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Handwritten Irmologia – an innovative means of the transmission of liturgical music in the Carpathian area[1]

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Introduction

This paper deals with aspects of a culture related to several nations, ethnic and religious communities in the Carpathian area, especially in the region of the Eparchy of Mukačevo, i.e., Eastern Slovakia, Sub-Carpathian Rus´, South-Eastern Poland and North-Eastern Hungary. Geographically, these regions have always been borderlands. In the cultural, religious and liturgical context they have represented a bridge between East and West. Locally based co-existence does not connote a cliché, but real intercultural, interethnic, interreligious relations among Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, among Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant believers.

All these facts affected and were highly specific to the Carpathian region for centuries. In this paper I examine one of the results of Carpathian scribal practice – the Irmologia, particularly those from the 17th-19th centuries. The production of handwritten Irmologia is a defining characteristic of the Carpathian tradition of liturgical music. Even though they were intended to be exact duplicates or each other, variations in graphical forms, repertoire, music and language suggest influences from the scribes' cultural, religion and ethnical backgrounds. I shall also discuss educational practice and the scribes, who were not only simple copyists, but artists who produced and transmitted these various local forms of Byzantine-Slavonic liturgical chant, the so-called *Carpathian prostopinije*. All the facts presented will lead us towards the main thesis, namely, that the Irmologion written in five-line quadratic notation was an innovative means of the transmission of liturgical music in the Carpathia-specific context.

In an effort to approach the development of this transmission, I shall briefly present the tradition of liturgical musical culture from two main perspectives.

I. Oral transmission - Prostopinije - The figure of the cantor

The carrier of the oral tradition of liturgical chant in the Carpathian region is what is known as *prostopinije.* In principle, this oral tradition represents simple monodic chant performed *a*

1 The paper has been prepared within the project APVV 14-0029 Cyrilské písomníctvo na Slovensku do konca 18. storočia - Cyrillic Literature in Slovakia until the End of the 18th Century.

cappella. The term *prostopinije* was primarily used to denote liturgical chant disseminated orally.

Therefore, the aesthetics and the quality of singing depend on the skill of the singers and their previous musical experience.

Carpatho-Ruthenian liturgical chant has always been performed by the entire congregation, as is the case with folk singing. This *sobornyj* performance is a basic characteristic of *prostopinije* as such.[2] Its tradition is made clear through the description of Johann von Gardner from his own experience from the beginning of the 20th century:

> ...на Подкарпатской Руси, в православных (а также и в униатских) сёлах за богослужением пели все присутствующие. Каждый имел при себе книгу ('Сборник'), содержащую нужные песнопения. Опытный певец ('дьяк') начинал пение; как только все услышат знакомый напев, сейчас же присоединяются к пению дьяка, и все присутствующие, мужчины, женщины и дети поют всю службу. Этому я сам неоднократно бывал свидетелем. Даже дети знали наизусть многие тексты песнопений и могли их наизусть петь. Таким образом, музыкальный элемент в богослужении имел не малое значение для религиозного просвещения самых широких масс народа.[3]

In addition, two-part folk singing is one of the most significant elements indicating the coexistence of folk and liturgical chant. The music in the irmologia is monodic; however, it is performed by two voices at the interval of a third.[4] Moreover, in some regions three-part singing is typical. The lowest melodic line is simple, based on the tonic or dominant degree and moving sporadically.[5] In the first place, one can see the influence of folk singing in frequently performed chants. Therefore, the melodies of the Sunday troparia and kontakaria are the most interesting for the mutual comparison of their older and more recent variants.[6] They are repeated cyclically, and thus their melodies have been modified according to regional performance standards, even to the extent that not the text, but the melody of the liturgical chants had the essential formalizing function in performance. The typical performance of folk singing was transferred from the common life in villages to the churches through popular paraliturgical songs as well as through the figure of cantor.

The cantor (in Slavonic *канторъ*, *пѣвецъ*, *дѧкъ*) was a man who excelled in vocal performance and in the knowledge of the Typikon.[7] Moreover, it could be anyone who was brave enough to take responsibility for leading the congregation during the liturgical services. In general, the son of a priest would become the chant leader, which is admitted by historical sources. In the middle of the 18th century almost every parish had a cantor who was a son of the local priest.[8] Exceptionally, the cantor could be a member of a wider family – a son-in-law[9] or a priest´s cousin.[10] In some cases the cantor was a son of another cantor or a son of the local reeve.[11]

2 In the foreword to the Irmologion from 1970, Stefan Papp described *prostopinije* as follows: "...в Мукач. епархії заведений звичай вселюдного співу в церквах, співають уси, без поділу співаків на голоси, а цього роду спів традиція епархії назвала простопінієм-простоспівом." S. Papp, "Розвій церковного богослужбового співу (простоспіву) в Мукачівській епархії", *Irmologion*, Prešov 1970, 187.

3 I. A.Gardner, *Богослужебное Пение Русской Православной Церкви: Сущность, Система и История*, Томъ 1, Москва 2004, 56.

4 A. Derevjaniková, "Koexistencia duchovnej a ľudovej vokálnej kultúry v karpatskom regióne", *Počiatky kresťanskej hudby v Európe*, Bratislava 2005, 186.

5 Derevjaniková 2005, 186.

6 See Š. Marinčák, *Nedeľné tropáre v byzantsko-slovanskej tradícii na Slovensku* Slavica Slovaca Vol. 48, no. 1, Bratislava 2013, 9-40.

