

Société des études byzantines et slaves,
St. Pétersbourg

SCRINIUM

7-8



Revue de patrologie, d'hagiographie critique
et d'histoire ecclésiastique

Ars Christiana: In Memoriam Michail F. Murianov (21.XI.1928 ~ 6.VI.1995)

Edited by

Roman Krivko

Basil Lourié

Andrei Orlov

Part 1

A X I Ō M A

gorgias press

ARS CHRISTIANA

**Scrinium: Journal of Patrology,
Critical Hagiography, and Ecclesiastical History**

7–8

Editorial Committee

B. Lourié (Editor-in-Chief), St. Petersburg
D. Nosnitsin (Secretary), Hamburg
D. Kashtanov, Moscow
S. Mikheev, Moscow
A. Orlov, Milwaukee
T. Senina, St. Petersburg
D. Y. Shapira, Jerusalem
S. Shoemaker, Eugene

Secretariat

T. Senina, St. Petersburg
E. Bormotova, Montreal

Scrinium. Journal of Patrology, Critical Hagiography, and Ecclesiastical History, established in 2005, is an international multilingual scholarly series devoted to patristics, critical hagiography, and Church history. Each volume is dedicated to a theme in early Church history, with a particular emphasis on Eastern Christianity, while not excluding developments in the Western Christianity.

Ars Christiana:
In memoriam Michail F. Murianov
(21.XI.1928 – 6.VI.1995)

Part One

Edited by

Roman Krivko

Basil Lourié

Andrei Orlov

2011–2012
Gorgias Press

(C) PAGE

Society of Byzantine and Slavic Studies
St. Petersburg

SCRINIUM

Journal of Patrology, Critical Hagiography
and Ecclesiastical History

Volume 7–8

ARS CHRISTIANA

In memoriam Michail F. Murianov
(21.XI.1928 – 6.VI.1995)

Part One



Edited by
R. Krivko, B. Lourié, and A. Orlov

Axiōma
Gorgias Press
2011–2012

ISSN 1817-7530 (Print)
ISSN 1817-7565 (Online)

<http://scrinium.ru>

Scrinium. T. 7–8: *Ars Christiana*. In memoriam Michail F. Murianov (21.XI.1928–6.VI.1995). Edited by R. Krivko, B. Lourié, and A. Orlov. Part One. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011–2012. xxviii+332 p.

SCRINIUM

*Journal of Patrology, Critical Hagiography
and Ecclesiastical History*

Editorial Committee:

Basile Lourié (Editor in Chief), St. Petersburg;
Denis Nosnitsin (Secretary), Hamburg;
Denis Kashtanov, Moscow; Savva Mikheev, Moscow;
Andrei Orlov, Milwaukee; Tatiana Senina, St. Petersburg;
Dan Y. Shapira, Jerusalem; Stephen Shoemaker, Eugene

Advisory Board:

Sebastian Brock, Oxford (President);
Pauline Allen, Brisbane—Pretoria; Alessandro Bausi, Naples;
Gilbert Dagron, Paris; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, Mailand; Stephan Gerö,
Tübingen; Robert Godding, Bruxelles (Société des Bollandistes);
Alexander Golitzin, Milwaukee; Getatchew Haile, Avon;
Hubert Kaufhold, Munich (Oriens Christianus);
Robert Kraft, Philadelphia; Vladimir A. Livshits, St Petersburg;
Igor P. Medvedev, St Petersburg; Bernard Meunier,
Lyon (Institut des Sources Chrétiennes); Bernard Outtier, Paris;
Madeleine Petit, Paris; John C. Reeves, Charlotte;
Gerrit J. Reinink, Groningen; Antonio Rigo, Venice;
James Russel, Harvard; Samir Kh. Samir, Beirut;
Michael Stone, Jerusalem; James VanderKam, Notre Dame

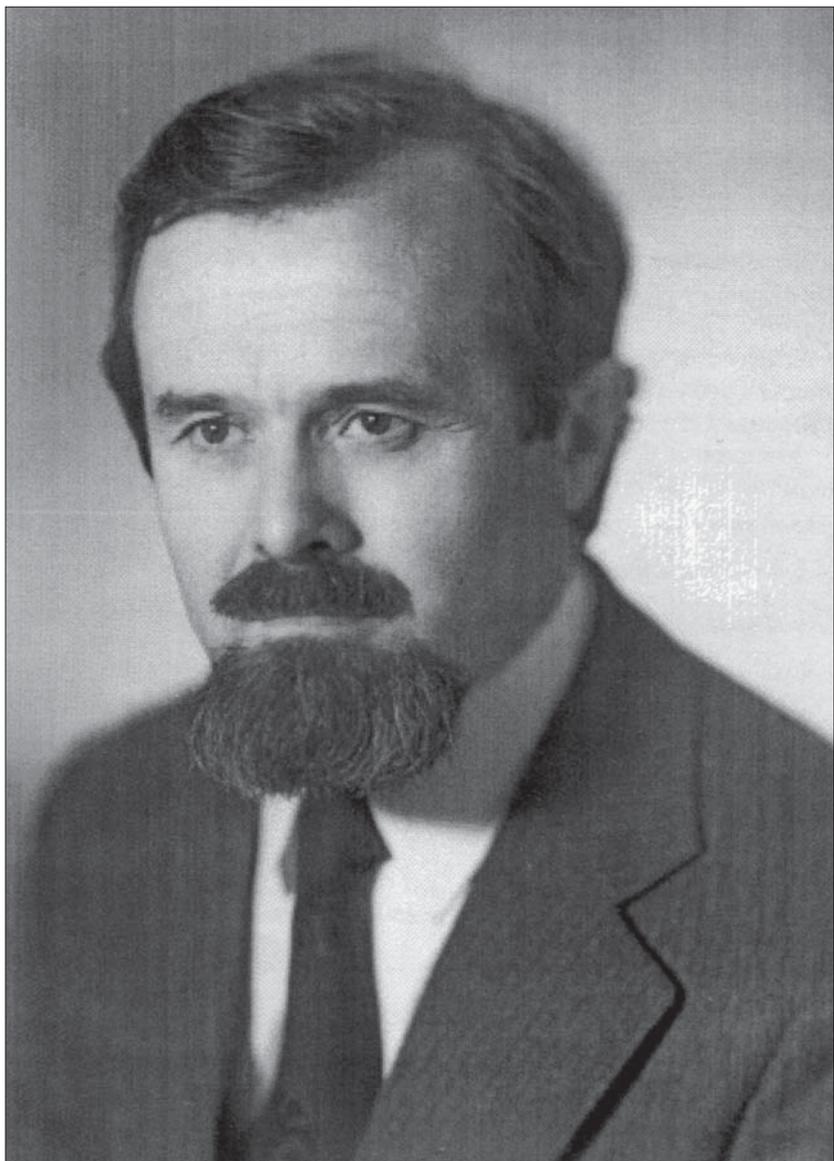
Secretariat :

Tatiana Senina, St. Petersburg;
Elena Bormotova, Montreal

© Authors, 2012

© R. Krivko, B. Lourié, and A. Orlov, 2012

© Gorgias Press, 2012



Michail F. Murianov

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations	xi
Preface	xiv
Изоolda Викторовна МУРЬЯНОВА Михаил Фёдорович Мурьянов (21.XI.1928 – 6.VI.1995). Биографический очерк	xvi
Izolda V. MURIANOVA Michail Fyodorovich Murianov (21.XI.1928 – 6.VI.1995). Biographical Essay	xxii

Scripturaria

Andrei A. ORLOV The Garment of Azazel in the <i>Apocalypse of Abraham</i>	3
Sharon PACE The Akedah: A Diverse Sampling from Antiquity and the Middle Ages	56
Андрей В. ГРИГОРЬЕВ Пушкинский «отрок Библии» и евангельский «блудный сын» ..	77

Byzantine Commonwealth

Dmitry AFINOGENOV The Story of an Unworthy Priest from the Codex Parisinus Gr. 1632	91
Grigory BENEVICH John Philoponus and Maximus the Confessor at the Crossroads of Philosophical and Theological Thought in Late Antiquity	102
Constanța COSTEA Constantinopolitan Echoes in Sixteenth-Century Moldavian Illustrations of the Akathistos Hymn	131

Alexandra A. EVDOKIMOVA

An Anonymous Treatise against the Iconoclastic Patriarch

John the Grammarian. 1. The First Antirrhetic.

The First Edition of the Manuscript Escorial Y-II-7, F. 200–205 144

Anna KREININA

The Life of Theophano the Empress: the Slavonic Version

of an Unknown Byzantine Original 169

Basil LOURIE

The Feast of Pokrov, its Byzantine Origin,

the Cult of Gregory the Illuminator and Isaac the Parthian

(Sahak Partʹev) in Byzantium 231

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

XB	<i>Христианский Восток</i>
BB	<i>Византийский Временник</i>
ТОДРА	<i>Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы</i>
AB	<i>Analecta bollandiana</i>
AB	The Aramaic Bible
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AHG	I. SCHIRÒ (ed.), <i>Analecta Hymnica Graeca</i> . 13 vols. (Roma, 1966–1980)
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers
AUSP	<i>Andrews University Seminary Papers</i>
BBKL	Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon
BA	Byzantinisches Archiv
BH	Byzantinisches Handbuch
BHG	F. HALKIN, <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , 3 vols. (Bruxelles, 1957) (SH, 8a); IDEM, <i>Novum Auctarium BHG</i> (Bruxelles, 1984) (SH, 65)
BHO	P. PEETERS, <i>Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis</i> (Bruxellis, 1910) (SH, 10) [reprint: 1970]
BSac	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
BSAC	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte</i>
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca
CE	A. S. АТИЯ, <i>The Coptic Encyclopedia</i> . 8 vols. (New York, 1991)
CPG	M. GEERARD, <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> . 4 vols., Supplementum (Turnhout, 1973–1998) (Corpus Christianorum)
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
EEBS	<i>Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</i>
EJL	Early Judaism and its Literature

HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Coptic Studies</i>
JECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSQ	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
JSPSS	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters
LThK	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche
<i>Mus</i>	<i>Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales</i>
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
OJC	Orientalia Judaica Christiana
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
PG	J. P. MIGNE (acc.), <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca</i> [= <i>Patrologia graeca</i>] (Parisiis, 1857–1866)
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RÉB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
SBL EJL	Society of Biblical Literature. Early Judaism and its Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLSS	Society of Biblical Literature Supplement Series
<i>Scr</i>	<i>Scrinium. Revue de patrologie, d'hagiographie critique et d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
SH	Subsidia hagiographica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SP	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TCS	Text-Critical Studies

TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation byzantines</i>
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
UBL	Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VC Supp.	Supplements to <i>Vigiliae Christiana</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBS	Wiener byzantinische Studien
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

PREFACE

Ars Christiana, the seventh and eighth volume of *Scrinium*, is dedicated to the memory of the Russian philologist and culturologist Michail F. Murianov (21 November 1928 – 6 June 1995), who was active in interdisciplinary Romance, Germanic, Slavonic, and Byzantine studies, in particular, the etymology of Slavonic languages, the historical lexicology of Church Slavonic and Old Russian, the hermeneutics of Russian literature, and iconography. Murianov's PhD dissertation and early publications were dedicated to the Western European literary and, especially, liturgical heritage. Beginning in the early 1970s, however, he started to focus on the religious culture of the Slavonic Middle Ages and its relations with the Latin world and Byzantium. The scholar also dedicated numerous works to the Slavonic and Byzantine legacy in Russian literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Michail Murianov's hermeneutic method is unique for its combination of philological approaches, with particular focus on historical poetics, lexicology, and etymology, as well as for studies of the history of arts enriched by philosophical and theological interpretations of written sources. His research interests covered Byzantine and Slavonic hagiography, *vitae* and *paterika*, and Old Russian chronicles and tales, with a special focus on *The Tale of Igor's Campaign*, which was treated from the point of view of its relationship to Western European mediaeval culture. To the former topic Murianov dedicated his monograph *The Tale of Igor's Campaign and Western Europe*, which was published with a commentary and an introduction by one of the leading Russian linguists and etymologists, Oleg N. Trubachëv [see *Palaeoslavica* 4 (1996)]. It was Murianov who, in the Soviet Union, tried to reestablish the philological studies of Church Slavonic and Byzantine liturgical poetry, a tradition which had been initiated by Vatroslav Jagić and which ceased after the catastrophe of 1917.

The different kinds of ideological, social, and even scholarly resistance with which Murianov was faced made it impossible to publish any of the editions of Slavonic hymnographical books that he prepared during his lifetime. Some of them have been edited only after his death. Bibliographies of Murianov's works have been published several times; see especially I. V. MURIANOVA, "Bibliography of Mixail Mur'ianov's Published Works (1959–1996)," *Philologica* III 5/7 (1996) 57–

68 (http://www.rvb.ru/philologica/03eng/03eng_murianov_biblio.htm). The most comprehensive collection of the reprinted as well as previously unpublished articles has been compiled in two volumes recently published in Russia: М. Ф. Мурьянов, *История книжной культуры России, Очерки*. Отв. редакторы И. Г. Добродомов, Т. А. Исаченко [M. F. MURIANOV, *A History of Russian Literary Culture. Essays*. Ed. by I. G. DOBRODOMOV, T. A. ISACHENKO], Parts 1–2 (St Petersburg, 2007–2008).

Roman N. Krivko

МИХАИЛ ФЁДОРОВИЧ МУРЬЯНОВ
(21.XI.1928 – 6.VI.1995)
БИОГРАФИЧЕСКИЙ ОЧЕРК

Михаил Фёдорович Мурьянов (21.XI.1928 – 6.VI.1995, Москва) родился в селе Фёдоровке Врадиевского района Николаевской области. Отец его, Фёдор Яковлевич Мурьянов, по специальности инженер-геодезист, работал сельским землемером, затем начальником земельного отдела. Мать, Ольга Ильинична Колендо-Мурьянова, училась в гимназии, умерла при рождении сына. К началу Великой Отечественной войны их сын Михаил окончил пять классов школы. Затем последовал перерыв в учёбе на три года немецкой оккупации, в течение которых он жил с бабушкой, Еленой Арсентьевной Колендо, в г. Немирове Винницкой области. Отец воевал на фронте в рядах Советской армии. После освобождения Михаил переехал в село Шарлык Оренбургской области к отцу и под его руководством за два года прошёл программу 6–10 классов школы и закончил её с отличием. Отец настаивал, чтобы сын пошёл по его стопам в учёбе и работе и оставался с ним, но сын уехал в Москву и поступил в 1946 году на учёбу в Московское высшее техническое училище им. Н. Э. Баумана (МВТУ) на специальный факультет (кафедра генерал-майора профессора А. А. Толочкова).

М. Ф. Мурьянов учился, подрабатывая на жизнь, где возможно, и изучал иностранные языки, благодаря чему у него развился интерес к гуманитарным наукам. Закончил МВТУ М. Ф. Мурьянов в 1952 году, после чего работал на инженерных должностях в оборонных отраслях промышленности.

В 1955 году без отрыва от производства поступил на филологический факультет Ленинградского университета, который закончил в 1961 году с отличием и был принят в том же году в дневную аспирантуру Ленинградского университета (кафедра немецкой филологии), которую проходил под руководством академика В. М. Жирмунского. Кандидатскую диссертацию по теме «Реконструкция романо-германских средневековых рукописей (на материале ленинградских собраний)» защитил в Ленинградском

университете в 1966 году. В 1968 году Михаил Фёдорович был приглашён на работу в АН СССР, первые два года работал директором Лаборатории консервации и реставрации документов, в 1970 г. был переведён на должность старшего научного сотрудника в Институт русской литературы (Пушкинский Дом), где работал под руководством академиков М. П. Алексеева и А. С. Бушмина. В 1976 году по их ходатайству был переведён в Москву, в Институт русского языка АН СССР.

В 1986 году защитил в Ленинградском университете докторскую диссертацию «Гимнография Киевской Руси: Филологическое исследование», степень доктора филологических наук присуждена ему решением ВАК СССР 17 апреля 1987 г. Решением Государственного Комитета СССР по народному образованию от 11 сентября 1991 г. № 8/529-п присвоено звание профессора по кафедре русской литературы. В 1988–1995 гг. работал ведущим научным сотрудником в Институте мировой литературы АН СССР — РАН, в Московском педагогическом государственном университете и Московском православном лицее духовной культуры.

Основные темы его исследований — источниковедение истории русского языка, историческая лексикология, гимнография Киевской Руси, историческая поэтика русской классической литературы, публикация памятников славянской письменности, европейская медиевистика, история символов древней славянской и византийской культуры.

О своей работе М. Ф. Мурьянов рассказал сам при защите докторской диссертации в 1985 г.¹

«Подъём научного и художественного интереса к прошлому Руси начался в нашем обществе в годы Отечественной войны. Уже само именованье войны *Отечественной* напомнило поколению, привыкшему мыслить категориями будущего времени, что живём мы на земле праотцев, что её нужно отстоять, а язык её нужно любить и знать. Институт русского языка АН СССР, в котором я имею честь работать, является детищем войны, он был организован в тяжком 1944 году для изучения русского языка во всём объёме его истории. На неостывших пепелищах войны развернули работу археологи. Новый размах и новый смысл обре-

(1) Слово публикуется с незначительной редакторской стилистической правкой.

ла благородная деятельность Отдела древнерусской литературы Пушкинского Дома. Возродилась киевская медиевистика.

Сделано многое, но количество нерешённых задач — во много раз большее. Все мы считаем недостаточным количество изданных памятников древнерусского языка. Замысел исторического Словаря русского языка, который издаётся в Институте русского языка, восходит ещё к А. И. Соболевскому, реальные контуры он начал приобретать под руководством всем нам памятного Б. А. Ларина, но в свет вышла примерно треть словаря (на сегодняшний день издано 29 томов, ведётся составление статей на букву “У”. — *Примеч. ред., Р. К.*). Качество Словаря совершенствуется от выпуска к выпуску, один из путей этого совершенствования — расширение круга первоисточников. Ещё один путь, в первых выпусках игнорировавшийся, — систематическое привлечение языка оригинала для переводных текстов. На повестке дня стоит создание русской исторической лексикологии, это записано в перспективных планах нашего Института.

Всё ведёт к тому, что русской исторической лексикологии и лексикографии пора осваивать гимнографические рукописи Киевской Руси — материал наиболее обширный и наименее изученный в составе древнейшего рукописного наследия восточных славян. Гимнографический материал надо сделать доступным, то есть издавать, но прежде чем издавать — обязательно осмыслить. Здесь привычной кодикологии мало.

Ровно сто лет тому назад И. В. Ягич положил начало делу, выпустив капитальный том старших новгородских Миней первой четверти годового круга. На этом работа остановилась. В середине 1970-х годов дирекция Института русского языка приняла решение её возобновить. Это стало моей индивидуальной плановой темой.

Лёгких, проторенных путей это не обещало. Библиотек, специализированных по литературе, нужной для занятий гимнологией, у нас нет, всё пришлось находить с необычно большими затратами усилий и времени. И всё же труд оказался результативным. Назову две причины:

- 1) то, что самое большое в мире богатство древнерусских гимнографических рукописей сосредоточено в месте работы — в Москве;

- 2) то, что московский исполнитель темы прошёл филологическую выучку в Ленинграде.

Итог работы, коротко говоря, сводится к следующему.

Мною внимательно прочитаны практически все древнерусские гимнографические рукописи домонгольского времени. Это что-нибудь да значит, потому что до настоящего времени ни один славист, даже Ягич, сказать о себе этого не мог. Из прочитанного и продуманного сделаны определенные, причём новые для науки, выводы о структуре и смысле всего ансамбля гимнов, о взаимодействии частей этого ансамбля. Тем самым подготовлена почва для осмысленной эдиционной работы в этой области, сделаны первые эдиционные пробы — на страницах журналов “Вопросы языкознания”, “Советское славяноведение” и сборника “Духовная культура славянских народов”, изданного Пушкинским Домом к IX Международному съезду славистов. Подготовлено издание Минеи Дубровского. По плану оно выйдет в свет в 1988 году, это даст повод посвятить его большому юбилею — 150-летию со дня рождения Ягича. Далее, мною проведены, с опорой на новый материал, семантические исследования по ряду важных в историко-культурном отношении слов древнерусского языка. Лексика гимнографических памятников поставлена на службу Словарю русского языка XI–XVII вв.

Историки языка редко оперируют гимнографическим материалом, он не входил в санкционированный С. Г. Бархударовым список источников, рекомендуемых для цитирования в Словаре. Эту традицию сейчас удалось преодолеть, время первой письменной фиксации многих слов благодаря этому можно существенно удревить, а сам словник Словаря заметно расширить. Для правильного понимания значения многих слов гимнография даёт превосходные, незаменимые контексты, хотя проникнуть в смысл этих контекстов, дать чёткое, краткое и доходчивое для современного читателя определение толкуемому слову бывает трудно, в ряде случаев нужно быть во всеоружии византологических знаний. Это всеоружие нигде в готовом виде не лежит.

Гимнология — это область, где внутренняя логика исследования заставляет пересекать заповедную для многих границу между языкознанием и литературоведением, то есть заставляет быть филологом, и даже более того — находить общий язык с Институтом истории СССР, с Институтом искусствознания. Мне эти взаимобусловленности не доставляли ничего, кроме творческой радости. Конечно, бывает трудно, когда принимаешь спорные композиционные решения. Так было, к примеру, когда мне понадобилось

провести сравнение с состоянием дел в грузинской гимнологии. В диссертации этому отведено всего 15 страниц, но и при утверждении темы в Институте русского языка, и на предзащите здесь, на кафедре русского языка (филологического факультета Ленинградского государственного университета. — *Примеч. ред., Р. К.*), раздавались голоса, что это — лишнее, что лучше дать дополнительный русский лингвистический материал, имеющийся в моих публикациях. По этому вопросу я был принят старейшиной филологов — питомцем Петербургского университета, Акакием Гавриловичем Шанидзе. Ему столько лет, что он мог бы помнить живого Ягича. Наша беседа 12 февраля с. г. продолжалась два часа, 99-летний грузинский академик дал вам письменное одобрение и моего понимания грузинской гимнологии, и уместности этих 15 страниц в контексте работы о гимнографии Киевской Руси.

Знаю, что мой подход к гимнологической проблематике, да и не только к ней, не всеми одобряется. На своей кандидатской защите в этом доме я приводил в обоснование своего образа действий принцип, который сформулировал филолог-медиевист, президент Испанской Академии наук Рамон Менендес Пидаль: “Тяжело грести против течения, но грести всё-таки надо”. Под этими словами я готов подписаться и сегодня, потратив на прохождение расстояния между двумя диссертациями в два-три раза больше времени, нежели мои более удачливые сверстники — свыше 20 лет.

В заключение считаю своим долгом сказать, почему свою диссертацию я представил вам.

Спецсоветов, где компетентно и заинтересованно отнесутся к гимнологической теме, есть несколько. При выборе я исходил из того, что *alma mater* заслуживает иметь привилегию в праве судить своих питомцев. Тем более, когда руководитель кафедры русского языка В. В. Колесов, услышав в Москве, что я заканчиваю диссертацию, сам сказал мне: “Где же защищаться по такой теме, если не в Ленинградском университете!” Не скрою, что это приглашение было мне дорого.

Благодарю за внимание».

О многом в состоянии палеославистики в семидесятых — начале восьмидесятых годов прошлого века, когда М. Ф. Мурьянов работал над материалом для своей докторской диссертации, говорит также его отзыв одному из официальных оппонентов, крупнейшему филологу-классику Ю. В. Откупщикovu.

«В моём положении человека, никогда не имевшего преподавателя греческого языка, было совсем не просто на пороге шестого десятка лет приступить к греческим Минеям и с помощью учебника Соболевского, в полном одиночестве, добраться от нуля до такого уровня, чтобы составлять грамматические определения греческих словоформ, особенно глагольных, для словоуказателя к памятнику, или рассуждать на страницах академических журналов о семантических отношениях между греческим словом и его славянским соответствием. Я утешал себя мыслью, что филологам приходится оказываться в гораздо более трудном положении, когда они вникают не в такой ухоженный, оснащённый великолепной лексикографией язык, как язык греческий, а в совершенно неизученную, подлежащую дешифровке письменность, или в вообще бесписьменный язык.

Учитывая сказанное, мне приличествует свести дискуссию с Юрием Владимировичем, официальным оппонентом — грецистом, к минимуму, во всём согласиться с ним, да ещё, бережно записав его советы, поблагодарить за внимание. Лишь постольку, поскольку регламент требует полемики, я прошу разрешения высказать единственное соображение.

Наша страна, величайшая славянская держава, для выхода на передовые рубежи в палеославистике остро нуждается в хорошо поставленной науке о греческом языке средневековья. Грецисты же наши предпочитают ограничивать себя античностью. Мы, работающие с древнерусскими текстами, лишены живого общения с грецистами, интересующимися нашим хронологическим периодом, нет и доступных книг по византологии, в частности, словарей среднегреческого языка. Известный оксфордский лексикон Лампе, охватывающий греческий язык патристической эпохи, недавно переиздан даже в Гонконге, но его всё ещё нет в Государственной библиотеке СССР имени Ленина, как нет в ней и словаря Криараса, по периоду до XII века. А ведь подобные словари нам следовало бы не только покупать, но и создавать. Необходимо встречное движение русистики и классической филологии, сегодня разорванных почти тысячелетием. Разрешите, Юрий Владимирович, наш сегодняшний диспут считать одним из проявлений этого встречного движения».

MICHAIL FYODOROVICH MURIANOV
(21.XI.1928 – 6.VI.1995)
BIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

Michail F. Murianov (11/21/1928 – 06/06/1995, Moscow) was born in the village of Fyodorovka of the Vradievka District of the Nikolaev Region (of the present day Ukraine). His father, Fyodor Yakovlevich Murianov was a geodetic engineer. He worked as rural surveyor and later as the Head of the Land Department. His mother, Olga Ilinishna Kolendo-Murianova, studied in the Gymnasium and died during childbirth. By the beginning of the Second World War Michail Murianov finished the fifth grade at school. This was followed by a break in schooling for three years during the Nazi occupation. During this time Michail Murianov lived with his grandmother, Elena Arsentievna Kolendo, in the town of Nemirov of the Vinnitsa Region. His father fought at the front in the ranks of the Soviet army. After liberation, Michail Murianov moved to the village of Sharlyk of the Orenburg Region to live with his father and under his guidance Michail returned to school and completed 6th–10th grade in two years, graduating with distinction. His father insisted that his son should follow in his footsteps in his studies and career and stay living at home, but Michail went to Moscow and in 1946 entered the Bauman Moscow Higher Technical College in the Department headed by Major-General Professor Alexei A. Tolochkov.

Michail Murianov studied, worked part time wherever possible, and learned foreign languages thereby developing an interest in the Humanities. He graduated from the Bauman Higher Technical College in 1952, and then worked as an engineer in the defense industry.

In 1955 Michail Murianov entered the Philology Department of Leningrad State University while still continuing to work. He graduated in 1961 with distinction and in the same year he was accepted in the full-time Doctoral Program at the Leningrad University (Department of German Philology) under the supervision of Academician Victor M. Zhirmunsky. In 1966, in the Leningrad University Michail Murianov defended his PhD Dissertation, *The Reconstruction of the Roman-Germanic Medieval Manuscripts (On the basis of Leningrad Collections)*.

In 1968, Michail Murianov was invited to work in the Soviet Academy of Sciences. For the first two years of his career there, he worked as the Director of the Laboratory of Preservation and Restoration of Documents, and in 1970 he was transferred to the position of Senior Researcher at the Institute of Russian Literature (the Pushkin House), where he worked under the guidance of Academicians Michail P. Alexeev and Alexei S. Bushmin. In 1976, upon their petition, he was transferred to the Institute of the Russian Language in Moscow.

In 1986 Michail Murianov received a Post-Doctoral Degree at Leningrad State University with the Habilitation, *The Hymnography of the Kievan Rus': Philological Investigation*; the Degree of the Doctor of Philology was awarded by the State Commission for Academic Degrees on April 17, 1987. By the decision no. 8/529 of the State Committee for Public Education of the USSR on September 11, 1991, Michail Murianov was awarded the title of Professor in Russian Literature. From 1988–1995 Michail Murianov worked as a Senior Researcher at the Institute of World Literature, in Moscow State Pedagogical University, and in the Moscow Orthodox School of Spiritual Culture.

The main areas of his research were studies of the historical origins of the Russian language, historical lexicology, hymnography of the Kievan Rus, historical poetics of the Russian classical literature, publication of the sources of Slavonic literacy, European Medieval Studies, as well as the history of the symbolism of Slavonic and Byzantine Culture.

Michail Murianov said the following about his work during the defense of his habilitation in 1985:¹

“The rise of scholarly and artistic interest to the past of Rus’ started in our society during the Great Patriotic War. The mere naming of the War ‘Patriotic’ reminded the generation who was accustomed to thinking in terms of the future, that we live in the land of our forefathers, that we must defend it, and that we should love and know its language. The Institute of the Russian Language of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, where I have the honour to work, is the progeny of the War; it was organized in 1944 — a hard year for studying the Russian language in the whole range of its history. Archaeologists set to work on the smoking ashes of the war. The noble work of the Department of Old Russian literature of the Pushkin House found new scale and new meaning; Medieval Studies in Kiev were revived.

(1) The speech is being published with minor editorial stylistic changes.

Many things have been achieved, but the number of unsolved questions is far greater. We all believe that the amount of published monuments of the Old Russian language is insufficient. The idea of the historical Dictionary of the Russian language, which is being published in the Institute of the Russian Language, goes back to Alexei I. Sobolevsky. It began to acquire real shape under the leadership of Boris A. Larin, whom we all remember, but only about a third of the Dictionary has been published (to date 29 volumes have been published; the articles on letter ‘Y’ are being compiled. — R. K.). The quality of the Dictionary improves from volume to volume, and one of the ways how this is happening, is the expansion of the circle of sources. Another method which was ignored in the first volumes is a systematic use of the original language for the translated texts. The creation of the Russian historical lexicology appears on the agenda; it is recorded in the future plans of our Institute.

Everything boils down to the fact that Russian historical lexicology and lexicography need to start investigating the hymnographic manuscripts of the Kievan Rus — the most extensive yet the least studied materials among the ancient manuscript heritage of the Eastern Slavs. Hymnographic materials have to be made available, that is, they have to be published, but before publishing they need to be reflected upon. It is not enough to use traditional codicology.

Exactly one hundred years ago, Vatroslav Jagić set things in motion, publishing a spacious volume of the earliest Novgorod *Menaia* for the first quarter of the annual circle. After this point, work in this field came to a standstill. In the mid-1970s the Directorate of the Institute of the Russian Language decided to resume the work. This became the topic on my own research plan.

Research in this topic was not a simple task. We did not have libraries that specialized in the literature that was needed for studying hymnology; we had to find everything through unusual efforts and time consuming work. Regardless, the work did yield results. I can mention two reasons for that:

- 1) the world’s greatest wealth of Old Russian hymnographic manuscripts is concentrated in my place of work, in Moscow;
- 2) the person who was responsible for this topic in Moscow received his philological training in Leningrad.

In short, the outcome of the work was as follows.

I carefully read almost all Old Russian hymnographic manuscripts of the pre-Mongolian period. This means something, since, until now,

none of the Slavic scholars, not even Jagić, could state the same thing about themselves. After reading and thinking, I made some concrete and new conclusions about the structure and meaning of the whole set of hymns and about the interaction between the parts of this set. Thus I prepared the ground for meaningful editorial work in this area; the first editorial tests were made in the journals, *Voprosy Yazykoznaninya*, *Sovetskoe Slavyanovedenie*, and in the volume of collected studies, *Dukhovnaya Kultura Slavyanskikh Narodov* [Spiritual culture of the Slavic peoples], published by the Pushkin House for the Ninth International Congress of the Slavic Studies. The *Dubrovsky Menaion* was prepared for the publication. It is planned to be out of press in 1988, and this will offer the occasion to dedicate the edition to a great anniversary — the 150th anniversary of Vatroslav Jagić. Further, on the basis of new materials I conducted semantic research on a number of words of Old Russian language which are important from historical and cultural perspectives. The vocabulary of hymnographic sources has been used for the Dictionary of Russian Language of the 11th–17th centuries.

The historians of language rarely use hymnographic materials. Such materials were not included in the list of sources recommended for citation in the Dictionary, which was approved by Stepan Barkhudarov. This tradition has now been overcome; the first written record of many words can now be dated to substantially earlier time, and the word-list of the Dictionary has been significantly expanded. Hymnography supplies excellent and irreplaceable contexts for correct understanding of the meaning of many words, although it is often difficult to penetrate the meaning of these contexts and to provide a modern reader with clear, concise, and lucid definition of the word. In some cases one needs to be equipped with comprehensive knowledge of Byzantine language and culture. This knowledge does not lie anywhere on a plate.

Hymnology is the area where the internal logic of the research forces the researcher to cross the boundary between linguistics and literary studies, effectively forcing the researcher to be a philologist, and even further, forcing one to find common language between the Institute of History of the USSR and with the Institute of Fine Arts. This interdependence gave me nothing but creative joy. Of course, sometimes it is difficult when you make controversial compositional decisions. It was the case, for example, when I needed to make a comparison with the situation in Georgian hymnology. Only 15 pages were devoted to this question in the habilitation, but both when my research topic was being approved at the Institute of Russian Language and at the

pre-defense here, at the Sub-department of the Russian Language (of the Department of Philology at Leningrad State University. — *R. K.*), concerns were voiced that it was unnecessary, that it would have been better to provide additional Russian linguistic materials which were available in my publications. On this issue I had a meeting with Akaki Gavrilovich Shanidze, the patriarch of Philology and the alumnus of the Saint-Petersburg University. He was so old that he could even remember Jagić back when he was still alive. Our conversation on February 12th of this year lasted for two hours, and the 99-year old Georgian Academician gave a written approval of both my understanding of the Georgian hymnology and of the relevance of these 15 pages in the context of the work on the hymnography of the Kievan Rus’.

I know that my approach to hymnological problems, and not only to them, is not favored by everyone. At my Ph.D. defense in this House, in support of my attitude I cited a principle which was formulated by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, a Medieval Philologist and the President of the Spanish Academy of Sciences: ‘It is hard to row against the tide, but you have to row anyway.’ I am ready to put my name under these words even today, having spent two or three times more on the time between my two dissertations than some of my more successful peers — over 20 years.

In conclusion, I feel obligated to say why I present this dissertation to you.

There are several special academic boards where the members would be competent and motivated enough to consider hymnological topics. When I was making my choice, I relied on the fact that the *alma mater* deserved to have the privilege to judge her alumni. Moreover, when Vladimir Kolesov, the Head of the Russian Department, heard in Moscow that I was finishing the habilitation, he told me, ‘Where else to defend such a topic, if not at Leningrad University!’ I must admit that such an invitation was very precious to me.

Thank you for your attention.”

The reply of Michail Murianov to Yuri V. Otkupschikov, one of the official opponents and a leading classical scholar, testifies to the situation in the Paleoslav Studies in 1970s and 1980s, when Michail Murianov was working on his habilitation.

“In my position of a person who had never had a teacher of Greek language, it was not easy, on the eve of my sixth decade, to start working with the Byzantine *Menaia* and, with the help of the manual by

Sobolevsky, all alone, to get from scratch to a level that allowed me to compose grammatical definitions of Greek word forms, particularly verbal, for the word index to a written source, or to discuss the semantic relations between the Greek words and their Slavic equivalents on the pages of academic journals. I derived consolation from the thought that philologists would often find themselves in a much more difficult position when they delve not into such neat language equipped with excellent lexicography as the Greek, but into a completely unexplored writing needed to be deciphered, or even into non-literate languages.

Having said that, it befits me to wrap up the discussion with Yuri Otkupschikov, my official opponent and a scholar of Greek language, to agree with him in everything, and, carefully writing down his advice, to thank you all for your attention. Only insofar as discussion is a formal requirement, I ask your permission to make only one point.

In order to stay at the forefront of the Paleoslav Studies, our country, the greatest Slavic power, is in dire need of well-organized studies of the Medieval Greek language. However, our scholars of Greek prefer to confine themselves to Antiquity. We, who work with Old Russian texts, are deprived of a living communication with scholars of Greek who are interested in our chronological period; there are no books on Byzantine Studies, in particular, dictionaries of the Medieval Greek. The famous Oxford Lampe Lexicon covering the Greek language of the Patristic period, was recently republished even in Hong Kong, but it is still not available in the Lenin State Library of the USSR. This library also does not have the Dictionary of Kriaras covering the period until the 12th century. But we should not only buy such dictionaries but also create them. The Russian Studies and the Classical Philology, now torn apart by almost a millennium, need to start moving toward each other. Please allow me, Yuri Vladimirovich Otkupschikov, to consider our present discussion as one of the manifestations of this convergent movement.”

Scripturaria

THE GARMENT OF AZAZEL IN THE APOCALYPSE OF ABRAHAM

INTRODUCTION

The *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a Jewish pseudepigraphon written in the first centuries C.E., baffles its readers' imaginations with a plethora of sacerdotal motifs. From its very first lines, this enigmatic text strives to portray young Abraham and his relatives as cultic servants performing priestly duties in a sanctuary filled with idolatrous statues.¹ The readers of the text soon recognize that its peculiar cultic concerns permeate the fabric of the entire pseudepigraphon. Indeed, its authors appear to assign specific cultic roles to almost all of the story's characters. As the narrative progresses, and the deity removes the young hero of the faith from the defiled house of worship and sets him on a celestial journey to the true sanctuary in heaven, new characters endowed with sacerdotal functions begin to enter the story.

The most spectacular cultic responsibilities are given to Abraham's celestial guide, the angel Yahoel, whom the text envisions as the heavenly high priest and the celestial choir-master of the Living Creatures. Both his peculiar liturgical duties vis-à-vis the Throne Room's angelic creatures and his bold access to the divine Presence reveal Yahoel's status as a very special celebrant ministering in the celestial sanctuary.² As

(1) Thus Alexander Kulik argues that the description of the sacrificial services of Terah's family, found in the first chapter of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, "precisely follows the order of the Second Temple daily morning *tamid* service as it is described in the Mishna: first, priests cast lots (*Yoma* 2, 1–4; *Tamid* 1, 1–2; cf. also Luke 1:9), then they sacrifice in front of the sanctuary (*Tamid* 1–5), finishing their service inside (*Tamid* 6)." See A. KULIK, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha: Toward the Original of the Apocalypse of Abraham* (TCS, 3) (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2004) 86.

(2) On heavenly Temple traditions see M. BARKER, *The Gate of Heaven: The History and Symbolism of the Temple in Jerusalem* (London: SPCK, 1991); J. J. COLLINS, *A Throne in the Heavens: Apotheosis in Pre-Christian Judaism*, in: J. J. COLLINS, M. FISHBANE (ed.), *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995) 43–57; R. ELIOR,

has been noted before, some of Yahoel's actions are reminiscent of the cultic acts of the high priest, that singularly unique sacerdotal servant who was able to enter the divine Presence in the Holy of Holies on Yom Kippur. Indeed it seems, in light of the striking panoply of priestly motifs in the *Apoc. Ab.*, that its authors had not forgotten this central sacerdotal ordinance of the Jewish tradition — a major cultic event laden with portentous revelatory opportunities. As the story develops, and Yahoel leads his human apprentice, Abraham, into the celestial Holy of Holies located in the upper heaven, the cluster of motifs pertaining to this special atoning rite become more and more distinctive. Scholars have noted previously that the instructions Yahoel conveys to Abraham

From Earthly Temple to Heavenly Shrines: Prayer and Sacred Song in the Hekhalot Literature and its Relation to Temple Traditions, *JSQ* 4 (1997) 217–267; I. GRUENWALD, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980); D. J. HALPERIN, *Faces of the Chariot; Early Jewish Response to Ezekiel's Vision* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988); IDEM, Heavenly Ascension in Ancient Judaism: the Nature of the Experience, *SBLSP* 26 (1987) 218–231; R. G. HAMERTON-KELLY, The Temple and the Origins of Jewish Apocalyptic, *VT* 20 (1970) 1–15; M. HIMMELFARB, The Practice of Ascent in the Ancient Mediterranean World, in: *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*, 123–137; IDEM, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); IDEM, From Prophecy to Apocalypse: The Book of the Watchers and Tours of Heaven, in: A. GREEN (ed.), *Jewish Spirituality: From the Bible Through the Middle Ages* (New York: Crossroad, 1986) 145–165; IDEM, Apocalyptic Ascent and the Heavenly Temple, *SBLSP* 26 (1987) 210–217; C. R. KOESTER, *The Dwelling of God: The Tabernacle in the Old Testament, Intertestamental Jewish Literature and the New Testament* (CBQMS, 22) (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1989); J. D. LEVENSON, The Jerusalem Temple in Devotional and Visionary Experience, in: *Jewish Spirituality: From the Bible Through the Middle Ages*, 32–59; IDEM, The Temple and the World, *Journal of Religion* 64 (1984) 275–298; A. J. McNICOL, The Heavenly Sanctuary in Judaism: A Model for Tracing the Origin of the Apocalypse, *JRS* 13 (1987) 66–94; C. R. A. MORRAY-JONES, The Temple Within: The Embodied Divine Image and its Worship in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Jewish and Christian Sources, *SBLSS* 37 (1998) 400–431; IDEM, Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition, *JJS* 43 (1992): 1–31; G. W. E. NICKELSBURG, The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality in 1 Enoch, *JSJ* (1988): 51–64; R. PARTAI, *Man and Temple in Ancient Jewish Myth and Ritual* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1967); C. ROWLAND, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982); IDEM, The Visions of God in Apocalyptic Literature, *JSJ* 10 (1979) 137–154; A. F. SEGAL, Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity and Their Environment, in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.23.2: 1333–1394.

invoke the memory of peculiar symbolic actions and rituals which took place on the Day of Atonement.³ Moreover, it has even been suggested that, in chapters 13 and 14, Yahoel performs the climactic action of the atoning ceremony on Yom Kippur, that is, the enigmatic scapegoat ritual, by which impurity was transferred onto a goat named Azazel and then, through him, dispatched into the wilderness.⁴

Yet despite striking similarities with Yom Kippur traditions found in biblical and rabbinic accounts, the authors of the Slavonic apocalypse strive to refashion the ancient rite in accordance with a new apocalyptic outlook, which sees the earthly version of the atoning ritual as a reflection of celestial and eschatological realities. In this perspective, one may recognize a new cosmic dimension of the atoning ordinance, which is envisioned in the Slavonic text as the eschatological Yom Kippur. That we find this emphasis on the heavenly and eschatological dimensions of the sacerdotal symbolism in a transitional text like the *Apoc. Ab.* is no coincidence. It was written during a unique period in Jewish history, when apocalyptic authors, faced with a wide array of challenges stemming from the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, embraced various theological alternatives for preserving and perpetuating traditional priestly practices. When it envisions heaven as the true place of worship, and depicts Abraham as an adept of the heav-

(3) See, for example, C. FLETCHER-LOUIS, *The Revelation of the Sacral Son of Man*, in: F. AVEMARIE, H. LICHTENBERGER (hg.), *Auferstehung-Resurrection* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001) 282; L. L. GRABBE, *The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation*, *JSJ* 18 (1987) 165–179 at 157; R. HELM, *Azazel in Early Jewish Literature*, *AUSP* 32 (1994) 217–226 at 223; B. LOURIE, *Propitiatorium in the Apocalypse of Abraham*, in: L. DITOMMASO and C. BÖTTTRICH, with the assist. of M. SWOBODA (eds.), *The Old Testament Apocrypha in the Slavonic Tradition: Continuity and Diversity* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011) (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum, 140) 267–277; A. A. ORLOV, *Eschatological Yom Kippur in the Apocalypse of Abraham. Part I. The Scapegoat Ritual*, *Scr* 5 (2009) 79–111; D. STÖKL BEN EZRA, *Yom Kippur in the Apocalyptic Imaginaire and the Roots of Jesus' High Priesthood*, in: J. ASSMAN, G. STROUMSA (eds.), *Transformations of the Inner Self in Ancient Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) 349–366; IDEM, *The Biblical Yom Kippur, the Jewish Fast of the Day of Atonement and the Church Fathers*, *SP* 34 (2002) 493–502; IDEM, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century* (WUNT, 163) (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003) 94.

(4) ORLOV, *Eschatological Yom Kippur in the Apocalypse of Abraham. Part I...*, 79–111.

enly priestly praxis entering the celestial Holy of Holies, the *Apoc. Ab.* evinces one such sacerdotal option.

Veiled symbolism, which reveals both apocalyptic and sacerdotal realities, accompanies the seer's cultic entrance into heaven. Thus in the *Apoc. Ab.*, as in many other Jewish pseudepigraphical narratives, the hero's entrance into the sacred realm coincides with his peculiar transformation as celebrant of the celestial liturgy. This metamorphosis, hinted at symbolically via the change in Abraham's ontological garments, was often taken to mark the transition from an earthly to a celestial condition. Here, as in the Yom Kippur ordinance, the metamorphosis of the celebrant's wardrobe is the pinnacle of transformational experience.

Although previous studies have explored many facets of the Yom Kippur imagery in the *Apoc. Ab.*, sufficient attention has not yet been paid to the peculiar metamorphoses which the story's (human and angelic) protagonists and antagonists seem to experience in the course of their participation in the drama of the eschatological Yom Kippur ritual. The present study aims to further explore the Yom Kippur traditions in the Slavonic apocalypse by paying especial attention to the transformational aspects of this enigmatic atoning ritual.

I. THE PROTAGONIST'S TRANSFORMATION

The Lost Attires

The *Apocalypse of Abraham* can be divided into two parts. The first, "haggadic" section (chapters 1 through 8) depicts the young hero of the faith as a paladin against his father Terah's idolatrous statues. The second, "apocalyptic" part (which occupies the work's remaining chapters) describes Abraham as he prepares for his heavenly journey, progresses into the abode of the deity, and acquires eschatological mysteries. This second section unveils one of the most important dynamics to be found in the Jewish apocalyptic accounts. In this conceptual framework, both positive and negative characters progress into the respective realms of their eschatological opponents, and frequently assume the roles and offices of their counterparts.⁵ In such accounts, a

(5) This peculiar dynamic of apocalyptic accounts is already present in early Enochic booklets, where the antagonists represented by the fallen angels assume a wide array of human roles on earth, while a human protagonist — Enoch — assumes their celestial and priestly offices in the heavenly realm.

seer and his demoted opponent(s) often confront each other on their journeys to their new habitats.⁶

Apocalypse of Abraham 13, where Abraham encounters his eschatological antagonist in the form of the fallen angel Azazel, may represent a crossroads in the text of this dynamic of exaltation and demotion. In the course of this encounter, Abraham's *angelus interpres*, Yahoel, informs both parties that the celestial garment of the demoted angel must now be transferred to a new owner — the translated hero of the faith. Thus *Apocalypse of Abraham* 13:7–14 reads:

“Reproach is on you, Azazel! Since Abraham's portion is in heaven, and yours is on earth, since you have chosen it and desired it to be the dwelling place of your impurity ... For behold, the garment which in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him, and the corruption which was on him has gone over to you” (*Apoc. Ab.* 13:7–14).⁷

The pivotal transformational motif invoked in this passage — namely, the promise of new attire to the translated hero — signifies not merely a rather unusual expansion of the patriarch's wardrobe, but his ontological transition from the form of a human being to the status of celestial citizen. Such endowments with celestial attire are not unusual in apocalyptic literature. Seers often receive angelic garments. In *2 Enoch* 22, for example, Enoch is clothed with a luminous angelic garment, which makes his body similar to the glorious bodies of the angelic servants. Such a metamorphosis is of great anthropological significance: it signals a return to the original luminosity the first humans lost after their transgression in Eden.

