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The Holy Friday Idiomelon
Σήμερα κρεμάται ἐπὶ ξύλου

Liturgical History between
Jerusalem and Constantinople

GREGORY TUCKER



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Author

Gregory Tucker holds a DFG-Eigene Stelle at the University of Regensburg, Germany, where he is working on the project “Hymning the Transfiguration of Christ in the Greek East: Heortology, Thematic Development, and Theological Contributions”.

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ORCID [0000-0002-5489-2409](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5489-2409)

Abstract

Σήμερον κρεμάται ἐπὶ ξύλου (“Today, he is hung upon wood”) is among the most widely disseminated hymns for the commemoration of Christ’s passion to have emerged from the Christian East. One of twelve *idiomela* of the late antique Holy Friday liturgy of Jerusalem, it was transmitted in Greek, Georgian, and Syriac, entered the Constantinopolitan Triodion, and survives to this day in the Byzantine rite. Despite its enduring popularity, the hymn remains little studied. This article contextualises the hymn within the history of liturgical development, confirms the existence of a shorter original Greek text, and documents the development of a longer version.

Keywords

Holy Friday Idiomelon | Liturgical Tradition | Textual Interpolation | Manuscript Analysis

[↗](#) indicates an embedded hyperlink, the full link is given in the bibliography.

The Holy Friday Idiomelon Σήμερον κρεμάται ἐπὶ ξύλου

*Liturgical History between
Jerusalem and Constantinople **

Gregory TUCKER

The ancient hymn Σήμερον κρεμάται ἐπὶ ξύλου (“Today, he is hung upon wood”) numbers among the most widely disseminated compositions for the commemoration of Christ’s passion to have emerged from the Christian East. It appears for the first time in Georgian witnesses to the late antique liturgy of Jerusalem and persists thereafter in many sources of various oriental liturgical traditions down to the present day. Despite the fact that it has recently been referred to as “the single most important text for the development of Passion piety in history”¹, it remains little studied.² In this article, I contextualise Σήμερον κρεμάται within the history of a set of twelve Holy Friday *idiomela* (HFI), of which it is but one,³ and document a significant textual development identifiable in the manuscript witness-

* I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their constructive corrections and suggestions, to which I have gladly responded.

¹ Christopher SWEENEY, *Grief and the Cross. Popular Devotion and Passion Piety from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* [unpubl. dissertation, Fordham University], 2020, 179.

² The principal investigation remains Sebastia JANERAS, *Le Vendredi-Saint dans la tradition liturgique byzantine* (ALit 13 / SA 99), Rome 1988, chapter 2. See also Charles RENOUX, *L’Hymnaire de Saint-Sabas (V^e–VIII^e siècle). Le manuscrit géorgien H 2123, vol. 1: Du samedi de Lazare à la Pentecôte (PO 50/3)*, Turnhout 2008, especially 247–267, 374–380; Julia SCHLICHTINA, *The Troparia of the Great Hours during 1100 Years*, in: Nina-Maria WANER (ed.), *Psaltike. Neue Studien zur Byzantinischen Musik* [Festschrift Gerda WOLFRAM], Vienna 2011, 313–334; and SWEENEY, *Grief and the Cross*, 173–180.

³ The term ἰδιόμελον indicates a hymn with a unique melody. For definitions of genres of Greek hymns, see Konstantin NIKOLAKOPOULOS, *Orthodoxe Hymno-*

es, previously only suggested by witnesses to the text of the hymn in translation but now confirmed by Greek sources preserving the earliest version of the text.

1 *Historical Background of the Twelve Holy Friday Idiomela*

1.1 *Textual Witnesses & Dating*

Σήμερον κρεμάται appears for the first time in a collection of hymns, known as the Old Tropologion (**OTr**), belonging to the Anastasis Cathedral in Jerusalem.⁴ There are no known extant Greek manuscripts of the older recension of the Jerusalem hymnal,⁵ but it survives in a Georgian translation,⁶ the Old *Iadgari* (**OI**).⁷ Some **OI** material, including the **HFI**, is found in the roughly contemporaneous Georgian Lectionary (**GL**), which again reflects a lost Greek prototype.⁸

graphie. Lexikon der orthodoxen hymnologisch-musikalischen Terminologie (Liturgische Texte und Studien 2), Schliern bei Köniz 1999.

- ⁴ I use the term “Tropologion” in reference to the ancient hymnal of the church of Jerusalem *in Greek* (its language of original composition) and the term *Iadgari* to refer to its Georgian translation. The qualifying adjectives “Old” and “New” refer to the two main recensions in which it is known to have existed; for an overview, see Stig S. R. FRØYSHOV, Rite of Jerusalem, in: The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology (2013) [🔗](#); with caution, see also Svetlana KUJUMDZIEVA, The Hymnographic Book of Tropologion. Sources, Liturgy and Chant Repertory, Milton 2017.
- ⁵ On the lost Greek *Vorlage* of the **OI**, see Hans-Michael SCHNEIDER, Lobpreis im rechten Glauben. Die Theologie der Hymnen an den Festen der Menschwerdung der alten Jerusalemer Liturgie im Georgischen *Udzvelesi Iadgari* (Hereditas 23), Bonn 2004, 21–32.
- ⁶ On the Georgian sources of the Jerusalem liturgy in general, see Stig S. R. FRØYSHOV, The Georgian Witness to the Jerusalem Liturgy. New Sources and Studies, in: Bert GROEN et al. (eds.), Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship. Selected Papers of the Second International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgies, Rome, 17–21 September 2008 (ECS 12), Leuven 2012, 227–267.
- ⁷ Cf. Elene METREVELI et al. (eds.), უძველესი იადგარი. გამოსაცემად მოამზადეს, გამოკვლევა და საძიებლები დაურთეს, Tbilisi 1980.
- ⁸ Cf. Michel TARCHNISHVILI (ed.), Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem (V^e–VIII^e s.) (CSCO 188–189. 204–205), Leuven 1959–1960. For additions and corrections see: Bernard OUTTIER, Un témoin partiel du lectionnaire géorgien ancien (Sinaï géorgien 54), in: Bedi Kartlisa 31 (1981) 76–88; and ID., Un nouveau témoin partiel du lectionnaire géorgien ancien (Sinaï géorgien 12), in:

The **HFI** are transmitted in several liturgical traditions, in at least Greek, Georgian,⁹ and Syriac.¹⁰ A Greek text is first witnessed in *Sinai Monē tēs Agias Aikaterinēs NE Gr. MI 56+5* (Diktyon 60832/61094),¹¹ a fragmentary manuscript of the New Tropologion (**NTr**), the younger recension of the Jerusalem hymnal, dated to the eighth/ninth century.¹² The **HFI** are a rare example of **OTr** material to survive the comprehensive revision that produced the **NTr**. The text of *Σήμερον κρεμάται* contained in *Sinai NE Gr. MI 56+5* (fol. 137^r) clearly corresponds to that found in the **OI** and thus presumably reflects the original Greek text that would have been found in the lost **OTr**.

