 by UNESCO 'as a symbol of the 19th Century Bulgarian Renaissance which imparted Slavic cultural values upon Rila in trying to re-establish an uninterrupted historical continuity'; UNESCO, *Report of the 7th Session of the Committee* [Web Site] (21/05/2001 1983 [cited 16/06/2002]; available from <http://wch.unesco.org/sites/216.htm>). Also, in 1989 the Bulgarian Orthodox Church regained title to the monastery and it was reinstated as a monastery in 1991. For further reading cf. Anco Anchev, *The Rila Monastery* (Sofia: Sofia Press, 1983); Mikhail Enve, *Rila Monastery*, 1st ed. (Sofia: Balkan Pub. Co. with the assistance of the 'European Centre for Education and Training', 1997); Todorka Kamenova, *Rila Monastery* ([Sofia]: Septembri State Publishing House, 1988); Khristo Dechkov Khristov, Georgi Stojkov, and Krustiu Miiatev, *The Rila Monastery: history, architecture, frescoes, wood-*

Born in the town of Bansko as Nikola Poppetrov Benin in 1793, Neophytos of the Rila monastery (or Neofit Rilski, 1795-1881) was an itinerant monk teaching in the Monastery cell schools (Figure 1). Upon being asked to take the position in the new school, Neophytos went to Bucharest in order to master the Lancasterian monitorial method, while also teaching at a Greek school there. Upon his return, the Gabrovo school would open with a beginning class of about seventy pupils. The school would later prove to be the cornerstone of a modern, nationwide Bulgarian public educational system. This fact would also earn Neophytos the title of 'Patriarch of all Bulgarian scholars and pedagogues'²⁴. Neophytos of Rila would author many text books, including a Bulgarian dictionary

carvings ed. Bulgarian Academy of Sciences: Institute of Urbanism and Architecture. Vol. 6, trans. B. Athanassov and A. Gospodinov, *Studies in Bulgaria's Architectural Heritage* (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1959); Margarita Koeva, *Rila Monastery* (Sofia: Borina, 1995); Margarita Koeva, *Rilskiiat manastir/pod redaktsiata na Margarita Koeva* (Sofia: UI 'Prof. Marin Drinov', 2000); *Rilski manastir, Ril'ski monastyr'. Rila Monastery. Le monastère de Rila. Rila-Kloster*, (Sofia: Reklama, 1974). For general biographies and works dealing with Neofit's contribution to the general intellectual life of Bulgaria during this historic period the following can serve as a select starting point: Vasil Evstatiev Aprilov and Ivan D Shishmanov, *Neofit Rilski, Sbornik na Bulgarskata akademiia na naukite; kn. 21; Novi studii iz oblast' ta na bulgarskoto vuzrazhdanie; 1; Klon istoriko-filogichen i filosofsko-obshchestven; 13* (Sofia: Pечатnitsa i bukvoliearnitsa P. Glushkov, 1926); Arnaudov, *Stroiteli na bulgarskoto*; Asenov, *Neofit Rilski*; Pavlina Calova, 'Dejатели болгарской городской возрожденческой музыки' noj kul'tury (Representative figures in the bourgeois musical culture of the Bulgarian national renaissance', in *Musica antiqua: Acta scientifica, V Bydgoszcz: Fiharmonia Pomorska im. Ignacego Paderewskiego* (1978); D Genchev, *Materiali za istoriata na bulgarskoto vuzrazhdanie, Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniia, nauka i knizhnina; v. 3-13, 15* (Sofia: Durzhavna печатnitsa, 1890-1898); Genchev, *The Bulgarian National Revival Period*; Gunnar Herig and Maria A Stassinopoulou, *Nostos: gesammelte Schriften zur südosteuropäischen Geschichte* (Frankfurt am Main; New York: P. Lang, 1995); Kamburova-Radkova, *Neofit Rilski*; G I Katsarov, *Kratuk zhivotopis na Neofita Rilski* (Sofia: Pечатnitsa na Gavazov i Chomonev, 1906); Rilski Neofit and Bishop of Stobi Arsenii, *Prinos kum biografiata na Neofit Rilski* (Sofia: Sinodalno izd-vo, 1984); Rilski Neofit, Docho Lekov, and Afrodita Aleksieva, *Neofit Rilski: pripiski v bibliotekata mu, Literaturen arkhiv; t. 6* (Sofia: Izd-vo na Bulgarskata akademiia na naukite, 1976); Pimen Otets; Zakharii Khristovich Zograf and Suiuz na bulgarskite khudozhnitsi, *Zakharii Zograf: 1810-1853* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo 'Bulgarski khudozhnik', 1980).

