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Tradition and Innovation in Russian Church Slavonic Hymnography

by

Elena Margaret Nelson

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

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in

Slavic Languages and Literatures

in the

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of the

University of California, Berkeley

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Abstract

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Doctor of Philosophy in Slavic Languages and Literatures

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Professor Alan Timberlake, Chair

The focus of this dissertation is the highly specialized and stylized liturgical language of Russian Church Slavonic (RCS). Historically, RCS has been strictly controlled by authorities and has conformed to established norms, but innovations have nevertheless arisen in response to various conditions. One major wave of innovations was a long, deliberate process, spanning the 16th-18th centuries, which led to the codification of RCS grammar and the renovation of liturgical texts. Another wave of innovations in RCS was incidental and took place following a sudden upheaval, namely the Bolshevik Revolution and the subsequent repression of religion in the Soviet Union. A diaspora situation was created in which hymnographers were cut off from traditional institutional structures, and the ultimate result was freedom for the hymnographer to innovate. The hymns of Valeria Hoecke, an autodidact who composed in Serbia and East Germany, show what can happen in diaspora. This work discusses both phases: the reforms of the 16th-18th centuries as seen in canonical hymns used now, and the example of hymns written in the diaspora, as seen in the work of this one writer.

Two aspects of hymnography are analyzed: use of person and perspective, and use of verbs and participles to comprise the global hymn structure. Two major sets of texts are analyzed. The first includes various texts that were edited in the 16th-18th centuries, at the time of reforms in the past tense system. Among other things, these reforms resulted in the codification of a rule for the use of past tense forms, according to which only the perfect form is used with the 2nd-person singular subject. Reformed texts discussed here include the Great Canon of Andrew of Crete and the Menaion. The Great Canon is a text in which a repentant sinner engages his own soul in dialogue. The nature of the identities of the speaker and the addressee are analyzed, as well as that of other persons mentioned in this text. The Menaion is a collection of hymns addressed to saints for each day of the liturgical year. It too is analyzed in terms of person and viewpoint. Here, however, the bulk of the discussion of the Menaion relates to the operation of verbs and participles within the reformed past tense system. The second set of texts includes twenty-seven liturgical pieces composed by the 20th century hymnographer Valeria Hoecke; these are compared and contrasted with the older texts. In addition, Hoecke's biography is presented, including new information gained from archival work in Belgrade.

This work finds a correlation among tense, person, and genre in RCS. RCS narrative is either exocentric or endocentric, and primarily features the first and third persons. The realm of the second person is in the genre of discourse. In RCS, discourse is the genre of possibilities and options, whereas narrative is the genre of constativity, specificity, and the pinning down of

events within time. It is argued here that the discourse-specific niche for the second person may have led to the formal (reformed), past tense based differentiation in the context of the RCS liturgical language.

The 16th-18th century language reforms stipulated, among other things, an automatic correlation of past tense verbal form and grammatical person. This work finds that there is also a difference in temporal semantics between events expressed by 2nd- and non-2nd person verb forms. Second-person events (those that are addressed to saints and that describe a saint's actions) tend to be related causally, and conjunct participles play a key role in causal sequencing. Non-second-person events, however, behave differently: some pair with sequencing conjunct participles, whereas others do not. It is argued that the past tense reforms actually led to the evolution of a semantic distinction among the possible depictions of the events a certain subject can engage in.

Many of the 20th century hymns by Valeria Hoecke are canonical both in terms of person and viewpoint structure, and in verb and participle use. This shows that she understands how earlier hymns are constructed and that she continues this tradition. But her work also shows marked innovations from the tradition in that the focus is on the speaker as a self-conscious individual. The reader becomes a speaker, a participant in the text, when he maps Hoecke's textual "I" onto himself. Innovations in Hoecke's hymns also include her use of long strings of attributive participles, long strings of dative participles in dative absolute constructions, and strings of conjunct participles unmatched with corresponding finite verbs. Hoecke's frequent use of the present tense to express doxology, description, liturgical time, rhetoricality and modality represents a marked innovation from the earlier tradition.

For my daughter Mary.

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Chapter 1

Introduction and background

1.0. Introduction

The focus of this dissertation is the highly specialized and stylized liturgical language of Russian Church Slavonic (RCS). Historically, RCS has been strictly controlled by authorities and has conformed to established norms, but innovations have arisen in response to various conditions. One major wave of innovations was a long process, spanning the 16th-18th centuries, and led to the codification of RCS grammar and the renovation of liturgical texts. Among other things, a rule was codified for the use of past tense forms, according to which only the perfect form is used with the 2nd-person singular subject.

Another major wave of innovations in RCS took place following a sudden upheaval, namely the Bolshevik revolution and the subsequent repression of religion in the Soviet Union. A diaspora situation was created in which hymnographers were cut off from traditional institutional structures, and the ultimate result was freedom for the hymnographer to innovate. The hymns of Valeria Hoecke, an autodidact in the post-revolution Russian diaspora who composed in Serbia and East Germany from the late 1930s-1980s, show what can happen in diaspora.

Along with the larger issue of historical innovations this present work examines the syntax of participles, tense, and person and viewpoint, and the interaction of these elements in different genres of liturgical texts written in RCS.

The remainder of Chapter 1, "Introduction," discusses essential terms and concepts (§1.1), the 16th-18th century reforms in RCS verbal paradigms (§1.2) and the 20th century Russian diaspora (§1.3).

Chapter 2, "Person and perspective in Russian Church Slavonic," discusses the nature of person in this heavily codified and stylized language. The focus of this chapter is on hagiographic hymns, penitential hymns, and scriptural narrative. It describes the traditional system of person and perspective, the system from which Hoecke later departs in her innovative hymns.

Chapter 3, "Temporality and period structure," discusses the difference in temporal semantics between 2nd- and non-2nd person hymn events following the past tense verb reforms. Apostrophic hymns, those which are addressed to a saint, present discourse that argues for the saint's sanctity, indicating preconditions and consequences for salvation through imitation of the model provided by the saint. Nonapostrophic hymns, in contrast, are bifurcated into those with narrative/didactic function and those that simply state absolute theological facts, such as dogma, that cannot be replicated or imitated.

Chapters 4-6 discuss the hymns of Valeria Hoecke that are composed in 20th century RCS. The structure of her hymns is compared with the structures established in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 4 is an introduction that provides biographical information, as well as background information about her hymns. Chapter 5 discusses how Hoecke uses person and perspective—an area in which she has done revolutionary things. Chapter 6 then discusses her use of participles and verbs to make up overall period structure.

1.1. Essential terms and concepts

The first subsection defines and discusses the Russian Church Slavonic (§1.1.1); the second provides a basic background to RCS hymnography (§1.1.2), and the third introduces the liturgical texts used in this dissertation (§1.1.3).

1.1.1. Russian Church Slavonic

RCS is the sacral language for most Orthodox Slavs. Worth 1984 calls this language Russian Church Slavonic, but other terms are also used. For instance, Mathiesen 1972 calls it Synodal Church Slavonic, and Gamanovich 1991 simply calls it Church Slavonic. Russian Church Slavonic represents the East Slavic recension of Old Church Slavonic (OCS). Historically, the East Slavic recension has also been used in South Slavic Orthodox churches, such as the Serbian Orthodox Church, due to complex historical, social, and cultural reasons.¹ Today the liturgical language of the Bulgarian, Macedonian, Russian, and Serbian Orthodox Churches is some form of Church Slavonic, although in the Serbian, Bulgarian, and Macedonian churches this language is interspersed with the vernaculars in actual usage.²

RCS and its predecessor, OCS, are similar in that they both utilize grammatical forms specific to varieties of Church Slavonic such as the dative absolute, the accusativus cum participio, the accusative as subjunctive, phrases composed of *da* + indicative, *ezhe* + infinitive, and additionally some word ordering patterns that are alien to other Slavic languages.³ RCS inflection follows the OCS patterns, albeit with simplifications. RCS, like OCS, features seven nominal cases (locative, nominative, vocative, dative, instrumental, genitive, and accusative) and three numbers (singular, dual, plural).

OCS represents the earliest known examples of written Slavonic; however, the corpus of OCS is limited. Although the written liturgical language was created in the 9th century, most existing manuscripts date to the late 10th and the early 11th centuries.⁴ These texts consist of the complete Gospels, parts of the Aprakos Evangeliiar (a Gospel book lectionary containing only feast-day and Sunday readings), sermons, and some Psalms. Of course, there were many more OCS texts written, but these are the only ones that come down to us in such early manuscript form.⁵ In contrast with this scant remaining evidence of OCS, the corpus of RCS texts contains all material used in the Russian Orthodox Church: the Slavonic Scriptures (Old and New Testament); the Liturgical Menaion (twelve volumes); the Ochoechos (Book of Eight Tones); the Lenten Triodion; the Pentecostarian; the Horologion; the Hieratikon that contains services of Matins, Vespers, and the Divine Liturgies of St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, and the Presanctified Liturgy of St. Gregory the Dialogist; the Euchologion or Book of Occasional Services; the Pravilnik (containing the preparation for Communion); the Prayer Book; and the Prologue (Martyrology or Synaxaristes—the daily lives of Saints for reading in Church). In addition to the staggering quantity of RCS texts, the corpus of RCS is constantly expanding: every year original services are composed in RCS in honor of newly-canonized saints, or to supply services that do not exist. For example, 20th century compositions by the hymnographer

¹ See Bajić 2007 for a comprehensive description of the history of the liturgical language in Serbia. I am not aware of any studies on the history of the liturgical language in Bulgaria or Macedonia.

² RCS is also used by other Slavic Orthodox and Slavic Greek Catholic Churches. Church Slavonic of non Russian recension is the liturgical language of the Croatian and Czech Church Slavonic Roman Catholic traditions, and it was also the liturgical language of the Orthodox Church in Wallachia and Moldavia until the late 17th century.

³ Đurašković 2005:14-15.

⁴ There exist many later copies of OCS manuscripts that preserve the language as well.

⁵ See Schenker 1995:189-190 for the complete canon of OCS texts.

Valeria Hoecke include Чинъ благословения воздушного путешествия (Service for the Blessing of Air Travel) and Молитвы на освящение самолетовъ и колесницъ (Prayers for the Blessing of Airplanes and Wheeled Vehicles).

RCS is not only a later Russian recension of OCS; indeed, it has undergone so many changes and modernizations that McLellan 2001 goes so far as to call it a 20th century language.⁶ RCS is a living language rather than a dead language, since it experiences constant growth and decay—both characteristics of living languages. According to Zhivov (1998:2-3),

Церковнославянскому у восточных славян не был присущ характер ученого мертвого языка; он не изучался ученым образом и не был языком, на котором ученые или клирики общались между собой. Что еще существеннее, церковнославянский у восточных славян эволюционировал, в какой-то мере отражая в своей эволюции развитие живых языков восточных славян, что, вообще говоря, с мертвыми языками не случается.

RCS represents the East Slavic—and, more specifically, Russian—recension of OCS. The fall of the jers is fully reflected in RCS, more or less according to the Russian pattern. Word final "ь" continues to be written in RCS in words ending in a non-soft consonant. Lexicon and syntax have been modernized over the years to increase comprehension for a Russian audience.⁷ Pronouns, especially, have been modernized for this reason. For example, the OCS word meaning "a certain [person]," *eterь*, has been changed to *нѣкій*. The letter *jat'* (ѣ) is still used in RCS with great attention to etymology. The Cyrillic letters ksi (ѣ), psi (ѣ), omega (ѣ), ot (ѣ), and izhitsa (ѣ) are still used in RCS. RCS and OCS both use the same letters to designate numerals. Both use special abbreviations, or titla, for certain nouns, such as *х҃҃҃҃҃҃҃* for *христѣ*.⁸

1.1.2. Hymnography

Hymnography is liturgical poetry that is sung or chanted during a liturgical service, or office. Each liturgical day consists of the following offices which are sung in this order: Vespers,⁹ Compline, Nocturn, Matins, First Hour, Third Hour, Sixth Hour, Divine Liturgy, and Ninth Hour. Hymnography has a metrical pattern fit to an original melody or a melody prototype. In the strictest sense of the word, hymns (гимны) are poetic texts that either offer praise to God (doxological hymns) or that are pure prayer (devotional hymns). The Old Testament is full of pre-Christian hymnography. Following what is believed to be the incarnation of God as Jesus, Christians began composing hymns first to Jesus and then to the saints, since they considered the saints to be a reflection of the divinity in the world.

⁶ This is a paraphrase of a quotation from Francis McLellan, Ph.D., (the late Hieromonk Ioasaf) in a July 2001 class at the Holy Trinity Monastery Summer School of Liturgical Music in Jordanville, NY. For details on RCS modernizations see Kravetskij and Pletneva 2001. Hollós 2004 describes RCS as a “living language,” the result of long historical development that started as early as the first works appeared in Slavonic.

⁷ See Zhivov 1998:7-8 for some specifics on modifications in lexicon and syntax in the East Slavic recension of Church Slavonic.

⁸ For a description of the history of RCS, see Kravetskij and Pletneva 1996 and *Богослужебный язык русской церкви* 1999.

⁹ The liturgical day begins with the evening office, Vespers. See Gardner 1980:74-77 for specifics on the structure of these services.

Hymnography is either fixed or movable. The hymnography that makes up a liturgical office is fixed: services are constructed with a basic, unchanging frame. Within these frames there are a varying number of slots for movable hymnography. Which elements of the movable hymnography are inserted into slots in the fixed service depends on the calendar date (the yearly cycle), day of the week (the weekly cycle), proximity to one of the twelve Great Feasts, and proximity to Easter. Easter is not fixed to a calendar date, and the Great Feasts of Ascension and Pentecost depend on the date of Easter. Services to saints are associated with a certain day of the year. When that day arrives, the hagiographic hymnography is inserted into the assigned slots in the fixed service. All these variables associated with movable hymnography make for complex services.

1.1.3. Liturgical texts examined

The primary religious texts used for this dissertation are the Menaion (§1.1.3.1), the Great Canon (§1.1.3.2), and the hymns of Valeria Hoecke (see Chapter 4). Other works discussed below in this section are brought into discussion at various times as points of comparison with the major texts.

Most of the texts discussed here are translations from Byzantine Greek, with the exception of hagiographic services for Slavic saints. A preliminary survey found that there is no one-to-one correspondence in the semantics of the Greek and RCS past tense systems, despite the fact that both languages have perfect, aorist, and imperfect tenses.¹⁰ Therefore, when discussing RCS tenses, as is done throughout this study, it is irrelevant whether or not a hymn is a translation.

1.1.3.1. Hagiographic hymns in the Menaion

There are various types of movable hymns. One type is hagiographic. Hagiographic hymns are those hymns that are composed in honor of a saint, and a service to a saint consists of many such hymns. Here I also designate as hagiographic those services that are composed in honor of the Theotokos.¹¹ This is because the Theotokos is praised in these services, and she is considered a saint in the Russian church. When a saint is commemorated on a certain day, hymnography composed for that saint is inserted into the slots for movable hymnography that are designated in the service. Much of this dissertation focuses on hagiographic hymnography as it is found in the Menaion (for definition see below) and in the recent hymns of Valeria Hoecke. Many saints are commemorated on each day of the yearly cycle, but full services are composed for only one or two saints per calendar day. A full hagiographic service contains all the movable parts that are necessary to fit into the slots in the nine daily offices listed above.¹²

¹⁰ As in RCS, the Byzantine Greek pluperfect rarely appears in liturgical texts.

¹¹ The term Theotokos refers to Mary, the mother of God. This is the term that is used in English in the Orthodox Church, and it corresponds to the Slavonic and Russian term Богородица. The term "Theotokos" is used throughout this work because there are many saints named Mary, one of whom is discussed (Mary of Egypt).

¹² There are many hymn types that make up a hagiographic service: the sticheron, troparion, canon, kontakion, hypakoe, antiphon, prokeimenon, alleluia, katabasia, exaposteilarion, communion hymn, and magnification. This work discusses stichera and canons. Stichera (sticheron, singular) are poetic verses of varying content and length, usually consisting of 8-12 lines, and they are set to a corresponding number of melodic lines. Stichera are extremely important from the hymnographic and liturgical standpoint, as they communicate the main theme of a given day. Stichera are sung to relatively simple melodies and display a strong connection between the music and the text. With a good understanding of both the melody and the text, one can easily break the text down into its phrasal melodies based either on units of meaning or on clause structure. A canon is an extended poem consisting of nine odes, and each ode is based on a Biblical canticle. The canticles are direct quotations from the Old Testament. Each

Hagiographic hymns are most often found in a twelve-volume set called the Menaion (Минея).¹³ (This dissertation also discusses recently composed hagiographic services that are not yet included in the Menaion.) The Menaion contains services for saints for each day of the year, and is intended for liturgical use. The first volume of the Menaion contains all the fixed-date hymnography for September, the beginning of the liturgical year, and continues with one volume for each month.¹⁴

The Menaion examined in this work, the Коричневые Минеи, nicknamed the "Brown Menaion" for the color of its binding, was published in 1996-1997. This Menaion is a reprint of an 1883 edition, published by the Kievan Caves Monastery press.¹⁵ The primary difference between the 1883 and the 1996 Menaia is the addition of some supplementary services to local Russian saints. Since in this work I examine services to major saints who were canonized well before 1883, I treat this Menaion as if it were the original from 1883. Since the Nikonian reforms, there have been very few updates to the Menaion, and it has remained essentially unchanged since the 17th century.¹⁶ Throughout this study I refer to a saint and the date on which s/he is commemorated so that the reader will be able to more easily locate the service in the Menaion volumes.

The hymns of Valeria Hoecke, a hymnographer of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia (henceforth ROCOR), are also analyzed in this work. Because these hymns are recent, they have not been published in any Menaion.

ode of the canon consists of an initial stanza (called the heirmos) and a set of two or more stanzas, which are metrically and melodically identical to that of the heirmos. The canon, like the sticheron, communicates the main theme of a given day.

¹³ The Menaion is a collection of translated material from other languages and original RCS material, and we can assume that the services in the Menaion were directly translated from Byzantine Greek if they are written to non-Slavic saints; if they are composed in honor of Russian saints, they were originally composed in RCS. Some of the translated services may have originally been composed in a language other than Greek—Coptic or Latin, for example—but they would have come to RCS directly from Greek.

Menaia have been translated, transcribed, and passed down by many anonymous people. Because the Menaion is a compilation of many different services to saints, it is difficult to date individual services and nearly impossible to determine who composed them. This difficulty is compounded by redactions and reforms over the years that contributed to the leveling of many linguistic differences among the texts. The Nikonian reforms were significant, but were not the first reforms of RCS texts. Consider, for example, the 14th century Second South Slavic Influence, during which Slavic manuscripts were modeled on Byzantine Greek and made to reproduce them. See Krylov 2009 for further information on the Menaion.

¹⁴ Other types of Menaia not examined in this dissertation are the Минеи праздничные, the Минея общая, and the Минеи-четы. The Минеи праздничные, which is found in one volume, contains services for the twelve major feast days of the Orthodox church as well as services to major saints. The Минея общая contains services arranged not according to the day of the year, but according to the day's rank; for example the Минея общая contains general services for apostles, for martyrs, for feast days of the Theotokos, and the like. The Минеи-четы, in contrast with the other three Menaia, is not for use in church services. The Минеи-четы contains hagiographical and religious pedagogical material that is categorized by the day of the year.

¹⁵ The earliest complete Menaion to be published in Russia dates to 1628-1632, and was compiled under Patriarch Philaret. A second complete Menaion dates to 1644-1645, and was compiled under Patriarch Joseph; it already reflects some changes from the earlier edition. A General Menaion dates to about 1650.

¹⁶ There are two other recent Russian Minea containing hagiographic hymnography for the yearly cycle. In 1988 the Зеленые Минеи, nicknamed for the color of its binding, was published in the Soviet Union. This Menaion is written in the Russian alphabet, rather than that of RCS. The other is the Минея дополнительная, published in St. Petersburg in 1909 by Synodal Press. The Russian Orthodox Church Abroad has never published its own Menaion or Supplemental Menaion, although it did publish a General Menaion.

1.1.3.2. The Great Canon

Saint Andrew of Crete wrote the Great Canon in the 7th century. It made its way into RCS by way of Bulgarian, and the original Bulgarian texts can be traced back to the 14th-15th centuries. This canon is read only twice each year in Russian churches, during the first and fifth weeks of Great Lent. This time period is the most somber and reflective of the Orthodox liturgical year. The canon primarily consists of a conversation between a repenting sinner and his own soul, encouraging the soul to do good and abstain from evil. It is a fixed text with no slots for movable hymnography.

1.1.3.3. Other works

The Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church

The *Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church* is a non liturgical religious text, meaning that it is not used for worship in the Orthodox Church. The *Synaxaristes* consists of twelve volumes of *Lives of the Saints*. Although it is translated from the original Greek, it includes many Russian saints.

Morning and Evening Prayers

Morning and Evening Prayers are printed in every prayerbook (Молитвословъ). Morning and Evening Prayers are private and are recited at home, although in monasteries they are recited together in church. The body of these prayers consists of ten main prayers authored by various saints at different times. The Morning Prayers, for instance, primarily contain prayers ascribed to Macarius the Great (295-392) and Basil the Great (ca. 330-379).¹⁷ The Evening Prayers primarily contain prayers ascribed to Macarius the Great and Saint John Chrysostom. They are fixed and lack slots for movable hymnography.

The Divine Liturgy

The Divine Liturgy is the primary worship service of the Church, and is the Orthodox equivalent of the Catholic mass. The authorship of the most commonly celebrated form of the Divine Liturgy is ascribed to Saint John Chrysostom (347-407), Archbishop of Constantinople. The Divine Liturgy is largely a fixed service, although there are slots for some movable hymnography. There is an alleluia, a prokeimenon, and troparia. The liturgy also contains a slot for insertion of the canon at the beatitudes.

1.2. Innovations in verb paradigms: 16th-18th century reforms

Reforms in the RCS past tense system constitute the first of the two historical upheavals examined in this dissertation. Indeed, it would not be an exaggeration to state that the history of RCS is a history of reforms aimed at normalization. As Zhivov observes, "Лингвистические исправления являются постоянным элементом книжного дела в древней Руси, во многих случаях они осуществляются вполне последовательно, так что нормализация – это обычный, а не исключительный феномен языковой установки восточнославянских книжников" (1998:7).

¹⁷ Basil the Great was bishop of Caesarea and a leading churchman in the 4th century. Macarius the Great, also called Macarius the Egyptian, was among the most influential Desert Fathers of Egypt, and a disciple of St. Anthony the Great.

We begin this discussion of innovations in RCS verbal paradigms with some background on the OCS and Old Russian preterite systems. Old Church Slavonic (OCS), like RCS, had aorist, imperfect, and perfect tenses. (The pluperfect, which is rarely used in these languages, is not discussed here.) With respect to their meanings, Lunt states, "The imperfect specifies an action coordinated with a fact or act in the past: this point of reference may or may not be present in the context. The aorist has no such specification—it is merely an event. The aorist thus functions largely as the story-telling device which presents a chain of events, while the imperfect gives the background events or stops to concentrate on an action being performed at a certain moment" (1965:136). The perfect, on the other hand, "express[es] an action which took place in the past, but whose results are still significant" (ibid:98). Gasparov 2001 describes these three tenses in a similar way, as do Diels 1932-34 and Valitskii 1876, to name a few grammars of OCS. OCS grammars give full paradigms for these tenses, and demonstrate that all grammatical persons can act as the subject for any of these tenses.

These tenses are also, of course, attested in Old Russian.¹⁸ Old Russian is different from RCS, although both acted as the literary language of medieval Rus' until the rise of modern Russian in the 17th-18th centuries.¹⁹ Van Schooneveld observes that in Old Russian, the perfect was opposed to the aorist and imperfect in that it was a compound tense, composed of the auxiliary *быти* plus an *l*-participle form, and the aorist and imperfect were simple tenses (1959:2-3). Semantically, however, there was no perfective vs. aorist/imperfect opposition. He states that the imperfect "denotes a process anterior to the moment of the utterance, the consequences of which do not last beyond the duration of the process," whereas the aorist implies nothing more than anteriority to the time of the speech act. The perfect, on the other hand, "denotes a process anterior to the moment of the utterance which, in contradistinction to the main body of the story, already belongs to objective knowledge" (ibid:165). Van Schooneveld refrains from assigning an evidential quality to the Old Russian perfective.²⁰

Now the discussion turns to the specific reform concerning tense forms used with 2nd-person singular subjects. This reform was noted formally only in the first grammars of RCS to be published, but it can be perceived earlier thanks to Zaliznjak's appendix in the 2008 third edition of *Слово о полку Игореве*, which discusses the use of past tenses with the 2nd-person singular subject in Old Russian documents. This appendix demonstrates that in 11th-12th century documents, and in later documents that imitate the style of older ones, there is an oscillation in forms between the perfect and aorist tenses used with the 2nd-person singular. In later documents, however, including all *letopisi* except for the *Повесть временных лет*, the perfect is the only past tense used with the 2nd-person singular. Moreover, in all documents Zaliznjak examines that do oscillate between the perfect and aorist for the 2nd-person singular, he has discovered rules that govern the use of one form or another. Zaliznjak describes one major rule relating to the 2nd- person singular subject as follows: "...в придаточных, вводимых

¹⁸ Van Schooneveld examines the following texts: the *Primary Chronicle*, the *Tale of Igor's Host*, *Vita of Boris and Gleb*, the *Travel Description* by Abbot Daniel, and the *Testament of Vladimir Monomach*. Van Schooneveld selected such texts because preterite forms are especially found in narrative texts.

¹⁹ The question of the similarity between Old Russian and RCS is complicated. There can be different views on what constitutes a similarity, and how similarity is connected with understanding. See Zhivov 1998 for a discussion of this topic.

²⁰ Van Schooneveld states that Old Russian tenses and aspects are "always distinct semantic categories which operate autonomously" (1959:165).

изъяснительным *яко* и в придаточных относительных практически всегда выступает перфект, а не аорист..." (ibid:108).

In the 16th century grammars of RCS were written for the first time. These grammars laid out a past tense system that was different from the inherited system found in liturgical texts.²¹ According to the grammars, the 2nd-person singular form of each past tense was to take only the form of the inherited perfect tense. The fact that the prescribed grammar was different from the inherited system is why the system is here called "reformed." Grammarians including Smotritskij, Gerasimov, and Zizanij listed past tense paradigms that contained as the 2nd-person singular form the etymological perfect in an otherwise etymologically aorist paradigm. Maksim the Greek implemented the new paradigms in his correction of liturgical texts in the mid-16th century. Epifanij Slavinetiskij, under the orders of Patriarch Nikon, continued the innovations with a wave of new book corrections. This section discusses the reforms in past tense verb paradigms.

A brief history of pre-16th century Church Slavonic in Rus'

Looking back at the history of Church Slavonic in Rus', we may note that literary texts were imported from Bulgaria and began to function in Rus' after its Christianization in the beginning of the 11th century. Having acquired these Bulgarian texts, the Rus'ians were left to copy and disseminate them. Certain manuscripts were flawed from the very beginning due to poor translations from Greek, and the transmission of these and other texts over the centuries naturally resulted in incremental damage.²² As Cooper (2003:126) notes, East Slavic phonology, syntax, and lexicon either consciously or unconsciously crept into the language by the 12th-13th centuries.

Problems arose following the fall of Byzantium and Bulgaria to the Turks (in 1453 and at end of the 14th century, respectively). According to Cooper, "when first Bulgaria and then Byzantium fell to the Turks...drying up the sources of authoritative new manuscripts, the Rus'ians were faced with a quandary...[I]f...they were to be left on their own again, without a Greco-Bulgarian guarantor, how could they preserve Slavonic Scripture from slipping into corruption once more?" (ibid:129).

There was a pre-existing tendency in Rus' to improve and replace texts based on Byzantine originals (which had reached them via South Slavic) when textual corruption became a problem due to copying. It is therefore natural that 15th century Rus' would once again find a way to turn to the original Greek texts. There was a lack of knowledge of Greek in Rus', however, and in order to maintain the textual integrity of RCS two solutions were devised. One was the invitation of a foreigner, Maksim the Greek, for the purpose of correcting liturgical texts. The other was the codification of RCS grammar for the first time. Grammars of RCS were written to accord, as much as possible, with Greek paradigms (and, less commonly, with Latin ones). As Uspenskij (2002:427) notes, the modeling of RCS on Greek texts did not simply take the form of more faithful translations from Greek originals, but rather focused on remodeling the

²¹ Although RCS as such was not described formally until the 16th century, there nevertheless was an interim grammar of Slavonic tracing back to the 14th century. This grammar, *On the Eight Parts of Speech*, is discussed below.

²² For further information on textual corruption see Sobolevskij 1894.

Church Slavonic grammatical structures on the Greek originals, especially with respect to syntax and morphology.²³

Because Byzantine Greek did not have syncretism in the aorist and imperfect 2nd- and 3rd-person singular forms, it appears that syncretism in the RCS aorist and imperfect forms was perceived as an anomaly that had to be eliminated. The problem of syncretism was especially significant with respect to the aorist, which appeared with high frequency in narrative texts. One historical resolution of this issue had been to add the marker *-тъ* to the 3rd singular aorist form. This augment was first attested in certain OCS texts, such as in the Codex Assemanianus Gospel. One example can be seen in Mark 15:8: *...и възънвивъ народъ нача[▲]тъ просити...* (the same phrase in Zographensus includes the form *нача[▲]*) (Gasparov 2001:133).

The same *-тъ* augment was also used with the imperfect tense, where it was added to 3rd person singular and plural forms (ibid:133). The special meaning of the imperfect tense that differentiated it from the aorist and perfect had, however, already faded by the 16th century. It was only a relic of earlier past tense systems, and, as a result, there was widespread confusion of the aorist and the imperfect forms in the texts. There was especial confusion between the 3rd-person singular imperfect ending *-ше* and the 3rd-person plural aorist ending *-ша* (Uspenskij 2002:221-225).

Another historical resolution of the issue of syncretism was found in various secular texts dating from the 13th century. This was the use of the perfect tense form following a 2nd-person singular subject. Beginning in 1522, with the publication of Gerasimov's RCS translation of Donatus, a wave of grammarians began codifying Church Slavonic grammar in such a way that syncretism was entirely eliminated from conjugational paradigms. According to this reform, all new paradigms now included a compound auxiliary/*l*-participle form for the 2nd-person singular, and simplex forms for all other persons. This reform blurred the distinctions between the perfect and aorist tenses in RCS, both semantically and formally. It did not have much effect on the form or meaning of the imperfect tense, both of which had already faded by this time. The practical result of the reforms was that one general, over-arching past tense appeared to take shape.

By way of explication, let us examine briefly several presentations of the past tense system, first that of Donatus (translated in 1522), followed by the major redactions of Maxim the Greek (1525, 1531), the grammars of Zizaniij (1596) and Smotritskij (1619, 1648), and then finally the official reforms under Patriarch Nikon, as carried out by Slavinetskij (mid-17th century).²⁴ As a baseline, let us first examine the 14th century treatise *On the Eight Parts of Speech*, which can be taken to represent the earliest recorded grammar of Slavonic.

On the Eight Parts of Speech, 14th century

The first printed grammars of the 16th century were not the first attempts to systematize Slavic morphology. The first attested grammar treatise, *On the Eight Parts of Speech*, was an early 14th century Serbian manuscript compiled from two or more late Byzantine sources. Only three major tenses are identified: past, present, and future. The past tense is divided into four

²³ See Uspenskij 2002:427. According to Uspenskij syntactical and morphological influence came from Greek, whereas changes in pronunciation and orthography originated from South Slavic. Uspenskij goes on to state that the South Slavs were a mediator between Greek and Russian culture, and many changes from Greek filtered first through their liturgical language.

²⁴ Two other grammars are *Adelfotes* 1591 and Elder Evdokim's *Простословие*, 16th c. *Adelfotes* is a parallel grammar that gives Byzantine Greek paradigms next to Church Slavonic paradigms. In both *Adelfotes* and *Простословие* paradigms feature the perfect form with the 2nd-person singular subject.

sub-sections: the aorist, the imperfect, and two that are "offensive to the tongue"; Worth supposes these two offensive past tenses are to be the perfect and pluperfect (1983:21). Since the treatise does not mention the perfect, it is not possible for *On the Eight Parts of Speech* to give any evidence of paradigms in which the 2nd-person singular form shows contamination by the perfect. According to Worth, "It is clear from such paradigms that the original Serbian attempt to bend Slavonic to a Greek mold, together with the Russian copyist's deteriorating knowledge of Slavonic verbal morphology, resulted in a verb system that bore little resemblance to any Slavonic recension in any country" (1983:19).

Donatus 1522

Donatus's introduction to the Latin grammar *Ars minor* was translated into Russian in 1522 by Dmitrij Gerasimov. This was the longest of all medieval treatises in Russia. The original translation was intended as a grammar of Latin for Russians, and it left the Latin paradigms intact. The only two copies that have come down to us, however, give RCS paradigms and the Latin is almost completely absent.²⁵ According to Zhivov and Uspenskij 1986, Gerasimov aspired to give to Church Slavonic equivalents of Latin paradigms. For example, where Latin gives the imperfect, Gerasimov introduces the imperfective aorist; for the Latin perfect, he introduces the perfective aorist; for the pluperfect, he introduces the imperfect. Certain other verbs (*любити, учити, читати, хотѣти, слышати*) were assigned to specific past tense paradigms based on Aktionsart (*действие глагола*) (1986:272-3).²⁶ Aktionsart was a significant semantic operator in the Old Russian vernacular, and Zhivov and Uspenskij argue that the past tense system of RCS, the literary language of the time, was viewed through the prism of Aktionsart. In these copies there are no semantic oppositions established among the perfect, aorist, and imperfect tenses, and, as in the inherited system, there is 2nd-3rd person singular syncretism in the aorist and imperfect tense paradigms. Gerasimov introduces the 2nd- and 3rd-person singular etymologically perfect form into all past tense declensional paradigms in order to eliminate the inherited syncretism.

Maksim the Greek

Maksim the Greek was the primary 16th century redactor of liturgical texts. He was born around 1470 and educated in his native Greece before becoming a monk in Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos in 1506. Grand Prince Vasili III summoned him from Mount Athos to Muscovy to be a corrector of liturgical texts. Maksim is most famous for his redactions of the Толковая псалтырь (Augmented Psalter) and the Цветная триодъ (Pentecostarion), although he participated in the redaction of various other texts.²⁷ Maksim's primary contribution was his insistence on precision, and in his redactions he especially focused on distinguishing homophones or near homophones (Worth 1983:66). Maksim also revised the tense system in his redactions. Not everyone supported his redactions, however. He was called to trial first in 1525 and then in 1531 on counts of muddling sacral texts (the Psalter and the Triodion) to the point of heresy. The primary issue was that others perceived that he misused the past tense: specifically, he replaced 2nd- person singular aorist forms (минувшее время) with perfect forms (мимошедшее время). The issue of heresy largely arose with the mixing of past tense forms of

²⁵ See Worth 1983:76-165 for a discussion of Donatus.

²⁶ See Stoll 2001 for background reading on Aktionsart.

²⁷ A detailed list of the works translated by Maksim the Greek can be found in Cooper 2003:142.

быти.²⁸ Because the verb *быти* has an existential meaning, some contemporaries of Maksim felt that the aorist of this verb implied a continuation into the present time, whereas the perfect did not. For instance, Psalm 89 before correction read "Господи, прибежище бысть намъ," which Maksim corrected to "Господи, прибежище былъ еси намъ." Because he substituted the perfect for the aorist in contexts such as these, some of Maksim's contemporaries felt that he was limiting the eternal presence of God by excluding him from the present (Zhivov and Uspenskij 1986:263). Maksim's motivation for mixing past tense verbs is supposed to be the following:

Позиция Максима Грека кажется при этом совершенно ясной. Максим явно хотел приблизить русские церковнославянские тексты к их греческим оригиналам, передать в церковнославянском тексте всю ту информацию (в частности, грамматическую), которая содержалась в греческом первоисточнике. Это выражалось, в частности, в стремлении уподобить церковнославянскую глагольную парадигму греческой глагольной парадигме: поскольку в греческом в прошедших временах нет омонимии форм 2 и 3 лица, необходимо было избавиться от такой омонимии и в церковнославянском. Единственной церковнославянской парадигмой прошедшего времени, в которой 2 и 3 лицо ед. числа не совпадали, была парадигма перфекта, что и обуславливало выбор этой формы для разрешения омонимии...*При таком подходе перфектные и аористные формы оказывались непротивопоставленными по значению* (ibid: 260; *my italics*).

Of the various interpretations of the role Maksim played in the correction of linguistic texts, I have chosen to follow the argument of Zhivov and Uspenskij 1986.²⁹ According to their view, Maksim apparently did not perceive any semantic distinction among the aorist, imperfect, and perfect tenses, and was simply trying to resolve syncretism in the 2nd- and 3rd-person singular verb paradigms by patterning RCS more on Greek. The language of the Grand Duchy of Moscow (1340-1547) had already lost distinctions among the aorist, imperfect, and perfect: by this time the perfect was the only preterite used, and aorist and imperfect were petrified bookish forms (van Schooneveld 1959:6). If one considers that semantic distinctions among the tenses had already essentially been lost, then the reforms in the liturgical language could be perceived simply as an attempt to modernize, to rid the language of unnecessary forms. By

²⁸ For a thorough discussion see Zhivov and Uspenskij 1986.

²⁹ Cooper 2003 claims that when Maksim the Greek was called to Moscow, he knew neither Russian nor RCS. When he corrected RCS liturgical texts as instructed, he translated the Greek originals into Latin, and then his Latin was translated into RCS by Muscovite scribes, among whom was Dimitri Gerasimov (2003:141). Maksim dismissed Muscovite books as "corrupted and spoiled" and Slavic translators and scribes as "ignorant muses" (Nemirovskij 1964:41). Much of what is typically ascribed to Maksim actually should be ascribed to his assistants, who were native speakers of East Slavic and knew RCS extremely well (Cooper 2003: 143). In the end, though, it was Maksim who was tried, although he did not translate the texts into RCS. Nemirovskij 1964 writes that one of Maksim the Greek's own scribes described to the ecclesiastical court how he "trembled in terror" as he made the corrections that Maksim dictated to him. Of course, the scribe may have been trying to protect himself by blaming Maksim. Despite Maksim's lack of mastery of Slavonic, the court found him responsible for the errors that did occur (Nemirovskij 1964:37).

According to a conversation with Viktor Zhivov on February 3, 2010 Maksim did not know Slavonic or Russian when he arrived in Moscow, and Gerasimov did indeed help him at first with his book corrections. Later, Maksim the Greek did indeed master Slavonic, correcting books himself and translating from Greek into RCS. By 1550 Maksim the Greek corrected the Psalter by himself.

contrast, those who put him on trial perceived a semantic tense distinction of such significance that its violation was heretical.

Maksim the Greek was not the initiator of the change: he was using the same grammar system advocated by Gerasimov. The agreement between Maksim and Gerasimov regarding past tense paradigms may have arisen due to the fact that they worked together, since Gerasimov was Maksim's assistant during the 1519-1522 translation of the Augmented Psalter. In this translation of this Psalter Maksim not only maintains the innovative past tense system, but also expands its use.

Zizaniij 1596

Lavrentij Zizaniij is a grammarian who substituted the etymologically perfect grammatical form into all 2nd-person singular past tense paradigms. Zizaniij lists three past tenses in his 1596 grammar: *мимошедшее*, *протяженное*, and *пресовершенное*. Each of these tenses includes the etymologically perfect grammatical form for the 2nd-person singular. The *мимошедшее* and *пресовершенное* tenses look like the aorist, with the *мимошедшее* as the perfective aorist and the *пресовершенное* as the imperfective aorist. *Протяженное*, on the other hand, resembles the imperfect, but Zizaniij's grammar lacks plural forms for this tense.

Smotritskij 1619, 1648

Meletij Smotritskij (1577-1633) was the most influential of the 16th and 17th century grammarians who promulgated the reformed past tense system. Smotritskij was archbishop of Polatsk, bishop of Vitebsk and Mstislau, and archimandrite of the monastery of the Vilinus Orthodox Brotherhood of the Descent of the Holy Spirit. In 1628 he converted from the Orthodox Christian Church to the Uniate Church and became the Uniate archbishop of Hierapolis and archimandrite of a monastery in Volhynian Derman. Smotritskij was a polemical writer as well as a philologist, and wrote a number of works outlining RCS grammar, the most famous of which was his *Грамматика*. In his grammatical paradigms, he lists the following past tenses: *преходящее*, *прешедшее*, *мимошедшее*, and *непредельное*.³⁰ Each of his conjugational paradigms features simplex forms for all persons except the 2nd-person singular. For 2nd-person singular subjects the verb is a compound with the auxiliary "to be" and the *l*-participle. The following four tables display Smotritskij's conjugation for each of his four designated past tenses, with the critical 2nd-person singular forms boldfaced:

³⁰ Smotritskij defines the tenses as follows. The definitions are all direct quotations:

"Преходящее есть имже несовершенно прошлое действие или страдание знаменуем: иако, бихъ : бихся, или биен есмь и быхъ...Прешедшее есть, имже совершенно прошлое действие или страдание знаменуем: иако, бяхся, или биянь есмь, и быхъ...Мимошедшее есть, имже древле совершенно прешедшее действие или страдание знаменуемъ: иако, бяхъ : бяхоя, или биянь бывахъ [Обаче ныне не во употреблении, прешедшему и непредельному место сие наполняюшу.]...Непредельное есть, имже вмале совершенно прошлое действие или страдание знаменуемъ: иако, побихся, или побиянь быхъ" (2007:190-191).

Table 1: Past tense conjugations according to Smotriskij's grammar

преходящее време

азъ	чтохъ	мы	чтохомъ
ты	чель еси, чла/ло еси	вы	чтосте
он, оно, она	чте	они	чтоша

прешедшее време

азъ	читахъ	мы	читахомъ
ты	читаль еси, читала/ло еси	вы	читасте
он, оно, она	читаше	они	читаху

мимошедшее време

азъ	читаахъ	мы	читаахомъ
ты	читааль еси, читаала/ало еси	вы	читаасте
он, оно, она	читааше	они	читааху

непредельное време

азъ	прочтохъ	мы	прочтохомъ
ты	прочель еси, прочла/ло еси	вы	прочтосте
он, оно, она	проче	они	прчтоша

From these conjugations it looks like the tenses called "преходящее" and "непредельное" are aorists and that they form an aspect pair with the former imperfective and the latter perfective. Both прешедшее and мимошедшее look like the imperfect tense, but мимошедшее seems to represent an earlier stage of this tense: it has the vowel length that later dropped out to become the прешедшее tense. What we call the perfect tense is embedded in the 2nd-person singular slot in these paradigms.

Interestingly, by the mid-17th century Smotriskij was forgotten as the author of *Грамматика*. Some writings of Maksim the Greek were used as a foreword to the 1648 Moscow edition of *Грамматика*, and the text was ascribed to him instead of Smotriskij.³¹

³¹ According to Worth (1983:64) Smotriskij had been forgotten and his grammar ascribed to Maksim the Greek by 1794; according to a February, 2010 conversation with Viktor Zhivov, this had actually occurred by 1648.

The correction of liturgical books under Patriarch Nikon (1652-1658)

A number of RCS textual reforms were codified under Patriarch Nikon in the mid-17th century, reforms which remained until very recently "как-то в тени" (Dmitrievskij 2004:25). Part of the reason for reform under Nikon was the desire to purify liturgical texts of innovations and mistakes, since there were various versions of liturgical texts floating around different churches and monasteries. Patriarch Nikon's goal in reforming liturgical books was to return to the "original" source of the material; to this end, he turned to Greek manuscripts.

The reforms of Patriarch Nikon were intended to align Russian liturgical rubrics and texts with ancient Greek and Slavonic practices and texts and, according to Meyendorff 1991, Nikon believed that the books were being corrected according to ancient Greek and Slavonic texts. In reality, however, they were corrected according to the contemporary Greek texts put out by the Kievan press (Cooper 2003:91). Dmitrievskij asserts,

... книжная справа при патриархе Никоне, да и во все последующее время при его преемниках велась на Московском печатном дворе не по старым харатейным греческим и славянским церковно-богослужбным рукописям, а по печатным греческим книгам венецианской типографии и славянским (сербским) венецианской и южнорусских типографий (2004:26).

Nikon's text correctors continued the earlier attempt to model RCS on Greek, which lacked 2nd-3rd person syncretism in the past tense paradigms. They continued substituting perfect verb forms into all past tense environments with a 2nd-person singular subject. The text correctors of the 17th century were not innovators, but rather they built on the innovation that had already begun. Only a few liturgical books had been corrected previously, though, which is why there was room for major book corrections under Nikon.

Tsar Alexei planned to unify the Greeks and the Russians and to forge a new Byzantium, but to this end he needed to change the prevalent Russian view that the Greeks had lost the true faith following the Council of Florence and the subsequent fall of Constantinople (Meyendorff 1991:222). The tsar was the main force behind the reforms, and he selected Patriarch Nikon to carry out his program. The reforms began after a Church Council in 1654. Nikon's personal role in the reform was limited, however, to rubrical changes, and that the patriarch had little to do with the textual reforms. Instead, it was the scholars appointed by Nikon who carried out the textual reforms. The most important of the textual reformers was the Ukrainian monk Epifanij Slavinetskij, and it was he who was responsible for the language reforms that included the new codification of Smotritskij's paradigms for past tense verbs.

Epifanij Slavinetskij

Kievan hieromonk and scholar Epifanij Slavinetskij (d. 1675) was Nikon's chief advisor on the matter of the book reform, and one of the chief promulgators of the reform, although he was the least visible. In 1649 Tsar Alexei wrote to Metropolitan Silvester Kosov of Kiev, asking him to send two learned monks to Moscow for the primary purpose of preparing a new translation of the Bible from Greek. Because they were also to assist in the correction of liturgical books, skill with the Greek language was the most important criterion for a candidate. Slavinetskij and Arsenios the Greek were selected. Slavinetskij, who arrived in Moscow in 1649,

three years before Nikon's ascent to the patriarchal throne, was a major cultural force in the Russian church from his arrival until his death.