In the *Apocalypse of Abraham* the hero's transition also seems to invoke the memory of the protological story, in which the luminous clothes of the heavenly beings were exchanged for garments of skin. Abraham's endowment with angelic garments may, therefore, signal an eschatological return to the Protoplast's original condition. Several

(6) One of the instances of such an encounter between exalted hero and demoted antagonists can be found in *2 Enoch*, where the seventh antediluvian patriarch meets, on his celestial journey, a group of incarcerated watchers in the second heaven. On this tradition see A. ORLOV, *The Watchers of Satanail: The Fallen Angels Traditions in 2 (Slavonic) Enoch*, in: IDEM, *Divine Manifestations in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha* (OJC, 2) (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2009) 237–268.

(7) KULIK, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha...*, 20.

of the text's students have, in fact, noted this possibility. Louis Ginzberg, for one, suggested the possible Adamic background and pointed to parallels in the targumic materials and in *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 20.⁸ Indeed, the transference of a garment from the demoted angelic antagonist to an exalted human protagonist is an important theme throughout the Adamic lore.

Some of the currents within this tradition entertain the unusual notion that even the original, luminous garments of the first humans had come from a demoted celestial being. This can be seen, for example, in the *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on Gen 3:21, a passage which treats the etiology of the first humans' luminous attire. According to this targumic interpretation, the original humans were endowed with luminous garments that had been stripped from the serpent:

And the Lord God made garments of glory for Adam and for his wife from the skin which the serpent had cast off (to be worn) on the skin of their (garments of) fingernails of which they had been stripped, and he clothed them.⁹

Later midrashim is also aware of the enigmatic provenance of the protoplasts' luminous garments; thus, for example, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 20:

Rabbi Eliezer said: From skins which the serpent sloughed off, the Holy One, blessed be He, took and made coats of glory for Adam and his wife, as it is said, "And the Lord God made for Adam and his wife coats of skin, and clothed them."¹⁰

These passages seem to unveil the dynamic of exaltation and demotion noted above; they suggest that the protagonist's apotheosis, signaled through his acquisition of luminous attire, comes as a result of the denigration of the erstwhile favorite, who is now stripped of his exalted status. While the new possessors of exalted status are drawn, by the will of God, to their dignified abodes, their antagonistic counterparts are forced into exile from their elevated domiciles.

(8) See GINZBERG, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 92.

(9) *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, tr. M. MAHER (AB, 1B) (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992) 29. Later rabbinic traditions also hold that the glorious garments of Adam and Eve were made from the skin of the female Leviathan.

(10) G. FRIEDLANDER (tr.), *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (New York: Hermon Press, 1965) 144.

The tradition of the first humans' clothes of glory, mentioned in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, is important for our study. The motif of Abraham's endowment with a garment stripped from the fallen angel cannot be properly understood without exploring the array of traditions associated with Adamic "clothing metaphors" — a seminal conceptual cluster whose roots can be traced already to some biblical developments.¹¹ In order to fully grasp these roots, a short excursus into several biblical and extrabiblical texts is necessary.

The Garments of Light

Genesis 1:26–27 and 3:21 are pivotal starting points for subsequent Jewish and Christian reflection on the glorious garments of Adam and Eve. Genesis 1:26 describes the creation of humanity after the likeness (דמות) of the image (צלם) of God. Notably Gen 1:26–27 refers to the צלם (*tselem*) of Adam, the luminous image of God's glory according to which Adam was created.¹² Thus Adam's *tselem* was created after God's own *tselem* (בצל מנו), literally "in our *tselem*" — a kind of luminous "imitation" of the glorious *tselem* of God. Later rabbinic interpre-

(11) One such cryptic allusion to the Protoplast's glorious garments can possibly be found in Ezekiel 28, which tells the story of a glorious angelic being, originally installed in the Garden of Eden but then forcefully expelled from this lofty location. The text describes the peculiar garment of this celestial being, decorated with precious stones and gold.

(12) For discussions about the luminous body of Adam, see: D. H. AARON, *Shedding Light on God's Body in Rabbinic Midrashim: Reflections on the Theory of a Luminous Adam*, *HTR* 90 (1997) 299–314; S. BROCK, *Clothing Metaphors as a Means of Theological Expression in Syriac Tradition*, M. SCHMIDT (ed.), *Typus, Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Vätern und ihren Parallelen im Mittelalter* (Eichstätter Beiträge, 4) (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1982) 11–40; A. D. DE CONICK and J. FOSSUM, *Stripped before God: A New Interpretation of Logion 37 in the Gospel of Thomas*, *VC* 45 (1991) 141; N. A. DAHL, D. HELLHOLM, *Garment-Metaphors: The Old and the New Human Being*, in: A. YARBRO COLLINS and M. M. MITCHELL (eds.), *Antiquity and Humanity: Essays on Ancient Religion and Philosophy: Presented to Hans Dieter Betz on his 70th Birthday* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001) 139–158; A. GOSHEN GOTTSTEIN, *The Body as Image of God in Rabbinic Literature*, *HTR* 87 (1994) 171–195; B. MURMELSTEIN, *Adam, ein Beitrag zur Messiaslehre*, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 35 (1928) 255; N. RUBIN, A. KOSMAN, *The Clothing of the Primordial Adam as a Symbol of Apocalyptic Time in the Midrashic Sources*, *HTR* 90 (1997) 155–174; J. Z. SMITH, *The Garments of Shame*, *History of Religion* 5 (1965/1966) 217–238.

tations often argue that the likeness that Adam and God shared was not physicality, in the usual sense of having a body, but rather luminescence.¹³ In this context, the first humans' clothing in garments of glory was often taken by later interpreters as a replication of the state of the deity, who, according to some biblical passages, was also clothed in glory and majesty.¹⁴

It is therefore especially noteworthy that, amidst such major conceptual developments, Gen 3 contains a cluster of motifs pertaining to the first humans' attire. According to Genesis 3:21, the deity fashioned for his beloved creatures a set of enigmatic clothes — “garments of skin.” This text is usually understood to refer to God's clothing Adam and Eve's nakedness *after* the Fall. Some scholars, however, argue that sufficient evidence exists to suggest another interpretation of the time reference in Gen 3:21. According to this alternative reading, the verbs in Gen 3.21 are to be taken as pluperfects referring to the status of Adam and Eve at their creation *before* the Fall.¹⁵

Several extra-biblical materials also show familiarity with the traditions of the glorious garments of the first humans.¹⁶ The motif is apparent, for example, in the elaborations of the Protoplast story found in the *Books of Adam and Eve*. Some versions of the *Primary Adam Books* allude to the story of the original garments of light once possessed by the first humans.¹⁷ In the Armenian version of the *LAE* (at 20:1) a testimony about the tragic loss of the garments comes directly from the mouth of one of the protoplasts, when Eve recollects the dramatic moment of the

(13) AARON, *Shedding Light on God's Body...*, 303.

(14) Cf., for example, Ezek 1; Ps. 101:1; Job 40:10.

(15) BROCK, *Clothing Metaphors...*, 14.

(16) The Qumran materials appear to be aware of the motif of the glorious condition of Adam. Thus several texts invoke the tradition of the glory of the Protoplast: *1QS* 4:15 22–23: “For those God has chosen for an everlasting covenant and to them shall belong all the glory of Adam (כְּבוֹד אָדָם).” *1QH* 4:9 15; “giving them as a legacy all the glory of Adam (כְּבוֹד אָדָם).” *CD-A* 3:20 “Those who remained steadfast in it will acquire eternal life, and all the glory of Adam (כְּבוֹד אָדָם) is for them.” F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, E. J. C. TIGCHELAAR (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols. (Leiden—New York—Köln: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1997) 78–79; 148–149; 554–555.

(17) On various versions of the *Primary Adam Books*, see M. E. STONE, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve* (SBL EJL, 3) (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), and M. DE JONGE, J. TROMP, *The Life of Adam and Eve* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

garments' disappearance: "At that hour I learned with my eyes that I was naked of the glory with which I had been clothed."¹⁸ This passage hints, not only to the protoplasts' original possession of the glorious clothes, but also to their ominous stripping after the Fall.¹⁹

Despite this unhappy memory, humanity's return to the glorious garments of the Protoplast seems, already in the *Primary Adam Books*, to have been eschatologically foreshadowed.²⁰ A suggestive hint appears at the scene of Adam's burial (which is found in the section dealing with Adamic funerary rites). His body is covered with linen vestments brought from Paradise, imagery which serves as a sign of the eschatological re-clothing of humanity and its return to the protoplasts' original attire:

After this, God spoke to Michael and said, "Go to the Garden of the [third] heaven and bring [me] three linen cloths." When he had

(18) G. A. ANDERSON, M. E. STONE (eds.), *A Synopsis of the Book of Adam and Eve. Second Revised Edition* (EJL, 17; Atlanta: Scholars, 1999) 58E. Cf. also the Armenian *LAE* 10.1 "When Eve came forth from the water, her flesh was like withered grass, for her flesh had been changed from the water, but the form of her glory remained brilliant." (Ibid., 12E). On the Armenian version of the *Primary Adam Books* see also M. E. STONE, *The Penitence of Adam* (CSCO, 429–30) (Louvain: Peeters, 1981); IDEM, *Texts and Concordances of the Armenian Adam Literature* (SBL EJL, 12) (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 70–81.

(19) Cf. also the Armenian *LAE* [44]21.2–5: "Then Adam came to me with his great glory... and I gave him to eat of the fruit, and I made him like me...." Later rabbinic traditions also speak about the lost of Adam's glory after the Fall. *Genesis Rabbah* 12.6 contains the following elaboration: "...the six things ...were taken away from Adam, viz. his lustre, his immortality... Adam did not retain his glory for a night... He deprived him of his splendor and expelled him from the Garden of Eden..." H. FREEDMAN, M. SIMON (eds.), *Midrash Rabbah*, 10 vols. (London: Soncino, 1939) Vol. 1, 91.

(20) Marinus de Jonge and Johannes Tromp noted that in *GLAE* the "promise of the eschatological restoration to glory does not postpone the divine grace to the end of times. Immediately after Adam's death, the angels and the sun and the moon offer incenses and prayers to God, that he may have mercy on Adam (33.4–36.1). Their efforts succeed, and trumpets announce the favourable outcome of God's gracious verdict on Adam (37.1–2). A Seraph washes Adam in the Acherusian lake (37.3), a ritual known from Greek mythology as the post mortem cleansing from guilt of the dead. Then God hands him over to Michael, who is to bring Adam to the third heaven, where he is to remain until the day of visitation (37.4–6)." M. DE JONGE, J. TROMP, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphy) (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 51.

brought them, God said to Michael and to Ozel and to Gabriel, “Bring these linen cloths and cover Adam’s body, and bring sweet oil.” They brought them and set them around him and wound him in that garment (Armenian version).²¹

The rabbinic materials reaffirm the tradition of the first humans’ glorious garments. The targumic traditions, both Palestinian²² and Babylonian,²³ while rendering Gen 3:21 “the Lord God made for Adam and his wife garments of skin and clothed them,” read “garments of glory” instead of “garments of skin.” This targumic interpretation is supported by a wide array of midrashic sources. Thus, for example, *Genesis Rabbah* 20:12 says that the scroll of Rabbi Meir read “garments of light” (בתנות אור) instead of “garments of skin” (בתנות עור):

(21) ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 86E–87E. Cf. also Georgian version: “They seized three folded shrouds of [cloth] and God told Michael and Gabriel, ‘Unfold these shrouds and envelop Adam’s body and take the ointment from the olive tree and pour it upon him.’ And three angels dressed him (in it) and when they had dressed Adam’s body (in it)...” (Ibid., 87E).

(22) In *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on Gen 3:21, the following tradition can be found: “And the Lord God made garments of glory for Adam and for his wife from the skin which the serpent had cast off (to be worn) on the skin of their (garments of) fingernails of which they had been stripped, and he clothed them.” *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, 29. *Targum Neofiti* on Gen 3:21 unveils a similar tradition: “And the Lord God made for Adam and for his wife garments of glory (לבושין דאוקר), for the skin of their flesh, and he clothed them.” *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis*, tr. M. McNAMARA (M.S.C.; AB, 1^a) (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992) 62–63; A. Díez MACHO, *Neophiti 1: Targum Palestinense MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1968) Vol. 1, 19. The *Fragmentary Targum* on Gen 3:21 also uses the imagery of the glorious garments: “And He made: And the memra of the Lord God created for Adam and his wife precious garments (לבושין דיקר) [for] the skin of their flesh, and He clothed them.” M. I. KLEIN, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch according to Their Extant Sources*, 2 vols. (AB, 76) (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980) Vol. 1, 46; vol. 2, 7.

(23) *Targum Onqelos* on Gen 3:21 reads: “And the Lord God made for Adam and his wife garments of honor for the skin of their flesh (לבושין דיקר על משך בסרהון), and He clothed them.” *The Targum Onqelos to Genesis*, tr. B. GROSSFELD (AB, 6) (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1988) 46; A. SPERBER (ed.), *The Bible in Aramaic Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*, 5 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1959) 1.5.

In R. Meir's Torah it was found written, "Garments of light: this refers to Adam's garments, which were like a torch [shedding radiance], broad at the bottom and narrow at the top."²⁴

Another midrashic compilation, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 14, also knows the motif of the Protoplast's glorious garment:

What was the dress of the first man? A skin of nail and a cloud of glory covered him. When he ate of the fruits of the tree, the nail-skin was stripped off him and the cloud of glory departed from him, and he saw himself naked....²⁵

Indeed, this motif continued to be developed in the rabbinic context for millennia. In one of the later Jewish mystical compendiums, the *Book of Zohar* I.36b, one finds an echo of the same tradition about the luminous garments. As was the case at *Genesis Rabbah* 20, this Zoharic passage also uses the same word play, עֹרֶר / אֹרֶר:

At first they had had coats of light (אֹרֶר), which procured them the service of the highest of the high, for the celestial angels used to come to enjoy that light; so it is written, "For thou hast made him but little lower than the angels, and crowns him with glory and honor" (Ps. viii, 6). Now after their sins they had only coats of skin (עֹרֶר), good for the body but not for the soul.²⁶

The Glory of the Fallen Angel

The biblical Adamic tradition represents, in many ways, the formative bedrock of the later apocalyptic and mystical developments centering on the eschatological re-clothing of the translated patriarchs and prophets, who change the "attire" of their ontological conditions often at their opponents' expense.

(24) *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 1, 171.

(25) FRIEDLANDER, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, 98. Other midrashic passages also speak about the luminosity of Adam's body. Thus, for example, in *Leviticus Rabbah* 20.2 the following tradition is found: "Resh Lakish, in the name of R. Simeon the son of Menasya, said: The apple of Adam's heel outshone the globe of the sun; how much more so the brightness of his face!" *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 4, 252. *Ecclesiastes Rabbah* 8:1 reads: "R. Levi said: 'The ball of Adam's heel outshone the sun... so was it not right that the ball of his heel should outshine the sun, and how much more so the beauty of his face!'" *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 8, 213–214. A similar tradition is also found in *b. Bava Batra* 58a.

(26) H. SPERLING, M. SIMON (eds.), *The Zohar*, 5 vols. (London—New York: Soncino, 1933) Vol. 1, 136.

In the Adamic lore one also finds the roots of the peculiar aetiology, noted above, according to which the first humans themselves received their unique status, manifested in luminous garments, as a result of the demotion of an exalted angelic being who fell out of favor with the deity. In these traditions, the Protoplast literally takes the place, glory, and garments of the demoted angelic antagonist. One of the early specimens of such a tradition can be found again in the *Primary Adam Books*, where Satan's removal from his special glorious place is set in conceptual symmetry with the creation and exaltation of Adam. Moreover, the very fact of the first human's entrance into the world serves, in this text, as the reason for Satan's dismissal; several versions of the *LAE* connect Satan's removal from his exalted dwelling with his refusal to bow down before the deity's newly created favorite.

Thus, for example, in the Armenian version of the *Life of Adam and Eve* 12:1–16:2, the infamous celestial rebel himself describes the reason for his dramatic exile from the Throne of the Cherubim and the dwelling of light:

Satan also wept loudly and said to Adam. "All my arrogance and sorrow came to pass because of you; for, because of you I went forth from my dwelling; and because of you I was alienated from the throne of the cherubs who, having spread out a shelter, used to enclose me; because of you my feet have trodden the earth... Thereupon, God became angry with me and commanded to expel us from our dwelling and to cast me and my angels, who were in agreement with me, to the earth; and you were at the same time in the Garden. When I realized that because of you I had gone forth from the dwelling of light and was in sorrows and pains..."²⁷

This enigmatic passage graphically reveals the origins of the long-lasting drama of competition and revenge that will later overshadow the whole history of humankind. Yet it also hints at the mysterious dynamics of the celestial realm, a hierarchical world where the rise of the deity's new favorite almost inevitably leads to demise of the old, who now must surrender his unique status, reflected in his garment, to his replacement. It would seem that this unique wardrobe, which signifies the distinctive status of the servant vis-à-vis the Divinity, cannot be divided amongst many.

In the *Life of Adam and Eve*, Satan repeatedly describes his original condition through metaphors of glory and light. These are precisely

(27) ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 15E–18E.

the formulae often used in the *Primary Adam Books* to describe first humans' celestial attire. Thus, in the Latin version of the aforementioned text (12.1–16:2), the Adversary describes his lost condition through the symbolism of “glory”:

“O Adam, all my enmity, jealousy, and resentment is towards you, since on account of you I was expelled and alienated from my glory (*gloria mea*), which I had in heaven in the midst of the angels. Then the Lord God grew angry with me and sent me forth with my angels from our glory (*gloria nostra*). On account of you we were expelled from our dwelling into this world and cast out upon the earth. Immediately we were in grief, since we had been despoiled of so much glory (*gloria*), and we grieved to see you in such a great happiness of delights.”²⁸

The demoted antagonist's alienation from his former glorious state, then, is several times set in parallel to the exaltation and gifts given to the Protoplast: “since we had been despoiled of so much glory (*gloria*), and we grieved to see you in such a great happiness of delights.”²⁹ Later rabbinic traditions also seem to know this motif, as they too find explanations for the provenance of the first humans' luminous attire in the stories of demoted antagonists.

The Cultic Significance of the Clothing Metaphors

Although the enigmatic exchange of conditions and garments between hero and anti-hero is already familiar from the stories of the first humans, in the accounts of the exalted patriarchs and prophets — who attempt to regain the protoplast's lost attire — the antagonist's demotion receives a new, one might say *atoning* significance via its frequent connection to priestly and liturgical traditions. When placed in a cultic dimension, the antagonist not only vacates, by his demotion, the exalted place intended for a new hero, but also and more importantly fulfills a purifying or cathartic function. In this sacerdotal perspective, the demoted figures are often envisioned as cosmic scapegoats, who take upon themselves humanity's impurity and sins and transport this heavy burden into the remote abode of their exile. This seems to reflect

(28) ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 15–18E. On the Latin version of the *Primary Adam Books*, see also W. MEYER, *Vita Adae et Evae, Abhandlungen der königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoph.-philologische Klasse 14* (1878) 185–250.

(29) ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 18–18E.

one of the fundamental cultic dynamics manifested in the Yom Kippur ordinance, where humanity's entrance into the deity's presence is put in conspicuous correspondence with the removal of human sins into the wilderness by the means of the scapegoat.

This Yom Kippur imagery appears to play a significant role in the conceptual framework of the *Apoc. Ab.* Yahoel's promise regarding the transference of the celestial garment to the patriarch coincides, in the text, with the angel's testimony that Abraham's sins — literally "his corruption" — are transferred to Azazel:

...For behold, the garment which in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him, and the corruption which was on him has gone over to you" (*Apoc. Ab.* 13:7–14).³⁰

Scholars have previously argued that this striking nexus of motifs is not coincidental, as it betrays a subtle link to the Yom Kippur ordinance.³¹ Hence it is possible that the motif of the patriarch's clothing also bears sacerdotal significance, and is perhaps even related to the cultic symbolism of the Day of Atonement. The text may envision the vestments Abraham receives from Azazel as priestly garments transferred from a demoted celestial priest to a new cultic servant. In order to further clarify the sacerdotal dimension of the celestial garment that Abraham receives from the infamous angel in the *Apoc. Ab.*, a short introduction to the traditions of the clothing and re-clothing of the chief cultic celebrant on Yom Kippur is required.

Even a cursory review of the role played by clothing imagery in the atonement ritual demonstrates that the symbolism of the heavenly garments looms large in this cultic ordinance; indeed, it is one of the most pivotal transformational symbols in the entire Yom Kippur ceremony. It is well known from biblical and rabbinic materials that this festival reached its climax in the high priest's entrance into the Holy of Holies. As noted above, this strongly resembles certain dynamics of Jewish apocalyptic accounts, where the seer's entrance into the deity's abode often coincides with the metamorphosis of his earthly body. This signals the arrival of a new citizen of the celestial community, who now needs new "clothing" to secure his safety in the upper abode. In these accounts, as in the Yom Kippur ceremony, the change of "garments"

(30) KULIK, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha...*, 20.

(31) ORLOV, *Eschatological Yom Kippur in the Apocalypse of Abraham*. Part I..., 79–111.

occurs upon the seer's entrance into the celestial Holy of Holies (often represented by the divine Throne Room).

Despite these striking resemblances, the possible apocalyptic roots of the Yom Kippur ritual remain shrouded in mystery. Did the ritual described in Leviticus develop as a dialogical reaffirmation of the practices of heavenly ascent, that is to say, as the earthly complement to the visionary's eschatological entrance into the celestial Holy of Holies? Or, quite otherwise, did the Levitical ritual arise as a polemical response to such practices, that is, as an attempt to discourage the praxis of the heavenly priesthood by establishing an alternative cultic framework that limits the access to the divine Presence on earth to the members of certain priestly clans?³² There is no clear solution to this question. Yet while the origins of this correlation between apocalyptic symbolism and Yom Kippur imagery remain unclear to the modern scholar, it is interesting to note that the imaginations of earliest interpreters were no less baffled by this striking parallelism. Let us now revisit some of these early exegetical efforts to grapple with the protological and apocalyptic dimensions of the Yom Kippur ritual.

Yom Kippur and the Garden of Eden³³

As in the narratives of apocalyptic ascent, the transformation of a human person, upon entering the deity's domain, stands at the very center of the Yom Kippur ritual; and as the apocalyptic literature often casts the visionary's ascent in terms of return to the protological abode lost at the Fall, so too the Yom Kippur ritual seems to entertain an important ontological transition, tied at once both to the story of the protological mishap and to humankind's eschatological restoration. In this respect, the Day of Atonement's sacerdotal drama, which culminates in the breaching of the boundary separating human and divine realms, brings us to a very peculiar nexus, not only of eschatological, but also of protological motifs. More precisely, this ritual does not stop at rehearsing the drama of humankind's demotion and expulsion beyond

(32) On the question of rivalry between various priestly clans in the Second Temple period, see G. BOCCACCINI, *Middle Judaism. Jewish Thought, 300 b.c.e. to 200 c.e.* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991); IDEM, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

(33) For the identification of the Garden of Eden with the macrocosmic Temple in Qumran literature and Jewish Merkabah mysticism, see J. R. DAVILA, *The Hodayot Hymnist and the Four Who Entered Paradise*, *RevQ* 17/65–68 (1996) 457–478.

the boundaries of the celestial garden. It speaks of the exiled creature's eschatological joy; for he is now permitted, by means of this ritual, to reenter his lost abode and regain his abandoned domain and status.

This explains why several early Jewish texts sometimes identify the Holy of Holies with the Garden of Eden. One instance of this identification can be found in the *Book of Jubilees*. Robert Hayward notes that

...Jubilees states that Eden is holier than all the rest of the earth (3:12). According to 8:19, Noah knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies, and the dwelling of the Lord, and Mount Sinai the centre of the desert, and Mount Zion — the centre of the navel of the earth: these three were created as holy places facing each other. It would appear, then, that Adam and Eve were brought into the Holy of Holies prior to their disobedience: their expulsion from Eden thus signifies their removal from the place where God's Presence on the earth is most immediate for Israel.³⁴

Hayward goes on to suggest that, in these traditions, "the high priest's entry into the Holy of Holies on Yom Kippur might, then, in some manner typologically correspond to the first man's return to Eden, for a season, to be reconciled with his Maker face to face."³⁵

It is important to note, in this connection, that the theme of the first humans' peculiar attire, and its sacerdotal significance, does not escape the attention of the author(s) of the *Book of Jubilees*. Thus Hayward observes that the Protoplast's garments were possibly understood, in this text, as priestly robes.³⁶ He points especially to *Jubilees* 3:26–27, where Adam is clothed by the deity prior to his entrance into the Garden of

(34) C. T. R. HAYWARD, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook* (London—New York: Routledge, 1996) 89.

(35) HAYWARD, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*, 89.

(36) Similarly in some rabbinic materials the garments of the Protoplasts were understood as the priestly garments. Thus, Gary Anderson draws our attention to a passage from *Midrash Abkir* where the attires of the protoplast is envisioned as the priestly robes: "What was written above? — 'the Lord God made for Adam...' This teaches that the Holy One Blessed Be He had made for him priestly garments just as it says in the text, 'Behold the man adorned in linen...' (Dan 10:5) [This is similar] to a king who loved his slave and made for him a tunic of gold. [When] he transgressed [the king] took it from him and he put on chains. So the Holy One Blessed be He, made for him priestly garments. When he sinned he removed them from him and he put on fig leaves. As scripture says, 'They sewed fig-leaves...!'" ANDERSON, *The Punishment of Adam and Eve...*, 66.

Eden, and then offers sacrifice to God.³⁷ Noting the subtle detail that Adam made his offering *after* God had clothed him, Hayward suggests that “*Jubilees* possibly held that God had made for Adam priestly vestments.”³⁸ He thus proposes that, for the *Book of Jubilees*, Adam is “constituted the first priest in a succession which will lead to Levi,³⁹ and then to Aaron and his sons.”⁴⁰

Ontological Robes

The motif of the Protoplast’s sacerdotal vestments, received from the deity upon his entrance into the Garden of Eden, reaffirms the ideological tenets of the Yom Kippur ritual, with its keen attention to the cultic attire suitable for the respective realms. Yet, here as in other cases, clothing metaphors have another, anthropological meaning. They suggest a change, not only in the adept’s sacerdotal wardrobe, but in his ontological condition.

In several late Second-Temple Jewish texts, the ontological dimension of the celebrant’s sacerdotal clothes on Yom Kippur receives special attention. Philo, e.g., understands the exchange of the high priest’s garments not merely as symbolic steps of the cultic routine, but as symbols of transition between two ontological conditions, one earthly

(37) “And He made for them coats of skin, and clothed them, and sent them forth from the Garden of Eden. And on that day on which Adam went forth from the Garden, he offered as a sweet savour an offering, frankincense, galbanum, and stacte, and spices in the morning with the rising of the sun from the day when he covered his shame.” HAYWARD, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*, 90.

(38) HAYWARD, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*, 90.

(39) This tradition of the priestly garments of Adam transferred to protological and Israelite heroes was not been forgotten in the later midrashim. Thus *Numbers Rabbah* 4.8 read: “...Adam was the world’s firstborn. When he offered his sacrifice, as it says: And it pleased the Lord better than a bullock that hath horns and hoofs (Ps. LXIX, 32) — he donned high priestly garments; as it says: And the Lord God made for Adam and for his wife garments of skin, and clothed them (Gen. III, 21). They were robes of honor which subsequent firstborn used. When Adam died he transmitted them to Seth. Seth transmitted them to Methusaleh. When Methusaleh died he transmitted them to Noah.” *Midrash Rabbah*, vol. 5, 101. A similar tradition is also found in *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 24: “Rabbi Jehudah said: The coats which the Holy One, blessed be He, made for Adam and his wife, were with Noah in the ark...” (FRIEDLANDER, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, 175).

(40) HAYWARD, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*, 90.

and another celestial. In *De Mutatione Nominum* 43–44, he reflects on the peculiar symbolism of the high priest's two robes, seeing them as the distinctive "attires" befitting divine and human realms:

It was this thought which prompted Moses when he wove the tabernacle, dividing its precincts into two, and set a curtain between the parts to distinguish the inner from the outer; when too he gilded the sacred ark which holds the laws both within and without, and gave the high priest two robes, the linen robe to be worn within, the many-colored one with the long skirt to be worn outside. These and the like are symbols of a soul which in inward things is undefiled towards God and in outward things is pure towards the world of our senses and human life.⁴¹

In this passage, the linen robe of the high priest (the garment worn by the celebrant in the Holy of Holies) and his multi-colored vestment (worn outside the inner Sanctum) are understood as divine and human dimensions of the soul.⁴²

At *De Specialibus Legibus* 1.84, Philo returns to the theme of the sacerdotal clothing and comments on the materials from which both garments are fashioned. The fine linen of the sacerdotal garment worn in the Holy of Holies signifies the immortality of the one who wears it, in contrast to the priestly clothes worn outside the inner shrine, and made of wool — a material taken from the hair of a mortal creature.

(41) *Philo*, trs. F. H. COLSON, G. H. WHITAKER, 10 vols. (LCL) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929–64) Vol. 5, 165.

(42) Later rabbinic authors also take the linen garments of the high priest to signal a transition from a human to an angelic nature. The change of the garment of the High Priest to white linen often signifies a prerequisite for the adept's entrance into heaven. The "celestial" nature of the Yom Kippur ritual looms large, e.g., in the *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, 46: "He said before the Holy One, blessed be He: Sovereign of all the universe! Thou hast one people like the ministering angels who are in heaven. Just as the ministering angels have bare feet, so have the Israelites bare feet on the Day of Atonement. Just as the ministering angels have neither food nor drink, so the Israelite have neither food or drink on the Day of Atonement. Just as the ministering angels have no joints, in like wise the Israelites stand upon their feet. Just as the ministering angels have peace obtaining amongst them, so the Israelites have peace obtaining amongst them on the Day of Atonement. Just as the ministering angels are innocent of all sin on the Day of Atonement, so are the Israelites innocent of all sin on the Day of Atonement" (FRIEDLANDER, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, 364).

The high priest is bidden to put on a similar dress when he enters the inner shrine to offer incense, because its fine linen is not, like wool, the product of creature subject to death, and also to wear another, the formation of which is very complicated.⁴³

While, in this text, the celestial status of the sacerdotal adept who enters the inner sancta is only hinted at, several places in *De Somniis* (*Som.* 2.28 §189; 2.34 §231)⁴⁴ affirm unambiguously the unique ontological status of the Yom Kippur celebrant by pointing to his “non-human” nature during his stay in the Holy of Holies:

... a being whose nature is midway between [man and] God, less than God, superior to man. “For when the high priest enters the Holy of Holies he shall not be a man.”⁴⁵

Moreover, it seems that Philo conceives of the high priest as a mediator, who, by entering Holy of Holies, breaches the boundary separating earthly and heavenly realms. Thus, e.g., in *De Somniis* II.231 he unveils the following tradition:

The good man indeed is on the border-line, so that we may say, quite properly, that he is neither God nor man, but bounded at either end by the two, by mortality because of his manhood, by incorruption because of his virtue. Similar to this is the oracle given about the high priest: “when he enters,” it says, “into the Holy of Holies, he will not be a man until he comes out.” And if he then becomes no man, clearly neither is he God, but God’s minister, through the mortal in him in affinity with creation, though the immortal with the uncreated, and he retains this midway place until he comes out again to the realm of body and flesh.⁴⁶

All these distinctive testimonies from a great Hellenistic writer show that he, not unlike other early interpreters, tried to envision the Yom Kippur ritual as a transformative sacerdotal event, which proleptically anticipates and celebrates the eschatological return of humankind to its original immortal condition.⁴⁷

(43) *Philo*, vol. 7, 149.

(44) Cf. also *Her.* 16 §84.

(45) *Philo*, vol. 5, 529.

(46) *Philo*, vol. 5, 547.

(47) Later rabbinic traditions also envision the high priest’s entrance into the Holy of Holies as his entrance into heaven. Jacob Milgrom notes that white linen as the garment of a high priest was understood in some traditions as an

Clothes of Ascent

We have seen that biblical and rabbinic accounts of the Yom Kippur ritual demonstrate striking similarities to a cluster of peculiar motifs also prominent in Jewish apocalyptic and mystical texts. We also observed that the roots and priority of these mutual correspondences are difficult to establish, since already in some biblical accounts the Yom Kippur symbolism betrays its distinctive visionary mold. While the true extent of the apocalyptic influences on the Yom Kippur ritual remain shrouded in mystery, it is quite clear that this ritual's imagery has captivated apocalypticists' imaginations for many generations. The earliest Jewish visionary accounts, stemming from the Enochic tradition, seek to establish the apocalyptic thrust of the atonement ritual on a new conceptual level, and propel its distinctive symbolism in an entirely new eschatological dimension. The striking potential for humankind's metamorphosis, cryptically embedded in the priestly rite through the changes of the celebrant's garments, thus receives further symbolic elaboration in the transformational accounts of the apocalyptic tradition. In the literature of this tradition, the initiate's daring eyes behold an array of transformational possibilities, which, till this apocalyptic moment, had remained deeply concealed under the veil of the sacerdotal ritual.

In extra-biblical pseudepigraphic accounts, the transformational thrust of the Yom Kippur ritual reaches its new conceptual and symbolic dimension. The adept of this kind of apocalyptic narrative is not merely dressed in the linen garb of the sacerdotal clothes upon their entrance into the divine Presence. The profound and often terrifying changes he experiences far surpasses his lofty wardrobes; his very flesh and bones are suddenly annihilated by the divine fire,⁴⁸ the substance that refashions the visionary's mortal body into an angelic or even a divine corporeality. The striking metamorphoses affect not only the protagonist of the apocalyptic narrative, but also his infamous counterpart. Demoted subjects, including fallen angels, are drawn into an overarching drama of transformation, thus becoming part of the cosmic ordeal mysteriously outlined in the Yom Kippur ritual. Like

angelic garment. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 1016. He refers to the passage found in *y. Yoma*, which compares the action of the high priest on Yom Kippur with the ministration of a celestial being: "like the ministration on high so was the ministration below."

(48) One of the depictions of fiery annihilation is attested in 3 *Enoch*.

its sacerdotal celebrants, the other actors in the ritual — including the scapegoat, its infamous antagonistic sacrifice — are also reinterpreted eschatologically and cosmically in the apocalyptic tradition.

A remarkable example of the apocalyptic reformulation of an antagonist is found in the *Book of the Watchers*, an early Enochic work stemming from the early Second Temple period. In this text, the scapegoat rite is reinterpreted angelologically, via the incorporation of details from the Yom Kippur ritual into the history of its rebel, the fallen angel Asael. The cosmic tragedy of the angelic servant's demotion unfolds in the midst of the exaltation of the patriarch Enoch. Notably for our investigation, the profiles of both characters are overlaid with explicit and implicit liturgical connections. Thus Asael, who is envisioned as the sacrificial agent of the atoning ritual, is openly juxtaposed with Enoch, who is understood as the celestial high priest entering the heavenly Holy of Holies.⁴⁹ While Asael and other Watchers abandon their stations and attempt to assume a variety of human roles — including familial duties of husbands and fathers⁵⁰ — Enoch progresses into the upper realm and assumes various angelic roles. Here, as in the *Apoc. Ab.*, the offices of the fallen angel(s), which correspond to his unique celestial status, are transferred to a human being *en route* to the divine Presence. This exchange of “gifts” between positive and negative characters is reciprocal; the angelic antagonist too receives a gift, though a rather unpleasant one, in the form of the “defilement” associated with the human condition.

This dynamic mimics the peculiar processions of protagonist and antagonist on the Day of Atonement, in the course of which the high priest enters the divine presence while the scapegoat is exiled into the

(49) On Enoch's priestly roles, see M. HIMMELFARB, *The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel, the Book of the Watchers, and the Wisdom of ben Sira*, in: J. SCOTT and P. SIMPSON-HOUSLEY (eds.), *Sacred Places and Profane Spaces: Essays in the Geographics of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991) 63–78; IDEM, *Apocalyptic Ascent and the Heavenly Temple*, in: *Society of Biblical Literature 1987 Seminar Papers* (SBLSP, 26) (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1987) 210–217. See also: J. MAIER, *Das Gefährdungsmotiv bei der Himmelsreise in der jüdischen Apokalyptik und 'Gnosis,' Kairos 5* (1) (1963) 18–40, esp. 23; IDEM, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis*, 127–8; G. W. E. NICKELSBURG, *Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee, JBL 100* (1981) 575–600, esp. 576–82.; ORLOV, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 70–76.

(50) On the priestly traditions related to the fallen Watchers see D. SUTER, *Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: the Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16, HUCA 50* (1979) 115–35.

wilderness.⁵¹ The *Book of the Watchers* reflects the same cultic pattern, as its hero Enoch progresses in the opposite direction of his antagonistic counterpart Asael, ascending into heaven and acquiring a special priestly status that allows him to enter the celestial sanctuary. Several scholars have previously noted this point.⁵² *1 Enoch* 14:9–18 reads:

And I proceeded until I came near to a wall which was built of hailstones, and a tongue of fire surrounded it, and it began to make me afraid. And I went into the tongue of fire and came near to a large house which was built of hailstones, and the wall of that house (was) like a mosaic (made) of hailstones, and its floor (was) snow. Its roof (was) like the path of the stars and flashes of lightning, and among them (were) fiery Cherubim, and their heaven (was like) water. And (there was) a fire burning around its wall, and its door was ablaze with fire. And I went into that house, and (it was) hot as fire and cold as snow, and there was neither pleasure nor life in it. Fear covered me and trembling, I fell on my face. And I saw in the vision, and behold, another house, which was larger than the former, and all its doors (were) open before me, and (it was) built of a tongue of fire. And in everything it so excelled in glory and splendor and size that I am unable to describe to you its glory and its size. And its floor (was) fire, and above (were) lightning and the path of the stars, and its roof also (was) a burning fire. And I looked and I saw in it a high throne, and its appearance (was) like ice and its surroundings like the shining sun and the sound of Cherubim.⁵³

(51) In this respect Daniel Stökl rightly observes that the Yom Kippur ritual "...consisted of two antagonistic movements... centripetal and centrifugal: the entrance of the High Priest into the Holy of Holies and the expulsion of the scapegoat. As the first movement, the holiest person, the High Priest, entered the most sacred place, the Holy of Holies of the Jerusalem Temple, burned incense, sprinkled blood and prayed in order to achieve atonement and purification for his people and the sacred institutions of the Jewish cult. As a second movement, the scapegoat burdened with the sins of the people was sent with an escort to the desert" (STÖKL BEN EZRA, *The Biblical Yom Kippur...*, 494).

(52) HIMMELFARB, *The Temple and the Garden of Eden in Ezekiel...*, 63–78; *idem*, *Apocalyptic Ascent...*, 210–217. Martha Himmelfarb's research draws on the previous publications of Johann Maier and George Nickelsburg. See: MAIER, *Das Gefährdungsmotiv bei der Himmelsreise in der jüdischen Apokalypik und 'Gnosis,'* 18–40, esp. 23; *idem*, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis...*, 127–128; NICKELSBURG, *Enoch, Levi, and Peter...*, 575–600, esp. 576–582. See also KVANVIG, *Roots of Apocalyptic...*, 101–102; HALPERIN, *The Faces of the Chariot...*, 81.

(53) KNIBB, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 1, 50–52; vol. 2, 98–99.

In commenting on this passage, Martha Himmelfarb draws attention to the peculiar description of the celestial edifices that Enoch encounters in his approach to the Throne. The Ethiopic text reports that, in order to reach God's Throne, the patriarch passes through three celestial constructions: a wall, an outer house, and an inner house; the Greek version mentions a house instead of a wall. As Himmelfarb observes, "more clearly in the Greek, but also in the Ethiopic, this arrangement echoes the structure of the earthly temple with its vestibule (אולם), sanctuary (היכל), and the Holy of Holies (דביר)."⁵⁴ God's throne is located in the innermost chamber of this heavenly structure and is represented by a throne of cherubim (14:18). It can be seen as a heavenly counterpart to the cherubim found in the Holy of Holies in the Jerusalem temple.

Himmelfarb also suggests that in the *Book of the Watchers* the patriarch himself, in the course of his ascent, becomes a priest,⁵⁵ similar to the angels.⁵⁶ In this light, Enoch's angelic status and priestly role⁵⁷ appear to be interconnected. Himmelfarb stresses that "the author of the *Book of the Watchers* claims angelic status for Enoch through his service in the heavenly temple," since "the ascent shows him passing through the outer court of the temple and the sanctuary to the door of the Holy of Holies, where God addresses him with his own mouth."⁵⁸ The seer's entrance into to the divine Throne Room, and vision of the

(54) HIMMELFARB, *Apocalyptic Ascent...*, 210.

(55) David Halperin's research also stresses the "apocalyptic" priestly function of Enoch in the *Book of the Watchers*. He observes that "Daniel and Enoch share an image, perhaps drawn from the hymnic tradition of merkabah exegesis (think of the Angelic liturgy), of God surrounded by multitudes of angels. But, in the Holy of Holies, God sits alone... The angels, barred from the inner house, are the priests of Enoch's heavenly Temple. The high priest must be Enoch himself, who appears in the celestial Holy of Holies to procure forgiveness for holy beings." HALPERIN, *Faces of the Chariot...*, 81–2.

(56) HIMMELFARB, *Apocalyptic Ascent...*, 213.

(57) Enoch's sacerdotal duties in the *Book of the Watchers* also involve his intercession and transmission of the judgment against Asael. Crispin Fletcher-Louis observes that "Enoch's intercession and transmission of the judgment against Asael is thoroughly priestly and related closely to that of the high priest on the Day of Atonement whose ministry involves the sending of a scapegoat into the wilderness to Azazel (Lev 16)." FLETCHER-LOUIS, *All the Glory of Adam...*, 40.

(58) HIMMELFARB, *Apocalyptic Ascent...*, 212.

Glory of God, suggests strongly that the *Book of the Watchers* elaborates an apocalyptic version of the Yom Kippur celebration, which, like its earthly cultic counterpart, culminates with the celebrant's entrance into the divine Presence.

Although the apocalyptic re-enactment of the Yom Kippur ritual in the *Book of the Watchers* does not openly invoke the imagery of the celebrant's garments, other pseudepigraphic accounts often do. For example, in the depiction of the initiation of a heavenly priest reflected in the *Testament of Levi* 8 and *2 Enoch* 22, sacerdotal-clothing symbolism looms large.⁵⁹ Moreover, as in the aforementioned Adamic developments, these descriptions also betray distinctive protological connections; at both *Testament of Levi* 8 and *2 Enoch* 22, the priestly investitures of the hero appear to be understood as the glorious garments of the first humans. The *Testament of Levi* 8:2–10 offers the following depiction of Levi's celestial investiture:

And I saw seven men in white clothing, saying to me: Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood and the crown of righteousness and breastplate of understanding and the garment of truth and the plate of faith and the turban of (giving) a sign and the ephod of prophecy. And each of them carried these things and put them on me, and said: From now on become a priest of the Lord, you and your seed for ever. And the first anointed me with holy oil and gave a staff of judgment. The second washed me with pure water and fed me with bread and wine, most holy things, and put round me a holy and glorious robe. The third clothed me with a linen vestment like an ephod. The fourth put round me a girdle like a purple (robe). The fifth gave me a branch of rich olive. The sixth put a crown on my head. The seventh put on me a diadem of the priesthood. And they filled my hands with incense that I might serve as a priest to the Lord.⁶⁰

In this stunning passage, the visionary acquires a glorious robe — an event tied to a whole array of subtle allusions to the actions and attributes of the high priest. The vestment's glorious nature invokes the memory of the first humans' garments, and a series of other protological markers reinforce this connection. One such hint may be the olive branch, which possibly refers cryptically both to a menorah and to the

(59) A sacerdotal dimension in relation to the change of garments might also be present in *Joseph and Aseneth*. See *Jos. Asen.* 13:3; 14:12; 15:10.

(60) H. W. HOLLANDER, M. DE JONGE, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Commentary* (SVTP) (Leiden: Brill, 1985) 149.

Tree of Life, and thus provides an important conceptual bridge that helps to unify the narrative's protological and sacerdotal dimensions.

In *2 Enoch* 22, the visionary's reception of the glorious garment again appears alongside a cluster of cultic and protological motifs. *2 Enoch* 22:9 depicts Enoch's arrival into the deity's abode. This entrance into the divine Presence necessitates an adjustment in Enoch's wardrobe. Then the archangel Michael extracts Enoch from his clothes and anoints him with delightful oil. This oil is "greater than the greatest light and its ointment is like sweet dew, and the fragrance [like] myrrh; and it is like rays of the glittering sun."⁶¹ This anointing transforms the patriarch, whose garments of skin are replaced by the luminous garment of an immortal angelic being, one of the glorious ones. As in the *Testament of Levi*, the unity of the story's sacerdotal and protological dimensions is secured through the pivotal arboreal symbol: thus it appears that the oil used in Enoch's anointing comes from the Tree of Life, which in *2 Enoch* 8:3–4 is depicted with a similar symbolism.

...the tree [of life] is indescribable for pleasantness and fine fragrance, and more beautiful than any (other) created thing that exists. And from every direction it has an appearance which is gold-looking and crimson, and with the form of fire.⁶²

The shorter recension refers to a second olive tree, near the first, which "flowing with oil continually."⁶³ Here, as in the *Testament of Levi*, the adept's initiation and redressing coincides with his anointing, which tries to unify several theological dimensions, sacerdotal as well as protological. In this respect, Enoch's investiture with celestial garments and anointing with shining oil represents not only his priestly initiation, but the restoration of fallen humanity.

The *Primary Adam Books* also attest to this anointing tradition and underscore its significance in the eschatological restoration of the Protoplast. The tradition surfaces, for example, in the Armenian version's depiction of Adam's burial; the Protoplast is clothed with linen garments brought by archangels from Paradise, and then anointed with oil:

After this, God spoke to Michael and said, "Go to the Garden of the [third] heaven and bring [me] three linen cloths." When he had brought them, God said to Michael and to Ozel and to Gabriel,

(61) ANDERSEN, "2 Enoch...", vol. 1, 138.

(62) Ibid., 114.

(63) Ibid., 117.

“Bring these linen cloths and cover Adam’s body, and bring sweet oil.” They brought them and set them around him and wound him in that garment.⁶⁴

In light of this Adamic passage, it seems rather clear that the anointing of Enoch in the Slavonic apocalypse signals the return of fallen humankind to the original condition of the Protoplast and his garments of light.