7 A biographical note records that Ján Juhasevič was "*...magnus typikista, amoenae vocis, erga pauperes elemosinarius…*" The term *typikista* means someone who was familiar with the melodies in the Typikon and experienced in ritual. A. Petrov, Материалы для истории Угорской Руси. Том. II., IV. Санкт Петербург 1906, 88.

8 V. Hadžega, "Додатки до исторіи Русинов и руських церквей в Ужанской жупѣ", Науковий зборник товариства "Просвѣта", Ужгород 1924. E.g. the parish of Nemecká Poruba (today Poruba pod Vihorlatom, Eastern Slovakia) – the son of priest Vasilij Rafač (181); the parish of Vyšné Remety (Eastern Slovakia) – the son of priest Joan Hirjovič (181); the parish of Jasenov (Eastern Slovakia) – the son of priest Stefan Vološinskyj (183), and many others.

9 V. Hadžega, "Додатки до исторіѣ русинôв и руських церквей в бувш. жупѣ Земплинскôй" Науковий зборник товариства "Просвѣта", Ужгород 1935, 80, 173.

10 Hadžega 1935, 173.

11 Hadžega 1935, 131.

The aesthetics of congregational performance were based on the singing skills of the cantor. One of the earliest records commenting on the quality of liturgical chant in the Mukachevo eparchy is the correspondence from the *Zorja Halickaja* from 1854, which states: "что числомъ по множайшихъ подкарпатскихъ приходахъ нашихъ, что не говоря чтобы вѣрный народъ зналъ нѣчто о художественномъ пѣніи но ни о сладкогласіи жадного понятія не имѣетъ [...]."[12] The character of liturgical chants, often actually unpleasant to listen to, did not change significantly during the 19th century. Fedir Steško, based on his observations at the beginning of the 20th century, writes that singing often amazes one by its disunity and unmusicality. [13] Sometimes the singing was inaccurate in intonation, with a voice range of a baritone or alto, often rhythmically inconsistent, and lengthy. I. Humeckyj wrote at the end of the 19th century, "есть округи, напримѣръ, въ западной части Галичины, въ пригорьѣ, между такъ называемыми 'Лемками', гдѣ поютъ до того медленно и протяжно, что пока пропоютъ первую, великую ектенію, въ церквахъ нѣкоторыхъ другихъ православныхъ странъ за это время подойдутъ ужъ къ 'Херувимской'".[14]

Cantors most often served in their native parishes or in the parishes where their parents or other relatives lived. Jurij Jasinovsky also mentions the tradition of so-called "itinerant cantors", who resided in parishes for a shorter time and replaces absent cantors in both church and pedagogical activities, according to the needs of the parish.[15] We also know that the cantors were hired from wealthy parishes for poorer ones nearby and they also accompanied the priest to outlying villages, where the Liturgy was served only occasionally.

As regards social strata, cantors were serfs labeled as *крьпак*[16], *йобадь*[17] (in Hungarian *jobagy*) or *желяр*[18]. They lived in modest conditions, generally on church property. The cantors exempted from duties were called *либертин*,[19] and those belonging to the higher social strata were specified as *нямеш*.[20] For their service they generally received contributions in kind.

Cantors were respectable and reputable men. In spite of their authority, they were still expected to prove their knowledge of dogmatics. Bishop Bradáč reminded them that: "[...] о краткій час будут мати собор так то самый дяковскій, накотором соборѣ егзаминованы будут о чланках вѣры, и о цилой науцѣ христіянской, из уставу церковнаго, нехай тегда кождыйн завчасу на той егзамен добре ся готует, котры бо знайдеся негодный дяковати из уряду своего зверженый будет, а мѣсто него другый поповѣч ся поставит."[21]

Even though their social status required an exemplary moral life, it often occurred that cantors did not properly fulfil their duties and in practical life they yielded to various temptations, especially alcohol. In the Cyrillic sources from the 18th century, the record of cantor Savko from the Eastern Slovak parish is preserved.[22] The text states the following: "**Во великѡ́ний понедѣлокъ пришолъ до церкви пѧный такъ же немогѡ́ жадны҃ѩ спокоѡ́ вѣрбу выгварйтй [...]**".[23]

12 F. Steško, Церковна музика на Підкарпатській Русі. Відбитка з Наукового Збірника тов. Просвіта, р. XII, Ужгород 1936, 122.

13 Steško 1936, 122.

14 I. Humeckyj, "Православнорусская обрядность в церквах Галицкой, так называемой грекокатолицкой униатской церкви", Христианское чтение, № 2, Санкт Петербург 1898, 234-235.

15 In Ukrainian, "мандрованих дяків". Cf. J. Jasinovskyj, *Візантійська гимнографія і церковна монодія в українській рецепції ранньомодерного часу*, Львів 2011, 295.

16 Hadžega 1924, 189.

17 Hadžega 1935, 90.

18 Cf. Hadžega 1935. *Žeľar* was a hired worker served for payment in kind. Cf. za využitie poľa. Porov. I. Zadorožnyj, "Монастирі Закарпаття та їх церковний спів", Калофония, Львів 2004, 83.

19 Hadžega 1924, 191.

20 Hadžega 1924, 162.

21 A. D. Duličenko, Письменность и литературные языки Карпатской Руси (*XV-XX* вв.), Ужгород 2008, 83. Written based on the text in azbuka in the cited publication.