The majority of Slavinetskij's time in Moscow "...was spent producing fat volumes of translations from the Greek fathers and assisting Russian churchmen to conform the liturgical books to the Greek standard" (Bushkovitch 1992:153). We know relatively little about Slavinetskij's specific activity in correcting the books; we know only that he was engaged in this undertaking during the years that Nikon was issuing new volumes. Over the course of Slavinetskij's twenty-six years in Moscow, he translated a large number of texts from Greek and Latin into Slavonic, texts in the fields of homiletics, patristics, arts and sciences, and Scripture.³² He translated the entire Bible of 1663 (the first complete printed edition in Russia), a collection of patristic translations in 1665 from Greek into RCS, and he was also the one who corrected the Menaion.³³

Books were redacted so that they would "slavishly [follow] the original, often keeping the same word-order and even creating calques, in an attempt to be absolutely faithful to the original. These were not liturgical scholars, able to work with and compare ancient manuscripts, or to make critical evaluations of texts. They were chosen for the task simply because they knew Greek" (Meyendorff 1991:224).³⁴ Slavinetskij's style of translation was "marked by a very self-conscious literalism...[he]...tried to reproduce the Greek text as literally as possible, even when this decision rendered it hard to understand" (Bushkovitch 1992:155).³⁵

Slavinetskij continued and expanded the codification of the new past tense system that was begun in the 16th century.³⁶ Slavinetskij, like the earlier grammarians, perceived the syncretism of the 2nd- and 3rd-person singular forms in the aorist and imperfect tenses to be a hindrance to modeling RCS on Greek. Slavinetskij knew about the activities of Maksim the Greek and imitated his work, using only the etymologically perfect tense form with 2nd-person singular subjects. Slavinetskij, like Maksim the Greek, must not have perceived semantic distinctions among the past tenses when he corrected the texts. This was most likely due to the fact that both Maksim the Greek and Slavinetskij interpreted the grammar of RCS through the prism of the Russian vernacular, in which the aorist and imperfect were not used.

The Nikonian reforms are especially significant to study of liturgical texts because the new editions printed under Nikon remain essentially unchanged to the present day (Meyendorff 1991:131). In the post-Nikonian era the past tense reforms were carried only a little further. In his late 18th century grammar, Iustin Vishnevskii also inserts into his verbal paradigms the etymologically perfect grammatical form for the 2nd-person singular subject (Uspenskij 2002:229). The Nikonian editions, however, represented the last major wave of changes to RCS.

³² See Bushkovitch 1992:153 for a list of works he translated. Slavinetskij was primarily a scholar, but he was also a preacher; his sermons form the largest part of his original writings.

³³ Meyendorff does not specify that Slavinetskij reformed the Menaion, but this was an assertion made by Professor Viktor Zhivov.

³⁴ Meyendorff argues that the books on which the new Slavic redactions were based were of the contemporary Greek usage, rather than ancient Greek and Slavic books.

³⁵ One result of these corrections is that RCS word order is nearly identical to that of Greek in the revised texts. For example, if one compares a Menaion service that was composed in Byzantine Greek with its RCS translation, the result will be an almost word-for-word translation, differing primarily in the fact that the Russian lacks the direct articles of Greek. During the time of the text renovations, Greek services were retranslated into RCS in a literal fashion, and then services originally composed in RCS were edited to mimic the new translations.

³⁶ It was not only Slavinetskij who corrected texts in this way, but also others working in the Moscow Printing Office (Печатный дворъ), the primary publisher of RCS texts in the Slavic world.

The legacy of the past tense reforms

Maksim the Greek redacted the Augmented Psalter (the book of Psalms supplemented with other hymnography) and the Pentecostarion in the early 1520's.³⁷ In the 1650s, under Patriarch Nikon, the Sluzhebnik and Trebnik were corrected. Slavinetskij corrected the Festal Menaion. He also reformed the Menaion in the last two decades of the 17th century. This was the last book to be corrected; after this, reforms were halted due to fear of Old Believer reactions. The Great Canon and Morning and Evening Prayers were also reformed at some point, most likely during the time of the Nikonian reforms. All of these books reflect the verb reforms to this day.

The Bible, with the exception of the Psalms, is one of the liturgical works that does not reflect the verb reforms. Slavinetskij was brought from Kiev to Moscow for the purpose of publishing a new Bible, and it was published in 1663. This Bible was essentially a reproduction of the 1584 Ostrih Bible with only minor corrections. Slavinetskij intended to make a new translation of the Bible from the Greek, or to make a newer version of the Ostrih text, but he died in 1675 without finishing this project. One could assume that he regarded the 1663 Bible as a temporary measure until the publication of a corrected translation.³⁸ The reforms also did not extend to any more books before Nikon was deposed.

The result of these incomplete corrections is that there are now two different past tense systems in RCS: one which reflects the inherited system and the other which reflects innovations on that system. Consider the following examples from texts that exhibit the limitation of the reforms. Examples (5) and (6) are from Morning Prayers and illustrate the reformed system: the 2nd-person singular subject takes the perfect, whereas the 1st-person singular takes the aorist. These verbs are boldfaced.

- (5) От сна востав, благодарю Тя, Святая Троице, яко многия ради Твояе благости и долготерпения не **прогневался еси** на мя, лениваго и грешнаго, ниже **погубил** мя **еси** со беззаконьми моими; но **человеколюбовствовал еси** обычно и в нечаянии лежащаго **воздвигл** мя **еси**, во еже утреневати и славословити державу Твою....

Having arisen from sleep I thank you, O Holy Trinity, because out of your goodness and patience you **were not angry** with me, the lazy and sinful, nor did you **destroy** me with my iniquities; but you **had love for mankind** as usual and **raised** me up from my accursed bed, in order that I keep the morning watch and glorify your power.³⁹

- (6) Боже, очисти мя грешнаго, яко николиже **сотворих** благое пред Тобою

O God, cleanse me a sinner, for I have never **done** good before you.

³⁷ Kovtun states that the modern RCS Psalter has a "rather consistent" replacement of the aorist form with the perfect form (Kovtun 1973:108).

³⁸ Information derives from a November 18, 2009 e-mail correspondence from Viktor Zhivov.

³⁹ Note that the Молитвословъ used for this dissertation is written in pre-revolutionary Russian orthography, rather than RCS orthography.

The Psalter also represents the reformed system. Example (7) is an excerpt from Psalm 50/51; the 1st- and 3rd-person singular subjects take the aorist, whereas the 2nd-person singular takes the perfect form. These verbs are boldfaced.

- (7) Тебе Единому **согреших**, и лукавая пред Тобою **сотворих**, яко да оправдишия во словесех Твоих и победиши, внегда судити Ти. Се бо, в беззакониих зачат есмь, и во гресех **роди** мя мати моя. Се бо, истину **возлюбил еси**, безвестная и тайная премудрости Твоя **явил ми еси**.

Before you only have I **sinned** and **done** this evil before you, that I might be justified in your words and be victorious when you are judged. For behold, in iniquities I was conceived and in sins my mother **bore** me. For behold, you **loved** truth, you **revealed** to me the unknown and secret things of your wisdom.

Example (8), in contrast, is from the Divine Liturgy, and it illustrates the inherited system: the perfect (boldfaced) is used with the 3rd-person singular subject.

- (8) Видехом Свет истинный, прияхом Духа Небеснаго, обретохом веру истинную, Нераздельней Троице покланяемся: **Та бо нас спасла есть**.

We have seen the true light, we have received the Holy Spirit, we have found the true faith, worshipping the undivided Trinity, **it has saved us**.

One past tense or three? The codification of the RCS past temporal system

When it came time to codify RCS in the 16th and 17th centuries, it is likely that different people may have projected onto the language their own expectations or perceptions of what RCS *ought* to be. Many 16th and 17th century reformers started from the viewpoint of grammar theory (which they constructed based on classical Latin and Greek), and then they applied theory to texts; many of their opponents, however, viewed the RCS temporal system through the prism of their own vernacular, and then extrapolated this to reach their theories of the grammar. Mathiesen 1972 emphasizes that the grammar of the RCS verbal system will be analyzed differently, depending on the first language of the grammarian. Clearly one's native language, or one's *expectation* of the RCS grammar system (based on Latin or Greek), may have influenced the codification of RCS.

The following statement, made concerning the codification of OCS, applies to RCS as well: "To do this language justice, one must refrain from artificially suppressing the fluidity and uncertainty of its forms, since in practice they were never fully fixed. *The latter is true to even greater extent about the meaning of those forms*. When one tries to describe the distinction between...alternative forms of the past tense, for example, one has to take into account that few if any 'minimal pairs' of the use of those forms are available in the data, and that there was never a full consistency in the way these forms were treated in different texts" (Gasparov 2001:23; my italics). The task of projecting a cohesive, comprehensive temporal system onto RCS naturally resulted in some interference from one's own expectations.

From grammar to text

According to Zhivov and Uspenskij 1986, 16th and 17th century grammarians and text correctors took grammar theory as their starting point. They began with their interpretation of what ought to be the "correct" structure of the verbal paradigms. For these reformers, the emphasis was on rules rather than on the written tradition of the language. Gerasimov analyzed RCS through the prism of Latin grammar, starting from the point of view that Latin is a liturgical language more developed and with higher prestige than RCS, and then molded RCS data to fit Latin paradigms. Most other reformers, such as Maksim the Greek, took Greek to be their "model" language for RCS.⁴⁰

From liturgical text tradition and vernacular to grammar

Reformers such as Maksim the Greek did not perceive a semantic difference among the aorist, imperfect, and perfect tenses; for them, therefore, the forms could be mixed. In contrast, opponents of the reforms perceived nuances that were derived from their own perceptions as speakers of living Russian dialects (Zhivov and Uspenskij 1986:261). Speaking about Old Russian, though the statement is equally valid for RCS, van Schooneveld warns that it is important "...to avoid projecting the pattern of Modern Russian upon Old Russian... Because the linguistic feeling of a modern Russian does not acknowledge the existence in his language of an imperfect and an aorist opposed to the perfect, and tends to render all these forms with the modern Russian -l preterite, there is no reason to assume that there was no such difference in Old Russian..." (1959:7). Mathiesen 1972 also touches on the phenomenon of individual perceptions of RCS grammar. In his subchapters on modern standard languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, and Serbo-Croatian) as vehicles for RCS, Mathiesen argues that the results of analysis of the RCS verbal system depend partly on the native language of the analyzer.

If a native speaker of Russian at the time of Maksim the Greek were to have examined RCS through the prism of his own native dialect, he may have projected Aktionsart categories onto RCS. According to Zhivov and Uspenskij 1986, native Russian speakers would have read a special inchoative meaning into the aorist that corresponded more to a present perfect tense. The following example illustrates the fact that the aorist may have had an inchoative meaning: *сѣде одѣсную отца* (you sat at the right hand of the Father). This aorist was interpreted to indicate the inception of the action, and to imply that it continues into the present and has the potential for continuation into the future. Such a reading of the aorist is compatible with Orthodox theology, in that God is unbounded by time. When documents replaced the aorist with the perfect form, the resulting line was *сѣдѣлъ еси одѣсную отца*, which, in the mind of a medieval Russian speaker, would indicate a delimitative action that only existed in the past tense (Zhivov and Uspenskij 1986:261).

If native speakers interpreted a semantic difference among these tenses to the degree that a substitution of one past tense for another would be the cause of heresy trials, then we are left with the practical conclusion that there were three formal past tenses with three temporal semantic structures. Some native speakers, however, did not perceive a semantic distinction among the tenses. This group includes Smotriskij and many others. For them, it would appear

⁴⁰ The desire to eliminate 2nd-3rd person singular syncretism in past tense paradigms was an attempt to project Greek grammar onto RCS, since Greek grammar lacks this syncretism. One may note the irony of the situation. Byzantine Greek had a perfect, imperfect, and aorist, as did the inherited RCS system, and text correctors eliminated this major similarity between Greek and RCS for the sake of a relatively small gain.

that if there is a single past-tense meaning, there does not appear to be any harm in splicing the formal past tenses together. In the end, the question of whether there was one past tense, two, or three, must depend on the specific native speaker.

1.3. The Russian Revolution and the Russian Orthodox diaspora

The first historical process examined here that resulted in a change in RCS was the codification of a strict rule for the use of past tense forms. The second was the Bolshevik Revolution and the subsequent repression of religion in the Soviet Union.⁴¹ The Revolution led to wide-scale emigration of believers, creating a diaspora situation in which hymnographers were cut off from traditional institutional structures, such as seminaries, libraries, and also, of course, text editors. The present section gives a context for the forces that made language change inevitable.

The following paragraph, written by a high clergyman, describes the situation of disarray in the Russian church following the Revolution:⁴²

Революция 1917 г., разрушившая вековую государственность России, повлекла за собою тяжелые последствия для Русской Православной Церкви. Первым следствием большевистского переворота было нарушение единства Русской Церкви. Политические сдвиги, гражданская война, прекращение связи с окраинами империи, потеря русских территорий и, наконец, эмиграция – все это оторвало часть русских людей от церковных центров. Если в Польше, Прибалтике и на Дальнем Востоке епархии и сохранили свою организацию, то связь с патриархом Тихоном и его Церковным Управлением была потеряна. Еще сложнее было положение на территориях, охваченных гражданской войной или среди эмиграции за пределами Советского государства. Множества православных людей оказались 'овцами без пастырей' и требовали скорейшего церковного устройства (Shchukin 1972:1).

Patriarch Tikhon, realizing the dangers of separation of a diocese from Moscow, issued Decree No. 362 in 1920 that stated, "В случае, если епархия окажется вне всякой связи с Высшим Церковным Управлением, епархиальный архиерей входит в сношение с архиереями соседних епархий на предмет организации высшей инстанции церковной власти" (ibid:1). The bishops outside Russia did indeed set up their own administration, which became the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia (ROCOR).⁴³

⁴¹ "The Bolshevik revolution quite radically transformed the condition of church life...the new authorities, within a few weeks of the October Revolution, began massive persecution of the Church's faithful: of priests, monks, and laity. This anti-ecclesiastical and anti-clerical policy was to lead to ruthless extermination both of religion among the people and of the Church institution" (Seide 1990:12).

⁴² See also Pol'skij 1995 and Kashevarov 1999.

⁴³ In 1920, a group of bishops and laity, who had ended up in Constantinople following evacuation from Russia, convened a Council of Russian bishops in the diaspora, with the blessing of the Patriarch of Constantinople. This group had not been aware of Patriarch Tikhon's Decree, but themselves came to the same solution to the issue of being separated from Moscow: to form local Church administrations. These bishops formed the Higher Ecclesiastical Authority Abroad. Soon after, they were joined by many more Russian bishops who had left their dioceses in Russia, together with the people under their charge. Ruling bishops outside of Russia from Finland, Latvia, Manchuria, China, Japan, and North America also joined them. Altogether, thirty-four bishops who were separated from Moscow joined together into a temporary administration for the diocese abroad.

Since this church was dispersed all over the world, there was an immediate need to set up printing presses to print liturgical books. Their first printing press was at a monastery in Ladomirovo in the Carpathians. There was a need for more clergy to care for those abroad, and there were many ordinations of priests and consecrations of bishops. Before his death in 1936, Metropolitan Anthony Khrapovitsky, the first hierarch of ROCOR, consecrated bishops for Canada, the United States, Manchuria, England, and China. Churches were built, and theological schools were established in Paris and Harbin.

Upon the death of Metropolitan Anthony, the Synod of Bishops chose Metropolitan Anastassy as his successor. World War II was difficult on the members of the Russian diaspora already in Europe, and it also forced many more Russians to flee to the Balkans, Poland, and the Baltics, and to head for Central Europe. Metropolitan Anastassy lived in Belgrade during the German occupation. At the time of Yugoslavia, after the Soviet occupation, he moved first to Austria and then to Switzerland.

After the war, in 1946, Metropolitan Anastassy moved to Munich. ROCOR was disorganized as a result of the war, and its Synod of Bishops organized a Resettlement Committee. This committee worked to obtain visas for Russians to move to countries across the Atlantic. The difficult situation of the Russian diaspora was compounded by post-war forced repatriation to the USSR. Soviet "non-returners" and their families who were repatriated by force would end up imprisoned in concentration camps for their defection. Because of the Church Abroad's efforts to obtain visas for countries across the Atlantic many members of the Russian diaspora were able to escape repatriation. By the end of 1950 most of the refugees had already resettled across the Atlantic, many in the U.S.A. and Canada, but also in Argentina. Metropolitan Anastassy moved to New York, which became the new center of the Church Abroad with its Synod of Bishops. That same year a Council of Bishops was convened, and the

The Council in Constantinople chose Metropolitan Anthony Khrapovitsky of Kiev and Volyn' as their leader. Metropolitan Anthony was the eldest hierarch of the entire Russian church and had been a candidate for Patriarch. The Council formed its own executive branch, called the Supreme Ecclesiastical Authority Abroad. This administrative branch moved from Constantinople to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1921, following an invitation of Patriarch Varnava of Serbia. That same year the first All-Diaspora Church Council of Russian Bishops, Clergymen and Laymen was convened in Sremski Karlovci. The Council discussed the organization and administration of church life abroad and the question of aiding the starving in Russia. They also made an appeal to the International Conference in Genoa for aid to Russia.

In August, 1922, a Council of the Bishops of the Church Abroad was held in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and the bishops agreed to organize a temporary Synod of Bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia (ROCOR, also called the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad). The Soviet government opposed these activities and arrested Patriarch Tikhon in 1922. In July 1927 Metropolitan Sergius of Nizhni-Novgorod, the Locum Tenens of the Patriarchal Throne of Moscow, issued his *Декларация*, a declaration of the loyalty of the Russian Orthodox Church to the Soviet government, and solidarity with its joys and sorrows. This document was published in the official Soviet newspaper *Известия* one month later.

The Synod Abroad rejected the Declaration and issued its own decree: "Заграничная часть Русской Православной Церкви должна прекратить административные сношения с Московской Церковной властью, ввиду невозможности нормальных сношений с нею и ввиду порабощения ее безбожной советской властью. ... Она не отделяет себя от своей Матери-Церкви и не считает себя автокефальной. Она по-прежнему считает себя своей главой Патриаршего Местоблюстителя митрополита Петра" (ibid:2).

The Synod abroad supported Metropolitan Peter and other bishops who were then killed by the Soviets for refusing to submit to Metropolitan Sergius. Metropolitan Sergius demanded that the Synod Abroad sign a document promising loyalty to the Soviet state, and the Synod Abroad wrote its Epistle of 1928. This document decisively rejected the proposal, declaring it uncanonical and exceedingly harmful to the Church. The Synod, which considered itself the free part of the Russian Church, was now completely separated from Moscow. The goal of ROCOR was always the future reunification with the church in Russia following the fall of the Soviet Union.

participants traveled to Holy Trinity Monastery in Jordanville, New York. This monastery became the site of a new seminary, and their St. Job of Pochaev Printing Press became the new disseminator of liturgical and religious books.

The Church Abroad had always been intended to be a temporary administrative body until the fall of the Soviet Union, and the reunification with the Moscow Patriarchate occurred in 2006. The Church Abroad continues to exist to this day, but in a different form, as a semi-autonomous jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate.

All in all the 1917 Revolution resulted in chaos for the Russian church and the self-organization of Russian church administration abroad. As a result of this turmoil the clergy and the faithful were cut off from traditional structures that included seminaries and theological libraries. When people needed to compose new church services to new saints, there was little recourse to existing institutions. Chapters 4-6 discuss the hymns of Valeria Hoecke, whose innovations with the language were a result of the diaspora situation.

Chapter 2

Person and perspective in Russian Church Slavonic

2.0 Introduction

Russian Church Slavonic, in its liturgical use, is a highly specific, ritualized language, a fact which enables us to discuss its genres and person roles in idealized terms. In this chapter I will discuss the nature of person in RCS, and the relationship of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons to each other.

Each written language is attested in various types of texts, and it is in theory possible to distribute the whole corpus of a given language in such a way that one set of texts would have one grammar and another a different grammar. This is the approach that Benveniste 1971 takes: he divides the corpus of French into *histoire* and *discourse*. In like manner, I start by dividing RCS into two standard genres: narrative and discourse. I begin with fairly traditional definitions of these genres, which will be modified throughout the course of this chapter to better adapt to the RCS system.

Narrative is a recapitulation of past experience, in which language is used to structure a sequence of real or fictitious events and states. Discourse, in its broadest definition, is the communication of thoughts. The definition I use for discourse is articulated from a psycholinguistic perspective, namely it is "a dynamic process of expression and comprehension governing the performance of people during linguistic interaction" (Crystal 2003:142). One aspect of discourse, which is taken here to be axiomatic, is that there must be both a Speaker and a potential Addressee. Another basic assumption, at least for RCS, is that a narrative text can shift into discourse, and discourse can transition into narrative; however, the text intrinsically belongs to an overall genre to which it returns despite deviations.

After defining how I use the term "person," I will analyze how person functions in RCS narrative and discourse. I reduce the system down to its skeleton, to basic abstractions, to show how it works. Describing the system in an idealized way is possible for such a formulaic and stylized liturgical language. Other language forms will naturally not have such a clean system as that discussed here, although that system may have some extensions in other languages.

This chapter is divided into four primary sections. Section 2.1 discusses the 3rd person and its operations in narrative and discourse; §2.2 discusses the 1st person in narrative and discourse; §2.3 discusses the 2nd person and how it functions in discourse; §2.4 discusses predications formed with the 2nd person subject. The terms 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person indicate grammatical categories, and are used which express the linguistic encoding used for a verb form. When discussing roles in a speech event the terms I use the standard terms Speaker and Addressee. Finally, I introduce the term "Other" to designate the person who is neither Speaker nor Addressee.

Translations of prayers and canons into English are all mine. Bible translations, on the other hand, are from the King James Bible. There are some places where the RCS-English Bible

translations do not match up exactly; this is because the King James Bible is translated from the Mesoretic Hebrew text, whereas the RCS bible is translated from the Greek Septuagint.⁴⁴

2.0.1. Texts examined

Although this study focuses on Menaion hagiographic hymns and the Great Canon of Andrew of Crete,⁴⁵ but a sizeable collection of other RCS liturgical texts, including the Gospels, the Old Testament, Morning and Evening Prayers (from the *МОЛИТВОСЛОВЪ*), and the Divine Liturgy, Matins, and Vespers services from the Horologion (*ЧАСОСЛОВЪ*), are also examined. As stated above, this dissertation focuses on RCS as it is used liturgically—in the context of church services. There is much of RCS, particularly in Scripture, that is not used liturgically; such Old Testament chapters as Judges and Deuteronomy are thus not examined here. Hereafter, I use the term "Scripture" in reference only to those Biblical passages that are used liturgically.

As discussed in Chapter 1, reforms in the past tense were made from the 16th-18th centuries. According to these reforms, the perfect is used only with 2nd-person singular subjects, and the aorist and imperfect are used with all other subjects. The Menaion, the Great Canon, and Old Testament Psalms reflect these reforms. Scripture (minus the Psalms), on the other hand, does not reflect the reforms. Regardless of the difference in the extent of the past tense reforms, there is an inherent genre-based demarcation between texts constructed around direct, overt 2nd person address (which I classify as discourse) and texts built on other persons (which tend to be narrative). When one surveys these texts as a whole, it appears that texts that are primarily discourse (the Great Canon, many Psalms, and those Menaion hymns that are addressed to saints) happen to use the reformed past tense system. Narrative texts, on the other hand, tend to feature the inherited system.

2.02. What is person?

As is well know, the term "person" can refer to a verbal agreement category; it can also refer to the pronouns with which the verb agrees. As a formal grammatical category, person expresses the distinction between the Speaker of an utterance, the Addressee of the utterance, and a third party discussed that is neither the Speaker nor the Addressee (the Other). As a grammatical category, person is similar to gender, number, case, tense, etc.

As a pragmatic category, person deals with the role of participants in discourse. For the sake of a brief definition of person, I will use English pronouns; RCS functions in the same way. In terms of discourse, "there is a fundamental, and ineradicable, difference between the first and second person, on the one hand, and the third person on the other" (Lyons 1977:638). For example, the 1st and 2nd persons are expressed by the words "I" and "you," whereas the 3rd person does not have a specific designation—the 3rd person can be referenced by a number of different lexical items or phrases. First and 2nd person forms are inherently deictic, in that their interpretation depends on extralinguistic properties of the utterance in which they occur. The 1st person is always the Speaker and the 2nd person is always the Addressee, but the referent of these identities changes depending which of the two persons speaks. Jakobson (1971:131) writes of "I" and "you" as "shifters," borrowing an earlier term devised by Jespersen 1929.

⁴⁴ Capitalizations and italics are retained here in the text of the King James Bible, and are not my own.

⁴⁵ The Great Canon was written in the 7th century and made its way into RCS by way of Bulgarian; the original Bulgarian texts trace back to the 14th-15th centuries. This Canon is read during the first and fifth weeks of Lent, the period before Easter. This time period is the most somber and reflective of the Orthodox liturgical year. The Canon primarily consists of a conversation between a repenting sinner (the Speaker) and his own soul (the Addressee).

According to Benveniste, use of the 1st and 2nd persons implies discourse; a 3rd person is spoken about, but is outside the "I-you" pairing. The 3rd person does not participate in discourse with its own role, and is not internal to an utterance; it is neither a Speaker nor an Addressee. Rather, the 3rd person is essentially external to the utterance, and is a "non-person." The real world referent of the 3rd person depends on the context and content of the utterance:

"...one characteristic of the persons 'I' and 'you' is their specific 'oneness'" the 'I' who states, the 'you' to whom 'I' addresses himself are unique each time. But 'he' can be an infinite number of subjects—or none...A second characteristic is that the 'I' and 'you' are reversible: the one whom 'I' defines by 'you' thinks of himself as 'I' and can be inverted into 'I', and 'I' becomes a 'you.' There is no like relationship possible between one of these two persons and 'he' because 'he' in itself does not specifically designate anything or anyone...Because it does not imply any person, it can take any subject whatsoever or no subject, and this subject, expressed or not, is never posited as a 'person'...It can now be seen what the opposition between the first two persons of the verb and third consists of. They contrast as members of a correlation, the correlation of personality: 'I-you' possesses the sign of person; 'he' lacks it. The 'third person' has, with respect to the form itself, the constant characteristic and function of representing a nonpersonal invariant, and nothing but that" (1971:199-200).

Benveniste's argument was intended to account for a number of languages; this chapter will determine the extent to which his argument applies to the RCS liturgical language.

2.1. The third person in RCS

2.1.0. Exocentric and endocentric narrative

The term "3rd person narrative" is a misnomer, as Paducheva 1996 argues. The narrator must be a Speaker, since he witnesses and retells events, and we cannot call this type of narrative "3rd person" if the narrator is actually a Speaker. The Speaker who is also the narrator will be called here the Speaker-narrator. What is traditionally called "3rd person narrative" will be referred to here as exocentric. The term "exocentric" refers to the external position of the narrator with respect to the story being recounted: the Speaker-narrator (who is some sort of authority, be it church tradition, a priest, etc.), does not participate in the events, but merely describes them.

What makes a narrative exocentric is the identical viewpoint of the Speaker and narrator. The external Speaker-narrator may, at some point, become a character in the narrative itself, in which case the narrative would shift from exocentric to endocentric.⁴⁶ From one viewpoint, that of endocentric narrative, the Speaker-narrator functions as a character whose own actions he describes. From the other viewpoint, that of exocentric narrative, the Speaker-narrator does not function as a character. Were a narrator to insert himself into the events of the narrative, the other actors in the narrative would remain 3rd persons, or Others. In the following two examples, for instance, there is only one event: Margaret eating a doughnut. Relative to the

⁴⁶ Endocentric narrative is further discussed in §2.2, and an example is given in §2.2.1.2.

Speaker-narrator, Margaret is the 3rd-person Other in both examples; and the only shift is in the narrator's viewpoint. The first example is exocentric and the second is endocentric:

- a. exocentric: Margaret was eating a doughnut (Speaker-narrator ≠ Margaret).
- b. endocentric: I saw Margaret eating a doughnut (Speaker-narrator ≠ Margaret).

The difference, then, between exocentric and endocentric narrative does not affect the 3rd-person Other status of actors.

In RCS exocentric narrative the actors in the story are referenced in the 3rd person. Once a chunk of embedded dialogue begins, though, the core action becomes the act of speech. At this point agents become Speakers. As a result, within one narrative passage the same character may hold all three person roles: Speaker, Addressee, and Other. Although the narrative text can shift to embedded dialogue, it will inevitably return to narrative, the global genre of the text. In the following exocentric narrative (Daniel 3), we find Nebuchadnezzar in all three person roles.

(1) Nebuchadnezzar as Speaker:

ἄψε βοήτην ἡ δαράχ, μήσαχ ἢ ἀβδαναῶ, βογώμζ μοήμζ νε ελδζήντε, ἢ
ττέλδ ζλατόμδ εῖζε ποτάβηχζ, νε ποκλιθέτεα:

Is it true, O Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, do not ye serve my gods, nor worship the golden image which I have set up?

(2) Nebuchadnezzar as Addressee:

νε τρέβε ἡάμζ ὦ γλαγόλε ἔμζ ὠβεψάτη τεβέ. Ἔρτε βο εῖζ ἡάψζ ἡα ἡερέχζ, εῖμδζε
μὲ ελδζήμζ, εἴλενζ ἡζάτη ἡάεζ ὠ πέψη ὀγνέμζ γοράψια, ἢ ὠ ρδκδ τεβοεῖο
ἡζβάβητη ἡάεζ царю.

O Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter. If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O king.

(3) Nebuchadnezzar as Other:

Тогда навдоходило его и побило ѿростя, и зракъ лица его изменило на
дараха, мисаха и абданаго...

Then was Nebuchadnezzar full of fury, and the form of his visage was changed against Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego...

Direct speech is used when Nebuchadnezzar is the Speaker or Addressee. When the Speaker-narrator describes Nebuchadnezzar's actions, including indirect or reported speech, Nebuchadnezzar is an Other. This shows that person roles in narrative can be fluid to some degree.

2.1.1. Exocentric narrative

In a narrative RCS text, chunks of narrative establish a certain scene, the motion of the characters, changes of scene, and acts. However, options are entertained and decisions are made within chunks of dialogue that are integrated into the narrative.

Matthew 27:62-6 is an example of liturgical narrative. The externals of plot are pushed forward through the exocentric narration, but everything inter-personal is expressed in dialogue. Narration sets the scene and also closes it. In the following passage, spacing separates narrative from direct quotations. Narrative chunks are labeled N, N2, N3; dialogue chunks are labeled D, D2, D3.

The scene is set in (N1) with the establishment of the time, the day, and the actors in the scene. (D1) is a direct quotation from one of the actors; there is another direct quotation embedded within it. (N2), a chunk of narrative, introduces a new Speaker whose presence in the scene was already established in (N1). (D2) is a direct quotation from the person indicated in (N2). (N3) closes the scene with a final chunk of narration.

(4) (N1) Во оутрїи дѣнь, ѣже ѣстъ по паѳцѣ, собравшася архїерее и фарїсеи кз пїлатѣ: Глаголюще:

Now on the next day, the day after the preparation, the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered together with Pilate, and said,

(D1) гоподн, поманѣхомз, ѣкѡ льстѣцз ѡнз рече ѣще съи жївз: по трїех днѣх востанѣ. Повелѣ оубо оутвердїти гробз до третїаго днѣ: да не какѡ пришедеше оученицы ѣгѡ нощїю, оукрэдѣтз ѣго, и рекѣтз людемз: востгѡ мѣртвыих, и вѣдетз поелѣдѣнѡ лѣтъ горша первыѡ.

"Sir, we remember that when He was still alive that deceiver said, 'After three days I *am* to rise again.' "Therefore, give orders for the grave to be made secure until the third day, otherwise His disciples may come and steal Him away and say to the people, 'He has risen from the dead,' and the last deception will be worse than the first."

(N2) Рече же ѣмз пїлатз:

Pilate said to them,

(D2) ѣмате кѣстѡдїю, идїте, оутвердїте, ѣкоже вѣсте.

"You have a guard; go, make it *as* secure as you know how."

(N3) Ѳнї же шѣдше оутвердїша гробз, знаменоваше камень съ кѣстѡдїю.

And they went and made the grave secure, and along with the guard they set a seal on the stone.

The purpose of the introductory and concluding chunks (N1 and N3) is the description of past events. Aside from these framing narrative chunks, we have what I call passage-internal narrative (N2). Passage-internal narrative has the same function as framing narrative (both types describe events), but this internal narrative largely consists of statements about who speaks at a particular time. Passage-internal narrative serves to switch the deictic roles of the Speaker and Addressee: first the chief priests and Pharisees have the role of the Speaker (D1), and then (N2) announces that Pilate is the new Speaker in the dialogue (D2). On the other hand, the external, framing narrative consists in a sequence of actions. This is the basic pattern for liturgical narrative, which is replicated with various permutations throughout both the Old and New Testaments.

Liturgical narrative chunks typically use both the imperfect (for backgrounding) and the aorist (for foregrounding or vivid events), but this particular passage happens to lack imperfections. Note that although the narrative chunks contain only one tense (aorist) and no moods, the dialogue chunks contain a variety of predication types: the aorist, future, and present tenses, as well as the imperative mood.

2.1.2. The third-person Other in discourse

Certain statements about RCS made in this section may appear obvious; it is essential, however, to establish certain basic facts before continuing with this complex topic. The Other is discussed here in terms of a variation on the expected roles of Speaker and Addressee in discourse. This section is thus not so much about the Other, but rather about possibilities in discourse which are elaborated later on.

In liturgical narrative there are few alternatives or options to the events that transpire. For example, in the story of Abraham's servant searching for a wife for Isaac (Genesis 24), we have a fairly linear plot, free of alternatives: Eliezer, the servant, travels with his camels and encounters Rebecca, who leaps off her camel. Rebecca draws well water not only for Eliezer, but for his camels as well. Eliezer selects Rebecca to be Isaac's wife. Alternatives to these events are not presented in the narrative. For example, the option *not* to select Rebecca, to select a different wife, is not presented as a possibility in the text.

On the other hand, the genre of discourse contains the frequent use of imperatives, *da*-clauses of purpose, and the future tense (for divination and predictions; this is discussed below in §2.4). The 3rd-person Other, although a quintessentially narrative role, also fulfils functions in discourse. The role of the Other in discourse is, however, quite different from that of the Speaker and Addressee. An Other may be pulled into discourse if the Speaker pulls him into it. In this way the Other is dependent on the Speaker and cannot exist within discourse without him.⁴⁷

Negation is one way to make the Other more involved in discourse. As opposed to liturgical narrative, which lacks options, negation within discourse provides two options: both the negated and the non-negated act. Negation provides, and even creates, two alternate forms of events: one that exists and one that does not.

One more way to pull the Other into discourse is for the Speaker to make a comparison between the Other and himself or the Other and the Addressee (in utterances of the type "Saul committed this transgression, will you?"). Bringing the Other into discourse by way of comparison and negation is one way to provide commentary on the motivation for an act, commentary that is not usually present in liturgical narratives.

Options and alternatives are hallmarks of discourse, and both negation and the establishment of comparisons involve the multiplication of options. Thus, these are techniques for making an Other more suitable for discourse, even though the natural domain of the 3rd person form is narrative. In Example (5), from the Menaion service to Hieromartyr Cornelius of the Pskov Caves, the Speaker addresses Cornelius in praise. The Speaker pulls an Other (John the Baptist) into the discourse by means of comparison to Cornelius. The phrase that expresses comparison is boldfaced.

(5) **Цѣлѣ прѣвоглавіѣ, монахѣхъ нартѣвннчѣ, смнрѣніѣ ѿбразѣ, стезѣ**

⁴⁷ See §2.4.2.3 for further discussion

τρυφολοβία, ραζρεβавый тѣмѹ многобѣжѣа въз людеχз, дѹхомѹ нѣнымыз испόληεα,
корнїїе, ѣакω прѣтѣча оубѣченз въз главлѹ, ѥ нынѣ престόлѹ црѣа славы предстоѹ,
μολὴ ὦ νάεε, χτѣщнχз пѣматѣ твоѹ.

O Cornelius, you shield of Orthodoxy and guide of monks, model of humility, path of industriousness, who dispersed the darkness of ungodliness from among the people, you were filled with the heavenly Spirit, and **like the Forerunner you were beheaded**; as you now stand before the throne of the King of Glory, pray for us who honor your memory.⁴⁸

In Example (6), from the Great Canon, the Speaker pulls the Other (Adam) into the utterance by means of comparison with the Addressee (Jesus, here called *спсе*). Additionally, the Speaker's utterance of a negated statement (*ѣакω не сохранивз єдинѹ твоѹ, спсе, заповѣдь адамз*) indicates the entertainment of two options: the keeping of God's commandments and their violation. Negation is another way to pull an Other into discourse. The negated phrase is boldfaced.

(6) Δοστόηνο ἡζ' ἐδέμα ἡζγнάνз бѣετѣ, ѣакω не сохранивз єдинѹ твоѹ, спсе,
заповѣдь адамз: ѣзз же χтѹ портраждѹ, ѡметѣаа вεεγдѣ жнвѹтнлаа твоѹ
ελοβεѣλ;⁴⁹

Adam was justly banished from Eden because he **did not keep** one commandment of yours, O Savior. What then will I suffer, rejecting always your words of life?

2.2. The first person

According to Uspenskij (1973:2) there are two points of view: the internal observer's point of view (located within the represented world), and the external observer's point of view (located outside the represented world). This definition of viewpoint may profitably be integrated into the present discussion of person in RCS. In the 1st person the internal observer's point of view and the external observer's point of view are either the same or different, and the distinction depends whether the 1st person functions in narrative or within discourse. In RCS discourse the internal and external observer's points of view are identical. For example, the "I" of the textual Speaker-narrator in the Great Canon (who is repenting of his sins) is intended to map onto the "I" of the reader.⁵⁰ I designate this phenomenon "I-I mapping."⁵¹ Each reader of

⁴⁸ Menaion, February 20th.

⁴⁹ Canon 1, verse 6 of Great Canon.

⁵⁰ The term "reader" will be used throughout to indicate both the reader of a text and the hearer who listens to it.

⁵¹ There may be similarities between I-I mapping and the scenario in which one reads a line in the 1st person from a play: both involve uttering a line that was composed by another, and the utterances are structured in the 1st person. There is a significant difference, though, between a play and a hymn. The "I" in a play is assumed by anyone who happens to read the play *while acting it out*. If I simply read a playscript without acting it out, none of the characters are intended to map onto me. If I am one of the faithful and read a hymn, though, the "I" in the hymn maps onto me.

the text assumes the identity of the "I." In this way, the reader functions as a person, or a participant in the discourse. In endocentric (first-person) narrative, in contrast, the "I" of the narrator is not mapped onto the "I" of the reader. Since the reader does not assume the identity of the Speaker-narrator, the reader is not asked to take part in any form of discourse with the textual Addressee. Rather, the reader observes the textual Speaker as he would observe an Other. Viewpoint is thus essential to understanding the role of the Speaker in RCS narrative versus in discourse.

Although in RCS the 1st person functions in both discourse and narrative, its main sphere is discourse. This means that the reader is often intended to assume the identity of the textual "I," although he occasionally remains distinct from it. Discourse typically occurs between the "I" and God, although it is sometimes directed to the Theotokos, saints, or one's own soul, as is the case in the Great Canon. The 1st person functions in the narrative sphere in Old Testament prophecies. It is significant that the 1st and 2nd persons are very restricted in possible reference in RCS liturgical texts, indicating the highly stylized nature of this language. In the following section the 1st person is examined as it is used in both discourse and narrative.

2.2.1. The first person in scriptural prophecy

The prophet has two roles: he is an Addressee of God, and he is a Speaker of God's message to the faithful. Prophecies are unusual in that the Speaker is more a conduit than an actual person. Narrative chunks in prophecy describe various acts of God done to the prophet, who himself does not act; rather, he is a recipient of the action and the dialogue. In this way, the role of the Speaker-narrator in RCS prophecy is similar to that of the Speaker-narrator in standard RCS narrative (both exocentric and endocentric). Old Testament prophetic books are those that prophesy about the fate of Israel, and the books are divided among major and minor prophets. The major Old Testament prophetic books are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, and Daniel. Books of the minor prophets include Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Johan, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Both major and minor prophetic books were examined for the purposes of this section.

There are many layers of prophecy in the Old Testament. Some are exocentric, some endocentric, and some involve both exocentric and endocentric elements. The type of narrative depends on the prophet or the specific prophecy; some types are more differentiated, whereas in others these distinctions are blurred.

2.2.1.1. Exocentric prophecy

Some prophecy is recounted in the form of exocentric narrative, in which the narrator describes the actions and states of the characters in the 3rd person. Examples of canonical exocentric prophecy include Jeremiah 51, Isaiah 7, and Isaiah 52:13-54:1. Exocentric prophecy behaves similarly to standard exocentric narrative (discussed above in §2.1.2): narrative chunks use only two tenses, the aorist and imperfect. Dialogue chunks can be embedded in the narrative chunks, and the dialogue includes a variety of tenses and moods. Actors in exocentric prophecy can assume all three person roles (Speaker, Addressee, Other). The ability to shift not only deictically from Speaker to Addressee, but also to Other and back, is one specific characteristic of exocentric narrative.

Another difference between the play and the hymn is that the "I" of the hymn is mapped onto all the faithful at all times—not only on those who overhear it—simply by the act of one person reading it.

This excerpt from Isaiah 7:1 represents exocentric prophecy. What makes it exocentric is the fact that the narrator does not refer to himself in the text.

- (7) И бысть во дни ахаза сына йоафамла, сына озии, царя йудина, взыде расинъ царь арамя, и факей сынъ ромелеевъ, царь ийлеевъ, на иерусалимъ, боевати на него...
 And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz the son of Jotham, the son of Uzziah, king of Judah, that Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah, king of Israel, went up toward Jerusalem to war against it...

2.2.1.2. Endocentric prophecy

In canonical endocentric prophecy, the entire text consists of a vision. The prophecy may lack framing altogether, or may be irrelevant or unclear where the framing ends and the vision begins. Isaiah 6 and Isaiah 50:4-11 are examples of canonical endocentric prophecy, as is the example below from Ezekiel 37:1-12. In endocentric prophecy, the Speaker-narrator is a character in the prophecy itself. The Speaker-narrator describes the events, inserting himself into them using either the pronoun "I" or 1st-person singular verb forms. The labeling system used here is the same as was established above for exocentric narrative.

- (8) (N1) Бысть на мнѣ рѣкъ гдѣа, и нзведе ма въ дѣѣ гдѣи, и порѣаби ма средѣ пола, еѣ же бѣше полно кортѣи челоѣѣчекнхъ. И ѡбведе ма ѡкрестъ нхъ ѡколѡ, и еѣ мнѡги сѣлѡ на лицѣ пола, и еѣ сѣхн сѣлѡ. И рече ко мнѣ:

The hand of the Lord was upon me, and carried me out in the spirit of the Lord, and set me down in the midst of the valley which was full of bones, And caused me to pass by them round about: and, behold, there were very many in the open valley; and, lo, they were very dry. And he said unto me,

(D1) сыне челоѣѣчь, ѡжнвѣтъ ли кѡсти сѣа;
 Son of man, can these bones live?

(N2) и рече ѡхъ:
 And I answered,

(D2) гдѣ бже, ты вѣси сѣа.
 O Lord God, thou knowest.

(N3) И рече ко мнѣ:
 Again he said unto me,

(D3) сыне челоѣѣчь, прорцы на кѡсти сѣа, и речеши нмъ: кѡсти сѣа, слышите слово гдѣе. Се глаголетъ гдѣа къ кѡстѣмъ сѣмъ: еѣ азъ введе ѡ въ бѣзъ дхъ жнѡтѣнхъ. И дамъ на бѣзъ жнлы, и возведе ѡ на бѣзъ плѡть, и прорѣѡ по вѣмъ кѡжѡ, и дамъ дхъ мой въ бѣзъ, и ѡжнвѣте, и ѡѣѣте, ѡкъ азъ сѣмъ гдѣа.

Prophesy upon these bones, and say unto them, O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones;

Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live: And I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring up flesh upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and ye shall live; and ye shall know that I am the Lord.⁵²

(N4) Ἦ προρεκόχῃ, ἴακοῃε ζαповѣда мὴ γὰρ: ἢ βύιτῃ γλάεζ βνεγδά мн
 прѣрѣчествоваѣти, ἢ εὐ τρѣсῃ, ἢ собоκѣплахѣла кѡртн, кѡртῃ кз кѡртн, кáждо кз
 сортáвѣ своемѣ. Ἦ βнáѣхῃ, ἢ εὐ быша ἡмз жнлы, ἢ плѡтῃ рáстáше, н воεχοждáше, [ἢ
 прѡтáжéла] ἡмз кѡжа βεрхѣ, дѣхῃ же не бáше вз ннхῃ. Ἦ речѣ ко мнѣ:

So I prophesied as I was commanded: and as I prophesied, there was a noise, and behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone. And when I beheld, lo, the sinews and the flesh came up upon them, and the skin covered them above: but there was no breath in them. Then said he unto me,

(D4) прорцѣи ѡ дѣѣ, прорцѣи сыне челоβѣчь, ἢ рцѣи дѣхѡвн: εἰλ̄ глагѡлетз
 áδωνáι γὰρ, ѡ четырехῃ вѣтрѡвз прѣндῃ дш̄е, ἢ βдѣнн на мѣртѡвѣл̄ εἰλ̄, ἢ да
 ѡжнѣдῃтз.

Prophesy unto the wind, prophecy, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord God; Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live.

(N5) Ἦ προρεκόχῃ, ἴακοῃε ποβελѣ мн: ἢ βнн̄де вз нá дѣхῃ жнзнн, ἢ ѡжн̄ша, ἢ стáша
 на ногáхῃ βкн̄хῃ, соβѡрз мнѡгῃ сѣл̄ѡ.

So I prophesied as he commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army.

In prophecy narratives the prophet is a channel for visions and speech from God. The prophet is the conduit, a passive recipient of events and messages, and does not act of his own volition. In Example (8) above the prophet can be either a Speaker or an Addressee; he can never assume the role of the Other, since his inherent role is that of Speaker-narrator. The prophet could be a Speaker on two different levels. First, he is naturally a Speaker in that he recounts the vision to others. Second, he is a Speaker in sections such as (D2), in which he responds to God. The prophet, then, has two Speaker roles: one internal (when speaking to God) and one external (when recounting the narrative). The person role of the main actor, God, changes depending whether the chunk is narrative or dialogue. In narrative chunks, the narrator is the Speaker and God is the Other: Ἦ προρεκόχῃ, ἴακοῃε ποβελѣ мн. The dialogue chunks consist primarily of God's direct speech, and the prophet-narrator is in the Addressee: сыне челоβѣчь, прорцѣи на кѡртн εἰλ̄. The prophet occasionally speaks to God, as well, at which point God becomes the Addressee.

In the narrative chunks in the above passage there are only two tenses: aorist and imperfect; no moods are used. If one examines the dialogue sections, however, a variety of predications appear: the present and future tenses, as well as the imperative mood and a dative clause (D4). Additionally, a question is asked in (D1) about the possibility of a future event. It is within the discourse that alternatives are entertained. The narrative chunks and dialogue chunks within narrative represent the two different genres: narrative and discourse.

⁵² (D3) also includes a quotation embedded in another quotation.

2.2.1.3. Exocentrically framed endocentric prophecy

In exocentrically framed endocentric prophecy, the Speaker-narrator initially refers to the actor as a 3rd-person Other, but then himself assumes the role of the actor. Jeremiah 1, 11, and 18 are examples of endocentrically framed endocentric prophecy. Section 2.2.1.4 below gives an example of this type of prophecy.

