Hymnographic Complex by Meletios Syrigos Dedicated to the Kyivan Cave Saints and All Russian Saints in the Russian Tradition

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Abstract

In this paper, topics regarding the glorification of the Kyivan Cave Saints and other Kyivan Saints of the 17th century are discussed, based on the hymnographic complex (complete feast service and paraklesis) to the Kyivan Cave Saints and All Russian Saints composed by Meletios Syrigos, prominent Cretan scholar and official legate of the Ecumenical Patriarch, during his stay in Kyiv in June 1643. The two manuscripts containing the Greek hymnographic text studied – including the autograph manuscript – reference the names of 55 Kyivan Cave Saints as well as 19 other Kyivan Saints, some of whom remain unknown. The Church Slavonic translation carried out directly after the composition of the Greek text was realized in two stages and is analyzed according to two manuscript sources. Only some parts of Meletios' complex, namely the Paraklesis with the stichera and troparia, were translated into Slavonic. Several decades later (before 1677), the text of this translation was revised without consulting the original Greek text, resulting in the version kept in Church practice today. During the process of this revision, significant changes were made to the text, both regarding the commemorated persons and their presentation. Therefore, the comparative analysis of the Greek text alongside the Church Slavonic texts reveals unknown aspects and stages of the recognition and acceptance of the Kyivan Cave Saints both in Peter Mohyla's time and later on, as well as the role of Meletios Syrigos in this process.

Keywords

Meletios Syrigos – Canon to the Kyivan Cave Saints – glorification of the Kyivan Saints – Kyivan Cave Saints – Peter Mohyla

The subject of the life and literary works of Meletios Syrigos, prominent representative of Greek Orthodox theology in the 17th century, his relationship with the Kyivan Church authorities, and his role in the glorification (canonization) of the Kyivan Cave Saints, though studied by many researchers,¹ still lacks a clear overview in modern literature. It is generally believed that within the framework of Peter Mohyla's program for the recognition and acceptance of these individuals as saints, Meletios, during his stay in Kyiv in 1643, composed a Canon (or a Service) dedicated to the Kyivan Cave Saints,² which was translated to Church Slavonic and published in Peter Mohyla's edition of the Psalter in 1643.³ However, recent studies have shown that said edition did not contain the aforementioned hymnographic text, but rather only included commemorations of the Kyivan Cave Saints in the Menologion. Moreover, although there is plentiful evidence for the existence of the 1643 edition, the earliest printed edition of the Canon we currently have at our disposal is the Akathistos collection of 1677.⁴ The same text was reprinted with small changes in many editions that were either ascribed to Meletios Syrigos or have no reference to an author. It is also included in the so-called "Green Menaion" for the month of February⁵ to be chanted on the second Sunday of the Great Lent. Though the authorship of this hymnographic text has repeatedly been called into question, researchers usually reference it in their speculations regarding the recognition and acceptance process of the Kyivan Cave Saints and Meletios' role

1 For a review of the current scientific literature on Meletios Syrigos see G. Podskalsky, Η Ελληνική θεολογία επί Τουρκοκρατίας. 1453–1821. Η Ορθοδοξία στη σφαίρα επιρροής των Δυτικών δογμάτων μετά τη Μεταρρύθμιση. Μετάφραση Γ. Μεταλληνός, Athens, 2005, pp. 271–278; В. Г. Ченцова, "Мелетий Сириг," in: *Православная энциклопедия*, Т. 44 [V. G. Tchentsova, "Meletios Syrigos," in: *Orthodox Encyclopedia*, vol. 44]. Moscow, 2016, pp. 591–594.

2 G. Podskalsky, Η Ελληνική θεολογία επί Τουρκοκρατίας, p. 275.

3 С. Т. Голубев, *Киевский митрополит Петр Могила и его сподвижники*, Т. 2 [S. T. Golubev, *Kyivan Metropolitan Peter Mohyla and his Collaborators*, vol. 2]. Kyiv, 1883–1898, pp. 337–338; А. В. Горский, К. И. Невоструев, *Описание славянских рукописей Московской синодальной библиотеки* [A. V. Gorskiy, K. I. Novostruyev, *Description of Slavonic Manuscripts from the Holy Synod Library of Moscow*, vol. 2, part 2]. Moscow, 1959, p. 190; Е. Е. Голубинский, *История канонизации святых в русской Церкви* [E. E. Golubinskiy, *History of Saints' Canonization in the Russian Church*]. Moscow, 1903, pp. 209–210; M. Petrowycz, "The Addition of Slavic Saints to Seventeen-century Liturgical Calendars of the Kyivan Metropolitanate," in: *Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship. Selected Papers of the Second International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy. Rome, 17–21 September 2008*, Leaven-Paris-Walpole, 2012, pp. 335–343, here pp. 338–340; В. Г. Ченцова, Мелетий Сириг, p. 592.

4 *Дива печер лаврських*, под ред. В. М. Колпакова [Miracles of the Caves of Lavra, ed. by V. M. Kolpakov]. Kyiv, 2011, pp. 155–158.

5 *Μινεя февраль [Menaion for February]*. Moscow, 2002, pp. 755–766.

in it.⁶ To the best of our knowledge, no studies on the relationship between this published text and the one initially written by Meletios have been conducted. Meletios' initial Greek text was discovered in 1908 by J. Pargoire.⁷ In his extensive study – his first, where the personality of Meletios was approached according to evidence provided in the manuscript – J. Pargoire identified and attributed the autograph manuscript no. 778 from the Metochi collection of the Holy Sepulcher to Meletios. In said manuscript, he found and cited texts of the service as well as iambic verses-epigrams dedicated to the Kyivan Cave Saints.⁸ This Greek version of the service has neither been extensively studied nor published, despite it recently eliciting the interest of researchers.⁹ The goals of this paper are to (a) fill this gap in the literature; (b) describe the textual relationship between the original Greek text of the Service by Meletios Syrigos dedicated to the Kyivan Cave Saints, its Church Slavonic translation, and a later published version of said translation; and (c) announce the comparative edition of the Greek and Slavonic texts of the service, which we are currently preparing.

Two manuscripts with the original Greek text have been found to date:

1. The original no. 778 autograph manuscript from the Metochi collection of the Holy Sepulcher (hereinafter referred to as ΜΠΤ 778), which bears some corrections made by the author. This manuscript contains a substantial part of Meletios' liturgical texts, which number more than 20 services.¹⁰ The Service dedicated to the Kyivan Cave Saints is found

6 See, for example, E. A. Лопухина, “Арефа Затворник,” in: *Православная энциклопедия*, Т.3 [E. A. Lopukhina, “Aretha the Hermit,” in: *Orthodox Encyclopedia*, vol. 3]. Moscow, 2001, pp. 217–218; M. B. Антонова, M. A. Комова, “«Киево-Печерский Патерик» как источник иконографии преподобного священномученика Кукши,” *Вестник Брянского государственного университета* [M. V. Antonova, M. A. Komarova, “‘Kyivan Caves Patericon’ as a Source for Iconography of the St. Martyr Kuksha,” *The Bryansk State University Herald*], 1 (2015), pp. 206–209.

7 J. Pargoire, “Meletios Syrigos, sa vie et ses œuvres,” *Echos d'Orient*, Paris, 11 (1908), pp. 264–280, 331–340; 12 (1909), pp. 17–27, 167–175, 281–286, 336–342.

8 J. Pargoire, Meletios Syrigos, 1908, p. 280. J. Pargoire used an old system of manuscript codification, according to which the manuscript no. 778 is referred to as M746. See also J. Pargoire, Meletios Syrigos, 1909, pp. 26–27.