22 P. Žeňuch, "Источники византийско славянской традиции и культуры в Словакии/Pramene k byzantsko-slovanskej tradícii a kultúre na Slovensku" *Monumenta Byzantino-Slavica et Latina Slovaciae*. Vol. IV. Roma/Bratislava/Košice 2013, 387.

23 Žeňuch 2013, 387.

In particular, the record shows the problems encountered by parish priests with the work of cantors. However, there is also information of interest regarding the liturgical practice of the churches. The above-mentioned priest had to satisfy the congregation with the reader's form of the Liturgy, even when his six-year-old son had to read the answers.[24]

Breaches of the basic duties of cantors (teaching and service in the church) seem to have been frequent. The possible consequences of their unsatisfactory work were pointed out by the bishop himself:

> Дяки же аще кождоденно звоныти не будут и дѣти собравшиися вынаоучовати не стоять, сих парохи под биршагом единаго таляра. [...] П. отец намѣсник будет карати: По первый раз дванадцатма, по другиый раз чотырыдвацатма, по третий раз трицатма корбачма. По четвертый раз предасть его каѳедрѣ. Каѳедра пак звержет его с дякоства на порцию.[25]

II. Written transmission - The Irmologion - The cantor as scribe

It may be supposed that the faithful were able to sing the ordinary chants, or the chants of the refrain type that were repeated, thus enabling the congregation to memorize them.[26] Based on the information from the pastoral visitation of bishop M. Oľšavský, which took place in the districts of Šariš, Spiš, Zemplín, Uh and Uhoč in 1750-1755, parishes had at least the basic liturgical books, although only priests and educated cantors could read and use them.

According to the source from 1757, Собора Маковицкого списанїй книгы которїй при которой цѣкви знайдуть такїй писаный или тупо̃ изданїй до ѿправы цѣковной прислушающїй, Оучителїа и катехизй, parishes generally used printed liturgical books from Lviv, Kyjiv and Vilnius.[27] In regards to the local production, famous *Katechizmus* by Jozef De Kamelis was printed in Trnava (Western Slovakia) and used very actively in almost all parishes in the district of Šariš .[28]

On the other hand, some parishes did not have enough liturgical books. The liturgical books (generally the *Služebnik, Trebnik, Apostol, Evanhelia* and *Psaltyr*) were owned by the parish. Others were owned by the cantors and priests themselves. According to the visitation of bishop M. Oľšavský, the *Triod' postna* and *Triod' kvitna* were missing in the parishes.[29] If a parish did not have enough money to buy the books, the most needed ones were borrowed from other parishes. [30]

Handwritten books were regarded as inferior and inadequate for use in services. In the parish of Smolnik (Eastern Slovakia) there was a worthless handwritten Apostol, transcribed literally.[31] Books in bad condition were repaired on the initiative of believers. On account of with the great demand for books, they were sometimes exchanged.[32]

Based on the historical records, all the basic books for the liturgical ceremony were available in every parish. However, there is no evidence of the keeping a copy of the Irmologion as a notated liturgical book. Irmologia belonged to the local cantors who used them as a device for singing and education. The musical manuscripts were probably privately purchased.

As I have devoted myself to the figure of the cantor, it is necessary to specify who was or who became a scribe. In older Russian literature, writers were marked not only traditionally as the *писець*, *писар* or *переписувач*, but also by the wider term *книжник*.[33] A. I. Sobolevskyj even

24 Žeňuch 2013, 388.
25 Duličenko 2008, 83.
26 Papp 1970, 183.
27 Žeňuch 2013, 144.
28 Žeňuch 2013, 144-153.
29 Cf. Hadžega 1924 and his later works.
30 Hadžega 1935, 68.
31 Hadžega 1934, 91.
32 Cf. I. Paňkevyč, "*Матеріали до исторії мови південно-карпатських українців*", *Vedecký zborník múzea ukrajinskej kultúry v Svidníku*, 4, II, Prešov 1970, 73. Marginal notes from *Liturgikon* from 1747 preserved in Klokočov (Estern Slovakia): "Янусъ Иоанъ. Сию книгу заминзв єм из Якимомъ за і[н]шу книгу."
33 J. Jasinovskyj, *Українські та білоруські нотолінійні Ірмолої 16-18 століть: Каталог і кодикологічно-палеографічне дослідження*, Львів 1996, 70.

presents the variant *мастеръ* or *доброписецъ* (from the Greek καλλιγράφος).[34] The work of the scribe consisted of the basic selection of material for transcription, its sorting, editing, notation and subsequent addition of side miniatures and initials.