2.2.1.4. External-endocentrically framed endocentric prophecy

Certain prophecies begin with an endocentric viewpoint of the vision that is external to the vision, rather than internal to it. The external endocentric viewpoint, of the type "I saw a vision," frames an otherwise viewpoint-internal endocentric text. The frame is followed by direct speech in which the prophet is internal to the vision. This shift of perspectives, from endocentric external to endocentric internal, features prominently in Ezekiel 20 and Ezekiel 1:1-7. Ezekiel 1:1-7 is interesting in that it has two distinct frames. Because of its dual frame, I use it to illustrate not only external- endocentrically framed endocentric prophecy, but also exocentrically framed endocentric prophecy.

(9) Frame 1: external-endocentric

ВЫ́СТЬ ВЪ ТРИДЕСЯТОЕ ЛѢТО, ВЪ ЧЕТВЕРТЫЙ МѢСЪЦѢ, ВЪ ПЯТЫЙ ДЕНЬ МѢСЯЦА, И Я́ЗЫ
ВЫ́ХЪ ПОСРЕДѢ ПЛѢНЕНІА ПРИ РѢЦѢ ХОБАРЪ: И ѠВЕРЗѠШАСЯ НЕБѢ, И ВИДѢХЪ ВИДѢНІА БЖІА.
Now it came to pass in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, in the fifth day of the
month, as I was among the captives by the river of Chebar, that the heavens were opened,
and I saw visions of God.

Frame 2: exocentric

ВЪ ПЯТЫЙ ДЕНЬ МѢСЯЦА, СЯ ЛѢТО ПЯТОЕ ПЛѢНЕНІА ЦАРѦ ІОАКІМА: И
ВЫ́СТЬ СЛОВО ГДНЕ КО ІЕЗЕКІАЮ СЫНѢ ВЪЗІЕВѢ, СІЕННИКѢ ВЪ ЗЕМЛѢ ХАЛДЕЙСКИ ПРИ РѢЦѢ
ХОБАРЪ.
In the fifth day of the month, which was the fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity,
The word of the Lord came expressly unto Ezekiel the priest, the son of Buzi, in the land
of the Chaldeans by the river Chebar; and the hand of the Lord was there upon him.

Endocentric prophecy:

И ВЫ́СТЬ НА МНѢ РѢКА ГДНА. И ВИДѢХЪ, И СЯ ДУХЪ ВОЗДВЕНЗА́ННА,
ГРМѦШЕ Ѡ СѢВЕРѦ, И ѠБЛАКЪ ВЕЛІКІЙ ВЪ НЕМЪ, И СВѢТЪ ѠКРЕСТЪ СЪГѠ И ѠГНЬ
БЛИСТА́ННА: И ПОСРЕДѢ СЪГѠ Я́КѠ ВИДѢНІЕ ИЛЕКТРА ПОСРЕДѢ ѠГНА, И СВѢТЪ ВЪ
НЕМЪ: ПОСРЕДѢ Я́КѠ ПОДѠБІЕ ЧЕТЫРЕХЪ ЖИВОТНЫХЪ: И СЯ ВИДѢНІЕ Я́КѠ ПОДѠБІЕ
ЧЕЛОВѢКА ВЪ НИХЪ.
And I looked, and, behold, a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire
infolding itself, and a brightness was about it, and out of the midst thereof as the colour
of amber, out of the midst of the fire. Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of
four living creatures. And this was their appearance; they had the likeness of a man.

The primary difference between RCS exocentric and endocentric prophecy is that in the exocentric variety the Speaker-narrator is not equivalent to an actor in the prophecy. In endocentric prophecy, the narrator and the actor are equivalent. Otherwise, these narrative types function similarly: the aorist and imperfect are the only tenses used, only the indicative mood is used, and the narrator is a passive observer rather than a participant in the action.

2.2.2. The first person in nonprophetic narrative contexts

There are two nonprophetic narrative contexts in which the 1st person is found: the Speaker meditating on his own condition, and professions of faith. Professions of faith lack an explicit Addressee, and in that respect are incomplete as dialogue.

2.2.2.1. The Speaker meditating on his own condition

In the Great Canon, as well as in other texts, we find the narrator, the "I," mediating on his own condition in the present tense. There is no Addressee. Here is an example:

- (10) **Ὠβλοζέηνζ ἕσμῃ ὠδῆάνῆεμζ στῦδᾶ, ἴακοζε λῆστῶεμζ εμοκόβνυμζ, βο ὠβληχένηε μονῆζ εμοβλάστνυχζ στρᾶστῆῃ.**
I am clothed in a garment of shame, like a fig leaf, in the denunciation of my passions and egotism.⁵³

2.2.2.2. Professions of faith

Professions of faith are distinct from performatives (see §2.2.3) in that the Speaker already held these beliefs prior to the moment of utterance. One reason for professions of faith is to confirm unity of beliefs within the church; they also benefit the speaker. Example (11) below is a statement from the Nicene Creed, the *Символь веры* that is a part of nearly all Orthodox liturgical services, including those done at home (Morning and Evening Prayers). The Nicene Creed is a profession of belief in various dogma, but lacks an explicit Addressee.

- (11) **Исповѣдѹю единое крещение во оставление греховъ**
I confess one baptism for the remission of sins.⁵⁴

2.2.3. The first person in RCS discourse

As shown above, the 1st person is the Speaker-narrator in endocentric prophecy narrative. But the 1st person is encountered much more commonly in RCS in discourse—which is essentially prayer. The following section discusses the 1st-person Speaker in discursive performatives and confessional statements.⁵⁵ One essential difference between RCS discourse and narrative is that in endocentric prophecy narrative, the Speaker-narrator is largely a passive conduit in that he both receives and transmits information. Here, he actively addresses a plea to the Addressee (God and the saints) for mercy and aid.

Prophecies are often articulated from the point of view of the Speaker-narrator, and the reader of the prophecy is distinct from this textual Speaker; this is what makes the prophecy a variety of narrative. If RCS endocentric narrative can be expressed as

⁵³ Canticle 2, verse 13 from the Great Canon.

⁵⁴ *МОЛИТВОСЛОВЬ* 2005: 14.

⁵⁵ Discursive means, of course, of or pertaining to discourse.

1st person (Speaker) = 1st person (actor in narrative)

then one can express the role of the 1st person in RCS liturgical discourse in the following terms:

1st person (Speaker) = 1st person (reader).

In the context of Orthodox Christianity, by reading prayers the reader voluntarily identifies himself with the Speaker of the prayer. The reader assumes the personage and viewpoint of the Speaker in the text itself, who frequently comments on his own sinful state or implores others for mercy or aid.

2.2.3.1. The first person in performatives

The 1st person can be used performatively in the present tense only. A performative is an utterance in which the act itself of making the utterance is equivalent to the act spoken of; in other words, the utterance is identified with the act itself. A classic performative example is found in Austin (1975:5), "'I name this ship the Queen Elizabeth'—as uttered when smashing the bottle against the stem." Performative statements in RCS are devotional and addressed to God; they most often occur in prayers, including Morning and Evening Prayers, and are also extremely common in the Great Canon.⁵⁶ I have isolated three types of performatives in RCS, which I call doxological, devotional, and confessional performatives.

Example (12) contains a dedicated performative statement. Most often, though, the performative functions as an assertion of sin, or as an imperative plea directed toward God or the saints. Examples (13) and (14) from the Great Canon illustrate the function of the performative as a non-isolated element, and contain assertions of sin as well as imperatives directed toward God.

2.2.3.2. Doxological performatives

In doxological performative statements the Speaker praises God. The next example, from the Anaphora during Divine Liturgy, illustrates this type of performative. Doxological performatives can occur in isolation, which means that the utterance in itself does not necessarily have any purpose other than to function as this specific performative.

(12) **ТѢБѢ ПОЕМЪ, ТѢБѢ БЛАГОСЛОВИМЪ, ТѢБѢ БЛАГОДАРИМЪ, ГОСПОДИ, И МОЛИМЪ ТИ СѦ,
БОЖЕ НАШЪ.**

We praise you, we bless you, we thank you, Lord, and we pray to you, Our God.⁵⁷

2.2.3.3. Devotional performatives

The next type of performative statement (boldfaced) is that of worship or adoration.

(13) **ТѢБѢ ПРИПАДАЮ ИИСЕ,** СОГРЕШНУХЪ ТИ, ѠЧИСТИ МѦ, ВОЗМИ БРЕМѦ Ѡ МЕНЕ
ПѦЖКОЕ ГРЕХѠВНОЕ, И ІАКЪ БЛГОУТРОБЕНЪ, ДѦЖДЪ МИ СЛЕЗЫ ОУМНЛЕНІѦ.

⁵⁶ See Vajić 2007 for a discussion of performatives in Serbian Morning and Evening Prayers.

⁵⁷ Молитвословъ 2005: 103.

I fall down before you, Jesus, I sinned against you, cleanse me, take my heavy burden of sin from me, and like a compassionate one, give me tears of repentance.⁵⁸

The first clause in Example (13) is a devotional performative. This performative is linked to clauses with other purposes within the same utterance. The performative is followed by an assertion of sin, as well as by an imperative to God imploring aid

2.2.3.4. Confessional performatives

Confessional performatives include a statement that the Speaker is hereby confessing his sins.⁵⁹ In Example (14) the Speaker states that he confesses to God (present tense), and follows this performative with an actual confession of sins (past tense). The confession itself is not performative, as it occurs in the past tense; rather, it is a nonperformative assertion of sin. The performative itself is boldfaced.

(14) **Њ́ С П О В Ъ Ъ Д А Ю С Я Т Ъ Б Ъ , С П Ї С Е : С О Г Р Ъ Ш Ы Х З , С О Г Р Ъ Ш Ы Х З Т И : Н О Ѡ М Л А Б Н И , Ѡ Р Т А Б Н И М Н Ѡ ,**
Ї А К Ѡ Б Л Г О Д Ѡ Т Р Ѡ Б Е Н З .

I confess to you, Savior: I have sinned, I have sinned against you. But as a compassionate one absolve me, forgive me.⁶⁰

2.2.3.5. The first person in nonperformative assertions of sin

In liturgical RCS the aorist indicates that a certain statement cannot be classified as a performative, but must rather be something else.⁶¹ It is significant, though, that the aorist has different functions depending on the specific text.

Past tense (aorist) assertions of sin can occur in conjunction with other statements, such as devotional performatives, imperatives directed toward the 2nd person, and the like. They also occur in environments in which the entire verse is a 1st-person assertion of sins. More often, though, they express the fact that that the Speaker sinned against the Addressee, and the Addressee is always an integral part of such statements. Example (15) illustrates an assertion of sin that occurs in conjunction with another statement directed to the Addressee (in this case, an imperative). Example (16) illustrates an assertion of sin with no mention of an Addressee. Assertions of sin are boldfaced.

(15) **С О Г Р Ъ Ш Ы Х З П А Ч Е В С Ъ Х З Ч Е Л О В Ъ Ъ К З , С Д Н Ы З С О Г Р Ъ Ш Ы Х З Т Ъ Б Ъ : Н О О Ѡ Ц М Ё Д Р И Ї А К Ѡ Б**
Б Ѓ З , С П Ї С Е , Т Ъ В О Р Ё Н Ї Е Т Ъ В О Ѡ .

More than all men have I sinned; I alone have sinned against you. But take pity, as God, O Savior, on your creation.⁶²

⁵⁸ Canticle 1, verse 9 of the Great Canon.

⁵⁹ Outside liturgical RCS, the *Поновления* are medieval penitential texts that contain examples of confessional performatives. *Тайная исповедь православной церкви* also has many examples of confessional performatives. It contains lists of confessions of sins that one may read during the sacrament of Confession.

⁶⁰ Canticle 3, verse 5 of the Great Canon.

⁶¹ Contrast these aorists with those found in title deeds (купче) from the *Граммоты*, in which aorists can be used as performatives.

⁶² Canticle 2, verse 3 from the Great Canon.

- (16) **НѢВЕЛЕВѢ И҆ИСУ, НЕ О҆ПОДОБѢХСА ПРАВДѢ, ДАРА ТЕБѢ ПРИАТНА НЕ ПРИНЕСОУХЪ
КОГДА, НИ ДѢАНИА БЖЕСТВЕННА, НИ ЖЕРТВЫ ЧИСТЫА, НИ ЖИТИА НЕПОРОЧНАГО.
O Jesus, I have not been like Abel in his righteousness. Never have I offered you
acceptable gifts or godly actions, never a pure sacrifice nor a blameless life.⁶³**

It is significant that only the Speaker, speaking on his own behalf, can make such an assertion of past sin; were such statements applied to the Addressee or an Other, they would be accusational. The situation becomes especially intriguing when the Addressee is the Speaker's own soul, which is co-referential with the Speaker but, at the same time fulfils a different person role and viewpoint within the text. When the Speaker asserts that his soul (the Addressee) committed a certain sin, the use of the 2nd person makes the assertion accusational. In this way, viewpoint can completely transform the type of utterance from an assertion of past sin (Speaker speaking about the Speaker) to an accusation of past sin (Speaker speaking about the Addressee):

- (17) **БѢГОЛОВЕНИА СИМОВА НЕ НАСЛЕДОВАЛА С҆ИИ ДУШЕ О҆КЛАНИАА: НИ ПРОСТРАЊНОЕ
ОДЕРЖАНИЕ, ЯКОЖЕ ІАФЕДЪЗ ИМѢЛА С҆ИИ НА ЗЕМЛИ ОСТАВЛЕНИА.
O wretched soul, you did not inherit the blessing [of Shem], nor did you receive, like
Japhet, a spacious domain in the land of forgiveness.⁶⁴**

2.2.4. The status of the first-person plural Speaker

In Menaion hagiographic hymns the narrator (the hymnographer) is the Speaker. He is unself-conscious and consequently does not refer to himself in the text with the pronoun "I" or with 1st-person singular verb forms. There are, however, 1st-person plural statements that often appear in the final phrase of the Menaion hymn (of the type "wherefore we praise you").⁶⁵ The example below is analyzed as Example (5) in §3.3; it illustrates the "we" in the final phrase of the Menaion hymn. This phrase is boldfaced.

**СВѢЩЕНСТВА ЗАКОННАГО ОДѢВЪСЪ ИСТИННО ОДЕЖДЕЮ,
ПО ЧИНУ ААРОНОВУ СЛЪЖИАХЪ С҆ИИ, И ПРЕДЕТОУ ВЪ ХРАМѢ, АГГЛЪСКИИ ЗРАКЪЗ ЯВѢ ВІДѢАХЪ
С҆ИИ, ПРЕБЖЕННЕ
//ТѢМЪ ТВОЕ ПРЕСТАВЛЕНІЕ ВЕИ ПОУЩЕ ДОЛЖИУ, ЗАХАРИЕ, ПѢСНЬМИ
ВОСХВАЛАЕМЪ ТѢ, ПО СТАРОСТИ ИЗРАСТІВША, ІОАННА СЛАВНАГО, МОЛИ ЗА НАС
МІЛОСТИВАГО Б҆ГА, СПАСИТЕА НАСЪ.**

Veritably clothed with the vestments of the priesthood under the Law,
you served after the order of Aaron; and as you stood in the Temple, you clearly saw an
Angel's form, O all-blessed one
**//Wherefore, as we all celebrate you translation as is due, we acclaim you with songs,
O Zacharias, who in deep old age brought forth the glorious John. Intercede for us
with the merciful God, that we be saved.**

⁶³ Canticle 1, verse 7 from the Great Canon.

⁶⁴ Canticle 3, verse 14 from the Great Canon.

⁶⁵ The final phrase of the Menaion hagiographic hymn is called the deduction. It is discussed in §3.1.2.

The 1st-person plural statement naturally includes the hymnographer. At the same time, though, a 1st-person plural statement is not self-conscious, and there is a great deal of difference between "I" and "we" in hymns besides simply singular versus plural. In fact, a statement uttered in the 1st-person plural (signifying a group) does not necessarily imply the presence of 1st-person singular (an individual) as an underlying component: the group does not imply the multiplication of individuals. According to Benveniste, "the oneness and the subjectivity inherent in 'I' contradict the possibility of pluralization... 'we' is not a multiplication of identical objects but a *junction* between 'I' and the 'non-I,' no matter what the content of this 'non-I' may be" (1971:202). When the Speaker refers to himself as part of "we," there is no transposition of a self-conscious statement onto multiple "I's."

The fact that the Speaker depicts himself overtly as a 1st-person plural Speaker rather than a 1st-person singular one is unusual, since Speakers are typically considered to be individuals. In hagiographic hymns, however, the hymnographer, though he may be the individual who recounts sanctioned events, represents the collective opinion of the Church. Since the Speaker is the spokesperson for a collective group he could be considered both "I" and "we," or only "we."

The reader is indirectly involved in the Menaion hymn. The textual utterance is not intended to map onto the reader (as in the case of I-I mapping in the Great Canon). Instead, the reader is the passive recipient of the information conveyed by the illocutionary force requirement of the hymn—that the reader ought to praise the saint (see the earlier § for an example). In the hymn the word "we" can be used, but the extent to which the reader is a component of this "we" is uncertain. According to Benveniste there are two components of "we": the "I" and the "not I." The "I" component of "we" is clearly the Speaker. It is more tricky to pin down the "not-I" component: it can either be "you" or "they." When the Speaker in a hymn makes the statement "wherefore we hymn you, O saint," it is grammatically uncertain whether he intends "we" to include the reader. The pronoun "we" could apply to both the Speaker and the reader alone, or it could apply to the Speaker and others of the faithful, but exclude the reader. It is up to the reader to decide his level of participation in Menaion hagiographic hymns: he is the one to determine whether or not he is a member of "we." On the other hand, Benveniste may be overstating the case, since the "we" in hymns invites an expansion of the "I" to the community: it can mean "I," and all the members of the faithful who are likeminded."

As has been shown in the above analysis, the 1st person functions both in discourse and in varieties of endocentric narrative. In chunks of endocentric narrative, the Speaker/narrator utters declarative, constative statements. The term *constative* refers to speech acts that are descriptive statements. Within the realm of discourse, confessional and performative statements are only valid when uttered by the Speaker regarding himself. The next section (§2.3), by contrast, examines those aspects of the Speaker and the Addressee that interact.

2.3. Genre and the Addressee

The second person is the "you" in discourse that interacts with the "I." The RCS Addressee is most often God, but it can also be the Theotokos or a saint. In the Great Canon, the Addressee is the narrator's own soul. Of course, the soul is co-referential with the Speaker and is only formally an Addressee.

In this section, I introduce a basic role-based system that is specific to RCS liturgical discourse. Liturgical discourse is unusual in that the Addressee is simply a passive recipient of

the discourse, and does not produce its own responses. Instead, responses occur only on the level of hypothetical projection: if a prayer is directed to God, the reader is expected to assume that God, the Addressee, will be prompted to respond in the way the Speaker would like him to. For example in the utterance

- (18) ...п^ре^жд^е кон^ца, ѿ^бк^о ч^лв^ко^лю^бец^з, да^жд^ь м^нѣ пр^огр^ѣш^ѣн^іѣ ѡ^бста^вл^ѣн^іѣ.
...before the end, as the Lover of Mankind, grant me remission of sins.⁶⁶

the hope is that God will, in fact, remit the sins of the Speaker.

The Addressee in discourse has a very different role from a 1st or a 3rd person in narrative. Whereas exocentric and endocentric narratives are primarily concerned with recounting facts and events, the use of the 2nd person in discourse is correlated with the existence of possibilities. The 2nd person is used in all tenses and moods (except the aorist). This contrasts with narrative, in which only the aorist and imperfect are used (with the exception of embedded dialogue). In RCS narrative there are seldom options or alternate worlds. Alternatives and options occur in the mode of discourse, and primarily with reference to the Addressee. Example (19) below is a hymn addressed to Leo, Pope of Rome. Its three questions illustrate the alternatives and options present in discourse.

- (19) Ч^то т^а н^ын^ѣ на^рек^ѡ, д^нѣ^не; на^ча^ль^ни^ка л^и ѿ^цр^лѣ т^ѣл^ѣс^ны^х
ст^раст^ѣй, д^ѡш^ѣв^ное в^лад^ыч^ѣст^во на^прав^ля^ющ^а св^ѣт^ло; б^жт^вен^на^го
м^ло^бан^іа со^дѡ^з, лю^бв^ѣ со^вер^шѣ^нн^ыа ж^нл^іц^ѣ, ч^ло^вѣ^ко^лю^бѣ^зна
со^гр^ѣш^аю^щы^мз, ѡ^бр^ащ^ѣн^іа ѡ^жнд^аю^ща;
//мо^ли^тв^ѣ сп^{ас}т^іѣ^ла д^ѡш^ам^з н^аш^ым^з.

What shall we now call you, O marvelous one? Prince and ruler, splendidly exercising spiritual mastery over the passions of the body? Vessel of divine mercy, habitation of perfect love? Loving pastor awaiting the repentance of sinners?
//Pray that our souls be saved.⁶⁷

One function of address in RCS is to plea for mercy, for change in the world, and for altered futures. In order to have an idea of what an altered future state might resemble, the Speaker must already have a projection based on the current situation. An additional function of RCS address is to educate the faithful about the models they are to imitate, as in Menaion hymns. Statements addressed to the 2nd person are also the primary realm of negation, where two options (both the negated and the non negated one) are implied, rather than only one.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Canticle 1, verse 13 from the Great Canon.

⁶⁷ Menaion, February 19th.

⁶⁸ Negation is, of course, found in RCS liturgical narrative as well as discourse. It is significant, though, that the frequency of negation is much lower in narrative than in discourse.

It is significant that Addressee of the imperative does not respond in RCS discourse. It is thus uncertain whether the imperative has been acknowledged, and whether it will be fulfilled. The lack of response illustrates a constraint on the Addressee: he functions textually only as a receiver of pleas. Since the Addressee does not respond within the text, it remains an act of faith to assume that he even hears the Speaker.

By contrast, the purpose of imperatives directed toward one's own soul, which appear in the Great Canon, is to urge the soul to do good, or to cajole the soul to repent for past evils it has committed. The most interesting aspect of the soul as Addressee is that the Addressee is the narrator himself. Thus, we have discourse between two aspects of a person's psyche. Unlike in dialogue, it never happens that the Addressee—the soul— switches roles and becomes a Speaker: the "I" is always the "I" and the "you" is always the "you." Since the soul and the narrator are one being, there is a dualism expressed, as if to suggest that the narrator represents the person's body or his/her outer spiritual state (the sins that others can see), and the soul represents the person's inner spiritual state (the interior sins that others cannot see, but that are nonetheless known to the narrator). The concept that one person can represent two roles, Speaker and Addressee, makes the Great Canon unique in the corpus of RCS liturgical discourse, and also in the broader genre of discourse in general.

This is an appropriate point to address the implications of the existence, in RCS liturgical discourse, of multiple Addressees but only one Speaker (who shifts, mapping onto the reader of the text). The Speaker of the prayer is intended to be identical to the reader, but the Addressee can be, in the case of the Great Canon, either God (in the form of Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Trinity, etc.) or the narrator's soul. In hagiographic hymns the Addressee is typically a saint, but can also be God or the Theotokos. The multiplication—and, at the same time, limitation—of Addressees makes RCS discourse unique. In addition, RCS discourse is unique in that although the Addressee is constantly spoken to, but s/he does not respond within the text; the discourse is thus asymmetrical. As a result, we may need to create a special definition for the term "RCS liturgical discourse" in order to circumscribe the domain in which this special grammar functions. RCS liturgical discourse takes place when there is one Speaker and one or more Addressees; the Speaker is always intended to be equivalent to the reader of the text, and the Addressee does not respond. Liturgical discourse is not like an ordinary dialogue in that it is nonreciprocal and asymmetrical. The definition of liturgical discourse is thus much more specific than general definitions of discourse, such as those introduced in §2.0. By defining liturgical discourse in such specific terms, we acknowledge the idiosyncrasies of individual modes in the broader genre of discourse.

Discourse is typically considered to include linguistic units composed of several sentences, such as conversations, arguments, and speeches. Liturgical discourse, however, seems to be more nearly a unidirectional utterance, directed toward a limited variety of Addressees. The Speaker is most definitely a shifter, since the identity of the Speaker depends on the reader of the prayer. The Addressee is very different from a shifter, though, in that the Addressee never assumes the role of the Speaker in discourse. It appears that the Addressee may not, in fact, be a person at all. Instead of a bi-directional discourse, what we have is asymmetrical, nonreciprocal discourse.

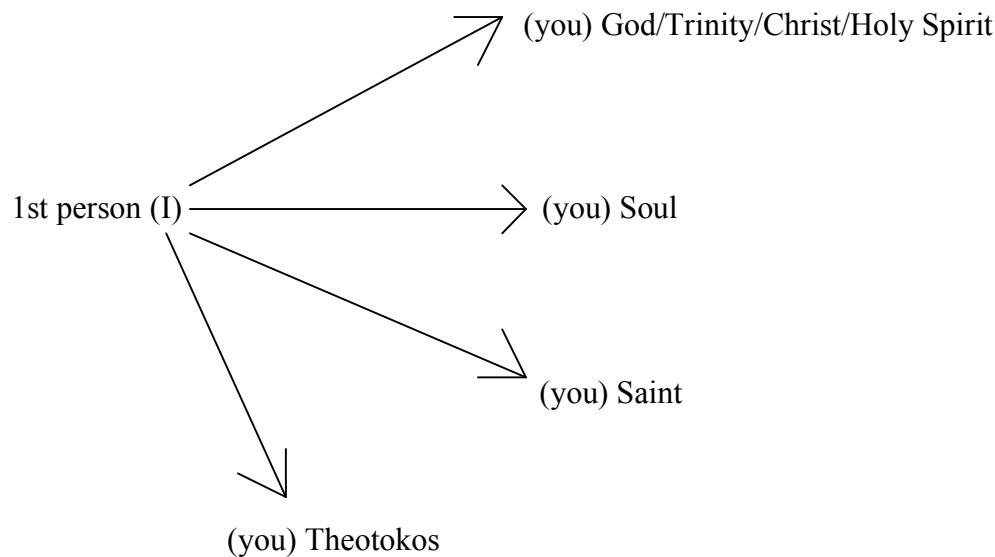
The fact that the Addressee does not respond is related to the fact that in RCS Addressees are ethereal and noncorporeal. Instead of a person, it might be more appropriate to think of the Addressee as a divine abstraction, or a representation of an entity that often has no tangible real-world referent (in the case of God the Father, the Holy Spirit, angels, etc.). Some Addressees

have *had* real world referents, such as those in hagiographic hymns (the Theotokos, certain angels, Christ, or the saints). In hymnography, though, saints are addressed qua eternal beings, as members of the heavenly eternal host, not qua their earthly nature. Addressees such as saints and God only do good, and are asked for mercy, forgiveness, and intercession.

In the Great Canon the soul also has two natures, but only its earthly nature is addressed. In Orthodox Christianity the soul is considered to be immortal; at the same time, though, the soul is here on earth as a part of a person whose body will perish. The Great Canon addresses the soul in terms of its earthliness inasmuch as the soul can reform itself during the life of the Speaker. The 3rd-person Others in the Great Canon (Adam, Eve, Saul, Abel, etc.), on the other hand, are discussed in terms of their real-world referents while on earth and in their own bodies. These Others perform acts which are interpreted as either good or bad, but which are never viewed as neutral. They are either models to imitate or examples to avoid.

One could conceptualize the relationship between the Speaker and Addressees as a series of unidirectional signs (utterances, hopes, or beliefs). Relationships are multiple, but are all one-sided and have their origin in the Speaker. The following diagram depicts the various Addressees in RCS liturgical discourse; the specific alignment of them depends on the verse/text itself.

Addressees in RCS Liturgical Discourse:



2.3.1. Extratextual relationships between the Speaker and Addressee

The above diagram illustrates the relationship between the Speaker and Addressees *in* the text; in this context the Addressee does not respond. However, we must also take into

consideration the extratextual relationship between the Speaker and Addressee. In terms of the Orthodox Christian worldview, God may be interacting with the Speaker in other ways; thus, the lack of a textual response does not necessarily indicate a completely one-sided communication. In this section we will conceptualize the I-you relations in a way different from that given above: in terms of a more reciprocated, extratextual relationship. One possible way to conceptualize the I-you relations in RCS liturgical discourse is through the framework of the philosopher Martin Buber. Since Buber wrote for a Jewish audience, his context is different; his approach is nevertheless enlightening. In *Ich und Du* Buber explains his philosophy of the world using the word pairs Ich-Du (I-you/thee) and Ich-Es (I-it).⁶⁹ These word pairs categorize the modes of consciousness, interaction, and being through which an individual engages both with other objects and individuals, and with reality in general. Buber describes the Ich-Du relationship as one of dialogue, and the Ich-Es relationship as one of monologue. I will here apply his interpretation of the Ich-Du relationship to that which it obtains between the Speaker-narrator and the Theotokos, saints, and God in prayer (Buber himself argues that this is the only way in which it is possible to interact with God). In the Ich-Du relationship, there is no structure, and no content information is conveyed. Although Ich-Du cannot be seen, or proven as an event, Buber states that it is real and perceivable nonetheless. In the RCS prayer discourse examined in this chapter, the Addressee never responds verbally. However, the Addressee reciprocally communicates with the Speaker in terms of various non-textual life events. On the most basic level, these may include prayers being answered, or simply a feeling of calm and reassurance that comes over the Speaker while saying the prayers. However, the ascetic experience of God may be more: Symeon the New Theologian, for example, describes the divine presence as an uncreated light.⁷⁰

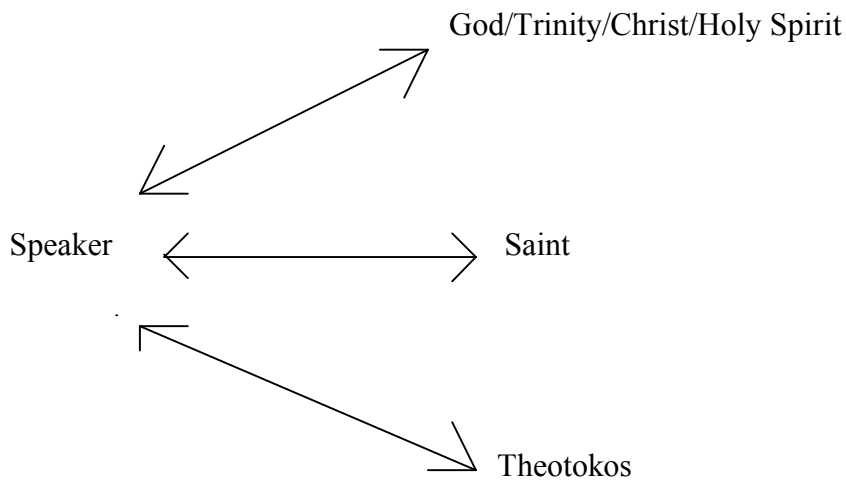
We can assume that the Ich-Es relationship, on the other hand, is similar to that which the Speaker-narrator has with the Addressee when it is his own soul. In Ich-Es relationships, in contrast with Ich-Du, the two beings do not actually encounter one another. Instead, the "I" confronts and qualifies an idea, or conceptualization, of the being in its presence and treats that being as an object. Buber concludes that the Ich-Es relationship is only a relationship with oneself. Rather than a dialogue (as is Ich-Du), it is a monologue. In the Great Canon we have the repenting Speaker, who is intended to be equivalent to the reader. The Addressee-soul is still part of the repenting Speaker, and we cannot conceptualize the Addressee-soul as anything other than the Speaker's mental representation of himself. It is a mental representation projected outward in the discourse, but it remains sustained in the Speaker's mind and is never actualized as a separate entity. If Buber essentially designates the Ich-Es relationship a monologue, then the relationship between the repenting Speaker and the Addressee-soul naturally seems to represent this type of relationship. Unlike in Ich-Du relationships, there is no sense of reciprocity; whereas God can (extratextually) answer the Speaker's prayers, the Addressee-soul cannot respond in any way external to the Speaker, since it *is* the Speaker.

We can represent the extratextual relationship of the Speaker to the Addressees in RCS by the following diagrams:

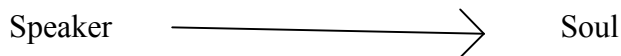
⁶⁹ See Buber 1936.

⁷⁰ See Krivocheine 1986.

Ich-Du: Speaker-God, Speaker-Theotokos, Speaker-saints



Ich-Es: Speaker-Soul



The above representations are, of course, metaphorical. One could also use the model of the Trinity in Florenskij 1970.

2.4. Predication

As shown in the above analysis of narrative, there are only two tenses used in narrative chunks: the aorist and the imperfect. We have seen how, once a narrative shifts to dialogue chunks, many more varieties of predication are used. This section will explore the specific tenses, moods, and rhetorical devices used to address a 2nd person. The 2nd person is found with all tenses except the aorist.⁷¹ Phrases that utilize the 2nd person often incorporate other tenses or persons, so some redundancy will inevitably occur among the following sections.

2.4.1. Moods

2.4.1.1. Imperatives

⁷¹ Refer to the discussion of past tense reforms in Chapters 1.

The imperative is found only in discourse. It has both a modal and a temporal side to it: the potential act indicated by an imperative is in the future, since the requested change the Speaker wishes to enact on the world has not been completed, and the change indicated may not be enacted at all. The imperative is jussive, which is to say that it signals a Speaker's command that the proposition expressed by his utterance be brought about. According to Timberlake, "[i]mperatives, self-evidently, are oriented to the Addressee, and so are implicitly second person" (2004:375). The imperative does not have as its aim the communication of content; rather, it is pragmatic. Single imperatives tend not to occur in isolation in RCS hymns, but are combined with one or more other imperatives, or with other forms that show a change in tense and person. For instance, in the first example below—which was also used in §2.2.3.4—the imperative (2nd person) functions alongside a present tense performative of confession (1st person), and the phrase also includes an aorist of self-reflection (1st person). The imperative is boldfaced.

2.4.1.2. Imperatives imploring God for mercy or forgiveness

- (20) **И**СПОВѢДАЮЩА ТБѢ, СПЕ: СОГРЕШИХЪ, СОГРЕШИХЪ ТИ: НО **Ѡ**БЛАБЕ, **Ѡ**СПАВН МН, **Ѡ**АКѠ БЛГОДТРОБЕНЪ.

I confess to you, Savior: I have sinned, I have sinned against you. But as a compassionate one **absolve me, forgive me.**⁷²

2.4.1.3. Imperatives imploring a saint for aid or intercession before God

Example (21) below contains an imperative addressed to Symeon the Stylite.⁷³ As in most other hagiographic hymns the imperative (boldfaced) is found in the deduction.⁷⁴

- (21) **НА** ГОРѠ ВЪСОКѠ ѠБРАЗНѠ ДНЕНѠ ВОЗШЕДЪ,
И ВЪ ЧЕРТНЫИ КІВѠТЪ **Ѡ**АКѠ ВЪ НЕЗАХОДИМАѠ ВШЕДЪ,
 ДѠАНИЕМЪ ИЗРАДНЫМЪ, **И** ВОСХОЖДЕНІЕ ВЪДѠНИИ ПОКАЗААЪ СІИ:
 //ЖИТИЕ ОУБЕ ОУАНИИВЪ ОУЗЫ ЖЕЛѠЗНЫМИ, **Ѡ**АКОЖЕ ГРИВНАМИ ЗЛАТЫМИ ОУКРАШЕНЪ, БѠА
 ЖЕ ЗРА, **И** ЗРИМЬ, **И** СДНИЪ СДНИОМѠ БЕСѠДА,
 СГОЖЕ МОЛН, ЧЕРТНЫИ СЪМЕѠНЕ, **Ѡ** ДѠШАХЪ НАШНХЪ.

Having ascended the lofty wondrous mountain
 and having entered the impenetrable as an honored tabernacle,
 through excellent activity you shone forth the ascent of vision.
 //Wherefore, having illumined your life, adorned with iron chains as with a golden
 necklace, seeing God and being seen by Him, and conversing in solitude with Him alone,
entreat Him, Honored Symeon, in behalf of our souls.

⁷² Canticle 3, verse 5 of the Great Canon.

⁷³ Menaion 5:196. This hymn is from the aposticha of Vespers.

⁷⁴ The term "deduction" is discussed at length in Chapter 3, beginning in §3.3. There are two parts to a typical Menaion hagiographic hymn: the first half is the proposition, and the second half is the deduction. The deduction is essentially the conclusion of a hymn, and it often includes a change in tense from the perfect to the present and in person from the 2nd-person singular to the 1st-person plural.

2.4.1.4. Imperatives entreating the soul to do/not do something:

Example (22) below is from the Great Canon. The Speaker entreats the soul (by means of an imperative) to confess to God and to abstain in the future from the type of sins he had committed in the past. The imperative is boldfaced.

- (22) Γραδὴ ὠκαλῆνια δὲσὲ, ἐκ πλότηῳ τβοέῳ, ζηζδιήτεῳ βρεῖχζ ἠποβεῖζδῶα, ἠ ὠστάνηα πρότее πρέζδιηδγω βεζελοβεία, ἠ πρηηεῖν βῖϑ ἐκ ποκαλῆνιη ἐλέζυ.
Come, wretched soul, with your flesh to the creator of all. Confess to him, and **abstain** henceforth from your past brutishness, and bring to God tears of repentance.⁷⁵

2.4.1.5. Negative imperatives:

Example (23) below is also from the Great Canon. The Speaker directs a negative imperative to God (boldfaced), asking God not to judge him:

- (23) **Не вниди со мною въ судъ** нога моа дѣлаиа, ловега ἠζыкѡа, ἠ ἠсправлаа стремлѣнѡа: но въ щедрѡтачз твоихз презираа моа лѡтаа, еѡе ма вееиальне.
Enter not into judgment with me, taking into account my works, investigating my words, and correcting my inclinations. But in your mercy, overlooking my evils, save me, Almighty.⁷⁶

2.4.1.6. *Da*-clauses functioning as imperatives

Another modal used with the 2nd person is the *da*-clause: this is a phrase composed of the particle "da" plus the present tense form of a verb, in what looks like perfective aspect when viewed through the prism of modern Russian.⁷⁷ The function of *da*-clauses within discourse overlaps considerably with that of the imperative. Examples (24) and (25) below are *da*-clauses that function as imperatives; there is no apparent motivation for using one or the other. The only difference is that *da*-clauses in jussive function seem to appear only under negation.

In (24), we can tell that the *da*-clause functions as an imperative since it is a plea for a possible outcome. However, the desired outcome does not follow from the first part of the sentence: the narrator states that he has sinned, but implores that Christ not reject him *despite* this. A key part of this utterance is the narrator's presupposition that Christ will reject him. In (25), the narrator once again states how evil he is, and then implores Christ not to judge him like the Pharisee despite this: **да не въ фарїсеамз ѡсѡдиши ма**. The primary difference between (24) and (25) is that the latter continues with a positive imperative form: instead of simply imploring Christ *not* to do something, he also cajoles Christ to do something positive for him, in this instance to grant him the humility of the Publican: **паче же мытарѡво смнрѣнїе подаждь ми**. *Da*-clauses are boldfaced.

- (24) Согрѣшнхз тебе ѡдннз ѡзз, согрѣшнхз паче вречз, хрїтѣ еѡсе, **да не презриши мене**.

⁷⁵ Canticle 1, verse 2 from the Great Canon.

⁷⁶ Canticle 1, verse 24 from the Great Canon.

⁷⁷ To my knowledge, no study has been undertaken that analyzes how aspect functions in RCS.

I alone have sinned against you, I have sinned more than all men; **reject me not [that you not reject me]**, Christ my savior.⁷⁸

- (25) ВЪКОКОГЛАГОЛНВЪЗ НЫНѢ СЪМЪ, ЖЕСТОКЪЗ ЖЕ НЪ СЪРДЦЕМЪЗ, ВОТЩЕ НЪ БЪДЕ, ДА НЕ
СЪ ФАРИСѢЕМЪЗ ѠСЪДИШИ МЪ, ПЪЧЕ ЖЕ МЫТАРЕВО СМНРЕНІЕ ПОДАЖДЕ МНЪ СЪДИНЕ ЦЕДРЕ,
ПРАВΟΣЪДЕ, НЪ СЕМЪ МЪ СОУЧЕЛНЪ.
Now I am haughty, and am unmerciful of heart; but all in vain. O righteous Judge, who
alone are compassionate, **do not condemn me with the Pharisee**; but grant me the
humility of the Publican and number me with him.⁷⁹

2.4.1.7. Goal-oriented *da*-clauses

The RCS goal-oriented *da*-clause conveys a goal or purpose. The *da*-clause can express some degree of uncertainty about whether the condition and the consequence will be fulfilled. In Example (26) Christ offers his body and blood so that the narrator (equivalent to the reader) would be cleansed and refashioned, and so that he would be brought to God.

- (26) ТѢЛО ТВОЕ НЪ КРѠВЬ РАСПННАЕМЫНЪ Ѡ БЪСѢХЪ ПОЛОЖИЛЪ СЪНЪ СЛОВЕ: ТѢЛО ОУБЪ,
ДА МЪ ѠБНОВИШИ: КРѠВЬ, ДА ѠМЫЕШИ МЪ: ДЪХЪ ЖЕ ПРЕДАЛЪ СЪНЪ, ДА МЪ
ПРИВЕДЕШИ ХРІСТЕ, ТВОЕМЪ РОДИТЕЛЮ.
Your body and blood, O Crucified, you offered for all, O Word: your body **to refashion me**, your blood **to wash me clean**; and you have given up your spirit, Christ, [in order] **to bring me to your Father**.⁸⁰

2.4.1.8. Hypothetical imperative *da*-clauses

According to Kant's *Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals*, a hypothetical imperative conditionally demands performance of an action for the sake of some other end or purpose; it has the form "Do X if you wish to achieve Y." The hypothetical imperative *da*-clause contrasts with the imperative *da*-clause discussed above in that the imperative only includes the first element of the equation (do X), and there is no mention of the overall goal to be achieved (Y). Another important difference is that imperatives are all main clauses, whereas hypothetical imperatives are subordinate clauses. In this way they are closer to purpose clauses than to true imperatives. In Example (27), the goal or purpose is expressed as a hypothetical imperative.

- (27) БДНЪ Ѡ ДЪШЕ МОА! НЪЗРАДСТЕВЪНЪ ЯКОЖЕ ДРЕВЛЕ БЕЛІКІНЪ ВЪ ПАТРИАРХЪХЪ, ДА
СТАЖЕШИ ДѢЛНТЕ СЪ РАЗУМОМЪ, ДА БЪДЕШИ ОУМЪ ЗРАНЪ БГА НЪ ДОСТІГНЕШИ
НЕЗАХОДАЩІНЪ МРАКЪ ВЪ ВИДѢНІНЪ, НЪ БЪДЕШИ БЕЛІКІНЪ КЪПЕЦЪ.
Awake, my soul! Be full of courage like the patriarch [Jacob], **that you may acquire action with knowledge**, and **that you may be a nous [divine intellect] seeing God and**

⁷⁸ Canticle 3, verse 5 from the Great Canon.

⁷⁹ Canticle 4, verse 24 from the Great Canon.

⁸⁰ Canticle 4, verse 18 from the Great Canon.

may reach the innermost darkness in contemplation, and that you may be a great merchant [of spiritual things].⁸¹

2.4.1.9. Negated hypothetical imperative (prophylactic) *da*-clauses

I will set up a category complementary to the hypothetical imperative: the negated hypothetical imperative. In such phrases, one is asking the 2nd person to perform a specific act (X) so that a certain outcome (Y) will *not* occur. The presumption is that the outcome Y would necessarily stem from the current circumstances and would most definitely occur, if not for the intervention expressed by the imperative X.

As in the hypothetical imperative examples above, the negated hypothetical imperative contains two elements: the imperative (do X), and the second element (lest Y happen). Example (28) below includes a negated hypothetical imperative *da*-clause.

(28) **Согрѣшихъ, доидѣвъ оубо плоти моеѧ, вѣмъ щедре: но въ покаяніи мѧ прїимнѣ, ѡ въ рѣзѣмъ призовѣ, да не бѣдѣ стѣжатиѣ, ни брѣшино чѣждѣмѣ, сїце, сѧмъ мѧ оубо щедри.**

I have sinned, having violated the vessel of my flesh, I know this, Merciful one; but receive me in repentance and call me to knowledge, **lest I [that I not] become the possession and grain of the enemy**; but do you, Savior, be benevolent to me.⁸²

In the above example the imperative is addressed to God: **въ покаяніи мѧ прїимнѣ, ѡ въ рѣзѣмъ призовѣ** (accept me in repentance, and call me to my senses). The negated hypothetical begins with **да не: да не бѣдѣ стѣжатиѣ, ни брѣшино чѣждѣмѣ, сїце, сѧмъ мѧ оубо щедри**. Thus, the narrator implores God to accept his repentance and call him to his sense, lest he become the possession and food of the enemy.

Having addressed the negated hypothetical imperative, it serves to mention that a significant aspect of discourse is the prominence and frequency of negation. According to Timberlake (speaking about Russian and other languages):

Negation...is a powerful operator: it selects out some word and its meaning and then forces one to consider alternatives. To assert "not x" is to allow or even suggest that, under some other circumstances, on some other occasion, in some other world, the opposite state of affairs might hold instead. The significance of negation, then, is not merely that some situation is denied, but that we are forced to consider both alternatives at once (2004:459).

Example (29) below is from the Menaion service addressed to Archippus. It contains a negated statement (**Никакоже прельщенъми ѡлабѣвша**). Its purpose is to convey the expectation that one *would* be weakened by the devil's deceptions, but that this saint was not.

⁸¹ Canticle 4, verse 9 from the Great Canon.

⁸² Canticle 4, verse 25 from the Great Canon.

(29) **ННКАКОЖЕ ПРЕЛЦЕНЬМН ѠЛАБѢВША**, ЛЬСТНВЫЙ НЕМНЛОСТНЕНУ ТΑ ΕΡΕЦΑΕΤΖ
 рАНАМН, БГОМДРЕ, СМОТРАЮЩА КЗ СЛБѢ, ЮЖЕ ТН ХРІТОСЗ ПОДАЕТЗ, ПРОСЛАВЛА ТΑ.

Mercilessly the false one lacerated you with stripes, O divinely wise one, yet **you were in no wise weakened by his deceptions**, but looked to the glory which Christ bestows on you, glorifying you.⁸³

Negation is most often found in RCS in discourse and applies to both the Speaker and Addressee: liturgical narrative rarely negates a past action. Rather, the aorist is used in liturgical narration primarily to indicate events when they are to be viewed from an external perspective. Liturgically narrated events, especially those of the Old Testament, are presented as if objectively; there is no possibility other than the event that takes place. When events are presented in this way, there is no recourse to this "other world" in which alternate realities are possible. Thus, there is a correlation between liturgical narrative and a lack of negation. By the same token, there is a strong correlation in RCS between discourse and negation. Discourse is the mode of alternatives.