Yet distinctively sacerdotal symbolism also permeates the scene of restoration in *2 Enoch*. Martha Himmelfarb observes that “the combination of clothing and anointing suggests that the process by which Enoch becomes an angel is a heavenly version of priestly investiture.”⁶⁵ Crispin Fletcher-Louis also discerns a cultic dimension in Enoch’s newly acquired garments, suggesting that

Enoch’s transformation in *2 Enoch* is greatly indebted to priestly practice and its understanding of investiture. The myrrh fragrance of the oil of Enoch’s anointing recalls the sacred oil of anointing prescribed by Moses for the tabernacle in Exodus 30:22–23. The comparison of the oil with sweet dew is perhaps a reflection of Psalm 133:2–3 where there is a parallelism between the oil running down the head of Aaron and the dew of Mount Hermon. The reference to the glittering rays of the sun is yet one more witness to the theme of priestly luminescence. The specific comparison of the oil of anointing with the sun’s rays is ultimately dependent on the priestly tradition within the Pentateuch since there the oil of anointing is placed in God’s fourth speech to Moses in Exodus 25–31 as a parallel within the Tabernacle instructions to the creation of the sun, moon and stars on the fourth day of creation (Genesis 1:14–19). In general terms Enoch’s investiture is indebted to the scene in Zechariah 3 where the high priest’s old clothes are removed and replaced with new ones. In that scene too the priest is attended by angels, just as Michael acts as Enoch’s attendant in *2 Enoch* (see *T. Levi* 8). In *2 Enoch* 22:6 Enoch is granted permanent access to God’s throne room, just as Joshua is given rights of access to the heavenly realm in Zechariah 3:7. The concluding chapters of *2 Enoch* (chs. 69–73) are devoted to the priestly succession after Enoch’s ascension.”⁶⁶

(64) Armenian version of the *LAE* 40:2 in: ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 86E–87E.

(65) HIMMELFARB, *Ascent to Heaven...*, 40.

(66) FLETCHER-LOUIS, *All the Glory of Adam...*, 23–24.

Scholarly attention has focused on the cultic and protological significance of Enoch's anointment and investiture,⁶⁷ yet students of *2 Enoch* have often proved reluctant to recognize the synthetic nature of this imagery. Nevertheless, in the Slavonic account priestly and protological details seem to be seamlessly interwoven.

Priestly Garments of Abraham

It is now time to return to the *Apoc. Ab.*, where the transference of Azazel's angelic garment to the patriarch reflects similar sacerdotal associations. Scholars have previously noted that the details in the enigmatic story of Abraham's changing wardrobe seem to invoke traditions from several Biblical prophetic texts. Recall that, in *Apoc. Ab.* 13, Abraham is caught up into an arcane interaction between the demon Azazel and the angel Yahoel. Azazel attempts to discourage Abraham from ascending into the celestial realm, warning him that he will be destroyed there by fire; while Yahoel tries to strengthen the will of Abraham and rebuke the demon.

That fact that Abraham stands between two celestial figures,⁶⁸ one of whom is a good angel and the other his evil counterpart,⁶⁹ is reminiscent of the account in Zechariah 3, where the high priest Joshua is

(67) Thus, Moshe Idel suggests that Enoch's luminous metamorphosis, attested in *2 Enoch* 22, might also belong to the same tradition which views Enoch as the one who regained Adam's lost status and luminosity. IDEL, "Enoch is Metatron," 224.

(68) Marc Philonenko, analyzing the symmetrical nature of the positions of Yahoel and Azazel in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, notes the peculiarity of the interaction between these two spirits, one good and one malevolent. He notices that their contention does not occur directly but rather through a medium of a human being — Abraham. In the Slavonic pseudepigraphon, Abraham thus becomes a place of the battle between two spiritual forces. Philonenko sees in such struggle a peculiar mold of the dualism present also in a Qumran material known to scholars as the *Instruction on the Two Spirits* (1QS 3:13–4:26), where the Prince of Lights and the Angel of Darkness are fighting in the heart of man. B. PHILONENKO-SAYAR, M. PHILONENKO, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham. Introduction, texte slave, traduction et notes* (Paris, 1981) (*Semitaica*, 31) 31–32.

(69) The unique position of Abraham, standing between Azazel and the Name of God (Yahoel), evokes the memory of the Yom Kippur ritual, where the high priest stood between two earthly counterparts of these celestial realities — the scapegoat (Azazel) and the goat for the Name of the Lord (Yahoel).

depicted as standing between two spirits.⁷⁰ In Zechariah, as in the Slavonic apocalypse, distinctive priestly concerns are conflated with the motif of the change of garments; thus Zechariah 3–4 reads:

...Then he showed me the high priest Joshua standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand to accuse him. And the Lord said to Satan, "The Lord rebuke you, O Satan! The Lord who has chosen Jerusalem rebuke you! Is not this man a brand plucked from the fire?" Now Joshua was dressed with filthy clothes as he stood before the angel. The angel said to those who were standing before him, "Take off his filthy clothes." And to him he said, "See, I have taken your guilt away from you, and I will clothe you with festal apparel." And I said, "Let them put a clean turban on his head." So they put a clean turban on his head and clothed him with the apparel; and the angel of the Lord was standing by. Then the angel of the Lord assured Joshua, saying "Thus says the Lord of hosts: If you will walk in my ways and keep my requirements, then you shall rule my house and have charge of my courts, and I will give you the right of access among those who are standing here. Now listen, Joshua, high priest, you and your colleagues who sit before you! For they are an omen of things to come: I am going to bring my servant the Branch. For on the stone that I have set before Joshua, on a single stone with seven facets, I will engrave its inscription, says the Lord of hosts, and I will remove the guilt of this land in a single day. On that day, says the Lord of hosts, you shall invite each other to come under your vine and fig tree." The angel who talked with me came again, and wakened me, as one is wakened from sleep. He said to me, "What do you see?" And I said, "I see a lampstand all of gold, with a bowl on the top of it; there are seven lamps on it, with seven lips on each of the lamps that are on the top of it. And by it there are two olive trees, one on the right of the bowl and the other on its left." (NRSV)

In this striking passage we find a description of the priestly initiation in which a high priest receives the pure garment. This invokes the memory of other cultic initiations in Jewish apocalyptic texts, like the aforementioned *Testament of Levi* 8 and *2 Enoch* 22, where the exalted patriarchs receive priestly robes. As Zechariah 3, these texts allude to the anthropological significance of priestly initiation, which symbolizes return to the original condition of the Protoplast by stripping the

(70) See RUBINKIEWITZ, *Die Eschatologie von Henoch 9–11 und das Neue Testament*, 101–102; 110–113; STÖKL BEN EZRA, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity*, 94.

filthy garments of fallen humanity. All three accounts are unified by the motif of the Tree of Life, which points at once to the Garden of Eden and to the Temple, its earthly counterpart.

The parallels between Zechariah 3–4 and the *Apoc. Ab.* 13–14 allow us to better understand the sacerdotal context of the Slavonic account, and its connection with the Day of Atonement. Indeed, as Daniel Stökl has observed, in comparison it seems that the *Apoc. Ab.* develops the cultic imagery more decisively: “compared to Zechariah 3, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* embellishes the Yom Kippur imagery.”⁷¹ Unlike Zechariah, where the soiled garment of the priestly figure is simply exchanged for the pure one, in the *Apoc. Ab.* the transformational pattern appears to be more radical; it involves the memory of the specific context of the Yom Kippur ritual, where the scapegoat took upon itself humanity’s defilement. In the *Apoc. Ab.*, the priestly initiate’s “soiled” garments are not simply, as in Zechariah, exchanged for pure ones. They are transferred to Azazel. This evokes the cathartic nature of the Yom Kippur ritual, in which the sin of humanity was transferred to the scapegoat.

The *Apoc. Ab.* 13 graphically underlines this exchange:

And he said to him, “Reproach is on you, Azazel! Since Abraham’s portion is in heaven, and yours is on earth... For behold, the garment which in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him, and the corruption which was on him has gone over to you.” (*Apoc. Ab.* 13:7–14).⁷²

David Halperin previously reflected on the importance of the motif of the wardrobe-exchange between positive and negative protagonists:

...we see here the theme, which we have already met in the stories of Enoch in the Book of the Watchers and of Adam in the “Apocalypse of Moses,” of the exaltation of the human and the degradation of the angel corresponding to each other and to some extent depending on each other. If Azazel can persuade Abraham not to make his ascent, he will perhaps be able to keep his own privileged status.⁷³

It should be stressed again that the connections between the initiation scenes in *Apoc. Ab.* and Zechariah are important since they help to illumine the priestly nature of the peculiar transitions that the hero of

(71) STÖKL BEN EZRA, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity*, 94.

(72) KULIK, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha...*, 20.

(73) HALPERIN, *The Faces of the Chariot...*, 111.

the faith undergoes immediately before his entrance into the Throne Room in the upper heaven, the sacred locale envisioned in the text as the celestial counterpart of the earthy Holy of Holies.⁷⁴

Scholars have lamented the apparent dearth of decisively priestly transformation in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.⁷⁵ Yet I think Martha Himmelfarb is right when she suggests that the promise of a garment given to a seer immediately before his entrance into heaven fulfils, in this text, the function of the actual re-clothing.⁷⁶

II. TRANSFORMATION OF THE ANTAGONIST

Garments of Descent

On the basis of our previous investigation it seems that the transformation of the patriarch in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* depends in many ways on the peculiar changes affecting his antagonistic counterpart —

(74) The previous studies of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* suggested that the seer's entrance into the celestial realm reveals the cultic dimension and is envisioned as a visitation of the heavenly temple. In this respect, Himmelfarb observes that "the heaven of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* is clearly a temple. Abraham sacrifices in order to ascend to heaven, then ascends by means of the sacrifice, and joins in the heavenly liturgy to protect himself during the ascent.... The depiction of heaven as a temple confirms the importance of the earthly temple. The prominence of the heavenly liturgy lends importance to the liturgy of words on earth, which at the time of the apocalypse provided a substitute for sacrifice, a substitute that in the apocalypse's view was to be temporary." HIMMELFARB, *Ascent to Heaven...*, 66.

(75) Yet the repeated references to a seer's encounter with fire appear to be significant for the authors of the pseudepigraphon, who envision fire as a theophanic substance surrounding the very presence of the deity. Thus, later in the text, Abraham's transition into the divine realm is described as his entering into the fire. Cf., for example, *Apoc. Ab.* 15:3 "And he carried me up to the edge of the fiery flame..."; *Apoc. Ab.* 17:1: "And while he was still speaking, behold, a fire was coming toward us round about, and a sound was in the fire like a sound of many waters, like a sound of the sea in its uproar." Could the promise of a celestial garment to the patriarch in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* signify here, as in many other apocalyptic accounts, that his "mortal" body must be "altered" in the fiery metamorphosis? On this point, it should be noted that the entrance of a visionary into a fire and his fiery transformation represent common apocalyptic motifs found in texts ranging from Daniel 3 to 3 *Enoch*, where Enoch undergoes the fiery metamorphosis that turns him into the supreme angel Metatron.

(76) HIMMELFARB, *Ascent to Heaven...*, 64.

the fallen angel Azazel. The exaltation of the one depends on the demotion of the other, who had once prospered in an elevated domicile but is now forcefully expelled from this domain. As with entrance into the upper realm, removal is too laden with profound changes in the spiritual and physical states of the characters. Like the heroes of the apocalyptic accounts, who undergo spectacular metamorphoses preparing them for the novel conditions of their newly acquired celestial domains, the metamorphoses of the antagonists have an ontological significance, foreshadowing the fate of the deity's former favorites now transported, by the will of the Creator, into the lower realms.⁷⁷ From this negative transformation, often conveyed in detail in various pseudepigraphical accounts, readers gain insight into the peculiar refashioning of the celestial "garments" of the demoted antagonists, who undergo transitions into new forms suited to their exilic realms.

By observing these ominous changes in the antihero (which, paradoxically, mock the protagonist's metamorphosis) readers of the visionary accounts gaze into the logic of a kind of negative transformational mysticism.⁷⁸ This process plays an important role in apocalyptic stories as an apophatic reaffirmation of the hero's transformative motifs.

The perplexed complexity of the negative routine endured by the demoted agents should not be underestimated. The acquisition of the novel ontological "garments" bestowed on an antagonist is often surrounded with the most recondite and puzzling imagery to be found in the apocalyptic accounts. These accounts offer the eyes of their beholders a stunning plethora of cryptic depictions, in which the composite physiques of the demoted heroes often represent a bizarre mixture of demonic and heavenly attributes. This hybrid nature of the negative heroes' visible manifestations suggests that, despite their exile into the lower realms, these formerly celestial creatures were never intended to function as the harmonious inhabitants of their newly acquired environments; rather, they were predestined to become the agents of a foreboding corrupting change — a change often fatal to the realms of their exile.

(77) Scholars previously noted some connections with Mesopotamian counterparts, where celestial beings lose garments of light during their descent into lower realms. Thus Sebastian Brock points to the tradition about Ishtar's "robe of splendor," the garment the goddess lost at the seventh gate during her descent to the underworld. Brock, *Clothing Metaphors...*, 14.

(78) On transformational mysticism see MORRAY-JONES, *Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition*, 1–31.

In this respect, it is no coincidence that in the Slavonic apocalypse (as in many other pseudepigraphical accounts dealing with the demotion of fallen angels) so much attention should be spent on depictions of Azazel's various transitional shapes, the portrayals that represent creative improvisations on the theme of the corruption of an antagonist's original celestial form. Already in his debut at *Apoc. Ab.* 13, Azazel is designated as an "impure bird" — the sobriquet which, in the peculiar symbolic code of the apocalypse's pteromorphic angelology, points to the corruption of his celestial form.⁷⁹ Interestingly, the fallen angel's "celestial" attributes appear repeatedly in many other portrayals of Azazel in the *Apoc. Ab.*, serving throughout as pointed reminders of his forfeited heavenly status.

Hence when later, in the heavenly throne room, Abraham sees a protological manifestation of the demoted angel, his vision combines both angelomorphic and theriomorphic attributes; *Apocalypse of Abraham* 23:4–11 reads:

And I looked at the picture, and my eyes ran to the side of the garden of Eden. And I saw there a man very great in height and terrible in breadth, incomparable in aspect, entwined with a woman who was also equal to the man in aspect and size. And they were standing under a tree of Eden, and the fruit of the tree was like the appearance of a bunch of grapes of vine. *And behind the tree was standing, as it were, a serpent in form, but having hands and feet like a man, and wings on its shoulders: six on the right side and six on the left.* And he was holding in his hands the grapes of the tree and feeding the two whom I saw entwined with each other. And I said, "Who are these two entwined with each other, or who is this between them, or what is the fruit which they are eating, Mighty Eternal One?" And he said, "This is the reason of men, this is Adam, and this is their desire on earth, this is Eve. And he who is between them is the Impiety of their pursuits for destruction, Azazel himself."⁸⁰

In this text, the negative protagonist has a composite physique which combines features of a serpent ("a serpent in form") and an angel ("wings on its shoulders"). This unusual combination of two forms — animal and angelic — in the appearance of the seducer *during his corruption of the Protoplasts* brings to mind the peculiar cluster of traditions

(79) On the pteromorphic angelology of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, see A. ORLOV, *The Pteromorphic Angelology of the Apocalypse of Abraham*, CBQ 72 (2009) 830–842.

(80) KULIK, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha...*, 27.

about Satan's appearance found in the *Primary Adam Books*. There too, in the course of the seduction of the first human couple, the negative protagonist is endowed with a polymorphic shape that combines features of a serpent and an angel.⁸¹ In light of these similarities, a short excursus into the traditions of Satan's appearances in the *Primary Adam Books* is necessary.

I Will Be in Your Form

In various versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, its chief antagonist — Satan — undergoes a set of enigmatic and sometimes puzzling transformations into angelic and theriomorphic manifestations; he acquires, temporarily, the shapes of either an animal (a serpent) or a glorious angel. In this respect, it is intriguing that the two forms manifested in the *Apoc. Ab.*'s depiction of the Corruptor also appear in the *Primary Adam Books*, in the narratives dealing with the seduction or temptation of the first humans. And these temporal appearances are envisioned as "garments" of Satan, possibly understood as the disposable clothes which the Deceiver can easily switch over in the course of executing his evil plans.

Satan's Angelic Garment

It is not without design that one of the most intense conceptual crossroads dealing with Satan's transformations should be situated amidst scenes of the protoplasts' seduction; for the Deceiver tries to disguise his identity and pose as someone else by assuming the forms of an angelic messenger or an animal. Moreover, he appears to enjoy the ability to reenter the impermanent "garments" he had already used for deception in the past; hence his temporary use of angelic "garments" occurs not once but several times in the *Life of Adam and Eve*.⁸²

The *Primary Adam Books* do not conceal the fact that in the beginning Satan was a very special celestial creature possessing an exalted

(81) In light of the uncertainty of the date of the traditions contained in the *Primary Adam Books*, it is often quite difficult to establish the priority of these mutual influences.

(82) The tradition of Satan's use of an angelic form for the deception of the protoplasts is also attested in various versions of the so-called *Cheirograph of Adam*. On these developments, see M. STONE, *Adam's Contract with Satan. The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002) 17, 18, 65, 75, 84, 88.

and even glorious status in the heavenly realm — the position whence he was removed by the deity after his refusal to venerate the newly created protoplast. Yet unlike some other demoted agents — including the protoplasts, who are quietly and obediently exiled to the lower realms — Satan seems to retain the courage and power needed to entertain the possibility of returning to the upper regions to execute vengeance against his enemies, the first humans. This paradoxical ability, to be topologically present in the upper regions despite his demotion, may constitute an important prerequisite for the Deceiver's power to take multiple forms befitting his evil plans.

The Armenian version of the *Primary Adam Books* 17:1–2a attests Satan's ability to temporarily assume the shape of an angelic being:

When the angels ascended to the worship of the Lord, at that time Satan took on the form of an angel and began to praise God with angelic praises. I knelt down by the wall and attended to his praises. I looked and saw him in the likeness of an angel; when I looked again, I did not see him.⁸³

Although the Adversary's acquisition of an angelic form appears temporary,⁸⁴ this passage also suggests that Satan's apparitions are not

(83) ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 1E. The Georgian version offers a very similar tradition: "Then the devil changed himself into the image of an angel; he praised the praises of the angels. And I was gazing in the direction of the enclosure to hear the praises. I stared and I saw him like an angel and at once he became invisible for he had gone forth to bring the serpent." *Ibid.*, 51E. The Greek version also attests the angelic transformation, but does not mention Satan's transition into an invisible condition: "And instantly he hung himself from the wall of paradise, and when the angels ascended to worship God, then Satan appeared in the form of an angel and sang hymns like the angels. And he bent over the wall and I saw him, like an angel. And he said to me: 'Are you Eve?' And I said to him, 'I am'." *Ibid.*, 51E–52E. The Slavonic *Vita* also lacks a motif of invisibility, but adds a new intriguing detail by emphasizing the luminous nature of Satan's angelic form: "The serpent believed that it was an angel, and came to me. And the devil had changed to the form of an angel and came here with radiance, singing an angel's song, just like an angel, and said to me: 'Do you eat from everything in Paradise?' And at that time I took him for an angel, because he had come from Adam's side, so I said to him, 'From one tree the Lord commanded us not to eat, the one which stands in the middle of Paradise'." ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 51E–53E.

(84) Michael Stone's research underlines the temporary dimension of Satan's acquisition of the angelic form. He notes that "Satan, who once had heav-

completely illusory. For they have functional potential. It is quite curious that, along with his imitation of the angelic *form*, Satan also attempts to imitate the *functions* of the angelic beings by participating in the angelic liturgy. This ability, not merely to take form but also to function in newly acquired “garments,” appears to grant more substance and credibility to his transformation, as other characters in the story are depicted as attending to his praises.

The *Life of Adam and Eve* goes on to say that Satan appeared (again) to Eve as an angel during the second temptation. This time the Deceiver’s angelic appearance seems to be even loftier, as the text repeatedly identifies him as a cherub endowed with a special luminous vestment. The Armenian version of the *Primary Adam Books* 9:1–2 provides further details regarding this angelic manifestation:

When eighteen days of their weeping were completed, then Satan took on the form of a cherub with splendid attire, and went to the Tigris river to deceive Eve. Her tears were falling on her attire, down to the ground. Satan said to Eve, “Come forth from the water and rest, for God has hearkened to your penitence, to you and Adam your husband.”⁸⁵

only glory and luminosity, put it back temporarily in order to deceive Eve and Adam... Provided with the σχῆμα “form” of an angel, he becomes externally angelic.” STONE, *Adam’s Contract with Satan...*, 19.

(85) ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 11E. The tradition about Satan’s transformation into an angel is also supported by the Greek, Slavonic, and Latin versions. Greek: “But the Devil, not finding a place with respect to Adam, came to the Tigris river to me. And assuming the form of an angel he stood before me...” Ibid., 11E. Slavonic: “The devil came to me *in the form and radiance of an angel*, there where I stood in the water, letting passionate tears fall to the ground, he said to me, ‘Come forth, Eve, out of the water, God has heard your prayer and also we angels, we who prayed for you, and the Lord has sent me to you, that your should emerge from this water.’ And I discerned that he was the devil, and answered him nothing at all. But when after forty days, Adam emerged from the Jordan, he noticed the footprints of the devil and was very afraid lest the devil had duped me. But when he saw me standing in the water, he was very happy. And he took me and led me out of the water.” ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 11E–13E. Latin: “Eighteen days passed. Then Satan grew angry and transfigured himself into the brilliance of an angel and went off to the Tigris River to Eve. He found her weeping, and then, the Devil himself, as if mourning with her began to weep and said to her: ‘Come out of the water and rest and weep no longer. Cease now from your sadness and lamenting. Why are you uneasy, you and your husband Adam?’” Ibid., 11E.

It is striking that, in this second temptation, Satan appears in angelic form — indeed, as a cherubic creature. Cherubic imagery vis-à-vis the antagonist also looms large in the *Apoc. Ab.*, where Azazel combines the attributes of two cherubim joined together.⁸⁶ At *Apoc. Ab.* 23, e.g., the demon has twelve wings — six on the right side of his body and six on the left:⁸⁷

And behind the tree was standing, as it were, a serpent in form, but having hands and feet like a man, and wings on its shoulders: six on the right side and six on the left.⁸⁸

Earlier in the *Apoc. Ab.*, when the hero of faith sees the “Living Creatures of the Cherubim” in the heavenly Throne Room, he reports that each of them has six wings:

And under the throne [I saw] four singing fiery Living Creatures... and each one had six wings: from their shoulders, <and from their sides,> and from their loins (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:3–6).⁸⁹

Another intriguing detail of the account found in the *Primary Adam Books* is that, during the first and second temptations of the proto-plasts, Satan’s angelic shape is described as luminous in its nature. The first temptation underlines the fact that the Deceiver came “with radiance.” Eve’s second temptation refers again to Satan’s splendid attire; this detail may hint to the fact that the assumption of angelic form is understood as wearing a garment, and this attire might parallel the first humans’ luminous vestments. This understanding of luminous angelic form as “garment” is especially evident in the Georgian version of the second temptation, which openly refers to the Adversary’s angelic form as his clothes or his “garment”:

(86) See *Apoc. Ab.* 23. Similar to the “Living Creatures of the Cherubim,” the demon is also portrayed as a composite being combining zoomorphic and human features: the body of a serpent with the hands and feet of a man.

(87) Cf. *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 13: “Sammael was the great prince in heaven; the *Hayyot* had four wings and the Seraphim had six wings, and Sammael had twelve wings...” FRIEDLANDER, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, 92. Cf. also Georgian LAE 12:1 “My [Satan’s] wings were more numerous than those of the Cherubim, and I concealed myself under them.” ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 15–15E.

(88) KULIK, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha...*, 27.

(89) *Ibid.*, 24.

When the twelve days of his weeping were completed, the devil trembled and changed his shape and *his clothes* by his artful deceit. He went close to Eve, on the Tigris river, and stood beside the bank. He was weeping and had his false tears dripping (trickling) down on *his garment* and from *his garment* down to the ground. Then he told Eve, "Come out of that water (where you are) and stop your tribulations, for God has hearkened to your penitence and to Adam your husband."⁹⁰

Satan's Theriomorphic Garment

The scene of the first temptation and seduction of the protoplast without doubt represents one of the most intense conceptual crossroads manifesting the transformational capacities of the antagonist. Hence it is little surprise that, similarly to Satan's first dissembling in angelic garments — which took place for the first time during the seduction of the protoplasts — the transition to an animal garment is also found here.

Primary Adam Books 44 has Satan abandoning his angelic manifestation and entering the animal form of a serpent⁹¹ in order to deceive the protoplasts. Yet Satan's new identity is not entirely unambiguous, since pseudepigraphic and rabbinic accounts often provide various interpretations of the serpent's gender. Some of these sources seem to understand the serpent as an androgynous creature, whose skin God later used to create the "garments" of both Adam and Eve. The tradition of clothing the first humans in the "attires" of the serpent is especially intriguing in light of Satan's acquisition of the same garments in the *Primary Adam Books*. Does Satan's "clothing" as serpent proleptically anticipate the future re-clothing of the protoplasts in garments of skin?

Satan's endowment with the "animal garment" of the serpent can be understood as the anti-paradigm of transformational mysticism. The antagonist's transition from an upper (angelic) to a lower (animal) form brings to mind the opposite metamorphosis, that is to say, the glorious metamorphosis of the apocalyptic visionary, who undergoes a transition from garments of skin into garments of light.

(90) ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 11E.

(91) The various versions of the *Primary Adam Books* clearly envision the serpent as an animal or a "wild beast." See Armenian, Georgian, and Greek versions of the *Primary Adam Books* 16:2. ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 49E.

The Armenian version of the *Primary Adam Books* offers the following account of Satan's transformation:

The serpent said, "In what way or how can we expel him from the Garden?" Satan said to the serpent, "Be you, in your form, a lyre for me and I will pronounce speech through your mouth, so that we may be able to help." Then the two of them came to me and hung their feet around the wall of the Garden. When the angels ascended to the worship of the Lord, at that time Satan took on the form of an angel and began to praise God with angelic praises. I knelt down by the wall and attended to his praises. I looked and saw him in the likeness of an angel; when I looked again, I did not see him. Then he went and summoned the serpent and said to him, "Arise, come to me so that I may enter into you and speak through your mouth as much as I will need to say." At that time the serpent became a lyre for him, and he came again to the wall of the Garden. He cried out and said, "Oh, woman, you who are blind in this Garden of delight, arise come to me and I will say some words to you."⁹²

Satan's animal manifestation is not merely a phantom or an ideal apparition; he inhabits the actual living creature, and thus becomes a sort of possessive spirit of within this living being that functions alongside and upon its true proprietor.⁹³

(92) ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 50E–52E. The tradition of Satan's metamorphosis into the "living" form of the serpent is also present in the Georgian version: "And the serpent told him, 'How can we have them excluded?' The devil replied and told the serpent, 'Be a sheath for me and I will speak to the woman through your mouth a word by which we will trick (them).' And the two of them came together and they allowed their heads to hang on the wall of the paradise at the time where the angels had ascended to bow down to God. Then the devil changed himself into the image of an angel; he praised the praises of the angels. And I was gazing in the direction of the enclosure to hear the praises. I stared and I saw him like an angel and at once he became invisible for he had gone forth to bring the serpent. And he told him, 'Arise and come and I will be with you and I will speak through your mouth that which it is proper for you to say.' He took on the form of the serpent (to go) close to the wall of paradise and the devil slipped inside the serpent and he allowed his head to hang on the wall of paradise. He cried out and said, 'Shame on you, woman, you who are in the paradise of Delight (and) who are blind! Come to me and I will tell you a certain secret word'." ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 50E–52E.

(93) Pseudepigraphic and rabbinic accounts depict this process of "possession" of a living form as Satan's "riding" of the serpent. This tradition will be explored in detail later in our study.

In another passage from the *Primary Adam Books*, Satan again appears to assume a theriomorphic shape — this time the shape of a wild beast. Hence on their journey to Paradise in order to obtain the oil of resurrection needed to heal the dying Adam, Eve and Seth encounter a mysterious creature labeled, in the narrative, as the wild beast. In the Greek version of the *Life of Adam and Eve*, the story takes the following form:

Then Seth and Eve went toward the direction of the Garden. [And while they were going,] Eve saw her son, and a wild beast assailing him. And Eve wept and said: "Woe is me; if I come to the day of the Resurrection, all those who have sinned will curse me saying: 'Eve has not kept the commandment of God.'" And she spoke to the beast: "You wicked beast, Do you not fear to fight with the image of God? How was your mouth opened? How were your teeth made strong? How did you not call to mind your subjection? For long ago you were made subject to the image of God." Then the beast cried out and said: "It is not our concern, Eve, your greed and your wailing, but your own; for (it is) from you that the rule of the beasts has arisen. How was your mouth opened to eat of the tree concerning which God commanded you not to eat of it? On this account, our nature also has been transformed. Now therefore you cannot endure it, if I begin to reprove you." Then Seth spoke to the beast, "Close your mouth and be silent and stand off from the image of God until the day of Judgment." Then the beast said to Seth: "Behold, I stand off from the image of God." [And the beast fled and left him wounded] and went to his hut.⁹⁴

One of the important details of this intriguing encounter between the primordial humans and a hostile animal is presence of the peculiar terminology of the "image of God." This formula invokes the memory of Satan's rebellion, when he refused to worship the image of God. During the hostile encounter between the animal and Seth, who is defined in the story as a bearer of the "Image of God," the wild beast does not fear "to fight with the Image of God." This confluence of motifs related to the beast's antagonism towards the Image of God in Seth appears to allude to Satan's original protological opposition to another, original bearer of the Divine Image: Adam. In this we therefore see the second instance of a rebellious stand against the Image of God, a rebellion that mirrors Satan's refusal to venerate the newly created protoplast. Scholars have previously noticed this connection; when commenting

(94) ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 41E–43E.

on Seth's rebuke, "Get away from the image of God," Gary Anderson suggests that

...this rebuke has some rather clear resonances with another key moment in the Vita's story-line. It sounds very much like the instructions Satan and the other angels received at the moment of Adam's creation, "Prosternez vous devant le semblable et l'image de la divinite" (14:1).⁹⁵

The writers and editors of various versions of the *Primary Adam Books* seem also to discern this ominous connection between the Adversary and the animal.⁹⁶ Although Greek, Georgian, and Latin versions of the *Life of Adam and Eve* do not name the wild beast as Satan, the Armenian *Penitence of Adam* openly entertains this possibility:

Thereafter, Seth and Eve went in the direction of the Garden. As they were going, Eve saw that a wild beast was fighting with [her son] Seth and was biting him. Eve began to weep and she said, "[When] that the day of Judgment came; all sins will be blamed upon me and (men) will say, 'Our mother did not hearken to the commandment of the Lord God!'" Eve called out against the wild beast and said, "O wild beast, how do you [not] fear the image of God, that you dared to fight with the image of God? How was your mouth open[ed] and your fangs bared, and your hair stood on end? How did you not remember the obedience which you formerly displayed, that your mouth was opened against the image of God?" Then the wild beast cried out and said to Eve, "In truth, our insolence is because of you, for the example came from you. How was your mouth opened to dare to eat of the fruit concerning which God commanded you not to eat of it? [Until he will change all of our natures, henceforth you are unable to resist that which I speak to you, or if I begin to rebuke you.]" Then Seth said to the wild beast, "Close your mouth, O Satan. Get away from the image of God until [[the day will come]] on which God will bring you to rebuke.]" Then he said to Seth, "Be-

(95) G. ANDERSON, "The Penitence Narrative in the Life of Adam and Eve," in: *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays*, 34.

(96) It appears that the Slavonic version underlines the cosmic profile of the beast. Thus Gary Anderson draws attention to the fact that in the Slavonic version "the beast declares his intention not simply to harm Seth, but to destroy Eve and all her children (11–15)." Anderson, *The Penitence Narrative in the Life of Adam and Eve*, 35. The cosmic profile of the final judgment of the beast attested in several versions is also noteworthy, as it best suits the final destiny of the Adversary rather than the destiny of an animal.

hold, I am standing apart from you, the image of God.” The beast fled from him.⁹⁷

As in the first temptation of the protoplasts, in this text Satan appears to take the form of an animal in order to challenge the protoplasts and their progeny.

Vessels of Evil: The Antagonist’s “Possession” of the “Living” Form

The *Primary Adam Books* demonstrate the perplexing fluidity of the forms of Satan; in some episodes the mercurial Adversary assumes not one, but several shapes. These texts often depict the antagonist’s rapid transition from one manifestation to another. Such a speedy change is especially notable during Eve’s first temptation. In this scene, Satan takes the form of both an angel and a serpent, and even assumes another, invisible condition⁹⁸ between these two manifestations; thus the Armenian version 17:1–5:

Then the two of them came to me and hung their feet around the wall of the Garden. When the angels ascended to the worship of the Lord, at that time *Satan took on the form of an angel* and began to praise God with angelic praises. I knelt down by the wall and attended to his praises. I looked and saw him in the likeness of an angel; *when I looked again, I did not see him*. Then he went and summoned the serpent and said to him, “Arise, come to me so that I may enter into you and speak through your mouth as much as I will need say.” At that time *the serpent became a lyre for him*, and he came again to the wall of the Garden. He cried out and said, “Oh, woman, you who are blind in this Garden of delight, arise come to me and I will say some words to you.” When I went to him, he said to me, “Are you

(97) ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 41E–43E.

(98) Michael Stone notes that in the *Primary Adam Books* Satan becomes invisible on several occasions. He observes that “at various junctures of the story in the primary Adam books, Satan becomes invisible. The assumed form is not permanent. In *Apocalypse of Moses* 20:3, the Greek text relates that when Satan had succeeded in seducing Eve and Adam, he descended from the tree (here as the snake) *καὶ ἀφάνατος ἐγένετο*, “and vanished” (literally: “became invisible”). When Adam in the river recognizes Satan, he asked him why he was so hostile. Satan responded with the story of his fall (12:1–17:3). At the end of the conversation between Adam and Satan, we read *et statim non apparuit diabolus ei*, “immediately the devil was not visible to him.” *Latin Life of Adam and Eve* 17:2. STONE, *Adam’s Contract with Satan...*, 19.

Eve?" I said, "Yes, I am." He replied and said, "What do you do in [the Garden]?" I said to him, "God set us to guard the Garden," Satan replied and said to me through the mouth of the serpent, "This work is good, but come, do you eat of [all] the trees which are in the Garden?" I said to him, "Yes, we eat of all of them except only of that one tree which is in the very middle of the Garden, concerning which God commanded us, 'Do not eat of it, for if you eat you will surely die.'"⁹⁹

The Georgian version maintains the same transformational pattern; it too attests the fluidity of Satan's manifestations, describing his transitions into invisible, angelic, and theriomorphic states:

And the two of them came together and they allowed their heads to hang on the wall of the Garden at the time where the angels had ascended to prostrate before God. Then *the Devil changed himself into the image of an angel*; he sang the praises of the angels. And I was gazing in the direction of the wall to hear the praises. I stared and I saw him like an angel and at once *he became invisible* for he had gone forth to bring the serpent. And he told him, "Arise and come and I will be with you and I will speak through your mouth that which it is proper for you to say." *He took on the form of the serpent* (to go) close to the wall of the Garden and the Devil slipped inside the serpent and he allowed his head to hang on the wall of the Garden.¹⁰⁰

Michael Stone suggests that the invisible condition Satan often assumes between taking other visible shapes is intended to underline the fact that these visible forms are temporal illusions or mirages. As Stone rightly observes, when "challenged, he disappears from sight."¹⁰¹

Another important transformational feature (already mentioned above) is that Satan is able to take possession of the "living forms" of existing characters. This is clear from the case of the serpent; Satan is able to enter existing bodies and function alongside their genuine personalities. "The devil answered," says the text, "through the mouth of the serpent."

According to Michael Stone, in these transformational accounts Satan comes into "possession" of certain characters of the story, who

(99) ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 51E–53E

(100) *Ibid.*, 51E–52E.

(101) STONE, *Adam's Contract with Satan...*, 20.

thus become Satan's instruments or "tools."¹⁰² In the *Primary Adam Books*,

...Satan says to the serpent, according to the Greek, "be my vessel and I will speak through your mouth words to deceive them." The word "vessel" seems to imply the idea of possession.... Satan is identical for all practical purposes with the serpent; Satan enters or possesses the serpent and speaks through its mouth; the serpent is Satan's instrument or tool.¹⁰³

Stone discerns a similar development in the *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 13, where Samael "rides" the serpent as a camel.¹⁰⁴ He notes that *PRE* 13 opens with

(102) It is not entirely clear if Eve too serves as the living form of Satan in the *Primary Adam Books*. De Jonge and Tromp bring attention to the fact that, like the serpent, Eve also serves as the instrument of Satan. They note that "the character of Eve is comparable to that of the serpent. Both are instruments of the devil (16.5; 21.3), who uses them to reach his eventual goal: to have Adam evicted from Paradise (16.3)." DE JONGE and TROMP, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature*, 54. Yet, unlike in the case of the serpent, where Satan unambiguously enters the body of the creature, Satan's participation in the living form of Eve is less clear and more enigmatic. Thus the Georgian version of the *Primary Adam Books* 10:1–2 relates: "And Eve came up out of the water and her flesh was withered like rotten vegetables because of the coldness of the water. *All the form of her beauty had been destroyed.* And when she had come up out of the water, she fell on the face of the earth in great weakness and remained lying (on the ground) without moving for two days. And after two days she arose and *the devil led her to where Adam was*" (ANDERSON, STONE, *A Synopsis... Second Revised Edition*, 12E). One of the important details here is that Eve is depicted as being "led" by Satan. It looks like the Adversary "animates" her body, taking her to Adam. The second intriguing detail of this passage is that, after succumbing to Satan, Eve's form was changed. Although the Armenian version says that "the form of her glory remained brilliant," scholars believe that the Georgian version preserved the original reading. In this respect, Gary Anderson notes that "As Eve comes out of the water, having succumbed a second time to the temptation of the devil, her flesh is transformed for the worse: 'All the form of her beauty had been destroyed.'" ANDERSON, *Punishment of Adam and Eve in the Life of Adam and Eve*, 79.

(103) M. E. STONE, 'Be You a Lyre for Me': Identity or Manipulation in Eden, in: E. GRYPEOU, H. SPURLING (eds.), *The Exegetical Encounter between Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity* (JPCS, 18) (Leiden: Brill, 2009) 87–9–99 at 96.

(104) "...[The Serpent] appearance was something like that of the camel and he (Sammael) rode upon it..." FRIEDLANDER, *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, 92.

...the theme of angelic jealousy of Adam and Adam's superiority to the angels in his ability to name the animals. The fall of the archangel Samael is described, together with his host. He found the serpent, and "its likeness was like a sort of camel and he mounted it and rode it." This relationship is likened to that of a horse and a rider (cf. Exod 15:1, 21).¹⁰⁵

Zohar I.35b, attesting to a similar tradition, also understands Samael/Satan as the "rider" of the serpent:

R. Isaac said: "This is the evil tempter." R. Judah said that it means literally a serpent. They consulted R. Simeon, and he said to them: "Both are correct. It was Samael, and he appeared on a serpent, for the ideal form of the serpent is the Satan. We have learnt that at that moment Samael came down from heaven riding on this serpent, and all creatures saw his form and fled before him."¹⁰⁶

The same mystical compendium depicts Azazel as a rider on the serpent:

...Now observe a deep and holy mystery of faith, the symbolism of the male principle and the female principle of the universe. In the former are comprised all holinesses and objects of faith, and all life, all freedom, all goodness, all illuminations emerge from thence; all blessings, all benevolent dews, all graces and kindnesses — all these are generated from that side, which is called the South. Contrariwise, from the side of the North there issue a variety of grades, extending downwards, to the world below. This is the region of the dross of gold, which comes from the side of impurity and loathsomeness and which forms a link between the upper and nether regions; and there is the line where the male and female principles join, forming together the rider on the serpent, and symbolized by Azazel (*Zohar* I.152b–153a).¹⁰⁷

This description strikingly recalls the portrayal of Azazel's corruption of the protoplasts in *Apoc. Ab.* 23:4–11, which situates the arch-demon beneath the Tree of Knowledge in the midst of the intertwined proto-logical couple. Thus it seems that Satan's transition from celestial to "serpent-like" form is not a novelty pioneered by the authors of the Adamic booklets, but rather an improvisation on a theme with ancient roots in Enochic tradition.

(105) STONE, 'Be You a Lyre for Me': Identity or Manipulation in Eden, 96.

(106) SPERLING, SIMON, *The Zohar*, vol. 1, 133–134.

(107) *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 89–9–90.

Azazel's Theriomorphism: from Sacrificial Animal to Fallen Angel

The story of Satan's transformation from animal into angel (and vice versa) in the *Primary Adam Books* leads us naturally to certain developments in one of the earliest Enochic booklets, viz., the *Book of the Watchers*, which may constitute the initial conceptual background to the Adamic antagonist's peculiar transformation. Nor did the *Apocalypse of Abraham* escape these seminal influences. It has been noted that the sacerdotal context of the Yom Kippur festival seems to affect the chief antagonist's complex profile in the Slavonic apocalypse. In this text, allusions to Yom Kippur seem to have been reshaped deeply by the Enochic apocalyptic reinterpretation of the scapegoat ritual; its antagonist, the scapegoat Azazel, is envisioned not as a sacrificial animal but as a demoted heavenly being.¹⁰⁸ In the *Book of the Watchers*,

(108) On the Azazel traditions, see J. DE ROO, Was the Goat for Azazel destined for the Wrath of God?, *Biblica* 81 (2000) 233–241; W. FAUTH, Auf den Spuren des biblischen Azazel (Lev 16): Einige Residuen der Gestalt oder des Namens in jüdisch-aramäischen, griechischen, koptischen, äthiopischen, syrischen und mandäischen Texten, *ZAW* 110 (1998) 514–534; E. L. FEINBERG, The Scapegoat of Leviticus Sixteen, *BSac* 115 (1958) 320–331; M. GÖRG, Beobachtungen zum sogenannten Azazel-Ritus, *BN* 33 (1986) 10–16; GRABBE, The Scapegoat Tradition..., 165–179; HELM, Azazel in Early Jewish Literature, 217–226; B. JANOWSKI, *Sühne als Heilgeschehen: Studien zur Sühnetheologie der Priesterschrift und der Wurzel KPR im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament* (WMANT, 55) (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982); IDEM, Azazel, in: K. VAN DER TOORN, et al. (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) 240–248; B. JURGENS, *Heiligkeit und Versöhnung: Leviticus 16 in seinem Literarischen Kontext* (Freiburg im Breisgau—Basel—Wien: Herder, 2001) (Herders biblische Studien, 28); H. M. KÜMMEL, Ersatzkönig und Sündenbock, *ZAW* 80 (1986) 289–318; R. D. LEVY, *The Symbolism of the Azazel Goat* (Bethesda: International Scholars Publication, 1998); O. LORETZ, *Leberschau, Sündenbock, Asasel in Ugarit und Israel: Leberschau und Jahwestatue in Psalm 27, Leberschau in Psalm 74* (UBL, 3) (Altenberge: CIS-Verlag, 1985); J. MACLEAN, Barabbas, the Scapegoat Ritual, and the Development of the Passion Narrative, *HTR* 100 (2007) 309–334; J. MILGROM, *Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology* (SJLA, 36) (Leiden: Brill, 1983); D. RUDMAN, A note on the Azazel-goat ritual, *ZAW* 116 (2004) 396–401; W. H. SHEA, Azazel in the Pseudepigrapha, *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 13 (2002) 1–9; STÖKL BEN EZRA, Yom Kippur in the Apocalyptic Imaginaire and the Roots of Jesus' High Priesthood, 349–366; IDEM, The Biblical Yom Kippur, the Jewish Fast of the Day of Atonement and the Church Fathers, 493–502; IDEM, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity...*; A. STROBEL, Das jerusalemische Sündenbock-ritual. Topographische

the scapegoat rite receives a striking, angelological reinterpretation; it merges the peculiar dynamic of the sacrificial ritual with the story of its main antagonist, the fallen angel Asael.

1 *Enoch* 10:4–7 brings us to the very heart of this conceptual development:

And further the Lord said to Raphael: “Bind Azazel by his hands and his feet, and throw him into the darkness. And split open the desert which is in Dudael, and throw him there. And throw on him jagged and sharp stones, and cover him with darkness; and let him stay there for ever, and cover his face, that he may not see light, and that on the great day of judgment he may be hurled into the fire. And restore the earth which the angels have ruined, and announce the restoration of the earth, for I shall restore the earth...¹⁰⁹

Scholars have previously pointed to the fact that several details in the account of Asael’s punishment are reminiscent of the scapegoat ritual.¹¹⁰ Lester Grabbe’s research outlines the specific parallels between

und landeskundische Erwägungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von Lev. 16,10,21f, *ZDPV* 103 (1987) 141–68; H. TAWIL, “Azazel the Prince of the Steepe: A Comparative Study, *ZAW* 92 (1980) 43–59; M. WEINFELD, Social and Cultic Institutions in the Priestly Source against Their ANE Background, in: *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1983) 95–129; D. P. WRIGHT, *The Disposal of Impurity: Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature* (SBLDS, 101) (Atlanta: Scholars, 1987).

(109) KNIBB, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 87–88.

(110) R. H. CHARLES, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893); D. DIMANT, *The Fallen Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Related Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (Ph.D. diss.; The Hebrew University in Jerusalem, 1974) [in Hebrew]; IDEM, 1 *Enoch* 6–11: A Methodological Perspective, *SBLSP* (1978) 323–339; A. GEIGER, Zu den Apokryphen, *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben* 3 (1864) 196–204; GRABBE, The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation, 165–179; P. HANSON, Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 *Enoch* 6–11, *JBL* 96 (1977) 195–233; HELM, Azazel in Early Jewish Literature, 217–226; G. NICKELSBURG, Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 *Enoch* 6–11, *JBL* 96 (1977) 383–405; R. RUBINKIEWICZ, *Die Eschatologie von Henoch 9–11 und das Neue Testament*, tr. H. Ulrich (Osterreichische Biblische Studien, 6) (Klosterneuberg, 1984) 88–89; STÖKL BEN EZRA, Yom Kippur in the Apocalyptic Imaginaire and the Roots of Jesus’ High Priesthood, 349–366; IDEM, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity...*, 85–88; D. C. OLSON, 1 *Enoch*, in: J. D. G. DUNN, J. W. ROGERSON (eds.), *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003) 904–941 at 910; C. H. T. FLETCHER-LOUIS, The Aqedah and the Book of Watchers (1 *Enoch* 1–36), in: R. HAYWARD, B. EMBRY (eds.), *Studies in Jewish Prayer* (JSSSup., 17) (Oxford: OUP, 2005) 1–33 at 24.

the Asael narrative in *1 Enoch* and the wording of Leviticus 16, which include:

1. the similarity of the names Asael and Azazel;
2. the punishment in the desert;
3. the placing of sin on Asael/Azazel;
4. the resultant healing of the land.¹¹¹

Daniel Stökl supports this position; he observes that “the punishment of the demon resembles the treatment of the goat in aspects of geography, action, time and purpose.”¹¹²

Moreover, the place of Asael’s punishment, designated in *1 Enoch* as *Dudael*, also recalls the rabbinic terminology used for the designation of the ravine of the scapegoat (בֵּית הַדֹּרֵרוֹ / הַדֹּרֵרוֹ) in subsequent interpretations of the Yom Kippur ritual.¹¹³ Several Qumran materials also seem to be aware of this angelological reinterpretation of the scapegoat figure; for they choose to depict Azazel as the eschatological leader of the fallen angels, and thus incorporate him into the story of the Watchers’ rebellion.¹¹⁴ Later rabbinic materials also link the

(111) GRABBE, “The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation,” 153.