Young men could already become scribes. They had to be literate and at least minimally experienced in the transcription of texts. As an example, one may cite the more recent manuscript from the first half of the 19th century found in Habura near Medzilaborce (Eastern Slovakia). At only 14 years old, Joan Čabiňák began to rewrite the manuscript of the *Obščina*, but it was finished by his younger brother Michal because of his premature death. The text of the margin follows: "Сїѧ Книга Нареченна Общинна. Є Списанна Рабомъ Божїимъ Младенцемъ Їωанномъ Чабинѧкомъ натой часъ мꙋ было д҃і Роковъ и на ѿсыпкꙋ Представи сѧ. Къ Гдꙋ аѿле Мцѧ҃а Їюлїа днѧ ж҃. Сїе докончѣлъ его Властный братъ Молодшїй Михаилъ. Сынове ωба Лꙋкача Чабинѧка [...]."[35]

Cantors were almost the only ones who knew the notation system and used notated sources for the service. This is why they, exclusively, became the scribes of the noted liturgical books. The scribes adhered to the text and to the notational rules in the transcription. In spite of that, in their works, at least in part, they recorded the forms of liturgical chants known from local tradition. As M. Velimirović says, "переписувач часто відтворював у рукописі швидше те, що він чув, ніж те, що бачив в іншому рукописі."[36]

After choosing the basic repertoire, the scribes proceeded to mark out the lines for the notational signs by means of a *rastrum* (in Ukrainian *раштра, растра, граблі*). On one side of the sheet there were 8-11 notation lines. Basically, the older the Irmologion, the ferwer the notation lines. The authors of the manuscripts used space economically to the fullest extent possible.

After the basic preparation the authors gradually recorded the musical content using the signs of so-called Kievan notation. The text of each chant was added subsequently. This practice is confirmed by the places where the authors made a mistake or failed to complete the chant completely. The basic liturgical and notated texts were written in black ink. In addition to the basic black contours, they added red, green or yellow ink to the titles and thumbnail sketches.

I have mentioned that handwritten Irmologia were intended to be duplicates of each other. In this context, the scribes used the older Irmologia in a standardized form as a model for their own manuscripts, which can be understood as those approved by the practice of the church or educationally. They were ideal for copying. After printed Irmologia became widespread, they acted as models for handwritten Irmologia. However, the first editions of the printed Irmologia did not eliminate the use of the manuscript copies, but became valid and recognized models for the next generation. The printed Irmologia from Lvov from 1700, 1709 and 1757 and the Počajevo Irmologia from 1766, 1775 and 1794 were used in teaching and, especially, liturgical practice. In particular, the Lviv Irmologion from 1709 was a commonly found at the kliros in the churches of Eastern Slovakia.

III. Evidences of the Appearance of Irmologia in the Carpathian area - geographically and chronologically

The first handwritten Irmologia appeared in the Carpathian region in the 17th century. As may be seen in the table below, the golden age of handwritten Irmologia was the 18th century.[37] The following list of selected manuscripts contains 73 Irmologia preserved in archives, museums and libraries in Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and Ukraine.

34 A. I. Sobolevskyj, *Славяно-русская палеография*, Санкт Петербург 1908, 28-29.

35 Cf. R. Cleminson, *Cyrillic manuscripts in Slovakia. A Union Catalogue*, Martin 1996, 106.

36 M. Velimirović, "Мелодика канона IX в. св. Димитрию", *Музыкальная культура Средневековья*, вип. 1, Москва 1990, 9.

37 Manuscripts written in *italics* are known only from references in the secondary sources.

17th century	
2nd quarter	Irmologion, -, (Užhorod, Transcarpathian Museum of Reg. Studies, Arch. 8465)
	Irmologion, -, (Svidník, Museum of Ukrainian Culture, -)
	Irmologion, Waniowice (Warsaw, National Library, Rps.12054 III)
3rd quarter	Irmologion, Čabiny (Lviv, National V. Stefanyk Scientific Library, Petr. 153)
	Irmologion, Oparówka (Warsaw, National Library, Rps.12057 I)
	Irmologion, Wołodź (Warsaw, National Library, Rps.12069 I)
	Irmologion, Olchowiec (Warsaw, National Library, Rps.12061 I)
	Irmologion, Nowosiółki (Warsaw, National Library, Rps.12067 I)
4th quarter	Irmologion, Arłamów (Warsaw, National Library, Rps.12074 I)
	Irmologion, Wańkowice, (Warsaw, National Library, Rps.12078 I)
	Irmologion, Korostów (Warsaw, National Library, Rps.12079 I)
	Irmologion, Zagórz (Warsaw, National Library, Rps.12083 I)
	Irmologion, Milik (Warsaw, National Library, Rps.12090 I)
	Irmologion, Żydowskie (Warsaw, National Library, Rps.12093 I)
	Irmologion, -, (Užhorod, University Library, Рук. 576)
	Irmologion, -, (Užhorod, Transcarpathian Museum of Reg. Studies, I-465)
17th-18th century	Irmologion, 1701, (Svidník, Museum of Ukrainian Culture, -)
	Irmologion, Sajóspálfalva (Eger, Library of the Archdiocese of Eger, T XIV)
	Irmologion, Rzepnik (Warsaw, National Library, Rps.12094 I)
	Irmologion, Milik (Warsaw, National Library, Rps.12095 I)
	Irmologion, 1709 (Svidník, Museum of Ukrainian Culture, -)
18th century	Irmologion, -, (Užhorod, Transcarpathian Museum of Reg. Studies, I-457)
	Irmologion, Danylove (Lviv, National V. Stefanyk Scientific Library, HTIII 275)
	Irmologion, Lysičevo (Lviv, National Museum, Q199)
	Irmologion, -, (Užhorod, Transcarpathian Museum of Reg. Studies, I-463/a)
	Irmologion, 1715, Zubné (uknown)
	Irmologion, 1717, Georgij Zubanič (uknown)
2nd quarter	Irmologion, 1729, Michail Ternovskij (uknown)
	Irmologion, 1729, Zyndranowa (Warsaw, National Library, Rps. 12106 II)
	Irmologion, Michal a Andrej Demjanovič, Bodružaľ (uknown)
	Irmologion, -, (Užhorod, University Library, Рук. 577)
	Irmologion, -, (Lviv, National Museum, Q 221)
	Irmologion, -, (Lviv, Central State Historical Archive, op. 4b, 134/a)
	Irmologion, 1737, Tovarnianska Polianka (uknown)
	Irmologion, Červeňovo (Užhorod, Transcarpathian Museum of Reg. Studies, I-459)
	Irmologion, Roztoka (Warsaw, National Library, Rps. 12051 I)
	Irmologion, Dorobrativ, (Vatican, Vatican Apostolic Library, Cod. slav.45)
	Irmologion, 1747, Boryslaw (Warsaw, National Library, Rps. 12108 IV)
	Irmologion, Opoky (Užhorod, Transcarpathian Museum of Reg. Studies, Arch. 8450)
	Irmologion, Łopuszanka (Warsaw, National Library, Rps. 12110 III)