As shown above in the narrative passages in §2.1 and §2.2, the main circumstance in which alternatives are presented is in the form of direct speech embedded in the narrative. Once the direct speech ends, the possibility for alternatives ends as well, and we are transported out of the scene itself back to the narrator, who sees all but does not offer alternatives to the action presented.

Discourse, however, is the mode of alternatives: for a Speaker and an Addressee to interact, there must be some negotiation, such as that of possible future events or current worldviews. With this in mind, we return to other environments where the 2nd person is found. Some examples use negation to express alternatives. Alternatives are also expressed by using the future tense (divination), imperatives, or comparisons with different persons.

2.4.2. Tenses

2.4.2.1. The future tense

The future represents events that have yet to occur, in contrast with the past and present, which are definite and describable. The future cannot be predicted with accuracy; nonetheless, it is a part of the projected timeline that is *anticipated* to occur. That is, one can project what will occur from the situation in the present. Since the future is a projection, it deals with options, alternatives, and uncertainty, and is thus often characterized as modal.⁸⁴ Examples (30) and (31) include projections into the future. Both examples use perfective verbs conjugated in the present tense (начнѸ, положѸ, предсгланетз) to express this tense. The future tense is boldfaced.

(30) **ѠКЪДЪ НАЧНѸ ПЛАКАТИ ѠКААНАГВ МОЕГѸ ЖИТІА ДѢАНИИ**; КОЕ ЛИ **ПОЛОЖѸ**
 НАЧАЛО, ХРІТЕ, НЫНѢШНЕМѸ РЫДААНИЮ; НО ІАКВ БЛГОДТРОБЕНЗ, ДАЖДА МН ПРЕГРЕШЕНИИ

⁸³ Menaion, February 19th.

⁸⁴ This definition of the future—as unpredictable—is certainly true, but it must also be kept in mind that the authors of the RCS liturgical texts did not regard the future in this way.

горю. Горá же с̑на́и́скаа дымáшесѧ всѧ, с̑хождѣнїа рáдн бж̑їа на ню во о́гннѣ: и́
 во с̑хождáше дымз, ѣ́кв дымз пѣщнын: и́ о́ужабо́шасѧ всѣ лю́дїе сѣлѡ. Бы́ша же
 гла́сн трѣвѣнїи прони́сходáще крѣ́пцы сѣлѡ. мωνῆ́ей глаго́лаше, вѣ́з же
 ѡ́бѣщавáше с̑мѣ́ гла́сомз.

And **it came to pass** on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the **voice of the trumpet exceeding loud**; so that all the people that was in the camp **trembled**. And Moses **brought forth** the people out of the camp to meet with God; and they **stood** at the nether part of the mount. And mount Sinai **was altogether on a smoke**, because the LORD descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof **ascended** as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount **quaked** greatly. And when the voice of the trumpet **sounded** long, and waxed louder and louder, Moses **spake**, and God answered him by a voice.

The use of the aorist and the imperfect in Scriptural narrative is similar to the use of these tenses in temporal-reportive (narrative) hagiographic hymns.⁸⁷ As discussed below in Chapter 3, 23% of Menaion hymns are not directed to an Addressee, but rather discuss a 3rd-person Other. The subject of such verses is some manifestation of God (Jesus, the Trinity, etc.) or another saint (including the Theotokos). Such non-2nd-person singular subjects automatically take the aorist or imperfect past tense, as opposed to the perfect, as a result of the past tense reforms discussed in Chapter 1. Despite the automatic use of a particular verb form depending on the person of the subject, there is a difference in temporal semantics between 2nd-person and non-2nd-person events. The aorist and imperfect depict temporal sequencing on a clear timeline, giving narratives of events that are real and punctual in the context of Orthodox Christianity, which could not possibly have unfolded any other way. Example (34) is a non-2nd person narrative Menaion hymn that uses the aorist to speak of Zacharias, father of John the Baptist:⁸⁸

(34) Зако́на молча́нїемз ієра́рхз **свазáсѧ**, а́ггѣла гла́сомз,
 а́ггѣла прїемз хр̑сто́ва прнше́ствїа, пр̑рѡ́ка и́ та́нннїка,
 с̑з ѣ́лїсавѣтїю непло́дною и́ цѣломѡдренно́ю:
 и́ тогѡ́ рж̑твѡмз **ѡ́бновїсѧ** бл̑годáть и́ и́збавлѣнїе, и́ прнмнрѣнїе нáше всемї́рноє.
 //с̑гѡ́ **проповѣ́да** а́гнца и́ содѣ́телѧ, и́ с̑стѣствѣ́ ѡ́бновї́телѧ.
 ѡ́ непло́дныѧ о́утрѡбы пло́дз пода́юща, с̑на́ же ѣ́вельшасѧ и́зз дѣ́вы, ѣ́кв бж̑твенный
 та́ннннїкз бж̑їа бл̑годáти.

The high priest **was bound** by the silence of the law by an angel's voice, having received that angel, the prophet and initiate of the coming of Christ, together with Elizabeth the barren and chaste; and through the birth, grace and redemption, and our universal reconciliation **were inaugurated**;

⁸⁷ See §3.5-3.8.

⁸⁸ Menaion 9:40.

//for he **preached** the lamb and creator, and the renewer of nature,
the one who provided the fruit from a barren womb,
the son who had appeared from a virgin as the godly initiate of divine grace.

The above narrative hymn is devoid of options or alternatives: there is no possibility entertained that Zacharias could have had any other experience other than what is reported here: namely the angel visitis him, after which he becomes mute as a result of not believing the angel. Events are temporally definite. This is seen by the manner in which sequencing conjunct participles and verbs interact to construct a timeline.

The other Menaion hymns that are not addressed to the saint are atemporal and depict eternal truths. Although non-narrative and temporally indefinite, this type of 3rd person Menaion hymn can be grouped with narrative hymns with respect to the way in which it depicts a world devoid of alternatives. Example (35) is atemporal and does not make use of sequencing conjunct participles:⁸⁹

(35) СВѢТЪ ВОЗІАВШІЙ БЕЗЛѢТНЫЙ Ѡ ѠЦѦ ПРѢЖДЕ ВѢКЪ, ВЪ ЛѢТО
НЫНѢ НАПОСЛАДОКЪ, НЪЗЪ ТВОѢ, ДѢО, ІАВНІА НА СПАСѢНІЕ МІРА,
//КЪ НЕМѢЖЕ НЕ ПРЕСТАЙ Ѡ ЛЮДЕХЪ ТВОИХЪ МОЛѦЩІА. ⁹⁰

The timeless light who shone forth from the Father before the ages has now in these latter days manifested himself in time for the salvation of the world, O Virgin.
//Cease never to pray to him in behalf of your people.

Example (35), a statement of dogma, refers to the incarnation of Jesus and its purpose, according to the Orthodox Church: salvation for the world.⁹¹ The aorist, *ІАВНІА*, is used to establish the significance of the fact that the incarnation occurred. As in above Examples (32)-(34) there is no option entertained through negation that such events might *not* have occurred; additionally, there is no comparison with an Other that could indicate the possibility of alternative worlds or behaviors.

The use of the aorist and imperfect in Scriptural narrative is similar to the use of these tenses in temporal-reportive (narrative) hymns in their temporal definiteness and constativity. Atemporal hagiographic hymns—although temporally indefinite—pattern similarly in their constativity. We may tentatively assume that non-discourse texts are united by a principle of constativity, which underlies events that (according to the Orthodox worldview) *must* have occurred. Those texts involving an Addressee (discourse texts) are very different regarding constativity. We now turn to the 2nd person and the perfect tense.

⁸⁹ Menaion 4:3.

⁹⁰ The last line of this hymn is discussed in §4.3.

⁹¹ The lone participle is attributive, rather than conjunct: *ВОЗІАВШІЙ* is a frequent epithet for Jesus: СВѢТЪ ВОЗІАВШІЙ БЕЗЛѢТНЫЙ Ѡ ѠЦѦ ПРѢЖДЕ ВѢКЪ.

Table 1: Person and genre roles in RCS

Person/genre	Tenses	Moods	Role type	Other roles
Speaker/ Narrative	Aorist, imperfect	Indicative (definiteness, constativity)	Recipient/reteller of action	Professions of faith
Speaker/ Discourse	Aorist, present	Goal-oriented	Actor, Speaker	Performatives; self-reflection
Addressee/ Discourse	Perfect, present, future	Goal-oriented; hypothetical imperatives; negated hypothetical imperatives; imperatives	Recipient of utterances, accusations	Recipient of accusations
3rd-person Other/ Narrative	Aorist, imperfect	Indicative (definiteness, constativity)	Recipient/reteller of action	
3rd-person Other/ Discourse	Aorist	Goal-oriented; hypothetical imperatives; negated hypothetical imperatives	No role	Brought into comparison with 2nd person by means of 1st

2.6. The relationships among different persons

The following relationships among different persons are valid in RCS, for both discourse and narrative.

2.6.1. The Speaker: the free person

The 1st person can co-occur with a 2nd person in discourse, since certain texts are addressed to the 2nd person by the 1st (Menaion hymns, Psalms, and the Great Canon). At the same time, there are texts in which there is a Speaker but no Addressee in the text (endocentric narrative and self-reflective verses, including professions of faith). The Speaker is also capable of becoming like a 3rd person (a participant in narrative events). Because of its flexibility, dualistic role, and ability to operate within any genre of RCS, I call the first person Speaker the "free person": it does not need to bind with any other person in narrative or discourse.

2.6.2. The Addressee: the dependent non-person

There is no text in which an Addressee appears independent of a Speaker; even if an entire text is written as an address, with no mention of an "I", there is still an implicit Speaker. This obvious fact aside, there are no RCS texts in which only the Addressee appears; there is

always a Speaker inserting himself somewhere in the text.⁹⁷ Additionally, the Addressee also functions only in discourse; I am not aware of any RCS narrative passages told in the 2nd person. The Addressee is the recipient of utterances and pleas, but does not respond in the text; it was designated a type of "non-person" above (§2.3). The 2nd person functions with various tenses and moods, but its primary realm is the mode of different worlds: imperatives, options, and future possibilities. I will call the RCS Addressee "dependent," as it cannot exist without a Speaker, and because its role is very restricted.

2.6.3. The third-person Other: the external non-person

Benveniste 1971 designated the 3rd the "non-person" due to its lack of participation in direct discourse. If role-based designations of "person" are being discussed, then this designation fits well for both discourse and narrative. I have already shown that, in discourse, the Addressee could just as easily be considered a non-person as the Other. I also designate the Other "external," meaning that it is external to the utterance made by the Speaker and directed to the Addressee.

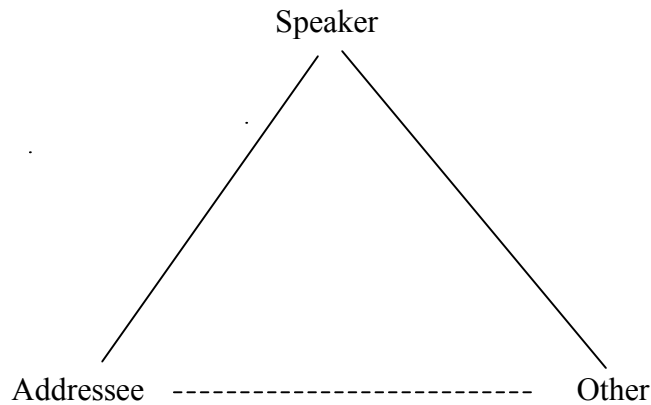
2.6.4. Speaker, Addressee, and Other

If in RCS the Addressee is a divine abstraction, it is much less of a "person" (in the everyday sense) than even the Other. And, if the Addressee is not a person, the only real person remaining is the Speaker. The Speaker has a position of primacy in RCS. This is illustrated by a number of factors. For one, the 1st person is the only grammatical person that can hold an active role in both discourse and narrative. It is also the only true shifter: each reader of RCS discourse is intended to assume the identity of the Speaker. The Addressee, by contrast, can only represent the identities of a limited group of referents. The Other also has a limited role: in the Great Canon, for example, the Other represents a limited group of Biblical figures.

The Speaker is the only true person, and we can depict the Speaker as a higher order than Addressee or Other. The Addressee is bound to the Speaker, and the Speaker can compare himself or the Addressee with an Other. The Other is also bound to the Speaker in that he cannot appear in discourse and narrative without the Speaker pulling him into the text. We could depict these relations by the following diagram:

⁹⁷ This is true even of Akathist hymns, which are constructed as Addresses to Jesus and saints: the Speaker invariably inserts himself into the hymn.

Relationships of Speaker, Addressee, and Other:



2.7. Conclusions

This chapter has shown that person, verbal tense, and genre are all related in the RCS liturgical language. Discourse is the genre of options and alternatives, whereas narrative is the mode of constativity. The 2nd person, the Addressee, is used exclusively in discourse. The Addressee (along with the Speaker, naturally) also appears in dialogue chunks embedded in narrative, in which narrative transitions into discourse before returning to its overall genre. The 1st person is found in both discourse and narrative. The 1st person is found in endocentric narrative in which he is a character in the story, and the 1st person is also the main actor in RCS liturgical discourse. The 3rd person is primarily found in narrative, when the external Speaker refers to characters in the narrative, but is also pulled into discourse by means of comparisons.

The correlation among tense, person, and genre is a natural step following from the above. Narrative is either exocentric or endocentric, and primarily features the 1st and 3rd persons. The 2nd person is simply not found in narrative chunks in RCS narrative—there is no scriptural passage that is narrated entirely in the *ты* or *вы* forms. The 2nd person thus appears exclusively in the genre of discourse. The discourse-specific niche for the 2nd person may have led to its formal (reformed), past tense-based differentiation in the context of the RCS liturgical language—in the singular, at least, which is the main number for the 2nd person in this language.

It is clear that the system established here for RCS is highly idealized. The reason why it is possible to establish such a system is that RCS is a highly stylized, ritualized liturgical language. Other language forms that are not as ritualized would naturally not have such a clean system. What I have established in this chapter *may* have some extensions in other languages. The degree to which this model may be relevant for other languages, though, is a tricky question, and one which is outside the scope of this present study.

Chapter 3

Temporality and period structure: the aorist, the perfect, and participles

3.0. Introduction

Hagiographic hymnography is a specialized type of discourse in that it is highly formulaic and conventionalized. This chapter examines time and how it is represented in hagiographic hymnography in the Menaion.

As we know from §1.2, which discussed reforms in the inherited verbal system, in the Menaion the aorist and the perfect tenses are in complementary distribution by person (the imperfect is rarely found, and the pluperfect is almost never used). As a result of the 16th-18th century reforms of the past tense system, 2nd-person singular verb forms are expressed by the perfect tense, and all other persons take the aorist or imperfect. Despite the fact that a certain tense is automatically used depending on the person of the subject, there is a difference in the temporal semantics of hymns that are addressed to the saint (apostrophic) and those that are not (nonapostrophic). The nature of this difference is analyzed in the present chapter. Events in apostrophic hymns tend to be related causally and can be depicted on a causal chain. Conjunct participles play a key role in causal sequencing. Nonapostrophic hymns, on the other hand, behave differently: some feature sequencing conjunct participles, whereas others do not; the difference depends on the nature of the person of the subject.

The various types of participles discussed here differ not so much formally but rather semantically: they comprise attributive, depictive, sequencing conjunct, and nonsequencing conjunct participles. Attributive participles include both active and passive participles, as well as entire participial phrases, which serve as modifiers to a noun to which they are syntactically subordinate. Depictive participles are secondary predicates of the subject of a phrase that add description and detail (such as "Karen drove the car *drunk*"). Conjunct participles illustrate cause-effect, purpose relations, or overall event sequencing. Conjunct participles in hagiographic hymnography are of two varieties: sequencing and nonsequencing. Sequencing conjunct participles are typical and behave according to the above definition. Nonsequencing conjunct participles only *appear* to sequence events: in the semantics of the hymn, however, they represent an event that is equivalent to the main verb (see §3.4). Other types of participles, including substantival, are not discussed here.

Analyses of RCS have been published almost continually since the 16th century, and most have discussed morphology, rather than syntax and usage. This is the gap in general RCS scholarship that this chapter intends to bridge. Following the presentation of some background information in §3.1, §3.2-3.8 below analyze a series of complete hymns to show how the temporal system of this highly formulaic language can be exploited for various stylistic purposes.

3.1. Background

3.1.1. The period structure of hagiographic hymns addressed to saints

Gamanovich defines certain basic concepts used in the present analysis of hymns: "a period is what we call a compound (compound coordinate or compound subordinate [complex])

extended sentence, consisting of two parts: the first part presents a series of increasingly significant elements of a given element or phenomenon, while the second part gives the conclusion or deduction” (1991:407). In this instance, the period is the global hymn structure. Each hymn typically represents one complete period, and the period is made of two separate blocks. Each block contains its own type of content and form. I call the first block the *proposition*, and the second block the *deduction*. Each block has its own internal workings that are different from those of the other block.

Many examples of hagiographic hymns are presented below in the analysis; first, though, this introduction first provides a basic formula for the global hymn structure. The proposition is addressed to the saint and includes a series of statements in the perfect tense about what the saint did while alive. The proposition is followed by the deduction, and there are two options for the deduction: it may continue to address the saint or it may include some form of 1st-person plural hortative statement. In either case, the tense will switch to the present. A transition word, here called a "proof marker," separates the proposition from the deduction. For the purposes of this chapter we can reduce Menaion hymns that are addressed to saints to two general formulae, (a) and (b) below:

a. Hymns in which there is no person switch in the deduction:

Proposition: Address to saint: you did *x*

Proof marker

Deduction: Address to saint: you are *y*

b. Hymns in which there is a person switch in the deduction:

Proposition: Address to saint: you did *x*

Proof marker

Deduction: Hortative statement: we do *y*

In (a) there is a change in tense (but not in person) between the proposition and deduction.⁹⁸ In (b), on the other hand, there is a change in both tense and person.⁹⁹ In RCS hymnography contrasts in time and person make up the period structure.

3.2. Services examined in this study

Twelve Menaion services were examined for this study. The services are composed in honor of the following saints: Mary of Egypt, Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, Theophan of Sigriana, John Climacus, John the Baptist, Pelagia, Feodot, Symeon the Stylite, Efvtimij of Suzdal, Feodosij of the Kiev Caves, the martyr Nikita, and Iona of Novgorod.¹⁰⁰ These services represent a mix of services originally composed in RCS as well as services translated from Greek. The following chart represents a breakdown of the preterite tense verbs in the twelve selected services:

⁹⁸ See Example (1) below for a type (a) period structure.

⁹⁹ See Example (5) below for type (b) period structure.

¹⁰⁰ Menaion citations will be given in the following format: Menaion, then volume (corresponding to month, with "1" for January), then the page number (translated into standard Arabic numerals from Slavonic). For example, Menaion 12:49 refers to page 49 of the December volume.

Table 1. Numbers of aorists, imperfects, and perfects used in Menaion hymns

Saint	Aorists	Imperfects	Perfects	Total past tense verbs
Theophan-Sigriana	5	1	51	57
Mary-Egypt	11	6	58	75
John-Ladder	2	0	65	67
John-Baptist	31	4	50	85
Zacharias	24	4	62	88
Feodot	26	3	80	109
Feodosij-Caves	34	4	103	147
Pelagia	3	0	51	54
Symeon-Stylite	20	5	103	110
Iona-Novgorod	35	10	68	113
Evftimij-Suzdal	18	3	121	142
Nikita	62	11	55	128
Totals	271	51	849	1175
Percentages (rounded)	23%	4%	73%	100%

Table 1 above indicates that approximately 73% of preterite verbs examined take a perfect form; these verbs are all 2nd-person singular. Twenty-seven percent of preterite verbs take aorist or imperfect forms; these verbs have varying non-2nd-person singular subjects. The perfect forms are in complete and complementary distribution with the simplex (aorist and, less commonly, imperfect) forms.

Each hymn discussed in this chapter is addressed to only one saint; for the sake of brevity the word "singular" is often dropped from the phrase "2nd-person singular". Dual forms are not discussed because the dual is rarely used when Menaion services are addressed to two or more saints. Instead, each saint is addressed as an individual in the individual hymns that make up the full service.¹⁰¹ See §6.3.3.1 for more information on services addressed to two or more saints.

3.3. The behavior of second-person singular subjects

¹⁰¹ The overall aim and structure of hymns composed to two or more saints is similar to the aim and structure of hymns composed to one saint. Second-person dual or plural verbs do not take the form of the perfect tense, however, since this tense is only found with 2nd-person singular subjects. The following example is addressed to four saints: the martyr Sophia and her daughters Vera, Nadezhda, and Lubov. It illustrates the fact that 2nd-person plural hymns are similar to 2nd-person singular hymns: both order events on a causal chain and use sequencing conjunct participles. The example is from Ode Three of the Matins Canon (September 17th):

(i) **ПРИСТУПИТЕ** оумз вражій дѣвы великохвалныйи, и тогоу гордыню
ИЗЛОЖИТЕ, великомудренно **ПОДВИГШЕЯ**, и прежде хвалцагоа истребити
 море, теченьми кровеи **ПОТОПИТЕ**.

You [all] **came upon** the hostile mind, O greatly-praised Virgins, and have now **brought down** his pride, **having fought** with greatness of wisdom; you **drowned** in the streams of your blood him that once boasted he would blot out the sea.

Example (1) illustrates the situation that arises when the subject is 2nd-person singular (and the verb is automatically perfect): namely, conjunct participles are used to order events on a causal chain.¹⁰² A causal chain is different from a timeline. Timelines depict chronological sequencing, whereas causal chains imply cause–and–effect or purpose relations that may or may not be on a timeline. Example (1), like all 2nd-person hymns, is apostrophic, meaning that it is addressed to the saint.¹⁰³ I separate the proposition from the deduction with the symbol "//". The proof marker is **тѣмже**. Finite verbs are bolded and participles are underlined in all examples.

- (1) **ѣже** по **ѡбразѣ** ѡблѡдѣ неврединѣ,
 оумѣ влѣкѣ на стѣрѣти плѣченѣа портннчєи портѣвнѣа,
 во **ѣже** по подобию, ѣакѣ мѡщно **возшѣлѣ** **ѣи**:
 мѡжеи **во** **ѣстергѣ** пондѣнѣа, потцѣлѣа **ѣи** хѣждшєе покорнѣти лѣчшємѣ, ѡ
 плѡть порабѡтитѣ дѣхѣ.
тѣмже монашєствѣющнхѣ **ѣвнѣлѣа** **ѣи** вѣрхѣ, жнѣтель пѣстѣнннѣ, блгѡтєкѣщнхѣ
 ѡбѣчѣтель, прѣвнѡ добродѣтели ѡзвѣстнѣншєе.
 //и нынѣ на нѣбѣхѣ зєрцѣлѡмѣ разрѣшшымѣа, ѡчѣ нѡшѣ дєодѡбїє, чнстѣ **зрншн**
 стѣю трѣцѣ, молѣлѣа неврѣдѣвннѣ ѡ ѡже вѣрою ѡ любѡбїю чѣщнхѣ тѣ.

Having preserved intact that which was created according to the image of God, through fasting having set your mind as master over the pernicious passions, **you ascended**, as far as it was possible, to that which accords [with God's likeness]; courageously having subjugated your nature, **you strove** to subject that which is base to that which is higher, and to enslave the flesh to the spirit. Wherefore, **you were shown to be** the paragon of monastics, a most excellent rule of virtue.
 //And now, Feodosij our father, the reflections having been abolished, in the heavens you gaze in purity upon the Holy Trinity, praying directly for those who honor you with faith and love.

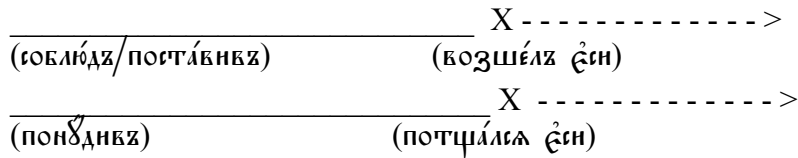
The relationship of conjunct participles to their finite verbs in Example (1) is depicted in the following chart, and the resulting causal chain is also given below:

Conjunct participles	Finite verbs	Relationship
ѡблѡдѣ портѣвнѣа	возшѣлѣ ѣи	effort-goal
пондѣнѣа	потцѣлѣа ѣи	effort-goal

¹⁰² Menaion 5:23.

¹⁰³ In this chapter the phrase "2nd-person hymn" is often used to mean that the hymn is apostrophic.

Causal chain:



Events in this hymn are presented in the form of an argumental discourse whose purpose is to convince the reader of the saint's sanctity. Having preserved the image of God, and having set his mind over his passions, the saint arose; having subjugated his nature, he strove to be God-like. Each phrase, constructed with conjunct participles and finite verbs, illustrates the struggles the saint took upon himself. Argumental discourse leads to the proof marker *тѣмже*. The proof marker introduces the conclusion, or the deduction of the hymn: because of his struggles, and the virtues these struggles document, the saint is a model for others, holy, or able to intercede on one's behalf with God (*тѣмже...чїстѣ зрїши ст҃ю трїцѣ, молїла нескрѣдственичѣ*, "Wherefore...in the heavens you gaze in purity upon the Holy Trinity, praying directly for those who honor you with faith and love".).

The distinction between a timeline and a causal chain is often unclear; in some examples the terms can be used interchangeably, whereas others are more appropriately viewed in terms of a causal chain. Of the apostrophic hagiographic hymns examined here, there were none in which events fall on a timeline that cannot also be considered a causal chain. On the other hand, there were many apostrophic hagiographic hymns that were related causally but not temporally. Therefore, causality appears to be the primary organizing principle in the relations among different events in such hymns. Here are four more examples that illustrate how causal chains function in 2nd-person singular hymns. Example (2) is a hymn to Symeon the Stylite:¹⁰⁴

- (2) На горѣ высокѣ образнѣ днѣнѣ возшэдз,
 ѿ възчертнѣнїи кївѣтѣз їакѡ въз незаходїмаѡ вшэдз,
 дѣлїемѡз їзрѣднѡмѡз, ѿ возхождѣнїе видѣнїи показалз ёїн:
 //жїтїе оубѡ оудїенїе оубѡ желѣзнымн, їакѡже грївнамн златымн оукрашенз, б҃га
 же зрѣ, ѿ зрїмь, ѿ єдїнѡз єдїномѣ бесѣдѣ,
 єгѡже молї, чертнѣнїи ст҃мѡне, ѡ дѣшлхз нлшнхз.

Having ascended the lofty wondrous mountain
 and having entered the impenetrable as an honored tabernacle,
 through excellent activity **you shone forth** the ascent of vision.
 //Wherefore, having illumined your life, adorned with iron chains as with a golden
 necklace, seeing God and being seen by Him, and conversing in solitude with Him alone,
 entreat Him, Honored Symeon, in behalf of our souls.

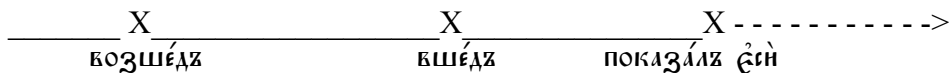
¹⁰⁴ Menaion 5:196.

There is one main event, Symeon beholds the divine revelations. This event is expressed by a finite preterite verb: *βοηχοζαδέηϊε βηδ'εήϊη ποκαζάλζ ε'εή*. This main event is preceded, both causally and temporally, by his ascension of the mountain (*ηα γόρδ βοζσηέδζ*) and his subsequent ascent of a treacherous, narrow pillar (*βζ ηεζαχοδήμαα βσηέδζ*), where he lived for forty-five years and where he was given the gift of clairvoyance. The verb *ποκαζάλζ ε'εή* concludes the hymn proposition. The deduction begins with the proof marker *ο'εκω*, and confirms the sanctity of Symeon.

The following table depicts these three event relations:

Conjunct participles	Finite verbs	Relationship
<i>βοζσηέδζ</i> <i>βσηέδζ</i>	<i>ποκαζάλζ ε'εή</i>	sequencing causality

The causal chain of this hymn is as follows:



Example (3) below is from the service to the martyr Feodot.¹⁰⁵

- (3) *βοζλοζήβεα γ'εβη, ἱακοζε ββαψένηεζ σοεδάζ,*
η̄ ποβηηδ'αεα λοβεε'εμζ ε'εω̄, ε'εοβλαζέηηηε,
ραζδ'άλζ ε'εή βογ'άτηω, μ'ενηηηε μ'δρε, ηήψυμζ
βογ'άτηεβο ηεκράδομο, μ'ε'εήηα ραζδ'μνηω η̄ ι'δ'ηω βεε'ε̄ πρηεβορ'άα.

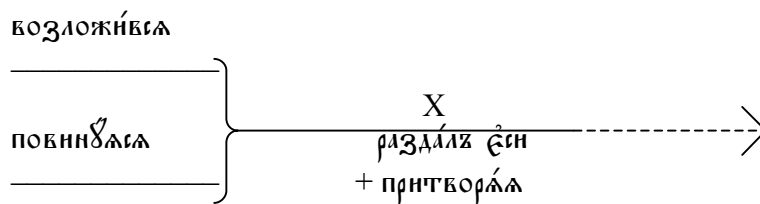
Having offered yourself to the Lord as a sacred vessel,
submitting to his words, Divinely Blessed One,
you gave generously to the poor, Wise Martyr,
 noetically and spiritually laying up for yourself the riches of martyrdom, which cannot be stolen.

¹⁰⁵ Menaion 5:130

The main timeline event is the finite verb expressing the almsgiving of Feodot (РАЗДА́ЛЪ ѿ҃нъ нѣщѣмъ). In order to undertake this action, which is in imitation of Jesus, Feodot first needed to offer himself to Jesus and submit himself to Jesus's words (ВОЗЛОЖѢВѢА и ПОВИИДѢВѢА). Both participles represent events anterior to РАЗДА́ЛЪ ѿ҃нъ, and because of the lexical semantics, as well as the Aktionsart of the participles, their resulting state must also continue into the same timeframe occupied by РАЗДА́ЛЪ ѿ҃нъ, overlapping it. As a result of the main event, the almsgiving to Christians, Feodot was killed (ВОГЛА҃ГѢВѢО НЕКРА́ДОМО, МЪЧѢНІА РАЗЪМНѢ ѿ҃ чѣднѡ себѣ прѣтворѣа). The third conjunct participle, прѣтворѣа, overlaps with РАЗДА́ЛЪ ѿ҃нъ on the timeline, and is largely equivalent to it. The resulting state of прѣтворѣа continues past the time of the finite verb itself. This hymn, although comprised of only one finite verb, has a complex structure that is probably due to its ratio of conjunct participles to finite verbs (3:1). This hymn is thus a good example of the way in which conjunct participles contribute causal and temporal layering. The chart below illustrates the relationship of the participles to their finite verbs:

Conjunct participles	Finite verb	Relationship
ВОЗЛОЖѢВѢА ПОВИИДѢВѢА прѣтворѣа	РАЗДА́ЛЪ ѿ҃нъ	sequencing, causality sequencing, causality equivalence

The following causal chain illustrates the relationship of all the events more appropriately. The parallel lines illustrate the simultaneous state of ВОЗЛОЖѢВѢА and ПОВИИДѢВѢА, which are the preconditions for the simultaneous events РАЗДА́ЛЪ ѿ҃нъ and прѣтворѣа.



Example (4), from Ode Four of the Matins Canon to the nun Pelagia, also illustrates the way in which conjunct participles function as the building blocks for a causal chain in apostrophic hagiographic hymns.

(4) Ѡсквернѣннѡ вѣрѣ ѡста́бльши,

κο χριστῷ προσηκολῶ ἐν μαρτυρίᾳ, πελαγίε μῆνιζε βεβλάβηλα,
 їдωльскѡю погрѣшн вѣскѡ прѣлестѣ,
 //бѣгопрїѣтнѡ.

Having forsaken the abominable religion [idol worship],
 you wisely **hastened** to Christ, O most glorious martyr Pelagia,
having trampled all the falsehood of idolatry underfoot
 //O you who are pleasing to God.¹⁰⁶

In the above example there is a clear causal and timeline structure supported by conjunct participles. Pelagia first engages in one act, the renunciation of idolatry, which is represented by two semantically equivalent perfective past conjunct participles: ὠστράβλησιν and ποгрѣшн; following this renunciation she hastens to Christ (κο χριστῷ προσηκολῶ ἐν). This is the hymn's primary event and the only event represented by a finite verb. In order to run to Christ she needed to have first fulfilled the precondition of forsaking idolatry; thus the chain is not just temporal but causal as well. The following chart illustrates the function of the conjunct participles and their main verbs:

Conjunct participles	Finite verb	Relationship
ὠστράβλησιν ποгрѣшн	προσηκολῶ ἐν	sequencing, causality, and precondition-fulfillment

Likewise, we can represent the hymn on the following causal chain:



Example (5), the final example in this section, is from the service to Zacharias, father of John the Baptist.¹⁰⁷ This hymn illustrates the fact that conjunct participles, although very frequently used, are not always necessary to situate an event on a causal chain. The main question at hand is whether or not a hymn can be placed on a causal chain; conjunct participles, although indicative of this status, are not required. In this example, participles function as depictive secondary predicates, supplying description rather than temporal relationships.

¹⁰⁶ Menaion 5:31
¹⁰⁷ Menaion 9:39.

- (5) **С**вѣщѣнства законнаго **о**дѣланъ истинно **о**дѣждю,
 по чинѣ аароновѣ **с**лужилъ **ѣ**си, и **п**редстоѣ въ храмѣ, **а**ггльскій зрѣкъ **я**вѣ **в**идѣлъ
ѣси, **п**ревѣженне
 //тѣмъ твоѣ **п**редставленіе **в**сѣ поюще **д**оужно, **з**ахѣріе, **п**ѣсньми **в**осхвалѣемъ **т**ѣ,
 по **с**тарости **и**зрастѣвшѣ, **и**оанна **с**лѣвнаго, **м**олѣ **з**а **н**ы **м**илостиваго **б**га, **с**пастѣса
намъ.

Veritably clothed with the vestments of the priesthood under the Law,
you served after the order of Aaron; and as you stood in the Temple, you clearly **saw** an
 Angel's form, O all-blessed one
 //Wherefore, as we all celebrate you translation as is due, we acclaim you with songs, O
 Zacharias, who in deep old age brought forth the glorious John. Intercede for us with the
 merciful God, that we be saved.

This timeline has two strata of backgrounding. The primary stratum is the durational backgrounding event of Zacharias's service in the altar (по чинѣ аароновѣ **с**лужилъ **ѣ**си). The finite verb **с**лужилъ **ѣ**си may refer to one specific instance of this action or, more likely, to his service as a priest in general. This verb fulfills the same backgrounding function as the participles in the above four examples. The secondary stratum is the "backgrounding to the backgrounding," or the depiction of Zacharias's state: he is standing (**п**редстоѣ **в**ъ **х**рамѣ) and clad in priestly vestments (**о**дѣланъ **и**стинно **о**дѣждю). Both **п**редстоѣ and **о**дѣланъ are depictive secondary predicates: Zacharias was serving, standing in the temple and dressed as a priest. Grafted onto this backdrop is one punctual event, the moment when Zacharias sees the angel (**а**ггльскій **з**рѣкъ **я**вѣ **в**идѣлъ **ѣ**си), which is expressed with a finite verb. Following the angel's announcement, Zacharias fathered John the Baptist: по **с**тарости **и**зрастѣвшѣ, **и**оанна **с**лѣвнаго.

Both the fact of Zacharias's service in the temple (which indicates his priestly rank) and the fact that he saw the angel (which indicates he was worthy of a message from God) can be viewed as a strong argument for his sanctity. The proof marker, **тѣ**мъ, is followed by the conclusion to the discourse, the fact that one ought to praise Zacharias (**т**воѣ **п**редставленіе **в**сѣ поюще **д**оужно, **з**ахѣріе, **п**ѣсньми **в**осхвалѣемъ **т**ѣ). Since his sanctity has been proven, the faithful are then encouraged to ask him for intercession: **м**олѣ **з**а **н**ы **м**илостиваго **б**га, **с**пастѣса **н**амъ. The hymn's events can be depicted on a timeline, and can also be ordered in a causal chain.

Backgrounding to the backgrounding (depictives)	Backgrounding	Punctual Timeline Event
о дѣланъ и стинно о дѣждю п редстоѣ в ъ х рамѣ	с лужилъ ѣ си	в идѣлъ ѣ си

terms of a precondition (of the type $\zeta\kappa\epsilon \ \rho\omicron \ \text{\textcircled{O}}\beta\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\zeta \ \eta\epsilon\beta\epsilon\rho\delta\eta\mu\omega, \ \omicron\tilde{\mu}\mu\zeta \ \epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\kappa\text{\textcircled{S}} \ \eta\lambda \ \epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\lambda\epsilon\tau\eta \ \pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\theta\eta\eta\delta\alpha \ \rho\omicron\tau\tau\eta\eta\chi\epsilon\iota\kappa\eta \ \rho\omicron\tau\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\epsilon\zeta$) and a consequence ($\kappa\omicron\zeta\psi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\zeta \ \zeta\epsilon\eta$).

3.4. Non-2nd person subjects in Menaion hymns

This section will address the question of whether nonapostrophic hagiographic hymns have the same function as 2nd-person hymns. Whenever there is a 2nd-person singular hymn in the Menaion, we know that it is generally addressed to the saint. When the subject is not in the 2nd person, however, there are many possibilities. What almost all non-2nd-person subjects have in common is that they take the aorist as the past tense. The remainder of this chapter will discuss the significance of the subject in nonapostrophic hymns. Use of a certain tense form—depending on person—was dictated by the reforms discussed in Chapter 1, but it will be argued that the aorist also has regular semantic and pragmatic implications. There are a variety of possibilities for subjects, and we need to look at the possibilities in order to determine how person affects temporal structure. The following chart depicts subjects that are used with an aorist. The left hand column not only specifies the subject of the main verb but also identifies the general semantic frame of the hymn. The middle column identifies the number of aorist tenses that appear alongside the particular subject in the corpus examined, and the right hand column identifies the percentage of total aorists that appear alongside the particular subject.

Table 2. Non-2nd person subjects that take the aorist

Non-2nd person subject	# of aorists used with this subject	Percentage of total aorists
Gift/blessing of God	42	15%
Heaven	3	1%
Nature ¹⁰⁸	3	1%
Angel(s)	6	2%
Saint's life/image/wisdom	30	11%
God/Holy Spirit	12	4%
Jesus	33	12%
Saint's blood/wounds ¹⁰⁹	6	2%
Saint	81	30%
Adversary of saint ¹¹⁰	6	2%
Saint's feast day	3	1%
"Day of salvation" ¹¹¹	3	1%
Theotokos	6	2%
"We" ¹¹²	15	6%

¹⁰⁸ Hymns whose subjects are nature often depict nature's reaction to seeing Christ crucified.

¹⁰⁹ The saint's blood or wounds are typically used in the context of modeling and imitation. Wounds remind the faithful that they are to sacrifice themselves. The wounds are also depicted as purifying, in that they cleanse people from their sins (in an imitation of the sacrifice of Christ).

¹¹⁰ This is usually an "evil-doer," a representative of Satan, who opposed specific, good actions the saint attempted to take while alive.

¹¹¹ The "day of salvation" is nonspecific and could refer to the birth of Christ, Christ's resurrection, or the general eschaton (end times) and last judgment.

News about saint	3	1%
Those in heaven	3	1%
Old Testament figures ¹¹³	5	2%
Total aorists	271	100

Many of the subjects listed in Table 2 above have the same referent or could be grouped together in the same semantic field. For instance, the saint's life, his wisdom, his image, his blood, his wounds, and his feast day can all be grouped with the saint himself. Once these subjects are logically grouped together, we can condense Table 2 into Table 3 (below):

Table 3. Semantic fields of subjects of non-2nd person preterite verbs

Semantic field	Number of times used as subject	Percentage of total subjects (rounded)
God	103	38%
Saint	95	35%
All humanity/all nature	27	10%
Theotokos	16	6%
Angel(s)	8	3%
Miscellaneous	19	7%

This count of 271 aorists indicates that 35% have a subject that is somehow related to the saint: the subject may be the saint himself, his life as a model for others, the day on which he is commemorated, some part of his body (including blood or wounds), or any other extension of the saint. Thirty-eight percent of hymn subjects fall under the semantic field of "God," whether it is Jesus, Jesus's path, the Holy Spirit, God himself, gifts/blessings from God (including salvation), or mysteries (sacraments) of God. Six percent refer to the Theotokos, or to Old Testament figures that prophesy about her. Another 10% of hymn subjects are nature personified, or "we," which represents all the faithful at all times. Three percent have angels as the subject. Seven percent represent various context-specific, miscellaneous nouns.

In §3.2 it was established that 2nd-person references use conjunct participles to sequence events on a causal chain, and that they have a strong "modeling/imitation" function, thereby providing argumental discourse for a saint's sanctity. The task is now to determine whether the same is true for the non-2nd-person subjects enumerated in the above charts, and then to

¹¹² The subject in non-2nd person hymns is often "we," a timeless, amorphous, and universal assembly of the faithful.

¹¹³ Certain Old Testament figures prefigured various elements of dogma, such as the virgin birth (Isaiah) and the resurrection (Jonah), and also frequently provided a model for future Christians (Job).

Table 4. Participle types by subject.

Abbreviations: NCP - nonsequencing conjunct participle; SCP - sequencing conjunct participle; Ø CP - no conjunct participle

Non-2sg. subject	Ø CP	%	NCP	%	SCP	%	Total
Heaven	3	100%	0	0	0	0	3
Those in heaven	3	100%	0	0	0	0	3
God/Holy Spirit	12	100%	0	0	0	0	12
"The day of salvation"	3	100%	0	0	0	0	3
Saint's life/image/wisdom	30	100%	0	0	0	0	30
News about saint	3	100%	0	0	0	0	3
"We" ¹¹⁶	15	100%	0	0	0	0	15
Saint's blood/wounds	6	100%	0	0	0	0	6
Gift/blessing of God	39	93%	3	7%	0	0	42
Jesus	24	73%	3	9%	6	18%	33
Saint	42	52%	9	11%	30	37%	81
Theotokos	3	50%	3	50%	0	0	6
Angel(s)	3	50%	3	50%	0	0	6
Old Testament figure	2	40%	0	0	3	60%	5
Saint's feast day	0	0	3	100%	0	0	3
Enemy of saint	0	0	0	0	6	100%	6
Nature	0	0	0	0	3	100%	3
Ambiguous examples (not used) ¹¹⁷							11
Totals	189	72%	24	9%	48	18%	271

¹¹⁶ See §2.2.4 for a discussion of the 1st-person plural, which represents 6% of non-2nd person subjects. This subject tends to appear only in hymn deductions, and its function is hortative. "We" cannot function alone in a hymn; there is always another overt person in the hymn (such as the Addressee-saint or a 3rd-person Other). Because it is used in a very specific context, the 1st-person plural is not treated with the rest of the persons in non-2nd-person hymns. The following example (Menaion 4:7) illustrates the hortative function of the 1st-person plural subject-verb pair. The proof marker "ко" introduces the 1st-person plural:

(ii) Прѣбне ѿче ѿвѣдѣмѣ, земныхъ маловременнаго житїа **нзбѣглаз ѿнѣ**,
монашеское житїе **возлюбивъ**, и ангѣломъ собесѣдникъ, и прѣбнымъ **бывъ**
сожитель, дѣмшнелѣ погубилъ ѿнѣ ѡполчѣнїа: мы бо правый пѣть тобою
ходїти **ѡвѣдѣхомъ**, и тѣ на поможь **призываемъ**, **просїще** тобою прїагн
мїръ и велию милость.

O Venerable Father Evftimii, you **fled** earthly, temporal life, **having loved** monasticism; and you, **having been** an interlocutor with angels and a co-dweller with the venerable, **destroyed** the demonic forces: wherefore **we have learned** from you to walk in the correct path, and **we call** on your help, asking for peace and great mercy.

¹¹⁷ Five examples are excluded from these statistics; these are from stock hymns that are used in more than one service, proverbs, and subjects that occur only once.

From Table 4 it is clear that the great majority of all aorists examined are not accompanied by a conjunct participle. We shall now discuss the function of aorists and participles in Menaion hymns that are not addressed to saints, examining first hymns that do not contain conjunct participles, then hymns that contain nonsequencing conjunct participles, and finally hymns that contain sequencing conjunct participles.

3.5. Non-2nd person hymns that use no conjunct participles

The first hymn is the kontakion from the service to John Climacus, and the Lord (ГОСПОДЬ) is the subject:¹¹⁸

- (8) НА ВЫСОТѢ ГДѢ ВОЗДЕРЖАНІА ИСТИННА ТѦ ПОЛОЖИ, ЯКОЖЕ СВЕЗДАѦ НЕЛѢТНЮ,
СВѢТОВОДАЩЮ КОНЦЫ, НАСТАВНИЧЕ ІΩΑΝΝΕ, ОЧЕ НАШЕ.

In the firmament of true abstinence has the Lord set you as a true star guiding the ends of the earth with light, O father John our instructor.

This hymn has two parts. First, God placed the saint on a high place of true abstinence. НА ВЫСОТѢ ГДѢ ВОЗДЕРЖАНІА ИСТИННА ТѦ ПОЛОЖИ refers to the fact that John reached the heights of perfection, and this line indicates that God made the saint's abstinence well known and set him as a model for others. In the second part, the hymnographer compares the saint to a guiding star; СВЕТОВОДАЩЮ is an attributive participle, and there is no timeline sequencing.

The following hymn is from the service to Mary of Egypt:¹¹⁹

- (9) ВРЕМЗ ГРЕШНИКЪМЪ, МАРІЕ, ЖИТІЕ ТВОЕ ОБРАЗЪ ПОКАЗАЕ, БЕЗМѢРНУ
СОГРЕШІВШЫМЪ ВЪ ЖИТІИ ВОСТАТИ, И СКВЕРНУ ѠЧИСТИТИ СЛЕЗАМИ.

Your life, Mary, **was shown** to be a model for all sinners who have sinned beyond measure in life, that they, too, may arise and wash away their defilement with tears.

The above hymn utilizes one aorist form (показает) and no attributive or conjunct participles.¹²⁰ The lone aorist показат indicates that Mary's life was an exhortation to all sinners to arise and purify themselves through tears (repentance, or sorrow for one's sins). The phrase that expresses the sum total of Mary's life (ЖИТІЕ ТВОЕ ОБРАЗЪ ПОКАЗАЕ) cannot have taken place during her life (Mary fled to the desert to repent from her previous sins and was only seen by one person before she died.). The event, показат, expressed in the aorist, represents God's revelation of her sanctity to humanity. It could only have taken place after Mary's death.

The next example also lacks sequencing conjunct participles. Feodosij's feast day

¹¹⁸ Menaion 3: 169.

¹¹⁹ Menaion 4:3.