Bedi Kartlisa 41 (1983) 162–174; and Stéphane VERHELST, *Le lectionnaire de Jérusalem. Ses traditions judéo-chrétiennes et son histoire suivant l'index de péripocopes évangéliques, conclu par le sanctoral du Sin. Géó. 58 novus* (Spic-Fri.S 24), Fribourg 2012; and ID., *The Liturgy of Jerusalem in the Byzantine Period*, in: Ora LIMOR – Guy G. STROUMSA (eds.), *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land. From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms* (Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 5), Turnhout 2006, 421–462.

- ⁹ Cf. METREVELI, უძველესი იადვარი, 198; TARCHNISCHVILI, *Grand lectionnaire*, § 666.
- ¹⁰ The Syriac tradition of these hymns is not considered in this article. The texts differ significantly from the Greek and Georgian in some places. See Anton BAUMSTARK, *Die Idiomela der byzantinischen Karfreitagshoren in syrischer Überlieferung*, in: *OrChr 3–4* (1928–29) 232–247. Janeras notes textual variants in the Syriac texts (in Latin) in his comparative edition (cf. JANERAS, *Vendredi-Saint*, 236–248).
- ¹¹ Catalogue entries on the liturgical manuscripts of the Sinai New Finds were studied by Paul GÉNIN – Stig FRØYSHOV, *Nouvelles découvertes sinaïtiques. À propos de la parution de l'inventaire des manuscrits grecs*, in: *REB 58* (2000) 167–184. Frøyshov has confirmed their judgment there (p. 179) that fragments *MI 5* and *MI 56* constitute parts of a single manuscript; see FRØYSHOV, *Georgian Witness*, 238.
- ¹² *Sinai NE Gr. MI 56+5* has been studied and partially edited in a series of articles by Alexandra NIKIFOROVA; see especially: *The Tropologion Sin. Gr. NE/MI 56+5* (9th c.). *Complete Incipitarius*, in: *Из истории Минеи в Византии: Гимнографические памятники 8–12 вв. из собрания монастыря святой Екатерины на Синае*, Moscow 2012, 195–235; *Tropologion Sinait. Gr. NE/MI 56–5* (9th c.). *A New Source for Byzantine Hymnography*, in: *Scripta & e-Scripta 12* (2013) 157–185; and, with Samuel BAUER – Gregory TUCKER, *A Hagiopolite “Proto-Triodion”. Quadragesima Hymns in the New Tropologion Sin. Gr. NE MI 56+5*, in: *OCP* [forthcoming]. On dating, see NIKIFOROVA, *Tropologion Sin. gr. NE/MI 56+5*, 158, n. 6. I am grateful to Alexandra Nikiforova and Daniel Galadza for supplying images for this study.

A slightly longer Greek text is attested for the first time in *Sinai Monē tēs Agias Aikaterinēs Gr. 734–735* (Diktyon 59109/59110), dated to the tenth century.¹³ This manuscript is not a Tropologion but a Triodion – indeed, the oldest known example of this book type, which includes material not only from Jerusalem but also from wider Palestine and Constantinople and appears to have developed in Constantinople.¹⁴ The longer text of Σήμερον κρεμάται is maintained in the received Byzantine tradition.¹⁵

Charles Renoux has argued that parts of the corpus of the **OTr** date back to the fourth century¹⁶ and that the hymns of Holy Friday (at least those in *Tbilisi Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts H 2123*) probably reflect fourth- to fifth-century practice.¹⁷ Such an early dating of ecclesiastically-composed hymns (differentiated from biblical psalmody) remains contested,¹⁸ but scholars have argued that the translations of the **OTr** from Greek into Georgian occurred during the later sixth century, which would provide a *terminus ante quem* not much later.¹⁹ Furthermore, topographical and calendrical references within the **GL** seem to reflect the situation in Jerusalem before c. 600.²⁰ Peter Jeffrey has argued that the organiza-

¹³ Σήμερον κρεμάται appears twice in *Sinai Gr. 735*, on fols. 183^v and 191^{r-v}.

¹⁴ See the section “Triodion” in Stig S. R. FRØYSHOV, Byzantine Rite, in: *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology* (2013). [↗](#)

¹⁵ See, for example, Τριώδιον Κατανυκτικόν, Athens 2017, 983. 1024.

¹⁶ Cf. Charles A. RENOUX, Les hymnes de la resurrection, vol. 1: Hymnographie liturgique géorgienne. Introduction, traduction et annotation des textes du Sinai 18, Paris 2000, 49–57; and *id.*, Hymnaire, 353, n. 3.

¹⁷ Cf. *id.*, Hymnaire, 255.

¹⁸ Challenges are summarised in a forthcoming article by Harald BUCHINGER, Perspectives on the Early Hagiopolite Tropologion. Rudimentary Elements of a Sketchy Response (to Peter Jeffery and Svetlana Kujumdzieva), in: *Plainsong & Medieval Music* [forthcoming].

¹⁹ Cf. Hélène MÉTRÉVÉLI, Les manuscrits liturgiques géorgiens des IX^e–X^e siècles et leur importance pour l’étude de l’hymnographie byzantine, in: *Bedi Kartlisa* 36 (1978) 43–48, here: 47. See also EAD. – Bernard OUTTIER, Contribution à l’histoire de l’Hirmologion. Anciens hirmologia géorgiens, in: *Mus.* 88 (1975) 331–359; Grégoire PERADZÈ, Les monuments liturgiques prébyzantins en langue géorgienne, in: *Mus.* 45 (1932) 255–272; RENOUX, Hymnes de la Résurrection I, 85 f.