	Irmologion, Ardó-Potok, Úbrež *(unknown)*
3rd quarter	*Irmologion, 1750, Izsky (unknown)*
	Irmologion, (Užhorod, Transcarpathian Museum of Reg. Studies, I-463b)
	Irmologion, -, Manuel Oľšavský (uknown)
	Irmologion, -, (Užhorod, University Library, Рук. 565)
	Irmologion, (Lviv, National V. Stefanyk Scientific Library, НТШ 268)
	Irmologion, (Lviv, National V. Stefanyk Scientific Library, НТШ 272)
	Irmologion, (Lviv, National V. Stefanyk Scientific Library, НТШ 323)
	Irmologion, -, (Budapest, National Library, Ms. Mus 3.250/1)
	Irmologion, -, (Prague, National Library, XVII F61)
	Irmologion, -, (Olomouc, Regional Museum, R71)
	Irmologion, Ľutina (Prešov, State Scientific Library, A10893)
	Irmologion, -, (Levoča, State Archive, -)
	Irmologion, -, (Michalovce, Zemplin Museum, ZM 356-74)
	Irmologion, Klenova (Bratislava, Slovak National Museum, MUS I 229)
	Irmologion, Błażów (Warsaw, National Library, Rps. 12109 IV)
	Irmologion, Królik (Warsaw, National Library, Rps. 12116 I)
	Irmologion, -, Vasilij Javornickyj (unknown)
	Irmologion, Wysoczany (Warsaw, National Library, Rps. 12114 I)
	Irmologion, Zlockie (Warsaw, National Library, Rps. 12115 IV)
4th quarter	Irmologion, Mistkowice, (Warsaw, National Library, Rps. 12118 I)
	Irmologion, 1776, Królik (Warsaw, National Library, Rps. 12119 IV)
	Irmologion, 1778-1779, Ján Juhasevič, Nižná Pisaná (uknown)
	Irmologion, 1784-1785, Ján Juhasevič (Lviv, Lviv Historical Museum, Рук. 209)
	Irmologion, (Lviv, National V. Stefanyk Scientific Library, НТШ 324)
	Irmologion, 1795, Ján Juhasevič, Nevické (unknown)
	Irmologion, 1795, Michail Rydzaj, Kojšov, (unknown)
	Irmologion, -, Roztoka (unknown)
18th-19th century	Irmologion, 1800, Ján Juhasevič, Nevické (Bratislava, Slovak National Museum, MUS I 80)
	Irmologion, 1800-1801, Ján Juhasevič, Nevické (Nyíregyháza, Library of Saint Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College, MS20003)
	Irmologion, 1803, Ján Juhasevič, Nevické (Svidník, Museum of Ukrainian Culture, -)
	Irmologion, 1806, Ján Juhasevič, Nevické (Užhorod, priv. coll.)
	Irmologion, 1809, Ján Juhasevič, Kamienka (unknown)
	Irmologion, 1809, Jána Juhasevič (Užhorod, priv. coll.)
	Irmologion, 1811-1812, Ján Juhasevič (Prague, National Library, XVII L16)
	Irmologion, -, (Bratislava, University Library Ms1084)
	Irmologion, -, (Bratislava, University Library Ms1099)

Table 1. List of selected Carpathian Irmologia

When Irmologia were first conceived, the new notation system was held in very high importance. Kievan notation represents the Eastern variant of Western European mensural notation, and is also known as *ірмолойна нота, київске знамя, квадратна нотація*. The liturgical chants of the 16th-19th centuries from the eastern Slavic regions are written using this system. The oldest

Irmologion, written in five-line quadratic notation, is the Lvov manuscript from the end of the 16th century.[38] As it has been preserved, it proves that this notational system was stable at that time, with consistently defined signs and proportions. The notation was graphically conventional in its practical use, and its form already differed significantly from the character of the archaic *notae musicae Ruthenorum*, described by Johann Herbinius in 1675, based on a copy of an ancient manuscript.[39] In chapter XIV, *De Ruthenorum Ingenio Summarium*, Herbinius presents it as the notational system used in the vocal performance of liturgical chants by *Sclavi ac Rutheni.*[40]