24. S. Arnaudov, *Stroiteli na bulgarskoto*; Asenov, *Neofit Rilski*; Dorosiev and prosveta, *Neofit Rilski*; Gone, *Historia*; Meininger, *The Formation*; Pimen, *Otetis*; Radkova, *Neofit Relski*; Ivan Snegarov, *Prinos k'm biografiata na Neofit Rilski (gr"itski pisma do nego)*, (Contribution to the Biography of Neofit Rilski) (Letters in Greek sent to Him)) (Sofia: B'Igarska akademiia na naukite, 1951).

and the first Greek grammar in Bulgarian²⁵.

This much on the historical milieu should suffice for the purposes of this paper. The only thing left to mention is that Neophytos was taken on as second teacher of Slavonic at the Theological Academy of the Patriarchate of Constantinople on the island of Chalke during the *scholarchia* of Konstantinos Typaldes in 1848²⁶; Church Slavonic was still on the curriculum there in 1903. At this point we turn again to the Slavonic translation of Konstantinos Byzantios the Protopsaltes' liturgical *Typikon*. It was this Neophytos of Rila who would translate the second edition of the Protopsaltes Konstantinos' *Typikon*.

C. THE 1853 SLAVIC *TYPIKON*

A rare copy of the first Slavic translation of Konstantinos Byzantios the Protopsaltes' *Typikon Ekklesiastikon*, or *typlik" tserkovnyi*, can be found in the Slavic Reserve section of the New York Public Library with the record ID number: NYPX93-B5465²⁷.

1. The Title Page (Figures 2 and 3)

The title page is quite informative and merits attention. Here is the full title:

Typik" tserkovnyi: po chinu Khristovy velikie tserkve / sobran" ubo

25. Rilski Neofit, *Bolgarska grammatika: fototipno izdanie*, Fototipno izd. ed. (Sofia: Izd-vo Nauka i izkustvo, 1984); Rilski Neofit, *Bolgarska grammatika, sega pervo sochinema* (V Kraguevtse: U Knezhsko-Serbskoi Tipografii, 1835); Rilski Neofit and Reinhold Olesch, *Bolgarska grammatika, 1835, Tablici, 1848, Slavistische Forschungen, Bd. 41* (Köln: Bohlau, 1989).

26. Aristide Pasadaïou, *Hiera Theologike Schole Chalkes: Historia, Archotektonike* (Athens: Sacred Metropolis of Switzerland, 1987), 38-39. Also cf. Basileïou Th. Stavridou, *He hiera theologike schole tes chalkes: 1844-1923*, vol. A (Athens: 1970), 137.

27. Bulgarska pravoslavna tsurkva, [*Typikon, Church Slavic, 1853*] *Typik" tserkovnyi: po chinu Kristovy velikie tserkevesobran" ubo ot Konstantina protopsalta velikie tserke; prevedenzhe s" grecheskago ot vtarago ego izdanie i prisposoben, eliko vozmozhno be, k" slavenskimi tserkovnym knigam" Neofytom" Ueromonakhom Rylskim"... i nyne pervee izdan"* Georgiem K. Protopsalatovichem", trans. Rilski Neofit, ca. 1790-1881 (V" Konstantinopoli: V Patriarskoi Typografii 1853). I thank Angela Canon at the University of Illinois Champaign Slavic Reference Service for locating the id number and at the Slavic and Baltic Division of the New York Public Library, I am especially grateful to the Director, Edward Kasinec, for placing the Slavic room and its resources at my disposal, as well as to two of his helpful staff members, Hee Gwone Yoo and Tanya Gizdavcic.

ot Konstanina protopsalta velikie tserkeve; prevedenzhe s" Grech-eskago ot vtorago ego izdanie, i prisposoblen", eliko vozmozhno be, k" slavenskim" tserkovnym" knigam" Neofytom" Ieromonakhom" Rhlskim", uchitelem" slavenskago iazyka v" bogoslovoskom" ezhe vo ostrove Khalki uchilishti velikie Xhristovy tserkve, i nyne per-vee izdan" Georgiem" K. Protopsaltovichem".

V" Konstantinopoli: V" Patriarshekoi Typografi, [1853 – date actually expressed in Church Slavic letter form]

And its translation²⁸:

- Church Typikon According to the Practice of the Great Church of Christ which was collected by Kontantin Protopsaltes of the Great Church of Christ, and was translated from the Greek of the second edition, and adapted as much as possible to the Slavic church books by Neofit, Hieromonk of Rila, teacher of the Slavonic language in the Theological Academy of Christ's Great Church on the Island of Chalke and now printed for the first time by Georgios K. Protopsaltes. In Constantinople, in the Patriarchal Press, 1853.