²⁰ See Harald BUCHINGER, Das Jerusalemer Sanctoriale. Zu Stand und Aufgaben der Forschung, in: Marcel BARNARD et al. (eds.), *A Cloud of Witnesses. The Cult of Saints in Past and Present* (LiCo 18), Leuven 2005, 97–128, here: 110–113;

tion of festal hymns (including the **HFI**) in the **OI** in accordance with an archaic calendar may reasonably indicate that they date from before the mid-sixth century.²¹ In any case, the composition of **OTr** hymns must largely predate the emergence to the **NTr**. The attribution of hymns in the **NTr** to figures including John and Kosmas – traditionally identified as John of Damascus (d. ca. 745), and Kosmas of Maiouma (d. ca. 752/754) – would suggest that the development of the **NTr** is a phenomenon of the eighth to ninth centuries.²² It thus seems likely that the content of the **OTr** was largely or wholly in place by the turn of the seventh century and almost certainly by the turn of the eighth.²³

1.2 Liturgical Contexts

In the **GL** and **OI**, the **HFI** appear at the principal service on Holy Friday.²⁴ In the **GL**, the cursus of passion services opens on Thursday evening with a

Buchinger synthesises and expands the indispensable work of Stéphane Verhelst, which is not cited here for the sake of economy.

- ²¹ Cf. Peter JEFFREY, *The Sunday Office of Seventh-Century Jerusalem in the Georgian Chantbook (Iadgari)*. A Preliminary Report, in: *StLi* 21 (1991) 52–75, here: 57. See also ID., *The Earliest Christian Chant Repertory Recovered. The Georgian Witnesses to Jerusalem Chant*, in: *JAMS* 47 (1994) 1–38, here: 14.
- ²² Cf. FRØYSHOV, *Georgian Witness*, 237. Manuscripts of the **NTr** exist in Greek, Georgian, and Syriac; they have yet to be published or comprehensively studied.
- ²³ Various explanations have been proposed for the anonymous presence in the **OTr** of hymns attributed in the **NTr** to composers of the seventh century and later; cf. SCHNEIDER, *Lobpreis im rechten Glauben*, 21–23 and FRØYSHOV, *Georgian Witness*, 237 f.
- ²⁴ A lengthy Holy Friday service is attested in Jerusalem already in the late fourth century by the pilgrim Egeria; see EGERIA, *Itin.* 37 (*Sammlung Tusculum*, 212–219; BRODERSEN). Her account is confirmed and elaborated by the Armenian Lectionary (**AL**), the contents of which are generally dated to the first half of the fifth century (Hugo Mendez has recently argued for a slightly later date, in the third quarter of the fifth century; see Hugo MENDEZ, *Revising the Date of the Armenian Lectionary of Jerusalem*, in: *J ECS* 29 [2021] 61–92, here: 90–92) and reflect an earlier phase of the Jerusalem liturgy compared to the **GL**. The **AL** contains no reference to the **HFI**, but this does not necessarily indicate that they were composed later, since lectionaries and hymnals are different genres of liturgical books with only limited overlap in contents. See Charles A. RENOUX, *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121, vol. 1: Introduction, Aux origines de la liturgie hiérosolymitaine*, *Lumières nouvelles* (PO 35/1), Turnhout 1969, 169–181; and ID., *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121, vol. 2: Édition comparée du texte et*

stational all-night vigil.²⁵ The next service takes place at the sixth hour on Friday, at Golgotha,²⁶ and is followed by vespers.²⁷ The HFI are given at the service at the sixth hour, in an order designated by Sebastia Janeras as “B”, in which Σήμερον κρεμάται appears first.²⁸ The idiomela are paired with psalms, beginning with Psalm 1 and proceeding in order of the Psalter. In some manuscript witnesses, the HFI appear as a block, preceding readings from the prophets, epistles, and gospels, and prayers;²⁹ in other witnesses, they are distributed across the service.³⁰ In both cases, they appear as a cohesive unit of hymnody. The suite of office in the OI corresponds to the GL, except that hymns for orthros are given between those for the vigil and the service at the sixth hour.³¹ Again, the HFI appear in order B and are paired with psalms in biblical order.

The pattern of services in the OI is maintained in *Sinai NE Gr. MI 56+5*. The commemoration of the passion opens with a vigil (ἀγρυπνία), but with a different set of hymns than those found in the OI. This is followed by an anonymous triode canon (presumably for orthros), with the acrostic Προσαββατον τε,³² which corresponds to the received Byzantine tradition,³³ and stichera for the Praises (Psalms 148–50). Then comes the service at

de deux autres manuscrits, introduction, textes, traduction et notes (PO 36/2), Turnhout 1971, 276–293.

²⁵ Cf. TARCHNISCHVILI, Grand lectionnaire, §§ 642–664.

²⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, §§ 665–698.

²⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, §§ 699–703.

²⁸ Cf. JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 248 f. See also Adolf RÜCKER, Die Adoratio Crucis am Karfreitag in den orientalischen Riten, in: *Miscellanea Liturgica in Hon. L. C. MOHLBERG*, Rome 1948, 379–406, here: 387.

²⁹ Cf. TARCHNISCHVILI, Grand lectionnaire, see notes to § 669; mss L and S.

³⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, §§ 665–698; mss P and K.

³¹ Cf. RENOUX, Hymnaire, 357–384.

³² The acrostic given in the title is Προσαββατον τε, but the troparia confirm Προσαββατον τε as the correct reading. This triode is part of a series of odes for the days of Holy Week, traditionally attributed to Kosmas, with a consistent acrostic running throughout: Τῆ δευτέρα τρίτη τε τετράδι ψαλῶ, τῆ μακρᾶ πέμπτη μακρὸν ὕμνον ἐξάδω, προσάββατόν τε [καὶ] σάββατον μέλπω μέγα. See Stig S. R. FRØYSHOV et al., Byzantine Influence Before Byzantinization. The Tropologion Sinai Greek NE MI 56+5 Compared with the Georgian and Syriac Melkite Versions, in: *Religions* 14 (2023) 1–41, here: 16–21.

³³ Cf. Τριώδιον Κατανυκτικόν, 987–993.

the sixth hour, titled: Τὰ ἰβ' τροπάρια τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κυρίλλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἱεροσολύμων ("The twelve troparia of our holy father Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem"). The **HFI** follow, in an order labelled "Γ" by Janeras, which departs significantly from B.³⁴ Again, the **HFI** are paired with psalms in biblical order, but beginning with Psalm 2 after the first idiomelon and ending with Psalm 12 before the last idiomelon. Marginal additions in a later hand refer to readings from the gospels, but other lections and prayers are not indicated. No hymns for vespers are given.