Reference to Kievan notation can be found in several publications devoted to the notation development. One can mention Stepan V. Smolenskyj (1848-1909)[41] Oscar von Riesemann (1880-1934)[42], Johann Wolf (1869-1947)[43], Nikolaus F. Findejsen (1868-1928)[44], Boris Kudryk (1897-1952)[45] and others. In the contemporary literature, the monograph by the Ukrainian musicologist O. Calaj-Jakymenko from 2002, entitled *Київська школа музики XVII століття* is the most significant contribution to the theme of Kievan notation.[46]

Kievan notation was one of the results of two opposing tendencies. It significantly affected the distribution of hymnographical material through Irmologia as multi-genre collections. At the same time, it stood in the midst of the renaissance and baroque tendencies from the West and the maintenance of traditional ties with the Byzantine cultural area. This reform of notational reform, based on the transcription of the neumatic notation into a five-line system, is considered the culmination of the efforts from the side of the initiators, Latin-speaking advocates of renaissance European culture.[47] O. Calaj-Jakymenko considers them to be sympathizers of Slavic Greek-Latin cultural unity, even in times of confessional conflicts in the middle of the 16th century.[48]

The transition to linear music notation influenced the adoptation of the normative tonal-harmonic system of partes-music, and thus expanded new directions in musical education. Kievan square notation democratized the wealth of liturgical chant. Prior to the existence of the Kievan notational system, this wealth was only available to a small circle of scholars.

On the basis of preserved Carpathian Irmologia, one may state that they represent in general the so-called Calendar-Menaion structure type.[49] The organization of their repertoire classifies melodies of the Octoechos (theotokia, antiphons, anabathmoi) and musical and textual forms

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38 See the edition J. Jasinovskyj, C. Lutzka, *Das Lemberger Irmologion. Die* älteste *liturgishe Musikhandshrift mit Fünfliniennotation aus dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts/Львівський ірмологіон. Давній літургійний музичний рукопис п΄ятилінійної нотації кінца 16 століття*, Köln/Weimar/Wien 2008.

39 Cf. O. Calaj-Jakymenko, *Київська школа музики XVII ст. у її міжслов'янських та загальноєвропейських зв'язках. Роль Києво-Могилянської академії в культурному єднанні слов'янських народів, Київ* 1988, 12.

40 Cf. J. Herbinius, *Religiosae Kyoviensis cryptae, sive Kyovia subterranean*, Jena 1675, 154.

41 S. V. Smolenskyj, *О древнерусских певческих нотациях*, Санкт Петербург 1901.

42 O. von Riesemann, *Die notationen des alt-russischen Kirchengesanges*, Moskau 1908.

43 J. Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde* I, Leipzig 1913.

44 N. F. Findejzen, *Очерки по истории музыки в России с древнейших времен до конца XVIII века* 1-4, Москва/Ленинград 1928/1929.

45 B. Kudryk, "Огляд історії українскої церковної музики," *Праці Греко-католицької Богословскої Академії у Львові*, XIX, Львів 1937.

46 Calaj-Jakymenko 2002.

47 O. Calaj-Jakymenko, "Перекладна півча література XVI- XVII століть в Україні та її музично віршова форма," *Записки Наукового товариства імені Шевченка* 226, *Львів* 1993, 11.

48 Calaj-Jakymenko 1993, 11. Example of Greek-Latin influences are the Cherubic hymn (in a Bulgarian melodic variant) and Trisagion from the Lviv Irmologion, dating from the end of the 16th century. The author wrote the chants in combined Greek and Latin letters: "Neanes и тл(у) cherѴvwym mystykos ykonyʒondes. Ke tyn ʒooрyѿn (и̓ тин ʒорywn) tryadи то trysagion и̓mnon prosadon(и̓don)des Ilасаn у wyтнkyn (книѕ) ароѳomеѳа mерн (merym)na. Ѡs ton [вл]сн[ле]л ton ѿlon dexameny tes Ageлиkes aѿрлton doрнѳогимено тлxesи AlyлѴл ллилѴил." (fol. 248v-250v) "Agios ѡ ѳeos Agios yсхоиgѵроs Agios aѳanatos єлєисоv имлs (сov умлсѕ)." (fol. 251r- 251v). Cf. Jasinovskyj, Lutzka 2008).

49 For more information on the four basic structural types of Irmologia see Jasinovskyj 1996, 90. See also J. Jasinovskyj, "Український нотолінійний Ірмолой як тип гимнографічного збірника: зміст, структура", *Збірник наукового товаришства Шевченка* Т. 226. *Львів* 1993.

of the canons subsequently. As a chronological model they use the cycle of the Latin liturgical calendar, which is typical only for the religiously mixed Carpathian region. Only a few Irmologia preserved the model of the Byzantine liturgical cycle.

In general, older Irmologia contain a much wider variety of chants. Later books were reduced to the most necessary repertory, reflecting customs of local usage (saints, feasts, etc.) The requirements from customers (buyers) were also reflected in the repertoire of the Irmologia. The repertory was optimized for local liturgical practice, whereby it has been possible to confirm the use of Irmologia.