Thus, clearly stated in the title page are the following four points: [1] The Typikon is that of the liturgical practice of the Patriarchal Church of Constantinople as compiled by Konstantinos Byzantios the Protopsaltes of the Great Church in his second printed edition. [2] The translation is from Greek into church Slavonic by the then professor of Church Slavonic at the Patriarchal Theological School on the Island of Chalke, Neophytos of Rila, known as Neofit Rilski in Bulgarian. According to professor P. Matejic, the language used in this edition is of a Slaveno-Bulgarian or Slaviano-Bulgarian form, very close to the Russian Church Slavonic in Russian printed editions of the time and that had a

28. I thank Prof. Predrag Matejic, curator of the Hilandar Research Library and director of the Resource Center for Medieval Slavic Studies at Ohio State University, for graciously providing this translation, as well as for proofing other Slavic elements in the present paper. I am also indebted to M. A. Johnson (Pasha) at the same Library for other Slavic bibliographic information drawn upon in parts of the present paper.

29. Prof. Matejic also added that nineteenth-century hybrid literary languages such as Slaveno-Serbian and Slaveno-Bulgarian were engendered, whereby their own languages were written with Russian Church Slavonic orthography and with liberal borrowing of grammar, syntax and vocabulary.

sizable influence on the written language of the Southern Slavs²⁹. Russian Church Slavonic was the liturgical language used by the Bulgarians. [3] The publisher's name is clearly identified as Georgios K. Protopsaltes. This is an interesting point that we will come back to shortly. [4] Finally, the edition is printed at the Patriarchal Printing Press in Constantinople and in the year 1853.

2. Dedications

On the next page, page [ii], handwritten beneath the Slavic translation of the quote from the Apostle Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians (14. 40), is the inscription of the donor of the particular edition found in the New York Public Library, an Atanasuv, to his brother Nikola, dated 10 June 1872.

Page [iii] contains the editor's dedication to the Slavic bishop and eparch. Page [iv] is the Greek and states the following:

The present Slavonic Typikon translated from the second edition of the Greek Typikon of Konstantinos Protopsaltes of the Great Church of Christ according to its order, has ecclesiastical approval to be freely distributed to the faithful, for use in the Sacred Churches in the cities and towns. To show this, the signed approval is given and confirmed by the Patriarchal Seal. 1853 [in Greek letters] June.

Just below this text is the Patriarchal Seal of the Patriarch of Constantinople Germanos IV³⁰ and the names of the Central Ecclesiastical Committee, Anthimos bishop of Ephesus and Panaretos of Herakleia.

3. The Editor's Prologue to the 1853 Edition

Pages [v] and [vi] contain the editor's prologue. Georgios K. Protopsaltes, also named in the title page, identifies himself in the prologue as Protopsaltes Kon-

30. Germanos IV served twice as Patriarch of Constantinople. According to the official publication of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, for the first time from 14 June 1842 to 12 April 1845 and for a second time from 1 November 1852 to 16 September 1853, the year the Slavic Typikon is published.

31. In the first edition of Konstantinos' *Typikon* (Constantinople, 1838) the last page (242) of the catalogue of contributors reveals the names of his nine children. Georgios is the third child and Nikolaos is the ninth child and sixth of six sons.

stantinos' son³¹. Although not the first chanter of any church, as far as we know, he here takes on his father's function as his last name, something his brother Nikolaos would also do when he would publish Konstantinos' *Anastasimatarion*³² (a music publication) in 1865, three years after his father's death. The 'K' refers directly to his father, Konstantinos, as is still the case with middle names in modern Greek practice.

The prologue offers valuable information on both the preparation of this Slavic *Typikon* and on Georgios K. Protopsaltes' publication activity³³. It advances through the six consecutive points listed below.

From the very outset [1] the editor makes repeated mention of the 'great effort' put forth in order that his father's Rule of the Great Church reach the Slavic world. [2] He then expresses gratitude to Neophytos for his zeal and efforts to make sure the translation would be in concord with the already existing Slavic liturgical books, so as not to cause confusion. [3] The use of the Church Slavic, or as he writes, 'pure Slavic', was chosen, 'in order for the book to be maximally clear and of practical use'.

Georgios Protopsaltes next [4] makes specific mention of the time frame and problems encountered during the preparation of the publication, as expressed in this quotation:

It is known that much time has passed before the book was printed: but the delay was not because of a lack of effort and desire, or due to some other reason, but was due to the delay in arrival of the ordered characters that were necessary for this edition and because the clean paper we used took time to find, as well as other difficulties, as may be expected in such an effort.

Afterward, [5] the editor reveals his hope that the response of the Bulgarian people to this publication will encourage him to finish another publication that he had originally planned to precede the printing of the *Typikon*, a 'brief Church History', as he calls it. Finally, [6] he ends by dedicating both these books 'to those who value the Slavic language', expressing once again his hope that the

32. Konstantinou Byzantiou, *Anastaseimatarion argon kai syntomon* (Constantinople: Ch. G. Papadopoulos and N. K. Protopsaltou, 1865). Another of the Protopsaltes Konstantinos' sons, Nikolaos, is coeditor with Ch. G. Papadopoulos and expresses his name as 'N. K. Protopsaltou' on the title page.

33. I am again indebted to professor P. Matejic for his translation assistance.

favorable reception of the book will encourage him to publish even other 'necessary' books in the Slavic language.