In manuscripts containing the **HFI** in order Γ, *Σήμερον κρεμάται* appears as the final hymn – that is, at the opposite end of the sequence compared to B, but not less prominent for the rearrangement. In *Sinai NE Gr. MI 56+5*, the hymn is unique among the **HFI** in being bracketed by ritual rubrics:³⁵

Καὶ εἰσφέρουσι τὸν σταυρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ διακονικοῦ εἰς τὸ ἱερατεῖον. Τροπάριον ἰβ'. Σήμερον κρεμάται ἐπὶ ξύλου... Εἶτα ὑψοῦσιν τὸν σταυρὸν. Εἶτα ἀποσμήχουσιν τὴν ἁγίαν τράπεζαν μετὰ οἴνου καὶ σπόγγον θαλάσσιον.³⁶

And they take the cross from the diakonikon [i.e. the sacristy]³⁷ into the sanctuary. Troparion 12: Today, he is hung upon wood... Then they exalt the cross. Then they wipe the holy table with wine and a sea sponge.

This set of rubrics indicates a connection between this idiomelon, the exaltation of a relic of the cross, and a subsequent purification of the altar, all presumably following their veneration by the faithful during the preceding hymns. These rubrics may shed light on the enigmatic reference to the washing of the cross on Holy Friday after vespers in the **GL** and **OI**.³⁸

³⁴ Cf. JANERAS, *Vendredi-Saint*, 249. Many significant manuscripts follow order Γ.

³⁵ Text as edited in ΝΙΚΙΦΟΡΟΒΑ, *Tropologion Sin. Gr. NE/MI 56+5*, 219, with minor emendations.

³⁶ Read *σπόγγου θαλασσίου*.

³⁷ The text could also be read *τοῦ διακόνου* but it seems more likely that the rubrics describe a movement from one place to another (*τὸ ἱερατεῖον* is clear) without the mention of personnel.

³⁸ Cf. TARCHNISCHVILI, *Grand lectionnaire*, § 703; RENOUX, *Hymnaire*, 383 f. In the Georgian sources, the reference to washing and kissing the cross follows vespers; Janeras connects it with a mimetic commemoration of the preparation of the body of Jesus for burial that developed after the cross relics had been removed to Constantinople (JANERAS, *Vendredi-Saint*, 284–286. 339–348).

The liturgical context of *Σήμερον κρεμάται* is rather different in *Sinai Gr.* 734–735. The hymn appears twice at services of Holy Friday: at Antiphon XV of orthros (fol. 183^v) and as the twelfth idiomelon of the Great Hours (fol. 191^{r-v}).³⁹ At the latter service, the **HFI** appear in order Γ, which differs from the received Triodion (“A”) with respect to the order of two idiomela, *Οἱ νομοθέται τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ* and *Δεῦτε χριστοφόροι λαοί*; these hymns occur in eighth and ninth position in A and are inverted in Γ.⁴⁰ At orthros, *Σήμερον κρεμάται*, together with some other of the **HFI**, appear in an entirely different configuration, as components of fifteen antiphons at the beginning of the service. This double presentation of the hymn corresponds to the received Byzantine tradition.⁴¹

Finally, worthy of mention here is another early witness to the Greek text of the **HFI**, *Athos Monē Megistēs Lauras Γ 12* (Diktyon 27184), an acephalous manuscript dated to the late-ninth or tenth century.⁴² It contains a modest repertory of mostly-anonymous idiomela for the Lenten Fast and Pentecost, a much fuller collection of Holy Week idiomela, many of which are attributed to Kosmas, John, and Theophanes, and a few sanctoral hymns for January, which correspond to the Constantinopolitan calendar (fols. 81^v–83). The manuscript may, therefore, represent an early stage of hybridization of the Constantinopolitan and hagiopolitan traditions. The entry for Holy Friday begins with a largely unrubricated collec-

However, as he acknowledges, in one ms of the **GL** (S), this rubric and a hymn for the cross stand *before* the service at the sixth hour, in the archaic position of relic veneration described by Egeria. Considering the rubrics in *Sinai NE Gr. MI 56+5*, we might ask whether the washing of the cross originates as a purification of the holy table upon which the relics had been placed.

³⁹ The text agrees with JANERAS, *Vendredi-Saint*, 247 f. I have been unable to access Andrew John QUINLAN, *Sinai gr. 734–735. Triodion* [unpubl. dissertation, Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Rome], 2004.

⁴⁰ Cf. JANERAS, *Vendredi-Saint*, 249. In *Sinai Gr. 734–735*, the text of the eleventh troparion, “Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ”, was omitted by the scribe, and the fact that it should be sung is noted in the margin with its incipit.

⁴¹ Cf. *Τριώδιον Κατανυκτικόν*, 983. 1024.

⁴² On dating, see: MONK SPYRIDON – Sophronios EUSTRATIADES, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Lavra on Mount Athos* (HThS 12), Cambridge/MA 1925, 33; Jean-Baptiste THIBAUT, *Monuments de la notation ekphonétique et hagiopolite de l’Eglise grecque*, Kügelgen 1913, 73; Egon WELLESZ, *Eastern Elements in Western Chant. Studies in the Early History of Ecclesiastical Music* (MMB.S 2), Boston 1947, 98.

tion of hymns (fols. 34^r–41^r), mostly found in the received Byzantine tradition at orthros, and then indicates full rubrics for the Great Hours (fols. 41^r–46^r), where the **HFI** appear in an order designed by Janeras as E, identified with Italo-Greek *typika*.⁴³ Again, each idiomelon is followed by a verse from the Psalter, coming in biblical order, beginning with Psalm 2; Psalm 45 follows the eighth idiomelon, before the biblical sequence resumes after the next hymn.

1.3 Authorship

The **OI** and **GL** do not identify the author(s) of the **HFI** and many later Byzantine manuscripts preserve this anonymity. *Sinai NE Gr. MI 56+5*, the earliest Greek witness to the **HFI**, identifies their composer as Cyril of Jerusalem (ca. 315–87).⁴⁴ Some Medieval manuscripts in the Syriac tradition continue this association.⁴⁵ Later Greek manuscripts attribute the hymns – in fact, the entire office of the Great Hours on Holy Friday – to Cyril of *Alexandria* (380–444). According to Janeras, this attribution is found for the first time in *Paris Bibliothèque Nationale de France Coislin 361* (Diktyon 49502), dated to the thirteenth/fourteenth century.⁴⁶ He notes that the attribution could easily have passed between the two Cyrils.⁴⁷ At least one Greek manuscript (*Athos Monē Docheiariou 197* [Diktyon 21370], dated 1458) attributes the **HFI** to yet another Cyril, a Patriarch of Constantinople, which must simply be an error, considering the age of the manuscript.⁴⁸

Jerusalem Patriarchikē Bibliothēkē Timiou Staourou 43 (Diktyon 35939), the so-called “Typikon of the Anastasis,” which is dated to 1122 and bears witness to a heavily Byzantinized version of the hagiopolitan liturgy, attrib-

⁴³ Cf. JANERAS, *Vendredi-Saint*, 249.