As we have mentioned, liturgical chants were an integral part of basic education. Education was offered sporadically, according to the obligation to work in the fields, in the evenings on Sundays, in the winter season or during the period of Great Lent especially.[50] Priests talked to the congregation mainly after the Sunday services, reminding them of the basic dogmas and the texts of the basic prayers.[51] Similarly, the teaching of liturgical chants was carried out. For example, the biography of cantor Ján Juhasevič recorded the educational practice carried out between Sunday Liturgy and the service of Vespers. As a cantor, Juhasevič "sang an Irmologion" to his grandson.[52]

The cantor´s service at church also involved education. For that reason, historically they were called *дякоучитель, півцоучитель*.[53] Cantors offered basic education (including musical education) at parish schools. This began to appear in the villages of Eastern Slovakia in the 15th- 16th centuries,[54] for instance in Lukov (1500), Litmanová (1570) and Poráč (1593). education was carried out in humble conditions, at the priest's or cantor's home. They taught several male children to read, occasionally to write, to learn the catechism and finally to sing the various church melodies.[55] The ringing of church bells did not call the congregation only to attend services, but also to participate in education in the local parish churches. The value of literacy and knowledge was notable. In the 1762, Bishop Ján Bradáč also encouraged the acquisition of literacy and asked parents to send their children to learn Christian dogma.[56]

However, no reference survives concerning the sources used for education. As Stefan Papp has mentioned, in the Užhorod seminary, one of the Galician Irmologia (probably the first printed Irmologion from 1709, Lvov) was used as an educational tract.[57] It may be supposed that this printed Irmologion held the position of main handbook for teaching until the appearance of Bokšay´s edition of *Cerkovnoje prostopinije* in 1906. For comparison, at the Lviv Stauropegion Brotherhood academy, students were educated using the tracts of Sebastian Felštinski (c. 1485-c.1544),[58] Johann Spangerberg,[59] Jacob Faber Stapulensis, Nikolaus Listenius and Andreas

50 A. Pekar, *Нариси історії церкви Закарпаття*. I. Рим/ Львів 1997, 256.

51 As the publication cited mentions, "трема персты десной руки полагающе на чело руку глаголати: во Імя Отца, на чрево, Сына, на десное рамено святаго, на лѣвое же духа, ктому вынаоучовати колько есть Богов, кто нас створил, щого нас же створены, кто нас выкупил, чим нас выкупил, и от чого нас выкупил, кто нас просвѣтил, и где нас просвѣтил [...]." Cf. Duličenko 2008, 82.

52 "...*Mors ejus incidit in diem Dominicam, qua matutinum sacrum et vesperas eminenter decautavit, post vesperas Georgio, nepoti suo, Irmologion praecantabat, coenavit..*" Cf. A. Petrov, *Материалы для истории Угорской Руси*. Том. II., IV. Санкт Петербург 1906, 88.

53 Cf. Jasinovskyj 2011, 292.

54 Pekar 1997, 255.

55 Pekar 1997, 255.

56 Orig. "до дяка на молитву и на научанiе вѣры христианскои посилали." Cf. Duličenko 2008, 82.

57 Cf. Papp 1970, 192. In this regard one might mention the edition of the Lvov Irmologion from 1709 found in Stebnik (Eastern Slovakia). The marginal note says, "Раба Бж҃іѧ мр҃іѧ Стебницка С[вѧ]чнха златы оугорскі н. сынови св[ое]мꙋ на имѧ Васілѣви, до наꙋки."

58 S. z Felsztyna, "*Opusculum musice mensuralis,*", Kraków 1517. The author is known as Sebastian Herburt or Sebastian Felstynski. Cf. A. Chybiński, "Do biografji Sebastjana z Felsztyna", *Kwartalnik muzyczny* 2, 14-15, Kraków 1932, 594-598.

59 J. Spangerberg, "*Quaestiones musicae in usum scholae Northusanae, oder Wie man die Jugend leichtlich und recht im Singen unterweisen soll*", Wittenberg 1542. The first theoretical treatises, *Яко же обично* and *Наука всея мусикії, аще хощеши розуміти києвское знамя і пініє согласноє і чинно сочиненноє* are related to the treatises of Sebastian z Felsztyna and Johann Spangerberg. Cf. Calaj-Jakymenko 2002.

Ornitoparch-Vogelsand. Franco-Flemish musical sources from 1519-1580 were also found in their library.[60]

Much evidence has emerged showing that cantors and priests ordered handwritten Irmologia for their descendants for teaching purposes. The Irmologion of Ardo-Patak[61] (Northern Hungary) is an example, containing a note from 18 June 1736: "[...] далъ за ню золотыхъ Угорскыхъ сѣмъ и чотыри марнашѣ своим сыном для навкы Андреови, Іоанови и прочиим, котрыхъ гдъ бгъ сподобитъ доспѣти того дарꙋ [...]."[62] Irmologia were subsequently sold from generation to generation and were often a family property.