From this information we can conclude that this was no isolated endeavor, but part of a plan to supply the Bulgarian people with a library of necessary Church literature. This also fits into the general historical context briefly reviewed above. Further information is confirmed by a letter from Georgios K. Protopsaltides of 10 September 1853 to Neofit in the Rila Monastery preserved in Ivan Snegarov's, *Prinos K'M Biografiata Na Neofit Rilski (Gr"Tsiki Pisma Do Nego)*³⁴, Entry No. 269, Document #498. In this letter Georgios makes specific mention of the *periodike Ekklesiastike Hiera Historia* by Georgiou Mousaiou. Of special interest to the field of Orthodox Ecclesiastical chant is Georgios' mention of certain musical *mathemata* translated by one of Neofit's students, K. Chrestake, regarding which he asks Neofit's opinion of their worthiness³⁵.

34. Snegarov, *Prinos K'M biografiata*.

35. In an official music publication of the Patriarchal Press in Constantinople (Eastern Orthodox Church, *Pandekte tes hieras ekklesiastikes hymnodias tou holou heniautou*, 4 vols., vol. 1 (Constantinople: ek tou patriarchikou typographeiou, 1850), ε'-ς'. Δ'). Neofit is mentioned as also having translated ecclesiastical hymns 'according to the hyphos and rhythm of the Greek prototypes' for use in the Bulgarian and Serbian Orthodox eparchates. In the same paragraph, the editors of the music publication, Ioannes lampadarios and Stephanos first domestikos of the Great Church also mention his title as teacher of sacred slavonic philology at the Chalke Theological School, praising his deep knowledge of Greek ecclesiastical music. These hymns were never published in the *Pandekte*. The Snegarov, *Prinos k'm biografiata*, Entry No. 269, Document #498. letter dated 10 September 1853 discussed in this paragraph could possibly show that two years after the publication of the music series began its editors were still trying to make good on their announcement. One last note: while the editors of the musical publication were the then Lambadarios Ioannes and First Domestikos Stephanos, Georgios K. Protopsaltides' father, Konstantinos Byzantios was still Protopsaltes and on the official committee charged with the approval of the music compositions to be contained therein (cf. Church, *Pandekte*, ιβ'). There is evidence of Neofit being considered an accomplished ecclesiastical chant composer in Bulgaria also, as witnessed to in some recent musicological scholarship (Asen Atansov, 'Za avtorskite pesnopenija na Neofit Rilski (po izvorni danni ot carkovnoslavjanskite rakopisni pevceski sbornici ot XIX v. ot Nacionalnija muzej "Rilski Manastir"', (On singing from manuscripts by the Rila Neophyte (based on the 19th-century Church Slavonic chant manuscripts from the Rila Monastery Library)), *Balgarski muzikoznanie* 1 (1988); Calova, 'Dejateli bolgarskoj'; Radostina Krasteva, 'Veliko slavoslovie, glas 6 ot ieromonah Neofit Rilski (The great doxology in the sixth echos by the hieromonachus Neophytos from Rila)', (Veliko slavoslovie, glas 6 ot ieromonah Neofit Rilski (The great doxology in the sixth echos by the hieromonachis Neophytos from Rila)), *Balgarski muzikoznanie* 24 no. 2 (2000).) and the consistent appearance of some of his compositions in sound recordings produced in Bulgaria, like the following, Tania Khristova, 'Antique Bulgarian Chants', in *Starinni bulgarski pesnopeniia*, ed. Kamaren ansambl 'Angeloglasniiat' (Sofia: Balkanton, 1967).

Before the translation of Konstantinos Protopsaltēs' Introduction from the second edition and the actual text, pages [vii-viii] contain a catalogue with the names of the people who supported the endeavor financially. The largest number of supporters are from the Churches in Turnovo and Philippopolis (today Plovdiv).

4. *The Correspondence Between Neofit Rilski and Georgios K. Protopsaltides*

Finally, I. Snegarov's collection of Greek letters to Neofit Rilski³⁶ preserves for us a copy of the contract between Neofit and Georgios for the translation of the *Typikon*, dated 4 November 1851 (Figure 4). Based on this agreement date, it would seem that the *typikon* translation project took about two years to complete. Other details included in the contract are that [1] printing and translation expenses are to be covered by Georgios, the publisher, [2] the payment of a total of 3,000 grossia is to be made to Neofit in three installments – 700 gr. when Neofit receives the book, 1,300 gr. when Georgios receives the first half of the translation, and 1,000 gr. when the second half is completed – and [3] that the translation is to be made into Slavonic from the just published second edition of Konstantinos' *Typikon* printed by the Patriarchal Press. An ornate, yet easily understood translation with complete accuracy is requested. Neofit is also agreed to proofread and correct the printed sheets, if available in Constantinople³⁷.