9 Θ. Δετοράκης, “Μελέτιου Συρίγου του Κρήτος Ανέκδοτα Επιγράμματα στους Αγίους της Λαύρας Πιετζαρίου του Κιέβου,” in: *Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα. Νεάπολις Κρήτης*, 5 (2014), pp. 36–44; Σ. Πασχαλίδης, “Η Αντιστροφή μιας Σχέσης: Ρωσικές αγιολογικές Παραδόσεις στην Ελληνόφωνη Ορθοδοξία (16^{ος}–19^{ος} αι),” in: *Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος. Το Βυζάντιο και ο Κόσμος των Σλάβων*, Thessaloniki, 2015, pp. 519–539, here pp. 523–530.

10 See Θ. Δετοράκης, Μελέτιου Συρίγου του Κρήτος, pp. 37–38; Σ. Πασχαλίδης, Η Αντιστροφή μιας Σχέσης, pp. 525–526. See also Α. Παπαδοπούλου-Κεραμέως, *Ιεροσολυμιτική βιβλιοθήκη, ἤτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὁρθοδόξου*

on pages 683–742 of the manuscript, followed by short iambic verses-epigrams dedicated to the Caves and the Holy Relics of the Kyivan Cave Saints, published by T. Detorakis.¹¹ One folio containing pages 711–712 is missing.

2. The 18th century manuscript (probably 1746) which belonged to Callinicus IV, Patriarch of Constantinople (1713–1792), is saved in the manuscript collection of the Municipal Library of Zagora, Thessaly under number 28 (hereinafter referred to as Zag 28).¹² Two services by Meletios can be found in the manuscript: the Service to the Kyivan Cave Saints on ff. 215v–234r followed by iambic epigrams on ff. 235v–238r, as well as the Service to the Seamless Robe of Jesus on ff. 239v–249v.

The texts of these two manuscripts only have small differences, most of which are orthographic and grammatical. The following analysis was conducted mostly based on MPT 778, since this is the autograph text. Zag. 28 was used as a complementary source, mainly for fragments that were either unclear or missing from the MPT 778 folio. A complete comparative analysis of the manuscripts will be presented in the forthcoming edition.

The service is titled “Μνήμην ἐπιτελοῦμεν τῶν ὁσίων καὶ θεοφόρων πατέρων ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν Πιετζαρίῳ ἀσκησάντων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν Ῥωσίᾳ λαμβάνων, συντεθείσα ὑπὸ Μελετίου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ Κρητός, λεγάτου τοῦ Παναγιωτάτου καὶ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου κυρίου Παρθενίου καὶ πάσης τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἱεράς συνόδου, ἀποσταλέντος πρὸς Ῥώσους κατὰ τὸ ἀχμγ’ ἰνδικτιῶνος δεκάτης, ἐν μηνὶ ἰουνίῳ” (p. 683), which unambiguously declares the name of the author – *Meletios Cretan hieromonach* – his official status – *legate of Parthenius II, Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople and the Holy Synod* – and the place and time the Service was composed – *Russia (probably, Kyiv), June, 1643*. Meletios’ visit to Kyiv in the context of his communication with Peter Mohyla, Metropolitan of Kyiv, Halych, and All Rus, has been reported by biographers.¹³ This liturgical text is generally thought to have been composed in the context of Peter Mohyla’s effort for the revival of the cult of the Kyivan Cave Saints and their official glorification among the saints.¹⁴

πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων, vol. 5, Bruxelles, 1963, p. 272. The author would like to thank Prof. Th. Detorakis for the photocopies of the manuscript.

11 Θ. Δετοράκης. Μελετίου Συρίγου τοῦ Κρήτος, pp. 40–44.

12 See K. Δουβουνιώτης, “Κατάλογος των Κωδίκων της Βιβλιοθήκης της Ζαγοράς,” *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 13 (1916), pp. 109–119, here pp. 117–119; Σ. Πασχαλίδης, *Η Αντιστροφή μιας Σχέσης*, pp. 526–527. The author would like to thank the Historical and Paleographical archive (NBG Cultural Foundation) for the copy of this manuscript.

13 See, for example, В. Г. Ченцова, Мелетий Сириг, p. 592.

14 С. Т. Голубев, Киевский митрополит Петр Могила, pp. 337–338; Е. Е. Голубинский, История канонизации, pp. 209–210.

It is probably due to Peter Mohyla's commissioning that it was written. The text contains an extensive hymnographic composition; the full feast service includes Small Vespers, Great Vespers, Matins with Polyeleos and two Canons with the Greek verse acrostics: *Πατέρας μέλπω τοὺς τροφίμους Ῥωσίας* (p. 701) and *Σπηλαιωτῶν ἄθροισμα αἰνῶ προφρόνως* (p. 702) corresponding to a rather uncertain commemoration after the 6th ode: *Τῷ αὐτῷ μὲν μνήμιν ἐπιτελοῦμεν πάντων τῶν ἐν Ῥωσίᾳ λαμψάντων ἁγίων, βασιλέων, ἀρχιερέων, ἱερέων, μαρτύρων, μοναχῶν, τῶν ἐν σπηλαίῳ ἀσκησάντων· ὧν καὶ τὰ λείψανα μῦρα βρύοντα καθορώντας ἐν Πιετزاریῳ κείμενα, καὶ θαύματα ἐξάισια ἐκτελούντων* (p. 715–716). The service is followed by the Paraklesis Canon written by the same author entitled: *Κανὼν παρακλητικός εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἁγίους, ποίημα τοῦ αὐτοῦ, Μελετίου* (p. 729–742).

The very fact that the complete feast liturgical service was composed in Greek by the Patriarch's official legate attests to Meletios and Mohyla intentions for the official Constantinopolitan recognition of the Kyivan Cave Saints, which would certainly give them greater prestige. However, the absence of a commemoration date evidences that this procedure had remained incomplete.

The literary style of Meletios' Service and Paraklesis deserve to be studied in more detail. Though it belongs to the earlier hymnographic works of the author, it certainly has significant aesthetic merit and originality. Researchers believe it was composed following the pattern of the Canon for the Synaxis of All Holy Fathers (Saturday of Cheesefare) hypothetically attributed to Theodore the Studite.¹⁵ However, there are significant differences between these hymnographic compositions, both in their melodic patterns as well as the general principles regarding the presentation of the saints. While the author of the Canon for the Synaxis of All Holy Fathers arranges the saints in alphabetical order, Meletios arranges them by theme, organizing the saints not only according to their title, but also according to specific details in their lives and endeavors. The most expressive part of the complex in regard to the presentation of the saints is the Paraklesis, where most saints are not only named, but also characterized. Sometimes a brief description of some stories from their life, generally taken from the Kyivan Caves Patericon,¹⁶ is also added. An example of this is troparion 5 from the 9th ode of the Paraklesis, dedicated

15 See O. В. Панченко, "Из археографических разысканий в области соловецкой книжности. II. «Канон всем святым, иже в Велицей России в посте просиявшим» – сочинение Сергея Шелонина," *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы* [O. V. Panchenko, "From the Archeographic Research in the Field of Solovetsky Written Tradition. II. 'Canon to All Russian Saints Who Shone in the Fasting' by Sergey Shelonin," *Proceedings of the Department of Old Russian Literature*]. 56 (2004), pp. 453–480, here pp. 455–466.