¹²⁰ СОГРЕШІВШЫМЪ is, of course, substantival, and is thus irrelevant to the discussion at hand.

(πράξαις) is the subject.¹²¹

- (10) Οὔτρο ἡ δένη εἰτίελας τῶν πρᾶξαις ἡβήλα, προεβίαια ἡλша εἰραца, εἰροю хвалацихз чертнѣла по́двиги твоѣ, ѿѣ деодѣѣ.

Your feast **appeared to be/was shown to be** a radiant morning and day, illuminating the hearts of us who praise with faith your honorable struggles, Father Feodosij.

Feodosij's feast day is shown to be a light-filled day that illuminates the hearts of "us", meaning the faithful of all times (προεβίαια ἡλша εἰραца). The hymn is not on a timeline since all acts mentioned are metaphorical and timeliness.

Having examined several examples in which there are no conjunct participles, we may conclude that there is nothing causal or temporal in these hymns. Rather than an argument for the saint's sanctity, they convey absolute facts, including dogma, that do not relate to preceding or following events.

3.6. Hymns featuring nonsequencing conjunct participles

Passages that include nonsequencing conjunct participles (18% of nonapostrophic hagiographic hymns) pattern similarly with those that do not include conjunct participles, in that neither type of hymn orders events on a timeline. Example (11), like Example (6) above, includes a nonsequencing conjunct participle.¹²²

- (11) Ρέχαις τῶν ὀργάνων, εἰτίελα, ποιεῖδύοιце, τὰ ὀβλαζάεμз: εἰ τῶβѣю εὐ νοήтнннѣ вєлнчѣа сотворѣвнѣ гдѣ возвелнчн τὰ, ἡ ἡтннннѣю бѣтѣю мѣрѣ, ροждѣѣла ἡзз чрѣва твоєгѣ показѣ.

Following the words of your lips, O most pure one, we **call you blessed**; for the Lord, who accomplished mighty works through you **has magnified** you and, born of your womb, **showed** you to be the true mother of God.

The first participle, ποιεῖδύοιце, is synonymous with the present tense verb ὀβλαζάεμз (The hymnographer is alluding to Gospel of Luke 1:44-55, in which the Theotokos transmits to the faithful the words with which to praise her.). Following the words of the Theotokos (ποιεῖδύοιце) is thus the same as praising her (ὀβλαζάεμз) using her own words. Her words all relate to the incarnation of Jesus, and there is no sequencing of events between ποιεῖδύοιце and ὀβλαζάεμз. Likewise, there is also no sequencing of events between God magnifying the Theotokos (возвелнчн) and showing her to the true mother of God (показѣ)—both are descriptions of the same phenomenon, the incarnation. There are two essential facts conveyed in this hymn: God blessed the Theotokos, and one ought to praise her because of this. There is no

¹²¹ Menaion 5:20.

¹²² Menaion 3:169.

The first event on the timeline is *ἄγγελα πρίεμζ*, which describes the event of an angel coming to Zacharias while he served in the altar.¹²⁷ The angel stated that Zacharias would be unable to speak because of his disbelief and, from the moment the angel uttered these words, Zacharias was struck dumb (*ζακόνα молчаніемζ ієράρχζ еваζάα, ἄγγελα γλάомζ*). The muting of Zacharias, which is a punctual event, is the second event on the timeline. The third event is the birth of John the Baptist (*и тогѡ рѣѣтѡмζ ѡбноуіа елгодѣть и иъзбавленіе, и приимрѣніе наше вемірноє*). Next on the timeline is John the Baptist's preaching of Jesus: *εεδὸ προповѣδα ἄγнца и содѣтелеа, и εερεεεεεѣ ѡбноуітелеа*. The next participle serves to describe Jesus: as God, he is indicated as the originator of the miracle whereby Elizabeth became pregnant (*ѡ неплѡдныа ѡѣтрѡбы плѡдз подаюца*). *Подаюца* is an attributive participle, another direct object of the verb *προповѣδα*, as is the last participle, *ἴβλѡшаа*, which completes a chain of appositives.

This hymn fulfills a narrative and didactic function, teaching the reader some history surrounding the birth of John the Baptist. This reportive-temporal hymn is thus very different from 2nd-person hymns, which are apostrophic and exegetical.

In Example (14) above the use of a sequencing conjunct participle does indeed aid in the construction of a timeline, but overall semantic criteria (including chains of events expressed by aorists) are the primary factor. The conjunct participle and the three aorists embed this hymn within human time by sequencing events (*πρίεμζ - εваζάα - ѡбноуіа - проповѣδα*). However, there is even more evidence for timeline embedding: the foreshadowing of future events as well as the recapitulation of past ones.

The next hymn, also composed in the 3rd person and referring to the saint, does not have such foreshadowing or recapitulation. Rather, the hymn is constructed in one ever-present "now," one reality that has neither past nor future. In contrast with Example (14), whose subject is the saint and which utilizes sequencing conjunct participles, Example (15) has no timeline sequencing, despite the fact that the subject is also a saint.¹²⁸

(15) *Мѣченикѡ твоѡи, гдѡи, никіта, во страданіи твоѡмζ вѣнецѡ пріѡтъѡ неплѣнный ѡ тебе, бга нашегѡ: и мѣдѡи бо крѣпость твоѡ, мѡчнителии ииъзложѡ, сокрѡшѡ и дѣмѡнѡвѡз немоуцныѡ дѣрѡзѡгѡти.
// тогѡ молітвами спасѡ души наша.*

Your martyr Nikita, O Lord, in his sufferings **received** a crown of incorruption from you, our God. Possessing your strength, he **cast down** the tyrants and **destroyed** the demon's strengthless impertinence.

//By his prayers, save our souls.

The subject of this hymn is Nikita, who does nothing we can pin down to a specific time: he trampled on demons and tyrants and, as a result, went to heaven (*вѣнецѡ пріѡтъѡ неплѣнный*). Or, in an alternative interpretation, it may be that Nikita defeated the demons after his death, by

¹²⁷ In Luke 1 the angel tells Zacharias that his barren wife will conceive, but Zacharias does not believe.

¹²⁸ Menaion 9:149.

interceding on earth in the capacity of a saint. The participle ἡμιέων is attributive, describing Nikita ("he who possesses"). The aorist ηῤῗα functions metaphorically: there was never an actual physical crown. This event did not take place on earth, within time, and ηῤῗα does not sequence events. The focus in (15) is on Nikita as a recipient of eternal life, rather than on any concrete events that occurred during his life.

The following is another pair of hymns, this time with Jesus as the 3rd person subject: Example (16) uses sequencing conjunct participles to construct a timeline, whereas (17) does not have a timeline structure.

- (16) Ἦже прѣжде деннѣцы ѡиѣ слово бж҃іе, чл҃вѣкъ намъ явнѣа,
 воплѡщѣа насъ радн ѡ прѣч҃тыа дѣвы,
 //и ѡ тоа ѡзшѣдъ, небреднмъ сохрани.

The Word of God who existed before the morning star **revealed himself** to us as a man, incarnate for our sake of the most-pure virgin;
 //And having issued forth from her, he **preserved** her intact.¹²⁹

This hymn discusses the incarnation of Jesus, as does (17), but this one emphasizes that he appeared on earth as a man (чл҃вѣкъ намъ явнѣа). The participle paired with явнѣа, воплѡщѣа, refers to the fact that Jesus became incarnate (which can include conception). The aorist явнѣа, on the other hand, pertains to Jesus's actual appearance in the flesh. The relation between these two verbal forms is loosely causal: a precondition, the incarnation, is asserted, and the preconditioned event is Jesus's appearance as a man.

The second verb, сохрани, also has Jesus as its subject, and is paired with the participle ѡзшѣдъ. The passage is grammatically constructed with the past active short-form participle in order to indicate that Jesus came from the Theotokos and preserved her intact. The past active participle, ѡзшѣдъ, precedes the primary action introduced in the verb, сохрани. This is a concessive causal phrase: the event has expectations (that the Theotokos's virginity would not be preserved intact following the birth of Jesus), but the expectations are violated.

Precondition and result: воплѡщѣа > явнѣа

Concessive causality: ѡзшѣдъ > сохрани

As in Example (16), the subject of Example (17) below is also Jesus. In contrast with the above example, though, (17) is timeless and does not make use of sequencing conjunct participles.¹³⁰

- (17) Свѣтъ возидѡшій безлѣтнѣи ѡ ѡца прѣжде вѣкъ, въ лѣто
 нынѣшнѣ наполадокъ, ѡзъ тебѣ, дѣво, явнѣа на спасѣніе мѣра,
 //къ немѡже не прѣстѣи ѡ людехъ тебѡихъ молѡщнѣа.

¹²⁹ Menaion 5:24.

¹³⁰ Menaion 4:3

The timeless light who shone forth from the Father before the ages has now in these latter days **manifested himself** for the salvation of the world, O Virgin.
//Cease never to pray to him in behalf of your people.

This hymn, a statement of dogma, refers to the incarnation of Jesus and its purpose according to the Orthodox Church: salvation for the world. The lone participle is attributive, rather than conjunct: **ВОЗІАВШІЙ** is a frequent epithet for Jesus: **СВѢТЪ ВОЗІАВШІЙ БЕЗЛѢТНЫЙ ѿ ОЦА ПРѢЖДЕ ВѢКЪ**.¹³¹ The aorist, **ІАВІА**, is used to establish the significance of the fact that the incarnation occurred. It states simply that the incarnation occurred, rather than it not having occurred. It is not this specific aorist, but the overall semantic structure that differentiates this hymn from hymns depicting sequencing on the local level (timeline events).

Each of the above hymns discuss Jesus's incarnation, but from different viewpoints. The first hymn, which does use sequencing conjunct participles, focuses on Jesus as a man: on his birth and incarnation. This hymn is both temporal and causal. The second hymn, which does not use sequencing conjunct participles, focuses on Jesus as God and as the instrument of salvation.

Having examined the above pairs, we can conclude that it is not the subject alone that determines whether or not a hymn is locatable on a timeline through its use of verbs and sequencing conjunct participles; certain subjects (including Jesus, the saint, angels, and the Theotokos) form different hymn types depending whether they are viewed as agents acting on earth or as heavenly beings.

3.9. The Divinity Hierarchy

It has already been established that the past tense form in the Menaion is automatically determined by the person of the subject: the 2nd-person singular takes the perfect, whereas other persons take a nonperfect form that is almost always the aorist. The difference between the subjects is not only reflected in the formal tense of the verb, but also in the timeline structure of the phrase: almost all perfects are paired with sequencing conjunct participles that order events on a causal chain, whereas only 18% of nonperfects are paired with sequencing conjunct participles. Aorist phrases can be either on or off a timeline, but are usually off the timeline. We can define more precisely the role of the subject in nonperfect hymns and whether we can predict from a certain subject whether a phrase will be on or off a timeline.

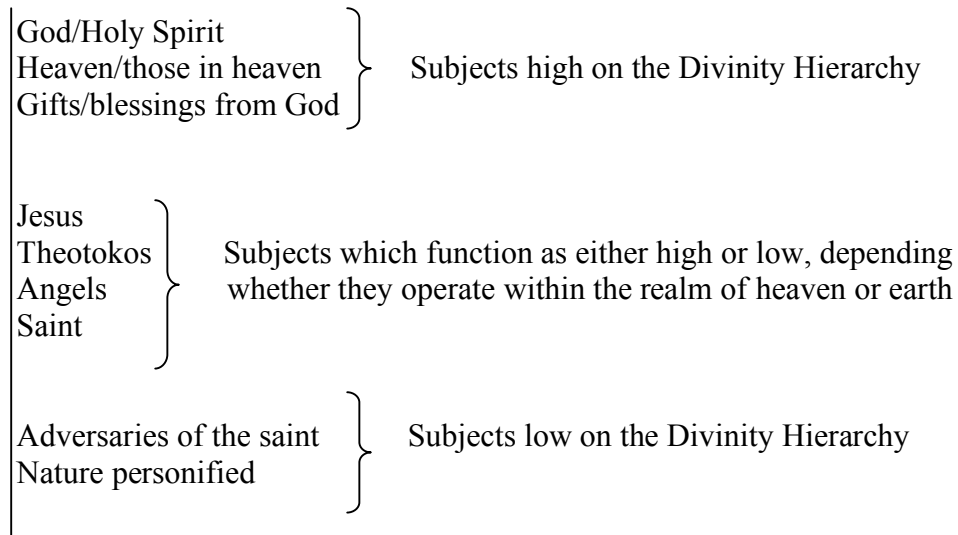
As indicated in Table 4 above, 80% or more of examples lack conjunct participles when the subject is heaven, those in heaven, a saint's life/image/wisdom, God, a saint's blood/wounds, the day of salvation, "we," news about the saint, or a gift/blessing from God. In contrast, 80% or more of examples include sequencing conjunct participles when the subject is someone acting as an adversary to the saint, or nature acting as a human and reacting to an earthly event.

These non-2nd-person hymn subjects can be broken down into a Divinity Hierarchy that correlates with the percentages from Table 4. The less divine or heavenly the subject of the non-2nd person hymn is, the more likely the verb is to be paired with a sequencing conjunct

¹³¹ Christ is not, strictly speaking, named in many hymns. Rather, standard epithetical forms are often used. **ВОЗІАВШІЙ** is a past active inchoative participle, implying that Christ began to shine forth, but its inchoativity is neutralized by the word **БЕЗЛѢТНЫЙ**.

participle, and to be on a timeline. Subjects low on the Divinity Hierarchy include adversaries to the saint and nature acting as a human, and these hymns function as reportives.

The Divinity Hierarchy of subjects:



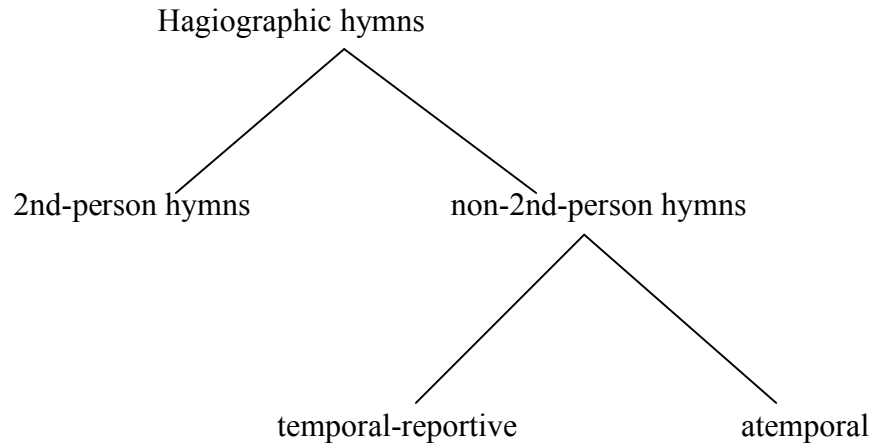
Non-2nd-person subjects high on the Divinity Hierarchy include gifts or blessings from God, heaven, the blood of the saint, the saint's overall life, God the Father, the saint when viewed as a heavenly rather than earthly creature, and abstractions of all of humanity (the ever-present "we"). Subjects higher on the Divinity Hierarchy tend not to have verbs accompanied by conjunct participles, and are not on a timeline.

Certain subjects register between the two poles of the Divinity Hierarchy, including angels, the saint, the Theotokos, and Jesus. These subjects function in temporal hymns that include sequencing conjunct participles when they focus on the subject acting during the time of his/her earthly existence. These subjects are used in atemporal hymns without sequencing conjunct participles when they focus on timeliness events in heaven.

3.10. Conclusions

This chapter has shown that, in RCS, the aorist and perfect tenses are in complementary distribution by person as dictated by the 16th-18th century verb reforms; nonetheless, there is also a difference in temporal reference.

The data surveyed show that there is a system of division within hymns, correlated to person, which first opposes apostrophic and nonapostrophic hymns. Nonapostrophic hymns are then bifurcated into those that are temporal or not. Each hymn type represents a different genre and a different mode of argument construction. We can depict the system of divisions as follows:



The purpose of each hymn type is distinct. Apostrophic 2nd-person hymns supply a moral exegesis on the saint's life, providing a series of proofs for the saint's sanctity. The deduction of such hymns involves an overt, general statement about his sanctity (including pleas for intercession such as "wherefore, pray to God for us," which are indirect statements of sanctity). Information is presented in terms of causal chains and proofs, and thus the 2nd person is fit for argumentation.

Nonapostrophic temporal-reportive hymns, in contrast, present information on a clear timeline. Acts can be temporally ordered because they are performed in earthly time by agents low on the Divinity Hierarchy, such as adversaries of the saint, or anthropomorphized nature. The deductions to such hymns involve another timeline event. The non-2nd person temporal-reportive hymn is less appropriate for argumentation than the 2nd-person hymn because its focus is on timelines, rather than on causal chains. Timelines depict various events, but without the deduction drawing a clear causal conclusion ("wherefore, your sanctity is recognized near and far"; "wherefore, pray to God for us [because you are sanctified]"), argumentation is irrelevant. In contrast with 2nd-person apostrophic exegetical hymns, non-2nd-person atemporal hymns are unfit for argumentation, as they lack the presentation of a causal chain, which is a prerequisite for a logical argument. They are also opposed to non-2nd-person temporal hymns in that non-2nd person atemporal hymns relate absolute facts without causality or temporality, and the subject is high on the Divinity Hierarchy. These hymns describe an ever-present, cosmic event that cannot be pinned down to any specific time. Standard descriptions of RCS have typically assigned to the aorist the function of locating an act with reference to a specific time (see Appendix I), but in hagiographic hymnography aorist use is correlated with a general lack of temporal specificity.

RCS hagiographic hymnography represents a very formulaic and conventionalized style of discourse. The category of person does not simply result in the use of a certain verb tense (perfect used for 2nd-person singular, nonperfect for other persons). Rather, the sharp division in person is also correlated with complementary usage of conjunct participles, the rhetorical structure of this genre, and, ultimately, the function of the text as a whole.

Chapter 4

The hymns of Valeria Hoecke

4.0. Introduction

Although the identities of many earlier hymnographers remain a mystery, there are modern-day hymnographers composing in RCS whose names we do know.¹³² One recent hymnographer is Valeria Konstantinovna Hoecke. Hoecke, a member of the 20th century Russian diaspora, composed twenty-seven services in RCS. Her output and the beauty of her liturgical poetry inspired Metropolitan Anthony Khrapovitsky to call her "Madam Kassia" in homage to the influential 9th century nun and composer, and in recognition of the fact that Hoecke was seen in the same category (Ledkovsky 2005:4).¹³³

The subsequent three chapters are devoted to Hoecke's hymns, the entire corpus of which was examined for this dissertation. Chapter 5 discusses her use of person and perspective, and Chapter 6 discusses her use of verbs, participles, and period structure. This chapter summarizes her biography (§4.1), and then supplies some background to her services, especially regarding their chronology (§4.2).

4.1. Hoecke's biography¹³⁴

Hoecke was born Valeria Gubanova on August 12, 1904 in Kiev, and died March 29, 1986 in Shirley, New York. Valeria's parents were from St. Petersburg, but they were living in Kiev when she was born because of her father's occupation as a lawyer and director of the insurance firm *Rossija*. The family was very wealthy. In March 1914 the family moved to Tbilisi for reasons of her father's business. Valeria's mother's family was involved in various literary, artistic, and musical activities, and as a result Valeria gained an appreciation for high culture. Young Valeria was talented linguistically and musically, and was taught by famous pianists L. Pyshnov and A.K. Borovskij. Various tutors instructed her in German, French, and English. Valeria's parents were not especially religious, but they hired a tutor in religion beginning from when she was 14 years old.

As a result of the 1917 October Revolution the Bolsheviks, led by V.I. Lenin and L. Trotsky, came to power. They pushed into Georgia and occupied Tbilisi in that same year. The Bolsheviks abducted the priest who tutored young Valeria and drowned him in the Black Sea (ibid:6). Local Menshevik populations in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidjan set up an independent Transcaucasian Federation and seceded from Russia. Then, in 1918, Georgia

¹³² It is difficult to determine when and by whom Menaion services were composed because liturgical services are often written in monasteries by monks who do not identify themselves in the text. A few identify themselves by acrostics, such as Romanos, the 6th century Greek hymnographer, who implanted acrostics in his services (whereby each verse begins with a letter that spells out his name). We know the identity of the composer of the Great Canon (Andrew of Crete) because he, too, implanted an acrostic in his canon. However, the acrostic is found infrequently in Menaion services in RCS.

¹³³ Twenty-five liturgical services can be traced to Kassia, who was influential in shaping early medieval church liturgy and hymnography.

¹³⁴ There are several published sources which summarize Hoecke's life. Ledkovsky 2005 derives much of her data from the unpublished memoirs of Hoecke's son, Herman (2000). These memoirs are also a source of data for this study. There are two other documents that give details of Valeria Hoecke's life: N.N. 1984, and Schatiloff 1986.

declared independence from the federation because of interethnic rivalries and placed itself under German protection. Following the fall of the Central Powers, toward the end of 1918, the Georgians invited the British to occupy their country.

The Gubanov family were clearly members of the intelligentsia and they were afraid to attract attention from the authorities. The family primarily stayed at home and sent the German governess to town to barter for goods. A local People's Soviet decreed that single-family homes were to be opened to all who needed housing, and the Gubanov family was then restricted to a few rooms in their house while several other families moved in. Valeria's son Herman writes in his memoirs, "[a]s Mother recalled them, they were 'noisy but not unfriendly, with the exception of one or two surly individuals who claimed to be 'peoples' representatives'" (2000:22). In 1919 the Gubanov family was considering leaving Tbilisi. They feared further depredations from the local authorities, but most of all they feared the Soviets who were on the brink of invading Georgia. According to Valeria's son Herman, it was during this time that Valeria "...first sought, and found, some solace in her faith" (ibid:22).

When the last British contingent evacuated Georgia in July 1920, S. Kirov led a Soviet mission to Tbilisi to establish contact with local communists in preparation to take over Georgia. Despite de jure recognition of the Georgian republic by the Western allies in January 1921, the Red Army under J. Stalin and S. Ordzhonikidze marched into the country and established a Soviet regime in Tbilisi in February of 1921. Valeria's father decided to flee Georgia. He had close contacts in the Italian consulate who helped the family escape. The Gubanovs left Tbilisi in either 1920 or 1921. According to Herman Hoecke, the story Valeria gave to officials was that they left in 1920. However, she later admitted once to the family that it was actually in 1921, and Herman states that some of her stories about the family's departure indicate that it took place following the Soviet takeover. Herman conjectures that if she had admitted to departing in 1921, that would have made his mother a defecting Soviet citizen rather than a refugee from Tsarist Russia. The fact of the date would have made a significant difference in her subsequent status, especially when she was later classified as a displaced person following World War II.

The Gubanov family first sailed from Georgia to Istanbul, where they stopped briefly before traveling to Poland because Valeria's father had friends in Warsaw. Anti-Russian sentiment was very high in Poland, which had declared itself independent from Russia, and, in fact, Polish authorities blew up the Orthodox Cathedral in the center of Warsaw about the same time the Gubanovs were taking refuge there (Hoecke 2000:23). The Gubanov family was only in Warsaw for six months, after which they continued to Belgrade.

The Gubanovs arrived in Belgrade in 1921, at that point the capital of the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Belgrade was a major center for Russian émigrés following the 1917 revolutions because of the longstanding good relations between Serbia and Russia, both Orthodox countries. Valeria's father was offered a position in Belgrade with the same insurance firm with which he had worked while in Kiev and Georgia. In Belgrade Valeria learned Serbian, which became her fourth foreign language. She continued musical training at the Belgrade Conservatory, also taking a job as a secretary with her father's insurance company. She continued to write poetry in Russian, as she had done from childhood. By the time Valeria was ready to enter college, she had begun to use her background in poetry to aid in composing Orthodox liturgical services in RCS.

According to Ledkovsky, who derived her information from Hoecke 2000, Valeria "probably" began studying in the Theology Department of the University of Belgrade, in the 1932-1933 academic year (2005:7). However, according to Valeria's *prijavni list*, her

registration form for admission, she had enrolled ten years earlier, on March 8, 1923.¹³⁵ Archival materials about Valeria's academic studies attest to the fact that she was already fluent in Serbian, although she had only lived in Belgrade for two years prior to enrollment in the Theology Department. According to Valeria's registration form she was born July 30, 1904.¹³⁶ This, the date she gives in her registration form, is different from the date of August 12, 1904 given in Hoecke 2000 and Ledkovsky 1994 and 2005, but this difference is due to the calendar change.¹³⁷ Her citizenship (*državljanstvo*) is listed as *Ruskanja*, Russian.¹³⁸

Valeria entered the Theology Department as a *vanredan učenik* (part-time student), rather than a *redovan učenik* (full-time student). She followed a heavy course for a part-time student, taking eight different courses during her first semester of the 1923 academic year. Her courses included the Greek language, Introduction to Philosophy, Old Hebrew, Bible Study, and the Old Testament.

A letter of recommendation in Russian, dated January 4, 1923, states that Valeria graduated the women's gymnasium in 1921 in Tbilisi. This letter indicates that Valeria did not leave Tbilisi until 1921, and corroborates this date rather than the earlier one (1920) that her son states that she gave to officials as the date of emigration.

On Valeria's registration form for the second semester of the 1923-1924 academic year, which was written on October 2, 1923, two categories now appear to describe her citizenship. Whereas on the earlier document there was only *državljanstvo* (citizenship), here are now two categories: *podanstvo* (citizenship, *Rusko*) and *narodnost* (nationality, *Ruska*). This semester, according to her *semestralni list*, she took twelve different classes including The History of Christianity, Greek, Old Hebrew, the Old Testament, History of the Russian Church, and Church Singing. Interestingly enough, Valeria also studied the Russian language despite being Russian. Valeria's file does not contain her marks, but only credits earned and names of professors who taught the classes. It is possible that the reason her file does not include an *upisnica*, or *indeks* (a list of marks given) is because Valeria was only a part-time student. The dean of students signed this *semestralni list* on February 23, 1924.

There are no other documents in her academic file, and we can infer from this that Valeria was only enrolled for two semesters in the Theology Department. The information available in these archives is very different from that given by Herman Hoecke 2000 and Ledkovsky 1994 and 2005. Ledkovsky (1994:243) writes that Valeria graduated from the Theology Department, but from Hoecke's university academic file it is clear that she only completed two semesters.

According to Herman Hoecke 2000 and Ledkovsky 1994 and 2005, Valeria met her husband Paul while studying in the Theology Department. German by birth, Paul (1906-1947)

¹³⁵ In June, 2008, I conducted archival research in the University of Belgrade's Theology Department thanks to the assistance of a Peter N. Kujachich Endowment grant. With the aid of Svetlana Vojnović, the archive director of the Theology Department, I gained access to Valeria's entire academic file, as well as that of her husband Paul, who entered the department ten years after she did. Included in Valeria's academic file is personal information as well as her work from the university, including applications with personal information, letters of recommendation, and lists of courses taken.

¹³⁶ In Valeria's *semestralni list* of that same year, however, her birth year is listed as 1909. The handwriting in which the birth year is entered appears to be the same as the handwriting on the application form, but on the application form she lists 1904 as her birth year. It is uncertain why the dates are different.

¹³⁷ Russia used the Julian calendar as both the civil and liturgical calendar until the Revolution, at which point this calendar became limited to liturgical use. For all secular purposes the Gregorian Calendar was used henceforth. Valeria was born on August 12th according to the Gregorian Calendar, but July 30th according to the Julian one.

¹³⁸ Note that standard Serbian is *ruskanja*.

was a convert to Orthodoxy. These printed sources state that Paul began his studies in 1935. However, archival materials state that Paul began his studies there in the fall/winter 1934 semester. In any case, it is impossible that the pair met while studying in the Theology Department since Valeria only studied there during the 1923/1924 academic year, a full ten years before Paul enrolled.

July 1936 is the last date of any document in Paul's file. This is the point at which the archival accounts begin to correlate with the other histories of Valeria's life. Valeria married Paul Hoecke in 1936.

Considering that Valeria enrolled in the Theology Department a full ten years earlier than other accounts have dated her studies, the question arises as to what Valeria did in Belgrade between 1924 and 1936, the year of her wedding. She must have written many liturgical services in this time period, since by 1938 she had already had five services officially accepted. Perhaps it is during this time that she worked as a secretary for her father's insurance firm, Rossija, and that she attended the Belgrade Conservatory.

The marriage of Valeria and Paul in 1936 does explain the cessation of archival materials related to Paul, since following the wedding he would have needed to work to support them. Paul was ordained to the priesthood, and the pair moved to Potsdam, Germany, where Paul worked as a parish priest. In May 1945, during the Soviet occupation of East Germany, he was arrested on account of being a priest and was deported to a gulag in Siberia, where he died.¹³⁹

Valeria was left to care for their three children. Her father had already died in 1938, after which her mother had become a nun (in 1940). Valeria's mother's monastic obedience was to assist her daughter in raising her three children and with the household chores. Her mother was ill, though, and it was Valeria who cared for her. The family lived in Potsdam another three years, until 1948, following the arrest and deportation of Valeria's husband. To earn a living to support her family, Valeria taught piano.

Valeria periodically needed to report to the local Soviet authorities for interrogation. The political atmosphere was unstable at the time and the family moved from Potsdam to West Berlin in May 1948 with the clandestine aid of U.S. authorities. In July of that same year the family escaped to West Germany, where they stayed in various refugee camps around Munich for the next three years. Valeria worked with the International Refugee Organization and resumed writing liturgical hymns in RCS and poetry in Russian (her writing had been interrupted following the death of her husband).¹⁴⁰

The Synod of Bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia (ROCOR) moved from Sremski Karlovci (in modern-day Vojvodina, in northern Serbia) to New York in 1949-1950, and Valeria desired to move to the U.S. along with the church. Due to the insecure political situation, however, she instead accepted an invitation to teach at an Orthodox girls school in Bethany, Palestine, which was (and still is) under the jurisdiction of ROCOR. She

¹³⁹ If more information were to be uncovered about the exact circumstances of Paul's death, he would likely be declared a saint: the Orthodox Church canonized many who were murdered by the Soviets because of their clerical rank.

¹⁴⁰ Hoecke had written secular lyric poetry from her youth, and the feel for poetry aided her in her later RCS compositions. Hoecke's 71 secular poems are unpublished as of this writing. "Her lyrics, while strictly adhering to classical versification, are unusual for their novel transcendent quality; they lean strongly toward Symbolism and often treat the theme of humans encountering joys and sorrows in their ephemeral existence and finding solace only in Divine Providence" (Ledkovsky 1994:244).

began teaching in Bethany in 1951.¹⁴¹ According to Ledkovsky, Valeria taught at the school, taught piano, sang in the choir of the ROCOR church in Gethsemane, and wrote church services for four years beginning in 1951.¹⁴² Valeria's family then moved to Beirut in 1954. The move to Beirut was necessary in order to provide further schooling to the children and to promote the application for immigration to the U.S. Valeria taught at the Anglican Bishop's School, and then worked as a librarian with the U.S. Foreign Aid Mission. Valeria continued composing liturgical services during this time, and her family also earned money by singing weekday services for the local Orthodox Church. In 1958 the Lebanese civil war was quelled by American troops, and at this time the family's papers arrived for emigration to the U.S.A.¹⁴³

In September 1958 the family moved to the United States. Thanks to her knowledge of foreign languages Valeria was able to secure a position with the National Council of Churches in Riverside, New York. She then worked with the Council of Immigration Service until 1970, when she retired. Valeria remained in New York near the ROCOR Synod, continuing to compose verse in Church Slavonic and in Russian. She wrote articles about Orthodox saints, which she anonymously published in Orthodox periodicals. Valeria began to compose music for liturgical pieces using chant melodies according to the model of her academic adviser in Belgrade.¹⁴⁴

Valeria Hoecke died of a heart attack on March 29, 1986. She was found on her knees in her icon corner.

Despite Hoecke's significant contribution to RCS liturgical poetry, she is "virtually condemned to oblivion," in the words of Ledkovsky 1994. The reason for this, according to Ledkovsky, is that her gender inhibited the promotion of her work in conservative ecclesiastical circles. In addition, liturgical services are often published anonymously and are only published by Church institutions.

4.2. Hoecke's services

Hoecke composed 27 liturgical texts from the 1930s until her death in 1986 (Ledkovsky 2005:11).¹⁴⁵ Twenty-two of Hoecke's 27 services are complete liturgical services, including all the appropriate troparia, kontakia, hiermoi, stikhera, and hypakoe.¹⁴⁶ Hoecke's full services were composed to special icons, to Western Saints from before the 1054 schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, to African and Near Eastern saints, and to recent saints. Among her five lesser services Hoecke composed two canons, one for the martyr Sebastian and the other for the Vatopedi Icon of the Theotokos (Канон Ватопедской Иконе Божией Матери "Отрада и Утешение"). Hoecke composed an Akathist to the Kursk-Root Icon of the Theotokos, and also composed services for particular occasions for which divine services had not been written, such

¹⁴¹ According to Ledkovsky (1994:244), Hoecke accepted an invitation to teach music and foreign languages in Jerusalem (not Bethany). Ledkovsky's statement that she was invited to teach in Jerusalem is incorrect; Ledkovsky later corrected this error herself (2005:10).

¹⁴² Ledkovsky's reference to "church" here (2005:10) would refer to one of the two ROCOR convents in Gethsemane: either the ROCOR Convent of Saint Mary Magdalene on the Mount of Olives or the Mount of Olives Convent of the Ascension of Our Lord. Ledkovsky does not specify which one it was.

¹⁴³ All information in this paragraph was found in Ledkovsky 2005.

¹⁴⁴ Her adviser was Archbishop Gabriel (Chepur).

¹⁴⁵ In the list of services given in Ledkovsky 1994 there are only 25, not 27, services listed. The two that it lacks are the hagiographic services to Saints Kiriakia, Valeria, and Maria, as well as the service that is arguably Hoecke's most famous: the service to Xenia of St. Petersburg.

¹⁴⁶ These are all types of liturgical verse. For further information see Gardner 1980, Gardner 2004, Savas 1983, Tillyard 1976, Gove 1988, and Cavaros 1974.

as the Prayer for the Blessing of Airplanes and Wheeled Vehicles (Молитвы на освящение самолетовъ и колесницъ), as well as the Rite for the Blessing of a Journey by Air (Чинъ благословения воздушного путешествия).

Table 1 lists the canon of Hoescke's services; it follows the only source that lists these services in order (Ledkovsky 1994:245). In addition to excluding the services to Xenia and Kiriakia, Valeria, and Maria, this table gives only a relative chronology, without actual dates. The task of dating the services is taken up in §4.2 below. Titles are in the original RCS. Abbreviated English translations of the titles are mine, and these are the titles I use to refer to the services in this study.¹⁴⁷

Table 1: Hoescke's services (after Ledkovsky 1994:245)

Служба Явлению Чудотворной иконы Божией Матери Курско-Коренной	The Kursk-Root Icon of the Theotokos
Святой Блаженной Царице Феофани	Empress Feofaniya
Преподобному Павлу Препростому	Paul the Merciful ¹⁴⁸
Преподобным Иоанну, Ираклеону, Андрею и Феофилу	John, Iraklemon, Andrew, and Theofil
Преподобным Спиридону и Никодиму	Spiridon and Nikodemus
Праведному Филарету Милостивому	Filaret the Merciful
Преподобной Таисии	Taisiya
Священномученику Иринею Сремскому	Irinaeus
Преподобному Анастасию Синаиту	Anastasij
Преподобной Исидоре Тавеннской	Isidora
Явлению Чудотворной Иконы Божией Матери именуемая Козельщанской	The Kozel'shchanskaja Icon of the Theotokos
Канон святому мученику Севастиану	The Canon to Sebastian
Мученицам Зинаиде и Филонилле	Zinaida and Filonilla
Святой Царице Тамаре	Queen Tamara
Явлению Чудотворной Иконы Божией Матери Леснинской	The Lesna Icon of the Theotokos
Святому Патриарху Иерусалимскому Ювеналию	Patriarch Juvenal
Святой мученице Агнии	Agnes
Святой Преподобной Бригите Кильдарской	Brigitte of Kildare

¹⁴⁷ When the first name of a saint has more than one modifier only one modifier is used for the sake of brevity (for example, the service to Святой Блаженной Царице Феофани is simply called the service to Empress Feofaniya). In many cases the name of a clearly Western saint has been Russified for use in the Slavonic service; in such instances I revert the names to the version that is used in the *Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church*. Because each saint for whom a service is composed is, necessarily, a saint, I often drop the title "Saint" and simply refer to the saint by his or her first name.

¹⁴⁸ "Merciful" is the term used to describe Paul in the *Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church*.

Святому Королю Едуарду	King Edward
Святому Патрикию Просветителю Ирландии	Patrick
Акафист Чудотворной Иконе Божией Матери Курско-Коренной	Akathist to the Kursk-Root Icon of the Theotokos
Чинь благословения воздушного путешествия	Rite for the Blessing of a Journey by Air
Молитвы на освящение самолетовъ и колесницъ	Prayer for the Blessing of Airplanes and Wheeled Vehicles
Святому мученику Мираксу (отрекшемуся от Христа и раскаявшемуся)	Myрах
Канон Ватопедской Иконе Божией Матери "Отрада и Утешение"	Canon to the Vatopedi Icon of the Mother of God "Joy and Consolation"

Some of Hoecke's services were published by various church presses under the auspices of the Synod of Bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia.¹⁴⁹ The works that were printed in RCS include the service to Xenia of St. Petersburg, the Service and Akathist to the Kursk-Root Icon of the Theotokos, the Prayer for the Blessing of Airplanes and Wheeled Vehicles, and the Rite for the Blessing of a Journey by Air.¹⁵⁰ All other services examined for this dissertation are in typewritten manuscript form in pre-revolutionary Russian orthography, and many of the manuscripts have editorial notes.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Ledkovsky (1994:245) writes that the St. Job of Pochaev Printing Press, located in the Holy Trinity Monastery in Jordanville, New York, reprinted all of Hoecke's services. Ten years later, though, Ledkovsky (2005:12) states that only some of the services were published in the original language.

Isaac Lambertsen, Clerk of the Chancery of the Synod of Bishops of ROCOR, translated all the services into English under Hoecke's supervision. It is only in their English form that they were all published by St. John of Kronstadt Press (Liberty, TN).

¹⁵⁰ These services were printed in Yugoslavia in the 1930s, and in Munich and the U.S.A. from 1950-1986 (Ledkovsky 1994:245).

¹⁵¹ Hoecke composed hymns in pre-revolutionary Russian orthography because this is the orthography preferred by ROCOR, which objected to the renovation of the alphabet following the revolution. Even today some Russians in the diaspora continue to write this way.

In an e-mail correspondence dated April 27, 2009, Isaac Lambertsen writes that he gave copies of Hoecke's original services to Archbishop Mark of Berlin in the 1990s; the archbishop intended to transliterate Hoecke's texts from pre-revolutionary Russian orthography into RCS and produce a compilation of ROCOR services. To date, though, he has only managed to transcribe and publish a few services (none of which Hoecke wrote): those to the New Martyrs of Russia, the Imperial Martyrs of Russia, and to Elizabeth the Grand Duchess. Lambertsen writes that the Publications Department of the Moscow Patriarchate plans to publish the collection of ROCOR services instead. Lambertsen referred me to the website <http://anthologion.org> for more information. This site discusses a project called Литургическое наследие Православной Церкви, which intends to introduce more foreign saints into Russian worship. There are 47 services on the website listed for eventual translation; to date, however, this list does not include Hoecke's services.

Almost all services named in Ledkovsky 1994 were located and used for this dissertation, as well as the two services that Ledkovsky overlooked (the services in honor of Saints Kiriakia, Valeria, and Maria, and the service for Xenia of St. Petersburg).¹⁵² The sole text I was unable to locate is the Canon to the Vatopedi Icon of the Theotokos (Канон Ватопедской Иконе Божией Матери "Отрада и Утешение"); this work was mentioned in Ledkovsky 1994, but unmentioned in the two historical documents given below in §4.2.

4.2.1. Dating Hoecke's services

Although we can date the official acceptance of Hoecke's various services by the ROCOR Synod of Bishops, and we can deduce their relative chronology, we cannot date the actual writing of the services. The aim of this section is to date the services as well as possible with the available information. This is no easy task as there are no known records that include all of the following necessary information, such as the date the service was commissioned by the Russian Orthodox Church abroad, the date/time period the service was actually written, the date the service was officially accepted by ROCOR for implementation in liturgical services, and the date the service was officially published. Instead, for any given service we have at most two of the above dates. Further archive work may lead to more precise answers. As a result of the fact that the services are difficult to date, I use the phrase "dates to" rather than "was written in" to describe services. In my research, I have utilized the following four sources to date Hoecke's services: the written account of the public reading of Hoecke's first service, found in Ledkovsky (2005:4); a 1966 document from the Synod of Bishops of ROCOR (Document 1 below); an undated document written by Archbishop John Maximovich (Document 2 below); dates of publication of services (applicable only to the Akathist and Service to the Kursk-Root Icon of the Theotokos, the service to Xenia of St. Petersburg, the Prayer for the Blessing of Airplanes and Wheeled Vehicles, and the Rite for the Blessing of a Journey by Air); and the assertions of Isaac Lambertsen.

4.2.2. A written account of the public reading of Hoecke's first service

Hoecke's first service was composed in honor of the Kursk-Root Icon of the Theotokos. "When Metropolitan Anthony read this service he was moved to tears by the poetic beauty of its composition. At that occasion Metropolitan Anthony presented Valeria Konstantinovna his photograph signed to 'Madam Kassia'..." (Ledkovsky 2005:4). The reference here is to Metropolitan Anthony Khrapovitsky, the founding First Hierarch of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia, who died in 1936 in Sremski Karlovci. We can deduce from this that the service was written at some point prior to Metropolitan Anthony's death, although we do not know the exact date. Considering Hoecke lived in Belgrade until some point after she married, we know that she composed the first service while still living in Serbia.

4.2.3. The 1966 Synod document

The primary source for dating Hoecke's services is an October 7, 1966 document from the ROCOR Synod of Bishops, reproduced as Document 1 on the following page. This document provides the dates on which many of Hoecke's services were officially accepted by ROCOR: June 30, 1938; December 21, 1951, December 29, 1956, November 13, 1959, January

¹⁵² The manuscript copies of Hoecke's services used for this dissertation, as well as Documents 1 and 2 below, are from the personal archive of Archpriest Peter Perekrestov of Holy Virgin Cathedral in San Francisco, California. Originals are located in the archives of ROCOR in New York.

1963, and March 19, 1963. Up to six services are listed under each date. Groups of services are given in chronological order of official acceptance, but there is no internal ordering within a group of services accepted on a particular date. Note also that the date of acceptance does not necessarily have any relation to the date of writing.

The original 1966 document appears to have been edited at some unknown point. Several more services and dates of acceptance are added at the bottom of the document in a slightly lighter type font, and the word позже is added. The supplemental notes are undated. The added text refers to the services to Brigitte of Kildare (officially accepted), Xenia of St. Petersburg (officially accepted), King Edward (under commission), and Myrax (under commission). From the note on this document we cannot date these additional services; we can only conclude that they were accepted or commissioned after October 7, 1966.

КАНЦЕЛАРИЯ
АРХИЕПИСКОПА
РУССКОЙ ПРАВОСЛАВНОЙ ЦЕРКВИ

24 сентября
7 октября 1956 г.

Г-н Валерий Константинович Хеке.

№ 39/37/1447.

75 East 89 St. New York 28. N. Y.
Phone: LEHgh 4-1501.

Синодальная Канцелярия имеет честь сообщить Вам по Вашему желанию следующее справку об утверждении Архиепископским Синодом составленных Вами служб:

1. Явление чуд. Иконы Божией Матери Курско-Коренной /Одобрена на Югославии с благословения Блаж. Митрополита Антония/.
- ✓ 2. Св. блаж. Царств. Георгия
- ✓ 3. Св. мучч. Кириаким, Валерий и Мария
- ✓ 4. Преп. Павлу Препростому
5. Преп. Иоанну, Клементу, Андрею и Георгию
- ✓ 6. Преп. Спиридону и Никодиму пресв. - Одобрено 8/21 декабря 1951
- ✓ 7. Преп. Филарету Милостивому -) Одобрена 16/29 51
- ✓ 8. Преп. Тимею) декабря 1956 г.
9. Св. мучч. Ириней Сремскому
- ✓ 10. Преп. Анастасию Сиканту
- ✓ 11. Преп. Исидору Тавеннской
12. Явление чуд. Иконы Божией Матери именуемой Козельцанской
13. Канонъ (пль) св. мучч. Севастіану
14. Мучч. Зинаиды и Филониллы
- ✓ 15. Св. Царицы Тамары
16. Явление чуд. Иконы Божией Матери Лесницкой.
- ✓ 17. Св. Патр. Иерусалимскому Ксенодору
- ✓ 18. Св. мучч. Агнии) Одобрены 6/19 марта 1963 г.

Кроме того одобрены Акакиста Чуд. Иконы Божией Матери Курско-Коренной для чтения в Новой Коренной Пустыни 12/26 ноября 1953 г. и Чинъ благословения воздушного путешествия и молитвы на освящение самолетовъ и колесницъ - одобрены 31 октября/13 ноября 1959 г.

Также одобрены /после/ службы: св. Врхиты Кильдерской
св. Блаж. Ксении Петербургской

Правитель Дель

Синодальной Канцелярии

Св. Король Эдуарду
Св. Мучч. Ираклу еще не
редоставлена по одобрению.

протопресвитер Валерий Хеке

4.2.4. An undated document of Archbishop John Maximovich

Document 2 below is an undated document written by Archbishop John Maximovich and addressed to the ROCOR Synod of Bishops.¹⁵³ It is a letter of support for six of Hoecke's services to be approved for liturgical use. It also reminds the Synod that eight of Hoecke's services had already been approved. Hoecke's services awaiting approval at the time of writing of Document 2 include the services to Irinaeus, Anastasij, Isidora, Sebastian, Neilos, and to the Kozel'shchanskaja Icon of the Theotokos. Archbishop John states that the services are all beautifully written and are suitable for use in church, "Всѣ сїи службы весьма содержательны, написаны прекраснымъ церковнымъ языкомъ и оставляють, особенно нѣкоторыя изъ нихъ, глубокое впечатлѣніе. Нахожу ихъ вполне пригодными для употребленія при церковныхъ богослуженіяхъ."¹⁵⁴ Archbishop John continues with a list of Hoecke's services that had already been accepted for liturgical use: Empress Feofaniya; Valeria, Kiriakia, and Maria; Paul the Merciful; John, Iraklemon, Andrew, and Theofil; Taisiya; Spiridon and Nicodemus; Filaret the Merciful; and the Kursk-Root Icon of the Theotokos.¹⁵⁵ According to Document 1, the dates of acceptance of these services are as follows: Empress Feofaniya (1938); Valeria, Kiriakia, and Maria (1938); Paul the Merciful (1938); John, Iraklemon, Andrew, and Theofil (1938); Taisiya (1956); Spiridon and Nicodemus (1951); Filaret the Merciful (1956); and the Kursk-Root Icon of the Theotokos (before 1938).