(112) STÖKL BEN EZRA, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity...*, 87.

(113) Stökl remarks that “the name of place of judgment (*Dudael* — בֵּית הַדֹּרֵרוֹ) is conspicuously similar in both traditions and can likely be traced to a common origin” (STÖKL BEN EZRA, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity...*, 87–88).

(114) Thus, 4Q180 1:1–10 reads: “Interpretation concerning the ages which God has made: An age to conclude [all that there is] 2 and all that will be. Before creating them he determined [their] operations [according to the precise sequence of the ages,] one age after another age. And this is engraved on the [heavenly] tablets [for the sons of men,] [for] /a[ll]/ the ages of their dominion. This is the sequence of the son[s of Noah, from Shem to Abraham,] [unt]il he sired Isaac; the ten [generations ...] [...] Blank [...] [And] interpretation concerning ‘Azaz’el and the angels wh[o came to the daughters of man] [and s]ired themselves giants. And concerning ‘Azaz’el [is written ...] [to love] injustice and to let him inherit evil for all [his] ag[e ...] [...] (of the) judgments and the judgment of the council of [...].” Lester Grabbe points to another important piece of evidence — a fragmentary text from the *Book of Giants* found at Qumran (4Q203). In this document the punishment for all the sins of the fallen angels is placed on Azazel. 4Q203 7:1–7 reads: “[...] ... [...] and [yo]ur power [...] Blank Th[en] ‘Ohyah [said] to Hahy[ah, his brother ...] Then he punished, and not us, [bu]t Aza[ze]l and made [him... the sons of] Watchers, the Giants; and n[o]ne of [their] be[loved] will be forgiven [...] ... he has imprisoned us and has captured yo[u]...” *Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 411.

sacrificial animal known from the scapegoat ritual to the story of the angelic rebels.¹¹⁵

Nevertheless, for our study the evidence of the *early* Enochic materials plays the most important role. In this respect, it is important to note that Asael's transformation into an animal is not limited solely to the *Book of the Watchers*. The same imagery also occupies an important place in the *Animal Apocalypse*, which depicts the fall of the Watchers as the mutation of stars into animals.¹¹⁶ In this Enochic booklet, the theriomorphism of the former angels is juxtaposed with the angelomorphism of Noah¹¹⁷ and Moses,¹¹⁸ whose bodies' undergo an inverse refashioning that transforms them from "animals" into "humans." In the peculiar symbolic code of this apocalyptic work, this imagery signals the fact that Noah and Moses have thus acquired angelic bodies.

(115) Thus, for example, *b. Yoma* 67b records the following tradition: "The School of R. Ishmael taught: Azazel — [it was so called] because it obtains atonement for the affair of Uza and Aza'el". I. EPSTEIN (ed.), *The Babylonian Talmud. Yoma* (London: Soncino, 1938) 316. On the afterlife of the Asael/Azazel tradition see A. Y. REED, "From Asael and Šemihazah to Uzazah, Azzah, and Azael: 3 Enoch 5 (§§7–8) and Jewish Reception-History of 1 Enoch," *JSQ* 8 (2001) 105–36; IDEM, *What the Fallen Angels Taught: The Reception-History of the Book of the Watchers in Judaism and Christianity* (Ph. D. Dissertation; Princeton, 2002); IDEM, *Fallen Angels and the history of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

(116) Cf. *1 Enoch* 86:1–4: "And again I looked with my eyes as I was sleeping, and I saw heaven above, and behold, a star fell from heaven, and its arose and ate and pastured amongst those bulls.... And again I saw in the vision and I looked at heaven, and behold, I saw many stars, how they came down and were thrown down from heaven to that first star, and amongst those heifers and bulls; they were with them, pasturing amongst them. And I looked at them and saw and behold, all of them let out their private parts like horses and began to mount the cows of the bulls, and they all became pregnant and bore elephants and camels and asses" (KNIBB, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 196–197).

(117) Cf. *1 Enoch* 89:1: "He was born a bull, but became a man, and built for himself a large vessel and dwelt on it ..." (KNIBB, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 199).

(118) Cf. *1 Enoch* 89:36: "And I looked there at the vision until that sheep became a man, and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and made all the sheep stand in that house" (KNIBB, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 206).

The Garment of Darkness

In the aforementioned passage about the binding of Asael during the sacrificial ritual in the desert (in *1 Enoch* 10) we find an intriguing tradition about clothing the demon with darkness:

And throw on him jagged and sharp stones, and cover him with darkness; and let him stay there for ever, and *cover his face*, that he may not see light, and that on the great day of judgment he may be hurled into the fire.¹¹⁹

The antagonist's covering with darkness is a pertinent motif for our investigation, as it may represent a conceptual correlative to the hero's clothing with light. Asael's covering with darkness appear to be a sort of counterpart to the garment of light which Enoch receives in heaven. This ominous attire deprives its wearer from receiving the divine light — the source of life for all God's creatures.

That it is *the face* of the demon which is thus clothed with darkness may recall a series of transformational motifs involving, respectively, God's *Panim* and the *panim* of the visionary. This terminology is quite well known in Jewish apocalyptic literature. It does not merely designate the protagonist's or deity's visage *per se*, but symbolizes their complete covering with luminous attire.

The Impure Bird

The Enochic demonological "template" factors significantly in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, which envisions Azazel, like the Enochic antagonist, as a fallen angelic being. Indeed, the Azazel narrative of this later apocalypse reflects several peculiar details from the Enochic myth of the fallen angels as described in the *Book of the Watchers*.¹²⁰ Thus Ryszard Rubinkiewicz has argued that

...the author of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* follows the tradition of *1 Enoch* 1–36. The chief of the fallen angels is Azazel, who rules the stars and most men. It is not difficult to find here the tradition of Genesis 6:1–4 developed according to the tradition of *1 Enoch*. Azazel is the head of the angels who plotted against the Lord and who

(119) KNIBB, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2, 87–88.

(120) PHILONENKO-SAYAR, PHILONENKO, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham...*, 31–33; R. RUBINKIEWICZ, *L'Apocalypse d'Abraham en vieux slave. Édition critique du texte, introduction, traduction et commentaire* (Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego: Źródła i monografie, 129) (Lublin, 1987) 50.

impregnated the daughters of men. These angels are compared to the stars. Azazel revealed the secrets of heaven and is banished to the desert. Abraham, as Enoch, receives the power to drive away Satan. All these connections show that the author of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* drew upon the tradition of *1 Enoch*.¹²¹

In the Slavonic apocalypse, as in the Enochic and Qumran materials, Azazel is clearly no longer a sacrificial animal, but an angelic being. Already in his first appearance at *Apoc. Ab.* 13:3–4,¹²² the text depicts Azazel as an unclean or impure bird (Slav. *птица нечистая*).¹²³ In the pteromorphic angelological code of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, which portrays Yahoel with the body of a griffin, Azazel's bird-like appearance signals his possession of an angelic form. This angelic shape appears to be compromised and "soiled," which renders it impure. It is not entirely clear, in this context, if the term "impure bird" signifies the antagonist's compromised angelic status absolutely, or rather the impropriety of his wearing the angelic garment in the current moment.

In this respect, the reference to the "impurity" of Azazel's angelic form recalls the aforementioned tradition in the *Life of Adam and Eve*, where the antagonist wears an angelic garment inappropriately. The situations in which the antagonists appear in questionable angelic attire are very similar; for in both cases they attempt to deceive the stories' protagonists. Like Satan, who attempts to deceive and corrupt the primordial couple, Azazel too attempts to deceive the hero of the faith and persuade him not to enter heaven.

(121) R. RUBINKIEWICZ, "Apocalypse of Abraham," in: J. H. CHARLESWORTH (ed.) *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1 (New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]) 681–705, at 685.

(122) *Apoc. Ab.* 13:3–4: "And an impure bird flew down on the carcasses, and I drove it away. And the impure bird spoke to me..." KULIK, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha...*, 20.

(123) The reference to the impurity of the "bird" betrays the connection to the scapegoat figure, who, in the materials pertaining to the Yom Kippur ritual, is understood as an impure entity, a sort of a "gatherer" of pollution which contaminates anyone who comes in contact with him — including his handlers, who must perform purification procedures after handling the goat. Jacob Milgrom observes that Azazel was "the vehicle to dispatch Israel's impurities and sins to wilderness/netherworld." Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 1621.

Cultic Attires

It is now time to return to the motif of the special celestial garment found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, and the significance of this theme for the sacerdotal framework of the Slavonic pseudepigraphon. It is no accident that the promise of a mysterious garment to Abraham occurs in the very chapters of the apocalypse that represent the text's sacerdotal nexus — the conceptual crux that intends to bring its readers into the heart of the apocalyptic Yom Kippur ritual. In *Apoc. Ab.* 13 and 14, Abraham's celestial guide, Yahoel, appears to perform one of the central ordinances of the atoning ceremony, by means of which impurity is transferred to Azazel and dispatched into the wilderness. Consider, e.g., Yahoel's arcane address to Azazel at *Apoc. Ab.* 13:7–14:

...Reproach is on you, Azazel! Since Abraham's portion is in heaven, and yours is on earth, since you have chosen it and desired it to be the dwelling place of your impurity. Therefore the Eternal Lord, the Mighty One, has made you a dweller on earth. And because of you [there is] the wholly-evil spirit of the lie, and because of you [there are] wrath and trials on the generations of impious men. Since the Eternal Mighty God did not *send* the righteous, in their bodies, to be in your hand, in order to affirm through them the righteous life and the destruction of impiety.... Hear, adviser! Be shamed by me, since you have been appointed to tempt not to all the righteous! Depart from this man! You cannot deceive him, because he is the enemy of you and of those who follow you and who love what you desire. For behold, the garment which in heaven was formerly yours has been set aside for him, and the corruption which was on him has gone over to you.¹²⁴

This address — which the celestial cultic servant of the highest rank delivers to the demoted angel who bears the name of the scapegoat — is ritually significant, because it appears to reflect some of the actions of the high priest on Yom Kippur.¹²⁵ For this reason, the phrase “dwelling

(124) KULIK, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha...*, 20.

(125) Scholars have also pointed out that some technical terminology found in chapter 13 appears to be connected with Yom Kippur terminology. Thus, Daniel Stökl draws attention to the expression about “sending” things to Azazel in *Apoc. Ab.* 13:10, which Alexander Kulik traces to the Greek term ἀποστέλλω or Hebrew פָּלַח. A. KULIK, *Apocalypse of Abraham. Towards the Lost Original* (Ph.D. diss.; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2000) 90. Stökl proposes that this terminology “might allude to the sending out of the scapegoat” (STÖKL BEN EZRA, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity...*, 94).

place of your impurity” is especially intriguing. It alludes to the purgative function of the scapegoat ceremony, which centered on the removal of the impurity heaped on the sacrificial animal to the “dwelling” place of the demon in the wilderness. The corruption of Abraham, the forefather of the Israelite nation, is now transferred to Azazel.¹²⁶ And Yahoel appears to perform the so-called “transference function” — the crucial part of the scapegoat ritual — when the high priest passes Israel’s sins onto the scapegoat’s head through confession and the laying-on of hands.¹²⁷ This, it seems, may also explain why Yahoel’s speech contains a command of departure (*Apoc. Ab.* 13:12: “Depart from this man!”) rather like the dispatch-formula given to the scapegoat in *m. Yoma* 6:4: “Take our sins and go forth.”¹²⁸

CONCLUSION

In the conclusion of our study we should again underline the paramount significance which the tradition of the celestial garment of Abraham plays in the cultic framework of the Slavonic apocalypse, the text overshadowed by the urgent quest for the new apocalyptic reinterpretation of the central sacerdotal rite of the Jewish tradition, the crucial cathartic ordinance, which perished in the ruins of the destroyed terrestrial sanctuary. It is indeed because of this very special attire, not made by the human hands, but taken from the demoted angelic being, an apocalyptic seer endowed with sacerdotal role is now

(126) Robert Helm sees in this utterance a connection to the Yom Kippur settings by proposing that “the transference of Abraham’s corruption to Azazel may be a veiled reference to the scapegoat rite...” (HELM, “Azazel in Early Jewish Tradition,” 223). Similarly, Lester Grabbe argues that the phrasing in the statement that “Abraham’s corruption has ‘gone over to’ Azazel suggest[s] an act of atonement” (GRABBE, *The Scapegoat Tradition: A Study in Early Jewish Interpretation*, 157).

(127) Lev 16:21–22: “Then Aaron shall lay both his hands on the head of the live goat, and confess over it all the iniquities of the people of Israel, and all their transgressions, all their sins, putting them on the head of the goat, and sending it away into the wilderness by means of someone designated for the task. The goat shall bear on itself all their iniquities to a barren region; and the goat shall be set free in the wilderness.” On the “transference” function see also MILGROM, *Leviticus 1–16*, 1041.

(128) C. FLETCHER-LOUIS, *The Revelation of the Sacral Son of Man*, in: F. AVMARIE, H. LICHTENBERGER (eds.), *Auferstehung-Resurrection* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck) 282.

able to transcend the limits of the earthly realm and enter the celestial Holy of Holies. The removal of the mysterious attire from its former owner became also laden with the cultic opportunities. Thus, Abraham's infamous opponent, stripped of his lofty celestial clothes, then takes on a new, now sacrificial role in the apocalyptic ordinance by assuming the office of the cosmic scapegoat who is predestined to carry the celebrant's impurity into underworld. The scale of the changes affecting the chief executors of the ancient atoning rite creates not only new cultic reality but also new distinctive eschatological dimension as well. But this is a subject of another investigation.

SUMMARY

The essay investigates the cultic dimension of the Apocalypse of Abraham by concentrating on the tradition of Azazel's angelic garment which in the Slavonic apocalypse is transferred to the patriarch. It appears that this endowment of Abraham with the celestial garment before his entrance into the celestial Holy of Holies betrays distinctive sacerdotal connections as it appears to be related to the traditions about the attire the high priest wore upon his entrance into the Holy of Holies. The essay deals extensively with a parallel tradition about Satan's angelic garment found in the Primary Adam Books where Satan's garment of glory is also transferred to a human recipient.

THE AKEDAH: A DIVERSE SAMPLING FROM ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES

Belief in the justice of God and in a purposeful existence guided by the Divine Presence is often belied by experience. If, on the one hand, faith teaches that life is meaningful, steered by divine personal providence, experience, on the other hand, often mocks these claims. The history of Jewish interpretation of the Akedah, or Binding of Isaac, shows that deep-seated questioning of the pillars of faith is probed and tolerated. The justice of God, the divine tolerance of suffering, the role of the patriarchs, the offering of the martyr, and the possibility of finding meaning in the absurd are all questions that emerge from an examination of the nineteen verses found in Genesis 22. In this study, I provide a sampling of the disquieting questions that emerge in Jewish reflection on the Akedah from antiquity to the Middle Ages.¹ This survey shows that earlier generations' questions found various responses. In some investigations, queries were left unanswered; in other commentaries, we may find answers, but they may leave us unsatisfied. Some questions were answered in argumentation, others in story, still others were deflected. The foci are varied — once the emphasis is on God's command, alternatively, on the prompting of Satan. The hero is once Abraham, again Isaac. Ultimately, the story and its commentary reflect a powerful grip of disquietude. The silence and incompleteness of the answers are mirrored in the permutations of emphases and responses found in the totality of the tradition.

(1) The most recent comprehensive studies on the interpretations of the Akedah include: I. KALIMI, "Go, I Beg you, Take your Beloved Son and Slay Him!" The Binding of Isaac in Rabbinic Literature and Thought, *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 13:1 (2010) 1–29; L. HUIZENGA, *The New Isaac: Tradition and Intertextuality in the Gospel of Matthew* (Leiden: Brill, 2009) (Supplements to *Novum Testamentum*, 131); E. NOORT, E. TIGCHELAAR (eds.), *The Sacrifice of Isaac: The Aqedah (Genesis 22) and its Interpretations* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) (Themes in Biblical Narrative 4). These works have an extensive bibliography.

Each generation probes the following questions that stem from the biblical account. How could an omniscient God ask such a horrific question of Abraham, seemingly negating His covenantal promise? Why command an act — child sacrifice — that God’s own words forbid? The narrative warns the reader that God’s directive to Abraham is only a test. But apparently Abraham does not know this — or does he? How can it be that the Abraham who pleaded for Sodom and Gomorrah does not plead for his beloved son? How could Abraham listen to this command to commit murder? Upon the completion of Abraham’s act of obedience, God declares that He now knows that Abraham will totally submit to the divine will. But must an omniscient God pose such a cruel test to discover this? And for those who see Abraham as the obedient, sublime patriarch, why should he be so lauded when countless other Jews have no happy ending to their own trials of the loss of their children?

God

The tradition deals with the unreasonable and troubling aspects of the command in various ways. One method emphasizes that, all along, Abraham hoped that God would save Isaac; a second, that the results of Abraham’s obedience were transformative, mitigating the irrationality by turning to the fruits of the results. A third protects the capriciousness of the command by deflection — the test was prompted by Satan; a fourth dares to allow the awful command to stand in its bleak severity.

Hope that God would save

One trajectory underscores that Abraham’s faith was unshakeable, not only because he obeyed God’s command, but because he believed that God would ultimately find another path that would redeem his son. This point stresses that behind the unfathomable, seemingly cruel demands of God lies a higher purpose that will become known in the future. Thus, in a discussion of God’s test of Abraham, we find a reference to the divine loyalty to Israel — the Almighty will come through in the end, saving them as He did in the battle of Midian (*Gen. Rab.* 55:3).² According to the sages, Abraham expresses this faith to Isaac, for, in commenting on the biblical verse, “we will worship and we will return to

(2) Quotations from Midrash Rabbah are taken from *Midrash Rabbah*, trans. H. Freedman, 10 vols. (London: Soncino, 1983).

you,” one midrash explains that Abraham “thus informed him [Isaac] that he would return safely from Mount Moriah” (*Gen. Rab.* 56:2). Another tradition emphasizes divine compassion, for Abraham was only able to say these words because of God’s gift of prophecy. We find, for example, “Abraham was given the good tidings that Isaac would come back with him,” even if he did not know the particulars (*Pesiq. Rab.* 40).

A distinct interpretation lessens the heartlessness of God’s command by emphasizing His concomitant mercy. Indeed, God never thought Abraham would comply with the command. As we find in *Tanḥuma*, “Even though I said to him (in *Gen.* 22:2): PLEASE TAKE <YOUR SON>, it never entered my mind that he would slaughter his son” (*Tanḥ.* 4.39 [S. Buber edition]).³ Reflecting on the horrors of child sacrifice, the gemara reflects on the biblical references to Mesha, Jephthah, and Abraham:

And it is further written, Which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it to my mind. ‘Which I commanded not’: This refers to the sacrifice of the son of Mesha, the king of Moab, as it is said, Then he took his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead and offered him for a burnt-offering. ‘Nor spake it’; This refers to the daughter of Jephthah. ‘Neither came it to my mind’: This refers to the sacrifice of Isaac, the son of Abraham. (*b. Ta’an.* 4a. Cf. *Gen. Rab.* 55:5)⁴

Here, not only do the sages make clear that God neither desired the sacrifice of Mesha’s son nor of Jephthah’s daughter, but also that God neither desired that Abraham sacrifice Isaac nor expected him to carry out the command. Similarly, Rabbi Aḥa relates this account of the patriarch:

[Abraham wondered]: Surely Thou too indulgest in prevarication! Yesterday Thou saidest, *For in Isaac shall seed be called to thee* (*Gen.* XXI, 12); Thou didst then retract and say, *Take now thy son* (*ib.* XXII, 2); while now Thou biddest me, LAY NOT THY HAND UPON THE LAD! Said the Holy One, blessed be He, to him: ‘O Abraham,

(3) *Midrash Tanḥuma, Translated into English with Introduction, Indices, and Brief Notes* [S. Buber Recension], trans. J. Townsend, 2 vols. (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1989).

(4) The Bible itself condemns the ancients who follow the forbidden practice of child sacrifice. See the following: *Lev.* 20:2–5; *Deut.* 12:29–31; 18:10; 1 *Kings* 16:34; 2 *Kings* 16:2–3; 2 *Kings* 17:17; 23:10; *Psalms* 106:37–38; *Isa.* 57:5; *Jer.* 7:31; 19:3–6; 32:35; *Ezek.* 16:20; 23:37–39.

My covenant will I not profane (Ps. LXXXIX, 35), *And I will establish My covenant with Isaac* (Gen. XVII, 21). When I bade thee, “*Take now thy son,*” etc., *I will not alter that which is gone out of My lips* (Ps. *loc. cit.*). Did I tell thee, Slaughter him? No! but, “*Take him up.*” Thou hast taken him up. Now take him down.’ (Gen. Rab. 56:8.)

On the one hand, this stream of interpretation lessens the apparent capricious nature of God by showing His constancy to His commands. Technically, God never retracted His decree — because His directive never specified that Isaac be sacrificed — rather, God ordered Abraham to bring Isaac up to the mountain’s summit. God’s charge to take Isaac down is equally incumbent upon Abraham; indeed, when the Almighty completes this terse command, Abraham, like Job, remains silent. His questioning attitude is effectively silenced. Yet, the brevity of God’s words to Abraham yet emphasizes the gulf between God’s commands and human understanding. No further attempt is made in this pericope to rationalize the arbitrariness of the apparently rescindable orders.

THE RESULTS OF ABRAHAM’S OBEDIENCE

One way that the unreasonableness of the command of the Almighty is mitigated is by seeing it as part of God’s plan for the world.⁵ Immediately before the Akedah, we see the fulfillment of the promise — at least the first step of it — with the birth of Isaac and the expulsion of Hagar (Gen 21). With this test, Abraham’s uprightness is proven in two ways. In one, God sees Abraham’s constancy and credits it to his descendants. This righteousness is reckoned as merit to Israel in the future. In another, the world has proof why God chose Abraham and Israel for His unique mission.

Credit for Descendants

Reflecting on God’s command to Abraham, R. Jonathan turns to a scriptural verse that states, “The Lord trieth the righteous” (Ps 11:5). He continues, “A potter does not examine defective vessels, because he cannot give them a single blow without breaking them. What then does he examine? Only the sound vessels, for he will not break them even with many blows. Similarly, the Holy One, blessed be He, tests

(5) The shock and unreasonableness of God’s command to Abraham is all the more arresting when we remember the biblical context: multiple times he is given the promise of descendants. See Gen 12:1–3, 7; 13:14–17; 15:1–6; 17:1–8; 18:10.

not the wicked but the righteous..." (*Gen. Rab.* 55:2). The results of this testing are further explained: "So when the children of Isaac give way to transgressions and evil deeds, do Thou recollect for them the binding of their father Isaac and rise from the Throne of Judgment and betake Thee to the Throne of Mercy, and being filled with compassion for them have mercy upon them and change for them the Attribute of Justice into the Attribute of Mercy! (*Lev. Rab.* 29:9).⁶ Abraham's obedience becomes a model for faithful behavior by Jews who face trials from persecution or from life's brutal losses. If life is meaningful, purposeful, it must be connected with God's plan for Israel, even in times of trials. Thus, just as Abraham was tested by the unfathomable, so too could later generation see their torments as tests given by an inscrutable God. It appears that the sages concluded that such testing meant that the sufferers, like Abraham, should be counted among God's righteous. In such a context, we might imagine that the beleaguered would appeal to God, hoping that He would respond mercifully, as He did for the righteous Abraham.

This emphasis on the results of the test is emphasized in Rashi's commentary on the Torah. He begins by echoing the midrash: "God perplexes the righteous [at first]—and [only] afterwards reveals [his intention]. All this [is done] for the purpose of increasing their reward" (Commentary on *Gen* 22:2).⁷ Rashi likens Abraham's experience to that of Jonah, who had to act on God's directive without knowing its outcome; similarly, he compares Abraham's act of cleaving the wood to the splitting of the Jordan — a redemptive act on behalf of all Israel. Indeed, the consequences of Abraham's obedience are immeasurable and effect all generations — both those who live in the days of temple sacrifice and those beyond, because Abraham's righteousness is linked with atonement.⁸

Of the phrase "as it is said [to] this day," (*Gen* 22:14), Rashi concludes that future generations will see that the time period refers to

(6) See also *Judith* 8:26–27. It is interesting to note that this saying refers to "the children of Isaac" instead of "the children of Abraham," perhaps emphasizing here that not only Abraham, but also Isaac was tested.

(7) Quoted from *The Metsudah Chumash/Rashi*, vol. 1, Bereishis, trans. A. Davis (New York: Gross Bros., 2000).

(8) For further discussion on the connection of the Aqedah and the temple, see F. LANDY, *The Temple in the Aqedah (Genesis 22)*, in: I. KALIMI, P. J. HAAS (eds.), *Biblical Interpretation in Judaism and Christianity* (New York: T & T Clark, 2006) (Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies, 439) 220–237.

their own, one that will be marked by God's forgiveness. Rashi alludes to the significance of the Akedah for the Rosh Hashanah liturgy, because on this holiday, the narrative of the Binding of Isaac is read, the ram's horn is sounded, and the following prayer is recited:⁹

Remember on our behalf, O Lord our God the covenant and the love and the oath that you swore to Abraham our father on Mt. Moriah. Let it appear before you, this Akedah, that Abraham bound Isaac his son on the altar, and he suppressed his compassion in order to do your will with a complete heart. Therefore your compassion should suppress your anger against us. Through your goodness may your anger be removed from your city and your inheritance. But preserve for us what you promised in your Torah...¹⁰

As Signer shows, this interpretation of the atoning value of Abraham's obedience grew in the history of interpretation, climaxing in a unique insight of Rashi.¹¹ Whereas the midrash speaks of the Akedah as the equivalent of resulting in Isaac's ashes on the altar, Rashi actually visualizes the ashes. In the midrash (upon which Rashi's reflections are based) we find these words attributed to Abraham: "'Sovereign of the worlds! Regard the act as though the blood of Isaac were being sprinkled before Thee!'...He burnt the ram and said: 'O consider the act as though Isaac's ashes were being heaped up upon the altar'" (*Num. Rab. 17:2*).¹² *Numbers Rabbah* shows that God indeed looked at Abraham's act as though he completed the sacrifice of his son, accepting

(9) In addition to the link with Rosh Hashanah, the Akedah is also associated with Pesach. See E. KESSLER, *The Sacrifice of Isaac (The Akedah) in Christian and Jewish Tradition: Artistic Representations*, in: M. O'KANE (ed.), *Borders, Boundaries, and the Bible* (Sheffield—New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002) (JSPSS, 313) 86.

(10) *Zichronot* of Rosh Hashanah Musaf. Quoted in: J. MILGROM, *The Binding of Isaac: The Akedah—A Primary Symbol in Jewish Thought and Art* (Berkeley, CA: Bibal Press, 1988) 70–71. See also L. BERMAN, *The Binding of Isaac* (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson), 155.

(11) M. SIGNER, *Rashi's Reading of the Akedah*, *The Journal of the Society for Textual Reasoning* 2.1, n.p. [cited 22 December 2010]. Online: <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/journals/tr/volume2/signer.html>. See also M. BREGMAN, *Seeing with the Sages: Midrash as Visualization in the Legends of the Aqedah*, in: M. L. RAPHAEL (ed.), *The Legends of the Aqedah: Agendas for the Study of Midrash in the Twenty-First Century* (Williamsburg, VA: The College of William and Mary, 1999) 84–100.

(12) See also *Lev. Rab. 36:5, b. Ta'an. 16a, Pesiq. Rab. 40, and Tanḥ Vayera 23*.

Abraham's plea. Rashi continues this motif with the following: "God will see [remember] this *akeidah* so that He may forgive Israel every year and save them from punishment. So that it may be said 'on this day' — in all the future generations — on the mountain of God shall be seen the ashes of Yitzchok heaped and standing for the purpose of atonement" (Commentary on 22:14). Signer concludes, "[Rashi's] commentary called upon God to look upon the ashes of Isaac heaped on the altar. If the divine eye were cast upon this pile of ashes it would surely evoke mercy for Israel, the children of Abraham — who was beloved of God."¹³ With these compassionate words, Rashi emphasizes the continuing love of God for his long-suffering people.

In addition to the Zichronot prayer, the use of the ram's horn in the Rosh Hashanah liturgy recalls the Akedah. The *shemone esrei* of the Rosh Hashanah liturgy quotes this prayer from the Mishnah: "May He who answered Abraham our father on Mt. Moriah, answer you and listen to your crying voice this day" (*m. Ta'an. 2.4*).¹⁴ This supplication finds a parallel in R. Abbahu's emphasis that the binding of Isaac is truly the binding of all Israel. He comments: "Why do we blow on a ram's horn? The Holy One, blessed be He, said: Sound before Me a ram's horn so that I may remember on your behalf the binding of Isaac the son of Abraham, and account it to you as if you had bound yourselves before Me" (*b. Roš. Haš. 16a*).

From the past answer that God gave Abraham comes the hope for the future. How did God answer Abraham? Although Abraham never actually sacrificed his son, the midrash relates that God regarded as though he did. Thus, R. Joshua reflects on this verse of Micah: "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before God on high... Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" (Mic 6:6), concluding that it refers to God's acceptance of Abraham's offering of Isaac (*Gen. Rab. 55:5*). Indeed, Abraham himself appeals to God, "Sovereign of the Universe! Look upon the blood of this ram as though it were the blood of my son Isaac" (*Gen. Rab. 56:9*). Of this principle of merit Jo Milgrom states, "[it is the] credit card that never expires, for the faith and the trial. Whenever in the future Israel

(13) Signer, "Seeing with the Sages," n. p.

(14) Similarly, in the Talmud we find this reference in a discussion of the benedictions said when praying for deliverance from famine and pestilence: "He who answered Abraham on Mt. Moriah he shall answer you and hearken this day to the voice of your cry. Blessed art Thou O Lord who redeemest Israel" (*b. Ta'an. 15a*. See also *b. Ta'an. 15b*).

is entangled... in sin, or trapped by enemies, they will sound the shofar and God will remember and save. Significantly, the atonement Isaac achieves is through his trial alone, not his death."¹⁵

Thus, within this type of interpretation, we find that Abraham's righteousness serves as a springboard for the merit of the collectivity. Abraham's act, completed once in time, has eternal significance for all his people. On that one occasion on Mount Moriah, God's command seemed unreasonable, unfathomable. But in the final analysis, its significance could only be seen in retrospect. In the future, equally unreasonably perhaps, God would forgive Israel and protect it, even when such safeguard would be unmerited. Israel will be given credit for Abraham's righteousness in face of their own trials.

A testimony for the nations

Beyond the significance for Israel, Abraham's act serves as testimony to the nations. God's apparently irrational command has a very rational purpose: to prove to the world that God's choice of Abraham and his descendants, Israel, is warranted. Rashi expands on the verse, "for now I know that you fear God, since you have not withheld your son, your only son, from me," (Gen 22:12) with these words, "For now I have a response to Satan and the nations who wonder at My love for you. I now have a justification for they see that you are God-fearing" (Commentary on 22:12). With these words, Rashi develops a more ancient tradition preserved in the midrash in which the biblical verse is interpreted as follows: "For now I know [means] I have made it known to all — that thou lovest Me." (*Gen. Rab.* 56:7). A variation of this theme is found in the discussion of the biblical text that precedes the Akedah, namely, the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael. The concerns of the sages are repeated by Rashi, as well; the narrative of Gen 21 may present a false impression about Abraham to the nations — that he was cruel. Yet, upon seeing his astounding obedience, they would know that his exemplary nature was unparalleled. (*Gen. Rab.* 54:2.)

SATAN'S ROLE

For some interpreters, removing God one step from the initiation of the command lessens the problem of theodicy. Just as the Adversary prompts God to test the guiltless Job in the Tanak, so too does Satan

(15) MILGROM, *The Binding of Isaac...*, 100–101.

repeat the attack on an innocent by challenging God to construct such a test for Abraham. With this comparison, the tradition shows sensitivity to Abraham's suffering and the concomitant inscrutability of God's demand. It protects the view of a just God by emphasizing that the prompt was something He agreed to upon Satan's instigation, thus removing Him one step from the apparent injustice. As in the book of Job, the gulf that separates the divine plan and human's capacity to understand that design is underscored.

The way in which Satan's plan is initiated stresses the sensitivity that the tradition has to the possible blemishes on the patriarchal record. The opening words of the Akedah, "After these things," prompt the exegesis that the time reference is to a dialogue that occurred between God and Satan. Satan reflects on the banquet that Abraham has to fete Isaac's circumcision. Satan chides God, remarking that Abraham neglected to offer even the humblest of sacrifices to God, esteeming his own son while slighting the Almighty (*b. Sanh.* 89b). In response to this taunt, God responds with the command to offer Isaac. Furthermore, Satan's role is expanded to not only distance God's direct role, but also to heighten the piety of both Abraham and Isaac by continuing his temptations to have the patriarchs disobey God. Samael (Satan) goads Abraham with these charges: he is insane, he would annihilate God's gift given at his advanced age, God would charge him with murder! Abraham's piety and innocence is underscored by the words of Job that are placed in his mouth with which he responds to these accusations: "If a thing be put to thee as a trial, wilt thou be wearied?" (*Job* 4:2, cited in *Gen. Rab.* 56:4). Having failed to weaken Abraham's spirit, Satan turns to Isaac, revealing Abraham's true intentions. Sensitive to the theological difficulties posed by the narrative, this midrash shows Isaac appealing to Abraham's compassion with the exclamation "why?"—but in the end, he is shown accepting his fate (*Gen. Rab.* 56:4). Even at the end of the narrative, Satan does not give up. Abraham felt he had to hide Isaac when preparing the altar lest Satan disqualify Isaac as a proper sacrifice by blemishing him with a stone (*Gen. Rab.* 56:5).

**ALLOW QUESTIONING:
DISQUALIFICATION, PERPLEXITY, PROTEST**

In one tradition, Abraham attempts to void his ability to submit to God's demand by a technical disqualification. It appears that this was an acceptable way for the sages to mark Abraham's protest. Abraham asked God whether he could indeed offer a sacrifice, since he was not

a priest. God, however, answered him, "I have already appointed thee to be a priest," and continues, "Thou art a priest forever,"—quoting Ps 110:4 (*Gen. Rab.* 55:7). *Pesiqta Rabbati* expands as follows: Abraham states, "Master of universes, am I fit to offer Isaac up? Am I am priest? Shem is High Priest. Let him come and take Isaac from me for the offering" (*Pesiq. Rab.* 40). This does not deflect God's command, however, as He insists that He will consecrate Abraham on Moriah.

One Talmudic passage, in contrast, is willing to express consternation at Abraham's silence in response to God's command, but, at the same time, expresses perplexity that God would issue the order in the first place. In this case, although Abraham is chided, it is the king, who represents God, who beats his subjects.

Rabbi 'Ākība tells of a king who had four sons. One is struck and is silent. Another is struck and is defiant. The third is struck and is suppliant. Whereas the last says to his father, "Chasten me!" Abraham is smitten and is silent. As it is written: *Take now thy son, thine only son, whom thou lovest* (Gen. 22:2). He could have said, "Yesterday Thou hast said to me, *For in Isaac shall seed be called to thee* (*ibid.* 21:12)." Yet he remained silent. For it is written: *And Abraham rose early in the morning* (*ibid.* 22:3). (*Sem.* 8.11)¹⁶

In wishing that Abraham posed the question, the passage seems to ask at the same time: why was the king (God) doing the chastisement in the first place? By identifying what Abraham should have said, this context, in effect, asks why would God toy with something as essential as the covenantal promise? Why would he threaten Isaac, the only one through whom the divine promises could be manifest? By not providing an answer, the text underscores the divine inscrutability, the chasm that exists between God's plan and human understanding.

The questioning of God continues. In his examination of *Gen. Rab.* 55:3, Simi Peters emphasizes that the sages insist there are things humans cannot understand, yet they still allow for the scrutiny to occur. In the pericope above, the phrase, "The Lord trieth the righteous" (Ps 11:5) refers to Abraham, who is likened to the king's subject. Of the king (God), this midrash continues, one must conclude, "*Forasmuch as the king's word hath power; and who may say unto him: What doest thou*" (Eccl. VIII, 4)? Peters concludes that although the questioning ends with the declaration that things go beyond human comprehension, the *process* of examination is acceptable. The sages conclude that the faith-

(16) MILGROM, *The Binding of Isaac...*, 81.

ful can question, within the context of knowing “that God is King, and that we must fear Him.”¹⁷

Considering the willingness of the sages to pose unanswerable queries regarding the Akedah, Milgrom demonstrates how, through clever paranomasia, R. Hiyya displays this dichotomy: From Moriah can come either instruction or fear (*horah’ah* vs. *yir’ah*); light or fear-awe (*’ora* vs. *mora’*); commandment or plague (*dibber* vs. *debher*); Moriah can be described as either a mountain of myrrh/incense (*mor*) or a place that issues bitterness (*mara*) (*Gen. Rab.* 55:7). She concludes, “Moriah is not all roses and dedication... R. Hiyya... sees the dark side. The word play will work for him too in raising the specter of the misuses of religious dedication, the savagery of power, its waste of life, the seeming irreversible preconditions of our existence.”¹⁸

Another way to press the apparent capriciousness of God’s revocation of the command was to continue the questioning dialogue that Abraham had with God. In one midrash, upon hearing the negation of the command, Abraham laments to the Almighty that when he first received the directive, he *could have* argued that God was rescinding His promise that the covenant would be continued through Isaac. Yet, Abraham protests, “I did not do this, but suppressed my feelings of compassion in order to do Thy will” (*Gen. Rab.* 56:10). He goes one step further, intimating that indeed he has endured enough. In an impassioned voice, Abraham dares to say to God: “Swear to me not to try me again henceforth, nor my son Isaac” (*Gen. Rab.* 56:11). In *Pesiqta Rabbati*, Abraham capitalizes on God’s silence in response to his protest, audaciously giving God a directive! Not only will the pain he endured by keeping silent reap benefits for his own future, sparing him from similar agony, but he insists that his suffering will do the same for his descendants:

...My answer could have been this: “Yesterday, Thou didst tell me, *In Isaac shall seed be called to Thee* (Gen 21:12), and now Thou commandest me to cut Isaac’s throat!” But I did not voice this answer. Instead I acted like a man who is dumb or one who is deaf... Now each year on this day, when Isaac’s children are called to account before Thee, no matter how many accusers bring charges against them, do Thou listen in silence and give no heed to the accusers, just as I kept silent and gave Thee no answer. (*Pesiq. Rab.* 40:6)

(17) S. PETERS, *Learning to Read Midrash* (Jerusalem: Urim Publications, 2004) 88–89.

(18) MILGROM, *The Binding of Isaac...*, 121–22.

It is extraordinary that Abraham's demand does not end simply with its articulation. Rather, God not only answers, but tolerates further pressing by Abraham, as we find in the following text: "In reply to Abraham's prayer the Holy One, blessed be He, said: 'Yes, I shall take note of what happened on this day'" (*Pesiq. Rab.* 40:6). Still, Abraham presses on with this insistence: "Swear unto me." *Pesiqta Rabbati* relates that God accedes to Abraham's demand: "And God swore at once: By Myself have I sworn, saith the Lord (Gen 22:16)." Thus, the Bible's declaration that He has evidence of Abraham's loyalty becomes God's promise to use this loyalty to protect future generations of Jews, identified as "*Isaac's children*" (*Pesiq. Rab.* 40:6). Abraham's obedience will serve to protect Israel from limitless future sin or never-ending future attack. Abraham's children become, in effect, Isaac's children, for although it is Abraham's obedience that God noted, here it is the near-sacrifice of the victim that has the same atoning value as if he were immolated.

Finally, we note the unique interpretation cited by Menahem Kasher in his anthology on Gen 22:8, from a manuscript of *'Abot de Rabbi Nathan*. Although Isaac consented to God's will, alternative feelings are nonetheless expressed: "Isaac, indeed, consented with his lips at that moment, but in his heart he prayed, 'Oh that I may be saved from my father's hand. I have no other helper but the Holy One, blessed is He,' as it says, *My help comes from the Lord, who made heaven and earth* (Ps. 121:2)". As Milgrom notes, this text "give[s] evidence of Isaac's resistance." Isaac actually expresses his dismay at what Abraham is about to do! This reflects a very different approach than the one usually taken: that Isaac was the perfect victim, willing and obedient (as we discuss below).¹⁹

FURTHER SIGNIFICANCE OF MORIAH

Sacrifice

In the history of interpretation, the atoning value of the Akedah we discussed above is no surprise, as it is correlated with the very essence of Moriah. This location is linked with the quintessential place

(19) M. KASHER, *The Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation [Torah Shelemah]: A Millennial Anthology*, trans. H. Freedman. Genesis: vol. 3 (New York: American Biblical Encyclopedia Society, 1957) 144. Another English translation of this midrash is given in MILGROM, *The Binding of Isaac...*, 81, based on M. KASHER, *Torah Shelemah [Hebrew]*, vol. 3, t. 4 (New York: American Biblical Encyclopedia Society, 1949) 882.

of atonement via sacrifice, the locus in the material world in which humankind can obtain a glimpse of the transcendent world and God's forgiveness. It is the place of past sacrifice as well as the future location of the temple. Even before Abraham, Moriah was a place of sacrifice because here, Adam, Cain and Abel, and Noah offered sacrifice. The acts of Adam and Noah are linked to that of Abraham because they share something essential: they all participate in the bridge that God has given humanity to connect with the divine on Mount Moriah for forgiveness. In the days of the temple period, sacrifice linked Israel with the God. Thus, in the Tanak we find: "Solomon began to build the house of the Lord in Jerusalem on Mount Moriah, where the Lord had appeared to his father David, at the place that David had designated, on the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite" (2 Chron 3:1). The roots of this link are found in the Akedah itself, as sacrifice and worship are intertwined with the very creation of the world. In discussing the reason why God spared Isaac, Rabbi Isaac made the following associations: "Everything happened as a reward for worshipping. Abraham returned in peace [accompanied by Isaac] from Mt. Moriah only as a reward for worshipping... The Torah was given only as a reward for worshipping... The Temple was built only as a reward for worshipping... The dead will come to life again only as a reward for worshipping" (*Gen. Rab.* 56:2). Indeed, Geza Vermes notes that all atoning sacrifices are linked to the Akedah.²⁰ The following quotation from the *Fragmentary Targum* regarding the *tamid* (daily offering) is telling: "The lamb was chosen to recall the merit of the lamb of Abraham, who bound himself on the altar and stretched out his neck for Your Name's sake. Heaven was let down and descended and Isaac saw its perfection and his eyes were weakened by the high places. For this reason he acquired merit and a lamb was provided there, in his stead, for the burnt offering."²¹

In the future, Moriah will be linked with God's "attempts" to bring a righteous humanity into the world. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* refers to these stages: "And they came to the place of which the Lord had told him. And Abraham builded there the altar which Adam had built, which had been destroyed by the waters of the deluge, which Noah

(20) See discussion in G. VERMES, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1961) (*Studia Post-Biblica*, 4) 208–212.

(21) Quoted in VERMES, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism...*, 211. See also *Lev. Rab.* 2:11.

has again builded, and which had been destroyed in the age of divisions [the time of the tower of Babel]; and he set the wood in order upon it, and bound Izhak his son, and laid him on the altar upon the wood" (*Tg. Ps.-J.*, commentary on Gen 22. Cf. *Song Rab.* 4:6, 2).²² In other words, with Adam, with Noah, at Babel, and with Abraham, God offered humanity consecutive chances to live according to His design.

Furthering the transcendent significance of Moriah, we find that this mountain is connected with the other symbolic mountains of spiritual significance in Israel: both Sinai — the mountain on which the torah was given — and Zion — the mountain on which torah will go forth. The connection of all three is found in this example: "He took the measure of all the mountains and found no mountain other than Mount Sinai suitable for giving the torah on it. He took the measure of all lands and found no city other than Jerusalem suitable for building the Temple within it. Again the Holy One, blessed be He, took the measure of all the mountains and found no mountain other than Mount Moriah upon which He might cause His presence to dwell" (*Pesiq. Rab.* 50). Another midrash preserves the same correlation of Moriah and Zion, with the following links made in the name of R. Yannai and R. Hiyya respectively: "[Moriah] is the place whence reverence (*mora'*) and awe (*yir'ah*) came forth into the world," and "[Moriah] is the land whence instruction (*hora'ah*) came forth: *For out of Zion shall come forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem* (Isa. 2:3)" (*Pesiq. Rab.* 40:6). Further, the very existence of Moriah points to the resurrection, for in the context of discussing the significance of worship on Moriah, one midrash states, "The dead will come to life again only as a reward for worshipping" (*Gen. Rab.* 56:2).²³

(22) For discussion on the links between the Akedah and sacrifice see G. WENHAM, *The Akedah: A Paradigm of Sacrifice*, in: D. WRIGHT, D. N. FREEDMAN, A. HURVITZ (eds.), *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995) 93–102.

(23) The transcendent connections between these mountains have early roots. Thus, we find in *Jub.* 18:13, "And Abraham called that place 'the Lord has seen,' so that it is said 'in the mountain the Lord has seen.' It is Mount Zion." Because of their spiritual connection, such links are easily made. See HUIZENGA, *The New Isaac...*, 83. Similarly, Josephus shows this connection. See *Ant.* 1.222–227.

Earthy Sustenance

Not only does Moriah provide Israel a connection with God via sacrifice, it also allows for their earthy sustenance and survival — it provides food. We note the following discussion: “AND HE TOOK IN HIS HAND THE FIRE AND THE KNIFE (MA’AKELETH). R. Hanina said: Why is a knife called *ma’akeleth*? Because it makes food (*oklim*) fit to be eaten. While the rabbis said: all eating (*akiloth*) which Israel enjoy in this world, they enjoy only in the merit of that MA’AKELETH (KNIFE)” (*Gen. Rab.* 56:3). The words *ma’akeleth*, *oklim* and *akiloth* are all derivatives of the same root *’kl*. Milgrom comments: The principle that certain miracles happened to Israel because of the merit of the Akedah is thus extended here to encompass Israel’s basic physical survival.”²⁴ Similarly, we note the expansion on this theme in Midrash *Tanhuma*, which states that the reason the word *ma’akhelet* was chosen for “knife,” as opposed to *sakin*, is because Israel was provided abundant nourishment under God’s providence (*Tanh* 4.46).