16 *Древнерусские патерики. Киево-Печерский патерик. Волоколамский патерик*, под ред. Л. А. Ольшевской, С. Н. Травникова [*Old Russian Patericons. Kyivan Caves*

to St. Dionysius, Recluse of the Kiev Caves, which describes the miracle that happened to him in the Caves in the Easter of 1463, referenced in the Kyivan Caves Patericon:¹⁷ Ὡς ζῶντες θεοφόροις τῷ εὐλαβεστάτῳ, Διονυσίῳ ἐκ μέσων τῶν τάφων φωνήν, ἀνταπεκρίθητε, ὄντως ἀνέστη Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος (p. 740). It is obvious that the text's composition presupposed the scrupulous study of the written and oral tradition surrounding the Kyivan Caves. Although, to the best of our knowledge, neither Greek nor Latin translations of the Kyivan Caves Patericon had been reported before the end of the 17th century,¹⁸ Meletios probably collaborated with some Greek or Latin speaking scholar from Peter Mohyla's circle, who helped him accumulate the necessary information from literary sources.¹⁹

In total, Meletios' hymnographic complex includes 55 Kyivan Cave Saints (including the Holy Hierarchs who had taken monastic vows in the Kyivan Caves Monastery, as well as the saints whose Holy Relics were kept in the Caves despite not being monks of the Kyivan Caves Monastery), who are presented below in alphabetical order.

As far as the official glorification is concerned, St. Anthony and Theodosius of the Kiev Caves, St. Nicetas Bishop of Novgorod, and the Martyr John of Kiev were the only ones from the list above proven to have been glorified among the saints by the Church before the time the Service was written.²⁰ The comparison of this list of saints with the list of saints included a few months later in the Menologion of the 1643 Psalter shows that Meletios generally followed Peter Mohyla's plan for the recognition of the Kyivan Cave Saints. All the Kyivan Cave Saints included by Peter Mohyla in the Menologion of the 1643 Psalter are also mentioned by Meletios; however, the list of saints he referenced is much

Patericon. Volokolamsk Patericon, ed. by L. A. Ol'shevskaya and S. N. Travnikov]. Moscow, 1999, pp. 7–80.

17 E. B. Лопухина, И. Б. Черномаз, "Дионисий Щепы," in: *Православная энциклопедия*, Т. 15 [E. V. Lopukhina, I. B. Chernomaz, "Dionysius Schepa," in: *Orthodox Encyclopedia*, vol. 15]. Moscow, 2007, pp. 265–257.

18 See O. Alexandropoulou, "The History of Russia in Works of Greek Scholars of the Seventeenth Century," *Cyrrilomethodianum*, Thessaloniki, 13–14 (1989–1990), pp. 61–92, here pp. 69–70.

19 One of these Latin-speaking scholars is mentioned in a note in Latin on p. 757 of the same manuscript (МРТ 778), cited by J. Pargoire: *Nomen mei scriba qui datus est mihi manenti in monasterio Piezariensi fuit tale: D. Hilarius Dobnodzieazek*. See J. Pargoire, Meletios Syrigos, 1908, p. 280.

20 Е. Е. Голубинский, История канонизации.

TABLE 1 Kyivan Cave Saints referenced by Meletios Syrigos

	The Saint	The name used by Meletios to refer to him/her	Location of reference in the Service ^a	Location of reference in the Paraklesis	Commemoration day of the 1643 Psalter in the Menologion (if any)
1	St. Agapitus , Unmercenary Physician of the Kyivan Caves	Ἀγαπητός	C2 8:1	6:5	June, 1
2	St. Athanasius “the Resurrected”, Recluse of the Kyivan Caves	Ἀθανάσιος	C2 7:2	7:5	December, 2
3	St. Alypius the Iconographer of the Kyivan Caves	Ἀλύπιος	C2 7:1	6:4	August, 17
4	St. Anthony of the Kyivan Caves	Αντώνιος	GV SLC3, GV SL1, M Kath.1, C2 1:1, C2 1:2, C2 1:3, C2 3:1, C2 4:2, M Ex		July, 10
5	St. Aretha the Hermit of the Kyivan Caves	Ἀρέθας	C2 7:2	8:2	
6	Martyr Basil of the Kyivan Caves	Βασίλειος	C2 7:3	3:3	August, 11
7	St. Damian the Healer of the Kyivan Caves	Δαμιανός	C2 7:2	6:5	October, 5
8	St. Dionysius , Recluse of the Kyivan Caves	Διονύσιος		9:5	
9	St. Dionysius , Metropolitan of Kyiv, Archbishop of Suzdal	Διονύσιος	C2 8:1	4:4	June, 26
10	St. Erasmus of the Kyivan Caves	Ἑρασμος	C2 8:1	5:3	February, 24

a The abbreviations used when providing the location of reference in this table will be explained below (see the List of abbreviations at the end of the paper). One number indicates the sticheron sequence number in the corresponding cycle. Two numbers indicate the following: “number of ode: number of troparion in canons”.

TABLE 1 Kyivan Cave Saints referenced by Meletios Syrigos (*cont.*)

	The Saint	The name used by Meletios to refer to him/her	Location of reference in the Service	Location of reference in the Paraklesis	Commemoration day of the 1643 Psalter in the Menologion (if any)
11	Martyr Eustratius of the Kyivan Caves	Εὐστράτιος	C2 7:3	3:4	March, 28
12	St. Ephraim , Bishop of Pereyaslavl	Ἐφραίμ		4:5, 8:3	
13	Euphrosyne , Princess of Polotsk	Εὐφροσύνη		8:5	May, 23
14	Martyr Gerasim , unknown saint	Γεράσιμος	C2 8:1	3:2	
15	St. Germanus , Bishop of Novgorod	Γερμανός		4:2	
16	St. Gregory , Wonderworker of the Kyivan Caves	Γρηγόριος	C2 7:1	7:3	January, 8
17	St. Hilarion , Metropolitan of Kyiv	Ἱλαρίων	M Kath., C2 4:3	4:2	
18	Isaac , unknown saint	Ἰσαὰκ (ὁ πολύτλας)	C2 7:2	7:1	February, 14
19	St. Isaac , Recluse of the Kyivan Caves	Ἰσαάκιος		8:4	April, 27
20	St. Isaiah , Bishop and Wonderworker of Rostov	Ἰσαΐας	C2 8:1	4:1	
21	St. Jeremiah Clairvoyant of the Kyivan Caves	Ἱερεμίας	C2 7:2	7:2	October, 5
22	St. John the Long-suffering of the Kyivan Caves	Ἰωάννης	C2 8:1	3:5	July, 18
23	St. John the Young of the Kyivan Caves	Ἰωάννης	C2 8:1	9:1	
24	Martyr John of Kyiv, son of Theodor	Ἰωάννης	M SP 1		

TABLE 1 Kyivan Cave Saints referenced by Meletios Syrigos (*cont.*)

	The Saint	The name used by Meletios to refer to him/her	Location of reference in the Service	Location of reference in the Paraklesis	Commemoration day of the 1643 Psalter in the Menologion (if any)
25	Holy Princess Juliana Olshanskaya	Ἰουλιανή		9:3	
26	Saint Laurence , Recluse of the Kyivan Caves and Bishop of Turov	Λαυρέντιος	C2 4:3, C2 8:1	4:4, 7:4	January, 29
27	Saint Luke , Bishop of Belgorod	Λουκάς		4:3	
28	Saint Marin , Bishop of Yuryev	Μάρης		4:2	
29	St. Mark the Grave-digger of the Kyivan Caves	Μάρκος	C2 7:1	5:1	December, 29
30	St. Matthew , Clairvoyant of the Kyivan Caves	Ματθαῖος	C2 8:1	7:2	October, 5
31	St. Michael , first Metropolitan of Kyiv	Μιχαήλ	GV SLC3, C2 8:1	4:1	
32	St. Minas , Bishop of Polotsk	Μηνᾶς		4:3	
33	St. Moses the Hungarian, of the Kyivan Caves	Μωϋσῆς	C2 7:1	8:1	July, 26
34	St. Nestor (the Chronicler of the Kyivan Caves?)	Νέστωρ	C2 7:1		
35	St. Nicetas of the Kyivan Caves, Bishop of Novgorod	Νικητάς	C2 4:3	4:1	May, 14
36	St. Nicodemus the Prosphorabaker of the Kyivan Caves	Νικόδημος	C2 7:1	6:3	October, 31