The services pending approval in Document 2 are all dated in Document 1 as having been accepted in 1959: Irinaeus, Anastasij, Isidora, Sebastian, and the Kozel'shchanskaja Icon of the Theotokos. We can thus assume that Document 2 dates to 1959. There is one service listed as pending in Document 2 that is not mentioned at all in Document 1, nor is it mentioned in Ledkovsky's 1994 list of Hoecke services: the service to Neilos the New, the Myrrh-Streamer.¹⁵⁶ It is reasonable to assume that this service was not accepted into the canon of services approved for liturgical use. I could not locate this service, nor could I locate any more information on it.

¹⁵³ By comparing signatures to existing documents, Elena Perekrestov, instructor of RCS at the Holy Trinity Monastery Summer School of Liturgical Music in Jordanville, NY, identified this signature as that of Archbishop John Maximovich, who was canonized in 1994.

¹⁵⁴ I have placed in italics words which are misspelled in the original document. This has been done in all subsequent citations.

¹⁵⁵ It is unspecified whether this references Hoecke's Akathist or the Service to this icon. Considering the dating from Document 1, Archbishop John must be referring to the Service.

¹⁵⁶ Neilos, commemorated May 7, was a 16th century monk on Mount Athos.

39/37

Архіерейскому Синоду Русской Православной
Церкви Заграницей.

*Вопрос о Синоде
Синодальный К. П. Д.*

Мною внимательно просмотрены и прочтаны
представленные Архіерейскому Синоду составленные
Валеріей Константиновной, рожденной Губановой, службы:

- 1/ Святеномученику Иринею, Епископу Смирненскому / пам. 26 марта
- 2/ Преподобному Анастасію Синаиту / пам. 20 апреля
- 3/ Св. Исидору Тавенской / пам. 10 мая
- 4/ Св. муч. Севастиану / 18 дек., когда уже есть служба муч. Севастиана с его дружиной, теперь каноничнее одному мч. Севастиану
- 5/ Преподобному Нилу Сорскому / пам. 7 мая
- 6/ Пресвятой Богородицѣ въ честь Иконы Ея Козельцанонія / похвальный

Эти сии службы весьма содержательны, написаны прекрасным церковным языком и оставляют, особенно некоторым из них, глубокое впечатлѣніе.

Нахожу ихъ вполне пригодными для употребленія при церковныхъ богослуженіяхъ и ходатаю о ихъ одобреніи, съ тѣмъ, что бы они совершались въ указанныя дни, соединяясь съ имѣющимися уже въ минеяхъ службами согласно устава.

При семъ имѣю доложить, что прежде были уже одобрены составленные г. Воротынецкимъ на 1895 годъ сии службы - службы:

- 1/ Блаж. Царикѣ Теофаніи 2/ Св. Муч. Валеріи, Киріакіи и Маріи
- 3/ Преп. Павлу Препростому 4/ Преп. Іоанну Ираклемому, Андрею и Теофилу 5/ Преп. Тамаріи 6/ Преп. Скрипону и Никодиму Печерскимъ 7/ Св. Прав. Симарету Милостивому

8/ Божіей Матери въ честь Иконы Ея Коренной - Курской. За означенную большую церковно-творческую работу составительница заслуживаетъ одобренія и призванія на нее и явуди ея Божіаго благословенія.

Одновременно мною просмотрена представленная и составленная тогда игуменомъ Филиппомъ служба прел. Моисею Угрину, также заслуживающая одобренія.

Архіерейскаго Синода членъ и смиренный послужникъ

+ *Архіепископъ Савинъ*

4.2.5. Publication dates

Another source for dating the services is the dates of official publication.¹⁵⁷ This method of dating pertains to very few of Hoecke's services, since most were never published in RCS. The service to Xenia the Blessed was published in 1978 by the St. Job of Pochaev Press (Holy Trinity Monastery, Jordanville, New York) at the time ROCOR canonized Xenia. The Service for the Kursk-Root Icon was published in 1993 in Munich by the Обитель Праведнаго Юва Почаевскаго. Hoecke's Akathist for the Kursk-Root Icon of the Theotokos has been published three times, but the first two publications are undated. The third publication was in 2002 in Bulgaria (in or around Sofia). From these late publication dates for the Kursk-Root Icon service and Akathist it is difficult to determine when exactly the services were composed.

The Prayer for the Blessing of Airplanes and Wheeled Vehicles and the Rite for the Blessing of a Journey by Air remained only in typescript until 1961. In that year the St. Job of Pochaev Press decided to reprint a 3-volume Euchologion (Требникъ) from the early 1900s. The late Archbishop Averky (Taushev) and the late Archimandrite Konstantin (Zaitsev) took the opportunity to append additional prayers at the end of the third volume. These additional prayers either did not appear in the original printing, or had been composed after the original printing. They included Hoecke's Чинъ благословения воздушного путешествия (pp. 484-492), and Молитвы на освящение самолетовъ и колесницъ (p. 240). The 1961 third volume of this Требникъ is the only place where these prayers may be found in published form in RCS.

Hoecke's remaining services were never published in RCS.

4.2.6. The information of Isaac Lambertsen

Another source of dating Hoecke's services is Isaac Lambertsen, who translated all of Hoecke's services into English.¹⁵⁸ According to Lambertsen, the 1966 document was subsequently updated by Bishop Gregory Grabbe of Washington (deceased October 8, 1995) with several undated typescript notations. The notations state that the services for Xenia of St. Petersburg and Brigitte of Kildare had already been approved. In another place Bishop Gregory notes that the service for Saint Edward has been approved, but that the service for the martyr Myrax had not yet been submitted to the Synod for approval. No mention is made of the service to St. Patrick; according to Lambertsen this was simply an oversight. Lambertsen states that the notations must date to the mid-1980s, since they mention as already approved the service of St. Xenia (approved 1978) and St. Edward (approved 1984). The service to St. Myrax was, he thinks, submitted to the Synod in late 1985 or early- to mid-1986. Lambertsen also writes that Hoecke was working on a service to Martin the Merciful, Bishop of Tours, when she died in 1986.

Hoecke's Акафистъ пресвятѣй Богородицѣ предъ чудотворною іконою ея яже нарицается Курско-Коренная (Akathist to the All-holy Theotokos Chanted Before Her Wonderworking Kursk-Root Icon of the Sign) was first published (undated) in booklet form by the Russian Printing House in New York City. Lambertsen writes that it was most likely composed a decade or two after the Service to the same icon (Служба пресвятѣй Богородицѣ предъ чудотворною іконою ея яже нарицается Курско-Коренная). The Akathist was most likely printed in the early 1950s, and it was printed in pre-revolutionary Russian orthography.

¹⁵⁷ Much of the information in this section was gained from a January 12, 2010 e-mail correspondence with Isaac Lambertsen.

¹⁵⁸ Information in this section based on e-mail correspondence with Isaac Lambertsen over a period from May 8, 2009 to January 18, 2010.

This service was then reprinted by a photo-offset in the late 1980s (date also uncertain) by the Novaja-Korennaja Pustyn' in Mahopac, NY. The reprint was also in pre-revolutionary orthography. The Akathist was reset in RCS by the Orthodox Publishing House of the Holy Apostle and Evangelist Luke in or near Sofia, Bulgaria, in 2002 under Metropolitan Vitaly, Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia. Because the Akathist had not been set in RCS until after the Service had already been published, the Akathist did not appear in the 1993 printing of Hoecke's Service.

4.2.7. Summary

Combining information provided by Documents 1 and 2, information provided by Lambertsen, the relative chronology of Ledkovsky 1994, as well as the publication date of Hoecke's services, we can construct Table 2. Notwithstanding its relative accuracy compared with other sources of information, there are bound to be errors due simply to the lack of information available. Due to the unavoidable potential for inaccuracy, years are given rather than precise dates.

Table 2. Hoecke's services dated according to all available information

Date	Saint
Before 1938	Service to the Kursk-Root Icon of the Theotokos
1938	Paul the Merciful
1938	Saints John, Iraklemon, Andrew, and Theofil
1938	Empress Feofaniya
1938	Kiriakia, Valeria, Maria
1951	Spiridon and Nicodemus
1953	Akathist to the Kursk-Root Icon to the Mother of God
1956	Taisiya
1956	Filaret the Merciful
1959	Anastasij
1959	Isidora
1959	Canon to Sebastian
1959	Kozel'shchanskija Icon
1959	Irinaeus of Srem
1959	Prayers for the Blessing of Airplanes and Wheeled Vehicles
1959	Rite for the Blessing of a Journey by Air
1963	Zinaida and Filonilla
1963	Queen Tamara
1963	Agnes
1963	Lesna Icon to the Mother of God
1963	Patriarch Juvenal
1978 (date published)	Xenia

1984	Edward
Late 1985 or early-mid 1986	Myrax
After 1966	Brigitte
After 1966	Patrick
After 1966	Canon to the Vatopedi Icon of the Theotokos

4.2.8. Duplicate services¹⁵⁹

Hoecke sometimes composed services for saints when one existed already; this was partially due to the conditions and circumstances of the diaspora, in which she was not always aware of other services. For example, the Moscow Зелёный Минеи (published in volumes from 1978-1989) contains services for Xenia of Saint Petersburg, Filaret the Merciful, the Kozel'shchanskaja Icon and Irinaeus of Srem; Hoecke also composed her own services for these saints. It is likely as well that services for such well-known Western saints as Patrick and Brigitte of Kildare already existed in a non-Slavic language. Hoecke knowingly wrote a canon for the Martyr Sebastian, despite knowing that there was already an entire service composed in his honor. The reason for this was that the existing service is mostly generic, taken from the template for the whole group of martyrs (including Sebastian) that suffered in Rome at the time. Hoecke wanted to honor the saint specifically; thus, her canon is not necessarily a duplication of effort.

4.2.9. Summary of saints for whom Hoecke wrote services

In order to gain a better understanding of Hoecke's works, it is important to have basic information about the saints and icons to which each is dedicated. Table 3 below is organized as follows: The first column gives the name of the saint (or icon) and the second the century in which the saint lived or in which the icon was painted (if available, more specific dating is provided). The third column lists the type of saint or icon, the fourth gives the region, the fifth gives the gender of the saint (M for male and F for female), and the sixth gives the date of liturgical commemoration.

¹⁵⁹ Much of the information in §4.2.8 is based on e-mail correspondence with Isaac Lambertsen over a period from May 8, 2009 to January 18, 2010.

Table 3. Saints for whom Hoecke composed services

Saint	Century ¹⁶⁰	Type of saint (or icon)	Region	M/F	Commemoration date ¹⁶¹
Xenia	19th	Fool-for-Christ	St. Petersburg	F	Jan. 24
Zinaida/ Filonilla	1st	Unmercenary doctors/martyrs	Tarsus (Syria)	F	Oct. 11
Queen Tamara	12th	Royal	Georgia	F	May 1
Empress Feofaniya	9th	Royal	Constantinople	F	Dec. 16
Taisiya	4th	Former harlot	Egypt	F	Oct. 8
Brigitte	4-5th	Abbess	Ireland	F	Feb. 1
Isidora	4th	Fool for Christ	Egypt	F	May 1
Agnes	3rd-4th ¹⁶²	Virgin Martyr	Rome	F	Jan. 21
Kiriakia; Valeria; Maria ¹⁶³	3rd-4th; 1st-2nd; N/A	Martyrs	Roman Empire; Roman Empire; N/A	F	Jul 7 (Kiriakia) June 7 (combined service)
Kozel'shchanskaja Icon ¹⁶⁴	18th	Depicts Theotokos	Present location: Russia	F	Feb. 21
Kursk-Root Icon	13th ¹⁶⁵	Depicts Theotokos	Present location: USA	F	Nov. 27
Lesna Icon	17th ¹⁶⁶	Depicts Theotokos	Present location: France	F	Sep. 14
Myrax	N/A ¹⁶⁷	Martyr	Egypt	M	Dec. 11

¹⁶⁰ Exact dates given when available.

¹⁶¹ All dates are given Old Style. The Russian Orthodox Church uses the old Julian Calendar. To find the date of commemoration according to the Gregorian civil calendar one must add thirteen days (the number of days to add increases gradually, but as of 2010 the difference is thirteen days).

¹⁶² 291–304 A.D.

¹⁶³ There are many saints with the name Maria who are commemorated as martyrs, and Hoecke's service gives only general details. I am unable to discern to which specific Maria this service is composed.

¹⁶⁴ Each of the three icons to which Hoecke has composed services depicts the Theotokos and Jesus.

¹⁶⁵ Originally found in 1295.

¹⁶⁶ Found in 1683.

¹⁶⁷ Neither the *Menaion* nor the *Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church* gives the century in which Myrax lived. The *Synaxaristes* recounts, however, that Myrax was killed by Muslims. This would suggest that he lived no earlier than the 7th century.

Filaret	8th	Almsgiver	Asia Minor	M	Dec. 1
Anastasij the Sinaite	7th ¹⁶⁸	Theologian/ Abbot ¹⁶⁹	Sinai	M	April 21
Spiridon/ Nicodemus	12th	Monastic	Kiev Caves Lavra	M	Oct. 31
Patrick	4th-5th ¹⁷⁰	Equal-to-the- Apostles	Ireland	M	March 17
Paul the Merciful	4th	Monastic	Egypt	M	Oct. 4 and March 7
John, Iraklemon, Andrew, and Theofil	N/A ¹⁷¹	Hermits	Egypt	M	Dec. 2 and June 12
Sebastian	3rd ¹⁷²	Martyr	Roman Empire	M	Dec. 18
Irinaeus	3rd-4th ¹⁷³	Bishop/martyr	Serbia	M	March 26
Edward	10th ¹⁷⁴	Martyr	England	M	March 18 and Sep. 3/16
Juvenal	5th	Patriarch	Jerusalem	M	July 2

4.3. Conclusion

This chapter has accomplished several goals. First, it has pulled together all available data on Hoecke's services in order to date them as accurately as possible. Second, it has supplemented existing materials with those found in the University of Belgrade archives in order to complete Hoecke's biography. Hoecke's biography lacks information about her formal training in RCS, a fact which explains the mistakes that are found in her services (errors in subsequent examples are italicized). This chapter has also provided some background to Hoecke's services, and the saints about whom they are composed, to provide context for the analysis which follows. This chapter has also shown that Hoecke is one of the most prolific hymnographers of the Orthodox Church. The positive reviews included here by Archbishop John Maximovich and Metropolitan Anthony Khrapovitsky indicate that Hoecke's work was not only vast, but also of quality.

¹⁶⁸ Died 700.

¹⁶⁹ Abbot of St. Katherine's Monastery at the foot of Mount Sinai in today's Egypt.

¹⁷⁰ 387-493 A.D.

¹⁷¹ According to the *Great Synaxaristes of the Orthodox Church*, these saints were from Oxyrrynchos, a town in Upper Egypt that had been a bishopric from 325. Although the dates of these hermits' lives is not mentioned, we can assume they lived when Oxyrrynchos was a bishopric. Thus, the saints lived no earlier than 325.

¹⁷² Died 288 A.D.

¹⁷³ Died 304 A.D.

¹⁷⁴ 962-978 A.D.

Chapter 5

Person and perspective in the hymns of Valeria Hoecke

5.0. Introduction

Valeria Hoecke combines tradition with innovation in her hymns, and her primary innovations pertain to person and viewpoint. Unlike authors of the older Menaion hagiographic hymns examined, Hoecke's hymns feature direct quotations and offer the reader psychological access to the saint's thoughts.

In addition, Hoecke utilizes the overt 1st-person singular subject and verb form in her hymns.¹⁷⁵ Non-hagiographic hymnography, such as that found in the Great Canon and in Morning and Evening Prayers, includes the overt 1st-person singular forms. In such texts the Speaker, the textual "I," is intended to map onto the "I" of the reader of the hymn (see §2.2) When I-I mapping occurs, the hymn focuses on the reader as an individual rather than on the readers as a group. Hoecke utilizes I-I mapping, but more often she plays with the reader's expectations of it that are already established from other familiar hymn genres.¹⁷⁶

Section 5.2 presents some general examples that illustrate how Hoecke's hymns conform to hagiographic tradition, whereas §5.3 offers some examples showing how her hymns deviate from it. Section 5.4 is more specific, presenting examples of Hoecke's hymns that feature psychological access to the saint, the 1st-person singular, and direct quotations. Then, building on this foundation, §5.5 moves to a discussion of Hoecke's use of I-I mapping. Finally, in §5.6 it is demonstrated how these innovations result in an extremely complex person structure.

The dating of the services to the period between 1938 and 1986, accomplished in Chapter 4, will help us determine whether there is any chronological evolution in Hoecke's use of person and perspective.

5.1. A brief review of person and perspective in Menaion hagiographic hymns

Menaion hymns addressed to saints are consistent in terms of discourse role: the Speaker is an authoritative figure representing the collective opinion of the church, and the saint is the Addressee throughout the text. The Addressee does not respond, never becoming a Speaker. The Addressee overtly appears in the text by means of the vocative forms, the 2nd-person singular pronoun, and its corresponding verb forms. In some hymns the Addressee has the only overt person role in the entire hymn; no other participants (or their corresponding pronoun or verb forms) are introduced into the hymn. In other cases, the Addressee takes the only overt person role in the proposition, and the deduction switches to a different person. In the deductions of Menaion hymns one can often find person switches to the 1st-person plural with a hortative function: from discussing the saint, the hymn may open to include the broader "all of humanity" (meaning the faithful).

The following examples illustrate the person structure of older hagiographic hymns addressed to saints (which represent approximately $\frac{3}{4}$ of Menaion hymns). In both Examples (1)

¹⁷⁵ The 1st-person plural, used in earlier Menaion hymns, refers to a non-individuated group of all the faithful of all times. These hymns lack the overt, self-conscious 1st-person singular forms.

¹⁷⁶ As in other chapters, the word "reader" designates both the reader and the hearer of a hymn.

and (2) the grammatical Addressee is the saint throughout. The difference between the two hymns is in the grammatical person used: in the first, the person is 2nd-person singular throughout; in the second, the person is 2nd-person singular in the proposition and then switches to 1st-person plural in the deduction:

- (1) На горѣ высокѣ образнѣ днѣнѣ възшѣдѣ,
 ѿ възчестнѣнїи кїѣвѣтѣхъ ѿкъ възнезаходїмаѣ вшѣдѣ,
 дѣлїемъ нзрѣднѣмъ, ѿ възхожденїе видѣнїи показѣлѣ єсї:
 //жнтїе оубѣ оублїенїе оубы желѣзнымн, ѿкоже грївнмн златымн оукрашенѣ, бѣ
 же зрѣ, ѿ зрїмь, ѿ єдїнѣ єдїномѣ бесѣдѣ,
 єгоже молї, честнѣнїи ємѣѣне, ѿ дшїахъ нашнхъ.

Having ascended the lofty wondrous mountain
 and having entered the impenetrable as an honored tabernacle,
 through excellent activity you shone forth the ascent of vision.
 //Wherefore, having illumined your life, adorned with iron chains as with a golden
 necklace, seeing God and being seen by Him, and conversing in solitude with Him alone,
 entreat Him, Honored Symeon, in behalf of our souls.¹⁷⁷

- (2) Прїбѣне оче євдїмїе, земнѣхъ малобременнагѣ жнтїа нзбѣглѣ єсї,
 монашеское жнтїе возлюбїлѣ, ѿ ѿггѣлѣмъ собеседнїкѣ, ѿ прїбѣнѣмъ бѣлѣ сожїтель,
 дѣмнїекаѣ погубїлѣ єсї ѿполчїнїа:
 //мы бо прѣвїи пѣть тобѣю ходїти оубѣдѣхомъ, ѿ тѣ на поможїе прїзѣбѣемъ,
 просѣце тобѣю прїлїти мїрѣ ѿ бѣлїю мнлостѣ.

O Venerable Father Evftimii, you fled earthly, temporal life, having loved monasticism;
 and you, having been an interlocutor with angels and a co-dweller with the venerable,
 destroyed the demonic forces:
 //Wherefore we have learned from you to walk in the correct path, and we call on your
 help, asking for peace and great mercy.¹⁷⁸

As indicated in Chapter 3, a 3rd-person Other is the subject of approximately ¼ of earlier Menaion hymns. When a 3rd-person Other is mentioned, it is usually God (consisting of any person of the Trinity) or the Theotokos, but the 3rd person form can also refer to wide range of subjects including angels, an earthly adversary of the saint, or nature. Pre-revolutionary hymns that discuss an Other are often didactic or doxological, and there is no switch in person in the deduction:

- (3) Иже прѣжде деннїцы єсї слѣво бжїе, члѣвѣкѣ намъ ѿбнїа,
 воплѣщїа нѣз рѣднѣ ѿ прѣчїтѣлѣ дѣвѣ,

¹⁷⁷ Menaion 5:196.

¹⁷⁸ Menaion 4:7.

и ѿ слова иже азъ, невредимъ сохрани.

The Word of God who existed before the morning star revealed himself to us as a man, incarnate for our sake of the most-pure virgin; and having issued forth from her, he preserved her intact.¹⁷⁹

5.2. Hoecke's hymns that conform to the tradition

The following Examples (4)-(9) illustrate the fact that Hoecke wrote with an awareness of the earlier person and viewpoint structure of hagiographic hymns; therefore, her innovations may be intentional. Approximately 20% of Hoecke's hymns utilize the older structure. Such hymns are sprinkled throughout the corpus of her services. The greatest concentration of hymns with the older structure can be found in Hoecke's earlier services, as well as in the 1978 service to Saint Xenia.

In Example (4), from the 1963 service to Agnes of Rome, the saint is the Addressee throughout and there is a person switch in the deduction to the 1st-person plural:

- (4) О преславная стратотерпице, непорочная агнице, голубице кроткая, чистоты сосудъ избранный, како воспоемъ твоя страданія, како облобызаемъ твоя раны, //обаче подвигомъ твоимъ дивящися, умиленно тебѣ зовеми, радуйся Агніе, невѣсто Христова.

O all-praised passionbearer, blameless lamb, meek dove, chosen vessel of purity, how can we sing your sufferings, how can we kiss your wounds?
//But marveling at your spiritual struggles, we tenderly call to you, "Rejoice Agnes, bride of Christ."

Both Examples (5) and (6) are addressed to the saint in the 2nd person, and the deduction switches to the 3rd person. It is much more typical for traditional hagiographic hymns to include a switch in the deduction to the 1st-person plural, but these examples are used notwithstanding, in order to illustrate the *presence* of a switch in person at the appropriate point in the hymn. Example (5) is addressed to Abbess Brigitte of Kildare, and it can be dated to after 1966.

- (5) Полкомъ невѣрныхъ градъ твой обступившимъ, и той разрушити и огню предати хотящимъ, христіаномъ же страхомъ и трепетомъ исполняющимся, и твоя помощи, преподобная, усердно просящимъ, воевода грозная явилася еси, орудіе смертоносное противу самѣхъ враговъ обращаючи, и смятеніе во станѣ вражескомъ устраючи,
// тѣмже спасенію твоимъ предстательствомъ людіе взываху: радуйся на помощь намъ поспѣшающая, Бригито преславная.

When the regiment of unbelievers surrounded your city, intending to destroy it and burn it, the Christians were full of fear and trembling and diligently asked for your help. You

¹⁷⁹ Menaion 5:24.

appeared as a formidable military leader, a death-bearing weapon turning against the enemies and making disarray in the enemy camp.

//Wherefore the people cried out under your salvific protection: rejoice, Brigitte most glorious, you who hasten to our help.¹⁸⁰

The following hymn is from Hoecke's 1987 service to Xenia of St. Petersburg. The proposition addresses the saint, whereas the deduction features a switch in person to the 3rd-person singular:

- (6) О Ксеніе мужемудренная, крѣпость души твоя кто исповѣсть, яко на брань со княземъ тьмы и міра сего исходящи, андреемъ нареклася еси, ничтоже бо устраши ты или стужи ти: гладъ же и хладъ и наготу терпящи, вся могу о Христѣ, мене укрѣпляющемъ, со апостоломъ вzywала еси,
//тѣмже и вѣнча тя Христосъ подвигоположникъ.

O Xenia the manly-minded, who can declare the strength of your soul? Going out to battle with the prince of darkness and this world, you were called Andrei, and nothing frightened or alarmed you. Enduring hunger and cold and nakedness, you cried out with the Apostle: I can do all things in Christ who strengthened me.

//Wherefore Christ, the Origin of Ascetic Feats, crowned you.

Hoecke has also composed many hymns in which there is no switch in person in the deduction.¹⁸¹ Example (7) below is also from Hoecke's service to Xenia. The saint is the Addressee throughout, including the deduction.

- (7) Суеты земнаго міра отвергшися,
крестъ житія бездомнаго во странничествѣ пріяла еси,
скорбей, лишений, людскаго осмѣянiя не убоялася еси,
любовь же христову познала еси,
//еюже нынѣ на небеси улаждаешися,
ксенiя блаженная богомудрая,
молися о спасенiи душъ нашихъ.

Having renounced the vanity of the earthly world,
you took up the cross of a homeless life of wandering,
you did not fear grief, privation, and the mockery of men,
and you knew the love of Christ,

//Now taking sweet delight of this love in heaven,

O Xenia the blessed and divinely wise,

¹⁸⁰ One characteristic of Hoecke's grammar is her frequent use of the dative absolute, as in the first line of this hymn.

¹⁸¹ Both structures—with and without a person switch—are common in the Menaion.

pray for the salvation of our souls.¹⁸²

Example (8) is another of Hoescke's more traditional hymns. It is from the 1963 service to Queen Tamara of Georgia. As in Example (7) above, the saint is the Addressee throughout and there is no switch in person in the deduction. The deduction in Example (8) remains in the perfect tense, rather than switching to the present or to the imperative mood.¹⁸³

- (8) Царство твое благоденствіемъ благослови Христось, и слава твоя даже до конецъ земли достиже, Тамаро великоименитая, миромъ бо предѣлы твоя оградивши, на страсти душевныя воевати не престала еси,
//тѣмже враги земли твоя вкупѣ же и враги души твоя безсмертныя преславно побѣдивши, тишиною же наслаждающихся, благодареніе непрестанное Богу приносила еси.

Christ blessed your kingdom with prosperity, and your glory reaches even to the ends of the earth, O Tamara of the grand name; with peace you encircled your borders, and you did not cease to war against the soul's passions.

//Wherefore you simultaneously won the battle with the enemies of your land and with the enemies of your immortal soul. While enjoying peace, you brought unceasing thanks to God.

The events in Example (8) are related causally: Christ blessed Tamara's kingdom, she was peaceful, and she warred against her passions; as a result, she won the battle against her earthly enemies and against Satan. It is thus constructed in the spirit of the earlier Menaion hymns.

Example (9) is from the 1963 service to Agnes of Rome. Agnes is the Addressee throughout and there is no switch in person. The phrase "Агніе, голубице кроткая" is separated out as the hymn deduction because the naming of the saint takes place at the time of hymn authorship, and thus implies a switch to the present from the past.¹⁸⁴

- (9) Не мечемъ, ниже противленіемъ и силою, но вѣрою несумнѣнною и чистотою великою, побѣдила еси нечестивыя,
//Агніе, голубице кроткая.

Not by the sword, neither by opposition and strength, but through indubitable faith and great purity you gained victory over the impure ones [heathens],

//O Agnes, meek dove.

¹⁸² Menaion hymns typically include a switch to the present tense in the deduction along with an imperative addressed to the saint. Hoescke uses the imperative alone in this example, but the deduction implies an underlying present tense (that Xenia is in heaven).

¹⁸³ This is less typical for Menaion hymn deductions, which almost always switch to the present tense.

¹⁸⁴ Hoescke would have stated this phrase in the perfect—"Агніе, голубице кроткая была еси"—were the phrase not meant to imply the present.

Examples (4)-(9) above indicate that Hoecke ultimately continues the tradition of earlier hagiographic hymns, notwithstanding her innovations.

5.3. Innovations in Hoecke's hymns

In order to understand Hoecke's unique use of person and perspective, it is useful to compare her hymns not only to earlier hymns from the Menaion (which have a relatively simple person structure), but also to other hymnic genres, including those hymns in the Great Canon, the Divine Liturgy, Matins, Vespers, and Morning and Evening Prayers, all of which feature a more varied person structure. The present section discusses the ways in which Hoecke's hymns depart not only from the traditional person structure in hagiographic hymns, but also from that of RCS liturgical hymnography in general. Hoecke's use of person and perspective is not, however, random, and certain constant characteristics are clearly discernible. In the following section, examples of Hoecke's general deviations from traditional Menaion hymn structure are first analyzed, with examples loosely clustered according to the type of innovation. The discussion then addresses how Hoecke utilizes 1st- person singular pronoun and verb forms, I-I mapping, and psychological access to the saint.

5.3.1. General deviations from what is expected in hagiographic hymns

5.3.1.1. Hymns with indirect veneration of the female saint

In Hoecke's hymns we often find indirect veneration of the saint when the saint is a female. The saint is not the focus of the hymn, but rather an influential man in the saint's life. In Example (10), addressed to Empress Feofaniya, the Speaker does not directly recount the life of the saint. Instead, the Speaker filters the story through the perspective of the saint's husband. This hymn, which dates to 1938, is one of Hoecke's earliest.

- (10) Святу ты быти мяше царь и супругъ твой, видѣвый подвиги твоя и житіе непорочное, желаніемъ возгорѣся по кончинѣ твоей воздвигнути тебѣ храмъ, обаче удержанъ бывъ, воздвиже церковь всѣхъ святыхъ,
// аще бо, вопія, Феофанія свята есть, будетъ сія церковь и въ ея честь.

The tsar and your husband thought you to be holy, seeing your struggles and your blameless life; a desire burned in him, at your end, to raise up to you a temple; but, having been detained, he erected a church to all saints;
//Behold, crying out, Feofaniya is holy, let this church be in her honor, too.

The corpus of Hoecke's hymnography contains many other examples in which the female saint is venerated indirectly. Example (11) below is from the 1956 service to Taisiya. The hymn is not addressed to Taisiya, as would be expected from the tradition of hagiographic hymnography. Instead, the hymn is addressed to Saint Pafnutij.

- (11) Агницу кроткую львицы лютыя вмѣсто, страстьми бѣсящіяся, Господеви привель еси, отче Пафнутіе, Того милосердіе прославляя.

A meek lamb together with angry wolves, bedeviled with passions, you led to the Lord, O Father Pafnutije, praising His tenderheartedness.

Few female saints have services composed in their honor, and it may be that Hoecke was attempting to legitimize the women's sanctity by writing the hymns from a male viewpoint or addressed to a male saint.¹⁸⁵

5.3.1.2. Unexpected changes in person in Hoecke's hymns

Hoecke's hymns often feature unexpected changes in person. Two examples of this phenomenon are provided below. In Example (12) both the 1st- and 2nd-person plural forms are used. There is no address to the saint in this hymn. Rather, the proposition contains an address to the faithful that excludes the Speaker. The deduction then contains an address to the faithful that includes the Speaker. Hoecke must have been aware of the fact of the existence of a switch in person between the proposition and deduction; however, she innovated from the typical formula. Note the table below that illustrates the older structure found in the Menaion:

Formula for older hagiographic hymns that include a person switch in the deduction:

Hymn component	Person role	Grammatical person
Proposition	Addressee: Saint	2nd singular
Deduction	Speaker: "We," all the faithful	1st plural

What follows is an example of Hoecke's reinterpretation of the older structure. Example (12) is from the 1959 service to Saint Sebastian:

- (12) Севастіана славнаго торжество совершающе, прїидите тому въ срѣтении
//изыдемъ съ лики и тимпаны, пѣсни Богокрасныя воспѣвающе.

Celebrating the glorious Sebastian, come out (2nd-person plural) to meet him;
//We come out (1st-person plural) with timbrel and dance, singing hymns to him who is the adorned of God.

Hoecke's person structure in the above hymn to Sebastian can be depicted by the following outline:

¹⁸⁵ One possible reason for this is that services have traditionally been written in men's monasteries. Another possible reason is that all Judeo-Christian religions have typically assumed that only males can serve the church in official capacity. Half of Hoecke's services are composed in honor of female saints.

Hymn component	Person Role	Grammatical Person
Proposition	Addressee: "All of you" (excluding "I")	2nd plural
Deduction	Speaker: "We," all the faithful including "I"	1st plural

The hymn in Example (12) is constructed with the 2nd-person plural verb first. The Speaker already intends to celebrate Sebastian, and encourages the remainder of the faithful to do the same by means of a 2nd-person plural address. The deduction changes the perspective to that of the 1st-person plural, and the Speaker is now included in the body of the faithful who emerge to sing hymns to the saint. The purpose of this change in perspective is to indicate that once all the faithful have done what the Speaker told them to, they could go forth together to celebrate Sebastian. From the structure of the hymn proposition it appears that the Speaker is detached from the rest of a body of people whom he is addressing, as if he were a clergyman encouraging his parish while excluding himself from it. The effect of this detachment, of this non-included "I" in the proposition, is highly unusual for hagiographic hymns.

This service for Sebastian was composed in 1959, mid-way through Hoecke's career as a hymnographer. Considering many of Hoecke's earlier services feature a standard person structure, this example illustrates her later creativity.

In Hoecke's hymns the saints are often 3rd-person Others, whereas pre-revolutionary hagiographic hymns are addressed to saints and the saints are grammatical 2nd persons. Interestingly, Hoecke often refers to one individual in terms of two different grammatical persons in the same hymn; such a method of referring to one individual is very abrupt, considering that hagiographic hymns are only a few lines long. In Example (13), from the 1963 service to Tamara, we find the saint in two roles: she is a 3rd-person Other ("сія") until the deduction, in which she becomes the Addressee.

- (13) Кая сія блистающая яко заря,
и яко луна благосвѣтлая,
сіяющая яко солнце,
грозная яко полци со знаменами,
сія есть державная владычица Иверскія земли,
и Христова раба смиренномудрѣйшая,
Церквѣ Его служительница усердная,
православія ревнительница мудрая,
благонравныхъ и благочестивыхъ отрада и утѣшеніе,
злочестивыхъ же страхъ и посрамленіе,
молитвенница за родъ нашъ неусыпная,
// тѣмже зовемъ ей, радуйся Тамаро, Царица Богокрасная.

What is this shining like dawn,
good-lighted like the moon
shining like the sun

formidable like armies with standards,
 this is the imperial owner of the Iverian land,
 and the most humbleminded servant of Christ
 The fervent server of her church
 a wise zealot of Orthodoxy
 the joy and comfort of the right-behaving and the pious
 the fear and shame of evil-doers
 unfailing intercessor for our kin
 //Wherefore we cry to her, "rejoice Tamara, God-adorned queen."¹⁸⁶

The hymn consists simply of a list of the saint's attributes until the deduction; reference to the subject of the hagiographic hymn as a 3rd-person Other rather than an Addressee results in a certain detachment from the saint. Whereas the majority of the above hymn is detached from the saint, there is a reconciliation that occurs with the switch to the 2nd person. The effect is that of pulling in the reader so that the reader is closer to the saint and included in dialogue. In Example (12), too, the Speaker is detached from the situation in the proposition, but reconciled to it in the deduction.

5.3.1.3. God's role in Hoecke's hymns

God has a more active and dynamic role in Hoecke's hymns than in Menaion hymns. God is now able to assume the role of the hymnic Addressee and can be the agent acting on the saint.

5.3.1.3.1 God as the Addressee

In Hoecke's hagiographic hymns God often appears as the Addressee, whereas in Menaion services the saint is the Addressee and God is a 3rd-person Other. The depiction of God as an Addressee is standard in non-hagiographic hymns, however, and multiple examples of this can be found in the Great Canon and Morning and Evening Prayers.¹⁸⁷ By depicting God as an Addressee, as in Example (14) below, Hoecke renders hagiographic hymns more similar to other genres of hymnography. God is the Addressee in Example (14), from the 1956 service to Taisiya.

(14) Твоихъ судебъ бездну кто исповѣсть, Господи, низводиши бо и возводиши,
 смиряеши и возносиши, и грѣшныя убѣляеши, Человѣколюбче.

Who would know the abyss of your judgments, O Lord, you raise up and you take down,
 you humble and you exalt, and you whiten the sinful, Lover of mankind.¹⁸⁸

The above hymn is interesting in that the Speaker tells God what God is and what he

¹⁸⁶ In RCS "Царица" should be in the vocative case (Царице) because it is appositional to the vocative Тамаро.

¹⁸⁷ Old Testament Psalms, too, although out of the scope of this dissertation, are also primarily addressed to God.

¹⁸⁸ "Низводиши бо и возводиши, смиряеши и возносиши" is a common liturgical phrase originating in the Psalms; "грѣшныя убѣляеши" also refers to Psalm 50.

does. (God, presumably, already knows these facts about himself.) God is the grammatical Addressee, but the Speaker tells God these things in order to cause the reader to be filled with awe and fear of the Last Judgment. Thus the illocutionary force of the utterance is actually an imperative addressed to the reader that he regard God in the way the hymnist instructs him to. In this way the hymn is didactic, although it is written in the form of contemplation.

5.3.1.3.2. Hymns that focus on what God does for/to the saint

Pre-revolutionary hagiographic hymnography focuses on the saint and what s/he did during life that led to saintliness. The older hymn usually discusses what the saint did in relation to God (struggling toward God's kingdom, praying to God, etc.). In the corpus of Hoecke's hymns, in contrast, we find hymns that focus on what God, as an actor, does to the saints. In the following Example (15) the person roles are the same as in earlier hymns: God is the 3rd-person Other and the saint is the Addressee. The roles of actor and receiver of the action are, however, reversed.

- (15) Израиля изъ Египта Изведыи, и тебе, Таисіе, отъ страны грѣховныя воззва, и въ пустыню страстей всели тя, Маріями пѣснь хвалебную воспѣвающую.

He who leads Israel from Egypt also called you, Taisiya, from the land of sin, and he settled you in the desert of the passions [a place where the passions are shed], you who sing the laudatory song to Mary.¹⁸⁹

The following hymn is another example of Hoecke's depiction of God (here, in the person of Jesus) as the Addressee who acts on the saint:

- (16) Явиль еси намъ, Христе, Тамару молитвенницу теплую, царемъ же державу и ограждение, людемъ Иверскимъ покровъ и заступление,
//тѣмже Ти зовемъ: слава силѣ Твоей, Господи.

Christ, you revealed to us Tamara, the fervent intercessor for kings, their power and protection; a protectress and intercessor for the Iverian people;
//wherefore we call to you: glory to your power, O Lord.

5.4. Hoecke's use of first-person singular pronoun and verb forms, direct quotations, and psychological access to the saint's thoughts

The present sections discusses Hoecke's use of the 1st-person singular pronoun and verb forms, direct quotations, and psychological access to the saint's thoughts. These three innovations are closely linked and cannot be separated one from the other.

Older Menaion hymns contain exclusively discourse, whereas Hoecke uses both narrational and discursive methods of exposition. Section 5.4 examples are separated into those that represent narrative (§5.4.1) and those that represent discourse (§5.4.2).

¹⁸⁹ From the 1956 service to Taisiya.

5.4.1. Narrative hymns

In a narrative hymn that includes a direct quotation we have two Speakers: the exocentric narrator who recounts the story and the hymn-internal Speaker who utters the quotation. The exocentric narrator does not take part in the story, and there is no statement including the 1st-person singular in the narrative itself. The second Speaker appears in the quotation embedded in narrative; this Speaker, who is often self-conscious in Hoecke's hymns, takes part in discourse.

5.4.1.2. Jesus's role in Hoecke's hymns

Examples (14)-(16) above indicate that, in Hoecke's work, God has a different role from that which is expected from Menaion hymns. God's role is taken to another level in the following example as well. In Example (17) Jesus (who is considered to be God) is quoted directly, and he calls himself "I."¹⁹⁰ This makes him a self-conscious Speaker, since he inserts himself into the event and becomes part of it. He does not simply observe and comment on events, as would an unself-conscious Speaker.¹⁹¹

Example (17), from the 1963 service for Zinaida and Filonilla, is composed in a narrative style. It includes chunks of both dialogue and narrative. One Speaker, Jesus, refers to himself as "I" in the dialogue chunks (D1, D2). The other Speaker is the exocentric narrator who recounts the story.

(17) (D1) Боленъ и въ темницѣ бѣхъ и не послужисте Ми,
I was sick and in prison and you did not serve me.

(N1) речеть Судія Христось ко грѣшникомъ,
says Christ the Judge to the sinner,

ты же, о Зинаидо, Спасу во образѣ страждущихъ и болѣзнующихъ сторично
послужившая, укоренія вмѣсто услышиши Того свѣтлый гласъ,
but you, O Zinaida, serving the suffering and the ill according to the model of the Savior,
instead you hear his bright voice;

(D2) *прили* благословенная Отца Моего,
// наслѣдуй Царство прежде сложенія міра уготованное, въ немже имаша вѣчно
веселитися.
blessed one, receive my Father
// Inherit the kingdom prepared before the world came together, in which you have
eternally to rejoice.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Note that the pronoun may also be elided and the "I" would still show through by means of the verb agreement.

¹⁹¹ The self-conscious Speaker is different from the endocentric narrator in that the self-conscious Speaker announces his existence in direct quotations embedded in the hymns. The endocentric narrator, on the other hand, recounts the narrative (see §2.1). One way to look at the difference is the following: the self-conscious Speaker utters, "I am/was x" or "I do/did y," whereas the endocentric narrator states, "I witness(ed) x."

¹⁹² Note that the verb *имати* is used as a future auxiliary in (D2). This is not a typical RCS form, but is similar to OCS or Ukrainian.

In (D2) Hoecke creates a hypothetical statement addressed from Jesus to Zinaida at the Last Judgment. (D2) is framed by (N1), which announces who spoke in (D1) and then directs the address to Zinaida, rather than the sinners who did not serve Jesus while he was on earth.

The presence of the narrator is indicated in (N1), in which the narrator discloses the identity of the Speaker in (D1). The above hymn is thus exocentric. The Speaker is not included in the text in a self-conscious manner; rather, he is an external observer. Because of (N1), the statements declaring the identity of the Speaker who speaks within the dialogue chunks, this passage is ultimately narrative.¹⁹³

5.4.2. Direct quotations from saints and use of "I" in narrative hymns

The saints, too, refer to themselves in Hoecke's hymns with the 1st-person singular pronoun or verb forms. This makes the hymn subjects more accessible and more human for the reader. The subject of the hymn also becomes individuated as his personality and the condition of his heart are revealed through his words.¹⁹⁴

Example (18) includes a direct quotation from the martyr Zinaida while she is in the process of being stoned to death (D1 and D2).¹⁹⁵ Example (18) is addressed to *вы*, the people who stone her. Since this hymn is addressed to *вы*, it may also be simultaneously directed to the reader of the text, who is asked to consider whether or not he would join with the pagans in stoning the saints.

(18) (D1) Еда чимъ вамъ стужихъ, о, людїе,
О people, when have I offended you?

(N1) Зинаида горько вzywаше,
Zinaida bitterly cried out,

(D2) не недужныя ли ваша исцѣлихъ, не сущїя ли въ скорбѣхъ утѣсихъ, почто мя
на смерть гоните, но воля Господня да совершится.
Did I not heal your infirmities, did I not comfort those in tribulation? Why do you
persecute me to death? But let the will of the Lord be done.

In the above example, Zinaida utters (D1) and (D2). Following Zinaida's quotations, the exocentric narrator recounts the story of what Zinaida said. The presence of this external Speaker is revealed through the narrative phrase (N1): *Зинаида горько вzywаше*. This hymn can be compared to Example (17) in its structure.

5.4.3. Hoecke's discursive hymns

¹⁹³ Menaion hymns, on the other hand, are discursive and do not switch between genres.

¹⁹⁴ Subjects of earlier Menaion hymns, on the other hand, are represented by external acts of piety; the saint appears untouchable and distant. The lack of an "I" in earlier Menaion hymns results in an appearance of objectivity. They do, after all, offer proof for the sanctity of the given saint, and proof may appear more convincing when originating from an authoritative Speaker acting as a mouthpiece for the universal church.

¹⁹⁵ The sisters healed people without charging money, in order to please God. They are said to have been stoned by pagans who objected to these acts of devotion.

Hoecke's discursive hymns, in contrast with her narrative hymns, do not include an exocentrically narrated statement identifying a Speaker (which is a hallmark of narrative hymns). Instead, a discursive hymn is like one large quotation without a frame. The subjects of Hoecke's discursive hymns are often self-conscious, referring to themselves in the text.¹⁹⁶

In Example (19) below, from the service to Agnes of Rome, the Addressee is the saint. The Speaker overtly refers to herself with the 1st-person singular pronoun (мене).

- (19) Наготу твою дѣвическую, власы главы твоея прикрывала еси, Агніе, и мене, обнаженнаго отъ всяка дѣла блага, покрый твоимъ предстательствомъ отъ навѣтъ вражихъ.

You covered your maiden nakedness with the hair of your head, Agnes. And me, stripped bare of any good deed, cover me with your intercession from the hostile calumny.

The following examples also illustrate Hoecke's discursive style. Example (20) is from the service to Tamara, whereas Example (21) is from the service to Taisiya. The Speakers are self-conscious, referring to themselves in the texts.

- (20) Горы тя возрастиша, горняя присно мудрствовати хотящую, о Тамаро, //тѣмже и моя помысли долу поникшія впері къ высотѣ и на всякъ день во [indecipherable word] въ сердцы моемъ полагати *нзучи* мя, яко да тобою укрѣпляемъ въ селенія горняя достигну идѣже ты въ незаходимѣй сіяеши славѣ.

The mountains raised you, [they are] up high wanting now to be more wise, Tamara //Wherefore also raise up my thoughts which are below, and every day [unclear phrase] teach me, so that strengthened by you, I will reach the heavenly dwelling-place where you radiate glory.

- (21) Грѣхи моя якоже волну убѣли душу прокаженную очисти со Таисіей блаженной вопію Ти: благословенный Боже отецъ нашихъ.

Whiten my sins like waves, cleanse my leperous soul; with blessed Taisiya I sing to you: blessed is the God of our fathers.

¹⁹⁶ Although earlier Menaion hymns are also discursive, they are unself-conscious. The unself-conscious Speaker does not insert a statement about himself into the utterance, but rather observes events and comments on them. The unself-conscious Speaker could also be called detached.

What is especially interesting about Examples (19), (20), and (21) is that the "I" of the self-conscious textual Speaker is intended to map onto the "I" of the reader.¹⁹⁷ This is the phenomenon designate "I-I mapping" (see §2.2).¹⁹⁸ The following example from the Great Canon illustrates I-I mapping as it is found in other genres of RCS hymnography.