One other entry in the Snegarov publication precedes the contract. It is a letter to Neofit in Halke, dated 17 November 1851 and received by Neofit on the following day, 18 November 1851, which contains the editor's indications that (a) the contracts have been prepared by Mr Ioan G. and are ready to be signed, (b) the use of witnesses would not be necessary, (c) the editor's Introduction will be sent once final approval is attained by the commission, and (d) a reminder regarding the correction of the manuscripts³⁸.

One other entry, the letter from Georgios K. Protopsaltides of 10 September 1853 to Neofit in the Rila Monastery³⁹, we have already commented above.

According to P. Matejic, who has kindly checked over the Bulgarian materi-

36. Snegarov, *Prinos k'm biografiata*, 371-2.

37. Snegarov, *Prinos k'm biografiata*, 372.

38. Snegarov, *Prinos k'm biografiata*, Entry No. 239, Document #422.

39. Snegarov, *Prinos k'm biografiata*, Entry No. 269, Document #498.

al for me, Snegarov notes that this document is signed in Neofit's own hand and was accepted by both, each signing a copy. This copy bears only Georgios' signature, suggesting that Georgios kept the copy with Neofit's signature in his own possession.

D. LEGACY OF THE NEOPHYTOS TRANSLATION AND OTHER LOCAL LITURGICAL TRADITIONS

1. *Bulgarian*

There exist at least three subsequent editions of Neophytos' translation⁴⁰.

The first important edition was published by the Turnovo Synod in 1890 (Figure 5) and is the Neofit translation with certain adaptations, showing its validity through an officially sanctioned Synodal edition⁴¹. The same Synod would appoint the publication of another edition in 1909, prepared by a Bulgarian priest named Ivanaichiff, who translates the *Typikon* into the neo-Bulgarian language and takes into account the Greek Biolakes revisions⁴². In his *Liturgika*, Rev. Chiflianov adds that today the Bulgarian Church uses as its most recent edition a new translation by the Metropolitan Nicodemos of Sliven published in 1960, which takes full account of the Biolakes revisions and local traditions⁴³.

2. *Romanian*

While the Neofit translation of the Constantinopolitan Ecclesiastical *Typikon* seems not to have directly affected Romanian practice, it is worth noting that around the same time the Romanian Church was adapting its own translation of the Konstantinos Protopsaltes *Typikon*⁴⁴. As far as I could trace it, the progression seems to begin with a translation of the Konstantinos *Typikon* by a team

40. Chiflianov, *Liturgika*, 79, 81. I must express gratitude to the V. Rev Archimandrite and professor Blagoy for his above publication and assistance via our 29 November 2001 telephone conversation, as well as the Rev Fr Cyril Antonoff of Belleville, Illinois who was gracious enough to bequeath me his copy of the 1890 Turnovo Synod edition of the Slavic *Typikon*.

41. Bulgarska pravoslavna tsurkva and Sveti Sinod, *Tipikon: siest ustab, soderzhashtii vse godovoe poslgdovanie po chinu khristovy velikie tserkve*, I [Superscript a] tisheniema ed. (Veliko Turnovo: [s.n.], Tipografii KH. Feodora, S. Furtunova, 1890).

42. Biolake, *Typikon tes tou Christou Megales Ekklesias*, op. cit.

43. Chiflianov, *Liturgika*.

44. Appreciation is due to Rev Konstantinos Karasarides, a Greek priest who studied in Romania and theologian serving the Archdiocese of Athens.

of two: a certain chanter by the name of Anton Pann⁴⁵ and a priest of the Bucharest Church of Saint Lukas, I. Calarasano, who are commissioned to translate by Metropolitan Nyphon of Yugoslavia⁴⁶. This *Typic Bisericii* [Ecclesiastical Typikon] will be reprinted several times before its last publication in 1925 by the Monastery of Cernika.

Revised editions followed in the years 1949, 1962 and 1976. While a special committee was commissioned in 1953, only when it was clear that the Pan-Orthodox Councils were not going to deal concretely with the issues of liturgical practice did the committee go ahead with local revisions. Practice, however, then and now, is still based primarily on Constantinopolitan practice⁴⁷.