TABLE 1 Kyivan Cave Saints referenced by Meletios Syrigos (*cont.*)

	The Saint	The name used by Meletios to refer to him/her	Location of reference in the Service	Location of reference in the Paraklesis	Commemoration day of the 1643 Psalter in the Menologion (if any)
37	St. Nicon the Dry of Kyivan Caves	Νίκων	C2 7:1	5:2	December, 11
38	St. Nicon , Abbot of the Kyivan Caves	Νίκων		5:5	
39	St. Nikola Sviatosha, Prince of Chernigov and Wonderworker of the Kyivan Caves	Νικόλαος	C2 7:1	6:1	October, 14
40	St. Nikola , Bishop of Pereyaslavl	Νικόλαος		4:1	
41	St. Nikola , Bishop of Tmutarakan	Νικόλαος		4:2	
42	St. Niphont , Bishop of Novgorod	Νίφων	C2 4:3	4:2	April, 8
43	St. Onesiphorus the Confessor of the Kyivan Caves	Ὀνησιφόρος	C2 7:1	7:2	
44	St. Poemen (Pimen) the Much-ailing of the Kyivan Caves	Ποιμήν	C2 7:1		August, 7
45	St. Polycarp , Archimandrite of the Kyivan Caves	Πολύκαρπος		9:4	
46	St. Prochorus of the Kyivan Caves	Πρόχορος	C2 7:2	5:4	February, 10
47	St. Spyridon the Prosphorabaker of the Kyivan Caves	Σπυρίδων	C2 8:1	6:2	October, 31
48	St. Stephen , Abbot of the Kyivan Caves and Bishop of Vladimir in Volhynia	Στέφανος	C2 4:3	4:2	

TABLE 1 Kyivan Cave Saints referenced by Meletios Syrigos (*cont.*)

	The Saint	The name used by Meletios to refer to him/her	Location of reference in the Service	Location of reference in the Paraklesis	Commemoration day of the 1643 Psalter in the Menologion (if any)
49	Martyr Simeon of the Kiev Caves and Bishop of Pereyaslav	Συμεών		3:1	
50	St. Simon , Bishop of Vladimir and Suzdal	Σίμων		4:3	
51	St. Theodosius , Abbot of the Kyivan Caves Monastery	Θεοδόσιος	GV SLC3, GV SL3, M Kath.1, C2 1:3		May, 3 August, 14
52	Martyr Theodore of the Kyivan Caves	Θεόδωρος	C2 7:3	3:3	August, 11
53	Saint Theoctistus , Bishop of Chernigov	Θεόκτιστος		4:3	
54	Saint Theophilus of the Kyivan Caves	Θεόφιλος	C2 7:2	9:2	
55	St. Barlaam , Abbot of the Kyivan Caves	Βαρλαάμ	C2 7:1		

more extensive. In particular, 26 saints (see the last column of Table 1) are not commemorated in the 1643 Psalter.²¹

Two of the saints mentioned by Meletios cannot be identified based on the lists of the Kyivan Cave Saints acknowledged today by the Orthodox Church. These are:

1. Gerasim (number 15 in Table 1), who is referenced in ode 8 of the second canon and described in the second troparion of ode 3 of the Paraklesis using the following words: ὦ Γεράσιμε μάρτυς τῶν ἱερέων κανῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀσκουμένων ὁσίων τὸ ἐγκαλῶπισμα, ὁ ἐν κηρύγματι εὐαγγελίου τὸ τέλος, λαχὼν ὡς ἀπόστολος, λιταῖς σου ῥύσαι με (p. 731) (see the Church Slavonic

21 Псалтирь Следованная [Psalter]. Киев, 1643. The incomplete list of the Kyivan Cave Saints that are commemorated in the Menologion of the 1643 Psalter is provided in *Дива пещер лаврьских*, p. 156.

translation described below: *У гѣрасимѣ мѣнѣ ѿѣииником прѣкило и поустиником и приѣхным ѡграишениѣ. Нже кѣ проповѣдаи ентѣла коней прѣемкии дѣво аїеаѣ маїѣемкии нехнѣти ма*). The events from the martyr's life described in the troparion point to him being Martyr Kuksha of the Kyivan Caves.²² It should be mentioned that that same troparion in the later version of the hymn was used with small changes for the Martyr Kuksha. If this hypothesis is true, Gerasim should be the unknown Christian name of the Martyr Kuksha, that was never referenced in the sources. Note that Meletios preferred to use Christian names for Kyivan saints (Elena for Olga, Romanus and David for Boris and Gleb), making an exception only for St. Vladimir (see below). It is also clear that the nickname Kuksha would obviously seem cacophonous and "improper" to the Greek scholar in the Church hymn. However, nowhere in the hymn do we find the names of his disciple Nikon and the St. Pimen, referenced in the same Patericon story, which contradicts Meletios' general pattern. This saint's other possible identity is the Martyr and Missionary Gerasim from the story about Nikon the Dry in the Patericon,²³ whom researchers tend to identify as Martyr Eustratius.²⁴

2. Isaac the Long-Suffering (number 18 from Table 1), who is referenced in ode 7 of the second canon and described in the first troparion of ode 7 of the Paraklesis with the following words: *Ἰσαὰκ ὁ πολύτλας, καὶ σὺν τούτῳ ποιμένες ἀμφοτέροι, οἱ ἐν γῇ, στερόβῳς ἐνησκηότες, ἐν πάθεσι ποικίλοις, καὶ νηστείαις, πρεσβεύσατε, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν τοῦ οἰκτιρήσαι ἡμᾶς* (p. 736) (see the Church Slavonic translation described below: *Нѣмакѣ мнѡгострадѣлнѣи и снмаѣ патѣриѣи дѣа, нже на землѣи крѣпко ѡполнѣишѣа кѣ страдѣннѣхѣ разнѣннѣхѣ и поустѣхѣ, мѣнѣи ѡгнѣи на дѣ крѣпкѣи ѿ ѡгнѣи ѡгнѣи нѣи*). This unknown saint should not be confused with St. Isaac, Recluse of the Kiev Caves²⁵ (number 20 from Table 1), whom Meletios called *Ἰσαάκιος* and described in the fourth troparion of ode 8 of the Paraklesis with the following words: *Ὁ Ἰσαάκιος ὁ πολλοῖς ἐν ἀγῶσι, καταβαλὼν τὴν δαιμόνων ἀπάτην, σε καθικετεύει σῶσον ἡμᾶς Χριστέ μου* (p. 738) (see the Church Slavonic translation *ѿмакѣи прѣмнѡгнѣи страдѣннѣи ннзлѡжнѣи дѣаѡлѣкѣи прѣлѣнѣи, тѣа мѡлнѣи ѿпѣи наѣа ѡгнѣи*). It must be stressed that, in the Menologion of the 1643 Psalter, two different saints are mentioned. On February 14th, it reads:

²² Древнерусские патерики, p. 27.

²³ Древнерусские патерики, pp. 25–26.

²⁴ Древнерусские патерики, p. 405.

²⁵ Древнерусские патерики, pp. 77–80.