ISAAC’S ELEVATION

With the trajectory that stresses the atoning value of Abraham’s act, another branch is developed; some interpretations shift the focus to Isaac, the consummate willing victim. On the one hand, there is a tradition which underscores the human side of Isaac. On the other hand, more emphasis is placed on his spiritual elevation. Except for one altercation with Ishmael, Isaac is at once the knowing, obedient victim, the resurrected soul, or a participant in the angelic realm.

Isaac: human

As the Akedah begins with the phrase, “after these things,” commentators reflected on the antecedents to the event. In the Bible, the previous narrative recounts the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael, prompted by Sarah’s concerns regarding any connection between Ishmael and Isaac. Thus, one midrash speaks of a specific confrontation that occurred between Ishmael and Isaac. Isaac responds to Ishmael’s taunts that the latter’s circumcision is more noteworthy than his own by bragging that he would sacrifice other limbs of his body. Upon Ishmael’s boast that he is more virtuous than Isaac on account of his own circumcision at an older age, Isaac responds, “On account of one limb

(24) MILGROM, *The Binding of Isaac...*, 133.

wouldst thou incense me! ...were the Holy One, blessed be He, to say unto me, Sacrifice thyself before Me, I would obey" (*Sanh.* 89b). But any hubris is quickly overshadowed by the interpretations that underscore Isaac's perception as he looks toward Moriah and his faithful participation in Abraham's lead.²⁵

Isaac's Spiritual heights

Isaac's spiritual insight is stressed when, early in the journey, Abraham asks his son to consider Mount Moriah in the distance. Unlike the two servants who accompany father and son, Isaac sees a pillar of fire on Mount Moriah, stretching to the heavens. Abraham understands Isaac's observation as a sign of his worthiness as a perfect sacrifice (*Pirque R. El.* 31). In addition, when Isaac discovers Abraham's intentions, the interpretations by far emphasize his absolute willingness. For example, when Isaac expressed his puzzlement regarding the absence of a sacrificial animal, Abraham replies, "God will provide himself the lamb, O my son; and if not, Thou art for a burnt-offering, my son" (*Gen. Rab.* 56:4). Despite this horrific comment, father and son continued together, "one to slaughter and the other to be slaughtered" (*Gen. Rab.* 56:4). Similarly, we find: "Isaac was not distressed by what his father had said to him. Even as the one rejoiced to make the offering, the other rejoiced to be made an offering of" (*Pesiq. Rab.* 40). Moreover, Isaac is shown as being particularly careful that nothing be done to disqualify him as an offering. He begs his father to bind him tightly, lest he flinch, causing a blemish — a technical cause for disqualification (*Pesiq. Rab.* 40; *Gen. Rab.* 56:8).²⁶

In an interesting variation of the specifics of Isaac's concern, we find that in *Pirque Rabbi Eliezer* 31, Isaac is afraid not of physical disqualification, but of breaking one of the ten commandments, which, he reasons, would also disqualify him. Fearing that he would curse his father upon experiencing fear of dying, he begs to be bound tightly lest he break the commandment of honoring one's father: "O my father! Bind for me my two hands, and my two feet, so that I do not curse thee: for instance a word may issue from the mouth because of the violence and dread of death, and I shall be found to have slighted the precept, "Honour thy father" (*Pirque R. El.* 31).

(25) See also *Gen. Rab.* 55:4.

(26) This theme is also present in 4Q225. See the discussion in HUIZENGA, *The New Isaac...*, 88–93.

In another example of Isaac's piety while bound on the altar, it is he — and not Abraham — who sees the angels who observe the Akedah: "Abraham's eyes were scanning the eyes of Isaac, and <Isaac's> eyes were scanning the angels of the heights; Isaac saw them, Abraham did not see them..." (*Frg. Tg.* 22.10). Thus, the prospective victim is, in effect, praised by the tradition for his duty-bound fealty to both his father and to God.

ISAAC: PARADIGMATIC MARTYR

Inspiration for martyrdom

For modern readers, one of the most troubling aspects of the interpretive history of the Akedah is the connection made between this text and the experiences of those who faced the unfathomable loss of their children due to martyrdom. Both Abraham and Isaac are held up as paragons: one is willing to obey God even when it means the annihilation of all that is dear, and one is willing to offer himself as the consummate victim. Yet, the fact remains: the trial found in Gen 22 does *not* end in death. God only tested Abraham and Isaac. God used their obedience and willingness — as developed in the history of tradition — to educate the world and to atone for Israel. How then can the Akedah be meaningful to those who witnessed such horrible occasions with no deliverance? Even in antiquity, authors dared to ask this question, finding solace with the paradigm of Abraham's trial and Isaac's submission. Early examples come from 2 and 4 Maccabees, in which we find the arresting accounts of Eleazar and that of the mother and her seven sons.

On one level, martyrs are held up as models of virtue: "All people, even their torturers, marveled at their courage and endurance, and they became the cause of the downfall of tyranny over their nation. By their endurance they conquered the tyrant, and thus their native land was purified through them" (4 Macc 1:11). In addition, as shown by the faithfulness and prayer of one individual, Eleazar, we find that martyrdom effects atonement. While dying at the hands of his tormentors, he speaks for all martyrs: "Be merciful to your people, and let our punishment suffice for them. Make my blood their purification, and take my life in exchange for theirs" (4 Macc 6:28–29).

Another well-known martyr story that is found in various settings is the account of the mother and her seven sons. Found first in 2 Maccabees and 4 Maccabees, she finds courage and inspiration from the

heritage of the Akedah to endure the brutality and torture of Antiochus. In rabbinic writings, her story is told in a new second century C.E. setting, during the time period of Roman persecution in the aftermath of the Bar Kokhba rebellion (*b. Git.* 57b; *Lam. Rab.* 1:16, 50). From the narrative's earliest form in the books of Maccabees, we find that martyrdom accounts and the hope for resurrection are linked, as shown in the mother's words to her children, "Therefore the Creator of the world, who shaped the beginning of humankind and devised the origin of all things, will in his mercy give life and breath back to you again, since you now forget yourselves for the sake of his laws" (2 Macc 7:23).²⁷ Similarly, she appeals to her family's reunification after death, telling her youngest, "Do not fear this butcher, but prove worthy of your brothers. Accept death, so that in God's mercy I may get you back again along with your brothers" (2 Macc 7:27).²⁸ In the version told in the midrash, the mother's forceful words express her great faith, yet reveal her audacity, saying her good-bye to her last child with these words: "My son, go to the patriarch Abraham and tell him, 'Thus said my mother, "Do not preen yourself [on your righteousness], saying I built an altar and offered up my son, Isaac.'" Behold, our mother built seven altars and offered up seven sons in one day. Yours was only a test, but mine was in earnest.'" ²⁹ These traditions of the mother and seven sons show that the Akedah was paradigmatic. Abraham's and Isaac's behavior was seen as inspirational in later generations who faced state sanctioned persecution and torture. With her own comparison to Abraham provided by the mother, however, one tradition dared to highlight the abyss of loss that contrasted with the divine intervention that Abraham and Isaac received.

For such martyrs who suffered under the tyranny of Antiochus, the model of their ancestors Abraham and Isaac becomes, both terribly and grippingly, true: "Remember that it is through God that you have had a share in the world and have enjoyed life, and therefore you ought to endure any suffering for the sake of God. For his sake also our father Abraham was zealous to sacrifice his son Isaac, the ancestor of our nation; and when Isaac saw his father's hand wielding a knife and descending upon him, he did not cower" (4 Macc 16:18–20). Both Abraham's submission and Isaac's willingness is cited, showing

(27) Cf. the words of the fourth son on resurrection in 2 Macc 7:13–14.

(28) See, also, the comparison of the mother to Abraham in 4 Macc 14:20.

(29) Similarly, *b. Git.* 57b.

that the increased emphasis on Isaac, compared to the biblical text, occurred before the turn of the eras: “‘Brothers, let us die like brothers for the sake of the law... Remember whence you came, and the father by whose hand Isaac would have submitted to being slain for the sake of religion’” (4 Macc 13:9-12). These traditions share one presupposition: a tenacious belief in the unseen, a steadfast confidence in a seemingly unjustifiable hope.

HOPE FOR THE RESURRECTION AND THE COMING OF MESSIAH

Resurrection

Ultimately these exegetical traditions which emphasize the relevance of the Akedah to actual martyrdom trust that, in the world to come, wrongs will be righted and that the God who sees all will reward the just. We find the following extraordinary reference to resurrection that is seen to be linked with the Akedah.

When the blade touched his neck, the soul of Isaac fled and departed, (but) when he heard His voice from between the two Cherubim, saying (to Abraham), “Lay not thy hand upon the lad” (Gen. xxii. 12), his soul returned to his body, and (Abraham) set him free, and Isaac stood upon his feet. And Isaac knew that in this manner the dead in the future will be quickened. He opened (his mouth), and said: Blessed art thou, O Lord, who quickeneth the dead.” *Pirqe R. El.* 30 [31 English]³⁰

Similarly, Abraham is included with the blessing of an eternal reward in the world to come: In the same context we find this promise to Abraham — that he will receive his reward both in this world, with a multitude of descendants, and “in the world to come” (*Pirqe R. El.* 31).³¹

W. J. Van Bekkum illustrates how the gulf between Isaac’s potential martyrdom and the tragedy of actual death could be crossed.³² In his

(30) This blessing comprises the second of the 18 benedictions of the *shemoneh esrei*.

(31) For further study, see J. Levenson, *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

(32) W. J. VAN BEKKUM, The Akedah and its Interpretations in Midrash and Piyyut, in: E. NOORT, E. TIGCHELAAR (eds.), *The Sacrifice of Isaac: The Akedah (Genesis 22) and its Interpretations* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) (Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions, 4) 86–95. The reference cited above is

study of the poetry of Ephraim ben Jacob of Bonn (1133–1221) who lived during the Second Crusade's persecution of Jews, he relates this remarkable selection from Ben Jacob's writings: "They [the Bonn Jewish Community] offered up sacrifices: they prepared victims like Isaac their father".³³ For this medieval community the analogy sorrowfully worked, because, according to this interpretation, indeed, Isaac did die on Mount Moriah. The resurrection that God granted the obedient, willing Isaac, yet awaited their own children. With this faith, they might derive a modicum of solace in their horrific circumstances.

Coming of the Messiah

In much of Jewish interpretation, the justice of God and the transformation of the world's sorrows act as paradigms for the future. Thus, the Akedah is associated with the ultimate hope for the transformation of the world — the coming of the messiah, which is connected with the timeless significance of Abraham's act. We note the following text: "The ashes of the ram were the base which was upon the top of the inner altar. The sinews of the ram were the strings of the harp whereon David played. The ram's skin was the girdle (around) the loins of Elijah... The horn of the ram... (was the one) wherein He blew upon Mount Sinai... [and] is destined in the future to be sounded in the world that is to come" (*Pirque R. El.* 31). Here, the effects of the Akedah accompanied Israel at the giving of the torah, with the covenant with David, and will be present with Elijah, the prophet who heralds the messiah; further its transformative effects will continue to occur in the world to come. In addition, as the coming of the messiah is linked to the resurrection, it is also often specified that the dead will be raised at the time of the final redemption. Indeed, a remarkable interpretation of the Akedah claims that Isaac was resurrected on Mount Moriah, a preview of the ultimate resurrection in days to come: "Isaac purified himself and in intention offered himself up to God, was at that moment etherealized, and, as it were, he ascended to the throne of God like the odour of the incense of spices which the priests offered before Him twice a day; and so the sacrifice was complete" (Zohar 120b).

In this context of the Zohar, God's compassionate purposes for Israel supersede any doubt or despair that grips Abraham, for at the mo-

from H.-G. VON MUTIUS, *Ephraim von Bonn, Hymnen und Gebete* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1989) (Judaistische Texte und Studien, 11) 84–90.

(33) VAN BEKKUM, *The Akedah and its Interpretations...*, 92–93.

ment of his questioning, Abraham beheld the ram made at the twilight of creation. So essential was this substitute for God's ultimate design that the Zohar continues that the ram "was pre-ordained...at the moment when Abraham should require it." In other words, as were all the items made "at twilight," the substitutionary ram "was predestined to appear at the requisite moment" (Zohar 120b). The text continues, God did this because "from that time is was pre-ordained that that ram should be at hand at the moment when Abraham should require it... [as were the other things created at the twilight of creation] they were predestined to appear at the requisite moment" (Zohar 120b).³⁴

For all the disparate strands of interpretation, we find that none became completely satisfying. No single approach dominates in the tradition. This multiplicity points to the complexity of theological responses that exist in the wake of this perennially troubling text. Thus, for all the anguish and searching in antiquity as interpreters considered God's terrible command, and for all the reflection and proposed solutions, one thing remains in common with us today — the troubling questions and mystification continue.³⁵ While it is true that interpretations which find meaning or hope dominate, the very existence of daring, questioning texts remind us that in our own deeply skeptical age, we find a common link with those of earlier generations, who dared to challenge God's design for Mount Moriah.

SUMMARY

The diverse approaches found in the history of Jewish interpretation of the Akedah are suggestive of the theological difficulties generated by this text. Questions about the inscrutable nature of God's command to Abraham prompted reflections on the merits of the patriarch, his son Isaac, and the entire people of Israel.

(34) See the discussion in H. SCHWARTZ, *Tree of Souls: The Mythology of Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) 150; *m.* 'Abot 5:6; *b.* *Pesah* 54a.

(35) For further study, see the following: L. JACOBS, The Problem of the Akedah in Jewish Thought, in: R. L. PERKINS (ed.), *Kierkegaard's Fear and Trembling: Critical Appraisals* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1981) 1–9; M. ROSENAK, The Akedah—and What to Remember, in: M. COOGAN, B. EICHLER, J. TIGAY (eds.), *Tehillah le-Moshe: Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997) 307–313; J. (Yehuda) GELLMAN, The Meaning of the Akedah [Binding of Isaac] for Jewish Spirituality, in: L. J. GREENSPOON, R. A. SIMKINS (eds.), *Spiritual Dimensions of Judaism* (Omaha: Creighton University Press, 2003) (Studies in Jewish Civilization, 13) 31–44.

Андрей В. Григорьев

Москва

greg988@yandex.ru

ПУШКИНСКИЙ «ОТРОК БИБЛИИ» И ЕВАНГЕЛЬСКИЙ «БЛУДНЫЙ СЫН»

Тех, кто впервые обращается к творческому наследию М. Ф. Мурьянова, поражает широта научных интересов и исключительная эрудиция автора. По скромным подсчетам, его перу принадлежат более двухсот исследований по романо-германскому, византийскому и славянскому средневековью, герменевтике русской литературы (с древнейших времен по начало XX в.), этимологии, исторической лексикологии русского языка, фольклористике, археографии, иконографии.¹

Для меня М. Ф. Мурьянов был человеком, сформировавшим в годы студенчества мой интерес к палеославистике, византинистике и библеистике, поэтому, посвящая его памяти свою статью, мы будем реализовывать в ней задачу, которую он ставил, анализируя стихотворение А. С. Пушкина «Мирская власть»: «<...> проверить пушкинское словоупотребление на всю глубину славянской традиции, включая греческие первоисточники».

Обратим наше внимание на строки известного стихотворения А. С. Пушкина «Воспоминания в Царском Селе» 1829 г., которые, по мнению исследователей, содержат явную отсылку к притче о блудном сыне.² (Лук. XV, 11–32). Как отмечает М. И. Чернышева,

(1) А. Л. Гришунин, Несколько слов о М. Ф. Мурьянове и его статье, *Philologica* III 5/7 (1996) 47–50.

(2) Д. Д. Благой, *Творческий путь Пушкина (1826–1830)* (Москва: Советский писатель, 1967) 461: «Даже снова посетив как-то „священный сумрак“ прекрасных лицейских садов, поэт вступает в них „с поникшею главой“ — всё с тем же жгучим раскаяньем за расточенные „в пылу восторгов скоротечных, в бесплодном вихре суеты“ сокровища сердца („Воспоминания в Царском Селе...“, 1829). Свое душевное состояние он уподобляет переживаниям блудного сына, вернувшегося в отчий дом»; С. Л. Франк, Религиозность Пушкина, в: *Пушкин в русской философской критике: Конец XIX — первая половина XX в.* (Москва: Книга, 1990) 393: «В личной жизни

у Пушкина «во множестве стихов присутствуют напоминания библейских или евангельских сюжетов. Иногда для этого достаточно одного-двух слов». ³ В данном случае исследователь считает, что слова, вызывающие в памяти читателя евангельскую притчу о блудном сыне, — это «отрок Библии»: ⁴

...Сады прекрасные, под сумрак ваш священный
 Вхожу с поникшею главой.
 Так **отрок Библии** ⁵ [безумный] расточитель,
 До капли истощив раскаянья фиал,
 Увидев наконец родимую обитель,
 Главой поник и зарыдал... ⁶

Также М. И. Чернышева отмечает, что в пушкинских черновиках, где отсутствует сочетание «отрок Библии», «ситуация более неопределенная, чем в беловом варианте, поскольку допускаются догадки»; по ее мнению, в черновых вариантах на евангельский сюжет намекает только слово *древле*:

Как древле юный расточитель,
 Томясь развратной нищетой...

или

Как древле юный расточитель,
 Томим расканьем живым...

Однако, на наш взгляд, совершенно очевидно, что только сочетания «отрок Библии» для отсылки читателя к определенному

Пушкина воплощением „алтаря пенатов“ были два места — Михайловское и Царское Село. (Ср. „Вновь я посетил...“ и „Воспоминания в Царском Селе“). В последнем стихотворении античный мотив пенатов обогащается евангельским мотивом „блудного сына“: поэт, возвратившись после скитаний — внешних и внутренних — к родному месту, в котором впервые зародилась его духовная жизнь, ощущает себя блудным сыном, возвращающимся в отчий дом».

(3) М. И. Чернышева, *Уходящие слова, ускользающие смыслы* (Москва: МГУП, 2009) 166.

(4) См. *Словарь языка Пушкина*, т. 3 (Москва: Азбуковник, 2001) 250: «Отрок Библии — о блудном сыне из библейской притчи».

(5) Выделено мной. — А. Г.

(6) А. С. Пушкин, *Воспоминания в Царском Селе*, в: Он же, *Полное собрание сочинений*: в 16 тт., т. 3/1 (Москва, Ленинград: Издательство АН СССР, 1948) 189.

месту Священного Писания не вполне достаточно. Слово «отрок» в Ветхом и Новом Заветах используется применительно ко многим персонажам, вышедшим из младенческого возраста и не достигшим юношеского: это отрок Исаак и отрок Иосиф, отрок Самуил,⁷ отрок Авессалом, отрок Даниил. Даже Христос именуется отроком (Ис 42:1, Мф 22:18, Лк 2:43). В то же время отметим, что сам блудный сын в Евангелии от Луки отроком ни разу не назван.

На наш взгляд, более определенной отсылкой к евангельскому тексту у Пушкина является слово *расточитель* (*безумный расточитель* или в черновых вариантах: *юный расточитель*); корень данного слова встречается в следующей строфе:

В пылу восторгов скоротечных,
В бесплодном вихре суеты,
О, много *расточил* сокровищ я сердечных
За недоступные мечты...

Совершенно ясно, что сочетание *юный расточитель* или *безумный расточитель* было в пушкинское время не менее понятным читателю, чем известное нам сейчас *блудный сын*.

Выражение *блудный сын* в Евангелии отсутствует. Впервые в раннехристианской традиции как отсылка к библейскому фрагменту оно появляется в первой половине III века в сочинениях греческих (Ориген) и латинских (Тертуллиан) Отцов Церкви в формах *υἱὸς ἄσωτος* и *filius prodigus*. Первоначально слово *ἄσωτος* (от глагола *σώζω* 'спасать, сберечь') использовалось применительно к тому, кого (что) нельзя спасти: 'безнадежный, погибший; пропавший'; в библейских текстах данное слово и однокоренное *ἄσωτεία* указывают на мотовство, необузданность, несдержанность, распущенность, нарушения общепринятого порядка жизни (Прит 7:11, 28:7, Еф. 5:18; Тит. 1:6; 1 Петр 4:4).⁸ Отсюда становится понятным,

(7) По мнению А. А. Николаева, именно он может иметься в виду под «отроком» в стихотворении Ф. И. Тютчева «Через ливонские я проезжал поля...»: Так *отрок*, чар ночных свидетель быв случайный, / Про них и днем молчание хранит»; см.: Ф. И. Тютчев, *Полное собрание стихотворений*, вступ. ст. Н. Я. Берковского; сост., подгот. текста и примеч. А. А. Николаева (Ленинград: Советский писатель, 1987).

(8) См.: *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. I (Grand Rapids, MI, 2003) 87.

почему в Вулгате для передачи греческого ἄσωτος использовано латинское *prodigus* ‘расточительный, неумеренный; распущенный, разнузданный, безнравственный, необузданный’⁹ от *prodigo* ‘гнать вперёд’ > ‘проводить’ > ‘растрачивать’.¹⁰ В дальнейшем в патристике у слов с корнем ἄσωτ- развивается и значение ‘разврат; похоть’,¹¹ что сближает их со словами с корнем πορν-, выражающим всякую половую распущенность.

Непосредственно притча о блудном сыне имела различные толкования в раннехристианской традиции. Под старшим и младшим сыновьями понимались, соответственно, иудеи и язычники в их отношении к христианству, безгрешная природа ангелов и порочная человеческая природа, фарисеи и мытари, праведники и грешники.¹² Тем не менее, в западном христианстве акцент обычно делался на расточительности и мотовстве блудного сына (некоторые современные зарубежные исследователи продолжают считать, что младший сын вовсе не раскаялся, так как вернулся к отцу под давлением обстоятельств, претерпев многочисленные лишения¹³). С другой стороны, в восточнохристианской, а затем и в славянской традиции образ блудного сына преимущественно связывался с идеей покаяния грешника и милосердия Божия. Закономерен и выбор слов, которые используются для номина-

(9) *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, fasc. 1–8 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968–1982) (цит. по: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/resolveform?redirect=true&lang=Latin>); ср.: „ἄσωτος <...> having no hope of safety, in desperate case <...> abandoned“ (H. G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, rev. and augm. throughout by Sr. H. S. JONES, with a revised supplement [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996] 267); „ἄσώτως <...> heillos ζῆν von schwelgerischer, verschwenderischer Lebenshaltung“ (W. BAUER, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, 6., völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage, hrsg. von K. ALAND, B. ALAND [Berlin—New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1988] 239).

(10) A. WALDE, J. B. HOFMANN, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1964) 368.

(11) G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1982) 255.

(12) Толковая Библия (Москва, 1998); *Святое Евангелие с толкованием блаженного Феофилакта, Архиепископа Болгарского* (Москва, 2000); ср.: D. A. HOLGATE, *Prodigality, Liberrality and Meanness. The Prodigal Son In Greco-Roman Perspective* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

(13) K. B. BAILEY, *The Cross & The Prodigal. Luke 15 Through the Eyes of Middle Eastern Peasants* (Downers Grove, IL: IntenVarsity Press, 2005).

пии младшего сына в различных языках: во многих европейских языках это производные от *prodigus*: франц. *les fils prodigue*, англ. *prodigal son*, итал. *figliol prodigo*, исп. *hijo pródigo* и др. ‘буквально: сын-расточитель’. В русском языке герой евангельской притчи — это *блудный сын*: ср. *вждный* (родственное *вждити* ‘блуждать, заблуждаться, ошибаться’; *вждъ* первоначально ‘ошибка, заблуждение, грех’, ср. латыш. *blandonis* бродяга, лит. *blandas* ‘помрачение зрения, ума’, д.-в.-н. *blentan* ‘ослеплять’, гот. *blinds* ‘слепой’, словен. *bledem* ‘нести чушь, бред’).¹⁴ Таким образом, исконно на славянской почве *блудный* — это *заблудший, заблудившийся*, затем, вероятно, — *ослепленный грехом, грешный*. Ср. перифраз исследуемой истории у Аввакума: *Азъ, яко юнѣйши блудный сынъ, заблудихъ отъ дому отца моего, пасяся со свиньями, еже естъ вѣсы, питаюся грѣхами, услаждая плоть*.¹⁵ При этом в сочетании *блудный сын* выражена и идея того, что, блуждая, человек может, покайсявшись, вернуться снова на путь истинный¹⁶ — так и происходит в исследуемой притче, поэтому такого человека нельзя назвать *потерянным*, как в немецком языке (нем. *der verlorene Sohn* — буквально ‘сын, потерянный для отца’).

Важно отметить, что если мы будем рассматривать употребление слова *блудный* в древнерусском языке, то оно обычно реализовывало исконную семантику ‘имеющий отношение к заблуждению, ошибке, исповеданию ложного учения’ (СлРЯ XI–XIV вв.¹⁷ I, 237–238) или представляло значения, которые были обусловлены греческими соответствиями: ‘развратный, распутный, относящийся-

(14) М. ФАСМЕР, *Этимологический словарь русского языка*, т. 1 (Москва: Азбука, 31996) 177.

(15) АВВАКУМ, *Книга бесед*, в: *Памятники истории старообрядчества XVII в.* I/1: 1669–1675 гг. (Русская историческая библиотека, 39) (Ленинград, 1927) 241.

(16) См.: об этом у А. М. Камчатнова: «На почве греческого языка при переводе Ветхого Завета, а затем и в Новом Завете [для выражения идеи покаяния] использовались глагол ἐπιστρέφω, в котором содержится мысль о возвращении к Богу, обуславливающим перемену практического поведения, и существительное μετανοια, ‘перемена ума’, то есть „имеется в виду внутренний переворот“» (А. М. Камчатнов, *Покаяние, или Рассказ о кайке, которая есть, и о воротке, которой нет*, в: *Одиссей–2003* [Москва: Наука, 2003]).

(17) Здесь и далее: *Словарь древнерусского языка XI–XIV вв.*, т. 1–8 (Москва: Русский язык, Азбуковник, 1988–2008–); *Словарь русского языка XI–XVII вв.*, вып. 1–29 (Москва: Наука, 1975–2011–).

ся к прелюбодеянию (СлРЯ XI–XIV вв. I, 237–238), ‘склонный к извращениям, непристойный, предосудительный’ (СлРЯ XI–XVII вв. I, 245–246). В то же время в составе выражения *блудный сын* данное слово связывалось исключительно с идеей покаяния и прощения:

Блоуднаго сѣна подражати. еже припадати и зъвати къ бѣгу... Съгрѣшихъ бѣче на нѣбо и прѣдъз тобою;¹⁸ Съгрѣшихъ ти гѣи · якоже блоудныи · исповѣдаю ти са же сѣсе мои · нъ яко единого сътвори ма · и прѣими ма обращающася;¹⁹ И не повели взяти, о Владдыко, отъ мене душа моя непокаянны отъ тѣла грѣшна, но малое покаяние мое прѣими, яко блоуднаго сына и блоудницю и разбоинника, и възскреси мя и оживи.²⁰

Обратим внимание, что и в случае одиночного употребления, и в составе устойчивого сочетания у слова *блудный* отсутствовал смысл ‘расточительный, мотовской’, хотя о расточительстве блудного сына и говорится в византийско-церковнославянских литургических текстах: Богатство еже ми дасть. сѣсе блгдѣти. расточихъ не въ блоудствѣ.²¹ Только с конца XVIII в. под влиянием европейских языков семантика слова *блудный* начинает изменяться: во-первых, у него исчезает значение ‘имеющий отношение к заблуждению, ошибке, исповеданию ложного учения’ (последнее употребление фиксируется в Словаре русского языка XVIII в., примечательно, однако, что источником иллюстративного примера является переведенный текст: «2. *Заблуждающийся, впадающий в ошибку.* ЛП 24. ◊ Б. дух (ср. гол. *dwaalgeest* — еретик, нечистый дух). Блудныи дух, или кто слѣдует какому блуждению. РГЛ 10²²), во-вторых, появляется значение ‘расточительный, мотовской’: «*Блудный. Расточительный, мотъ. Евангельская притча о блудномъ сынѣ. Блудно.*

(18) М. С. Мушинская, Е. А. Мишина, В. С. Голышенко (изд.), *Изборник 1076 года*, т. I (Москва: Рукописные памятники Древней Руси, 2009).

(19) М. А. MOMINA, N. TRUNTE (Hrsg.), *Triodion und Pentekostarion nach slavischen handschriften des 11.–14. Jahrhunderts*, Teil II: 1. bis 4. Fastenwoche (Paderborn—München—Wien—Zürich: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 2010) (Abhandlungen der Nordrheinwestfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. 15; Patristica Slavica, Bd. 20) 260.

(20) С. П. Розанов (изд.), *Жития преподобного Авраамия Смоленского и службы ему* (Санкт-Петербург: Издание Отделения русского языка и словесности Императорской Академии наук, 1912) 22 (цитируется рукопись XVI в., содержащая текст XIII в.).

(21) MOMINA, TRUNTE, *Triodion...*, 261.

(22) *Словарь русского языка XVIII века*, вып. 1 (Ленинград: Наука, 1985) (цит. по: <http://feb-web.ru/feb/sl18/slov-abc>).

*Расточительно, мотовски».*²³ В данном случае данный словарь следует *Словарю Академии Французской 1762 г.* (4 изд.), где соответствующее слову *блудный prodigue* относится к тому, кто *расточает свое имущество чрезмерными и безумными (бешеными) (folle 'помешанный, сумасшедший, безумный; безрассудный, шальной; глупый; бешеный, чрезмерный')* *тратами (расходами)*, слово употребляется в том числе и образно.²⁴ В-третьих, по данным двуязычных словарей того периода²⁵ русским словом *блудный* в конце XVIII – первой половине XIX вв. может переводиться не только такое французское слово, как *prodigue*, но и *lascif, débauché, dérégulé*. Согласно словарям Ф. И. Рейфа и И. Татищева, *lascif* определяется как 'похотливый, сладострастный, студный, возбуждающий похоть' (обратим внимание, что слово *блудь* в Словаре Академии Российской однозначно определяется как 'грех против седьмой заповеди закона Божия'²⁶); *dérégulé* как 'распутный, бесчинно развратный'; *débauché* как 'шалун, забуддыга, гуляка, развращенный, забубенная голова'.²⁷ Слово *débauché* входит в толкование выражения *блудный сын*, содержащееся в Словарях Академии Французской 1762 и 1798 гг., которыми мог пользоваться и А. С. Пушкин в период написания исследуемого стихотворения: «*Enfant prodigue, jeune homme de famille débauché, qui retourne dans la maison paternelle*»²⁸ ['развратный (распутный) семейный молодой человек, который возвращается в отчий дом']. Образ блудного сына как развращенного, развратного, бесстыдного шалуна-гуляки активно культиви-

(23) *Словарь Академии Российской*, т. I (Санкт-Петербург, 1789) (далее — *САР 1789*) 230 (*sub verbo*); ср. иное толкование того же контекста, со ссылкой на *САР*, в Словаре русского языка XVIII века: «З. Б. с ы н. Ушедший из родительского дома и вернувшийся после скитаний, растратив в порочной жизни полученное от отца имущество. Евангельская притча о блудном сыне. *САР*¹ I 230» (вып. 1, <http://feb-web.ru/feb/sl18/slov-abc>).

(24) *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*⁴ (Paris, 1762) (*sub verbo*); то же в пятом издании 1798 г.

(25) Ф. И. Рейф, *Новый карманный словарь русского, французского, немецкого и английского языков, в пользу российского юношества, по словарям Академии Российской, Академии французской*, ч. 1 (Санкт-Петербург, 1843–1845); И. ТАТИЩЕВ, *Полный французско-русский словарь*, т. 1 (Москва, 1828).

(26) *САР 1789*, I, 230.

(27) Рейф, *Новый карманный словарь...*, ч. 1, 36; ч. 2, 193, 214, 408. ТАТИЩЕВ, *Полный французско-русский словарь*, т. I, 205, 224; т. II, 7.

(28) *Dictionnaire...*⁴; то же в пятом издании 1798 г.

ровался в нравоучительных европейских изданиях и произведениях изобразительного искусства того времени, от классических до популярных. Вспомним хотя бы описанные А. С. Пушкиным в своей повести «Станционный смотритель» «картинки», украшавшие «смиренную, но опрятную обитель» Самсона Вырина. «Они изображали историю блудного сына. В первой почтенный старик в колпаке и шлафроке отпускает беспокойного юношу, который поспешно принимает его благословение и мешок с деньгами. В другой яркими чертами изображено *развратное* поведение молодого человека: он сидит за столом, окруженный *ложными друзьями и бесстыдными женщинами...*».²⁹ По всей вероятности, все эти изображения восходят к сюжетам известных картин западноевропейских художников XVI–XVII вв.

Представляется, что в своем стихотворении «Воспоминания в Царском Селе» А. С. Пушкин, как и во всем своем творчестве, соединяет разнородные традиции: книжно-славянскую и западноевропейскую.

В первых редакциях упоминание *раскаянья* лирического героя реализует на идейном уровне связь стихотворения и литургического контекста Недели о блудном сыне. Отсюда и выбор в черновых вариантах слов *древле, юный, нищета*. Сравни в церковнославянском тексте канона Недели о блудном сыне (песнь четвертая, второй тропарь, ирмос):

Ѣже ѿ дѣвъ твоѣ рѣчѣ: Богочтѣво елагнѣхъ, ѣже длѣ мѣ еси нееннй оче,
 рачотнѣхъ слѣ, стѣлнннмъ грѣданнмъ поравоннѣ. тѣмже вопнѣ ти: согрѣшнѣхъ
 тѣ, прѣннмѣ ма ѡакш блѣдннго дрѣвлѣ, протѣрѣ ѡбѣтѣлѣ мнѣ твоѣ.

Однако в то же время в итоговом варианте «Воспоминаний...» мы читаем:

Так отрок Библии, безумный расточитель,
 До капли истощив раскаянья фиал...

А. С. Пушкин не использует известное выражение *блудный сын* (впрочем, в тексте стихотворения есть значимый глагол *блуждал*) и заменяет его семантической калькой с французского *prodigue*, при этом добавляет слово *безумный*, выбор которого определяется общехристианскими представлениями о грехе как помрачении ума или же калькирует французское *folle* 'помешанный, сума-

(29) А. С. Пушкин, Станционный смотритель, в: Он же, *Полное собрание сочинений в 16 т.*, т. 8, 95–106.

спешший, безумный; безрассудный, шальной; глупый; бешеный, чрезмерный', которое, как указывалось выше, используется в *Slovaře Akademie Francouzской* в дефиниции прилагательного *prodigue*. Церковнославянизм *отрок*, как уже говорилось, по нашим данным, в церковнославянских текстах, как библейских, так и богослужебных, не используется применительно к блудному сыну, зато, возможно, калькирует *jeune homme*.

Влияние церковнославянского текста безусловно чувствуется и в следующих строках исследуемого стихотворения:

Увидев наконец родимую обитель,
 Главой поник и зарыдал.
 В пылу восторгов скоротечных,
 В бесплодном вихре суеты,
 О, много расточил сокровищ я сердечных
 За недоступные мечты,
 И долго я блуждал, и часто, утомленный,
 Раскаяньем горя, предчувствуя беды,
 Я думал о тебе, предел благословенный,
 Воображал сии сады.

В евангельской притче блудный сын *встал и пошел к отцу своему*. И когда он был еще далеко, увидел его отец его и сжалился; и, победив, пал ему на шею и целовал его (Лк 15:20). Слезы блудного сына возникают в тексте Пушкина или как общехристианское выражение покаяния (см., например, библейский эпизод предательства Петра [Мф 26:75]: *И вспомнил Петр слово, сказанное ему Иисусом: прежде нежели пропоет петух, трижды отречешься от Меня. И выйдя вон, плакал горько*), или же под влиянием церковнославянского богослужебного текста Недели о блудном сыне:

О́тцагоу дѣла расточивъ богатство, съ безсловѣнными скотѣи паче о́калнннй,
 ѿ тѣхъ жилаа пиши, глѣдомъ тѣхъ не намыслиа, но возвратиа къ
 бѣготрѣбному о́цу, взыбанъ го глѣзѣми: прѣими ма ѡакъ на́имника припа́днѣца
 члѣвколюбѣи твоимѣ ѿ спѣи ма (Стихира на стиховне, слава, глас 6).

Образ *расточенных сердечных сокровищ* в исследуемом стихотворении может определяться западным влиянием представлений о сыне-расточителе, однако и в церковнославянском богослужебном тексте Недели о блудном сыне, как уже говорилось выше, в контексте покаяния и упования на милосердие Божие неоднократно указывается на то, что блудный сын *расточил богатства* (> сокровища), *дарования*. Как результат возникает образ *обнищавшего сердца*:

Иждѣхъ блѣднш Ѡчи кагѡ ѡмѣнѣ богѣтство, ѡ расточѣхъ, пѣрѣчь бѣхъ, въ странѣ великѣхъ лѣкѣхъ глѣждѣхъ, ѡ кто мѣ не тѣрпѣ съ нѣми сожѣтѣльства, ѡбѣщѣхъ копѣю ти щѣдрѡмъ Ѡцѣ: согрѣшѣхъ на нѣбо ѡ прѣдѣ тобою, ѡ нѣма догтонѣхъ нарищѣхъ сынѣ твоѣ: сотворѣ ма ѡкѡ ѣдѣнаго ѡ наѣмникѣ твоѣхъ бѣхъ, ѡ помилѣ ма (стихиры на хвалитѣх, глас 8).

Богѣтство благѣхъ, ѣже дѣла мѣ ѣсѣ нѣнѣнъ Ѡчи, расточѣхъ слѣ (стихиры на хвалитѣх, глас 6).

Блѣднѣхъ глѣхъ приношаю ти, гдѣ: согрѣшѣхъ прѣдѣ Ѡчи ма твоѣма блѣгѣ, расточѣхъ богѣтство твоѣхъ дарѡванѣхъ. но приими ма кѣнѣца слѣ, ѡ спѣсѣ ма, (стихиры на хвалитѣх, глас 2).

Ѡбѣщѣхъ Ѡчи ѡбѣщѣти мѣ потщѣхъ, блѣднш иждѣхъ моѣ житѣ, на богѣтство ниждѣхъ мѡе взирѣхъ щѣдрѡчь твоѣхъ спѣсѣ, нынѣ ѡбѣщѣхъ моѣ ѣдѣще не прѣзри. тѣбѣ бо гдѣ, бо ѡмилѣнѣи зовѣ: согрѣшѣхъ, Ѡчи, на нѣбо ѡ прѣдѣ тобою (седален, глас 1).

Образ лирического героя стихотворения «Воспоминания в Царском Селе» (1829 г.) противопоставлен созданному примерно в то же время образу Альбера из драмы «Скупой рыцарь» (1826–1830 гг.). Альбер предстает перед нами как сын-расточитель, не желающий раскаиваться (обратим внимание на строки: *Он разобьет священные сосуды, // Он грязь елеем царским напоит...*), поэтому Пушкин, используя применительно к нему уже знакомые нам слова *безумец, молодой расточитель, расточить*, с одной стороны, добавляет для усиления характеристики «друзей» Альбера слова *развратник* и *разгульный*, а с другой — устраняет фрагменты о слезах, нищете (обнищании) и покаянии:

Я царствую! — Какой волшебный блеск!
 Послушна мне, сильна моя держава;
 В ней счастье, в ней честь моя и слава!
 Я царствую — но кто вослед за мной
 Приимет власть над нею? Мой наследник!
Безумец, расточитель молодой,
Развратников разгульных собеседник!³⁰
 Едва умру, он, он! сойдет сюда
 Под эти мирные, немые своды
 С толпой ласкателей, придворных жадных.
 Украв ключи у трупа моего,
 Он сундуки со смехом отопрет.
 И потекут сокровища мои
 В атласные, диравые карманы.

(30) Здесь и далее выделено мной. — А. Г.

Он разобьет священные сосуды,
Он грязь елеем царским напоит —
Он расточит... А по какому праву?³¹

Таким образом, в стихотворении «Воспоминания в Царском Селе» (1829 г.) и в драме «Скупой рыцарь» (1826–1830 гг.) А. С. Пушкин для описания переживаний героев использует символы евангельской притчи о блудном сыне, которые, однако, восходят не только непосредственно к Библии, но и к церковнославянскому богослужебному тексту — к гимнографии Постной Триоди (Неделя о блудном сыне), с одной стороны, и к западноевропейской традиции, отраженной в том числе и в словарях Академии Французской и Академии Российской, — с другой. При этом языковые и культурные церковнославянизмы и галлицизмы сочетаются в проанализированных текстах абсолютно свободно. Герменевтический анализ позволяет найти и уточнить в текстах А. С. Пушкина аллюзии и парафразы на библейские темы, которые не получили достаточного объяснения в трудах исследователей.

SUMMARY

The article deals with the meaning of the phrase *отрок Библии* “the lad of the Bible” in Aleksandr Sergeevich Pushkin’s poem *Воспоминание в Царском Селе* “Remembrances in Tsarskoye Selo.” The phrase is proved to go back to the Biblical image of *блудный сын* “prodigal son.” However, the meaning of the expression *блудный сын* “prodigal son” in Pushkin’s text is defined by the liturgical and theological context of the hymnography of the Great Lent as well as the West European cultural tradition and especially the French standard language as attested by the Dictionary of the French Academy which influenced the Dictionary of the Russian Academy, too.

(31) А. С. ПУШКИН, *Скупой рыцарь*, в: *Он же, Полное собрание сочинений в 16 т.*, т. 7, 112–113.

Byzantine Commonwealth

THE STORY OF AN UNWORTHY PRIEST FROM THE CODEX *PARISINUS GR. 1632*

The text published here is found in a sixteenth-century manuscript, but can be naturally dated to a somewhat earlier time. The realia mentioned therein point rather to the post-Byzantine epoch. For instance, any references to the emperor, even for dating purposes, are lacking, and so is the case with officials of the imperial administration. The archontes (noblemen) that figure in the story look more like small feudal landlords. The Great Martyr Merkurios suffered under Emperor Decius (249–251) in Cappadocian Caesarea, so the fictitious chronological setting of the second part of the narrative is around 620. At this time Caesarea was occupied by Persians, and no trips there would have been possible.

From the linguistic point of view the text is a mixture of the ecclesiastical middle-Greek idiom and the vernacular (early Modern Greek). While in the beginning the author tries harder to adhere to the ancient grammar, the final admonition is much closer to the spoken language, which makes one consider the possibility of this allegedly soul-profitting story having been read as sermon. In any case, there can hardly be any doubt that the author belonged to ecclesiastical milieu. It should be noted that F. Halkin's reference to the publication of our text in *Neon Martyrologion* by K. Doukakis (see *BHG* under the entry) could not be located. Nothing of the kind is found on the pages indicated in *BHG*. The story, with a short English summary, is listed in J. Wortley's *Repertoire of Byzantine Beneficial Tales* under the number W717 (<http://home.cc.umanitoba.ca/~wortley>).¹

There are some very close parallels between the stories *BHG* 1277a and *BHG* 1449p (W067), also present in *Parisinus gr. 1632*. They include, in particular, such motifs as the sin of fornication unwillingly committed by the priest and the resurrected dead man who declares him

(1) I am indebted to Basil (Gregory) Lourié for this very valuable reference.

unworthy to perform liturgy. The main consideration which makes me believe that *BHG* 1449p depends on *BHG* 1277a, and not vice versa, is the following. The former story introduces St. Basil the Great as doing his best to let the priest officiate again, which is mentioned explicitly (fol. 249^v of our codex). Thus the resurrected dead (in this case apparently permanently and not for a short moment as in *BHG* 1277a) disavows the great Saint's intentions. This betrays an arbitrary introduction of a well-known personage into a plot where he hardly belongs. My opinion therefore is that *BHG* 1449p is a rather clumsy re-working of *BHG* 1277a πρὸς τὸ εὐσεβέστερον. Wortley's interpretation of the former story may be incorrect when he maintains that the priest's "restoration to the exercise of his priestly functions seems to have followed" ("οὐκ ἔξεστί σοι λειτουργεῖν, οὐδὲ μεταχειρισθῆναι ἔτι τὰ θεῖα", so the former dead: fol. 250^v–251), but it cannot be ruled out that the text Wortley used may be different from that of *Parisinus*.

The manuscript *Parisinus graecus* 1632 contains hagiographic texts and soul-profiting stories (beneficiary tales, in Wortley's terminology) either converted into vernacular, or containing substantial elements of the early Modern Greek. For this reason some of them are not even mentioned in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*. The contents of the codex is as follows:²

1. Fol. 2. The Life of St. Xenophon (*BHG* 1877u).
2. Fol. 21. The Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful (not in *BHG*).
3. Fol. 51. Martyrion of St. Panteleemon, paraphrased into vernacular speech by hieromonk Ignatios (not in *BHG*).
4. Fol. 94. The Life of St. John Kalybites (*BHG* 868).
5. Fol. 113. The Life of St. Alexios the Man of God (not in *BHG*).
6. Fol. 126. The Life of St. Eupraxia, paraphrased into vernacular speech by the same Ignatios (not in *BHG*).
7. Fol. 194^v. Martyrion of St. Aikaterine (not in *BHG*, vernacular paraphrase).
8. Fol. 226. The Life of St. Mary/Marinos (not in *BHG*, vernacular paraphrase).
9. Fol. 233^v. The Story by St. Makarios of Egypt about the angelic apparition (*BHG* 999r).

(2) The description in the standard catalogue H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. II (Paris, 1888), is incomplete.

10. Fol. 243^v. The story of an unworthy priest who lived under the Emperors Leo VI and Alexander (886-912) (*BHG* 1449e).
11. Fol. 247. The story of an unworthy priest in the diocese of St. Basil the Great (*BHG* 1449p).
12. Fol. 252. The story of a fornicating priest (*BHG* 1449pb).
- 13. Fol. 253. The story of an unworthy priest (*BHG* 1277a).**
14. Fol. 261. The story by St. Sophronios Patriarch of Jerusalem about those who do not read the ecclesiastical service (*akolouthia*) (not in *BHG*, vernacular).
15. Fol. 263^v. The same St. Sophronios on Abbas Paul of Alexandria (*BHG* 1442p).
16. Fol. 269–271. The story of a chaste woman (*BHG* 1449v).

**NARRATIO DE SACERDOTE EBRIOSO (*BHG* 1277A)
E CODICE PARISINO GRAECO 1632**

[f. 253]

Ἐτέρα διήγησις περὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἱερέως καὶ πάνυ ὠφέλιμος.

Ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις, ἐν οἷς ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ ἅγιος Μερκούριος ὁ μεγαλομάρτυς, ἦν τις ἱερεὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χώρᾳ μέθυσος πάνυ καὶ πάντοτε ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις μετὰ τοῖς οἰνοπόταις διέτριβε. ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἄρχων τις τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας ἔστειλε τὴν αὐτοῦ δούλην πρὸς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἱερέως, καὶ [253v] ἠῦρε τὴν αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέραν. καὶ λέγει αὐτῇ· ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ ἱερεὺς; ἡ δὲ λέγει· οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις ἐστίν; ὁ αὐθέντης μου ἔστειλέ με, ὅπως αὐριον ἔχει λειτουργίαν εἰς μνημόσυνον τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ. καὶ ταῦτα εἰποῦσα ἀπῆλθε. ἡ δὲ πρεσβυτέρα, ἔχουσα καὶ αὐτὴ δούλην, εἰποῦσα πρὸς αὐτήν· ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέρχομαι εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρός μου, ὅπως κοιμηθῶ ἐκεῖ, καὶ ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ αὐθέντης σου, ἀνάπαυσον αὐτὸν καλῶς ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ, ὅτι μέλλει αὐριον λειτουργῆσαι. ὡς δὲ ἔσπερα ἐγένετο, ἦλθεν ὁ ἱερεὺς μεθυσμένος πολλά, καὶ ἀνέπαυσεν ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ αὐτοῦ. εἰσελθοῦσα δὲ ἡ δούλη ἔπεσε πλησίον τοῦ ἱερέως. ἔξυπνος δὲ γενόμενος ὁ ἱερεὺς συνε[254]γένετο μετ' αὐτῆς, νομίσας, ὅτι ἡ πρεσβυτέρα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ. τὸ δὲ πρωὶ ἐλθοῦσα ἡ πρεσβυτέρα αὐτοῦ εὔρεν αὐτὸν ὑπνοῦντα ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· ἀνάστα, ψάλλε τὴν ἀκολουθίαν σου, ὅτι ὁ δεῖνας ἄρχων ἔχει λειτουργίαν τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς στρέψας ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος ἀφύπνωσε. καὶ πάλιν ἐλθοῦσα ἡ πρεσβυτέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει· οὐκ εἶπόν σοι ἀνάστα, ὅτι μέλλεις σήμερον λειτουργῆσαι; ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς μειδιάσας λέγει αὐτῇ· τί λέγεις, ταλαίπωρη, οὐκ οἶδας, τί

ἐποιήσαμεν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ, καὶ πάλιν λέγεις λειτουργῆσαι; ἢ δὲ πρεσβυτέρα λέγει· καὶ τί ἐποιήσαμεν; ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐκοιμήθην. τότε ὁ ἱερεὺς εἰπὼν· ἐγὼ τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ [254v] ἔπεσον μετὰ γυναικός, καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ἡ θηρεύσασά με; τότε ἠρώτησεν τὴν δούλην αὐτῆς, καὶ αὐτὴ εἶπεν· ὁ σατανᾶς ἐπέειραζέ με καὶ ἔπεσον πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐποίησε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν μετ' ἐμοῦ. τότε κλαύσαντες καὶ λυπηθέντες οὐκ ὀλίγον, λέγει οὖν ὁ ἱερεὺς· σιωπήσατε, μήποτε καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν κρατούντων εἰσέλθῃ καὶ οὐ μετρίως κολάσωσιν ἡμῖν. τοιγαροῦν ὁ θεὸς εὐσπλαγχνος ὢν καὶ πολυέλεος καὶ δι' ἐξομολογήσεως ἐξιλεῶσαι ἔχω αὐτόν. ὅμως ἔψαλλε τὴν παραμικρὰν ἀκολουθίαν του καὶ ἐντραπείς τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐπορεύθη λειτουργῆσαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν προσκομιδὴν, ὅταν εἶπε τὴν εὐχὴν τῆς προθέσεως, τότε ὁ θεός, θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἦλθεν ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ τελειῶσαι τὰ ἅγια [255] δῶρα, καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν ἄγγελον ὁ ἱερεὺς ἔστη. λέγει ὁ ἄγγελος πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα· ὦ ἀφωρισμένε τοῦ θεοῦ, πῶς ἐτόλμησας εἰσελθεῖν λειτουργῆσαι τῶν θείων καὶ φρικτῶν μυστηρίων; οὐκ οἶδας, ἄθλιε, ὅτι βέβηλος καὶ ἀκάθαρτος εἶ διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, ἣν ἔπραξας τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ; ἡμεῖς ἀσώματοι καὶ ἄυλοι ὄντες εὐλαβούμεθα εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ ἅγιον τῆς μακαρίας θεότητος, ἀλλὰ ταῖς πτέρυξιν ἡμῶν περικαλύπτοντες τὰ πρόσωπα ἡμῶν ἰστάμεθα μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου, καὶ σὺ καταφρονεῖν ἐτόλμησας ἐπιχειρῆσαι τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων καὶ διὰ στόματος φαγεῖν μέλλεις; ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον· ἐπειδὴ οὕτως με ἀφώρισας, ἔση καὶ σὺ ἀφωρισμένος. καὶ ὦ τοῦ θαύματος· εὐθύς ἀπεπτερώθη [255v] ὁ ἄγγελος καὶ ἔμεινεν ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς, ἰδὼν τὸ θαῦμα τοῦτο, ἐξεπλάγη. ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν θείαν λειτουργίαν ἦλθεν ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἄρχοντος οἴκῳ. μετὰ δὲ τινὰς ἡμέρας ἀπέθανεν εἰς ἄνθρωπος ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ ἐκάλεσαν τοὺς ἱερεῖς ὅλους τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως τοῦ ψάλλειν τὸ λείψανον. ἐκάλεσαν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἱερέα, καὶ εἰπόντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τὴν εὐχὴν, ἐπορεύθη καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ ποτὲ ἀνάξιος νὰ εἰπῇ τὴν εὐχὴν. καί, ὦ τοῦ θαύματος, ὅταν εἶπεν, ὅτι· σὺ εἶ ἡ ἀνάστασις, εὐθέως ὁ νεκρὸς ἀνεκάθισε καὶ εἰπὼν τῷ ἱερεῖ, ὅτι· εἰ καὶ νεκροὺς ἀναστήσης, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἶ ἄξιος φορέσαι τὸ ἐπιτραχήλιον, ἢ λειτουργῆσαι, ἢ ποιῆσαι ἱερατικόν τι. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ νεκρὸς πάλιν ἀνέπεσεν, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἱερεῖς [256] ἰδόντες τὸ παράδοξον θαῦμα ἐξέστησαν. εἶτα λέγουσι πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα· τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἐξαισίον καὶ μέγα θαῦμα; τότε ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐξομολογήσατο ἐνώπιον πάντων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἁμάρτημα. τότε λέγουσιν οἱ εὐρεθέντες ἐκεῖ ἱερεῖς· ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν οὐ συμφροῦμέν σοι. καὶ χωρήσας ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπορεύθη πρὸς τὴν

πρεσβυτέραν αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγει· ἐπιστήμην οὐ γινώσκω, πῶς θρέψω ὑμᾶς; ἀλλ' οὖν ἀπέλθωμεν ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ, ἔνθα οὐδεὶς γνωρίζει ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐκεῖ διατριβάσωμεν τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν. καὶ ἀναστάντες ἀπήλθον ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ, ὅπου οὐδεὶς ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐλειτούργησαν. καὶ ὦ τοῦ θαύματος· καθὼς ἦν ὅτε ἀφώρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ ἄγγελος πλην τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο μέλαν. **[256v]** ἀποθανούσης δὲ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων, μόνος ἔζη ἐν τριακοσίοις καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα χρόνοις. ὑπῆρχε δὲ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦνπερ εὐρίσκετο μητροπολίτης ἀξιόλογος πάνυ καὶ δίκαιος· ἦλθε δὲ ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Μερκουρίου· καὶ τις ἄρχων ἐκάλεσε τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ τόπου διὰ νὰ τὸν φιλεύσῃ καὶ ἔτυχε καὶ ὁ ῥηθεις ἱερεὺς καὶ ἐπῆγεν εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν ἐκείνην τοῦ ἄρχοντος. καὶ ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἔτρωγαν ἄρχισεν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἐξηγεῖτο τὸ συναξάριον τοῦ ἁγίου· ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς εἶπε· σὺ μὲν, δέσποτά μου ἅγιε, ἐκ τοῦ συναξαρίου ἐπίστασαι τὰ τοῦ ἁγίου ἄθλα· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀκριβῶς ἐπίσταμαι ταῦτα· ὡς **[257]** ὅτι ἐκείσε καὶ ἔβλεπα καλῶς τὸν ἄγωνα τοῦ μάρτυρος. ἀλλὰ καὶ γείτων μου ἦν, καὶ πολλάκις συνεστιάθην αὐτῷ πρότερον. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἀτενίσας πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα εἶπε· ἐσὺ οὐπῶ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν ὧν, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον οἶδας; Καὶ ἀφ' οὗ ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ ἅγιος Μερκούριος μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὑπάρχουσι τριακόσιοι καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα χρόνοι, καὶ ἐσὺ δὲ ἐνήσουν γεγεννημένος, καὶ ταῦτα οἶδας; ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς μεθ' ὅρκου εἰπὼν, ὅτι ἀληθῶς λέγω καὶ οὐ ψεύδομαι, τότε ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔγνω, ὅτι ἦν τι πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν κατ' ἰδίαν λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· εἰπέ μοι πάντα τὰ κατὰ σὲ ἐν ὁμολογήσει καθαρᾷ. τότε ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐξεῖπε πάντα, ὅσα ἐποίησε· καὶ **[257v]** πῶς ἐξέπεσε μετὰ τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ καὶ πῶς μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἀφωρίσθησαν καὶ ἀδιαλόγητοι ἔμειναν. τότε ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· γινώσκει ὅτι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου εἶσαι³ δεδεμένος, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ζῆς καὶ οὐκ ἀποθνήσκεις εἰς ἀπεράντους αἰῶνας. ἀλλ' ἄπελθε, ἀδελφέ μου, εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκείνην ἔνθα τὸν δεσμὸν ἐποιήσατε, ὅτι ὁ ἄγγελος ἐκεῖ ἔσται, ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸν ἕτερον ἔδεδεν. ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς λέγει· οὐ δύναμαι, ἅγιε δέσποτα, τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ὅτι τὸ διάστημα τῆς ὁδοῦ ἔστι πολὺ καὶ ἔξοδον οὐκ ἔχω. τότε λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς· ἐάν μὴ πορευθῆς ἐκεῖ, οὔτε σὺ τελευτᾷς, οὔτε ὁ ἄγγελος πτερόνεται ἀνελεθῆναι εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ λέγεις, ὅτι οὐκ ἰσχύεις, ποιήσω ἔλεος πρὸς **[258]** σὲ καὶ πορευθῶμεν ὁμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἵππον, καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον ἐγὼ ποιήσω. καὶ εὐθὺς

(3) ἦσε ubique cod.

ἤρχοντο τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἀπῆλθον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἱερέως χώραν. ἡ δὲ χώρα τοῦ ἱερέως ἔρημος γέγονε, καὶ μήτε οἰκίαν, μήτε ἄνθρωπον ἠύρον, μήτε ἄλλον τι. ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς λέγει· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ χώρα σου; καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς εἶπεν· αὕτη, δέσποτα ἅγιε, καὶ ἐρημώθη. καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς λέγει· οὐ γινώσκεις, ποῦ ἦν ἡ ἐκκλησία; καὶ ἀτενίσας ὁ ἱερεὺς εἶδε δένδρα ὡς ἀπὸ διαστήματος τῆς ποτε χώρας καὶ εἶπεν· ὡς εἰκάζω, ἐκεῖ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὰ δένδρα, ὑπάρχει ἡ ἐκκλησία. πορευθέντες δὲ ἐκεῖ, εὔρον τὸν ναὸν χαλασμένον, πλὴν ὀλίγον μέρος ἐκ τοῦ βήματος ἔσθηκεν. καὶ πεζεύσαντες ἐκ τῶν ἵππων, λέγει ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς· ἀπελθε εἰς τὸ βῆμα καὶ **[258v]** ἴδε. καὶ ἔλθων ὁ ἱερεὺς εὔρε τὸν ἄγγελον ἰστάμενον ἐκεῖ· καὶ λέγει ὁ ἄγγελος· ἔτι ζῆς, πτωχὲ ἱερεὺς; ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς λέγει· ναί, ἔτι ζῶ. ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ ἔτι αὐτοῦ ἴστασαι; καὶ λέγει ὁ ἄγγελος· ναί, ὅμως καλῶς ἦλθες, ἵνα συγχωρηθῶμεν ἀλλήλοις. καὶ λέγει ὁ ἱερεὺς· εὐλόγησον, ἅγιε ἄγγελε τοῦ θεοῦ, συγχώρησόν μοι. ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος εἶπε· συγχώρησόν μοι πρότερον σὺ, καὶ τότε καγὼ σοι συγχωρήσω. ὅτι ἐὰν συγχωρήσω σοι ἐγὼ πρῶτον, ἔχεις ἀναλῦσαι αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, καὶ ἐγὼ μένω εἰς τὸν δεσμόν. τότε λέγει ὁ ἱερεὺς· ἐὰν καὶ ἐγὼ συγχωρήσω σοι, ἔχεις πτερωθῆναι καὶ ἀνελθεῖν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ ἐγὼ μένω εἰς τὸν δεσμόν. τότε λέγει ὁ ἄγγελος· ὁμνύω σοι τὸν θρόνον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ἀσάλευτον, ὅτι οὐκ ἀφήσω σε ἐν τῷ δεσμῷ. ὁ δὲ **[259]** ἀρχιερεὺς ταῦτα ἀκούων ἐθαύμαζε τῇ ἀκοῇ. τότε λέγει ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν ἄγγελον· ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἃς εἶσαι συγχωρημένους παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ. καὶ εὐθύς, ὧ τοῦ θαύματος, ἐπτερώθη ὁ ἄγγελος καὶ ἔστη εἰς τὸ ὕψος. τότε εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα· ἃς εἶσαι καὶ ἐσὺ συγχωρημένος, ὧ πρεσβύτερε. καὶ πρὶν τελειῶσαι ὁ ἄγγελος τὴν φωνήν, εὐρέθησαν τὰ ὀσῆα τοῦ ἱερέως σορηδὸν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, ὧ ἴστατο. τότε ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς λέγει πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον· ὧ ἅγιε ἄγγελε, δέομαί σου· πληρῶσαι μου μίαν αἴτησιν καὶ ψάλλε τινὰ ὕμνον ἀγγελικὸν τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι καγὼ ὁ ἁμαρτωλός. ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος εἶπεν· οὐκ ἔστι δυνατόν τοῦτο γενέσθαι· ἢ δ' ἂν ὥραν ἀκουσῆς τῆς ἀγγελικῆς φωνῆς, **[259v]** ἀναλῦσαι ἔχεις τῶν τῆδε· οὐκ ἔστι δυνατόν σάρκα θνητὴν ἀκοῦσαι ἀγγέλου φωνήν καὶ ζῆσαι. πλὴν διὰ τὸν κόπον, ὃν ἐποίησας, καὶ τὴν καλοσύνην εἰς ἐμὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἱερέα, καρτέρησον ὀλίγον, ἵνα ἔλθω ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ καὶ ψάλλω ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ἔχεις μόλις βαστάσαι. καὶ ἄφαντος ἐγένετο ὁ ἄγγελος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνῆλθεν εἰς τρίτον οὐρανόν, καὶ ἔψαλλε τὸ ἀλληλουῖα. ἐκ δὲ τῆς γλυκείας μελωδίας ἔπεσεν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὡσεὶ νεκρὸς ἕως ὥρας τρεῖς καὶ μόλις ἀνέφερε καὶ ἀνέστη. τότε τὸν θεὸν εὐχαριστήσας ὑπέστρεψεν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ αὐτοῦ

δοξάζων καὶ εὐλογῶν τὸν θεόν καὶ γράψας τὴν διήγησιν ταύτην τοῦ ἱερέως εἰς πολλῶν χριστιανῶν ὠφέλειαν. ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ῥάθυμοι ἀκούωμεν, [260] διορθούμεθα, καὶ, προσεκτικοὶ καὶ σπουδαῖοι γενόμενοι, καθαροὶ τε λογισμῶν καὶ αἰσυχῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, ὅτε τὰ τῆς ἀγίας ἱερωσύνης ἐπιτελοῦμεν, ὀφείλομεν εἶναι ἀμέτοχοι, διότι ὁ ἔχων ἐπιθυμίαν εἰς πορνείαν καὶ εἰς σαρκικὰ ἄλλα πάθη, ἤγουν πολυφαγίαν, πολυποσίαν, φιλαργυρίαν, μνησικακίαν, κενοδοξίαν, ὑπερηφανίαν, ἀνάξιον ποιοῦσι τῆς ἱερωσύνης καὶ καταφρονητὴν τῶν ἀχράντων μυστηρίων. διὰ τοῦτο προσέχειν ὀφείλομεν, ὅτε μέλλωμεν παρίστασθαι τῇ ἀγίᾳ τραπέζῃ καὶ τὴν φρικτὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐπιτελεῖν. πολλοὶ τινες καταφρονοῦσι καὶ καταφρονητικῶς ταύτην ἐπιτελοῦσι, μήτε ἐξομολόγησιν ποιοῦσι, μήτε τὴν εἰθισμένην ἀκολουθίαν ψάλλουσι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀθάνατοι διακαίμενοι, μὴ νοοῦνται [260v] τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ οἱ τάλανες, ὅτι δι' ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος εἴρηκεν· ὁ γνοὺς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ μὴ ποιήσας πολλὰ δαρήσεται, ἤγουν ὀρίζει ὁ κύριος, ὅτι ὁποῖος ἠξεύρει τὸ θελημα μου καὶ μὴ ποιήσει αὐτό, ἐκεῖνος μεγάλως κολασθήσεται. τὸ λοιπόν, ἀδελφοί μου, ἰδοὺ ἐμάθαμεν, ὅτι δὲν εἶναι ἄλλο τίποτε εἰς τὴν γῆν μεγαλύτερον ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερωσύνης, μήτε βασιλεία, μήτε ἄλλο τίποτε, καὶ ὅποιος εἶναι ἀνάξιος ταύτης, καὶ δὲν παύση καὶ νὰ μετανοήσῃ, ἐκεῖνον ἐὰν τὸν εὖρη ὁ θάνατος ἀμετανόητον, κολάζεται μετὰ τοῦ Ἰούδα τοῦ Ἰσκαριώτου εἰς ἐκεῖνην τὴν κόλασιν, ὅπου ἄλλη χειρότερη δὲν εἶναι. τοίνυν ἡμεῖς οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα βιασώμεθα ὅπως καθαρίσωμεν [261] ἐαυτοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας καὶ ποιήσωμεν τοῦ φιλανθρώπου τὰ εὐάρεστα, ἵνα ἀξιωθῶμεν τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ παραστάσεως ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ καὶ κληρονόμοι τῶν αἰώνιων ἀγαθῶν γενόμενοι μετὰ τῶν δικαίων, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

Другая повесть о другом священнике, и весьма полезная

Во времена, когда претерпел мученичество святой Меркурий великомученик, был некий священник в его земле, большой пьяница, и вечно он проводил время в кабаках с винопийцами. И вот однажды один начальник той же местности послал свою служанку домой к священнику, и та застала его попадьё. И говорит ей: «Где священник?» А та говорит: «Разве ты не знаешь, что он в кабаке?» — «Мой хозяин послал меня, чтобы завтра у него была обедня в память его родителей». И сказав это, она ушла. А попадьё, у которой тоже была служанка, говорит ей: «Я ухожу в дом

моего отца, чтобы там переночевать, и когда придет твой хозяин, уложи его хорошо на кровать, потому что завтра ему предстоит служить обедню». А когда настал вечер, пришел священник сильно пьяный и уснул на своей кровати. Служанка же, войдя, легла рядом с ним. А священник, проснувшись, совокупился с ней, подумав, что это его попадья. Утром же попадья его, придя, нашла его спящим на кровати и говорит ему: «Вставай, читай свое последование, потому что у такого-то начальника будет обедня в память его родителей». А священник, перевернувшись на другой бок, заснул. И снова приходит его попадья и говорит: «Я тебе разве не сказала: вставай, потому что тебе сегодня служить». А священник, улыбнувшись, говорит ей: «Что ты говоришь, несчастная, ты что, не знаешь, что мы с тобой сделали этой ночью, и опять говоришь служить?» Попадья же отвечает: «И что мы сделали? Ведь я ночевала дома у моего отца». Тогда священник говорит: «Я этой ночью был с женщиной, и кто эта уловившая меня?» Тогда она спросила свою служанку, и та ответила: «Сатана искушал меня, и я легла рядом с ним, и он сотворил грех со мной». Тут они немало огорчились и заплакали. Итак, священник говорит: «Замолчите, как бы не дошло до слуха властей, и они нас не наказали без снисхождения. Стало быть, Бог благоутробен и многомилостив, и я умилоствлю его исповедью». Однако он прочитал свое малое последование и из уважения к начальнику пошел служить. После же проскомидии, когда он прочитал молитву предложения «Боже, Боже наш», пришел ангел Господень освятить святые Дары, и священник, увидев ангела, остолбенел. Говорит ангел священнику: «О отлученный от Бога, как ты осмелился войти и литургисать божественные и страшные Таины? Разве ты не знаешь, окаянный, что ты скверен и нечист из-за греха, который ты сотворил этой ночью? Мы, бестелесные и невещественные, благоговеем перед святым ликом блаженного Божества, но, закрывая свои лица крыльями, стоим со страхом и трепетом, а ты осмелился взять и презреть святая святых и собираешься положить их себе в рот?» А священник сказал ангелу: «Раз ты меня так отлучил, то да будешь и ты отлучен». И о чудо: ангел тотчас лишился крыльев и остался как человек в церкви. Священник же, увидев это чудо, изумился. Но после обедни он пошел в дом к начальнику.

А несколько дней спустя умер один человек в той земле, и позвали всех священников этого города, чтобы читать над останками. Итак, позвали и того священника, и когда священники прочита-

ли молитву, отправился и некогда недостойный священник, чтобы читать молитву. И о чудо, когда он сказал: «Ты еси воскресение», — мертвец сразу же сел и сказал священнику: «Хотя бы ты и мертвых воскрешал, недостойн ты носить епитрахиль, или литургисать, или совершать что-либо священническое». И проговорив это, мертвец пал опять, а остальные священники, увидев удивительное чудо, были поражены. Тогда они говорят тому священнику: «Что это за невероятное и великое чудо?» Тогда священник исповедал перед всеми свой грех. Тут говорят все находившиеся там священники: «Отныне мы не имеем с тобой ничего общего». И священник, удалившись, отправился к своей попадьи и говорит: «Ремесла я не знаю, как я вас прокормлю? Но пойдем в другое место, где нас никто не знает, и там проведем оставшееся время нашей жизни». И встав, они отправились в другое место, где их никто не знал, и там служили. И о чудо: он оставался таким же, как когда его отлучил ангел, только лицо его почернело.

И после того как умерла его попадьи и его дети, он жил один триста семьдесят лет. А в то время в городе, где он находился, был митрополит, очень достойный и праведный. Наступил праздник святого великомученика Меркурия, и некий начальник позвал поместного архиерея, чтобы угостить его. И случился тут и вышесказанный священник, и пошел на эту трапезу у начальника. И там, где они ели, архиерей начал рассказывать синаксарь святого. Священник же, подхватив, сказал: «Ты, владыко мой святой, знаешь о подвигах святого из синаксаря, а мне они известны доподлинно, потому что я там был и хорошо видел борение мученика. Но он и сосед мой был, и мы перед тем часто сживали за одним столом». Архиерей же, взглядевшись в священника, сказал: «Тебе еще сорока лет нет, и ты знал святого? А с тех пор как святой Меркурий принял мученичество доныне прошло триста семьдесят лет, и ты еще не был рожден, а знаешь это?» Когда же священник клятвенно утверждал, что «я говорю правду и не лгу», тогда архиерей понял, что что-то есть с этим священником, и, оставшись с ним наедине, говорит ему: «Скажи мне все, что с тобой случилось, в чистом исповедании». Тут священник рассказал все, что сотворил, и как он переспал со своей служанкой, и как они вместе с ангелом были отлучены, и остались непримиренными. Тогда говорит ему архиерей: «Знай, что ты связан ангелом, и до сих пор живешь и не умрешь в бесконечные веки. Но пойдь, брат мой, в ту церковь, где вы сотворили эти узы, ибо ангел будет там, потому что один свя-

зал другого». А священник отвечает: «Не могу я этого сделать, святой владыко, потому что дорога долгая, а у меня нет на расходы». Тогда говорит ему архиерей: «Если ты туда не отправишься, то и ты не скончаешься, и ангел не обретет крылья, чтобы вознестись на небо, — но так как ты говоришь, что ты не в силах, я сделаю тебе милость и мы отправимся вместе, и я дам тебе коня и расходы возьму на себя».

И сразу же они пустились в путь и пошли в землю священника. А земля священникова стала безлюдной, и они не нашли ни жилища, ни человека, и другого ничего. Говорит архиерей: «Это твоя земля?». А священник отвечает: «Она, владыко святой, и обезлюдела». А архиерей говорит: «Ты не знаешь, где была церковь?». И священник, приглядевшись, увидел деревья на некотором расстоянии от того места, и сказал: «Как я предполагаю, церковь вон там, где деревья». И отправившись туда, они увидели храм разрушенным, только малая часть алтаря стояла, и, как спешили с коней, говорит архиерей: «Пойди в алтарь и посмотри». И священник пошел и увидел ангела, стоявшего там, и ангел говорит: «Ты еще жив, бедный иерей?» А священник говорит: «Да, еще жив, но и ты все еще тут стоишь?» И говорит ангел: «Да, однако добро пожаловать, чтобы нам примириться друг с другом». И священник в ответ: «Благослови, святой ангел Божий, прости меня». А ангел сказал: «Сначала ты меня прости, и тогда я тебя прощу. Потому что если я прощу тебя первым, то ты в тот же час уедешь, а я останусь связанным». Тогда говорит священник: «А если я тебя прощу, то ты обретешь крылья и вознесешься на небо, а я останусь связанным». Тут ангел говорит: «Клянусь тебе неколебимым престолом Божиим, что не оставлю тебя в узах». Архиерей же, слыша это, удивлялся услышанному. Тогда говорит священник ангелу: «Во имя Отца и Сына, и Святого Духа да будешь ты прощен мною грешником». И тут же, о чудо, ангел обрел крылья и стал на высоте. И тогда говорит он священнику: «Да будешь и ты прощен, пресвитер». И прежде чем ангел кончил говорить, кости священника оказались кучкой на месте, где тот стоял.

Тут архиерей говорит ангелу: «О святой ангел, молю тебя исполнить одну мою просьбу и пропеть какую-нибудь ангельскую песнь, чтобы услышал и я, грешный». Ангел же отвечал: «Невозможно этому быть — в тот же час, как ты услышишь ангельский глас, тебе придется оставить этот мир. Невозможно смертной плоти слышать ангельский глас и остаться в живых. Но ради труда,

который ты понес, и твоей доброты ко мне и к священнику, потерпи немного, пока я не дойду до третьего неба и там не запою, и ты, услышав, едва вынесешь». И ангел исчез из его вида и взошел на третье небо, и там воспел аллилуйю. И от сладостной мелодии архиерей упал на землю, словно мертвый, на три часа и еле оправился и встал. Тогда, возблагодарив Бога, он вернулся в свою епархию, славя и благословляя Бога, и написал эту повесть на пользу многим христианам, чтобы и мы, нерадивые, слышали и исправлялись.

И мы должны, став внимательными и старательными, быть чистыми от помыслов и постыдных вожделений, когда совершаем дела святого священства, потому что имеющий вожделение на блуд и на другие плотские страсти, то есть многоядение, многопитие, сребролюбие, злопамятство, тщеславие, гордость, они его делают недостойным и пренебрегателем пречистых Таин. Поэтому мы должны быть внимательны, когда собираемся предстоять святому престолу и совершать страшное священнодействие. Много кто пренебрегает и совершает его пренебрежительно, и ни исповедуется, ни обычное последование читает, но, ведя себя, будто бессмертные, не понимают, несчастные, что со мной, что ради нас Господь сказал: «Ведающий волю Господню и не сотворивший ее будет много бит», — то есть Господь определяет, что кто Мою волю знает и не выполнит ее, тот будет сильно наказан. Итак, братья мои, вот мы узнали, что нет на земле ничего больше священства, ни царство, ни другое что, и кто его недостойн, и не прекратит и не покается, то если смерть застанет его нераскаянным, то он наказывается вместе с Иудой Искаротом тем наказанием, хуже которого нет. Поэтому мы, слушающие это и читающие, постараемся очистить самих себя от всякого греха и сотворить благоугодное Человеколюбцу, да сподобимся одесную Его предстояния во втором Его пришествии и да будем наследниками вечных благ вместе с праведными во Христе Иисусе Господе нашем, Ему же слава и держава во веки веков, аминь.

SUMMARY

The codex Parisinus gr. 1632 contains a number of interesting post-Byzantine texts, including paraphrases of well-known Saints' Lives into vernacular idiom, and soul-profiting stories. The most remarkable of the latter, the story of an unworthy priest (BHG 1277a), is published here in the original Greek with Russian translation. The text is a specimen of popular devotion, not always conform to the official teaching of the Church.

Grigory Benevich
Saint-Petersburg
grbenevitch@gmail.com

JOHN PHILOPONUS AND MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR AT THE CROSSROADS OF PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT IN LATE ANTIQUITY*

The article deals with the approaches to philosophy and to theology that were demonstrated by John Philoponus (6th AD) and by Maximus the Confessor (7th AD) during their lives. Periodization of their creative activity is given and some parallels in their lives are shown to exist in spite of all their differences. This comparison of their respective lives and approaches to some important themes of philosophy and theology allows clarification of a character of appropriation and usage of philosophy during the transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages. Several similarities and differences in the teaching of these thinkers are examined. These include particularly the theory of *logoi*; Christological and Trinitarian teaching; some aspects of anthropology (body-soul relations and embryology); attitude to Neoplatonism. Philoponus' "projects" on the Christianization of philosophy and the philosophisation of Christianity are compared to Maximus's "project" on Christian philosophy with the teaching of deification in its center.

John Philoponus (c. AD. 490 to 570s) and Maximus the Confessor (c. AD. 580 – 13 August 662) are two of the most important Christian philosophers and thinkers of the first half of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century respectively in the Roman-Byzantine Empire. However, it was only in the second half of the 20th century that their heritage received a proper evaluation and that they are being systematically studied. Following the approach of Basil Lurié in his "History of the

(*) I would like to express my gratitude to the program in Hellenic Studies at Princeton University for its support of my research and to Professors Peter Brown and Christian Wildberg for their lively discussions on the first draft of this article.

Byzantine Philosophy",¹ I believe that it is most fruitful for the study of the history of philosophy in Byzantium during the transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages to compare some important issues in the teaching of these thinkers in their approaches to philosophy and theology. Such a comparison is justified because Philoponus was one of the most outstanding philosophers and scholars who attempted the Christianization of Ancient Greek philosophy, while Maximus the Confessor is venerated as one of the most important theologians of the 7th century who greatly influenced Late Byzantine theology. It is even more interesting to compare these two great figures if one bears in mind that, at the end of a life of active participation in Christological controversies, although in different ways, each was marginalized by the prevailing ideologues. Philoponus was a thinker whose philosophically grounded doctrine was treated as a heresy by the majority of his contemporaries. Maximus was persecuted and died as a confessor. In Philoponus, we meet an intellectual giant; whereas in Maximus we meet a saint, who also happened to be a philosopher.

JOHN PHILOPONUS

In modern scholarship a periodization of Philoponus' life has been made by Koenraad Verrycken.² He drew a sharp distinction between the purely philosophical (non-Christian) and the "Christian" periods of Philoponus' biography. However, Clemens Scholten challenged Verrycken by expressing a unitary view of Philoponus' creative activity.³ Verrycken defended his bipartite schema in his review of Scholten.⁴ Some of Verrycken's ideas were also criticized by Christian Wildberg.⁵ However, Wildberg's criticism was centered on Verrycken's explanation of Philoponus' transition from one period to another, not his peri-

(1) See V. M. ЛУРЬЕ, *История византийской философии. Формативный период* (Санкт-Петербург: Аxiоma, 2006) 211ff.

(2) See K. VERRYCKEN, The development of Philoponus' thought and its chronology, in: R. R. K. SORABJI (ed.), *Aristotle Transformed. The Ancient Commentators and Their Influence* (London: Duckworth, 1990) 233–274.

(3) See C. SCHOLTEN, *Antike Naturphilosophie und christliche Kosmologie in der Schrift "De Opificio Mundi" des Johannes Philoponos* (Berlin—New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996) (PTS, 45) 125–132.

(4) In: *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 41 (1998) 256–259.

(5) See C. WILDBERG, Impetus Theory and the Hermeneutics of Science in Simplicius and Philoponus, *Hyperboreus* 5 (1999) 107–124.

odization itself. Radical criticism of Verrycken's approach can be found in Leslie MacCoull's articles.⁶ In this and in several other articles, (some of which I will touch upon below), MacCoull argued that from the beginning Philoponus was deeply rooted in the Monophysite branch of Christianity and had been putting philosophy at the service of Christianity. However, such a prominent Philoponus' scholar as Richard Sorabji recently noted that he was "not able to believe the strong part of her thesis, that from the start Monophysite activity was Philoponus' main motivation".⁷ In the present article I will not be able to deal with the details of this polemic, but I will try to clarify some of the relevant issues. Unlike Verrycken's bipartite schema and MacCoull's radically unitary vision I suggest a tripartite division of Philoponus' work with some transitional stages.

During Philoponus' first period he acted as a philosopher and scholar, a commentator on Aristotle and a pupil of the Neoplatonic philosopher Ammonius, (son of Hermeias and a pupil of Proclus). He was one of the most capable of Ammonius' pupils, his assistant and an editor of his lectures. Throughout this first period, Philoponus remained faithful to the general Neoplatonic teaching of the Alexandrian school.⁸

The next period of Philoponus' creative activity, which is characterized by his criticism of Aristotelian science and philosophy, can be dated approximately from 529, when he published an extensive treatise "*On the eternity of the world, against Proclus*" ("*De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum*").⁹ In this work he entered into polemics about the question of

(6) See e.g. L. MACCOULL, A new look at the career of John Philoponus, *J ECS* 3 (1995) 269–279.

(7) R. SORABJI, New Findings on Philoponus. Part 2 — Recent Studies, in: R. R. K. SORABJI (ed.), *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 2010) (BICS, 103) 18.

(8) See VERRYCKEN, The development of Philoponus' thought... 236–237. Scholten and MacCoull did not agree with Verrycken (see notes 3 and 6). In my article this issue does not play an important role (See note 24).

(9) Most probably, Philoponus was working on this important and large treatise for a long time. His main commentaries on Aristotle were finished around 517, and twelve years passed before his polemics against Proclus appeared. For the chronology of Philoponus' works see: R. SORABJI, John Philoponus, in: *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science...*, 81. Edward Watts believes that Philoponus started to write *Contr. Procl.* in 525 and it was a part of his competition for the chair of the head of the school with Olympiodorus, a pagan pupil of Ammonius. (See E. J. WATTS, *City and School in Late Antique*

the eternity of the world, both directly against Proclus (411–485), (that pillar of the Neoplatonic tradition), and indirectly against Ammonius (ca. 435–517). As the polemic in this work was specifically directed against a philosophical work, Philoponus' argument in it was purely philosophical. Several citations from the Scripture that are to be found in this treatise clearly bear witness to the fact that he was a Christian at the time of writing. However, they do not serve him as decisive arguments. Indeed, Philoponus was following the rules of pure philosophical argumentation so strictly there that one might state that his quarrel with Proclus was on purely philosophical grounds, and *Contr. Procl.* shows no evidence of his Christianity. Such a view has been recently expressed by Lang and Macro,¹⁰ authors of a critical edition of Proclus' "On the Eternity of the World". They believed that Philoponus in his polemics followed the arguments of a Middle Platonist Atticus, and that the whole Philoponus' polemic against Proclus was nothing more than a continuation of internal philosophical quarrel between different points of view, expressed by commentators on Plato. Although this view was rejected effectively by Michael Share who found seven quotations from the Christian Bible in this treatise,¹¹ nevertheless I would have to agree with Lang and Macro that Philoponus' arguments are purely philosophical.

To a great extent Philoponus' project was exegetical. He argued that Proclus misinterpreted Plato; although, he also contested some of Plato's statements, pointing out that Plato was not divine.¹² However, Christian views also underlie Philoponus' polemics against Proclus. This is made clear, not so much by a few Scriptural citations, as by a comparison of Philoponus' polemics with that of his Christian predecessors, — Aeneas of Gaza (d. c. 518), (seen in his dialogue "Theophrastus") and Zacharias Scholasticus (c. 465 – after 536), (seen in his

Athens and Alexandria (Berkeley—Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2006) 244.

(10) See H. S. LANG, A. D. MACRO, introduction to: *Proclus. On the Eternity of the World (de Aeternitate Mundi)*. Greek text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by H. S. LANG and A. D. MACRO (Berkeley—Los Angeles, CA—London: University of California Press, 2001).

(11) See M. SHARE, introduction to: *Philoponus. Against Proclus' "On the Eternity of the World 1–5"*. Trans. M. SHARE (London—Ithaca: Duckworth, 2004) 1–13.

(12) See *Contr. Proclum* IX.1–4 and XI.13–14.

dialogue “Ammonius”).¹³ Philoponus followed their path in the Christian-Neoplatonic polemics against pagan Neoplatonism and he even used some of their arguments. However, he made his polemics more philosophically grounded.¹⁴ This period of Philoponus’ activity could be called his Christianization-of-philosophy-period. In that period he tried to purify philosophy on purely philosophical grounds from statements that contradicted Christian, or rather, general biblical teaching, on creation, which must not be thought of as co-eternal with God.

He continued his polemics in the next book of this period: *Against Aristotle, on the eternity of the world* (c. 530s), where he also rejected the eternity of the heavens and their divine status. I will not address in detail that particular work, which has been thoroughly studied by Professor Wildberg.¹⁵ Neither will I address the evolution of Philoponus’ own philosophical views and approaches in his anti-eternalist polemics,¹⁶ except to mention that in that treatise Philoponus unambiguously revealed himself to be a Christian. In its eighth and final book, (of which only an abstract remains), Philoponus invoked either the Revelation of John or the prophesy of Isaiah and stated that this world will not be resolved into not-being, and there will be a new heaven and new earth (Rev. 21:1; Is. 65:17; 66:22). From this, it is now clear that in his final work Philoponus began to depart from his general tactics in his polemics against Proclus, by introducing theological argumentation, (though the main part of this work was still purely philosophical). Possibly this change was due to his split with the school of Ammonius. There, it was not the creative and radical Philoponus, but a pagan philosopher Olympiodorus,¹⁷ who became the official head of

(13) See on these treatises: E. WATTS, An Alexandrian Christian Response to Fifth-century Neoplatonic Influence, in: A. SMITH (ed.), *The Philosopher and Society in Late Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Brown* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2005) 215–229.

(14) See C. WILDBERG, Philosophy in the Age of Justinian, in: M. MAAS (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 323.

(15) See C. WILDBERG (reconstr. and trans.), Philoponus. *Against Aristotle on the Eternity of the World* (London: Duckworth, 1987).

(16) This evolution was studied briefly in VERRYCKEN, The development of Philoponus’ thought..., 264–274.

(17) For an overview of Olympiodorus and the situation in the Alexandrian school, where at that moment a majority of students were already Christians, see C. WILDBERG, Olympiodorus, in: *Stanford Encyclopedia for Philosophy*,

the School. Olympiodorus was more conservative in terms of the Alexandrian school tradition and more neutral with regards to the tension between the different factions of Alexandrian Monophysites¹⁸ and to the dominant Chalcedonian powers. In any event, that was the point at which Philoponus became an explicitly Christian author.

However, during the next decade he had to engage in internal Christian polemics around the methods of using the ancient science and philosophy employed by a Christian. This theme was discussed in his final cosmological work: *On the creation of the world (De Opificio Mundi)* (late 540s), which is a commentary of the *Hexameron*. In this, with the help of the philosophical and scientific theories of Antiquity and Late Antiquity, Philoponus interprets the first chapters of Genesis in polemics against Theodore of Mopsuestia. Thereby, he defended and deepened — in both a philosophical and a scientific sense — Basil of Caesarea's interpretation of the *Hexameron*. However, as is well known, his main opponent in this book, who is not mentioned by name, was the Nestorian monk and scholar Cosmas Indicopleustes. He was a representative of the School of Nisibis, which itself originated from the Antiochean School, and an author of the "Christian topography".

In the middle of the 6th century, Cosmas appeared in Alexandria and wrote his famous treatise, which also dealt with problems of cosmology, and entered into polemics with Philoponus, also without mentioning him by name. I will not deal in detail with this quarrel, which has been studied by several researchers.¹⁹ What is important to note in the

<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/olympiiodorus>. On the reasons for Philoponus' failure to combat Olympiodorus, see WATTS, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria...*, 251–255.

(18) In the 520's–530s, a split appeared between the two Monophysite groups of Christians in Alexandria — the Severians and the Julianists, though both were in communion with patriarch Timothy IV (517–535), who played a role of a mediator. Philoponus most probably belonged to the Severians. At least at the end of his life he wrote *De paschate*, a polemical treatise against Armenian-Julianist practice of using azymys for the Eucharist. (See L. S. B. MACCOULL, John Philoponus, *On the Pasch (CPG 7267): The Egyptian Eucharist in the Sixth Century and the Armenian Connection*, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 49 (1999) 1–12).

(19) See W. WOLSKA-CONUS, *La topographie chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustes: théologie et sciences au VI^e siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962) (Bibliothèque byzantine. Études, 3) 150f; C. W. PEARSON, *Scripture as Cosmology: Natural Philosophical Debate in John Philoponus' Alexandria* (diss. Harvard, 1999).

context of the present article is that Philoponus or likeminded thinkers was accused by Cosmas of not overcoming the influence of ancient pagan thought, which for Cosmas was a coherent system. Cosmas insisted that it was not enough to reject one statement of this system (such as eternity of the world and divinity of the heavens) while keeping its other parts (such as a theory of the spherical rotating heaven).

In his cosmological teaching, Cosmas relied mainly on the Scripture, following a general verbal and typological method of its interpretation elaborated in the Antiochean school and constructing a cosmology on the basis of this interpretation of the Scripture. On the other hand, Philoponus, being optimistic about the possibility of creatively transforming this ancient pagan heritage in the light of Christian teaching,²⁰ tried to combine Scripture with Greek science and philosophy. Their quarrel was about the relationship of revelation to philosophy and science, which is why it is still a contemporary issue.²¹ Philoponus' project *On the creation of the World* may be called a project of a creative coexistence between Christianity and philosophy. He was a proponent of autonomous philosophical methodology. However, he also tried to further develop ancient pagan philosophy, adopting it into mainstream Christian teaching. Although later his treatise was highly praised by patriarch Photius,²² it was not widely disseminated across the Orthodox Empire. Perhaps this was because of Philoponus' reputation for being a heretic, which he earned during the next period of his activity. Cosmas' treatise was much more popular, as can be clearly seen from its circulation even in the Slavic countries.²³ Evidently, Cosmas' approach to cosmology was simpler and more understandable and his use of illustrations made his arguments more convincing than Philoponus' complicated philosophy and logic.

During Philoponus' third period of work, which began at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth decade of the 6th century, he became an active participant of the dogmatic polemics taking place at that time in the Empire. Now, if the first period of his creative activity

(20) See PEARSON, *Scripture as Cosmology...*, 24.

(21) See T. F. TORRANCE, John Philoponus of Alexandria-Theologian & Physicist, in: KANON XV, *Yearbook of the Society for the Law of the Eastern Churches* (Eichenau: Edition Roman Kovar, 1999) 315–330.

(22) See Phot. *Biblioth. Cod.* 43.

(23) See the Old Russian translation: В. С. ГОЛЫШЕНКО, В. Ф. ДУБРОВИНА (eds.), *Книга нарицаема Козьма Индикоплов* (Москва: Индрик, 1997).

was purely philosophical and in the second period philosophy and Christian theology coexisted with each other (though in different ways at different times) and were both important for him, the third period was almost purely dedicated to Christian theology (Christology, Trinitarian teaching and the teaching on Resurrection).²⁴ However, during this last period, philosophy did play an important role for Philoponus. By then he had passed from projects on the Christianization of philosophy and the creative coexistence of philosophy and Christian faith to a new project, which can be called a project on the “philosophisation of Christianity”.²⁵

The most important work of this period was the *Arbiter* (c. 552), which in its complete Syriac version²⁶ has been recently translated and analyzed by Uwe Lang.²⁷ In this book Philoponus tried to be an objective mediator (or an arbiter) between the Monophysite and Chalcedonian Christological models by using mainly philosophical and logical arguments.²⁸ However even though he allowed within his own interpretations some, but not all, Chalcedonian formulas, Philoponus (being a follower of Severus of Antioch) maintained for himself the Monophysite position on the main issue of the controversy (one composite nature vs. two natures in Christ). Meanwhile, in his treatise, Philoponus developed a special Monophysite teaching on particular substances as

(24) In this approach to periodization of Philoponus’ life, I differ from both “bipartite” scheme and “unitarian” views on Philoponus’ creative activity (see notes 3–6). Thus my primary interest is not the problem of Philoponus’ Christian or pagan character in his purely “philosophical” period (see note 8), but the issue of a relationship between philosophy and theology in his writings.

(25) Although a number of the works of this period were commissioned by some influential Monophysites (such as Sergius, a future Monophysite patriarch of Antioch), the manner of writing and method of approaching the issue in question certainly belonged to Philoponus himself. Therefore it would not be a mistake to say that it was *his* project.

(26) See A. SANDA (ed. and trans.), *Opuscula monophysitica Ioannis Philoponi* (Beirut: Typographia Catholica PP. Soc. Jesu, 1930).

(27) U. LANG, *John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon in the Sixth Century. A Study and Translation of the “Arbiter”* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001).

(28) See Lang’s view: “the categories according to which he judges the validity of different positions are strictly philosophical” (LANG, *John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon...*, 169).

opposed to the common substance.²⁹ In following Severus, Philoponus argued that Christ's humanity could be only such "particular" human substance, otherwise the Son of God would unite himself with all human beings. However, this particular substance had no subsistence as such, but only together with a particular God's substance of the Logos in one composite Godmanhood, or composite nature, which was identical for Philoponus with the hypostasis of the Logos incarnate. This was the nature of Philoponus' logic in this treatise, which relied heavily on the philosophical notion of particular substance elaborated within the school of Ammonius.³⁰ This logic, together with the idea of particular human substance taken by Christ as the foundation of this logic, would be rejected by the Chalcedonians later.³¹

In any case, Philoponus' attempt to influence Justinian on the eve of the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553) and to make peace between the Monophysites and Chalcedonians on philosophical and logical grounds failed. Justinian remained faithful to Chalcedon. Moreover, Philoponus himself was criticized by his fellow Monophysites who

(29) See LANG, *John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon...*, 60–66. According to Philoponus, "the rational and mortal living being in me is not common to anyone else" (*Arbit.* 7, a translation from: LANG, *John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon...*, 191. Cited in Joan. Dam. *De haeresibus*, ed. B. KOTTER, 83, 55), "...it is my own particular nature". The notion of "particular nature" serves Philoponus for a description of the case where one man is suffering or dying while other men do not suffer or die at the same moment. It also serves him for a description of one "particular human nature" being united to the Logos, while the Logos has not incarnated in all other human beings (see *Arbit.* 7).