45. From Demetriou B. Oikonomides, «Apo tas helleno-roumanikas ekklesiastikas scheseis», *Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* 23 (1953): 462-3. we learn that this chanter, Antonios Pan (1796 or - 1854), was a student of the Bucharest Psaltic School established by a certain Dionysios Photeinos, himself a student of the well-known Constantinopolitan Patriarchal Chanters Iakobos the Protopsales and Petros Byzantios. Along with another student of the Bucharest School, Stephan Popeskou, Anton Pann would go on to have a strong influence in the school's continued activity to Victor Papacostea, (Victor Papacostea, 'Date noua despre viata si opera lui Dionisie Fotino', (Date noua despre viata si opera lui Dionisie Fotino), *Balcania* vii, no. 2 (1944): 312). He would also become the translator of an Introduction to the theory and practice of ecclesiastical music into Romanian (Anton Pann, *Bazul teoretic si practic al muzicii bisericesti* (Bucur: 1845).) as well as the editor of music publications of Romanian ecclesiastical music in Byzantine notation: cf. Petre Rancusi, *Istoria muzicii romanesti. Compendiu*, (History of Romanian music. Compendium.) (Bucuresti: Ed. Muzicala a Uniunii Compozitorilor RSR, 1969); George Breazu, 'Muzica bisericeasca romaneasca (Romanian ecclesiastical music)', in *Pagini din istoria muzicii romanesti*; Gheorghe Ciobanu, *Anton Pann: cîntece de lume* (Bucuresti: Editura de Stat pentru Literatura si Arta, 1955); Pann, *Bazul teoretic*; Anton Pann, *Rînduiala sfintei si dumnezeestei liturghii* (Bucharesti: kntru a ca tip. de Mousica Biserireasia, 1847); G Dem Teodorescu, *Vieta si activitatea lui Antonu Pann, cu notiuni despre istoricul muzicii orientale si despre serdarulu Dionisie Fotino*, vol. 2v, in I port. 22 cm. (Bucuresti: Göbl, 1893); Isidor Weinberg, *Momente si figuri din trcutul muzicii romanesti*, (Moments and figures in Romanian music of the past) (Bucuresti: Muzicala, 1967); Gemma Zinelvii-Donea, 'Ani de ucenicie muzicala reflectati in corespondenta lui Anton Pann si George Ucenescu', (Years of musical apprenticeship as reflected in the correspondence of Anton Pann and George Ucenescu), *Studii de muzicologie* VI (1970).

46 Cf. Victor Bojor, Aron Papiu, and Stefan Rosianu, *Tipic Bisericesc* (Flaj: Tip. Seminarului teol. gr. cat., 1914); Biserica Ortodoxa Româna, *Tipic bisericesc care cuprinde randuiala: duminicilor, a sarbatorilor imparatesti si a sfinitilor alesi de preste tot anul*, 2 ed., (Bucuresti: [s.n.] Tip. Cartilor Bisericesci). 1907).

47. S. Andrievici, *S. Liturgica, cuprinzind scurte explicatii la indrumarile tipiconale din Tipicul Bisericii Ortodoxe Rasari tene* (Sacipan, Romania: 1860); S. Andrievici, *Tipicul Bisericii Orthodoxe Romane* (Romania: 1883); I. Olariu, *Tipicul Bisericii Orthodoxe Orientale* (Caransebes: 1897); Epis-

3. Serbian

Serbian liturgical practice seems to have been completely influenced by its Russian neighbors to the North. I was not able to trace any Constantinopolitan influence, either contemporary or subsequent to the Neofit translation on the Serbian horizon. The published order used even today, prepared by Vasilije Nikolajevic⁴⁸ is based on older, purely Russian, Slavonic *typika* of the Sabaitic type⁴⁹.

E. POSTSCRIPT

From the information presented here, we can conclude that Konstantinos Byzantios the Protopsaltes' *Typikon Ekklesiastikon* was not only decisive in shaping the liturgical life and modern order or *taxis* of the Greek Orthodox parishes throughout the Balkans, but also that of other Balkan peoples, namely, the Bulgarians to a greater extent, via the Neofit translation, and the Romanians to a lesser extent, via the Pann-Calarasano translation. The Serbs retained a closer tie to Russian liturgical practice, as witnessed in the Nikolajevic publications. There is much room for further research. From a musicological point of contact, this fact also bears witness to the important part played by the Patriarchal chanters in the preservation and development of the order of divine service at the Patriarchate of Constantinople during the post-Byzantine era up to our own days, underscoring the keen relationship between the Church's liturgical life and her blessed psaltic art.

cop Gherasim Serafin, *Tipic asupra serviciilor divine*, Edition II-a, Bucharest, 1905 ed. (Rimnicu-Vilcea: 1878); Archim. Melchisedes Stefanescu, *Manuel de Tipic al Bisericii Orthodoxe Romane*, other editions in 1877, 1900 and 1912 ed. (Iasi, Romania: 1854).

48. Vasilije Nikolajevic, *Veliki tipik (Ustav Crkveni)*, 4th Ed. Cetvrto, ispravljeno i dopunjeno ed. (Beograd: Sveti Arhijerejski Sinod Srpske Pravoslavne Crkve, 1984).

49. I thank Prof Nanad Milosevic of the Beograd University Theology faculty for his assistance and am also grateful for helpful bibliographical information concerning Serbian sources.

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Handwritten text and a stamp are visible below the photograph. The handwritten text appears to be "Neofit Rilski" and "1866". The stamp is a circular official seal, likely from the Bulgarian National Library or Archives, with text in Cyrillic and a central emblem.

Figure 1. Photograph of Neofit Rilski, circa 1866.