и Придѣнаго ѿца Їсакїѧ Печерскаго многострадалнаго. Троп: АѠхѣнтїѧ.
 Пустыинныи житєль (referring to the Apolytikion for St. Auxentius, monk
 of Bithynia, commemorated on the same day). On April 27th, it reads:
 и Придѣ Їсакїѧ мнїха Печерскаго. Ѹбоже прєлєстїи дїаколы, он же пакѧ
 оукрєпїкєлє покрѣдїи дїакола. Житїѧ же к лѣтоу, аѠд. кѧ цр҃стє кѧсточное
 Рѡмана дїѡгєна. Рѡскаго же Изѧсїєла. One can easily see that in Peter
 Mohyla's time, there were two Kyivan Cave Saints with the same name
 Їсакѧ – Їсакїѧ, referenced separately by Meletios, which were later
 “united” into one. The story was taken from the latter and the commemora-
 tion day (February 14th) from the former.

Most of the saints referenced by Meletios are mentioned both in the Service and the Paraklesis; however, this pattern seems to not be absolute, with the most striking examples being Antony and Theodosius, whose names were repeatedly referenced in the Service but absent from the Paraklesis. Among all the saints, only St. Laurence and St. Ephraim are mentioned twice in the Paraklesis due to their double status: Hermit of the Kiev Caves and Bishop. One could also suggest that in the fifth troparion of ode 4 of the Paraklesis, it was not the St. Ephraim, Bishop of Pereyaslav that was referenced, but Ephraim, Bishop of Suzdal and Rostov (11th–12th century), who was also mentioned in the Patericon,²⁶ or even Saint Ephraim, Archbishop of Rostov († 1454).

In his hymnographic complex, along with the Kyivan Cave Saints, Meletios also referenced 19 names of Kyivan saints with no direct relationship to the Kyivan Cave Monastery. The alphabetical list of these saints is presented in Table 2. It should be noted that in the third Sticheron on “Lord, I Have Cried” of the Small Vespers, the name of the Great-martyr Barbara of Heliapolis in Syria is also mentioned due to her Holy Relics being kept in the city of Kyiv, as well as due to the special veneration of this Saint as the Patron Saint of Kyiv by Peter Mohyla.

In this list, along with the officially recognized and widely renowned Kyivan saints (Equal-to-the-Apostles Vladimir and Olga; first Russian Martyrs Boris and Gleb; Martyrs Michael and Theodore of Chernigov; Martyrs of Vilnius Antony, John, and Eustathius, glorified among the saints in 1371 by Philotheus Kokkinos, Patriarch of Constantinople; Moscow Saints and Metropolitans of Kyiv Peter, Alexis, and Jonah; Metropolitan of Kyiv Hieromartyr Macarius), one can find some locally worshipped and renowned people such as the Metropolitans of Kyiv Cyprian and Photius, who were probably not officially recognized as saints at the time,²⁷ but included in the Menologion of the 1643

26 Древнерусские патерики, р. 22.

27 See O. B. Панченко, *Из археографических разысканий*, p. 464.

TABLE 2 Kyivan Saints (except for the Kyivan Cave Saints) referenced by Meletios Syrigos

Number	The Saint	The name used by Meletios to refer to him/her	Location of reference in the Service	Location of reference in the Paraklesis
1	St. Alexis , Metropolitan of Kyiv and Wonderworker of all Russia	Ἀλέξιος	C2 4:3	4:3
2	Martyr Anthony of Vilnius (Lithuania)	Ἀντώνιος	C2 8:3	1:5
3	Holy Martyr and Passion-bearer Boris of Russia, in holy baptism Romanus	Ῥωμανός/ Βορήης	C2 8:2	1:3
4	St. Cyprian , Metropolitan of Kyiv	Κυπριανός	C2 4:3	4:5
5	Holy Martyr and Passion-bearer Gleb of Russia, in holy baptism David	Δαυὶδ/ Γλέβος	C2 8:2	1:3
6	Ephraim , Metropolitan of Kyiv (1054/55–1065)?	Ἐφραίμ		4:1
7	Martyr Eustathius of Vilnius (Lithuania)	Εὐστάθιος	C2 8:3	1:5
8	St. Euthymius the Wonderworker, Archimandrite of Suzdal	Εὐθύμιος		4:4
9	Martyr John of Vilnius (Lithuania)	Ἰωάννης	C2 8:3	1:5
10	St. Jonas , Metropolitan of Kyiv	Ἰωνᾶς	C2 4:3	4:3
11	Leon (Leontius) , Metropolitan of Kyiv (1007–1008)	Λεόντιος	GV SLC3, C2 5:2, C2 5:3	4:1
12	Hieromartyr Macarius , Metropolitan of Kyiv	Μακάριος		1:4
13	Holy Martyr and Confessor Michael , Wonderworker of Chernigov	Μιχαήλ	SP 2	
14	St. Nikolas , Metropolitan of Kyiv (1097–1104)?	Νικόλαος		4:1
15	Blessed Equal-to-the-Apostles Olga , Princess of Russia, in holy baptism called Helen	Ἑλένη/ Ὁλγα μὲν τὸ πρὶν, Ἑλένη δὲ ἐς ὕστερον	C2 8:2	1:3

TABLE 2 Kyivan Saints (except for the Kyivan Cave Saints) referenced by Meletios Syrigos (*cont.*)

Number	The Saint	The name used by Meletios to refer to him/her	Location of reference in the Service	Location of reference in the Paraklesis
16	St. Peter, Metropolitan of Kyiv	Πέτρος	C2 4:3	4:3
17	St. Photius, Metropolitan of Kyiv	Φώτιος	C2 4:3	4:4
18	Holy Martyr and Confessor Theodore, Counselor of Michael, Wonderworker of Chernigov	Θεόδωρος	M SP 2	
19	Holy Equal-to-the-Apostles Great Prince Vladimir (in holy baptism Basil), Enlightener of the Russian Land	Βλαδμημίριος	GV SLC2, C2 5:2, C25:3, C28:2	1:3

Psalter. One can also find two more people who would never be recognized as saints and whose worship seems to be Meletios' own personal initiative rather than the general Kyivan Church policy. These people are:

1. Leon (Leontius), Metropolitan of Kyiv, referenced together with Saint Michael, first Metropolitan of Kiev (see table 1) and Prince Vladimir, and characterized four times in the hymnographic complex in a way that leaves no doubt about his identity. More specifically, he is described as prime counselor (Χαίρετε Λεόντιε, καὶ Μιχαὴλ πρωτοσύμβουλοι (p. 688)), first Archiereus (see second troparion of the 5th ode of the second canon: Ὁ πιστὸν βασιλέα, πρῶτον ἀνεγείρας Ῥωσῶν Βλαδιμήριον, ὡς τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Θεός, καὶ Λεόντιον, ἀποστέλλει πρῶτον, ἀρχιερέα, καὶ σὺν τούτῳ, τὰς πολλὰς μυριάδας ἡγάγετο (p. 710)) and all-blessed missionary and evangelist of Russians (see next troparion: Ἰησοῦς Ἀνανίαν, ἄλλον σε ἀπέστειλε τῷ τυφλωθέντι Σαοῦλ, τῷ Βλαδιμήρῳ: ὃν βαπτίσας τοῦ σκοτοῦς ἀπήλλαξας, τὴν ψυχὴν φωτίσας, καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀποτινάξας, τὰς λεπίδας παμμάκαρ Λεόντιε (p. 710)). Leon, who is not thought to have existed by modern historians,²⁸ is described as the first or second (after Michael) Metropolitan of Kyiv in Church tradition. Apart from his Greek origin, no other significant information about him is reported. Although Meletios seems to accept the speculation about Michael being the first

28 A. B. Назаренко, "Леон," in: *Православная энциклопедия*, Т.40 [A. V. Nazarenko, "Leon," in: *Orthodox Encyclopedia*, vol. 40]. Moscow, 2015, p. 441.