⁴⁴ Janeras appears to have been unaware of this manuscript, discovered among the Sinai New Finds in 1975. In general, the New Finds were unknown to scholars until the publication of the catalogue in 1999.

⁴⁵ The Syriac manuscripts with this attribution date from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries; see BAUMSTARK, *Idiomela*, 232 f. See also JANERAS, *Vendredi-Saint*, 250.

⁴⁶ Cf. *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 250 f.

⁴⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, 250.

utes the whole office of the hours and troparia (ἀκολουθία τῶν ὁρῶν καὶ τὰ τροπάρια) for Holy Friday to Sophronios “the Philosopher,” Patriarch of Jerusalem (ca. 550–638).⁴⁹ Janeras documents this attribution in many important Greek and Slavonic manuscripts (dating from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries)⁵⁰ and accepts it as the most likely, on the basis both of the explicit ascriptions and similarities between the **HFI** and parallel hymns and prayers for Christmas and Theophany, often also attributed to him.⁵¹ Renoux, despite his early dating of the **OTr**, endorses Janeras’s position – though he identifies parallels between the troparia and the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem (as does Janeras)⁵² that were delivered in the Anastasis Church in the mid-fourth century.⁵³ Renoux explains this in terms of Cyril’s direct influence on Sophronius; he does not state why he finds Janeras’s attribution so compelling and discounts the possibility of direct Cyriline authorship.

There are several reasons to doubt Sophronian authorship of the **HFI** based on the data presented. Firstly, as we have already seen above, there are good grounds for believing that the core content of the **OI** and the **GL**, including the **HFI**, predates the turn of the seventh century. So, the **OTr** may have been established as a stable collection already before Sophro-

⁴⁹ See Athanasios PAPAPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμητικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, vol. 2: *Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας*, St Petersburg 1894, 147. A new edition and translation is currently in preparation by Daniel Galadza.

⁵⁰ See also WELLESZ, *Eastern Elements*, 22; and Theodor KLUGE – Anton BAUMSTARK, *Quadragesima und Karwoche Jerusalems im siebten Jahrhundert*, in: *OrChr* 5 (1915) 201–233, here: 205.

⁵¹ Cf. JANERAS, *Vendredi-Saint*, 251–259. See also Christoph VON SCHÖNBORN, *Sophrone de Jérusalem. Vie monastique et confession dogmatique (Théologie historique 20)*, Paris 1972, in which he notes: “Certains manuscrits attribuent encore à saint Sophrône les tropaires des Heures du Vendredi-Saint. Ces textes remontent certainement au septième siècle” (109); Ioan D. PETRESCU, *Les idiomèles et le canon de l’office de Noël (d’après des manuscrits grecs des XI^e, XII^e, XIII^e et XIV^e s.)*, Paris 1932.

⁵² Cf. RENOUX, *Hymnaire*, 375, nn. 9 and 10; 379, n. 6. He also identifies parallels with Melito of Sardis (374, n. 5) and Hesychios of Jerusalem (377, n. 13; 379, n. 6). Janeras identifies many more parallels with Melito and other sources, including Cyril’s *Catecheses* 13 (JANERAS, *Vendredi-Saint*, 262–270).

⁵³ On the dating of Cyril’s *Catecheses*, see Alexis DOVAL, *The Date of Cyril of Jerusalem’s Catecheses*, in: *JThS* 48/1 (1997) 129–132. Edward Yarnold states that the *Catecheses* “should be dated no later than the early 350s”; see Edward YARNOLD, *Cyril of Jerusalem (The Early Church Fathers)*, London 2000, 6.

nios was active – or even born! Secondly, the earliest witnesses to the Jerusalem hymnbook tradition transmit the **HFI** anonymously. Thirdly, the argument rests to a large degree upon the reliability of the attribution of parallel troparia for Christmas and Theophany, and Theophany prayers to Sophronios, which (as Janeras’s labyrinthine argument shows) is by no means univocally acclaimed or otherwise proven.⁵⁴ In the end, the argument is rather circular.

None of this evidence is conclusive enough to make Sophronian authorship of the **HFI** impossible, but confidence in it would require us to accept that his hymns entered the **OTr** tradition in the very final years of its formation (presumably after 578, when Sophronios began his travels and periods of residency in Egypt and Palestine, if not later, in 634, when he became patriarch of Jerusalem⁵⁵), passing anonymously into a collection of hymns arranged according to an archaic calendar, after much or all of the material had already been translated wholesale into other languages. This course of events seems unlikely. We must not, however, discount the possibility that Sophronios is responsible for editing the *office* of the Great Hours, which becomes the standard performance context for the **HFI**.⁵⁶

The persistent attribution of the hymns to one Cyril in manuscripts across the oriental tradition, including in the earliest Greek witness, remains suggestive. The content of the **HFI** generally (though not *Σήμερον κρεμάται* specifically) seems to indicate that they were composed within a theological milieu shared with, if not shaped by, Cyril of Jerusalem. Renoux observes that “even if [Cyril of Jerusalem] cannot be regarded as the author of this series of antiphons, one has to wonder if his distant successor, Sophronios of Jerusalem, was not inspired by [his *Catechetical Homilies*]”⁵⁷. As already noted, it is not difficult to imagine how the identity of the author could have shifted – intentionally or otherwise – between the two well-known Cyrils, but the fact that the attribution to the Alexandrian appears so much later in the manuscript tradition might gesture towards

⁵⁴ Cf. JANERAS, *Vendredi-Saint*, 251–259.

⁵⁵ See the biography in Pauline ALLEN, *Sophronios of Jerusalem and Seventh Century Heresy. The Synodical Letter and Other Documents*, Oxford 2009, 15–23.

⁵⁶ Cf. SCHLICHTINA, *Troparia of the Great Hours*, 313.