(22) Ὡβλοζέηζ ἕλιμь ὠδ'βάνηεμζ στ'δ'δ'α, ἴακοζε λήστβ'εεμζ εμοκόβнымζ, βο
ὠβληч'έη'ε μονήχζ εαμοβλ'άστ'ηч'ζ στ'ρ'α'στ'έ'η.

I am clothed in a garment of shame, like a fig leaf, in the denunciation of my passions and egotism.¹⁹⁹

The textual Speaker who utters Ὡβλοζέηζ ἕλιμь is intended to map onto the reader of the text. When the "I" is mapped onto the reader, the reader functions as a person, as a participant in the discourse.

5.4.3.1. The third layer of Speaker in Hoecke's hagiographic hymns

In Menaion hymns there are essentially two layers of Speakers. The deeper layer is the church. The church is the first Speaker who states—before hymn composition—that the saint is holy and worthy of praise. The first Speaker is the transmitter of information to the hymnographer, who speaks about events as they are already interpreted by the church, but does not directly witness the life of the saint in most cases.²⁰⁰

The hymnographer gains information from the church and relays it to the reader. The reader is the one who reads the hymn at any given moment from the moment it was composed. The reader typically does not witness the saint's life, but receives data from the two layers of Speakers.²⁰¹ In I-I mapping the "I" of the textual Speaker is mapped onto the "I" of the reader of the hymn. I-I mapping as it is used in Hoecke's hymns in effect turns the reader into a third Speaker.²⁰² If the hymn praises a saint, each reader performatively engages in praising the saint—at a very different time from that when the hymn was composed. When the reader utters a hymn that features I-I mapping, he relives, retells, and reaffirms the contents that are narrated. Each of the faithful who reads the hymn maps the textual "I" onto himself; thus, the third Speaker is a secondary shifter. When I-I mapping occurs we have three layers of Speakers, rather than two as in Menaion hymns.

¹⁹⁷ The necessary precondition for I-I mapping is the use of the 1st-person singular pronoun or verb forms, which are not found in the Menaion hymns previously examined. The lack of an "I" in these earlier hymns results in an appearance of objectivity. They do, after all, offer proof for the sanctity of a given saint, and proof may appear more convincing when originating from an authoritative Speaker who acts as a mouthpiece for the universal church.

¹⁹⁸ Recall that the 1st-person singular pronoun may be in any grammatical case, and I-I mapping may occur if the pronoun is dropped, leaving only the 1st-person singular verb ending.

¹⁹⁹ Canticle 2, verse 13 from the Great Canon.

²⁰⁰ Traditionally, the hymnographer is a monk in a monastery who composes hymns based on the collective opinion of the church regarding the saint. In the rare case that the narrator has witnessed the saint's life directly, and he comes to the conclusion that the saint is holy, the two Speakers are one.

²⁰¹ The exception is if the reader lived during the time of the saint and was still alive to read hymns later composed about the saint. This does not occur very often, as there is usually a large gap in time between the life of the saint and his canonization.

²⁰² For further discussion see Isler 1974.

The three layers of Speakers in hymns that include I-I mapping can be summarized as follows:

Layer of speaker	Identity	Role
1st Speaker	Church	Establishes the information: what to think about a particular individual
2nd Speaker	Hymnographer	Relays information from church to reader
3rd Speaker	Reader	Shifts; assumes identity created by hymnographer; receives information from the 2nd Speaker

As a result of I-I mapping, the active role of the reader in Hoecke's hymns is significantly different from the earlier, passive role of the reader in Menaion hymns.

5.4.4. Hoecke's innovations with I-I mapping

Because the phenomenon of I-I mapping is frequently found in non-hagiographic genres of RCS, such as the Great Canon or Morning and Evening Prayers, the reader knows to expect it. Hoecke plays with this expectation. She often begins hymns with self-conscious statements that are not framed by a statement identifying the Speaker. The reader understands that the utterance is intended to map onto himself, and assumes that he is now the Speaker. What Hoecke does next is unexpected: after the reader has already mapped the utterance onto himself, she introduces a statement that reveals the actual, fixed identity of the Speaker. Most often, the true Speaker is a saint or Jesus—and the reader is left excluded from the hymn. In Example (23) below the Orthodox Christian reads "како бѣгу грѣхми" as a self-conscious statement that maps onto himself/herself. It is only upon reading the second line (Таисія вѣщаше) that the reader understands that the identity of the "I" is Taisiya.

- (23) Всевидящаго Бога, тайная вся прозирающаго, како бѣгу грѣхми погружаемая,
How will I run from the all seeing God Who penetrates all secret things, I being
drowned by [my] sins

Таисія вѣщаше,
Taisiya was saying

The phenomenon of I-I mapping and its violation ultimately relates to the type of shifter used. A shifter is an element in language whose general meaning cannot be defined without reference to the message being communicated between a sender and a receiver (Jakobson 1971:132). The pronoun "I," for example, can only be understood by reference to the context in

which it is uttered. According to this definition, both the "I" in I-I mapping and the "I" when unmapped are shifters. The distinction between the two types of shifters can be clarified by the introduction of a new term. I propose the term "secondary shifter" to designate the "I" that has an additional layer of shifting, as in I-I mapping. When the referent of the textual pronoun "I" changes depending on the reader of the text, the "I" is a secondary shifter.²⁰³

Interestingly, Hoescke often plays with the reader's expectations: her hymns frequently begin with the *expectation* that the "I" is a secondary shifter and that the identity of the "I" is to be mapped onto the reader. The expectation is then violated in mid-hymn with a narrative statement identifying the "I." At that point the "I" has a fixed identity with regard to the message. The reader is left excluded from the hymn with the recognition that the identity of the "I" is not himself. Halted I-I mapping is the term I use for this mid-hymn violation of expectations. Hoescke frequently employs this technique. In her service to 1956 service to Taisiya, for example, fourteen different verses employ halted I-I mapping. One of these is Example (24) below.

(24) (D1) Боже, создавший мя,
"God, who created me"

(N1) Таисія святая вспіяше теплѣ,
Saint Taisiya fervently said

(D2) согрѣшенихъ моихъ разрѣши, якоже блудницы оныя древле, аще убо нозѣ
Твои пречистѣи не могу удержати, обаче милость Твою удержати тшуся, слезами
же моими землю орошаю, яко да въ души моей услышу блаженный Твой гласъ,
Forgive my sins, as [you did for] the sinful woman of old, for behold I cannot clasp Your
most pure feet; but I flee to Your mercy, watering the ground with my tears, so that in my
soul I will hear Your blessed voice,

(D3) отпускаются тебѣ твоя грѣси.
Your sins are forgiven you.²⁰⁴

In the above Example (24), sections (D2) and (D3) are dialogue chunks: (D2) is a continuation of Taisiya's speech from (D1), and (D3) could, in a sense, be considered a separate dialogue chunk. I separate (D2) from (D3) because (D3) is a hypothetical direct quotation from God embedded in Taisiya's quotation, and its function seems to be to switch the Speaker to God

²⁰³ I-I mapping with a secondary shifter is not found in pre-revolutionary hagiographic hymnography, since it is not self-conscious and does not make use of the 1st-person singular pronoun. The presence of secondary shifters is, however, typical for prayers such as the Great Canon and Morning and Evening Prayers. Such hymnography is personal, self-conscious, and confessional.

²⁰⁴ This hymn, with its final hypothetical, projected quotation, is reminiscent of Anna Akhmatova's "Muza": "...И вот вошла. Откинув покрывало, Внимательно взглянула на меня. Ей говорю: "Ты ль Данту диктовала Страницы Ада?" Отвечает: 'Я.'" Hoescke surely has been influenced by this example of 20th century Russian poetry: both the last line of the hymn and of the poem consist of responses from a noncorporeal being.

and the Addressee to Taisiya—notwithstanding the fact that Taisiya is reporting what God *would* say.²⁰⁵

Section (D1) is the first dialogue chunk and consists of Taisiya's direct address to God. With the (D1) phrase "Боже, создавший мя," the reader assumes the identity of the Speaker. The reader anticipates and expects that the entire hymn will continue I-I mapping. This basic assumption is halted in (N1), a narrative chunk that announces the identity of the Speaker in (D1). With the announcement of the Speaker's identity (Таисія святая вспіяше тебѣ), the reader realizes that there is an exocentric narrator. The reader is now aware that the pronominal statement of self in (D1)—*мя*—is not a secondary shifter mapping onto himself. Whereas in isolation (D1) is an endocentric, self-conscious statement that implies a continuation of I-I mapping, (N1) indicates the intrusion of an exocentric viewpoint. Since the move is from endocentric to exocentric, the reader feels jolted and removed from the prayer. Hoecke often experiments in this way with inclusion and exclusion (§5.3.1.2).

In the above hymn Hoecke also breaches the standard rule that, in hagiographic hymns, the saint is the Addressee. In Example (24) the saint is the Speaker and God is the Addressee. The fact that God then responds within the text renders Hoecke's hymn even more nontraditional. From a background understanding that liturgical discourse is both asymmetrical and nonreciprocated (see §2.3), the reader is now confronted with discourse that is both symmetrical and reciprocated.

Example (25) below is another of Hoecke's hymns that features halted I-I mapping. Such hymns are relatively formulaic, and this example is similar to Example (18) above.

(25) (D1) Всевидящаго Бога, тайная вся прозирающаго, како бѣгу грѣхми погружаемая,
How will I run from the all seeing God Who penetrates all secret things, I
being drowned by [my] sins

(N1) Таисія вѣщаше,
Taisiya was saying

(D2) вѣмъ бо Того быти Судію и мздовоздаятеля, обаче вѣмъ того и
Человѣколюбца быти
// тебѣ же на милость Его *уповаючи*, скверну же сердца слезами *омываещи*,
въ руцѣ Его животъ мой предаю.
For I know him to be the Judge and giver of recompense, but also I know him to
be the Lover of Man
//wherefore, hoping on his mercy, washing the pollution of heart with tears, I
place my life in his hands.

Upon reading (D1) the reader maps the textual Speaker onto himself in the expected fashion. (N1) follows and consists of the frame for (D1). In (N1) with the words "Таисія вѣщаше," the reader realizes that (D1) had been a direct quotation from Taisiya. Since the realization occurs only after the reader aligns himself with the textual Speaker, I-I mapping is halted. The reader now understands that he is not part of the hymn, but that he is reading

²⁰⁵ The presence of hypothetical direct quotations from God also appears in Example (16) above.

exocentric narrative with an external narrator recounting events of Taisiya's life. The hymn then reverts to Taisiya's direct speech in (D2). By this point in the hymn, however, I-I mapping is impossible since the reader knows he is separate from the textual "I." In this way Hoescke plays with identity and the concept of the Speaker.

Only one more example is given here, Example (26) below. Halted I-I mapping is used with such frequency in Hoescke's hymns dating from the 1950s and onwards that one can find this phenomenon in almost any of these hagiographic services. Example (26) is from the 1951 service to saints Spiridon and Nicodemus:

- (26) Настави насъ на истину Твою и научи насъ, яко Ты еси Богъ, Спасъ нашъ и Тебе
терпѣхомъ весь день,
сице **взывала еста** псалмопѣвца преславная//
//тѣмже и насъ правдѣ Божіей научите.

Establish us in your truth and teach us, for you are God, our savior, and we have endured
all day for you,
thus cried out the two most glorious psalmists
//Wherefore teach us also God's truth.

From the first line (Настави насъ ча истину Твою и научи насъ, яко Ты еси Богъ, Спасъ нашъ и Тебе терпѣхомъ весь день) the reader assumes that he is to assume the identity of the textual "I," as in hymns that feature I-I mapping. In the second line, however, we learn that the reader is not he who sings praise to God; rather, it is two saints: сице **взывала еста** псалмопѣвца преславная.

5.5. Establishing the boundaries of I-I mapping

Let us now briefly revisit canonical—rather than halted—I-I mapping. Example (27) below is from the 1956 service for Taisiya. Hoescke begins the hymn with the semblance of I-I mapping: the first phrase includes the 1st-person singular verb form **превзыдохъ**, and this statement is not preceded by a statement identifying the Speaker:

- (27) Іезавелино нечестіе превзыдохъ дѣяньми,
Таисія глаголаше рыдаючи,
обаче Судіе и Боже ревность Іліину подаждь ми, страсти заклати и грѣхи огнемъ
покаянія попалити.

I outdid Jezebel's impiety through actions,
said Taisiya, crying,
but you, Judge and God, give me the zeal of Elijah to kill my passions and burn my sins
with the fire of repentance.

One might assume that the above example exhibits halted I-I mapping. The content of the hymn's first line (Іезавелино нечестіе превзыдохъ дѣяньми), however, indicates that

mapping is impossible before the reader even reaches the statement identifying the Speaker (Тайсія глаголаше рыдаючи). The Speaker's comparison of Jezebel to himself implies that the Speaker leads others into sexual immorality and idolatry.²⁰⁶ This quotation is so highly specific that it could only have been uttered by a limited set of persons. When the Speaker's statement applies only to a limited set of persons, not every reader can map the identity and words of the Speaker onto himself. A significant point about the I-I mapping is, therefore, that it only occurs when general statements of sin or piety are uttered that can be mapped onto every reader.

Other of Hoecke's innovations in Example (27) above include the use of the direct quotation from a saint, the use of overt 1st-person singular morphology, and the fact that the saint is the Speaker and God is the Addressee.

5.6. Hoecke's hymns feature psychological access to the saint

Hoecke's viewpoint structure includes psychological access to the individuals portrayed.²⁰⁷ One aspect of psychological access includes the revelation of a saint's thoughts in the form, "the saint thought *x*." A second aspect of psychological access is displayed when Hoecke writes that the saint uttered certain phrases: "the saint said *x*." Hoecke clearly did not witness acts of the saints about whom she writes, and a saint's direct quotation almost certainly represents an external rendering of what Hoecke assumed his inner thoughts to be. Taisiya's words Іезавелино нечестіє превзыдохъ дѣянъми in Example (27) above demonstrate Hoecke's projection into words of what she assumed the saint must have thought in prayer.

The following hymn, Example (28), is constructed like a narrative, and it offers psychological access to the saint. It begins with (D1), a direct quotation of the saint. Upon reading (D1) the reader assumes that the textual Speaker is intended to map onto himself. The reader learns that he is not the Speaker in the next phrase, (N1), in which he finds that Taisiya is the origin of the message. Following (N1) the reader is grounded in the fact that there is no I-I mapping. Example (28) does not include direct quotations of speech; instead, Hoecke projects internal thoughts onto the saint.

(28) (D1) Души моя измѣну что воздамъ,
"For the betrayal of my soul, what will I give?"

(N1) Тайсія святая въ себѣ помышляше,
Holy Taisiya was thinking to herself,

(D2) аще бо міръ весь пріобръщу душу же мою погублю ничимже пользуются,
// тѣмже вся земная на землю повергаю, и тлѣнная во огонь вметаю, яко да животь
вѣчный и блаженныи наследую.

"If I acquire the whole world and lose my soul, there will be no gain
//Wherefore I throw away all earthly things, and corrupted things I throw in the fire, so

²⁰⁶ See Revelation 2:20-24.

²⁰⁷ In the Menaion hymns examined earlier there is only rare psychological access to the saint. Typically only external actions are provided (and brief stock phrases, should the saint chance to speak). When a saint's internal struggles are discussed, the hymn simply states that the saint struggled with his or her passions, and there is no psychological access to the saint's thoughts. See, for instance, Example (1) from §3.3, which demonstrates the external nature of the saint's acts.

that I will inherit eternal and blessed life."²⁰⁸

5.7. Hoecke's hymns feature a relatively complex person/viewpoint structure

The Menaion hymns examined earlier tend to be rather uncomplicated in terms of person and viewpoint. Hoecke's hagiographic hymns, on the other hand, are formulated in a more complex manner. The relative complexity of her hymns is evident in abrupt switches in person and in halted I-I mapping. Even the presence of I-I mapping itself is an innovation in hagiographic hymns, since it is typically found in other hymn genres. The complexity of Hoecke's hymns extends even beyond the aforementioned features. The following hymn to Myrax (1985 or 1986) is one example of her intricate person and viewpoint structure that illustrates this complexity. In the hymn below we find the 1st-person singular form and direct quotations. The hymn is constructed in three parts, although each part contains a hypothetical direct quotation of Myrax to Jesus. In the first part, (a), Myrax addresses Jesus by means of quoting back to Jesus Jesus's own words to Simon Peter from the Gospel of John.²⁰⁹ The second part, (b), consists of Myrax telling Jesus what he would like Jesus to ask him. The desired question is a quasi-embolismatic rephrasing of the Gospel passage with Jesus questioning Myrax, rather than Jesus questioning Simon Peter. (The technique called *embolism* refers to the expression of a direct quotation from Scripture; *quasi-embolism* refers to the technique of paraphrasing from Scripture.) Part (c) is a continuation of the direct address to Jesus from (a) and (b), and it consists of Myrax telling Jesus what Myrax would like Jesus to answer, were Jesus to ask the question Myrax asked him to pose in (b):

- (29) (a)
Любиши ли Мя, Симоне, ученика Тебе отвергшагося вопрошь еси, Господи,
"You, Lord, asked your disciple who had betrayed you, 'Do you love me, Simon?'"
- (b)
любиши ли Мя, Мираксе, вопроси и мене нынѣ,
"Ask also me, Merciful Savior, 'do you love me, Myrax?'"
- (c)
Спасе премилосердый, и отвѣтъ Ти дамъ, не словесы, но дѣянии, за Тебе смерть
пріемля.
"And I will give you an answer not by words but by deeds, accepting martyrdom for
you."

²⁰⁸ Note that the phrases Души моя измѣну что воздамъ and ничимже пользуются are ungrammatical; the former needs some sort of preposition, such as "за," whereas in the latter the word пользуются may have worked better as a participle. Аще бо мѣръ весь пріобрѣшу душу же мою погублю ничимже пользуются is a quasi-embolismatic paraphrase from Matthew 16:26.

²⁰⁹ John 21: 15-17: So when they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my lambs. He saith to him again the second time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my sheep. He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me? And he said unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed my sheep.

This hymn is complex in person and viewpoint structure in that it provides psychological access to the persons depicted while seeming to switch persons (from Myrax to God and to Simon Peter). Grammatically, however, the hymn remains an utterance from one Speaker and one point of view, and it may be that the personal nature of Hoecke's hymns is what enables their complexity. Menaion hymns, on the other hand, have a much simpler point-of-view structure. Hoecke's innovations with person and perspective represent one of her primary contributions to the field of hymnography.

5.8. Conclusions

The pre-revolutionary Menaion hymns examined earlier tend to be rather simple in their person and viewpoint structure. When we consider those of Hoecke's hymns that possess a canonical person and viewpoint structure, it is clear that she understood how earlier hagiographic hymns are formulated. This indicates that she ultimately continues the tradition.

At the same time, Hoecke frequently deviates from what is expected. This chapter has examined innovations in Hoecke's use of person and perspective. Hoecke's Addressee is often God, and he is the agent acting on the saint. In earlier hymns, on the other hand, the Addressee is the saint; the saint is an active figure struggling toward sanctity. Another characteristic of Hoecke's hymns is that she utilizes indirect viewpoints. It is not always the exocentric narrator who recounts the saint's acts; the narrator may instead recount the saint's acts from another person's viewpoint. Other characteristics of Hoecke's hymns include abrupt switches in person, I-I mapping, halted I-I mapping, and psychological access to the saint. An overall effect of Hoecke's innovations is one of complexity, which is clear in hymns such as Example (29).

There does not appear to be one over-arching motivation that unites all of Hoecke's innovations, but we can make some generalizations. Unlike Menaion hymns, Hoecke's hymns feature the 1st-person singular pronoun and verb forms, direct quotations, and psychological access to the saint. When I-I mapping occurs, her hymns also feature psychological access to the reader. Other genres of hymns do include these elements, such as the confessional and devotional hymns in the Great Canon and Morning and Evening Prayers. The fact that these elements tend not to occur in earlier hagiographic hymns indicates that they are more detached and focused on pedagogy. In Hoecke's hymns, on the other hand, there is a marked focus on the Speaker as a self-conscious individual since the reader maps the identity of the textual Speaker onto himself.

The 1st-person singular pronoun and verb forms appear in varying frequencies in Hoecke's services. The greatest concentration of such forms is found in the 1985/1986 service to Myrax. In this service 37 out of 40 verses include the 1st-person singular forms. The 1956 service to Taisiya is second in terms of quantity of verses featuring 1st-person singular pronoun and verb forms, as 20 different individual hymns—more than half of the total—contain these forms. The "I" in Hoecke's services either maps onto the reader of the text or is found in a direct quotation of the saint or of God.

Hoecke's innovations with person and perspective are most frequently found in the services to Spiridon and Nicodemus (1951), Taisiya (1956), Sebastian (1959), Tamara (1963), Agnes (1963), and Myrax (1985/1986). These services all fall in the latter portion of Hoecke's career as a hymnographer, which spanned from the 1930s to 1986. We can conclude from this that, regarding person and perspective, Hoecke did not begin her career by innovating; rather, her style evolved over time.

Chapter 6

Verbs, participles, and period structure in the hymns of Valeria Hoecke

6.0. Introduction

The present chapter discusses Hoecke's use of participles, verbs, and overall period structure. Section 6.1 discusses elements of continuity that link Hoecke's hymns to those of the preceding tradition. Section 6.2 then discusses her innovations.

6.1. Elements of continuity

6.1.2. Person-verb tense correspondences

Recall that in the Menaion (as it was reformed under Patriarch Nikon) past tense usage is automatic and depends on person. Namely, the second person singular subject is used with the perfect tense; all other subjects take the aorist or, much less frequently, the imperfect. Despite the fact that a certain verbal form is used automatically depending on person, there is a difference in temporal semantics between events expressed by verbs of the 2nd-person singular and non-2nd person singular forms. This was the primary discussion in Chapter 3. The majority of Menaion hymns (73%) are addressed to saints, and the verb is in the perfect tense.

It is apparent that Hoecke understands that past tense usage in hagiographic hymns is based on person. This is remarkable considering that none of the 20th century grammars of RCS examined in Appendix I acknowledge the person-based past tense distinction found in many RCS texts. Yet Hoecke has clearly internalized this distinction, as is evident by the fact of hymns she has composed such as the following in honor of Empress Feofaniya (1938). Past tenses are boldfaced.

- (1) О, Христе, Царю царей, се уметы *вменаю* славу мою, яко да славу Твою вижду, юже **имѣль еси** прежде даже міръ **не бысть**, и тоя причаститися сподоблюся, // приими мя яко единого отъ рабъ Твоихъ, **вопіяля еси** блаженная.

"O Christ, king of kings, in order that I see your glory, which **you had** before even the world **came into being**, and I am made worthy to partake of it //accept me as one of your servants," you, blessed one, **cried out**.

Example (2), composed for Saint Sebastian in 1959, is another hymn that illustrates Hoecke's command of the person-past tense verb form correspondence typical of Menaion hymns. The verb in the 2nd person is in the perfect tense, whereas the verb in the 3rd person is in the aorist tense. These verbs are boldfaced.

- (2) Единъ на смерть ведомъ **быль еси**, мучениче всехвальне, не сущу брату, ниже другу молитвою тя укрѣпляющу, обаче Самъ Подвигоположникъ Христоръ **внять**

ти и крѣпость твоѣ подаде.

You were brought alone to death, all-praised martyr, not having brother, nor friend to strengthen you in prayer; but the Founder of Ascetic Exploits himself, Christ, heeded to you and **gave** you strength.²¹⁰

In Hoecke's hymns, one cannot easily draw a semantic distinction between the aorist and the perfect tenses, and the tense forms appear to be in complementary distribution. In the above hymn, the events enacted by subjects referenced in the 2nd person (the martyr) and the 3rd person (Christ) happened at the same time, and the duration of the two events is identical. The martyr was led to death until he died, and Christ helped the martyr during this act of being led to death and until the martyr died. Despite the identical time reference, the tenses used to describe these events are different. The act of the martyr going to his death is in the perfect tense, whereas the act of Christ helping the martyr is in the aorist tense. Hoecke's tenses are in complementary distribution, as they are in the earlier Menaion hymns.

Example (3) below is from the 1985-86 service for Myrax. A subject referred to in the 2nd person takes the perfect tense, whereas a subject referred to in the 1st person takes the aorist tense.

- (3) Естества немощнаго окованъ плѣнцами, яко Іона во чревѣ китове тѣми удержанъ **согрѣшихъ**, но призвавъ мя из глубины мрака грѣховнаго, душу мою, Милостиве, **свободилъ еси**.

Forged in chains of weak nature, like Jonah in the belly of the whale, held, **I have sinned**, but having called me from the depths of sinful darkness, Merciful One, **you freed** my soul.

The above Examples (1)-(3) reflect the past tense system as it is found in the Menaion. The fact that they were gathered from services dating to 1938, 1959, and 1986 indicates that Hoecke used the reformed past tense system throughout her career as a hymnographer. Although the distinction had all but died out by the 20th century, the tradition does continue with her.

6.2.3. Hoecke's use of traditional period structure

Certain of Hoecke's hymns conform to the general period structure used in earlier hagiographic hymns (see §3.1.1).²¹¹ In Example (4), from Hoecke's 1938 service to Empress

²¹⁰ Hoecke's use of the verb *внять* ("to listen, understand") is interesting. She obviously intends this to be an aorist, but the correct aorist form would be *вня*.

²¹¹ Recall from Chapter 3 that events recounted in the 2nd-person singular tend to be related causally, and conjunct participles play a key role in causal sequencing. Past tense hymns to saints depict specific steps taken by the saint during his life that ultimately led to his virtues. These steps are presented in the form of a series of proofs that are intended to convince the reader of the saint's sanctity. Each phrase in the hymn proposition, constructed with conjunct participles and finite verbs, illustrates the struggle the saint took upon himself. The proof marker transitions between the proposition and deduction. The deduction announces that, because of his struggles (and because of the virtues exhibited), the saint is thereby a model for others, holy, or is able to intercede on one's behalf

Feofaniya, the expected perfect is used for a past tense address to the saint. In the proposition verbs are combined with conjunct participles to create a series of statements that argue for the saint's sanctity. Following the proof marker **тѣмже** is the deduction, which confirms the sanctity argued for in the proposition. The relevant verbs are boldfaced and the relevant participles are underlined (as is done throughout this study).

- (4) Единоначалию Тріипостасному, **вѣрно послужила еси**, Богомудрая,
во смиреніи твоємъ честь полагаючи, и
вѣнчанную главу твою подѣ яремъ Христовъ вольно преклоняючи, и
въ молчаніи устѣ твоихъ пребываючи,
// **тѣмже и пренесла еси** славу твою въ Горній *Небесный* градъ, въ немже
пребываеши.

You faithfully **served** the trihypostatic unity, O Godly Wise One, in your modesty bringing honor, bowing your crowned head beneath the yoke of Christ, and living in silence
//wherefore you **brought** your glory to the High Heavenly City, in which **you dwell**.

The proposition indicates that the saint served the trihypostatic unity (the Trinity, or God) by doing three things: bringing honor, bowing her head beneath the yoke of Christ, and living in silence. These preconditions for sanctity, which provide a model for the faithful to imitate, are not bound to a specific time. The proof marker **тѣмже** represents the dividing line between the proposition and the deduction. The deduction is a conclusion that "proves" Feofaniya's saintliness: since she engaged in the acts enumerated in the proposition, she brought glory to her city.²¹²

It is clear from the above hymn to Feofaniya that Hoecke recognizes there are two parts to a hymn, a proposition and a deduction; she frequently separates these two blocks of the hymn with a proof marker. Example (5) below is from the 1984 service to Xenia of Petersburg. It also represents Hoecke's use of traditional period structure in hymns addressed to saints:

- (5) Бездомная на земли сущи,
домъ и жилище духу святому въ сердце своемъ **уготовала еси** смиреніемъ
твоимъ,
// и нынѣ въ чертозѣ христовѣ **радуешься**, блаженная Ксеніе, богу присная.

Being homeless on the earth,
you prepared in your heart a home and dwelling for the spirit through your humility
// and now you **rejoice** in the bridal chamber of Christ, blessed Xenia, close one of Christ.

with God. Thus, a primary function of these hymns constructed in the 2nd-person singular is to provide a model for imitation. The proposition contains preconditions for sanctity, and these nonspecific statements can be replicated in innumerable contexts.

²¹² The line *пренесла еси славу твою въ Горній Небесный градъ, въ немже пребываеши* refers to Feofaniya's relics, which remain in Istanbul.

In the proposition, the conjunct participle *суши* is paired with the finite verb *уготовала еси* to construct an argument for sanctity. This argument builds to the proof marker *и нынѣ*, which indicates a causal result. The deduction follows. It contains an overt assertion of sanctity, the fact that Xenia is now in heaven with Jesus: *въ чертозѣ христовѣ радуешися, блаженная Ксеніе, богу присная.*

The above examples, gathered from services from 1938-1986, indicate that Hoescke understood how verbs, participles, and period structure had traditionally functioned in hagiographic hymns. One would assume, therefore, that her innovations are intentional.

6.2. Hoescke's innovations

Having established that Hoescke understood how verbs, participle, and period structure operate in hagiographic hymns, we now move to an analysis of the ways in which she deviates from the tradition. Participles will be discussed first, followed by period structure, and then verbs.

6.2.1. Participles

Many of Hoescke's hymns are characterized by a different distribution of participles than that found in earlier Menaion hymns. In the earlier system conjunct participles are linked with finite verbs in a ratio that is close to 1:1. Hoescke, on the other hand, uses long strings of attributive participles or conjunct participles that are not combined with finite verbs. Her hymns also feature long strings of dative participles in dative absolute constructions.

6.2.1.1. Attributive participles

As demonstrated in Chapter 3 (§3.3), a feature of traditional Menaion hymnography addressed to saints is the frequent use of sequencing conjunct participles. Hoescke, on the other hand, combines conjunct participles with finite verbs much less frequently. Instead, she replaces conjunct participles with attributive participles. Hoescke's overall number of participles per finite verb appears roughly the same as earlier hymns, but she may not have been consciously aware of how the differing types of participles are used in older hagiographic hymns (see §3.2). Many examples of long strings of attributive participles can be found in all of Hoescke's services from the 1930s-1980s.

The following Example (6) is a hymn from the service to Myrax. It is constructed in the form of a direct quotation from Myrax to Jesus. Participles are underlined.

- (6) Лобзаниємъ Тя предавый Іуда, не облобызавъ покаяніе, любе не имый к Тебѣ теплыя, ниже проразумѣвая яко вся милуеши отъ покаянія къ Тебѣ пришедшія, шед удавися,
// но избави мя, Господи, отъ таковаго жестсердія безумнаго, пріими моя горькая стенанія отъ паденія возставляя мя, и спаси мя кающѣгося, яко благъ и милосердѣ.

Judas, who by his kiss betrayed you, not having accepted repentance, and [who] not having warm love to you, neither having understanding [because of this lack of love] that you are merciful to all who come to you with repentance, having gone, hanged himself;

// but deliver me, Lord, from such senseless hardheartedness, receive my bitter groanings, raising me from my fall, and save me who is penitent.²¹³

Almost all participles in the above hymn are attributive and describe Judas. The attributive participial phrases modifying Judas can be enumerated as follows:

1. Лобзаниемъ Тя предавый
2. не обლობызавъ покаяніе
3. любе не имый к Тебѣ теплыя
4. ниже проразумѣвая яко вся милуеши отъ покаянія

If the attributive participial phrases were removed, little of the hymn would be left; all that would remain would be the following:

Иуда... *шед* удавился,
// но избави мя, Господи, отъ такового жестсердія безумнаго, пріими моя горькая стенанія отъ паденія возставляя мя, и спаси мя кающѣгося, яко благъ и милосердѣ.

Judas went and hanged himself
// but deliver me, Lord, from such senseless hardheartedness, receive my bitter groanings, raising me from my fall, and save me who is penitent.

Once the participial phrases are removed, it is even easier to see that the content conveyed in the hymn is not the sort of discourse expected on the basis of earlier Menaion hymns, in which the proposition features an argument for the saint's sanctity. Interestingly, this hymn composed to Myrax does not mention the saint. Instead of positive argumental proof for Myrax's sanctity, we have a statement condemning Judas and imploring God for mercy.

The next example also illustrates Hoescke's relative overuse of attributive participles, in contrast with traditional hymns that employ conjunct participles.

- (7) Петра первоверховнаго Тебе отвергшагося покаяніе пріемый, и пастыря овцамъ великаго того Содѣлавый,
// пріими мя, Христе, яко овча заблудшее, Мираксъ мученикъ вопіяше.

You who accepted the penance of Peter the chief apostle, who had betrayed you, and [you who] having made him the great shepherd of the sheep
//Accept me, Christ, like the lost sheep, Myrax the martyr was crying out.²¹⁴

²¹³ Note that жестсердія is not a word in RCS; either жестокосердія or жестосердія should have been used instead. Additionally, *кающѣгося* should be *кающагося*. This error may have been due to interference from Serbian, in which strong jers were replaced by the vowel "a."

²¹⁴ Also interesting is that while Example (7) contains a very distinct proposition and deduction, the proposition lacks finite verbs.

Were one to reduce the proposition of Example (7) to its basic content, the proposition disappears: it is a string of attributives of Jesus and could be paraphrased as "ты."

Jesus (Addressee-subject)

Attribute #1: Петра первоверховнаго Тебе отвергшагося²¹⁵ покаяніе пріемый

Attribute #2: пастыря овцамъ великаго того Содѣлавыи

The hymn thus consists of the following overall content, and no arguments for sanctity are constructed:

[Ты]

// пріими мя, Христе, яко овца заблудшее, Миракъ мученикъ вопіяше.

Example (8) below is from the service to Agnes of Rome. This hymn, too, contains an unusually large number of attributive participles:

- (8) О, Петре, апостоловъ первоверховниче, овцы и агнцы твоя добрѣ упасшии, во градѣ кровь твою пріявшемъ, срѣтай нынѣ отъ того грядущую непорочную агницу, за Христа закалаемую, и кровію своею языческія скверны очищающую,
//тѣмже введи ю скоро ко Агнцу на браки, ангеломъ и ликомъ праведныхъ припѣвающимъ, радуйся, Агніе, невѣсто Христова.

O Peter, first among the apostles, having shepherded well your sheep and lambs in the city that accepted your blood, meet today coming from that city an unblemished ewe, sacrificed for Christ, and by her blood, cleansing the pagan impurities.

//Wherefore [thanks to this], introduce her to the Lamb's bridal chamber, accompanied by the singing of the hosts and angels, "Rejoice Agnes, bride of Christ".

The deduction of the above hymn essentially states:

О, Петре, апостоловъ первоверховниче, срѣтай непорочную агницу

O Peter, first among the apostles, meet an unblemished ewe.

The attributive participial phrases describing Peter are as follows:

1. овцы и агнцы твоя добрѣ упасшии
2. во градѣ кровь твою пріявшемъ

²¹⁵ Note that this participial phrase describing God also has an embedded attributive to Peter: *Петра первоверховнаго Тебе отвергшагося*.

The attributive participial phrases describing Agnes are as follows:

1. нынѣ отъ того грядущю
2. за Христа закалаемую
3. кровію своею языческія скверны очищающю

Examples (6)-(8) above have demonstrated that Hoecke utilizes many participles in her hymns, as do the authors of earlier Menaion hymns. In Menaion hymns conjunct participles are combined with finite verbs to construct an argument for sanctity. Hoecke's participles, on the other hand, are largely attributive. When one removes these participial phrases the hymn content is greatly reduced; one may consequently conclude that her participles convey not ancillary but essential information.

6.2.1.2. Dative absolutes

Another of the striking characteristics of Hoecke's hymns is her frequent use of dative absolutes. Furthermore, her dative absolute constructions often contain long strings of dative participles. Hoecke's hymns thus have a markedly different distribution of participles than is found in earlier Menaion hymns. In Example (9) below there are four dative case participles participating in a dative absolute construction: *обступившимъ*, *хотящимъ*, *исполняющимся*, and *просящимъ*.

- (9) Полкомъ невѣрныхъ градъ твой обступившимъ, и той разрушити и огню предати хотящимъ, христіаномъ же страхомъ и трепетомъ исполняющимся, и твоя помощи, преподобная, усердно просящимъ, воевода грозная явилася еси, оружіе смертоносное противу самѣхъ враговъ обращающи, и смятеніе во станѣ вражескомъ устрающи,
// *тѣмже спасеніи твоимъ предстательствомъ людіе взываху: радуйся на помощь намъ поспѣшающая, Бригито преславная.*

When the regiment of unbelievers surrounded your city, and, intending to destroy it and burn it, the Christians were full of fear and trembling and diligently asked for your help. You appeared as a formidable military leader, a death-bearing weapon turning against the enemies and making disarray in the enemy camp.

//Wherefore the people cried out under your salvific protection: rejoice, Brigitte most glorious, who hastens to our help.

6.2.2. Period structure

The traditional period structure no longer exists as such in many of Hoecke's hymns. Hoecke's primary innovations involve her use of negative deductions, inverted deductions, and paratactic structure. Each of these innovations is discussed under its own heading below.

6.2.2.1. Negative deductions

In all Menaion services examined for this study the deductions are positive: because of the virtues enumerated in the proposition, the saint is worthy or praise, is asked to pray to God for the reader, dwells with the saints, and so on. Many of Hoecke's deductions, on the other

hand, involve a negative sentiment. This is not only a question of "positive" vs. "negative" deduction—the entire period structure of older hymns is constructed in the following form:

argumental discourse > proof marker > statement of sanctity

Once the proposition is void of positive argumentation for sanctity, and the deduction void of a declaration of sanctity, the period structure ceases to exist. Example (10) below is from the service composed to Myrax. The deduction, in italics, expresses fear.

- (10) Ядѣи хлѣбъ Твой, Тѣло Твое пречистое, и пїяи Твою кровь божественную, яко Іуда **ВОЗДВИГОХЪ** на Тя запинаніе,
// тѣмже боюся Твоего вѣчнаго осужденія, Господи.

Eating your bread, your most pure body, and drinking your divine blood, like Judas I **raised** a resistance against you,
// wherefore I fear your eternal condemnation, O Lord.

This example is atypical for hagiographic hymnography in many ways, the most obvious of which is that its Addressee is God rather than the saint. Despite this, it would have been possible for this hymn to have a traditional period structure, had the proposition and the deduction been phrased in positive terms.

6.2.2.2. Hoecke's inverted deduction

Certain of Hoecke's hymns do not end with the deduction, the statement declaring the saint's sanctity. Instead, they open with it. In Example (11), composed in honor of Spiridon and Nikodemus, there are essentially two deductions: one that opens the hymn and one that closes it. Both deductions are italicized.

- (11) *Блаженна еста, преподобнии, яко на совѣта нечестивыхъ не идоста, и мїрскаго пути грѣховнаго избѣжаста, въ закони Господни день и ноць поучающеся, и хвалу Спасу и Христу псаломски воспѣвающе,
//тѣмже яко дрѣвеса доброплодная нынѣ при исходищихъ живота въ Раи водвористася Богу васъ слано прославишу.*

*You are blessed, O venerable ones, for you did not walk in the council of the ungodly, and fled from the path of earthly sin, meditating day and night on the commandments of God and singing praises to the Savior and Christ
//Wherefore upon the leave-taking of life you now dwelt in Paradise like fruitful trees, singing praises to God.*

In this hymn the first verb, *єста*, is a present tense 2nd-person dual form.²¹⁶ The remainder of verbs in this hymn are in the aorist tense. Instead of offering argumental proof for sanctity and then concluding that the saints are holy, Hoescke begins the hymn with the statement that they are already blessed: *Блаженна єста, преподобнії*. This first line is followed by the expected argumental proof for sanctity: the saints did not walk in the council of the ungodly and fled from the sinful earthly path, meditating on the Lord's statutes day and night, and singing hymns. The hymn concludes with a second deduction that affirms the saints' sanctity.

6.2.2.3. Hoescke's use of paratactic structure

Example (12) illustrates the fact that Hoescke avoids the standard period structure of earlier hagiographic hymns. Instead, she employs the technique of parataxis, in which short, simple sentences are used without coordinating or subordinating conjunctions. The following is from Hoescke's 1963 service to Queen Tamara of Georgia:

- (12) Кая сія блистающая яко заря,
и яко луна благосвѣтлая,
сіяющая яко солнце,
грозная яко полци со знаменами,
сія єсть державная владычица Иверскія земли,
и Христова раба смиренномудрѣйшая,
Церквѣ Его служительница усердная,
православія ревнительница мудрая,
благонравныхъ и благочестивыхъ отрада и утѣшеніе,
злочестивыхъ же страхъ и посрамленіе,
молитвенница за родъ нашъ неусыпная,
// *тѣмже* зовемъ ей, радуйся Тамаро, Царица Богокрасная.

What is this shinking like dawn,
good-lighted like the moon
shining like the sun
formidable like armies with standards,
this is the imperial owner of the Iverian land,
and the most humbleminded servant of Christ
The fervent server of his church
a wise zealot of Orthodoxy
the joy and comfort of the right-behaving and the pious
the fear and shame of evil-doers
unfailing intercessor for our kin
//wherefore we cry to her, "rejoice Tamara, God-adorned queen."²¹⁷

In the above hymn Hoescke simply lists attributes of Tamara without making a connection among them. The proof marker, *тѣмже*, sets off this list of attributes from the deduction. The deduction

²¹⁶ It is interesting that Hoescke uses the dual forms since most Menaion services composed to two or more saints address the saints as individuals. See §3.2 and §6.3.3.1.

²¹⁷ Note that the nominative *Царица* in the last line should be vocative (*Царице*) since it is in apposition to *Тамаро*.

is unlike that of a standard hagiographic hymn. Instead, it is very similar to the refrain in another hymn genre, that of the Akathist, except that whereas in Akathist verses each appellation begins with the word радуйся, Hoecke's hymn contains only one such word. Here is a verse from the well-known and ancient Akathist to the Theotokos, which will demonstrate the similarity between the Akathist genre and Hoecke's hymn above.

- (13) Радуйся, Еюже радость возсіяеть;
радуйся, Еюже клятва исчезнетъ.
Радуйся, падшаго Адама воззваніе; радуйся, слезъ Евиныхъ избавленіе.
Радуйся, высоту неудобовосходима челоѡческими помыслы;
радуйся, глубину неудобозрима и ангельскими очима.
Радуйся, яко еси Царево сѡдалище;
радуйся, яко носиши Носящаго вся.
Радуйся, Звѡздо, являющая Солнце;
радуйся, утробо Божественнаго воплощенія.
Радуйся, Еюже обновляется тварь;
радуйся, Еюже поклоняемся Творцу.
Радуйся, Невѡсто Неневѡстная.

Rejoice, you through whom joy will shine forth!
Rejoice, you through whom the curse will cease!
Rejoice, recall of fallen Adam!
Rejoice, redemption of the tears of Eve!
Rejoice, height inaccessible to human thought!
Rejoice, depth indiscernible even for the eyes of angels!
Rejoice, for you are the King's throne!
Rejoice, for you bear Him who bears all!
Rejoice, star that causes the Sun to appear!
Rejoice, womb of the divine incarnation!
Rejoice, you through whom creation is renewed!
Rejoice, you through whom we worship the Creator!
Rejoice, Bride Unwedded!²¹⁸

The Akathist-style parataxis in Hoecke's Example (12) features verbs in the present tense (other than, of course, радуйся), which gives the lines a seemingly timeless quality. The use of the present tense makes sense considering that the saint is thought to be in heaven, a state with no past or future.

6.2.3. Verbs

There are two noteworthy phenomena in Hoecke's hymns regarding verb use. The first is her use of both the aorist and perfect forms when the hymn is addressed to two saints. The second is her frequent use of the present tense.

²¹⁸ RCS from the Молитвословъ (2005:272-3). English translation is directly from the Prayer Book (1996:291-292), except that "you" is used in place of "thee," in keeping with the other English translations in this work.

6.2.3.1. Hoecke's past tense usage

Recall that the 16th-18th century past tense verb reforms resulted in a complementary distribution whereby the perfect form is used with the 2nd-person singular subject and the aorist or imperfect is used with all other persons. According to these rules, the dual subject would take the aorist tense. In Hoecke's service to Spiridon and Nicodemus, past tense verb use largely corresponds to the norm that was established by these verb tense reforms.²¹⁹ In this service the aorist form is used to address dual subjects. In Example (14) the dual form is boldfaced.

- (14) Всю отложивше, суету житейскую подъ землею въ пещерахъ **сокрыстася**, двоице блаженная, хранение устомъ полагая на **пѣніе** убо токмо хвалы Твояе, Боже, сія отверзая
//**тѣмже** убо Давиде царю, стани съ нами и сія чада твоя и ученика похвали, Христу угодившая подвиги своими.

Having laid aside everything, you **hid** life's vanities under the earth in caves, o blessed pair, setting a watch before your mouths, opening their mouths keeping mouths in the singing of your praise, God, opening your lips only to sing Your praises, O God.
//And now, David, stand with us and praise these your children and disciples, who pleased Christ with their labors.²²⁰

By contrast, in Example (15) below, from the 1963 service for Zinaida and Filonilla, the perfect is used with an address to a dual subject. It is interesting that Hoecke uses the 2nd-person plural form to refer to the two saints throughout this service, rather than the expected dual form. This is most likely an error.²²¹ In any case, the 2nd-person plural subject would be expected to take the aorist tense rather than the perfect one according to the verb reforms. Example (15) is not in accordance with the verb tense reforms, and the verb usage in this example is thus very different from that found in Example (14). The perfect tenses are boldfaced.

- (15) Истину Христа обрѣтшя, и во слѣдъ Того потекшя, мученицы, многія въ вѣрѣ Христовѣ **утвердили есте**, страстоносицы, мнозѣмъ же и недуги **отгъали есте** именемъ Христовымъ.

Having found the truth of Christ, and to his glory having run, O martyrs, you **confirmed** many in the faith of Christ, O Passionbearers, and you **drove out** many infirmities in the name of Christ.

²¹⁹ In this service Hoecke employs the aorist form for addresses to the dual subject in sixteen different phrases. There is one exception, though: the perfect form is used once in an address to the dual subject.

²²⁰ Example (14) is also very interesting in that there are several Addressees: the two saints are addressed in the 2nd-person dual, and God is addressed in the 2nd-person singular.

²²¹ Note Hoecke's mistakes in the use of the dual form: *обрѣтшя* and *потекшя* should be *обрѣтшиа* and *потекшиа* in the dual; *страстоносицы* in dual should end in either "ѣ" or "а"; *утвердили есте* is not a dual, but a plural form. It is interesting that Hoecke vacillates between dual and plural verb forms.