ТУШКЪ.

ЦЕРКОВНЫЙ

ПО ЧИНУ ХРИСТОВЫ ВЕЛИКІА

ЦЕРКВЕ

Свѣдѣніе оубо въ Константиноу Протофалта вели-
каго Христовы церкви, преведеніе съ Греческаго въ
сѣрбоглаго егво изданіа, и приспособленіе, бже
возможно еѣ, къ славянскимъ церковнымъ кни-
гамъ Неофитамъ Иеромонахомъ Рылскимъ,
оучителемъ славянскаго языка въ воиновъ-
скомъ бже въ Бѣлградѣ Хааки оученицы
великаго Христовы церкви. И нынѣ
первое изданіе

ГЕОРГИЕМЪ К. ПРИСТАВЛЕННЫМЪ.

Београдъ



ВЪ КОНСТАНТИНОПОЛИ

Въ Патриаршей Типографіи.

ЧОНГ.

Figure 2. The title page of the Neofit Translation (Constantinople 1853).

Photo: New York Public Library, October, 2001.



ТѢПІКЪ

СІЕСТЬ

ОУСТАВЪ.

СОДЕРЖАЩІЙ ВСЕ ГОДОВОЕ ПОСЛАВОВАНИЕ ПО ЧИНУ
ХРИСТОВЫ ВЕЛИКИА ЦЕРКВЕ.

ПОДОБИЕТСЯ ВЪЕДАТИ, ЯКО ВЪ НЕДЕЛЯХЪ, ВЪ НИХЪ
ЖЕ ПОЕТСЯ ОСМОГЛАСНИКЪ (ОКТОИХЪ). ЯЩЕ СЛЪЧИВШІЕСЯ
СВЯТЫЙ ИМѢЕТЪ СЛАВЪ НА ВЕЧЕРНИ И НА СТИХОВНѢ,
НАИ ТОЧНѢ НА ВЕЧЕРНИ, ВОСКРЕСНАА СЛАЖБА ПОЕТСЯ КЪ
НИШ СО СВАТЫМЪ, ЯКОЖЕ СЛѢДОВАТЕЛНШ.

ВЪ СВѢЩУЮ ВѢЧЕРА, ПО ПРЕДНАЧИНАТЕЛНОМУ ПСАЛМЪ,
ЧТЕТСЯ А-А ВАРІАМА И ПСАЛТИРН ВЪСЛ. И НА ГОСПОДИ
ВОЗВѢАХЪ, ПОЕМЪ СТИХИРЫ ВОСКРЕСНЫ ОКТѢИХА ШЕСТЬ,
И ПРНЛЪЧИВШАГО СВАТАГО ЧЕТЫРН. СЛАВА, СВАТАГО:
И НЫНѢ, ПЕРВЫЙ БОГОРОДНИЧЪ ГЛАСА ВХОДЪ. СВѢ-
ТЕ ТИХИЙ, И ПРОКІМЕНЪ ДНѢ, ГОСПОДЬ ВОЦАРИСЯ. НА
СТИХОВНѢ ЖЕ, ВОСКРЕСНЫ СТИХИРЫ ОКТѢИХА. СЛАВА,
СВАТАГО: И НЫНѢ, БОГОРОДНИЧЪ ОКТѢИХА, ПО ГЛАСЪ
СВАТАГО. ЯЩЕ ЛИ НЕ ИМѢЕТЪ СЛЪЧИВШІЕСЯ СВАТЫЙ НИ-
ЖЕ НА ВЕЧЕРНИ СЛАВЪ, НИЖЕ НА СТИХОВНѢ, ТОГДА ПОЮТ-
СЯ ВОСКРЕСНЫ СТИХИРЫ СЕДМЬ, И СВАТАГО ТРИ. СЛАВА,
И НЫНѢ, ПЕРВЫЙ БОГОРОДНИЧЪ ГЛАСА. ПОДОБИЕ И НА
СТИХОВНѢ, СЛАВА, И НЫНѢ, БОГОРОДНИЧЪ ГЛАСА. НЫНѢ

Figure 3. Page one of Neofit Constantinople, 1853 Typikon.

237. Договор (инв. № 420) между Неофит Рилски и Георги Протопсалтидис от 4 ноември 1851 год., Цариград. Написан е с почерка на Неофит на 1 стр. от един лист 4^о (синя, плътна хартия).