⁵⁷ RENOUX, *Hymnaire*, 375, n. 9. Author’s translation.

the authenticity of the earlier and no less persistent Jerusalemite attribution. It is perhaps easier to imagine that the great Egyptian bulwark of orthodoxy attracted attributions than that he ceded them to his less celebrated namesake.

At this point, there is no evidence that would allow us to make a conclusive determination of authorship of the **HFI**. In any case, the attribution of hymns in ancient sources is notoriously unreliable, so these data points are difficult to interpret. We can be confident only that the **HFI** (along with much of the content of the **OI**) constitute part of the corpus of the **OTr** of Jerusalem that was transmitted anonymously and probably had largely taken shape by the mid-sixth century (before it was translated into Georgian) and certainly in advance of the new wave of hymnography that began in the seventh century and eventually produced the **NTr**.

2 *Textual Development of Σήμερον κρεμάται ἐπὶ ξύλου*

2.1 *Manuscript Evidence*

Janeras produced a comparative edition of the twelve **HFI**, listing *Σήμερον κρεμάται* as the final hymn of the sequence, according to the order of the later manuscripts.⁵⁸ I reproduce his edition here for convenience, with my own translation:

1	Σήμερον * κρεμάται ἐπὶ ξύλου *	Today, he is hung upon wood,
2	ὁ ἐν ὕδασι τὴν γῆν κρεμάσας. *	who hung the earth upon the waters;
3	στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν * περιτίθεται *	he is wreathed with a crown of thorns,
4	ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων βασιλεύς. *	who is king of the angels;

⁵⁸ Cf. JANERAS, Vendredi-Saint, 236–248. The text and notes below are reproduced from 247 f. The editing of true critical texts of hymns is effectively prohibited by the extremely large number of extant liturgical manuscripts in diverse languages, most of which remain unedited, and the relatively small number of scholars working on this material. In most cases, all that can be achieved is a comparison of the print editions of received texts with a selection of representative witnesses.

5	ψευδῆ πορφύραν * περιβάλλεται *	he is wrapped in purple with mockery,
6	ὁ περιβάλλων τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν νεφέλαις· *	who wraps the sky in clouds;
7	ῥάπισμα κατεδέξατο *	he receives a slap [on the face],
8	ὁ ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ * ἐλευθέρωσας τὸν Ἀδάμ· *	who in the Jordan freed Adam;
9	ἤλοις προσηλώθη * ὁ νυμφίος τῆς ἐκκλησίας· *	he is fixed with nails, who is the bridegroom of the church
10	λόγχῃ ἐκεντήθη * ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παρθένου. *	he is pierced with a lance, who is the son of the virgin.
11	Προσκυνοῦμέν σου τὰ πάθη Χριστέ· *	We fall down before your sufferings, O Christ:
12	δείξον ἡμῖν * καὶ τὴν ἔνδοξόν σου ἀνάστασιν.	show forth to us also your glorious resurrection.

LG-S = Georgian Lectionary, Sinai Geo. O 37 (982)

SYR-A = London BM Add. 14697 (12th c.)

SYR-B = London BM Add. 17252 (13th–14th c.)

SYR-C = London BM Add. 14695 (12th c.)

SYR-D = Oxford Bodl. Dawkins 32 (1166)

- 2 ἐν ὕδασι] super aquas LG-S; SYR-ABCD
κρεμάσας in potentia sua add. SYR-AB
- 3 στέφανον ignominiae add. SYR-AB
περιτίθεται] collocata fuit in capita eius SYR-AB
- 4 βασιλεύς] regis et domini SYR-A // domini absconditi SYR-B
- 5 ψευδῆ] omitt. SYR-A
περιβάλλεται Dominus add. SYR-B
- 7 ῥάπισμα] ductionem alapae LG-S // verbera alapae et sputum SYR-AB
- 8 ἐλευθέρωσας a servitute add. SYR-AB
- 9 omitt. LG-S
- 10 omitt. LG-S
- 11 πάθη] passionem LG-S // propter nos add. SYR-AB
- 12 δείξον ἡμῖν] dignos nos fac SYR-ACD
ἐνδοξόν] sanctam et gloriosam SYR-ABCD

Janeras indicates a number of relatively minor variants between the Greek/Georgian texts and the Syriac text, but one very significant variant appears between the earliest Georgian and Syriac texts and the Greek text: the absence in the earlier witnesses of the two hemistichs mentioning the nails and lance (lines 9–10 above). He states in a footnote that, while all the Greek manuscripts consulted contain the longer text, the ancient Georgian and Syriac manuscripts consistently omit these lines.⁵⁹ In fact, as mentioned above, *Sinai NE Gr. MT 56+5*, the oldest Greek witness, which was unknown to Janeras, transmits the short version of the hymn, in agreement with the **OI**. In *Athos Lauras Γ 12*, the main text of *Σήμερον κρεμᾶται* also lacks these two hemistichs but they have been written into the margin in another hand (fol. 45^v). This manuscript thus witnesses the development of the tradition in action, as well as the persistence of the short text in Greek at least into the late ninth or tenth centuries.

Janeras does record the indirect witness to a shorter text of *Σήμερον κρεμᾶται* provided by many Greek manuscripts of the idiomela for Christmas that are patterned off those for Holy Friday.⁶⁰ The hymn *Σήμερον γεννᾶται ἐκ παρθένου*, which parallels *Σήμερον κρεμᾶται*, is found in two recensions: the shorter one lacks the same two hemistichs that are absent in the ancient Greek and Syriac witnesses to the Holy Friday hymn.⁶¹ It would therefore appear that *Σήμερον γεννᾶται* also circulated in two versions, one patterned off the shorter text of *Σήμερον κρεμᾶται* and another off the longer text. The extent of the diffusion of both versions speaks against the perpetuation of an accidental omission of two lines and in favour of a process of deliberate editing corresponding to the development of the pattern text.

Cumulatively, the manuscript evidence indicates that the hemistichs *ἦλοις προσηλώθη ὁ νυμφίος τῆς ἐκκλησίας· λόγχη ἐκεντήθη ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παρθένου* are not part of the earliest version of the hymn belonging to the **OTr**.

⁵⁹ Cf. JANERAS, *Vendredi-Saint*, 248, n. 33.

⁶⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 248, n. 33; cf. *ibid.*, 247, n. 32.