Hoecke composed only these two services in honor of two saints (to Spiridon and Nicodemus and to Zinaida and Filonilla). From Examples (14) and (15) it would appear that Hoecke is unsure whether to use the perfect or the aorist with dual subjects, and she may be uncertain as to whether a dual form is to be used at all. One reason for her confusion may be the general lack of dual subjects in the older Menaion services. When a service is composed to two or more saints, individual hymns within the service tend to be composed to individuals within the group, rather than to dual subjects. The example below is from the Menaion service for Constantine and Elena, but the individual hymn is composed only to Constantine. The 2nd-person singular past tense forms are boldfaced.²²²

- (16) ПѢРВЫЙ ЦАРЬ ВО ХРІТІАНѢХЪ ѿ Б҃ГА, КОНСТАНТИНЕ, КИПТРЪ ВОСПРІАЛЪ **Є**И: ТЕБѢ БО ІАВІСА ВЪ ЗЕМЛѢ КРЫЕМО СПАСИТЕЛЬНОЕ ЗНАМЕНІЕ, ИМЖЕ И ІАЗЫКИ БІА ПОКОРІАЪ **Є**И ПОДЪ НОГН РИМЛАНЪ, ОРЪЖІЕ НЕУБОРІМОЕ ИМѢАИ ЖИВОТВОРАЦІИ КРІТЪ, БЛАЖЕННЕ, ИМЖЕ И ПРИВЕІСА **Є**И Б҃ГЪ НАШЕМЪ.

The first of all Christian kings, you **received** the scepter from God; for His saving sign was shown to you, which was hidden in the earth, was shown to you. By its might you **subjugated** all nations and peoples under the Romans' feet, since you truly had Christ's life-giving cross as an invincible weapon, O blessed one, and by it you were also **brought** to our God.

Even though a service may overall have been composed to a pair of saints, for example, Saints Constantine and Elena, Boris and Gleb, or Zachary and Elizabeth, the vast majority of hymns in the service are composed to one or the other of the pair. As a result, it may have been difficult for Hoecke to discern the extent of the past tense verb reforms with regard to the dual. She must have learned the forms from reading or hearing these texts, since she had no formal training in RCS.

6.2.3.2. Hoecke's frequent use of the present tense

In terms of tense, the most striking characteristic of Hoecke's hymns is her frequent use of the present tense in both propositions and deductions. (Menaion hymns, in contrast, typically feature the present tense only in deductions.²²³) As a result, Hoecke's hymns include the present tense much more than Menaion hymns. Hoecke's present tenses also have a broader range of functions than those in earlier Menaion hymns, and this results from the increased number of environments in which present tenses are found in her hymns.

To understand the frequency of Hoecke's present tenses with respect to aorists, perfects, and imperfects, a tabulation was made of verbs occurring in seven services, which were selected

²²² Menaion 5:163.

²²³ In the earlier Menaion hymn deductions, there is either a continuation of the aorist or perfect tenses from the proposition, or else the present tense is introduced in the deduction. The present tense has two functions in Menaion deductions. One is to assert, still addressing the saint, that the saint is holy (see the deduction in Example 1 in §3.3). The other is to present a 1st-person plural hortative statement that could be considered a semi-performative (see the deduction in Example 5 in §3.3; see §2.2.4 for a discussion of the 1st-person plural Speaker).

more or less at random. The services selected are those composed in honor of Isidora, Anastasij, Spridon and Nicodemus, Paul the Merciful, Juvenali, the Lesna Icon to the Mother of God, and Brigitte of Kildare.²²⁴ In this way a sample of Hoecke's entire output was obtained that included 766 verbs. Table 1 provides the resulting breakdown in verb tenses:

Table 1. Finite verbs: aorists, presents, imperfects, and perfects used in Hoecke's hymns

Service	Aorists	Imperfects	Perfects	Present	Total verbs
Isidora	20	6	36	20	82
Anastasij	4	1	35	34	74
Spiridon and Nicodemus	22 ²²⁵	2	28	30	82
Paul the Merciful	8	3	45	34	90
Juvenali	0	1	46	47	94
Lesna Icon to the Theotokos	22	1	8	115	146
Queen Tamara	8	1	26	34	69
Brigitte of Kildare	21	8	44	56	129
Totals	105	23	268	370	766
Percentages (rounded)	14%	3%	35%	48%	100%

Below I analyze Hoecke's use of the present tense, as well as the resulting effect of this tense. Some major motivational contexts for the present tense include what I call "liturgical time"; others are rhetorical questions, *da*-clauses, and doxology and descriptions of God. The following analysis deals with all verbs that are conjugated with present tense morphological endings. Included are conjugations of "perfective" verbs, or those RCS verbs that look perfective from the standpoint of modern Russian.²²⁶

6.2.3.2.1. Liturgical time

Liturgical time is a religious phenomenon by which over-arching, ever-present cosmic realities are expressed through the present tense depiction of events. In hagiographic hymnography, the present tense of liturgical time is used, for example, when the hymn takes

²²⁴ This count excludes pluperfects and periphrastic future tenses, tenses which are rare both in earlier Menaion services and in Hoecke's service.

²²⁵ The hymns in the service to Spiridon and Nicodemus that are composed in the dual take the aorist tense, whereas the hymns composed to only one of the two saints take the perfect. In this service the ratio of aorists to perfects is higher than in other Hoecke services because of her frequent use of the dual. When Hoecke uses the 2nd-person dual subject in the past tense, the verbs are in the aorist tense. This is in keeping with the 16th-18th century verb reforms.

²²⁶ The word "perfective" is in quotations since Russian scholars assume that aspect in RCS mirrors the Russian system; to my knowledge no systematic study has been undertaken, probably because of the assumption that there is nothing new to uncover.

place in heaven, or when the hymn juxtaposes two individuals or phenomena from disparate times and places.

We have already seen examples of the present tense of liturgical time earlier in this dissertation, although they were not labeled as such; recall the deductions in Menaion hymns addressed to saints, first discussed in Chapter 3. The deduction, the conclusion to the proposition's argument for sanctity, often states in one way or another that the saint is in heaven, thereby "proving" that he is holy.²²⁷ This present tense in Menaion deductions is that of liturgical time. The hymn deduction below is an excerpt from an earlier Menaion example originally given in §3.3. The statement in liturgical time is boldfaced.

(17) //НЫНѢ НА НѢСѢХЪ ЗЕРЦАЛѢМЪ РАЗРѢШШЫМЪ, ѠЧЕ НАШЪ ДЕОДОСИЕ, ЧИСТѢ
ЗРѢШИ СѢЮ ТРЦЮ, МОЛЪА НЕЕРѢДЪТВЕННѢ Ѡ НЪЖЕ ВѢРОЮ И ЛЮБѢЮ
ЧТѢЩИХЪ ТЪ.

//**And now, Feodosij our father**, the reflections having been abolished, **in the heavens you gaze in purity upon the Holy Trinity, praying directly for those who honor you with faith and love.**

Hoecke's deductions, too, often affirm sanctity through liturgical time. This is illustrated by Example (18), which is from Hoecke's service to Agnes of Rome. The present tense of liturgical time in the deduction is boldfaced.

(18) Агница непорочная стада Христова, волкамъ лютымъ ты угрызающимъ, притекла еси къ Доброму Пастырю,
//**иже ты нынѣ пасеть на пажитѣхъ вѣчныхъ.**

O blameless lamb of Christ's herd, when the bestial wolves bite you, you came to the Good Shepherd,
//**who now pastures you in the eternal pasture.**

Thus, the present tense of liturgical time occurs in hymn deductions in both earlier hymns and in Hoecke's hymns. However, liturgical time is not limited to deductions. It is an element that frequently appears in propositions as well, both in the Menaion and in Hoecke's hymns. The difference between the use of liturgical time in Menaion propositions and in Hoecke's propositions lies in the temporal marker used. In Menaion hymn propositions the past tense is

²²⁷ In deductions of Menaion hagiographic hymns either the saint is addressed as holy, or there is a 1st-person plural hortative statement praising the saint. Either way, the deduction involves an implicit assertion that the saint is a saint and ought to be praised. These assertions are in the present tense because they apply to all times, not only to the time when the saint lived.

Both Menaion hymns and Hoecke's hymns make use of liturgical time in hymn deductions. Menaion hymns, however, utilize the past (perfect or aorist) to express liturgical time in hymn propositions. Hoecke's innovation is to use the present tense for liturgical time in the same environment.

used in order to express liturgical time, whereas in Hoecke's hymn propositions the present is used for this purpose.

Examples (19) and (20) below are from the Menaion service to Feodosij of the Kiev Caves, and they illustrate the fact that Menaion propositions utilize the past tense in order to express liturgical time.²²⁸ Example (19) discusses an event that takes place in heaven, namely the angels praise Feodosij. Example (20), on the other hand, juxtaposes Feodosij with Abraham. These two figures are from disparate time periods. Aorists expressing liturgical time are boldfaced.

- (19) Твоѡ подвѣгн **воспѣша** ѡггльскїѡ силы, деодобїе, ѡ твоѡ житїе ликъ прѣбныхъ похвалѣ, свѣтлоє ѡ оукрашенное монахѡвѡ радѡванїе.
//тѣмъ ѡ нынѣ радѡвѡемъ ѣмѡ, **веселїши**сѡ, поѡ соглїснѡ:
Строцы, блгословїте, свѡщеннїцы, **воспойте**, людїе, **превозносите** во вѣѡ вѣки.

The angelic hosts **hymned** your struggles, O Feodosij, and the choir of the venerable **praised** your way of life, the bright and adorned joy of monastics.

//Wherefore also now, rejoicing in him, be joyful, singing together: O youths, bless, O priests, sing, O people, exalt his name forever.

- (20) Нѡвѡй намъ **явїсѡ** ѡбраамъ, жертвѡ приносѡ бгѡ, ѡгнца взѣмлющаго грѣхн **всегѡ** мїра **воистиннѡ**, хлѣбы сотворѡѡ своѡмн **рдкѡмн** чїстѡмн.

A new Abraham **was revealed** to us, offering sacrifice unto God, a lamb truly taking on the sins of the whole world, making breads with his pure hands.

Instead of the aorist, Hoecke uses the present tense in her propositions to express acts of those in heaven or to juxtapose of two temporally disparate persons. Example (21) below illustrates Hoecke's depiction of events that take place in heaven. This hymn recounts the rejoicing of angels at the entrance into heaven of saints Valeria, Kiriakia, and Maria. The moment of their translation from earth to heaven is described in the present tense. This event takes place not only at the real-world moment of their death, but mystically and at all times; the present tense is that of liturgical time. It is boldfaced.

- (21) Днесъ ангели о человекѡхъ **радуются**, и мученикъ собори **торжествуютъ**, се бо новыя стратотерпицы, въ чертогѡ небеснѡ со славою **вводятся**, отъ руки Божїѡ увѣнчатыя, днесъ **вѣрни** въ храмѡ Господенѡ притекающе, единѡмн усты и единѡмн сердцемѡ **воспѣваемъ**, страдальческую память святыхъ **дѣвѡ** всехвальныхъ Кириакїи, Валерїи и Марїи, **тѣхъ** молитвѡмн у Христа Бога оставленїѡ прегрѣшенїѡ **просяще**, и велїѡ милѡсти.

Today angels **rejoice** about humans, and the choirs of the martyrs solemnly **celebrate**.

²²⁸ Menaion 5:19-30.

For behold new passionbearers **are led** into the heavenly bridal chamber to be wed from the hand of God. Today the faithful run to the temple of God.

We **praise** with one mouth and with one heart the suffering memory of the holy virgins, the all-celebrated Kiriakia, Valeria, and Maria, by their prayers asking of Christ God forgiveness of sins and great mercy.

In Example (22) Hoescke utilizes the present tense to juxtapose two disparate phenomena. This hymn is from the service to the Lesna Icon of the Theotokos, in which the appearance of the icon is compared to the birth of Christ. It is because of the poetic similarity surrounding the circumstances of the events that the hymnographer is able to compare them in liturgical time:

- (22) Паки пастыріе **чудятся**, паки Маріи Дѣве со Богомладенцемъ **покланяются**, не въ вертепѣ Вифлеемстѣмъ, но въ дубравѣ Буковичстѣй, паки свѣтомъ небеснымъ **облиставаются** и чудо людемъ **возвѣщаютъ**, иже **вѣру** емше благовѣстію видѣти Преблагословенную со тщаніемъ **текутъ**, //Ейже и мы съ ними **возопіимъ**: радуйся Владычице, Свѣте незаходимый душъ нашихъ.

Again the shepherds are amazed, again the Virgin Mary with the God-infant are worshipped; not in a Bethlehem manger, but in a Bukovich oak tree. Again it shines with heavenly light and they [the shepherds] announce with faith the miracle to the people, for they run with haste to see the Most Blessed One.

//Wherefore we also with them cry out: rejoice, Mistress, the uncreated light of our souls.

Hoescke's use of the present tense conveys to the events a sense of immediacy that was lacking in the earlier hymns. This tense makes the action seem to unfold before the eyes of the one reading the hymn. In fact, Hoescke's use of the present tense could be likened to the telling of a joke or a folk tale in the present tense, in that events unfold in the present.²²⁹ Whether or not the event ever occurred—or when or where—is irrelevant. Since liturgical time is a different concept than earthly time, any tense could theoretically be used. Hoescke uses the present tense because this tense can be used for generic time reference. It is the unmarked tense in a structuralist analysis of the tense system, and Timberlake 2009 calls it the "null" tense.²³⁰ Thus, it can be assigned extremely special qualities. In earlier Menaion hymns, in contrast, it was the aorist that was used to express liturgical time in hymn propositions. It may be that the aorist functioned as the tense for generic time reference in Menaion propositions.

The following Example (23) also illustrates liturgical time. This hymn, from Hoescke's 1959 service to Sebastian, juxtaposes two disparate phenomena: the blood of Abel and the blood of Sebastian. The present tense verb is boldfaced.

²²⁹ The effect of vividness and immediacy provided by the present tense of liturgical time is different, though, from historical present usage, in that liturgical time portrays cosmic realities rather than past events.

²³⁰ From an April 19, 2009 lecture at the University of California, Berkeley.

- (23) Авелевы крове непорочнѣйшая и безвиннѣйшая, кровь твоя честная, Севастіане,
отъ рань неисчетныхъ за Христа изліянная,
// **вопіеть** ясно ко Господу.

Abel's blood—blameless and guiltless-- [is] your honorable blood, Sebastian, pouring
from countless wounds
// it **cries** clearly to the Lord.

In the above example there is no overt present tense in the proposition because the copular verb "to be" is elided; despite the elision, however, the *idea* of the present is implied. It is likely that Hoescke elides the present tense to heighten the effect of the erasing of all temporal boundaries between situations. If the present is used as a generic tense, it makes sense that the copular verb could be elided without affecting the semantics of the phrase. The overt present tense form then appears in the deduction.

Example (24) below, from the service for Taisiya, is another Hoescke hymn that takes place in liturgical time. In fact, liturgical time appears with such frequency in her hymns that it suffices to open any service to find many examples of its use. All references to her life are made in the present tense, as if the events were unfolding before those hearing the hymn.

- (24) О, преславнаго чудесе, корень гниль лозу благоплодную *произростаётъ*
источникъ смраденъ воды живыя исполняется, тьма просвѣщается, блудница
цѣломудрствуетъ, роскошествовавшая прежде постомъ иссущается, и келлія
бездверная врата небесная отверзаетъ, въ няже входящи, Таисіе, лики праведныхъ
съ радостію срѣтаешися.

O, strange wonder! A rotten root springs forth a fruitful vine, a stinking well-spring is
filled with living water, darkness is illumined, a fornicator becomes wise, living in luxury
is dried up before a fast, and a doorless cell opens the gate to heaven
into which you enter, Taisiya, with joy you meet the choirs of the righteous.

6.2.3.2.2. The present tense in rhetorical questions

Prefixed RCS verbs conjugated in the present tense are often found in rhetorical questions in Hoescke's hymns.²³¹ The purpose of the rhetorical question is to affirm or deny a point strongly by asking it as a question. Questions entertain two possibilities: that which is mentioned as well as its alternative. Thus, an element of rhetorical questions is a consideration

²³¹ I have used the term "prefixed present tense" rather than "perfective" to describe such verbs because we cannot assume that RCS has the same aspect system as modern Russian, despite the fact that all grammars of RCS seem to assume that RCS aspect functions in exactly the same way as aspect in Russian, eg. "Verbs in Church Slavonic, as in Russian, differ according to aspect...almost all verbs have corresponding, paired forms in the imperfective and perfective aspects" (Gamanovich 2001:156-7). Because of this assumption, no analysis of RCS aspect has ever been done, although it is quite possible that the RCS verbs which look similar to perfective and imperfective verbs in modern Russian do not have the same semantics in RCS. For instance, I have observed that the RCS verbs that look perfective (from the Russian language standpoint) do not necessarily indicate a future time. Unfortunately a systematic examination of aspect in RCS is out of the scope of this dissertation. See Appendix I for a discussion of descriptions of RCS tenses.

of alternatives.²³²

In Example (25), from Hoecke's service to the Lesna Icon to the Theotokos, we see the prefixed present tense form of the verb *печи* used in a rhetorical sense. The present tense form *изречеть* serves to show that expression of joy could not possibly be expressed in this world under the given circumstances. The implication is that it possible in another world (that is, heaven) to describe this joy.

- (25) Кій языкъ **изречеть** радость учениковъ Христовыхъ егда по успеніе Твоемъ видѣша Тя живу сущу...

What tongue could express the joy of Christ's apostles when, upon your dormition, they saw you to be living...

6.2.3.2.3. The present tense in *da*-clauses

As discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.4.1.6.2) the Great Canon includes hypothetical imperative *da*-clauses. In the hypothetical imperative *da*-clause the protasis is an imperative to oneself to perform a specific act so that a certain goal would be obtained. The goal is expressed by means of a *da*-clause. Hoecke's hymns include a variant on the hypothetical imperative *da*-clause. The imperative in the protasis is addressed to God, rather than oneself, of the type "do *x*, God, so that *y* will happen to me." The *da*-clause is inherently modal in that it expresses possibilities and alternatives. Recall the following hymn to Empress Feofaniya, also used as an example in §6.1.2 above. The verbs *вижду* and *сподоблюся* in the *da*-clause express the possible outcome that hinge on the imperative addressed to God, *пріими мя яко единого отъ рабъ Твоихъ*.

- (26) О, Христе, Царю царей, се уметы *вменяю* славу мою, **яко да славу Твою вижду**, юже имѣлъ еси прежде даже міръ не бысть, и тоя причаститися сподоблюся,
// пріими мя яко единого отъ рабъ Твоихъ, вопіяля еси блаженная.

"O Christ, king of kings, **in order that I see your glory**, which you had before even the world came into being, and that I am made worthy to partake of it
//Accept me as one of your servants," you, blessed one, cried out.

The first part of this hymn is a direct quotation from Empress Feofaniya, in which she requests that Jesus accept her as one of his servants. Her desired goal is to see his glory and to be worthy to partake of it. The potential consequences of seeing his glory and being worthy are hypothetical and hinge on the condition that Jesus accept her.

Hoecke uses the present tense conjugation of prefixed verbs to express modality in rhetorical questions and in *da*-clauses throughout her hymns. Menaion hymns are more

²³² Timberlake refers to the consideration of alternatives as a "modality" (2004:372).

The prefixed present tense conjugation also appears widely in Hoecke's hymns in goal-oriented *da*-clauses. She tends to link the "perfective" verb with the expression of modality, rather than with the expression of time.

formulaic, and the expression of modality is a less significant operator in them than in Hoecke's hymns.

6.2.3.2.4. Praise for or descriptions of God and the saints

Recall from §3.9 that, in the Menaion, God is high on the Divinity Hierarchy, and that hymns referring to God in the 3rd person are dogmatic statements about God in time (i.e. pertaining to the incarnation of God as man). Hoecke's services also include hymns referencing God, but they are addressed directly to him in the present tense and do not refer to God's acts in time. Rather, they are doxological statements or general descriptive statements about God. Example (27), from the 1956 service to Taisiya, contains a description of God that is addressed to God in the present tense. This description is italicized.

(27) Твоихъ судебъ бездну кто исповѣсть, *Господи, низводиши бо и возводиши, смиряеши и возносиши, и грѣшныя убѣляеши, Человѣколюбче.*

*Who would know the abyss of your judgments, O Lord, you raise up and you take down, you humble and you exalt, and you whiten the sinful, Lover of mankind.*²³³

The above hymn has two parts. The first is rhetorical and makes use of a verb that looks perfective from the standpoint of modern Russian (Твоихъ судебъ бездну кто исповѣсть). The second part describes what God does: низводиши бо и возводиши, смиряеши и возносиши, и грѣшныя убѣляеши. Although God is the grammatical Addressee, the pragmatic content of the hymn indicates that the Addressee is actually the reader. The illocutionary force of the address to God is a command to the reader to regard God in a certain way. Thus, the hymn is didactic, although it is in the form of a contemplation addressed to God.

Hoecke's descriptive statements about God are often phrased in negative terms, as in Example (28), from the service for Saint Juvenali. To phrase a statement about God in negative, rather than positive, terms is an expression of apophatic theology, the theology of paradox. In order to describe what God is, she describes what God is not. This is done to indicate that the object of description is transcendent.²³⁴

(28) ...нѣсть святъ паче Тебе Господу.
...There is none holy besides you, O Lord.

Doxology presents general characteristics of God in terms of universal, eternal truths that are relevant in the past, present, and future. Since the present is the most basic of the tenses, with the most general meaning, it makes sense that praise to God would be in this tense, which is normally used in Slavic for generic and timeless statements. Were one to doxologize in the past or future tenses, the implication might be that God is to be praised *only* in those times.

Earlier Menaion services to saints include hymns about God, but, as discussed in §3.9, they were not so much doxology as the description of acts of dogma in time, such as the

²³³ "Низводиши бо и возводиши, смиряеши и возносиши" is a common liturgical phrase originating in the Psalms; "грѣшныя убѣляеши" also refers to Psalm 50 (Молитвословъ 2005:11-13).

²³⁴ Compare, for instance, the following two phrases: нѣсть святъ паче Тебе and Ты еси святъ.

incarnation of God as Jesus. Acts of dogma in time can be depicted in the past tense since they occurred at a specific time. This explains one of the differences in tense usage between Hoecke's hymns and Menaion hymns.

6.3. Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the degree to which Hoecke's hymn structure corresponds to the earlier Menaion hymn structure with respect to her use of participles, verbs, and period structure. Although her hymns follow the Menaion model in many ways, they also frequently deviate from that which is expected. Her use of participles differs from the traditional in that she utilizes long strings of attributive participles, long strings of dative participles in dative absolute constructions, and strings of conjunct participles unmatched with corresponding finite verbs. In lieu of traditional period structure she utilizes paratactic structure, inverts the deduction, or composes a deduction phrased in negative terms. Hoecke uses both the perfect and the aorist for address to dual saints and in her hymns the present tense appears much more frequently than in earlier hymns. In Hoecke's hymns the present tense represents many semantic components, including doxology, description, liturgical time, rhetoricality and modality. Her formal present tense cannot be confused with time. Rather, the present tense expresses virtually nothing about time.

In Hoecke's hymns, by means of the present tense forms, events unfold as if taking place before the reader, God is described in terms of general qualities, and options and alternatives are presented. Whereas Menaion hymns are formulaic in their content, Hoecke's hymns open up the possibilities for options and alternate worlds.

Ultimately, Hoecke uses the present tense more than authors of Menaion hymns because she deviates from the traditional period structure with its argumental discourse. By doing this she frees herself from the use of the perfect tense. Hoecke also broadens the genre of hagiographic hymnography to include elements (such as parataxis) from other hymn genres.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This study has discussed the fate of the highly stylized and specialized liturgical language, Russian Church Slavonic, which has historically been strictly controlled by authorities and has conformed to established norms. This work has analyzed the results of two major waves of innovations that affected RCS: The first wave of innovation was a long process, spanning the 16th-18th centuries, and involved the codification of RCS grammar and the revision of liturgical texts. A rule was codified for the use of past tense forms, according to which only the perfect form would be used with the 2nd-person singular subject (see §1.3). This dissertation has examined the syntax of participles, tense, and person and viewpoint, and analyzed the ways in which they fit together in different genres of liturgical texts written in RCS.

Chapter 2 examined the anomalous characteristics of person in RCS. The person and viewpoint structure of Menaion hagiographic hymns is relatively uncomplicated: in roughly 75% of Menaion hymns the saint is the Addressee. In the proposition, which is addressed to the saint, the Speaker is unself-conscious; he does not refer to himself in the text. In the deduction, the grammatical person may switch from the 2nd-person singular (an address to the saint) to the 1st-person plural (a hortative statement addressed to the faithful). Use of the 1st-person plural does not, however, simply mean a multiplication of the 1st-person singular (see §2.2.4). In Menaion hymns the Addressee never responds within the text; discourse is thus asymmetrical and nonreciprocated. About 25% of these hymns do not address a saint at all. Instead, they discuss a 3rd-person Other. In such hymns there is no switch to the 1st-person plural in the deduction.

In the Great Canon of Andrew of Crete, the Addressee is the Speaker's own soul. The textual Speaker overtly refers to himself in the text with 1st-person singular pronoun and verb forms, and each reader of the text is intended to map the Speaker's identity onto himself; I designate this phenomenon "I-I mapping" (see §2.2). As in Menaion hymns, the Speaker never becomes the Addressee, and discourse is nonreciprocated and asymmetrical. The Great Canon, like hagiographic hymns, represents the genre of discourse.

The overt 2nd person, the Addressee, appears primarily in discourse, but may also appear in dialogue chunks embedded in narrative. The overt, self-conscious Speaker who refers to himself in the text can be found in both discourse and narrative. This type of Speaker appears in endocentric narrative in which he is a character in the story, and he also appears in discourse. The 3rd-person Other is found primarily in narrative, but is also pulled into discourse by means of comparisons with the Speaker or Addressee.

A correlation among tense, person, and genre is established in Chapter 2. Narrative is either exocentric or endocentric, and primarily features the 1st and 3rd persons. The 2nd person is not found in narrative chunks in RCS narrative, although it does appear in chunks of dialogue within a larger narrative. The realm of the 2nd person is therefore in the genre of discourse. Discourse is the genre of possibilities and options, whereas narrative is that of constativity, specificity, and the pinning down of events within time. I argue that the discourse-specific niche for the 2nd person may have led to the reformed past tense system formulated in the 16th-18th centuries, in which the 2nd-person singular subject would only be found alongside one formal past tense: the etymological perfect. In the RCS liturgical language, the primary number correlated with use of the 2nd person is the singular; this may be due to the fact that the 2nd-

person singular is featured in hagiographic hymnography, as well as in hymns addressed to God and the Theotokos.

RCS may share some similarities with Old Russian regarding the special status of the 2nd-person singular. Zalznjak (2008:108) describes one major rule pertaining to the 2nd-person singular subject in Old Russian: "...в придаточных, вводимых изъяснительным **яко** и в придаточных относительных практически всегда выступает перфект, а не аорист..." (see §1.3). The conjunction **яко** is thus used, in Old Russian, to express reasons. Based on my findings concerning RCS, I might suggest one explanation for the correlation among the 2nd-person singular subject, **яко**, and the perfect tense in Old Russian. This is that the presentation of act motivation (**яко**) is related to options and alternatives, and the 2nd person is the person who appears in texts that supply act motivation, namely discourse. As I argued in Chapter 2, in RCS there is a link between, on the one hand, the use of the 2nd-person singular subject and its automatically perfect past tense, and, on the other, texts that present possibilities and alternate worlds. Future work is necessary to determine the extent of correlation among tense, person, and genre in Old Russian.

Chapter 3 returned to the topic of the reformed past tense system discussed in Chapter 1. Despite the fact that a certain verbal form is used automatically depending on person, there is a difference in temporal semantics between events expressed by verb forms in the 2nd-person singular and those in any other person-number correlation. Apostrophic hymns, those which are addressed to the saint, argue for the saint's sanctity by presenting preconditions for sanctity and a confirmation of their fulfillment. Conjunct participles play a key role in causal sequencing. Nonapostrophic hymns behave differently: some pair with sequencing conjunct participles, whereas others do not. Whether or not the structure of a nonapostrophic hymn includes conjunct participles is determined by the semantic field of the subject. Subjects that are high on the Divinity Hierarchy do not pair with this type of participle, whereas subjects that are low do. As a result of the tense reforms, a semantic distinction evolved correlated with the possible means of depictions of events in which a certain type of subject can engage.

Another wave of innovations in RCS took place following a sudden upheaval, namely the Bolshevik revolution and the subsequent repression of religion in the Soviet Union. Many Orthodox Christians fled abroad, which resulted in a diaspora situation. Hymnographers were cut off from traditional institutional structures, such as Russian Orthodox seminaries, and, most importantly, text editors. The ultimate result was freedom for the hymnographer to innovate. Valeria Hoecke, a hymnographer of the diaspora, both perpetuates and deviates from the traditional structure of hymns. The corpus of her hymns was analyzed to discover the extent and type of innovation that occurred in diaspora.

Many of Hoecke's hymns possess a canonical person and viewpoint structure; this fact indicates that she understood the traditional method of hymn composition. When she does innovate, though, her innovations are drastic. For instance, in Menaion hagiographic hymns the Addressee is almost always the saint, who prays to God or actively struggles for sanctity. By contrast, in Hoecke's hymns the Addressee is often God. God is now the agent acting on the saint, leading him/her out of corruption and sin. To take another example, in Menaion hymns an exocentric narrator recounts the saint's life. In Hoecke's hymns, on the other hand, the events of the saint may be recounted indirectly, by a textual 3rd person. Hoecke's hymns include abrupt switches in person, I-I mapping (nonexistent in the hagiographic hymns earlier examined), halted I-I mapping, and psychological access to the saint's thoughts (these are discussed in §5.4). The primary innovation in Hoecke's hymns, however, is her frequent use of 1st-person singular

pronouns and verb forms, which results in a focus on the Speaker as a self-conscious individual. By contrast, in earlier Menaion hymns the reader never becomes a Speaker, and the purpose of the hymn is pedagogical: the life of the saint serves to model a certain behavior.

Hoecke is also innovative with respect to her use of participles, verbs, and period structure (this is discussed in Chapter 5). She composes hymns with long strings of attributive participles, long strings of dative participles in dative absolute constructions, and strings of conjunct participles unmatched with corresponding finite verbs. In lieu of traditional period structure, Hoecke utilizes paratactic structure, inverts the deduction, or uses a deduction phrased in negative terms. Hoecke's hymns feature both the perfect and the aorist tense in 2nd-person dual addresses to a saint; according to the 16th-18th century verb tense reforms one would expect only the aorist in this context. In Hoecke's hymns the present tense appears much more frequently than in Menaion hymns, and she uses it for doxology, description, liturgical time, rhetoricality and modality.

Since the information about her writings is limited, one cannot determine with certainty whether or not Hoecke's innovations from the earlier hymn structure were intentional.²³⁵ In terms of person and viewpoint, some of Hoecke's hymns are akin to the those of 20th century poets such as Anna Akhmatova (see §5.4.4). In addition to RCS hymnography, Hoecke also composed poetry in Russian; it is likely that contemporary Russian poetry influenced her hymnography. Hoecke also merged genres of hymns, utilizing the person and viewpoint structure of nonhagiographic works such as the Great Canon in her hagiographic hymns. In terms of participles and verbs, however, I could not find a predecessor to Hoecke's style in any other hymn genre. This would seem to indicate that Hoecke read the older hymns, interpreted their structure in a new way, and then reproduced in her hymns this understanding of the older structure. In such a case her innovations would be unintentional. However, there is a clear nonlinguistic argument supporting the hypothesis that her innovations were deliberate, and this is that half of Hoecke's services were composed in honor of female saints, as opposed to three percent of Menaion services. This choice of hers, to devote fully half of her hymns to female subjects, was clearly intentional. This gives us reason to assume that other changes she made were intentional as well.

This work has analyzed person and viewpoint, as well as participles, verbs, and period structure, in both old and new hymnography. RCS is a highly specialized and stylized liturgical language, and it is clear that it does not function in the same way as other languages. Up until now, the natural tendency has been to describe RCS through the lens of another language. In the 16th-18th centuries, for instance, grammars were written that modeled RCS on Greek or Latin; more recently, 20th century grammars model RCS on modern Russian or on Old Church Slavonic. I have demonstrated that RCS has its own distinct systems of person and viewpoint, and of participles, verbs, and overall structure. From this it follows that RCS, due to its special character, needs to be analyzed anew from the ground up. None of the grammars or descriptions of RCS that were consulted for this study analyze this language as it is actually used. I hope to have shown that this type of analysis has obscured the grammar and rhetorical structure of RCS, the extent and the types of Hoecke's innovations, and the essential continuity—despite these innovations—of her work with the whole body of earlier hymnography.

²³⁵ I was unable to locate diaries or any written information about Hoecke's hymns other than that which I have included in this study.

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²³⁶ Although the Akathist (printed in booklet form) lacks a publication date, according to Isaac Lambertsen it was most likely printed in the early 1950s. This service was then reprinted by a photo-offset in the late 1980s (date also uncertain) by the Novaja-Korennaja Pustyn' in Mahopac, NY.

²³⁷ See Chapter 4 for approximate dates.

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Appendix I

The RCS past temporal system: modern grammars vs. actual usage

The present section surveys what modern grammars of RCS say about the past tense system, and discusses the failures of these grammars to account for the very well-attested usage that has been the topic of the present work. This section also speculates as to the reasons for this.

Considering that the entire Menaion, Morning and Evening Prayers, the Psalter, the Sluzhebnik, the Trebnik, the Pentecostarion, the Great Canon, and the modern hagiographic hymns of Valeria Hoecke all reflect the reformed past tense system discussed in §1.2, it is surprising that 20th century RCS grammars provide only the inherited past tense paradigms, instead of the reformed ones.²³⁸ Twentieth-century grammars list separate formal paradigms for the perfect, aorist, imperfect, and pluperfect (which is rarely used in RCS and is therefore not examined in this study, nor is it discussed below). Each of the past tenses is described as having a distinct semantic meaning as well. This section reviews, in chronological order, what available 20th century RCS grammars say about the past tense system. Direct quotations are provided often in order to preserve nuances in the original descriptions of the tenses.

Mitropol'skij 1905

Краткая грамматика Церковно-славянского языка нового периода lists inherited forms for the *протяженное* (imperfect), *аористъ*, and *совершенное* (perfect) tenses. No explanations are given as to the meaning of the tenses.

Grigorev 1939

In his *Краткая грамматика церковно-славянского языка*, Grigorev gives formal paradigms, rather than functional descriptions, of the aorist, the imperfect (which he calls *предходящее*), and the perfect (what he calls *прошедшее совершенное*) (1939:51). The paradigms contain forms that reflect the inherited tense system.

Bonchev 1952

Archimandrite Atanasij Bonchev, in *Църковнославянска граматика и речник на църковнославянския език*, describes the aorist thus: “Миналото свършено време (aorist) означава минало действие, което се извършва еднократно” (1952:51).²³⁹ The perfect is described in this way: “Минало неопределено време (perfectum) означава действие, завършено в миналото, но в по-общ и неопределен смисъл от мин. св. време и в момента на говоренето се явява като готов факт” (ibid:59).²⁴⁰ Bonchev defines the imperfect as

²³⁸ Additionally, two instructors of Russian Church Slavonic at the Holy Trinity Orthodox Seminary, the center of RCS language instruction for the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia, were unaware of the person-based tense distinction.

²³⁹ "The aorist tense indicates past action which is completed once."

²⁴⁰ "The past indefinite tense (perfect) indicates an action completed in the past, but in a more general and indefinite sense than the aorist, and which in the moment of speaking appears as a ready fact."

follows: “Минало несвършено време (imperfectum) означава минало действие, което се извършва продължително...” (ibid:50).²⁴¹ Inherited paradigms are listed for these tenses.

Meyers 1956

Reverend Maurice F. Meyers, S.J., adapted his *A Short Grammar of Church Slavonic* from A. Preobrazhensky's Russian text. The book is only 49 pages long and gives a brief description of all the past tenses: the aorist is “an indefinite past”, the imperfect is “a continuous past”, and the perfect is “a definite past” (1956:15). These descriptions are extremely vague. Inherited paradigms are listed for these tenses.

Mathiesen 1980

In *An Elementary Grammar of Russian Church Slavonic*, Robert Matheisen provides a good basic layout of verb forms (including aorist, imperfect, and perfect), but does not discuss how the tenses are used. The pamphlet is only 21 pages long and provides a brief introduction to RCS through its forms.

Gamanovich 1991 (Gamanovich published his own English translation in 2001)

In his *Grammar of the Church Slavonic Language*, Archbishop Alypy Gamanovich writes that the aorist, imperfect and perfect tenses each have their own paradigms and meanings. The aorist “expresses a simple action which preceded the moment of narration, without any characterization of the action in terms of duration or lack of duration, or distance in time. ... The function of the aorist is to tell a story. The narrator uses the aorist to express the main actions of the case or event. Inherent in the aorist is the vivid sense of what has happened, reflecting the direct interest of the narrator” (2001:328-329). From this description of the aorist, it appears that the aorist functions only within a narrative context.

Regarding the imperfect, it “expresses an action that is correlative to another main action (or fact), usually expressed by an aorist, or sometimes by a predicate participle. The aorist tells a story, while the imperfect, wedged in as it were, adds to the main action another, additional action, one that clarifies or accompanies the main action. The imperfect may not always be relative to a specific action in the incident described; it may express an action related to the general circumstances of the incident or event, and its relationship is then viewed only in context; in such a case, for convenience, one might add 'at that time' (ibid:329). According to this description, the imperfect appears to work primarily with the aorist in story-telling, but it may also function on its own.

Gamanovich then defines the perfect as providing the “retrospective viewpoint of the speaker, i.e. a looking back...It does not develop the action, but puts the process that it signifies *outside the main context* that makes up the action of the narrative, and reflects the vivid involvement of the speaker; in other words, the perfect *objectivizes* the process it signifies.” (ibid:335).

Erastov 1993

Hieromonk Andrei Erastov acknowledges in his introduction that the material for his RCS textbook, *Грамматика Церковнославянскаго языка: конспектъ и упражненія*, was largely drawn from Gamanovich 1991. Erastov describes the aorist as the primary RCS tense:

²⁴¹ "The imperfect tense (imperfectum) indicates past action that occurs over a period of time."

“аорист--самое употребительное прошедшее время. Он употребляется в повествовании для обозначения основных фактов, действий. Аорист не характеризует действие (продолжительное, краткое и т.п.), а лишь обозначает его; аорист подобен английскому simple past” (1991:7). That is, according to Erastov, the aorist is the most frequently found past tense in RCS. It is used to indicate an action, but not to describe or characterize it.

About the imperfect, Erastov says: “...действие продолжительное или обычное (prolonged or usual)...Имперфект употребляется для описания ситуации, обстоятельств, на фоне которых происходят основные события рассказа, передаваемые аористами” (1993:18). The imperfect is once again described as a backgrounding tense against which the aorist will function. The perfect is described in the following way: “перфект указывает не на самое действие, совершившееся в прошлом, а на результат этого действия в настоящем” (ibid:68).

Kravetskij and Pletneva 1996

According to Kravetskij and Pletneva, “Наиболее часто встречающаяся церковно-славянская форма прошедшего времени—аорист. В русском языке формам церковно-славянского аориста могут соответствовать формы прошедшего времени как совершенного вида, так и (реже) несовершенного вида” (1996:45). Kravetskij and Pletneva define the aorist as the most widely-used past tense. In addition, they compare its function to that of the perfective past tense in modern Russian, which is typically used to define an endpoint, a beginning point, or to sum up an action in the past in its entirety.

The imperfect, on the other hand, is described thus: “В грамматиках церковно-славянского языка оно называется еще прошедшим продолженным временем. На русский язык имперфект переводится глаголом прошедшего времени несовершенного вида. Имперфект выражает действие, соотносительное с другим действием, основным. Основное действие выражается, как правило, аористом” (ibid:51). According to Kravetskij and Pletneva, then, the imperfect is the past tense of duration and it corresponds to another action that is expressed in the aorist.

The perfect tense is described in this way: “В грамматиках церковно-славянского языка оно часто называется прошедшим совершенным временем. Перфект не показывает действие как процесс, а констатирует сам факт действия. При этом подчеркивается объективный характер обозначаемого действия. Встречая в тексте перфект, мы можем заключить, что 'это всем хорошо известно', 'это неоспоримый факт'. Формы перфекта могут переводиться на современный русский язык глаголами как совершенного вида, так и несовершенного” (ibid:62).

Clearly, there has been a drastic shift in the manner in which RCS is taught and described. As this work has shown, there are two past tense systems in use in RCS. One is the inherited system, which is found in texts such as the Bible (except for the Psalms). The other is the system that reflects the 16th-18th century tense reforms, and it is found in texts such as the Psalms, the Great Canon, Morning and Evening Prayers, the Pentecostarion, the Trebnik, the Sluzhebnik, the Menaion, and the hymnography of Valeria Hoecke. Only the inherited system is described in modern grammars. For these grammarians, it is as if the reformed system never existed.

In other words, the situation with RCS in the 20th century is similar to that of the 16th-18th centuries in that grammars are being written that do not necessarily reflect the data in the texts. We will explore some possible reasons why the reformed past tense system is not mentioned in any recent RCS grammars.

One possible explanation is that grammarians did not use these primary texts as sources for their grammars and that they only used Scripture. This explanation would be quite difficult to accept, though, because the texts that utilize the reformed tense system occur frequently in practice. Consider the Menaion, for instance. Its twelve volumes are constantly updated, services to saints are virtually the only new services composed in RCS, and new services are composed for each new canonization. The Menaion is used on a daily basis in all services of the Orthodox Church, including the Divine Liturgy, Matins, Vespers, and Compline. In fact, if one enters any Russian Orthodox church today, roughly one half of the standard Matins service will consist of daily hymns to saints from the Menaion.

Unfortunately, it would be difficult to test the hypothesis that modern grammarians simply overlooked these texts, because the majority of the grammars are not transparent about their sources of information. Out of the eight RCS grammars examined, only one provides a bibliography, namely Gamanovich 1991.²⁴² Kravetskij and Pletneva 1996 list unnamed "Church Slavonic grammars" as the source of their data, and the other authors are silent on this topic. In the case of Gamanovich, the list of liturgical books cited in his grammar suggests that he did indeed utilize the Menaion, the Pentecostarion, the Horologion, the Sluzhebnik, and the Trebnik, all of which feature the reformed past tense system.²⁴³ If this is the case, one is left to wonder why he does not describe the reformed tense system.

A second possible reason for the exclusion of the reformed past tense system from modern grammars may be the desire for normalization. Although the following words were written about OCS, they could apply equally well here: "It is necessary to normalize forms to present the grammatical structure as a consistent whole, and the normalization inevitably obscures the differences in the language of the various manuscripts" (Lunt 1965:vii). It is messy and difficult to explain why there are two separate past tense systems depending on the document, and the desire to normalize the tense system may have resulted in the presentation in grammars of only the inherited past tense system. There may be a desire for clean, easy explanations, especially for the purpose of grammars, which are used either as reference works or as textbooks for those learning the language. It is also convenient that modern-day grammar descriptions of aspect in RCS state that almost all verbs are paired for perfective/imperfective oppositions, as in modern Russian (see § 6.2.3.2.2).

A third possible reason why the eight grammars examined here fail to include the reformed past tense system may be that the authors were attempting to model RCS on Byzantine or New Testament Greek. It would not be the first time that RCS was modeled on Greek (see §1.2). Many of the tense descriptions quoted above (all, in fact, except for those of Kravetskij

²⁴² Mathiesen 1980 is an RCS grammar and it lacks a bibliography. Mathiesen 1972 is not an RCS grammar, but rather an analysis of verbal inflection; the bibliography in Mathiesen 1972 includes the reformed texts.

²⁴³ Gamanovich 1991 lists the following liturgical texts as sources: the Slavonic Scriptures (Old and New Testament), the Liturgical Menaion (12 vols.), the Ochoechos (Book of 8 Tones), the Lenten Triodion and the Pentecostarion, the Horologion, the Hieratikon (Sluzhebnik) for Matins, Vespers, Divine Liturgy of St. Basil the Great, the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, and the Presanctified Liturgy of St. Gregory the Dialogist, the Trebnik (Euchologion, or Book of Occasional Services), the Pravilnik (containing the preparation for Holy Communion), and the Prologue (daily lives of the Saints for reading in church).

and Pletneva 1996) are reminiscent of those provided in grammars of New Testament Greek (see, for example, Goodwin & Gulick 1930 and Croy 1999).

Yet another possibility is related to the emergence of grammars of OCS.²⁴⁴ OCS grammars, of course, list inherited paradigms rather than reformed ones. For each of the RCS grammars mentioned above, one can see that its publication date coincides with the publication of an OCS grammar, as a glance at the chronology of Ivanovich 1872, Diels 1932, and Lunt 1955 will show. It is possible that the writers of 20th century RCS grammars had read the newly published grammars of OCS and were attempting to view and interpret RCS grammar through the lens of OCS.

The bibliography of Gamanovich 1991 is telling in this regard. OCS grammars make up exactly one half of his sources (Smirnovskii 1911, Selischev 1951-52, Gorshkov 1963, Besedina-Nevezorova 1962, Matveeva-Isaieva 1958, and Lunt 1955), while not a single RCS grammar, historical or recent, is mentioned. It is reasonable, then, to conclude that his descriptions of RCS tenses were based on those of OCS. (Erastov 1993 contains information very similar to that which is provided in Gamanovich, and it is likely his tense descriptions may also reflect those of OCS.) Because only one of the eight RCS grammars discussed above contains a bibliography, we cannot determine exactly how much influence OCS grammars have had on 20th century RCS grammars. From the example of Gamanovich's grammar, though, it appears that OCS grammars were very influential.

The projection of the OCS past tense system onto RCS is problematic (if this is indeed what happened). What we call OCS grammar is a reconstruction based on scattered, small collection of texts primarily from the 11th century. "The formulaic nature and largely repetitive character of the available data limits the possibilities for documenting all the forms that presumably constituted morphological paradigms of different concrete lexemes. What is presented in textbooks of OCS as the 'paradigm' of a certain word is often a partial reconstruction made by projecting from available word forms to a full system, with support from the later Church Slavonic data" (Gasparov 2001:21).²⁴⁵

If the composition of grammars of OCS was largely an issue of reconstruction, then the languages that preserve preterite systems with multiple tenses (medieval Czech and Polish, medieval and modern Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Old Russian, and Sorbian) may have served as sources for filling in the paradigms. In an odd sequence of events, OCS paradigms that may have been partially reconstructed on the basis of modern languages might then have served as the model for RCS paradigms.

²⁴⁴ Most OCS texts were found on Mount Athos in the 19th century, and grammars were subsequently written.

²⁴⁵ When Gasparov refers to "later Church Slavonic data," he may be referring to RCS. Smotritskij 1619 and 1648 remained the standard textbooks of RCS for two centuries, and were the most influential RCS grammars; Smotritskij, however, gives reformed paradigms. It is therefore unlikely that OCS verbal paradigms were partially derived from the RCS system.