Metropolitan of Kyiv (in the first troparion of the 8th ode of the second canon he wrote: καὶ τοῦτοις Μιχαὴλ συντετάχθω, ὁ πρῶτος Κιοβίας τὸν θρόνον ἐγκοσμήσας (p. 720)), he certainly tries to emphasize Leon's role in the Christianization of Rus, probably in order to stress the role of the Greek clergy in this process. One can suppose that along with the Kyivan Cave Saints, Meletios supported the glorification among saints of Michael and Leon, the first Metropolitans of Kyiv, due to their role in the Christianization of Rus.

2. Ephraim, Metropolitan of Kyiv (1054/55–1065), also of Greek origin, is referenced along with the other Kiev Metropolitans in the first troparion of the 4th ode of the Paraklesis: Μιχαὴλ καὶ Λεόντιε, θεῖοι ἱεράρχαι, Ἐφραίμ Νικόλαε, καὶ Νικήτα Ἡσαΐα τε, τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῖν ἐξιλεώσατε (p. 732).

Although no Slavonic translation of Meletios' hymnographic complex described above was found in the 1643 edition of the Psalter, the Slavonic translations of certain parts of this complex seem to appear immediately after its composition. So far, we have found only two manuscript sources with this particular translation, namely:

1. The hymnographic text entitled “Вѣнонъ молебныхъ кѣ кѣмъ ѿѣмъ Печерскихъ Внѣкскихъ Рѣчѣнскихъ чюдотворцемъ. Твореніе Мелетіа Овиргѣша. Ѣѡрхи Константинопольскаго Грека. Бѣкшаго к Рѣчѣнсконъ земли, рока, аѣмъ”, which appears on ff. 181r–184v of a manuscript from the Synodal collection 456 (Collection of Sermons by Isaac of Nineveh and Petr Damaskin, probably composed during the third quarter of the 17th century), now kept in the State Historic Museum of Moscow (hereinafter referred to as Slav. 1) followed by the original praises to Christ, the Holy Virgin, St. Antony and Theodosius of the Kyivan Caves, as well as original troparia to Kyivan saints (184v–187r).²⁹ The text consists of the translation of Meletios' Paraklesis with the following four stichera prosomia (Praises) in the First tone (Εἰς τοὺς αἶνους προσόμοια. Ἦχος α' – Ὁτρυμ, γλακ ἃ, incipit Μὴ εἶξας τοῖς δαίμοσι σαυτὸν – *He tpeпa kѣcoмa eke cмoro пpиnиeтн*), including the final theotokion (p. 740–742), which was originally added by Meletios in the Matins service, and the apolytikon (incipit “Οτε κατέλθετε εἰς μνήματα – *Бгдa знндогте кѣ грoкы*) with the following theotokion taken from the Meletios' Great Vespers (p. 697). The only original part of the text, apart from the praises mentioned above, appears to be the catabasis (placed in the text after the first ode of the Paraklesis), which didn't exist in Meletios' hymn and reads as follows: *Изгакнѣтѣ ѿ кѣдъ рака cкoгo пpпѣкнѣнъ нгoдннцн ѣкы пpннoзaцнaгo к кaмъ cѣмъ мaлгнo*

29 A. В. Горский, К.И. Невоструев, Описание славянских рукописей, p. 190.

μολεῖ ὡ ποτοπα εἰρήτην, η βασιγω νακ'ετα εοпротична лкω азъ по ѣсѣ к
 κλιμα прнκ'εгау, к'ъ екорым млѣкенинκωмъ, η χρανнτεлемъ дѣла моєа. The
 structure of the Paraklesis follows the Greek style, with no marking on
 the fifth troparion of each ode, the marking "ἱεοροδινηκ" (Theotokion)"
 before the sixth troparion of each ode and the full text of the hirmos.
 As far as the text of the Paraklesis is concerned, the translator follows
 Meletios' text rather accurately. However, he made the following major
 conscious changes:

- In troparion 5:4, dedicated to the St. Prochorus, the following itali-
 cized passage is added which demonstrates the translator's inten-
 tion to enrich the text with more information about the saint:

Ἄρτοις ὁ λιμῶ διαθρέψας τοὺς λιμῶττοντας, τοῖς ἐκ χόρτων, ὕλης τε παντοδαπῆς πρόχωρε μάκαρ, τὸ θεῖον ἡμῖν ἱλεώσαι (p. 734)	Хлѣбъ прѣпитал еи глломъ тѣмѣла, лкѣ ѡ зѣлѣн, η голъ тѣоръ ѡ пепѣла, кѣмъ кѣродинъа. Прѡхорѣ κѣжени; ѣа ѡ мнѣ ѡмѣстѣнѣ
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- Another addition is made in 7:3 (Gregory, Wonderworker of the Kiev
 Caves), which combines this Saint with Gregory Thaumaturgos of
 Neocaesarea:

Γρηγόριε παμμάκαρ, ὁ θαυμάτων τὴν χάριν παρὰ Θεοῦ εἰληφώς, νῦν προφθάσας θαυμάστωσον, καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν σαῖς εὐχαῖς αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔλεος (p. 737)	Грегѡріѣ κѣκѣжени, чѣде κλѣодатъ ѡ бѣа прѣемън, η тѣзонменѣ ѡ дѣла подохнѣхъ прѣемъ. нѣкѣ прѣκκѣрнѣа, ѡгднѣ η ко насъ тѣоннѣ млѣтѣмнѣ его млѣтѣ
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- In the first praise sticheron, after the Paraklesis dedicated to Martyr
 John of Kiev, the name of his father and martyr Theodor is added
 (italicized below):

Μὴ εἶξας τοῖς δαίμοσι σαυτόν, προσενέγκαι σφάγιον, Θεῷ τῶν ὅλων προσήνεγκας θυσίαν ἁμῶμον, καὶ τελειοτάτην, Ἰωάννη ἐνδοξε, μεθ' οὗ καὶ ὁ πατήρ συνετέθυτο, ἅμφω δοξάσαντες, τὸν Χριστὸν τοῖς ὑμῶν μέλεσιν. Ὁν ἀπαύστως ἡμῖν ἱλεώσατε (p. 740)	Не тѣрѣа κ'ѣомъ еке емого прннѣтѣ, заκωленѣ, бѣу κѣлѣκнѣхъ прннѣла еи, жѣртѣу непорочнѣу η прѣεοκѣршеннѣу, ѣѡаннѣ елаκнѣ. ε ннѣжѣ η ѡѣа его ѡѣѡдоρѣ епожрѣа: ѡκѣ елаκѣца ѣа ѡгдѣи κашнѣи. егож непрѣтѣннѣ намъ млѣтѣ
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- “Οτε κατέλθετε εἰς μνήματα – ВѢДА ІННОУТЕ КЪ ГРОКЫ) with the following theotokion (see also above),
- the full text of the Paraklesis (ΚΑΝΟΝЪ ΜΕΛΕΤΙΟΥ ΚΥ ΠΡΟΠΟΔΟΚΗΜΩΣ ΨΑΛΜΩ ΠΕΡΙΕΦΕΚΗΜΩΣ),
- kontakion after the third ode (ВѢД ΓΑΛΙ Κ̅), moved from its position after the 6th ode in the original text (incipit Πατέρες σεπτοί, χορεῖα θεοκόσμητος – Ѡцекє вѣтїиѡ, днєє вѣоуарємєиѡ),
- two sessational hymns (*sedalen*) in the same position (after the third ode), placed by Meletios after the first and second Kathisma of the Matins, correspondingly (О҃дѦ: ГАЛІ А̅, ГАМКА ГАЛІ А̅) with the theotokion (incipits Ἀντώνιον πιστοί, Θεοδοσίον ἄμα – ΑНТОНІА КѢРМІИ ОУОУДОСІА ВКРПѢ, Καταβάς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς – ОУШЕД НА ЗЕМΛЮ, Κατεπλάγη Ἰωσήφ – УДНЄНІА ІУСИФ.),
- kondakion and oikos (ЇКОВІ) after the 6th ode (ВОНДАК ГАЛІ К̅) taken from the canons of the Matins service (incipits Τὰ ἄνω οἴκεῖν ποθήσαντες βασιλεία – ВУШИНАА УЕНТАТН КОЗАМЕНЄШЕ ЦРѢТКА and Ὑβυσσον κριμάτων Θεοῦ σοφίας – ВЕЗДУХ УГЛЕБ ВЖІА ПРЕМУДРОСТН correspondingly),
- after the Paraklesis, three Stichera prosomia (Praises) of the Paraklesis (О҃УЧЕРУ, ГАЛІ А̅, incipit Μὴ εἷξας τοῖς δαίμοσι σαυτόν – НЕ ТЕРПА КѢКОМА ЕМЕ ІМОГО ПРНІЄТН) (see above), followed by the fourth, Litiy Sticheron from Meletios’ Great Vespers (incipit Τοὺς γενναίους τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατιώτας – ДОКЛАА – Х҃Ы КОНЫИ), and two Theotokia divided by the word ИЛИ (or) with the incipit Δέσποινα πρόσδεξαι – ВЛ҃ЧНЦЄ ПРІИМН and Παρθένε μαρτύρων καλλονή – ДѢО М҃НЄКОВ УКРАШЄНІЄ correspondingly. The first was taken from the cycle of Litiy Stichera of Meletios’ Great Vespers, and the second remains at its original position as Theotokion for the Praises of the Paraklesis.