As evidence of the use of Irmologia in educational practice, I shall present the Eger Irmologion from the beginning of the 18th century. In a marginal note of this Irmologion, a record of an ascending and descending scale has been preserved. It contains the solmization syllables in the hexachordal system (in order, ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, fa, sol, la, fa, la, sol, fa, la, sol, fa, mi, re, ut). Evidently, some student tried to practice the graphical form of notes. Another fact also suggests the educational purpose of the Irmologion: there is a collection of verses on the margins of Irmologion, known in the Russian tradition as *погласица*.[63] In the Eger Irmologion, the verses were probably written in the Ruthenian regions which are currently part of the Eastern Slovakia area.[64]

(fol. 2r)	йшолъ чернецъ изъ м[анаст]ира	1st tone
(fol. 10r)	стрѣтилъ его второый чернецъ	2nd tone
(fol. 17r)	ѿкꙋдꙋ градеши брате черче	3rd tone
(fol. 24r)	Скостатина града брате черче	4th tone
(fol. 31r)	сядме собѣ брате и побесѣдꙋме	5th tone
(fol. 37r)	цн неꙋмерла таѧ брата матн моа	6th tone
(fol. 44r)	Оумерла ꙋмерла брате матн твоа	7th tone
(fol. 51r)	Оувы мнѣ брате Матн моа	8th tone

In the Carpathian cultural tradition these are called *d'akivski hlasy* – cantor´s tones.[65] As a mnemotechnical device it enabled the cantor to retain in the memory all the eight tones of the Octoechos. Other cases of melodic devices are also known from the Carpathian region, recorded by Stefan Papp in his Irmologion from 1970. On account of to the frequent unintelligibility of the Slavonic texts, believers and future cantors supplied the secular text to memorize the eight main liturgical melodies accurately. They learned them through practice and gradual memorization to such a degree that they did not have any problem in using them during the relevant liturgical services.

Many variants of auxiliary texts appeared in the Carpathian tradition, and each of the regional areas used its own. There follow examples from the handwritten *Prjašivskyj Spivannyk* dating from the middle of the 18th century (fol 79-80v)[66]:

60 See also A. Chybiński, "Do historiji muzyki we Lwowie w XVI wieku", *Kwartalnik muzyczny* 2, Kraków 1929, 181.

61 Cf. I. Paňkevyč, "*Матеріали до исторії мови південно-карпатських українців*", *Vedecký zborník múzea ukrajinskej kultúry v Svidníku*, 4, II, Prešov 1970, 151.

62 Paňkevyč 1970, 151.

63 The same verses have been found in the Irmologion from Nowa Wola (second half of the 17th century, Southern Poland, fol. 30v) but also in the marginal notes of the printed work *Простопѣніе Церковное* (1893). The verses were written by the Greek-Catholic priest Vasja Prokopčak (Vasiľ Prokipčák) at some point in the 1930s or 40s: Ишелъ чернецъ изъ монастыря.// Стрѣтилъ его дрꙋгій чернецъ// Откꙋдꙋ градеши брате черче// Изъ Константина града брате черче ндꙋ// Сядьме брате, тя побесѣдꙋемъ// Ци незнаешъ брате, яце живетъ моа матн// Ожъ твоа матн, брате, ꙋмерла// Оувы мнѣ, оувы мнѣ, матн моа. Evidently, the verses were used as mnemotechnical devices in education in the 20th century.

64 E. Baleckyj, "Єгерский рукописный ирмологий", *Studia Slovaca* IV, Budapest 1958, 303.

65 Cf. Papp 1970, 184.

66 Transliteration to Cyrillic based on the note in J. Javorskyj, *Материалы для истории старинной песенной литературы в Подкарпатской Русі*, Прага 1934, 299-300.

The 3rd tone:

Третимъ гласомъ Заспѣваю[67],
же люблю мужа, але немъ часомъ.
Мой любо[ы]й супруже,
не бо[й] мене дуже,
а на что присягала,
то а буду тримала.
Правда, же ми мама радила,
абы-мъ едно [...] не мовила,
та люде повѣдятъ, же емъ са ганьбила.

Conclusion

In the historical context presented, one is able to recognize enormous progress from the uniquely orally disseminated tradition toward its written transmission.

The strikingly rapid and comprehensive reform of musical notation led to the transposition of monodic church music to a new linear system and the Irmologia, as anthologies of these chants, became popular handbooks for the acquisition of musical literacy and the study of basic music theory and harmony, without losing the practical purpose of singing in church. Musical education in the liturgical tradition was realized by orally disseminated presentation, repetition and memorization of melodies. After the notational reform, the Irmologia served as the first educational devices in the Carpathian area.

As handbooks of liturgical chant, Irmologia unified the manner of musical performance to a certain extent. In the 18th century, differences within liturgical musical practice grew. Therefore, the need for better organization increased. Increased interest in unification supported the already expanding practice of using Galician sources and printed works as models for the Mukačevo manuscripts. They were transmitted gradually to the believers and became a part of regional traditions.

Preserving music by means of a more functional notation system also indirectly unified the liturgical chant. Even the perception of liturgical singing changed. The accuracy of tones and melodies could be compared based on written variants: not direct control of whether the cantor sang exactly according to the Irmologion, but rather the aim of using the Irmologion as a model for his own singing.

Through the Irmologia, certain melodic-rhythmic variants spread to regions where they were not performed in this form. It is not known to what extent the notated chants were sung in actual liturgical practice. Nevertheless, I consider the hand-written Irmologia of the Carpathian region to be a significant factor in the unification of liturgical singing in its written form. Written Irmologia preserved the schemes for the performance of liturgical chant (mainly for lesser known melodies), but scribes and cantors sang according to their individual experience. It is important to note that written records did not displace the basic and most natural means of transmission of liturgical music. The oral tradition is still alive today. The real form of the historical oral tradition is still a matter for speculation. Currently, the spread of Carpathian musical manuscripts is not observed only in the geographical context, but especially through a chronological tie perspective. The Irmologia preserved the historical form of liturgical singing down to the present day.

67 According to the original order noted in the manuscript. Cf. Javorskyj 1934, 299.