Διὰ τοῦ παρόντος συμφωνητικοῦ καὶ υποχρετικοῦ γραμματος δῆλον γίνεται, ὅτι δε Σφοδρωτάτος Διδάσκαλος τῆς Σλαβωνικῆς γλώσσης Κύριος

Νεόφυτος Ῥιλλιώτης, καὶ ὁ Κύριος Γεώργιος Πρωτοψαλτίδης συμφώνησαν, ἵνα ποιήσωσι τὴν εἰς τὸ Σλαβωνικὸν μεταφράσιν τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ τυπικοῦ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξείς συμφωνίας. (С настоящето съгласително и обещателно писмо става явно, че мъдрученейшият учител по славянски г-н Неофит Рилски и г-н Георги Протопсалтидис се съгласиха да преведат на славянски църковния типик при следните условия). Описват се условията: 1) Той превод, както и неговото печатно издаване ще стане за сметка на Георги; 2) Георги да даде на Неофит възнаграждение за труда му по превода 3,000 гр., като ги разпреди на три вноски (δόσεις): първата вноска от 700 гр. ще даде заедно с връчването на книгата за превод и с подписването на този договор, втората от 1,300 гр.—шом получи половината от превода, а третата от 1,000 гр.—шом получи целия превод; 3) Неофит обещава, шом вземе в ръцете си τὸ πικρότερον τοῦ μεταφρασθησομένου βιβλίου (ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς ἀρτίως ἐν τῷ Πατριαρχικῷ τυπογραφείῳ γεινομένης δευτέρας τοῦ τυπικοῦ ἐκδόσεως) оригинала на книгата, която ще се превежда (а той ще бъде току-що направеното в патриаршеската печатница второ издание на типика), да започне да превежда на славянски „изяшно и лесноразбъраемо с цялата изисквана точност (ὡς οἶον τε γλαφυρῶς καὶ ἐγκαταλήπτως μετ' ὅλης τῆς απαιτουμένης ἀκριβείας). Като мине до половината, Неофит ще уведоми Георги, за да дойде и вземе преведената част. Същото ще направи и после, шом свърши и другата половина. Неофит обещава още да прегледа един път напечатаните коли (φύλλα), като поправи случайните в тях печатни грешки, ако се намира тук (в Цариград). ταῦτα συμφωνήθησαν, ἐνεκρίθησαν καὶ εὐχαρίστως ἐπ' ἀμοιτέρων παρεδέχθησαν, ἐπικυρωθέντα ταῖς ἰδίαις αὐτῶν πληρωταῖς ἐν δυοῖν ὁμοίοις συμφωνητικαῖς γραμμασι, δοθεῖσιν ἀπ' ἐκαστέρου πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, Νοεμβρίου 4. 1851.

ὁ Γεώργιος Πρωτοψαλτίδης.
(Няма подпис на Неофит).

(Това уговориха, одобриха и с благодарност приеха, като потвърдаха със собствените си подписи в две еднакви съгласителни писма, които се дадоха по едно на всяка страна за сигурност.

в Цариград, 4 ноември 1851

Георги Протопсалтидис)

Figure 4. A copy of the contract between Neofit Rilski and Geōrgios Prōtopsaltidēs for the typikon translation publication from Snegarov's *Prinos k'm biografiata na Neofi Rilski* (gr'iski pisma do nego) = *Contribution to the Biography of Neofit Rilski (Letters in Greek sent to him)* (Sofia 1951) Entry No. 237, Document #420, pp. 371–372.



БЛАГОЧЕСТИИМЪ И ПРЕСОБЛИИМЪ
ХРИСТИАНСКИМЪ КНИГЪ СНО ОУПОТРЕБАЮ-
ЩИМЪ. КОНСТАНТИНЪ СМЕРЕННИИ
ПРЕПОЧТАТЬ ХРИСТОВЫ ВЕЛИКИА
ЦЕРКВЕ СЪ ГОСПОДЪ
РАДОВАТИСЯ.

Божественномъ поистиниѣ и великомъ и ѿгве-
скома дѣла скверныа молитвы всегдашю
долженствуетъ вывати и непрестанно вѣла по Божѣ жити
и зболаюицкыхъ, боацкыхъ Господа и оуновлюицкыхъ на
ѿма егѡ. Таковыхъ во все житѣ непрестаннаа нѣкаа
ѣсть, и неабащаа моаитка, сѣсть слааслѡбѣ, моленѣ
и благодареѣе къ Богу, за неааречѣнне егѡ величество
и премѡдрость и аадрость, и за ѿже къ намъ вези-
лаша и великаа благодѣанѣа. Оѣ намъ зааѣраваѣтъ
и Паѣлаз Божественный главола: „Непрестанно моаи-
теса, ѡ всеахъ благодариѣте“ (ѡ). Оемъ же дѣла моаит-
кы не ѿкѡ на едниѣ тоѡю и непрестанно но и ѡвирно
совериаемъ кѡти на аѡветѣхъ же и во временахъ ѡ-
предѣленыхъ ѡ ѿже во единой и тоѡжде надежда аѡан-
ныхъ, и адрѡвы раздѡхъ прѣмлетъ, и божественный

(ѡ) ѡ. Гоади. ѡ. ѡ.

Figure 5. First page of the translation of Kōnstantinos Byzantios' Introduction to the *Ekklesiastikon Typikon*, still being published in the 1888 (Turnovo) Bulgarian edition.