The structure of the Paraklesis is adopted to the Russian practice of that time with the fifth troparion of each ode marked with the word **ГЛАГОЛА** and the sixth theotokion with the words **ѿ НЫНѢ**.

One can assume that Slav. 2 was composed by extending and revising Slav. 1 according to the original Greek text. It can be easily proven textologically that the two Slavonic versions were not translated independently. This is due, but not limited to, the fact that all conscious changes made by the translator of Slav. 1 are included in Slav. 2. However, lexical variants could be found even in the fragments found in both sources, e.g. in the Paraklesis, which prove that the entire text of Slav. 1 was revised based on the Greek text. An example of this

significance despite the Greek author surely regarding his hymnographic complex as a whole. It was when only one part of this complex was translated to Church Slavonic that the problems started. This problem was only partially solved when, in the Slav. 2 version, the sessational hymn (*sedalen*) from the first Kathisma of the Matins of Meletios' complex dedicated to Antony and Theodosius was added (incipit Ἀντώνιον πιστοί, Θεοδοσίον ἅμα – ἡμῶν ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν Ἐκκλησίαν). Obviously, such a reference did not correspond to the status of these people among the Kyivan Cave Saints. The second problem was a reference of two neither officially recognized as saints nor worshipped people, namely the Metropolitans of Kyiv Leon (Leontius) and Ephraim (see above). Meletios' initiative for their glorification among the saints, probably supported by Peter Mohyla, seemed to have no further support and was therefore deadlocked. The commemoration of these people in the liturgical text was inappropriate and did not express the official position of the Church. Moreover, in the years that followed Meletios' visit to Kyiv, the list of the Kyiv Cave Saints changed significantly, reflecting the expansion of their reverence and the change in the approach of the church community to different aspects of their worship.

All these reasons together led to the composition of the third version of the Paraklesis complex (hereinafter referred to as Slav. 3), the first edition of which, to the best of our knowledge, was in the Collection of Akathistos, Stichera and Canons (*Prechistye Akafisty Vse Sedmichmye so Stichiry i Kanony ...*), published in Kyiv in 1677. This version was later re-published many times with small and insignificant changes in the 18th–20th century (it was studied from the old printed edition “Collection of Services and Akathistos” (*Sbornik Sluzhb i Akafistov*), Kyiv, 1731), and continues to form part of the Church's liturgical practice. It is also included in the so-called “Green Menaion” for the month of February (to be chanted on the second Sunday of the Great Lent), where it is attributed to Meletios.³¹ This text is usually used by scholars as evidence for Meletios and Peter Mohyla's approach to the glorification of the Kyivan Cave Saints. However, it is significantly different from Meletios' original text as well as its first Slavonic translations (Slav. 1 and Slav. 2), which will be analyzed below.

The complex is entitled *Пракисло моленое прѣдѣньмъ оѣмъ пещерикимъ, и вѣмъ сѣмъ в малон руссиіи просѣявшимъ. пѣваемое когда, и гдѣ кто извоитъ*, which indicates that at the time it was composed, neither an official recognition as saints had occurred nor had a commemoration day been

³¹ Минея февраль, pp. 755–766.

TABLE 3 Troparia order in the Paraklesis of Slav. 3 in comparison to Slav. 2

Ode	Troparia (the numbers correspond to the structure of Meletios' text and Slav. 2; new troparia are marked Or.1, 2 etc.)					Theotokia
1	1:1	Or.1	Or.2 ^a	Or.3	1:3	1:6
2	6:5	7:2	8:4	7:4	1:2	2:6
4	6:4	7:3	8:1	3:5	5:4	4:6
5	5:1	9:2	9:1	3:3	Or.4	5:6
6	6:2	6:3	3:4	5:2	7:5	6:6
7	6:1	5:3	8:2	Or.5	1:5	Or.6
8	Or.7 ^b	Or.8	Or.9	9:5	8:5	8:6
9	Or.10	Or.11 ^c	3:1	1:4	9:3	Or.12

- a The text of this troparion is based on Meletios' troparion 5:5 / Slav. 2 Paraklesis, with the name Stephen, Abbot of the Kiev Caves and Bishop of Vladimir in Volhynia, being added to the text.
- b The text of this troparion is based on Meletios' troparion 3:2 / Slav. 2 Paraklesis, though the name of the Saint was changed and additions to the text were made.
- c Troparia Or.9 and Or.10 of Slav. 3 were composed based on Meletios' troparia 4.1–4.5 / Slav. 2 Paraklesis, with some name changes in the list of saint hierarchs of the Church of Russia.

saints in Slav. 1/Slav. 2, deserved a special troparion, or another method of presentation. The list of these saints in the new troparia is presented in Table 4.

One can easily see that in troparia Or.10 and Or. 11, most of the church hierarchs referenced had already been mentioned by Meletios; however, the order of their names was re-structured and more names were included in each troparion. The five troparia of Meletios' text (P 4:1–4:5) were also reduced to two (Or.10–Or.11), in order to gain space for the new people that had to be commemorated. Sometimes the name remained but the person changed, as occurred with the name *Διονύτιου* (Λεόντιος). This name was referenced in both Meletios' text and Slav. 1/Slav. 2 to describe Leon (Leontius), Metropolitan of Kyiv. It was then re-used by the author of the Slav. 3 version to refer to St. Leontius, Bishop and Wonderworker of Rostov. This change is indicated by the different part of the text he is referenced in: not among the Metropolitans, but among the Bishops. Three other new saints that are absent from Meletios' hymnographic complex are Titus, Pimen, and Kuksha, the last of which being described in almost the same troparion as the one written by Meletios for the unknown Martyr Gerasim (see above). The author of the Slav. 3 version also re-structured the hymn in order to give more attention to the Abbots of the