⁶¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 247, n. 32. The idiomela for Christmas do not appear in the **OI**. They are also absent from *Sinai NE Gr. MT 56+5* as it has been preserved (in a fragmentary state); it is possible that they once appeared before vespers of Christmas eve (as they do in the received December *Mēnaion*), but the absence of parallel stichera at Theophany (which appears in a fully preserved section of the manuscript) may suggest otherwise.

Thus, while Janeras's edition reveals remarkable textual continuity within the twelve **HFI** over a millennium of manual transmission within the Greek and Georgian traditions, in the case of *Σήμερον κρεμᾶται* it nonetheless highlights the existence of two recensions of the troparion – one apparently earlier and shorter, the other later and longer. This hymn is almost unique among the **HFI** for having gained complete *stichoi* in a second recension.⁶²

2.2 Internal Literary Evidence

The literary form of the longer text supports the conclusion drawn from the manuscripts. The first eight lines of the hymn come in stichic pairs, in which the first line of each pair (ll. 1, 3, 5, 7) states an aspect of the Passion in the present tense and the second line of each pair (ll. 2, 4, 6, 8) comments on the identity of the subject of these indicative verbs using an attributive participle phrase or, in one case, a nominal phrase. Something similar is seen in the concluding pair of lines (ll. 11 and 12): the first speaks of the liturgical action of veneration of Christ's sufferings using a present indicative verb and the second, employing an imperative verb, looks towards the reality of his "glorious resurrection", which, within the horizon of the unfolding liturgical drama, is yet to be revealed, but which also somehow recapitulates the eternal, divine identity captured in the second line of each of the first four hemistichs.

⁶² Cf. *Τάδε λέγει Κύριος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις*. Janeras notes many minor variants in this idiomelon but the most significant and closest parallel to *Σήμερον κρεμᾶται* is the absence of lines 7 and 8, *Λαός μου τί ἐποίησά σοι· καί τί μοι ἀνταπέδωκας* in the **OI** and **GL**. Line 5, *τοὺς λεπρούς σου ἐκάθηρα*, is absent in some manuscripts of the **GL** but it is transmitted in the **OI**. The full Greek text as given by Janeras appears twice in *Sinai Gr.* 735, at Antiphon XII of orthros (fol. 182^v) and as the seventh troparion at the Great Hours (fol. 190^v). The substantial difference between apparent variants in *Τάδε λέγει Κύριος* and *Σήμερον κρεμᾶται* is that the additional lines in the former hymn conform to its poetic style and introduce no new idea. Line 7 (*Λαός μου τί ἐποίησά σοι*) exactly reduplicates line 2 in the Greek versions of the hymn (the **OI** preserves a slightly different reading; see RENOUX, *Hymnaire*, 375, n. 9), and line 8 (*καί τί μοι ἀνταπέδωκας*) poses a question not dissimilar to that in line 3 (*ἦ τί μοι ἀνταπέδωκας*). Thus, lines 7 and 8 of *Τάδε λέγει Κύριος* function as a kind of refrain at the midpoint of the hymn, pattered off lines 2 and 3. The situation with *Σήμερον κρεμᾶται* is quite different, as we shall see. Cf. JANERAS, *Vendredi-Saint*, 242 f. and RENOUX, *Hymnaire*, 375 f.

Although lines 9 and 10 preserve this basic poetic pattern of a couplet of an episode in the passion narrative and a subject identification, they do so in a noticeably truncated form. The subject is also expressed only using nominative phrases, which lack the poetic interest of the attributive participle phrases, and somewhat distract from the elegant singularity of the one nominative phrase (ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων βασιλεύς) in the shorter version of the hymn. These departures from the poetic form established in lines 1–8 and continued in lines 11 and 12 effectively cause the poetic exposition to “speed up”. Of course, had the editor of the poem seamlessly inserted new material into the **OTr** text, the preceding analysis would likely not have been possible! But it remains legitimate to ask why the editor of *Σήμερον κρεμᾶται* chose not to or was unable to imitate the stichic pattern of the first four and final couplets, thus disrupting the internal formal coherence of the text. No obvious answer presents itself at the formal level.

In short, the hymn as preserved in the **OI**, the earliest Greek witness, and later Syriac manuscripts, has a regular internal structure, consisting of ten stichic couplets. The interpolated hemistichs, on the one hand, disrupt this pattern by their relative brevity, but, on the other hand, maintain the basic pattern of spotlighting an aspect of the passion narrative and commenting on the identity of the one who suffers.

Schematic Summary of Literary Analysis		
	Line	Thematic Couplet
Σήμερον κρεμᾶται ἐπὶ ξύλου	1	1 Indicative verb phrase
ὁ ἐν ὕδασι τὴν γῆν κρεμάσας·	2	
στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν περιτίθεται	3	2 Indicative verb phrase
ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων βασιλεύς·	4	
ψευδῆ πορφύραν περιβάλλεται	5	3 Indicative verb phrase
ὁ περιβάλλων τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν νεφέλαις·	6	
ράπισμα κατεδέξατο	7	4 Indicative verb phrase
ὁ ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ ἐλευθερώσας τὸν Ἀδάμ·	8	
ἤλοις προσηλώθη ὁ Νυμφίος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας·	9	5 Indicative verb + Nominative phrase

λόγχῃ ἐκεντήθη ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παρθένου.	10	6	Indicative verb + Nominative phrase
Προσκυνοῦμέν σου τὰ πάθη, Χριστέ·	11		Indicative verb phrase
δεῖξον ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν ἑνδοξὸν σου ἀνάστασιν.	12	7	Imperative verb phrase

2.3 Musical Evidence

Detailed musicological analysis of *Σήμερον κρεμάται* is beyond the scope of this study,⁶³ but preliminary observations indicate that further musical research will support the conclusions reached here on other grounds.⁶⁴ Of course, the earliest sources, including most of those under consideration here, are not notated. However, one manuscript already mentioned does contain musical signs: *Athos Lauras I 12* has Chartres II notation throughout its first half (fols. 1–45).⁶⁵ This witness is very significant because the main text, with its coherent musical setting, is the short version of the hymn; the marginal addition of lines 9 and 10 are unnotated. Comparison of *Athos Lauras I 12* with later musical manuscripts such as *Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Theol. Gr. 136* (Diktyon 71803; first half of the 12th century)⁶⁶ and *Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Theol. Gr. 181*

⁶³ For musicological studies, see WELLESZ, *Eastern Elements*, 95–102; Gerda WOLFRAM, *Die Gesänge der Großen Horen des Karfreitags aus Jerusalem Tradition*, in: László DOBSZAY (ed.), *Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the 7th Meeting*, Sopron, Hungary, 1995, Budapest 1998, 617–625; Demosthenis SPANOUDAKIS, *The Sticheron Today is hanged on wood – Σήμερον κρεμάται ἐπὶ ξύλου. Comparative Musical Analysis Based on the Temporal-Evolution-of-the-Average-Pitch Approach*, in: Evi NIKA-SAMPSON et al. (eds.), *Crossroads. Greece as an Intercultural Pole of Musical Thought and Creativity*, Thessaloniki 2013, 765–786.