(30) See A. BUSSE (ed.) Ammonius, *In Porphyrii Isagogen sive quinque voces*, CAG. 3. (Berlin: Reimer, 1891) 17, 21–23; R. CROSS, Gregory of Nyssa on Universals, *VC* 56 (2002) 377–379. С. В. МЕСЯЦ, К вопросу о "частных сущностях" у Аммония Александрийского, *Богословский вестник* 5–6 (2006) 670–680.

(31) See polemics against him in: Joan. Dam. *De haeresibus*, ed. KOTTER, 83. Marwan Rashed has recently published and analyzed a very important treatise directed against Philoponian teaching on the universals. The anonymous author of this treatise used the notion of the common human substance, which is individualized in each human being, instead of particular substance as opposed to common substance. See M. RASHED, Une texte proto-byzantin sur les universaux et la Trinité, in: IDEM, *L'Héritage Aristotélicien. Textes Inédits de l'Antiquité* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2007) 345–377. This treatise expresses most clearly the difference between Chalcedonian and Philoponus' approach to the issue of the universals.

viewed his position as a compromise.³² Criticism from all sides against Philoponus' teaching became even stronger when he began to teach about the three particular substances in the Trinity.³³ This teaching involved the consistent application of the notion of particular substance to the Godhead of Logos and other two persons of the Trinity.³⁴ Later, his adversaries called this "Tritheism". Although this teaching found some support among the Monophysites, Philoponus was accused of a heresy by majority of them as well as by the Chalcedonians.³⁵ (I will deal with some points of this teaching below).

Finally, at the end of his life, the consistent application of philosophical concepts to theology drew Philoponus to an original position on the Resurrection. He not only taught about a different kind of a resurrected body — strictly speaking, a newly created body — but also that immortality in a state of Resurrection means a new human nature. Indeed, Philoponus taught that human beings would become immortal and imperishable, while in our present state we are defined as "the rational and *mortal* living beings."³⁶ So, since we will be immortal, our nature will be different.³⁷

This teaching placed Philoponus' heritage in an even more marginalized position because it was then even indicted by the majority of the Tritheists. They could not accept the idea of a new creation of a body and different human nature in the Resurrection, as both ideas were not in agreement with the traditional Christian teaching. Thus one may

(32) See U. M. LANG, John Philoponus and the Fifth Ecumenical Council. A study and translation of the "Letter to Justinian," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliarum* 37 (2005) 411–436.

(33) He developed this doctrine in the treatise "On the Trinity" (567).

(34) See RASHED, Une texte proto-byzantin...

(35) On the inter-Monophysite polemics around Tritheism see: R. Y. EBIED, A. VAN ROEY, L. R. WICKHAM, *Peter of Callinicum. Anti-Tritheist Dossier* (Louvain: Peeters, 1981) (OLA, 10). On Chalcedonian polemics against Tritheism see: U. M. LANG, Notes on John Philoponus and the Tritheist Controversy in the Sixth Century, *Oriens Christianus* 85 (2001) 23–40.

(36) Fr. 32 in A. VAN ROEY, Un traite cononite contre la doctrine de Jean Philopon sur la resurrection, in: *ANTIΔΩPON. Hulde aan Dr. Maurits Geerard hij de voltooiing van de Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, I (Wetteren, 1984) 135–136.

(37) See T. HAINTHALER, Johannes Philoponus, Philosoph und Theologe in Alexandria, in: A. GRILLMEIER, T. HAINTHALER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*, Bd. 2/4: *Die Kirche von Alexandria mit Nubien und Äthiopien (nach 451)* (Freiburg i. Br. — Basel — Wien: Herder, 1990) 148–149.

say that Philoponus' project, which, in the context of dogmatic quarrels, I am calling the "philosophisation of Christianity", failed. This failure occurred even though Philoponus' influence on the establishment of use in theology of both philosophy and logic was extremely significant, both for the Monophysites³⁸ and for the Chalcedonians.³⁹

It is most informative to compare Philoponus' approaches to philosophy and theology with that of Maximus the Confessor. This comparison is even more significant since recently some scholars have expressed a view about Philoponus' possible influence on several points of Maximus' thought.⁴⁰ In particular, such influence or resemblance of ideas can be found in the theory of eternally pre-existing providential *logoi*, a theory which Philoponus used in his polemics against Proclus.⁴¹ Maximus applied the same view in his polemics against the Origenists.⁴²

MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR

Maximus also preoccupied himself with polemics against the eternity of the world and in some points he is close to Philoponus (though some differences are also acknowledged⁴³). However, regardless of the problem of the possible influence of Philoponus on Maximus, one has to note that Maximus' approach to philosophy (particularly "natural

(38) See L. WICKHAM, *Schism and Reconciliation in a Sixth-Century Trinitarian Dispute: Damian of Alexandria and Peter of Callinicus on Properties, Roles and Relations*, *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 8 (2008) 3–15.

(39) See K.-H. UTHEMANN, *Des Patriarchen Anastasius I. von Antiochien Jerusalemer Streitgespräch mit einem Trithheiten* (CPG 6958), *Traditio* 37 (1981) 73–108; ЛУРЬЕ, *История византийской философии...*, 211–230.

(40) See A. LÉVY, *Le créé et le incréé. Maxime le Confesseur et Thomas d'Aquin: Aux sources de la querelle palamienne* (Paris: Vrin, 2006) 187–191; T. TOLLEFSEN, *The Christocentric Cosmology of St Maximus the Confessor* (Oxford—New York: Oxford University Press, 2008) 42–44, 52–53, 58, 114.

(41) See *Cont. Procl.* 2.5: 41.8–22, ed. RABE.

(42) See G. BENEVICH, *God's Logoi and Human Personhood in St Maximus the Confessor*, *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano* 13.1 (2009) 137–155.

(43) See TOLLEFSEN, *The Christocentric Cosmology of St Maximus...*, 52–53, 114. Maximus was close to Philoponus in *Amb.* 10/32: PG 91, 1169B–D и *Amb.* 10/36: PG 91, 1176D–1177B, where he practically repeated Philoponus's statement that all moving things must have a beginning to their movement; see also: *Amb.* 39: PG 91, 1181A–1184A.

contemplation”) and theology and to the usage of philosophy in theology is different from that of Philoponus. This difference lies primarily in there being a different “telos” or purpose for Maximus’ works.

Maximus’ literary activity can be divided approximately into three periods with transitional stages in a similar way to that of Philoponus. However, Maximus’ starting point was certainly different. While Philoponus began as a professional philosopher, Maximus came from monastic circles.

His first period of writing (c. 624–627) was principally either ascetic, (such as the *Ascetic Life* and the *Centuries on Charity*), or exegetical, where exegesis of Scripture and the Fathers was applied mainly to the ascetic life (as in *Questions and Doubts*). Although in these writings he was already arguing against pagan teaching of the eternity of the world (see *Char.* 4.1–13), rarely did he touch on philosophical issues, because his philosophical apparatus was, in this period, not yet developed.

The second period (c. 628–633) was marked by two great exegetical treatises (*Ambigua* and *Questions to Thalassius*). These were written in the context of polemics against Origenism and its radical opposite (extreme anti-Origenism and verbal understanding of Scripture⁴⁴). In these works Maximus actively applied philosophy⁴⁵ and developed

(44) See G. BENEVICH, Maximus the Confessor’s polemics against anti-Origenism: Epistulae 6 and 7 as a context for the *Ambigua ad Iohannem*, *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 104/1 (2009) 5–15.

(45) Modern scholarship connects, though with some reservations, Maximus’ philosophical education with Stephanus of Alexandria, the last head of the Alexandrian philosophical school. (Stephanus himself most probably was a student of John Philoponus. See TOLLEFSEN, *The Christocentric Cosmology of St Maximus...*, 15–16). Maximus could have studied under Stephanos in Constantinople, where, according to some accounts, Stephanos was invited by Emperor Heraclius, if only Maximus had lived in Constantinople. However, if Maximus was of Palestinian origin (according to his Syriac life) and left Palestine for Alexandria after the Persian invasion (see C. BOUDIGNON, *Maxime le Confesseur était-il Constantinopolitain?* in: B. JANNSENS, B. ROOSEN & P. VAN DEUN (éds.), *Philomathestatos, Etudes patristiques et byzantines offertes à Jacques Noret à l’occasion de ses soixante-cinq ans* (Leuven—Paris—Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004) (OLA, 137) 1–43, he could have been in contact with philosophers and had access to the good library in Alexandria. In any case Maximus’ Abba, Sophronius, a future patriarch of Jerusalem, was certainly in good relations with Stephanus (see on Maximus’ philosophical sources that include Philoponus: P. MUELLER-JOURDAN, *Typologie Spatio-Temporelle de l’Ecclesia Byzantine:*

a theoretical basis for “natural contemplation”,⁴⁶ while still applying his exegesis to the ascetical life and mystical experience. (One can see an exegesis of liturgy as a paradigm of a mystical experience in the *Mystagogy*). Because of the scope of this article I cannot pay much attention to Maximus’ understanding of natural contemplation. However, it should be noted that on the one hand, in *Ambigua* one finds “natural contemplations”, such as philosophical and logical proofs of the beginning and the end of the created world. In their genre, these passages do not differ much from the proofs of Philoponus.⁴⁷ However, on the other hand, Maximus spoke about natural contemplation as an intuitive mystical experience, close to Platonic contemplation of the Ideas, or paradigms. Following Clement of Alexandria, Evagrius and Ps.-Dionysius, Maximus called these God’s *logoi*.⁴⁸ In any case, in the *Ambigua* he stated the principle of the equality of natural contemplation and the contemplation of the written Law and the need to con-

la Mystagogie de Maxime le Confesseur dans la culture philosophique de l’antiquité tardive (Leiden: Brill, 2005) (VC Supp., 74) 44–48). On Maximus roots in the Byzantine philosophical school tradition see W. LACKNER, *Studien zur philosophischen Schultradition und zu den Nemesiosziten bei Maximos dem Bekenner* (diss. Graz, 1962).

(46) See M. HARRINGTON, Creation and natural contemplation in Maximus the Confessor’s *ambiguum* 10:19, in: M. TRESCHOW, W. OTTEN, W. HANNAM (eds.), *Divine Creation in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought. Essays Presented to the Rev’d Dr Robert D. Crouse* (Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2007) (Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History, 151) 191–212.

(47) With the exception, perhaps, that even in his philosophical passages Maximus never openly referred to any philosophical authority, such as Plato, Aristotle or even Christian philosopher Nemesius. His arguments were “natural”; that is, he wrote as if relying on an observation of nature, not on books of philosophy. At least, he presented those passages in that way. An example would be “A natural contemplation (θεωρία φυσική) that the world and everything else after God have beginning and generation” (Amb. 10/36: PG 91, 1176D–1177B), or “A proof (ἀπόδειξις) that everything that is outside God is in space, and that’s why is necessary in time” (Amb. 10/34: PG 91, 1180B–1181A). Both chapters represent Maximus’ polemics against the teaching that the world is eternal. However, for him they did not serve the aims of this polemics exclusively, (as they did for Philoponus); but were built into the general aim of his writings — to lead his readers through a created world and its phenomena to the union with God.

(48) Among the last studies of Maximus’ theory of *logoi* is: TOLLEFSEN, *The Christocentric Cosmology of St Maximus...*, 64–137.

template the *logoi* of creation as well as the Scriptural meanings, both equally leading to God.⁴⁹

During the third period (c. 633–658), which for the most part was marked by the Christological polemics around Monoenergism and Monothelism, Maximus creatively developed the notional apparatus of Orthodox Christology and anthropology, (applying philosophy⁵⁰).

However, during this third period Maximus still had the soteriological aspect of a Christian teaching as his focus. His interpretation of the Gethsemane prayer, which was at the centre of the Christological quarrels of that time, is drawn from the meaning of the existence of the human will in Christ for the salvation of men.⁵¹ The same can be said also about Maximus' original teaching about the absence of a "gnomic" (i.e. choosing) will in Christ — the difference between Him and human created hypostases.

Summarizing, one may say that during every period the theme of salvation, understood as deification in Christ, stood at the center of Maximus' teaching. The importance of deification for Maximus is clearly underlined in Jean-Claude Larchet's authoritative study, which is dedicated to this theme.⁵² It was precisely in this context that he used philosophy. Thus in Maximus' case we deal not with a project of "Christianization of philosophy", "philosophisation of Christianity" or even creative coexistence of philosophy and Christianity, but with a "project" of the Christian philosophy. By the latter I mean the philosophy of a person who was inspired by the main aim of the Christian, which is salvation and union with God.⁵³

(49) See Maximus, *Amb.* 10/17: PG 91, 1128D.

(50) In his *Epistle to presbyter Marinos* (PG 91, 9–37), he particularly developed a teaching of Aristotle (*Ethic. Nicomach.* III, 4) and Nemesius (*De nat. hom.* 32, ed. B. EINARSON) on the act of volition in the context of Christology and anthropology. In that he particularly drew a distinction between natural will (θέλημα) (which is a characteristic of nature) and deliberate will (προαίρεσις) (which belongs to created hypostasis).

(51) On the problems raised in this context, see M. C. STEENBERG, Gnostic Will and a Challenge to the True Humanity of Christ in Maximus Confessor, in: F. YOUNG, M. EDWARDS, and P. PARVIS (eds), *SP* 42 (2006) 237–242.

(52) See J.-C. LARCHET, *La divinisation de l'homme selon saint Maxim le Confesseur* (Paris: Cerf, 1996).

(53) The view that the union with God is also a Platonic goal will be discussed below.

MAXIMUS AND PHILOPONUS

It seems that it is precisely this soteriological dimension which was lacking in Philoponus. Moreover, Christian Wildberg speaks about “the detachment of soteriology from philosophy” which Philoponus’ “Christian conviction entailed”.⁵⁴ According to Wildberg, while “Neoplatinism was a means of salvation” for pagan philosophers of his time (such as Simplicius), Philoponus was free from the need to use philosophy as a means of salvation, because he believed that salvation has been already achieved by Christ. Thus, as a Christian, Philoponus was free from the moral and mystical dimension of Neoplatonic teaching and could develop his philosophy independently of soteriological needs. This is an important reason for Philoponus’ achievements in his criticism of Proclus and Aristotle.⁵⁵ In proving his thesis Wildberg refers to Simplicius’ and other pagan Neoplatonists’ understanding of philosophy: “the venerated texts leads to the ability to partake of knowledge — which leads to philosophy which in turn advances the ὁμοίωσις πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, the assimilation to the godhead, as Simplicius and many other Neoplatonists put it, borrowing a Platonic phrase (*In cael.* 483, 18f.). The common view that philosophy prepares the soul for the mystical destiny stems, of course, from the *Phaedo* (82–84) and appears fully developed in Iamblichus, Simplicius, Damascius, Olympiodorus and even in the commentaries attributed to David and Elias⁵⁶.”⁵⁷

However, it is important to note that Philoponus defined philosophy in the same way as other Neoplatonists. Moreover, this definition is found in his treatises written in his middle period, when he had launched his attack on Proclus and Aristotle. It is found in *In Meteorolog.* (14,1.1.9) (530s) and in *De Opific. Mund.* (242.12) (late 540s). In both places Philoponus defined *philosophy* as *assimilation to God according to the human capacity* (φιλοσοφία ἐστὶν ὁμοίωσις θεῶν, κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν

(54) WILDBERG, *Impetus Theory and the Hermeneutics of Science...*, 118.

(55) See *Ibid.*, 117–119.

(56) Wildberg has proved convincingly that the commentaries (at least some of them) attributed to David and Elias belonged to the pagan authors, see C. WILDBERG, *Three Neoplatonic Introductions to Philosophy: Ammonius, David, Elias, Hermathena* 149 (1990) 33–51.

(57) WILDBERG, *Impetus Theory and the Hermeneutics of Science...*, 117.

ἀνθρώπῳ) in quite traditional ways (see Plato. Theaetetus, 176b).⁵⁸ So, there are no grounds for thinking that Philoponus did not pay attention to the religious dimension of philosophy.⁵⁹ However, it is important to know what Philoponus understood by “*assimilation to God*” and what role philosophy played for him in this assimilation. From the introduction to *In Meteorolog.* it is clear that Philoponus followed the general division of philosophy into practical and theoretical. Practical philosophy achieves assimilation to God in virtues. Theoretical philosophy’s main task is to achieve a true knowledge, discerning what is true from what is false (ἐν μὲν τῇ θεωρίᾳ τοῦ τὸ ψεῦδος διακρίνοντος τῆς ἀληθείας) (14,1.1.15).⁶⁰ Having in mind that this statement was made in the introduction to the treatise where Philoponus criticized Aristotle’s physics,⁶¹ it can be said that Philoponus’ radical criticism of Aristotle and Proclus was a project to obtain and spread a true knowl-

(58) My research did not reveal in Philoponus the other five definitions of philosophy that are to be found in the works by Ammonius, David and Elias (see WILDBERG, *Three Neoplatonic Introductions to Philosophy...*, 35). This is particularly interesting, bearing in mind that Philoponus’ definition may be treated as most “religious”.

(59) I also cannot agree with Wildberg’s statement that for the Monophysite Christians (to whom Philoponus belonged) “salvation does not depend on piety or righteousness or on any spiritual quality” (WILDBERG, *Impetus Theory and the Hermeneutics of Science...*, 118). Indeed, according to general Christian teaching, shared also by the Monophysites, salvation of humanity is achieved by Christ, but this salvation must be assimilated on the personal level. It is clearly seen from the flourishing of the monasticism among the Monophysites of Egypt and Palestine in the fifth and sixth centuries. I make mention in this context of a very important Severian center, the Enaton monastery near Alexandria and monastic school in Gaza, both of which were closely connected with Monophysite thinkers such as Zacharius Scholasticus and Severus (see B. BITTON-ASHKELONY, A. KOFKY, *The Monastic School of Gaza* (Boston: Brill, 2006) (VC Supp., 78) 6–46).

(60) This understanding of philosophy, and particularly of theory and practice is met in Philoponus’ early commentaries (see *in analytica poster.*, ed. WALLIES, CAG 13.3. 2, 29 and *in de anim.*, ed. HAYDUCK, CAG 15. 554, 17). This definition is also found in Philoponus’ teacher, Ammonius (*in category.*, ed. BUSSE, CAG 4.4, 29). Philoponus in *In Meteorol.* is quite close to this place in Ammonius. However, in Ammonius’ passage in this context, nothing is said about assimilation to God.

(61) See É. ÉVRARD, *Les convictions religieuses de Jean Philopon et la date du Commentaire aux “Météorologiques”*, *Bulletin de l’Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe de lettres* 6 (1953) 299–357.

edge distinguished from false, understood as a philosophical way of assimilation to God. Thus, it is not correct to argue that for him philosophy was detached from salvation understood as assimilation to God. Indeed, I believe it would be right to say that Philoponus drew his inspiration from the Christian tradition that particularly rejected eternity of the world. One may presuppose that for him this tradition together with the Scripture was a source of general teaching on the beginning of the world. In other words, it gave a basis for true knowledge (its Biblical “image”). As for the philosophical analysis and proof of this knowledge, that was the task of a philosopher, who obtained assimilation to God through his philosophical endeavors. Speaking about these endeavors, I agree with Wildberg that Philoponus’ “constructive criticism” found already in his early works was an extremely fruitful methodology, which allowed him to achieve important results.⁶²

As for assimilation to God in virtues, Philoponus paid attention to this theme in *De Opific. Mund.* (Book 6.7–8), where he drew a distinction between “image” and “likeness” and referred to the Scriptures underlining the need of a free choice for the virtuous life in Christ for assimilation to God in knowledge and in virtues. It is precisely in this context that he invoked a definition of philosophy made by “foreign” (= pagan) sages (i.e. as “*assimilation to God* according to the human capacity”) and compared it with a Christian teaching on obtaining of God’s likeness. Speaking about the similitude to God in virtuous life Philoponus invoked a classical Christian teaching, with a reference to Paul (Gal. 2:20 and 1 Cor. 1:11).⁶³ However, to my knowledge this passage from *De Opific. Mund.* is the only place in Philoponus where he dedicated several pages to the theme of Christian virtuous life. Moreover, there he repeated more or less common themes from a Christian tradition and these are not original. It is clear that the true “nerve” of Philoponus’ heritage is not the theme of virtues and practical philosophy, but theoretical philosophy, which discerns true knowledge from the false.

At the same time in all Philoponus’ voluminous writings practically no attention is paid to ascetics, prayer or Christian mysticism, (in the sense of a teaching on deification understood as a union with God). Philoponus did mention assimilation to God in two places, but

(62) See WILDBERG, *Impetus Theory and the Hermeneutics of Science...*, 123.

(63) See *De Opif. Mund.* 243.1–4, ed. W. REICHARDT.

he was not dealing with this theme as a *problem* of his philosophy, and in this sense Wildberg is correct in speaking about “the detachment of soteriology from philosophy” in Philoponus.⁶⁴ Most probably Philoponus understood his philosophy as assimilation to God; but he was not dealing with the *theory* of this assimilation or deification as such. This was despite the fact that for Neoplatonism, (the dominant “pagan” teaching of the Late Antiquity), this theme was central for the majority of philosophers since at least Plotinus.⁶⁵

Indeed, Maximus was much closer to this most important theme of Neoplatonic thought than was Philoponus. However, unlike the Neoplatonists, Maximus spoke about deification not only in the personal life, but also within a broad context of God’s economy of salvation and ecclesiology. This ecclesiological dimension was also entirely lacking in Philoponus, even in his Christological works. Although Leslie MacCoull writes about Philoponus: “a eucharistic subtext runs steadily between the lines of his work”,⁶⁶ to my mind she has not proved this statement convincingly in her articles dedicated to this theme.⁶⁷ In any case, even MacCoull speaks only about the “echoes of the liturgical performances” heard in Philoponus’ works.⁶⁸ It is quite evident, I believe, that if Philoponus had a real *theoretical* interest in the liturgical, ecclesiological and mystical dimensions of a Christian life, at least in his theological treatises he would have written about these themes openly.⁶⁹ In contrast, in Maximus one finds a special and very impor-

(64) WILDBERG, *Impetus Theory and the Hermeneutics of Science...*, 118.

(65) However, it should be noted that in the fifth and sixth centuries interest in these themes was more typical for the Athenian philosophical school than for the Alexandrian school, to which Philoponus belonged.

(66) L. S. B. MACCOULL, *Philosophy in its social context*, in: R. S. BAGNALL (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine world, 300–700* (Cambridge NY: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 70.

(67) See her recent article: L. S. B. MACCOULL, *Philoponus and the Coptic Eucharist*, *Journal of Late Antiquity* 3.1 (2010) 158–175. To the best of my knowledge, MacCoull’s view is not shared by any other Philoponian scholar (see note 7 for Sorabji’s view). The most that can be said on the basis of her observations is that Philoponus shared the same cultural context as the Monophysite Church in Egypt. However, that does not mean that he inevitably placed the theme of liturgical life in the center of his thought and writings.

(68) MACCOULL, *Philoponus and the Coptic Eucharist...*, 174.

(69) The only one explicit treatise on the theme of Eucharist found in Philoponus, *De paschate*, was written in the end of Philoponus’ life and was

tant treatise dedicated to the mystical dimension of the liturgy (*Mystagogy*).

Having noted this crucial difference in the spiritual tendencies of these two thinkers, let us list briefly the points of divergence in their teachings. These appear to be so contrary that in several cases one could even say that Maximus's departure was a direct response to Philoponus' teaching.

First of all it should be noted that in Maximus's *Centuries on Charity* one finds a direct attack on the Tritheists — *Char.* 2.29, and Philoponus and his followers, though they are not mentioned by name, are identified by commentators on this treatise as the addressee of this attack.⁷⁰ Indeed, although Maximus did not go into the details of Tritheist's logic and presuppositions in his polemics against Tritheism in *Centuries on Charity*, criticism of them in that treatise can be really understood as directed at Philoponus' Trinitarian teaching.⁷¹

One may note that Philoponus' understanding of the Trinity is characterized by what may be called "individualism".⁷² According to his teaching, common substance of the Godhead can be only contemplated as one in three hypostases, but the unity of the Trinity is not a concrete real unity of One God. On the other hand, Maximus, following Gregory of Nazianzus, insists on the importance of keeping real both the oneness of God and the difference of hypostases:

"For indeed it is necessary alike to preserve the 'one God,' as the great Gregory says, and to confess the three persons, each with [its hypostatic] property.⁷³ For 'it is divided,' yet 'without division,' as he says; and 'it is joined together,' but 'with distinction.'⁷⁴ Therefore both

dedicated not to the mystical dimension of Eucharist, but to the quarrel against the Armenian-Julianists (see note 17).

(70) This understanding is to be found in all commentaries on this treatise (see e.g. P. SHERWOOD, *St. Maximus the Confessor: The Ascetic Life, the Four Centuries on Charity* (New York: Paulist Press, 1955) (ACW, 21) 255, n. 104; A. CERESA-GASTALDO, *Massimo Confessore, Capitoli sulla carita* (Roma: Studium, 1963) 105, n. 22).

(71) The theme of Maximus and Tritheism deserves a special research. In the present article I will only touch on some aspects of this theme, since I plan to cover others in the very near future.

(72) Quite often it is called "nominalism", but I prefer not to use this scholastic term in the Byzantine context.

(73) Greg. Naz., *Or.* 20: PG 35, 1072.44–45

(74) See Greg. Naz., *Or.* 39: PG 36, 345.45–48.

the division and the union are extraordinary (or: ‘paradoxical’).⁷⁵ But what is there extraordinary, if as one man with another, so likewise the Son and the Father, is both united and separate and nothing more?” (*Char.* 2.29).⁷⁶

The last objection was aimed at an analogy between human individuals (in oneness of their nature and difference of hypostases) and the Trinity and hit as precisely as possible at Philoponus, for he used to make this very analogy:

“As we are one substance solely in thought by the common notion of substance (λόγος τῆς οὐσίας) whereas, however, in reality and truth we understand ourselves to be many men, so there is a single God solely in our thought by the common nature; but in reality and truth there are three of them, the Godhead being distributed according to the hypostases”.⁷⁷

In his rationalistic explanation of the Trinity Philoponus loses the mystery of the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity and reduces God’s inexpressible reality to our created reality. That is Maximus’ objection.

It is worth noting that in Maximus’ writings of the same or slightly later time than *Centuries on Charity*, in several places in the passages dedicated to the Trinity he developed his teaching in a way that can be understood as a hidden polemic against Philoponus’ teaching. However, he also rejected any possibility of understanding God’s one substance as a separate reality from the hypostases. That was precisely what Philoponus wanted to avoid, arguing that God’s substance could not be some “fourth reality”, alongside the three hypostases. Maximus agreed with it, but he also insisted on the reality of the One God. Thus, in *Mystagogy* Maximus wrote that the Trinity is Trinity “not according to separation (διαίρεσιν), alienation (ἀλλοτριώσιν) or some partition (μερισμόν). For the Monad is not parted according to hypostases, [but also] it is not contained or contemplated in an [external] relationship

(75) Maximus almost verbally cites Gregory of Nazianzus: *Or.* 25: PG 35, 1221.45.

(76) In this article I use the translation by Polycarp Sherwood from: *St. Maximus the Confessor: The Ascetic Life, the Four Centuries on Charity...*, 159. However, I have added references to parallel places in the work of Gregory of Nazianzus, which Sherwood did not find.

(77) EBIED, VAN ROEY, WICKHAM, Peter of Callinicum..., 31–32.

to them (σχετικῶς)".⁷⁸ A further example of such implied polemics against the Tritheists may be found in the *Commentary on the 'Our Father' (Expositio orationis dominicae)*, where it is said: "And not as common and generic, contemplated only by thought, the Monad differs from the Trinity, for essence is really self-existing (αὐθύπαρκτος)".⁷⁹

For Maximus, the concrete union of the Persons of the Trinity was the foundation of the very possibility of the union of a created one (i.e. human being who achieved oneness in his Christian life) to the One God. Following Neoplatonic tradition and Ps.-Dionysius,⁸⁰ Maximus spoke about such a union of "one" with the One. For example, in this context in *QD*. 39 he wrote that Abraham, who received the three angels as one Lord, "was enlightened with the knowledge of the Holy Triad and Monad".⁸¹ This theme is also found in *Amb.* 10–45: *PG* 91, 1200A–B in the contemplation of the addition of an alpha to Abraham's name, which was explained as a symbol of one (made one through detachment from all created beings) coming to the One.⁸² Interpreting the mystical meaning of the *Trisagion* sung at the Liturgy, Maximus connected the union of the soul with God's hidden oneness and its deification.⁸³

These examples are sufficient to show how, for Maximus (who was deeply rooted in the Neoplatonic mystical tradition), the philosophical aspect of his Trinitarian teaching was connected to the importance for him of deification, which here we find to be different from that of Philoponus.

(78) *Myst.* 23.69–70, ed. R. CANTARELLA.

(79) *Or. Dom.* 453–56, ed. VAN DEUN.

(80) See G. HEIL, A. M. RITTER, Ps.-Dionysius. *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, 118.2–3, where monks' task is defined as making themselves one according to the One and approaching the Holy One: μοναχοῖς ὡς πρὸς τὸ ἐν αὐτῶν ὀφειλόντων ἐνοποιεῖσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἱερὰν μονάδα.

(81) See *QD* 39.3–6, ed. DECLERCK, here when speaking about Abraham, who approached God as one approaches the One in knowledge (ὡς μόνος τῷ μόνῳ κατὰ τὴν γνῶσιν προσχωρήσας), Maximus followed loosely Plotinus (*Enn.* 6. 9.11.51, ed. HENRY, Schwyzler (φυγὴ μόνου πρὸς μόνον)).

(82) "By faith he was hiddenly assimilated to the reason concerning the monad, according to which he came to have a form of unity, or rather out of many was made one, magnificently and wholly drawn up alone to God alone" (translation from: A. LOUTH, *Maximus the Confessor* (London: Routledge, 1996) 150.

(83) See *Myst.* 23.86–96, ed. R. CANTARELLA.

Having noted this difference, we may also address the famous *logoi* theory. Both thinkers used it; in particular, Philoponus in his polemics with Proclus against eternity of the world,⁸⁴ and Maximus in his polemics with the Origenists about the preexistence of minds.⁸⁵ Not minds, but *logoi* of the created beings preexist in God. That is God's wills for all reasonable creatures.

In Maximus however, Neoplatonic *logoi* theory had a dynamic soteriological dimension which, in this context, was not discussed in Philoponus. For Maximus, God's *logoi* were not only His eternal plans about creation, which God realizes in a certain consequence, they were also dynamic principles of our movement towards Him. They were providential *logoi*, principles of our being, well-being, and ever-well-being with God. As Maximus put it: "Each [intellectual] being, according to its *logos* [of each], which is in God, is called a part (= member) of God, and is said as having place in God. Certainly, if [such being] moves according to it [i.e. its *logos*] with wisdom and reason, it comes to God filling its own place [which suits it] and making up the beauty [of the whole] as a useful member of Christ's body" (QD 173.1–16, ed. Declerck).⁸⁶

Maximus' theory of *logoi* was dynamic, whereas Philoponus' theory was not connected with the problem of the union with God and movement towards Him. It only addressed the problem of creation, not that of salvation. From the passage just quoted it is also clear that for Maximus, unlike Philoponus, his *logoi* theory was part and parcel of his Christology and ecclesiology. Furthermore, Maximus' teaching on contemplation was also grounded in his understanding of *logoi* as contemplated in the Logos. He clearly draws a difference between the contemplation of creation, which testifies the existence of the Creator (such contemplation in its content is close to Philoponus' concerns⁸⁷) and the contemplation of the principles of creation *in* God. Being united with the One, saints contemplated the *logoi* of creation most purely

(84) See *Cont. Procl.* II.5: 37.1–10; 41.8–22; IV.9: 78.8–24, ed. RABE.

(85) See *Amb.* 7: PG 91, 1069–1101.

(86) In the same passage Maximus also speaks about reasonable beings which "lose their own *logos* and rush to non-being". However, the problem of the "lost *logos*", the ontology of evil in Maximus deserves a special attention and I will not analyze it in this article.

(87) Though Philoponus also toiled far more than Maximus to clarify the relations between God and creation and the laws and nature of creation as such.

and truly.⁸⁸ Such double perspective on the contemplation is typical for Maximus but it is lacking in Philoponus (perhaps as well as in other philosophers of the Alexandrian school of that time).

The next important point of divergence between Maximus and Philoponus was in the teaching about the origin of a human being. As Marie-Hélène Congourdeau noted, in his early works, particularly in the commentary to *De anima*, Philoponus taught that a preexistent mind through the acquisition of a “pneumatic body” enters an embryo after the formation of its “animal” life conceived through the sperm.⁸⁹ Thus he uses a traditional pagan teaching of preexistence of the soul,⁹⁰ combining Plato with Aristotle. However, later during his polemics against the eternity of the world he did not hold explicitly the theory of preexistence of the souls. At the same time, he kept the teaching about the embodiment of the soul into the already formed embryo.⁹¹ There was an “Aristotelian” argument in favor of this theory — This was that the soul is a form (εἶδος), and perfection (τελειότητα), and a bond (or: “binding” — συνοχήν) of the body. Thus, as a separable

(88) In *Myst.* 5. 196–205, ed. R. CANTARELLA, Maximus says that “when the soul has become unified... its head [i.e., mind — G.B.] is crowned by the first and only and unique Word and God... Gazing with a simple understanding on him who is not outside it... it will itself understand the principles (*logoi*) of beings” (G. C. BERTHOLD (ed. and tr.), *Maximus Confessor. Selected Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1985) 194). Thus, it is clear that Maximus speaks here about mystical contemplation of the *logoi* in the Logos after the union with God, and not about the natural, philosophic contemplation of creation which testifies about one Creator.

(89) ἐγγίνεται δὲ ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ τῷ σώματι μετὰ τὴν διάπλασιν τοῦ τελείου ζώου, τῶν ἄλλων ψυχικῶν δυνάμεων ἥτοι τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν συγκαταβαλλομένων τῷ σπέρματι (*In De anima* 163, 34–36, ed. HAYDUCK). Congourdeau finds a lot of parallel themes in this Philoponus’ treatise and *Ad Gaurum* by Porphyry, though, according to the latter, the fetus remained only plant-like rather than living sentient being until birth, and Philoponus perhaps argued against him (see M.-H. CONGOURDEAU, *La postérité byzantine de l’Ad Gaurum*, in: L. BRISSON, M.-H. CONGOURDEAU, J.-L. SOLÈRE (éds.), *L’embryon: formation et animation. Antiquité grecque et latine, traditions hébraïque, chrétienne et islamique* (Paris: Vrin, 2008) 185–189).

(90) See Plotin, *Enn.* IV, 3, 15. 17; Porphy., *De Abstinencia*, I, 31. *Orac. Chald.*, fr. 110, 115, 120, 158.

(91) See: M.-H. CONGOURDEAU, *L’embryon entre néoplatonisme et christianisme*, Oriens-Occidens, *Cahiers du Centre d’histoire des sciences et des philosophies arabes et médiévales* 4 (2002) 214–216.

entelechy,⁹² it appears in the embryo after its animal life is formed. Philoponus explored the peripatetic metaphor of the steersman and sheep made in passing by Aristotle (see *De Opific. Mund.* VI. 23⁹³). And it was possible to think that, according to Aristotle, the spiritual soul was infused at forty days or so (see Aristotle, *On the History of Animals* VII.3, 4:583).

It seems that in general Philoponus assiduously strived to avoid teaching on the simultaneity of creation of the soul and body of a human being at the moment of conception. Perhaps, he shared the general idea, which can be found already in Plato, that things created together must be dissolved together.⁹⁴ For example, when an animal's soul was created together with its body it disappeared after its death. Since a human's soul did not disappear, consequently it must have been created at a different moment in time. Since "preexistence" was not reliable, therefore the soul must enter the body after the formation of the embryo. Perhaps such was the implicit logic of Philoponus' teaching on this issue even though he explicitly refers only to Aristotle.

It is most probable that in his teaching Maximus departed on the soul-body relations not only from Origenism, (as is well known), but also from its seeming opposite, the teaching of Philoponus, Jewish rabbinical teaching and the teaching of some Antiochean theologians who

(92) In fact, with regards to its activity directed towards the body, for Philoponus who was following Porphyry, the soul was not a separable entelechy. On the other hand, in its own life, the soul was separable.

(93) Cf. Aristotle, *De An.* 2.1, 413a8–9; in fact, as Lang has noted (LANG, *John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon...*, 136), Aristotle speaks about a sailor (πλωτήρ), while Philoponus speaks about a steersman (κυβερνήτης). See also Plot. *Enn.* IV.3.9.22–3.

(94) "Time, then, and the heaven came into being at the same instant in order that, having been created together, if ever there was to be a dissolution of them, they might be dissolved together" (*Timaeus* 37c–d). Philoponus referred to this place many times in *Cont. Procl.*, for example in 16. 576. 16–18, ed. RABE). Immediately after that quotation he wrote: "it is necessary that the intellective substances exist even if the cosmos does not exist. For they do not have their existence in relation to the bodies in such a way that if the bodies were theoretically destroyed, the intellective substance would be destroyed as well" (*Cont. Procl.* 16. 576. 20–25, ed. RABE, translation in: J. WILBERDING, Philoponus, *"Against Proclus on the Eternity of the World 12–18"* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006) 76).

believed in the preexistence of the embryo to the reasonable soul.⁹⁵ Maximus' passages on this problem can be found in *Ambigua* and in some other writings, where he persistently argued against the theory of preexistence of the soul to the body as well as of preexistence of the body to the soul and for the teaching of their simultaneous creation at the moment of conception.⁹⁶

In *Ambiguum* 42⁹⁷ in particular, Maximus interpreted Exd. 21, 22–23 (the passage that deals with punishment for causing the loss of an embryo) in a way which was contrary to Philoponus (see *De Opific. Mund.* VI. 25). Maximus did not hold a teaching on the difference in the time between the creation of the reasonable and the material parts of a human being as a correlate of the soul's possibility to exist without a body after the death of a human being. According to him, this possibility was founded on the soul's own activity that was independent from the body. As such, this was not directed towards the body, and did not necessarily need the body. (Here Maximus shared common Neoplatonic teaching⁹⁸). However, at the same time, the soul, according to him, was created together with the body and together with it constituted one human being, or hypostasis. Human nature is a common nature of body and soul.⁹⁹

Thus, Maximus writes about the separation of the body and the soul: "after the death of the body, the soul is called not just 'a soul', but the soul of a human being, that is of some [concrete] human being (τοῦ τινος ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆ)... In the same way, the body as regards its nature is mortal, however, as regards its origin it is not left on its own. For the body after the separation of the soul is called not just 'a body',

(95) See M.-H. CONGOURDEAU, *L'embryon et son âme dans les sources grecques (VI^e s. av. J.C. – V^e s. ap. J.C.)* (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2007) 299–301). According to Congourdeau, such a view was held by John Chrysostom, Theodoret of Cyrus, Ephraim and Isaac the Syrian. It was also common in the Jewish rabbinical thought.

(96) See *Amb.* 42: PG 91, 1316A–1349A; Maximus follows the tradition, which comes from Gregory of Nyssa (See *De Opif. Hom.* 28), or, perhaps, even some older tradition. On Maximus' embryology, see M.-H. CONGOURDEAU, *Maxime le Confesseur et l'humanité de l'embryon, Nouvelle revue théologique* III (1989) 693–709.

(97) PG 91, 1341.

(98) See his *Ep.* 6: PG 91, 424C–433A, which is entirely dedicated to this theme.

(99) See *Amb.* 42: PG 91, 1316A–1349A and *Amb.* 7: PG 91, 1100C–1101C.

but the body of some [concrete] human being (τοῦ τινος ἀνθρώπου σῶμα), even though it is rotten and disintegrated into elements of which it consists" (PG 91, 1101B). Thus, according to Maximus, both soul and body belong to the same person, and only through this belonging to one and the same human being they belong to each other. Both, soul and body retain "a necessary relation" to their hypostasis because both of them belong to one and the same person. Being separated from each other (as they are separated in death), they still belong to one hypostasis, and in this way, i.e. through one and the same hypostasis, which *logos* is in God, they belong to each other.¹⁰⁰

For Maximus the relation between soul and body was not a problem of abstract theoretical interest. His anthropology is an intrinsic part of his soteriology. The whole theory of the soul-body relations in Maximus should be understood within the context of his soteriological ideas. In a few words, Maximus' idea of salvation can be formulated as a renovation through Christ of our nature in its way of being, perverted by the Fall (see for example *Amb.* 41: PG 91, 1304D–1316A). According to Maximus, Christ innovates not the *logos* of our nature, but its way (*tropos*) of being (or: existence).

Unlike Philoponus, Maximus did not speak about the "new nature" of a human being in the state of Resurrection. Instead, he explained this state with a help of his *logos-tropos* distinction. *Logos* of nature was for him unchangeable. It was *tropos* (or "way") of being that was changed in this state, in comparison with our present mortality. *Logos* of the human nature for him was not the same thing as a philosophical definition, such as "the rational and mortal living being". This *logos* was God's will about our nature, and mortality was not included in God's will about our nature. This will was unchangeable, and in a state of Resurrection our nature received a *tropos* of being that was entirely in accordance with God's will (or *logos*) of our nature. Thus, in that way, Maximus solved the problem posed by Philoponus, without mentioning him.

Indeed, in Maximus one finds the teaching of deification of both the soul and the body. For him, that presupposed a need in this earthly life for the purification of the soul from bodily passions, a responsibility of the soul for the body and a participation of the body through the purified soul in the life in God. Maximus said that the soul was

(100) For the analysis of soul-body relations in Maximus see BENEVICH, *God's Logoi and Human Personhood in St Maximus...*, 137–155.

required to treat its body according to God's commandment on loving one's neighbor, to make the body "reasonable" by virtues, making it the soul's collaborator.¹⁰¹ These teachings would be crucial in the Palamite controversy.

On the other hand, Philoponus' anthropological views are important for understanding of his Christology, since he constantly made an analogy between soul-body relations and relations in Christ of divine and human natures. This analogy was used by all participants in the Christological controversy, but the anthropological scheme and its usage were different in different authors. Uwe Lang dedicated a large part of his study of the *Arbiter* to this theme.¹⁰² Philoponus' logic on this issue in general was common to the Monophysites. In particular he wrote: "Christ, being numerically one will be one nature, to be known by that name, but evidently composite and not simple, in the way that the word «man» is indicative of the nature composed of soul and body".¹⁰³ And again: "If, therefore, man, who is from soul and body, is one nature, Christ, who is from divinity and humanity, must also be one nature. For Christ is nought else but he who is from the two, just as man, who is from soul and body".¹⁰⁴

On the other hand, Maximus, on the basis of his anthropology, rejected that kind of analogy. For him, the soul and the body were created together according to one *logos* of humanity, and it was an argument for the necessary and natural character of their union. They have one *logos of being*. God's Word, however, did not take our nature in his hypostasis out of necessity, and it was wrong to speak about one composite nature of God and man in Christ, though it is necessary to speak about One Christ. As Cangourdeau has rightly noted, Maximus' embryology and his teaching on simultaneous creation of the soul and

(101) See *Amb.* 7, PG 91, 1092B.

(102) See LANG, *John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon...*, 101–134 for authors before Philoponus, and 135–153 for Philoponus. Lang states that the anthropological paradigm lies at the heart of Philoponus' theological defense of miaphysite Christology" (150).

(103) *Arbit.* 1.11, translation from: LANG, *John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon...*, 182.

(104) *Arbit.* 8.31, translation from: LANG, *John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon...*, 197.

the body was an anthropological basis for one of his arguments against the Monophysit Christology.¹⁰⁵

Within these anthropological views Maximus insisted that the soul-body analogy did not work for a proof of the teaching of one composite nature of Christ. Moreover, in *Ep. 12: PG 91, 488D–489A* he said that it was a wrong anthropology that allowed the Monophysites to apply the soul-body analogy to Christology. At the same time, Maximus himself used this analogy speaking of the one complicated *hypostasis* of Christ.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, the soul and body constitute one person, which is not the same thing as one nature. In Philoponus, nature was identified with hypostasis¹⁰⁷ and in Christ it was understood as composite. In Maximus it was Christ's hypostasis that was composite, but not the nature. As Uwe Lang, with a reference to Maximus, has noted: "Christ is one hypostasis viz. person that has in himself the perfection of the uncreated divine and the perfection of the created human nature, which he has assumed in the Incarnation. This hypostasis is thus truly composite, but without being changed (*ἀτρέπτως*) or constrained by necessity, as Maximus Confessor would later say."¹⁰⁸

Although his commentaries on Aristotle were kept and read, in general Philoponus' theological heritage was rejected by the Orthodox Byzantine Empire. Meanwhile, the philosophical and scientific ideas in his anti-eternity polemics greatly influenced other cultures and discourses, particularly, the Arab philosophy, Latin medieval philosophy and the new European science.¹⁰⁹ Thus, Philoponus' scientific and philosophical project appeared to be quite formative for the history of world science and philosophy.

SUMMARY

On the crossroads of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in Byzantium there were two possibilities for the future development of Christian thought. One of these was realized by Philoponus, the other by

(105) See CONGOURDEAU, Maxime le Confesseur et l'humanité de l'embryon, 706–708.

(106) See Max. *TP 13: PG 91, 145C–148A*.

(107) See *Arbit. VII. 23; 22–23 28; 26–27*, ed. Sanda

(108) Max. *Ep. 12: PG 91, 489D–492A; Ep. 13: 517BC, 528D–529A, 532A*; translation from: LANG, *John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon...*, 168.

(109) See, e. g., SORABJI, *Aristotle Transformed...*

Maximus. Although mainly taking opposite views, both of them share one common basis. In their cosmology and the teaching on the relationship of the Creator to the world both thinkers opposed Neoplatonic teaching on the eternity of the world.

As I stated previously, with respect to his teaching with deification in its center Maximus was quite close to the main idea of Neoplatonic mystical philosophy. However, in his anthropology Maximus was entirely free from both Neoplatonic teaching on the soul-body relations (particularly from the teaching about souls' preexistence) and from the opposite teaching on the preexistence of the body to the soul (which can be found in late Philoponus and many other Christian and Jewish thinkers).

In addition, I would also observe that the ultimate fate of both Philoponus and Maximus at a personal level can be seen in the light of their thought. On the one hand, Philoponus, who held a highly "individualistic" vision of the Trinity and believed in the so-called "particular substance" of each human being as well as each Person of the Trinity, ended his life being marginalized by the majority of his contemporaries from all Christian camps, at the same time as evidently being *persona non grata* for the circle of pagan philosophers.¹ On the other hand, Maximus, with his stress on the union of "one" to the One, died as a confessor following his exile to Caucasus from the civilized world. Ironically, the native "barbaric" people of Caucasus happened to share his teaching, which in future would be the teaching of the whole Orthodox Church.²

It is my view that in their persons we face ultimate expressions of the principles of individuality (constituted in opposition of "one" to "many") and personhood (constituted in relation of one to the One). While Philoponus, avoiding Neoplatonic mysticism, substituted some "pagan" aspects of Neoplatonism with ideas that would lie at the foundation of future post-Aristotelian cosmology and physics, Maximus, following Ps.-Dionysius, transformed the mystical aspects of Neoplatonism, saving this teaching for use in Christian philosophy and theology.