TABLE 4 Saints referenced in the original troparia of Slav. 3

Troparion according to Table 3	Saint referenced	Reference of this Saint in Meletios' complex (if any)
Or.1	St. Anthony of the Kyivan Caves	GV SLC3, GV SL1, M Kath.1, C2 1:1, C2 1:2, C2 1:3, C2 3:1, C2 4:2, M Ex
	St. Theodosius , Abbot of the Kiev Cave Monastery	GV SLC3, GV SL3, M Kath.1, C2 1:3
Or.2	St. Nicon , Abbot of the Kiev Caves	P 5:5
	St. Stephen , Abbot of the Kiev Caves and Bishop of Vladimir in Volhynia	C2 4:3, P 4:2
Or.3	St. Barlaam , Abbot of the Kiev Caves	C2 7: 1
Or.4	St. Poemen (Pimen) the Much-ailing of the Kiev Caves	C2 7: 1
Or.5	St. Pimen of the Kiev Caves	—
	St. Titus , Presbyter of the Kiev Caves	—
Or.7	St. Kuksha of the Kiev Caves with his disciple	—
Or.8	St. Nestor the Chronicler of the Kiev Caves	C2 7: 1
Or.9	St. Polycarp , Archimandrite of the Kyivan Caves	P 9:4
Or.10	St. Michael , first Metropolitan of Kiev	GV SLC3, C2 8:1, P 4:1
	St. Hilarion , Metropolitan of Kyiv	M Kath., C2 4:3, P 4:2
	St. Peter , Metropolitan of Kyiv	C2 4:3, P 4:3
	St. Alexis , Metropolitan of Kyiv and Wonderworker of all Russia	C2 4:3, P 4:3
	St. Jonas , Metropolitan of Kiev	C2 4:3, P 4:3
	St. Photius , Metropolitan of Kiev	C2 4:3, P 4:4
	St. Cyprian , Metropolitan of Kiev	C2 4:3, P 4:5
	St. Ephraim , Bishop of Pereyaslav	P 4:5, P 8:3
	St. Nikola , Bishop of Tmutarakan	P 4:2
	St. Nicetas of the Kiev Caves, Bishop of Novgorod	C2 4:3, P 4:1

TABLE 4 Saints referenced in the original troparia of Slav. 3 (*cont.*)

Troparion according to Table 3	Saint referenced	Reference of this Saint in Meletios' complex (if any)
	St. Isaiah , Bishop and Wonderworker of Rostov	C2 8:1, P 4:1
	St. Minas , Bishop of Polotsk	P 4:3
	Saint Luke , Bishop of Belgorod	P 4:3
	St. Theoctistus , Bishop of Chernigov	P 4:3
Or.11	St. Leontius , Bishop and Wonderworker of Rostov	—
	St. Stephen , Abbot of the Kiev Caves and Bishop of Vladimir in Volhynia	C2 4:3, P 4:2
	St. Germanus , Bishop of Novgorod	P 4:2
	St. Niphont , Bishop of Novgorod	C2 4:3, P 4:2
	St. Marin , Bishop of Yuryev	P 4:2
	St. Euthymius the Wonderworker, Archimandrite of Suzdal	P 4:4
	St. Laurence , Recluse of the Kiev Caves and Bishop of Turov	C2 4:3, C2 8:1, P 4:4, P 7:4
	St. Dionysius , Metropolitan of Kyiv, Archbishop of Suzdal	C2 8:1, P 4:4
	St. Simon , Bishop of Vladimir and Suzdal	P 4:3

Monastery. He achieved this by “collecting” them in the first ode starting with Antony and Theodosius and dedicating special troparia to those who were only named in the lists written by Meletios.

Another major change reflecting the evolution of the cult of the Kyivan Saints in the period from 1643 to 1677 is the introduction of the special troparion dedicated to Nestor the Chronicler (Or.8). While in Meletios' complex, this saint was only mentioned in the list, while the composition of the hagiographic complex of the Kyivan Cave Saints is attributed exclusively to archimandrite Polycarp (see P 9:4: Πολύκαρπε ὁ βίους, τῶν ὁσίων γράψας, καὶ σεαυτὸν ἐκμαγείων ἐκείνων ποιῶν, ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης τοῦ κόσμου, Θεὸν ἰκέτευε (p. 740); Slav. 2: **Ποληκαρπε, иже житѣа прѣподокичѣа исписавши, и еке емого уебазѣа ѡнѣм тѣорѣа, ѡ**

миръ ꙗ мѣра ѿѿа моли), the author of Slav. 3 commemorates both Nestor and Polycarp in two original troparia of the 8th ode, changing the descriptions and showing the succession in their contributions:

Ор. 8: Несторе кѣѡмудре, житїи стѣхъ спсаетелю перѣкншїи, и рекннтелю
онымъ докрыи, славы онѣхъ, молитвами ти ѡбї ма оцїица

Ор. 9: Полукарпе славе, тѣхъ же житїа стѣхъ конечнѣ исплыви,
и к едино оубави, бѣ книги животны твои молитвами, и мнѣ
написати ѡбї оцїица

Since the 17th and 18th century editions of the Slav. 3 version contained neither Meletios' name nor the name of the scholar who carried out the revision, its authorship cannot be stated with confidence. However, the indirect historical and textological evidence leads us to believe that it was composed by Dimitry (Tuptalo) of Rostov, who composed his original Second Paraklesis dedicated to the Saints Antony and Theodosius of the Kyivan Caves, using the same hiermos as Meletios' Paraklesis³² at approximately the same time.

To summarize the main results of our research, it should be stressed that the source that researchers use to refer for the glorification of the Kyivan Cave Saints as the Canon to Kyivan Cave Saints by Meletios Syrigos, in reality turns out to be three different sources: the original Greek version of the Service with the Paraklesis to the Kyivan Cave Saints and all the Russian Saints composed by Meletios Syrigos in June 1643; its partial translation into Church Slavonic carried out in two stages during that same year (both versions were created using the original Greek version); and lastly its revision realized before 1677, which was based on the second Slavonic version without taking into account the original Greek text, and had significant changes and new saints and text fragments added. This last version has been preserved in Church tradition to this day as Meletios' Canon. The study of the changes made to this hymnographic complex reveals various aspects and stages in the evolution of the cult of the Kyivan Cave Saints during the time period of our research, as well as Meletios' role in the cult's development. The extended analysis of these sources will be presented later in the forthcoming edition, which is currently being prepared.

32 See M. A. Федотова, "Сочинение Димитрия Ростовского «Канон преподобным и богоносным отцем нашим Антонию и Феодосию Киево-Печерским»: к истории текста," *Русская литература* [M. A. Fedotova, "Canon to the Saint and God-bearing Fathers Antony and Theodosius of the Kyivan Caves' by Dimitry of Rostov: on the Text's History," *Russian Literature*]. 2 (2020), pp. 40–47.

List of Abbreviations

sv	Small Vespers
gv	Great Vespers
M	Matins
P	Pakaklesis Canon
C2	Second Canon of Matins
SLC	Sticheron on “Lord, I Have Cried”
SL	Sticheron on Litiy
SP	Sticheron on Praises
Kath	Sessational hymn (<i>sedalen</i>)
Ex	Exapostilarion
Or	Original Slavonic troparion
Slav. 1	first Church Slavonic translation of Meletios’ Canon in the manuscript from the Synodal collection 456 (Collection of Sermons by Isaac of Nineveh and Petr Damaskin, dated probably around the third quarter of the 17th century), ff. 181r–184v
Slav. 2	revised version of Slav. 1, studied from the Book of canons (<i>Kannonnik</i>), dated 1655, written in the Kyivan Cave Monastery by the scribe hieromonach Callistus (ff. 177r–219 v), and kept in the basic manuscript collection of the Russian National Library (O. 1. 31)
Slav. 3	revised version of Slav. 2, studied from the old printed edition “Collection of Services and Akathistos” (<i>Sbornik Sluzhb i Akafistov</i>), Kyiv, 1731.