⁶⁴ I thank Alexander Lingas and Stig Frøyshov for sharing musical insights in the context of a meeting of the research group “Eastern Christian Daily Office” based at the University of Oslo, convened by Frøyshov.

⁶⁵ Cf. Constantin FLOROS, *Universale Neumenkunde. Entzifferung der ältesten byzantinischen Neumenschriften und der altslavischen sematischen Notation*, Kassel 1970, vol. 1, 52.

⁶⁶ Cf. Gerda WOLFRAM, *Sticherarium Antiquum Vindobonense. Codex theol. gr. 136, Bibliothecae Nationalis Austriacae (MMB 10)*, Vienna 1987.

(Diktyon 71848; dated 1222)⁶⁷ shows that, as Egon Wellesz wrote concerning another of the HFI, “Ὅτε τῷ σταυρῷ, “we have before us [...] the same melody, only varied by slight embellishments”⁶⁸ – except, of course, for the interpolated hemistichs, which are necessarily accompanied by new music. We may conclude that the melody of *Σήμερον κρεμάται* was not comprehensively reworked when lines 9 and 10 were interpolated; rather, the idiomelon was preserved and supplemented. Moreover, just as the additional hemistichs are textually distinctive, so also do the manuscripts that transmit notation for the longer text bear witness to a melodic distinctiveness.

2.4 *Supplementary Literary Evidence:*

Σήμερον γεννᾶται ἐκ παρθένου

A sideways glance at the parallel Christmas hymn *Σήμερον γεννᾶται ἐκ παρθένου* is useful beyond confirming the absence of the corresponding lines in many manuscripts, as already noted. In the witnesses that *do* attest the interpolated lines, they, unlike any other line in the Christmas hymn, exactly reproduce the subject identifications found in the corresponding lines of the Holy Friday hymn. So, to clarify by means of an example: lines 3 and 4 in the Holy Friday hymn read, “He is wreathed with a crown of thorns, who is king of the angels”, while the corresponding lines in the Christmas hymn read, “In rags he is swaddled like a mortal, who in his essence cannot be touched.” The relationship between the two couplets is clear. There is a similarity of encircling language between the Holy Friday wreathing (*περιτίθημι*) and the Christmas swaddling (*σπαργανάω*), and likewise a similarity of transcendent, heavenly language between the Holy Friday kingship (*ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων βασιλεύς*) and the Christmas intangibility (*ὁ τῆ ὀυσία ἀναφής*), but there is no exact reduplication. However, when it comes to lines 9 and 10, the titles *ὁ νυμφίος τῆς ἐκκλησίας* and *ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παρθένου* are simply reproduced. This implies the parallel editing of the Christmas hymn to conform to the longer Holy Friday hymn – possibly by the same hand in both cases – although the theological sophisti-

⁶⁷ Cf. Carsten HöEG et al. (eds.), *Sticherarium. Codex Vindobonensis Theol. Graec. 181 (MMB 1)*, Copenhagen 1935.

⁶⁸ WELLESZ, *Eastern Elements*, 98.

cation implicit in the Holy Friday intervention (explored below) would apparently contrast with this rather ham-fisted editing of the Christmas hymn.

3 Conclusions

The **HFI** *Σήμερον κρεμάται* can certainly be regarded not only as one of the most important Greek hymns for the commemoration of Christ's passion but also one of the oldest and most enduring. The short Greek text preserved in *Sinai NE Gr. ΜΓ 56+5* and *Athos Lauras Γ 12* corresponds to that previously known only in translation. The composition of the idiomelon may be dated with some confidence to before the year 600 (though perhaps somewhat earlier, even in the fourth century) and its intended use in the rite of the Jerusalem Anastasis cathedral seems beyond doubt. The question of authorship remains unresolved, although it is unlikely that the **HFI** themselves can be attributed to Sophronios of Jerusalem, while their composition by Cyril of Jerusalem cannot be ruled out.

There is clear evidence from multiple perspectives that two hemistichs were interpolated into the shorter text of the idiomelon *Σήμερον κρεμάται* to produce the longer text that persists in the Byzantine rite. Many manuscripts, including witnesses to the **OTr** and **NTr**, attest to the absence of these lines and the older, shorter text was maintained in both the Syriac tradition and some witnesses to the parallel Nativity troparion, *Σήμερον γεννᾶται*. The longer texts supply internal literary evidence to support this interpretation of the manuscripts: the additional hemistichs disregard the formal structure of the other lines of the hymn and the subtlety of the imitative relationship between the idiomela for the two feasts. Evidence supplied by later musical manuscripts seems to support the results of the textual investigation.

In a subsequent study, I propose an explanation for the textual development of *Σήμερον κρεμάται* grounded in the history of relic piety between Jerusalem and Constantinople, and offer a complementary theological analysis of the hymn.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Cf. Gregory TUCKER, The Holy Friday Idiomelon "Today, he is hung upon wood". Liturgical Theology between Jerusalem and Constantinople, in: *JPCS* [forthcoming].

Abbreviations

AL	Armenian Lectionary
ALit	Analecta Liturgica
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
ECS	Eastern Christian Studies
GL	Georgian Lectionary
HFI	Holy Friday <i>idiomela</i>
HThS	Harvard Theological Studies
JAMS	Journal of the American Musicological Society
JOCS	Journal of Orthodox Christian Studies
JThS	Journal of Theological Studies
LiCo	Liturgia Condenda
MMB	Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae
MMB.S	Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. Subsidia
Mus.	Le Muséon
NTr	New Tropologion
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
OI	Old <i>Iadgari</i>
OrChr	Oriens Christianus
OTr	Old Tropologion
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
REB	Revue des Études Byzantines
SA	Studia Anselmiana
SpicFri.S	Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia
StLi	Studia Liturgica

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