(1) See C. WILDBERG, Olympiodrus, in: *Stanford Encyclopedia for Philosophy*, <<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/olympiodoros>> (accessed February 2011).

(2) Maximus's companions in their correspondence from Caucasus call native people "Christ-loving", i.e. Orthodox (see on this matter: Л. Г. ХРЪШКОВА, *Раннехристианские памятники Восточного Причерноморья (IV–VII века)* (Москва: Наука, 2002) 58–59).

CONSTANTINOPOLITAN ECHOES IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MOLDAVIAN ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE AKATHISTOS HYMN*

The Akathistos Hymn, a fifth century creation, in a recently proposed chronology¹ knew its first pictorial parallels centuries later, in late Byzantium, as a consequence of the inventiveness and speculative tendencies of the Constantinopolitan workshops around 1300.

A peculiar interest in the illustration of the twenty four strophes of this poetic text, showed in Moldavia during the reign of Peter Rareș (1527–1538; 1541–1546) and Jeremiah Movilă (1595–1606), resulted in eleven mural cycles: nine in the exterior paintings (Probota, St. George and St. Demetrius in Suceava, Humor, Moldovița, Baia, Arbore, Voroneț, Sucevița) and two in the interior decoration (Părhăuți, Sucevița).

The examination of these frescoes revealed a so far unknown connection between a significant number of versions pertaining to the figurative structure of the hymn, and various types of 14th century Byzantine sources: an icon (*Praise of the Theotokos with the Akathiston* in the Uspensky Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin, with its monumental parallel in the Ferapontov Monastery), certain miniatures (Ms. *Synodal. gr.* 429, the Tomić Psalter in Moscow and the Serbian Psalter in Munich), and a number of frescoes (Dečani, Mateiče, Peribleptos in Ochrid, Markov Manastir).²

No evidence has been so far identified to indicate the way in which 16th century artists or theologians in Romanian lands became acquainted with the Byzantine representations of the Akathiston. One

(*) A Romanian version of this paper was published in: *CAIETE ARA. Arhitectură. Restaurare. Arheologie* 1 (Bucharest, 2010) 99–108.

(1) L. M. PELTOMAA, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn* (Leiden—Boston—Köln, 2001) chapter 4.

(2) C. COSTEA, *Sub semnul Miresei nenuntite. Despre reprezentarea Imnului Acatist în Moldova secolului XVI*, *Ars Transsilvaniae* 19 (Cluj, 2009) 99–108.

may simply conclude — scrutinizing the preserved pictorial material — that their interest was, on the whole, directed to versions of increased originality, as those in the icon or the manuscripts.

Beyond the structure of illustrations, the cycles under consideration sometimes include details from the life of the Capital of the Eastern Christendom — referring to miracles or miracle-working images — the presence of which seems to be generated through multiple and not always visual means.

A hardly recognizable representation depicts stanza 20 (*kontakion* 11: *All praise falleth short, O holy King, when it stretcheth toward the bounds of thy bountiful compassion; in that, if we offer thee praises equalling the sands in number...*³) at Parhauti:⁴ Christ is standing, flanked by bishops, with a raised font surrounded by sitting human figures in the forefront and a spring in the proscenium; the same subject has been identified at Arbore:⁵ Christ stands among bishops, assisting a group of people buried up to the shoulders/neck around a spring (Fig. 1). Both mysterious representations have been found to source in the illustration to the corresponding scene of the Moscow Byzantine icon (Fig. 2):⁶ it is the miracle worked in the monastery of Christ Philanthropos in Old Serail, where Christ appeared (or there was an *acheiropoietos* icon of Christ standing) at the place where holy waters flowed alongside the seashore, springing from under the church and curing, with the sands around, of leprosy and many other diseases.⁷ Although in the Moldavian representations the “panel-wall” with the detached figure of Christ is different in aspect, the basic elements of the subject have been

(3) See the English version in: *Book of Divine Prayers and Services of the Catholic Orthodox Church of Christ* (New York, ²1958).

(4) In this monument the colour layer is almost completely covered by dust and soot.

(5) This Arbore image bears no inscription and the episode seems to be casually situated in the sequence of scenes, which are otherwise disorderly associated in the second part of the hymn.

(6) The identification of the detail in the Uspensky panel was made through 14th–15th century reports of Russian pilgrims in Constantinople: Э. П. САЛИКОВА, Отражение исторических константинопольских реалий в иконографии иконы последней четверти XIV века «Похвала Богоматери с Акафистом», in: *Государственные музеи Московского Кремля. Материалы и исследования* 7 (Москва, 1990) 47–50.

(7) R. JANIN, *Les Monastères du Christ Philanthrope à Constantinople*, *RÉB* 4 (1946) 151–162.



Fig. 1. Arbore, *The Akathistos Hymn, strophe 20*



Fig. 2. The Uspensky Cathedral icon, detail:
The Akathistos Hymn, strophe 20

preserved. Yet, if the Părhăuți version is quite close to the Uspensky icon, the detail showing the diseased buried to the neck in the sands in the Arbore scene cannot be found in the Russian pilgrims' relations. It has a different source: the very practice of appealing for this supernatural cure occurred on the Transfiguration day, that continued long after the Fall of the City and was registered by some 17th century Western travellers.⁸ This development of the miraculous experience could have been known from now lost documents, if not from direct reports. Salikova's identification of the Constantinopolitan miracle in the Uspensky icon meets an unexpected confirmation in the Arbore unparalleled iconographic detail.

Another Constantinopolitan feature seems to have been inserted in the illustration to the stanza 17 of the Akathistos Hymn (*eikos* 9: *Behold, the eloquent with wide speech have become in thy comprehension like fish without voice*) at Humor, where the composition displays an unusual structure (Fig. 3). It is mainly inspired by the Mateiče redaction, unique in the Byzantine cycles of the Akathiston for the association of the philosophers' scene with the procession of the Virgin Hodegetria icon.⁹ In the axis of the composition the version in Moldavia sets an icon-bearer, supporting an image of the same iconographic type of the Virgin on a tall staff and extending his arms as if he was crucified. His gesture recalls the reports of Russian pilgrims (Stephen of Novgorod, ca. 1350) about the Tuesday Office dedicated to the Hodegetria icon, *palladium* of Constantinople, in the Hodegon Monastery of the Virgin: "...they take out this icon every Tuesday... place it... on the shoulders of a single man and he extends his arms as if crucified."¹⁰ The elevation of the Hodegetria icon in procession and its carrying along the streets of Constantinople by a "crucified man" is depicted on the late 13th century *hapax* representation in the narthex of the Blachernae church near Arta (Fig. 4). From the memory of the Hodegetria procession in Constantinople, the Humor version preserved the fragment of the icon bearer, associated here with the *topos* of icon veneration.

(8) J. DE THÉVENOT, *Relation d'un voyage au Levant* (1665) (Amsterdam, 2^e 1727) 71.

(9) A. PÄTZOLD, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos. Die Bilerzyklen in der Byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1989) 50, fig. 69.

(10) R. JANIN, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin. Première partie. Le Siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Œcuménique, III. Les Églises et les Monastères* (Paris, 1969) 204.



Fig. 3. Humor, *The Akathistos Hymn*, strophe 17

The same type of the Virgin and Child appears in the scene of the Siege of Constantinople which illustrates the *prooemium* to the Akathiston (*To the Mighty Leader in Battle*),¹¹ preserved at Humor, Moldovița and Arbore¹² (Figs. 5–7): this is the icon carried in procession on the City walls as a protector from pagan invasions. Three attacks on the Capital City were mainly known to the Christian *oikoumene* after the Fall of Constantinople: the onslaught of the joint army of Avars, Slavs and Persians in 626 under Emperor Herakleios, the attack of the Arabs in 674–678 under Emperor Constantine Pogonatos, and another assault of the Arabs in 717 under Emperor Leo III the Isaurian.¹³ Though

(11) During the office of the *Akathiston* in the fifth week of the Great Lent, the *prooemium* “*To the Mighty Leader in Battle*” is chanted in the beginning, then three times during the office (after *eikoi* 3, 6, and 9, according to the 16th century *Triodion* from the Neamț monastery, Ms. in the Library of the Romanian Academy *BAR sl.* 111) and at the end of the hymn. In the Moldavian cycles its illustration appears at the end, after 24 stanzas, supposedly for the amplitude of the military redaction and in order to put forth the implied political allusions.

(12) In the case of the church at Baia, the advanced damage makes the image undecipherable.

(13) The “history fragment” was introduced as a reading in the office of the *Akathiston* during the Great Lent. But the Neamț *Triodion* (see n. 11) does not include the Siege narration. The version in Moldavia, somehow different from the *Synaxarium*, was incorporated in the Old Slavonic *Sborniks* of the time (Ms. in the library of *Dragomirna Monastery sl.* 1813/724, early 15th century, written in Constantinople, fols. 262–271v, see Zl. IUFU, *Za desetomnata kolektia Studion – iz arhiva na rumanskia izsledovac Ion Iufu*, in: *Studia Balcanica* (Sofia, 1970) 342, cf. *Scr* 5 (2009) 342 or Ms. *BAR sl.* 152 (15th century, from the monastery of Neamț, fols. 365–370, see P. P. PANAITESCU, *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei RPR*, vol. 1 (București, 1959), 208; on both manuscripts see: P. BOJCEVA (ed.), I. R. MIRCEA, *Répertoire des manuscrits slaves en Roumanie. Auteurs byzantins et slaves* (Sofia, 2005), 178). The bears the title *A useful narration collected from old narrations and brought to light to remember the most glorious miracles worked when the Persians and the Barbarians besieged Constantinople, when they perished through God’s decision and have been annihilated and the City remained untouched through the prayers of the Theotokos and thanksgiving prayers have been chanted since, standing, in that Day*; it is registered by Fr. Halkin as *Miraculum in eadem obsidionem seu de ἀκαθίστω* (a *Metaphrasta in menologium insertum*), *BHG* 1060; *PG* 92, 1353–1372; *PG* 106, 1336–1353; certain authors agree with its attribution to Nicephorus Callistus (14th century), as it is mentioned in J. M. QUERCII, *Adnotationes*, *PG* 92, 1347–1348; A. FROLOW, *La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine*, *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions* 27 (1944) 95, n. 2; N. PATTERSON-ŠEVČENKO, *Icons in the Liturgy*, *DOP* 45 (1991) 49 n. 31.

Fig. 4. Arta, Blachernae church, *The Procession of the Hodegetria through the streets of Constantinople*

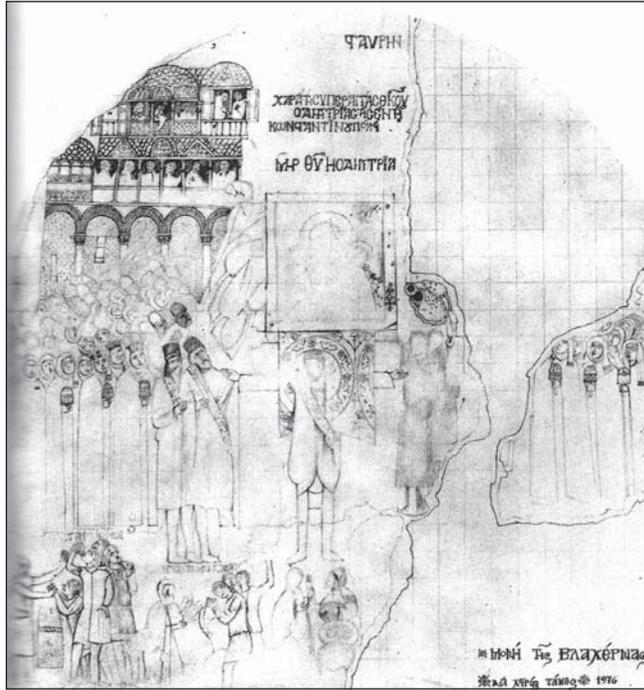


Fig. 5. Humor, *The Akathistos Hymn, prooemium: The Siege of Constantinople*

during the Siege of 626, Constantine, the son of Emperor Herakleios, and Patriarch Sergius appealed to the Virgin to defend the ramparts through her icon from the Blachernae church¹⁴ — orans holding the Child in a medallion in front of her womb, according to its 11th century description¹⁵ — the memory of the narrations about the sieges retained the Hodegetria type¹⁶, mentioned in terms during the attack of 717 (...εἰκόνα τῆς Θεομήτερος ὁδηγητρίας...) ¹⁷ and present in the Moldavian murals.

The versions of the Siege at Humor, Moldovița, and Arbore, somewhat different from each other, are not so much a direct illustration, but show certain independence from the hagiographic story, in a point central to the *prooemium* representation: the *nikephore* objects. Considering both variants of the text (in the *Synaxarium* and in the *Menologium*), during the first assault, the inhabitants of the City carried in procession on the walls the icons of the Virgin (holding the Child on her arms: *Menologium*) the *acheiropoietos* image of Christ, the cross and the Virgin's garment; during the second assault they took out the *ma-phorion* (*Synaxarium*), whilst during the third one, the Cross and the icon of the Virgin ("Hodegetria": *Synaxarium*). The type of Theotokos from the Hodegon Monastery, common to the three representations of the Siege in Moldavia, would plead for the illustration of the coalesced episodes of the onslaughts.¹⁸ The Cross does not appear in either of the

(14) JANIN, *La Géographie ecclésiastique...*, 163.

(15) *Ibid.*, 162, 166.

(16) "And Sergios the Patriarch, taking the holy icons of the Mother of God and especially those in which the Saviour Infant was painted, held on his Mother's arms" (*Menologium*, PG 92, 1356; PG 106, 1337; Ms. BAR sl. 152, 365v); the passage mentioning several icons of the Virgin and Child seems contaminated by the Homily on the Siege of the City (626) by Theodore the Synkellos, see H. BELTING, *Likeness and Presence. A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago, 1994) 496, Appendix, 2; see also L. M. PELTOMAA, Role of the Virgin Mary at the Siege of Constantinople, in 626, in: *Scrinium* 5 (2009) 294; I had no access to the article of B. PENTCHEVA, The supernatural protector of Constantinople: the Virgin and her icons in the tradition of the Avar siege, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002) 1–41; for the Moldavian case, the question is in the iconographic type of the Hodegetria.

(17) *Synaxarium*, PG 92, 1352; PATTERSON-ŠEVČENKO, Icons in the Liturgy, 49 n. 31.

(18) A later victory, during the Ottoman assault of 1422 upon Constantinople, was attributed by Joseph Bryennius to the carrying of the same Hodegetria icon around the ramparts (A. CUTLER, *The Virgin on the Walls*, in:

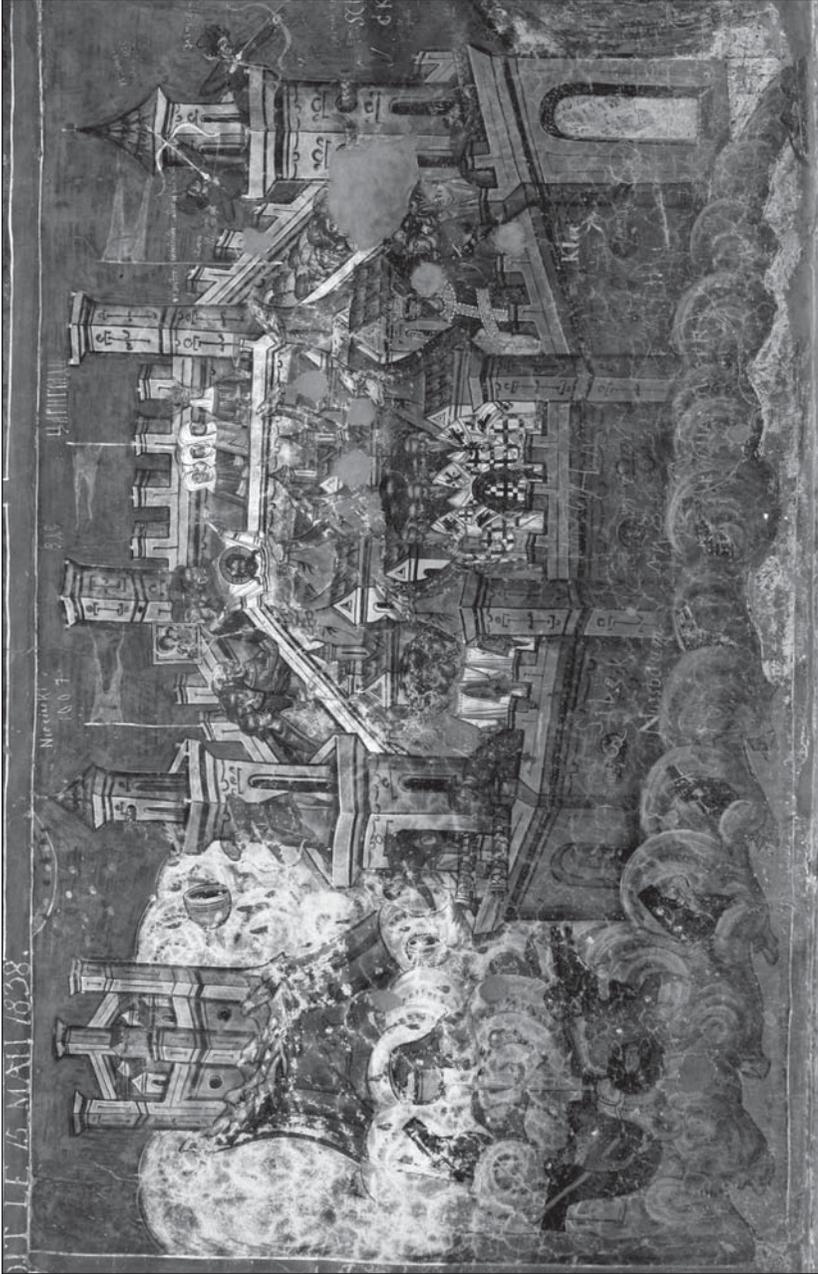


Fig. 6. Moldovița, *The Akathistos Hymn, prooemium: The Siege of Constantinople*

commented painted versions, the Mandylion and the maphorion are present only at Moldovița.¹⁹ In respect to these last two sacred objects, the *Menologium* and the *Synaxarium* do not seem to be consistent with the historical sources contemporary to the events.²⁰ The Maphorion — kept in Constantinople since 473 in the reliquary chapel (*Soros*) of the Blachernae — was reportedly used for the first time as a defender of the City, through its immersion into the sea, in 860 by Emperor Michael III and Patriarch Photius for repelling the Russian invasion.²¹ As far as the *acheiropietos* figure of Christ is concerned, its presence in seventh-century Constantinople could seem out of place since the Mandylion of Edessa was brought to the Capital in 944. Yet, since the sixth-century the “not made-by-hand” image of Christ from Camuliana, which “was used as imperial palladium in the wars against the Persians of the seventh-century”²² has been venerated in Constantinople.

The configuration of the Siege in 16th century painting would indicate the prevalence of hagiographic sources over historical references, which nevertheless might not have been ignored in a *milieu* where a contemporary (or a presumed initiator) of the Moldavian programs, Macarius, a chronicler and bishop of Roman, was an exquisite scholar, “satiated with reading of the Byzantines.”²³

Transfigurations. Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography (London, 1975) 140).

(19) The absence of the *nikephore* pieces in the other two Siege redactions could eventually be a matter of scarce visibility, owing to the extended *lacunae* of the damaged fresco layer.

(20) “On the complicated question of just what images or relics were taken around the walls in 626, and whether they did or did not include an icon of the Virgin, cf. J. L. VAN DIETEN, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610–715)* (Amsterdam, 1972), Excursus I, 174–178” (PATTERSON-ŠEVČENKO, *Icons in the Liturgy*, 49, n. 31).

(21) JANIN, *La Géographie ecclésiastique...*, 161, 163; CUTLER, *The Virgin on the Walls*, 137–139; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2 (New York—Oxford, 1991) 1294.

(22) BELTING, *Likeness and Presence...*, 55; see also A. GRABAR, *Iconoclasmul bizantin. Dosarul arheologic* (București, 1991) 62–65; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2, 1099; “...the awe-inspiring image of the unpainted painting” (George Pisida, *The Avar War (626)*, cited in BELTING, *Likeness and Presence*, 497) that Patriarch Sergius exalted on the City walls would indicate the *acheiropietos* image of Christ (FROLOW, *La dédicace de Constantinople*, 95, n. 2).

(23) I. BOGDAN, *Cronici și texte literare vechi. Cronica lui Macarie*, in *Scrieri alese* (București, 1968) 334; the figurative references in constituting the redac-



Fig. 7. Arbore, *The Akathistos Hymn*, proemium:
The Siege of Constantinople

It could be worth mentioning — when retracing components of Constantinopolitan life related to the invisible world — the presence of the Blachernae Virgin in a scene of icon veneration: the image appears above a city wall, at Probota (Fig. 8) and St. George in Suceava, in the illustration to stanza 17, regarding the rhetors. The iconography of the orant Theotokos, infrequent in 16th century Moldavia, seems to have been thought, in Akathiston terms, as a *nikephore* in the war against pagan concepts.

SUMMARY

In the Akathiston illustrations of the 16th century Moldavian murals, proved to source in late Byzantine icons, miniatures or frescoes, certain details — at Humor, Moldovița, Părhăuți, Arbore — refer to Constantinopolitan miracles, ritual habits or wonder-working objects, such as healing sands in the Christ Philanthropos monastery (Ancient Serail), the Tuesday procession of the Virgin Hodegetria with the bearer of icon extending his arms as being crucified, or famous icons (Hodegetria) and relics (Mandylion, maphorion of the Virgin) carried on the ramparts to secure victory during the City sieges.

tion for *To the Mighty Leader in Battle* should not be disregarded: to the known military version of the *proemium* that opens the illustration of the Akathistos Hymn at Prespa, the image of the same *kontakion 1* in the Uspensky Cathedral icon (the details of which documented a considerable number of variants in the Moldavian Akathistos cycles) could be associated, as a source for the imperial couple participating in the procession on the walls at Humor and Moldovița (see also J. LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, *L'illustration de la première partie de l'Hymne Akathiste et sa relation avec les mosaïques de l'Enfance de la Kariye Djami*, *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 669). The presence of both Emperor and Empress would not intend to cover (inexistent) historical facts, but to substantiate a paradigm of victory gained by the divine energies of the icon and the sacred relics.



Fig. 8. Probota, *The Akathistos Hymn*, strophe 17

AN ANONYMOUS TREATISE AGAINST THE ICONOCLASTIC PATRIARCH JOHN THE GRAMMARIAN.

1. THE FIRST ANTIRRHETIC

THE FIRST EDITION OF THE MANUSCRIPT ESCORIAL Y-II-7, F. 200–205ⁱ

Editorial

With the present publication our periodical continues, after J. Gouillard, the study of the manuscript Esc. gr. Y-II-7 [Nr 262 according to G. DE ANDRÉS MARTÍNEZ, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*. T. II (Madrid, 1965) 111–115, dated to the thirteenth century] which contains an important collection of the dogmatic works relevant to the polemics against iconoclasm. The manuscript is written by one main scribe. Gouillard pointed out, in the final part of the manuscript (Nr 31 in de Andrés Martínez's description still unavailable to Gouillard), two anonymous antirrhetics against John the Grammarian; the first of them is published now, and the second one is now in preparation by Alexandra Evdokimova, the author of the present publication.

The main body of the manuscript is a florilegium of the pre-iconoclastic Fathers but containing as well some quotes from ninth-century authors known by their struggle against iconoclasm. Several pieces of the collection are still unidentified and needed to be studied in future, not exclusively because of their potential interest in respect to the iconoclastic epoch. For instance, an anonymous fragment of the “sermonis tertii contra Manichaeos” (Nr 23, f. 165–171) which is not that of Titus of Bostra, Epiphanius, or Peter Sikeliotus may turn out to be an important and still unknown source. The origin of the whole collection is perhaps revealed by its latest datable piece, the *Apodeixis* of Leo of Chalcedon (Nr 7, f. 16v–23), late eleventh century; cf.: B. LOURIE, Une dispute sans justes: Léon de Chal-

(i) The study is sponsored by the grant of the President of the Russian Federation MK-4741.2009.6 and the *Scrinium*.

cédoine, Eustrate de Nicée et la troisième querelle sur les images sacrées, *SP* 42 (2006) 321–339.

B. Lourié

* * *

«The First Antirrhetic Answering the Main Points in Illegal Speeches by John Heresiarchus, Lekanomantes and Ex-parhedrosⁱⁱ of Byzantium against the Christ's Image, or Rather against the True Incarnation of God's Son», written by an anonymous, is preserved in the unique manuscript Escorial Y-II-7, f. 200–205. This manuscript is dated to the thirteenth century; it is made of paper and later stitched and casebound. In some places the ink is washed off, in other places worn out: 200 r — bending downwards, a hole, blotchiness, 200 v — bending downwards, a wiped out region; 201 r — a wiped out region, a piece is torn out of the bottom of the page; 201 v — the bottom is torn out; 202 r — attritions; 202 v and 203 r — attritions, 203 r and 204 v are stitched into each other.

In spite of its late dating, the manuscript follows the alexandrine accentuation system: a shift of the accent to the first part of a diphthong and to the right in some words, which is common in documentary papyri of the sixth–ninth centuries, resulting in appearance of accentuation marks above consonants. In general, the orthography is consistent, the influence of itacism is insignificant, iota subscriptum is omitted almost consistently, in some cases mistakes in spiritus are observed.

Fragments of this text were first published in 1966.ⁱⁱⁱ J. Gouillard published only the fragments authored by John the Grammarian which were contested by the anonymous author of the antirrhetic.

Due to some specific features of the manuscript, a number of special editorial principles were elaborated: 1) preservation of the diacritics and the orthography of the original within the main text; 2) preservation in the footnotes of the authentic punctuation marks omitted for redundancy by the editor. The text was subdivided into paragraphs by the editor.^{iv}

* * *

(ii) Most likely, there is a word-play «πάρεδρος» (advisor) instead of «πρόεδρος» (chairman, here: patriarch)

(iii) J. GOUILLARD, Fragments inédits d'un antirrétique de Jean le Grammaire, *RÉB* 24 (1966) 171–181.

(iv) The author expresses her gratitude to Lev Lukhovitsky PhD for detailed consultations on the iconoclastic period and his help in proofreading of the final draft of the edition.

{200 r} {5}¹ ἀντιρρητικός πρῶτο(ς) πρὸς τὰ ἰσχυρὰ τῶν ἀθέσμως | {6} ἐκτεθέντων κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) εἰκόνο(ς),² μάλλον (δὲ) κατὰ {7} τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐναν(θρωπ)ήσε(ως) τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ παρὰ Ἰω(άννου)³ | {8} τοῦ αἰρεσιάρχου) κ(αί) λεκανομάντεω(ς) παρεδρου γεγονότος {9} τοῦ Βυζαντίου. |

{10} τῶν μεν θείων κηρύκων κ(αί) ἀποστόλων Χ(ριστοῦ) τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ {11} Θεοῦ κ(αί) Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν⁴ τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας θειμέλιον {12} καταβαλλομένων,⁵ ἐφ' ἰδ⁶ν ὁ παρ τῆς τοῦ {13} Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας οἶκος ἐπ⁷ω⁷κοδόμηται κ(αί) μία φρονι⁸ς! {14} αὕτη κ(αί) ἀναγκαῖα γεγένηται⁹ τῆν¹⁰ τοῦ υἱοῦ κ(αί) Λόγου τοῦ {15} Θεοῦ ἐνσωμάτωσιν¹¹ ἢ οἰκειότερον εἶπειν ἐναν(θρωπ)ήσιν¹² παντὶ βελβαιῶσαι {16} τῷ βίω¹³ κ(αί) οὔτω φιλοτίμ(ως), ὡς κ(αί) αὐτοὺς ἐλφ' ἐξῆς {17} τοὺς τρεῖς εὐαγγελιστὰς¹⁴ μὴ ἄλλοθεν τῆς τοῦ {18} εὐαγγελίου ἱστορίας τῆν ἀρχὴν ποιῆσαι, ἢ¹⁵ ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ {19} κατὰ σάρκα προγόνων¹⁶ ἢ¹⁷ συγγενῶν.¹⁸ εἰ δὲ γε κ(αί) ἀπὸ τοῦ {20} συναϊδίου αὐτοῦ¹⁹ πρὸς τὸν π(ατέ)ρα ὑπαρξέ(ως) ὁ θεολόγο(ς) {21} Ἰω(άννης) ἀπήρξατο <δὲ>· ἀλλ' οὖν οὐ(δὲ) αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ τοιούτῳ {22} ἐνδιατρίβει λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ εὐθυ(ς) ἐπιφέρει²⁰

1 Quinta linea ab initione de paginae.

2 Punctum in manuscripto.

3 Tota nomina in editione cum litterarum capitalibus scripta est, in manuscripto fere cum litterarum minuscularum.

4 Comma in manuscripto.

5 Colon in manuscripto.

6 Unificatio praeterea unif. ὀ.

7 Unif. φ.

8 Unif. ἰ.

9 Punctum in manuscripto.

10 σ in manuscripto, sed editor correxit ν causa accenti et sensus.

11 Colon in manuscripto.

12 Comma in manuscripto.

13 Colon in manuscripto.

14 Comma in manuscripto.

15 Unif. ἦ.

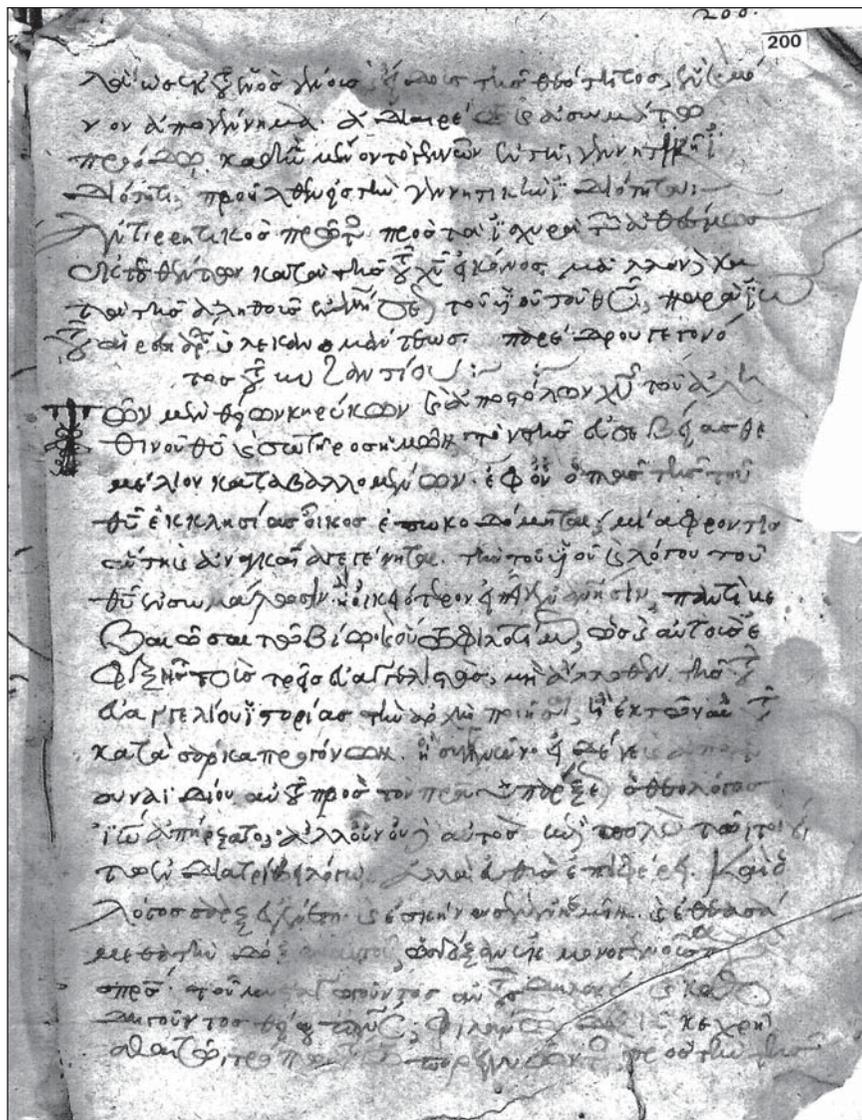
16 Punctum in manuscripto.

17 Unif.

18 Signum editoris.

19 Comma in manuscripto.

20 Punctum in manuscripto.



Y-II-7 f. 200 r – 5 linea: initio.

καὶ ὁ {23} Λόγος σαροξ ἐγένετο κ(αι) ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν,²¹
κ(αι) ἐθεασάμεθα {24} τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ²² ὡς δόξαν ἐκ
μονογενοῦς παρὰ {25} π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς,²³ τοῦ μυσταγωγούντος
αὐτοῦς δηλονότι κ(αι) καθοληγοῦντος {26} θεί(ου)
πν(εύματο)ς²⁴ φιλαν(θρώπ)ω²⁵ δεξιᾶ κεχρηῖσθαι {27} τῷ
τρόπῳ τούτῳ²⁶ παρεγ[έ]νωντο πρὸς τὴν τησ|| {200 v} {1}
ἀληθείας εὔρεσιν τε καὶ κατάληψιν ὅτι δὴ πιστότερα {2} τὰ
πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν κείμενα²⁷ τῶν ἀθεάτων {3} καὶ τῶν
ἀλήπ(τ)ων²⁸ τὰ ταῖς χερσὶ ψηλαφώμενα.²⁹ {4} διὸ
παρρησιασ(τ)ικώτερον ὁ Ἰω(άννης) θεολογεῖ³⁰ λέγων.³¹ {5} ὁ
ἐωράκαμεν.³² ὁ ἐθεασάμεθα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν.³³ {6} καὶ
αἱ³⁴ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψι³⁵ λάφησανⁱⁱ π(ε)ρὶ τοῦ Λόγου {7} τῆς
ζωῆς,³⁶ τὴν ἀδρό³⁷τητα κ(αι) παχύτητα τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου
{8} σαρκώσεως³⁸ παρασ(τ)ῆσαι βουλόμενος. ἀφ' ἧ³⁹ κατὰ {9}
τὸ ἀκολούθῳ διὰ τῶν θεοπρεπῶν σημείων τὲ κ(αι) τ(ε)ράτων
{10} ἔτι γε μὴν τῆς θεοπροπουζ αὐτοῦ διδασκαλί(ας) | {11}
αὐτοὶ τὲ χειραγωγηθέντες⁴⁰ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ⁴¹ πάντες| {12}
τοὺς ἐφέξῃς καὶ μέχρι νυν εἰς τὴν ἐπίγνωσι(ν) τῆς αὐτοῦ {13}

21 Punctum in manuscripto.

22 Comma in manuscripto.

23 Signum editoris.

24 Semicolon in manuscripto.

25 Unif. ω.

26 Unif. ω.

27 Punctum in manuscripto.

28 Comma in manuscripto.

29 Signum editoris.

30 Colon in manuscripto.

31 Signum editoris.

32 Signum editoris.

33 Colon in manuscripto.

34 υ pro ι in manuscripto, itacismus.

35 Unif. η.

36 Colon in manuscripto.

37 Unif. ο.

38 Comma in manuscripto.

39 Unif. ῆ.

40 Colon in manuscripto.

41 Unif. ω.

θεότῃτο(ς)⁴² ἀναφέρουσιν⁴³ φύσις γ(ὰρ) αὐτῆ γνῶσε(ως)
 ἀσφαλιουῶς⁴⁴ {14} ἀπὸ τῶν δήλων⁴⁵ πισ(τ)οῦσθαι τὰ ἄδηλα
 κ(αὶ) διὰ|{15} τῶν γνωρίμων τὰ ἄγνωστ(α),⁴⁶ οὐδηήπου δη⁴⁷ τὸ
 ἀνάπαλιν.⁴⁸ {16}

ὁ δέ γε τοῦ ἐν χερσί⁴⁹ ν εἰς βάσανον καὶ εἴλεγχ(ον)| {17}
 προκειμένου ἡμῖν συγγραφεὺς λογυδρίου⁵⁰ τὴν ἐναντίαν {18}
 τοῖς αὐτόπ(τ)ᾶ⁵¹ις κ(αὶ) ὑπηρέταις τοῦ λόγου γεγενημένοιςⁱⁱⁱ
 {19} ἰῶν,⁵² τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἀφεμένος κ(αὶ) τ(ῶν) πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν
 {20} καταφρονεῖν ἀναπειθῶν⁵³ οὕτω τῆς ἀληθεί(ας) ἀινέδην
 {21} κ(α)τασοβαρεύεται⁵⁴ ἐπιτεύξεσθαι⁵⁵ κατ' ἐκείνον| {22}
 τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς τῷ⁵⁶ Ἀδαῖ ὑποθέμενον⁵⁷ τῶν με⁵⁸ ν δοιθέντων
 {23} καταμελῆσαι,⁵⁹ ὧν (δὲ) μὴ κύριος ἦν⁶⁰ ἀντιποιεῖσθαι,⁶¹
 {24} ᾧ κ(αὶ) κατακαλουθήσας ἐκεῖνος πεπονθεῖναι λέγεται.⁶²
 {25} δὲ [.. ... εἴσενέ]⁶³ γκομεν⁶⁴ συνεώρα γ(ὰρ) ὡς δυοῖν
 θά|τ(ε)ρον {26} αὐτοῦ..⁶⁵ ..υτ(α...) τῷ λόγῳ⁶⁶ ἦ ὅτι διὰ τοῦ

42 Comma in manuscripto.

43 Signum editoris.

44 Punctum in manuscripto.

45 Comma in manuscripto.

46 Signum editoris.

47 Unif. ἦ.

48 Paragraphus et punctum signi editoris sunt.

49 Unif. ἰ.

50 Semicolon in manuscripto.

51 In manuscripto correctum α supra ο.

52 Semicolon in manuscripto.

53 Comma in manuscripto.

54 Punctum in manuscripto.

55 Colon in manuscripto.

56 Unif. ω.

57 Comma in manuscripto.

58 Unif. ε.

59 Colon in manuscripto.

60 Comma in manuscripto.

61 Comma in manuscripto.

62 Signum editoris.

63 Rasmus locus.

64 Punctum in manuscripto.

65 Rasmus locus.

66 Punctum in manuscripto.

ἀφανίσμοῦ| {27} της σαρκώσε(ως) ἀποπέσοι κ(αι) τοῦ Θε(ο)ς
ὁμολογεῖσθαι ὁ Χ(ριστό)ς, ἡ ||{201 r} {1} τὸ δεύτερον ὅτι μὴ
κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἄν(θρωπ)ος αὐτόχροη|μα {2} ἐχρημάτισεν· ὅθεν
κ(αι) τοις μικρ(όν) (ἐπισ)τῆσαι βουλομενοῖς⁶⁷ {3} ὁ τοῦ
δράματος λόγος διαγινώσκειται. {4} ταῦτα ὁ μέγας
ἐπιστάμενος ἔλεγε Παῦλος⁶⁸ | {5} στήκετε κ(αι) κρατεῖτε ταῶς
παραδώσε(ις) ἀξ' ἐδιδάχθητε | {6} εἴτε διὰ λόγων, εἴτε διὰ
ἐπίστολ(ῶν) ἡμῶν.^{iv69} κ(αι) αὐθις⁷⁰ | {7} εἴ τις ἡμῖν
εὐαγγελί^ζ71 εταί παρ' ὃ⁷² παρελάβετε⁷³ ἀνάθεμα {8} εσῶ.^{74v}
ἀλλ' ὅτι γὰρ τὴν ἐν δοκῆσει κ(αι) φαντασί⁷⁵ | {9} τοῦ Θε(ο)ῦ
Λόγου ἀνθρωποφάνειαν ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ πρῆσιβεί⁷⁶ {10} ἀλλ'
οὐχὶ τὴν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐνανθρώπησι(ν),⁷⁷ | {11} ὡς διὰ τούτου
τὸ ὄλον της χριστιανικῆς εὐσεβείας ἀναμοχλεῦσαι {12}
μυστήριον, αὐταῶς ἐκείνου ταῶς ῥήσεις| {13} ἐπὶ καιρὸν
παραθέμενος⁷⁸ ἀποδείξει πειράσομαι.⁷⁹ εἴς| {14} μεν οὖν δὴ
ὡς εἴρηται ὁ σκοπὸ(ς)⁸⁰ τοῦ τὸ τοιοῦτον δε ραψωδῆσαντο(ς)
{15} δρᾶμα τὸ πείσαι χριστιαν(οὺς) κ(αι) μὴ δεῖν κατὰ| {16}
ἀλήθειαν τὴν ἡμετέραν οὐσί(αν) τὸν Θε(ο)ῦ Λόγον
ἀνειληφῆ⁸¹ | ναί {17} ἀλλὰ κατὰ δόκησίν τε καὶ φαντασίαν.⁸²
πειρᾶτ(αι)| {18} δὲ τοῦτο παρισταν(αι), οὐ κατέυθειαν
προβιβά^ζ⁸³(ων)⁸⁴ τ(ὸν) λόγον| {19} ὡς μὴ εἰς αὐτὸ δῆθεν

67 Comma in manuscripto.

68 Punctum in manuscripto.

69 Signum editoris.

70 Punctum in manuscripto.

71 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.

72 Unif. δ.

73 Comma in manuscripto.

74 Colon in manuscripto.

75 Unif. α.

76 Punctum in manuscripto.

77 Signum editoris.

78 Comma in manuscripto.

79 Colon in manuscripto.

80 Semicolon in manuscripto.

81 ί in manuscripto.

82 Signum editoris.

83 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.

84 Punctum in manuscripto.

φανερως δόξαι προσκύπτειν⁸⁵ | {20} τὸ πρόσωπ(ον),⁸⁶ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοουσίῳν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἡμ(εῖς) | {21} ὁμολογοῦμεν⁸⁷ ἀν(θρώπ)ων,⁸⁸ ἴν' ἐν τούτῳ⁸⁹ τέως γε τοὺς πολλοὺς {22} διαλάθη⁹⁰. εἰδ(ὼς) ἀκριβῶς ὡς εἰ ἐν τούτοις αὐτῶ⁹¹ {23} χῶραν ἔξει ὁ λόγος⁹² συνομολογούμενον σχοίη⁹³ | {24} κ(αὶ) τὸ αὐτῶι σπουδαζόμενον· ὧν γὰρ μία ἢ φύσις, κοινὸς | {25} ὁ λόγος,⁹⁴ καὶ ὧν κοινὸς ὁ λόγος⁹⁵ μία ἢ φύσις.⁹⁶ ἀρχεται {26} γοῦν τῆς κακουργί(ας) ⁹⁷ ἀπὸ διαβολῆς τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς {27} εἰκονογραφίας,⁹⁸ κ(αὶ) ὀυ(δὲ) τοῦτο ἐπ' αὐτοῦ {28} γυμνάς⁹⁹ ἐι τοῦ θεανδρικοῦ σώματ(ος)¹⁰⁰[ἐ]φ' ἐιτ(ε)ρῶν {29} κ(αὶ) αὐτῶν ἀορίστ(ων).¹⁰¹

κ(αὶ)^{vi} πρώτ[ον ὦ]ς^{vii} ἐν εἴδει || {201 v} {1} προουμίου ἐκ τοιαύτης ἄρχεται ὑποθέσεως,¹⁰² | {2} ὅτι δῆ,¹⁰³ φη(σ)ι^{viii},¹⁰⁴ οὐ δι' αἰνιγμάτων τὲ καὶ συμβόλων λόγ(οις) | {3} προνοητικοῦ^{ix} τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητος ἀμυδρο^xτέραν | {4} τοις παλαί προδιαγράφας τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὁ Θ(εὸς) ἡμῶν¹⁰⁵ | {5} κ(αὶ) τούτοις τμήδην προαναζωγραφήσας θεία¹⁰⁶ ἐ(πι)π^{xi}νοία¹⁰⁷ | {6}

85 Comma in manuscripto.

86 Colon in manuscripto.

87 Comma in manuscripto.

88 Signum editoris.

89 Unif. ω.

90 Unif. η.

91 Unif. ῶ.

92 Punctum in manuscripto.

93 Comma in manuscripto.

94 Signum editoris.

95 Comma in manuscripto.

96 Signum editoris.

97 Comma in manuscripto.

98 Punctum in manuscripto.

99 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.

100 Rasmus locus.

101 Paragraphus signum editoris, colon in manuscripto.

102 Punctum in manuscripto.

103 Signum editoris.

104 Signum editoris.

105 Punctum in manuscripto.

106 Unif. α.

107 Unif. α et punctum in manuscripto.

την τῶν πραγμάτων ἀτρεκεστάτην κατάληψιν,¹⁰⁸ αὐτὸ(ς) τοῖς|
 {7} μετέπειτα πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν τηξ ἀληθεί(ας) ἀσφάλειαν πρὸ(ς)
 | {8} τ(όν)δε τ(όν) βίον ἐ(πι)δεδημηκῶς οἰονεὶ δακτυλοδεικτ(ῶν)
 αὐτ(όν) ἔψασκεν· {9} ἐγὼ εἰμὶ τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου^{xii, 109} καὶ οἷς
 μὲν σπουδῆ| {10} γέγονε,¹¹⁰ φησὶ,¹¹¹ βίον καθαρ(όν) μεταδιῶξαι
 μετὰ πίστε(ως) ἀνυποκρίτου^{xiii, 112} {11} τούτους τὴν τῶν ὄντων
 ἀληθῆ κατάληψι(ν) κατήυγα|σε¹¹³ {12} τοῦ εἰδέν(αι) δύνασθ(αι)
 σαφῶς¹¹⁴ τὴν ἀνε(πι)θόλωτ(ον)¹¹⁵ τῶν πραγμάτων {13}
 ἀλήθειαν,¹¹⁶ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ τοῦ Π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς¹¹⁷ ὄραν τὸ ἄδυτ(ον) φῶς
 | {14} αὐτὸν τὸν ἀϊδίως γεννηθέντα Θε(ο)ῦ^{xiv} Λόγ(ον).¹¹⁸ ο^{119; xv}
 (δὲ) τῶν πρώτ(ων) | {15} φροντίδα μὴ (δὲ) μίαν^{xvi}
 πεποιημέν(οι) κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον | {16} φησὶ(ν) <δὲ>· ἐν
 σκότει διαπορεύοντ(αι).¹²⁰

ἀλλὰ γ(ὰρ) μηδὲνα θορυβεῖτω {17} κ(αὶ) εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ τὴν
 ἀλήθειαν ποιεῖσθαι¹²¹ σχηματίζ¹²²εται {18} ὁ γεννάδας¹²³
 εὐρήσομεν γὰρ αὐτὸν¹²⁴ μὴ οὕτως ἐπὶ τ(ῶν) | {19} πραγμάτων
 ἔχοντα· καὶ^v συχνότ(ε)ρον τὸ τηξ ἀληθεί(ας) | {20}
 περιστ(ρ)έφῃ¹²⁵ ὄνομα· τεῶς γὰρ τὸν ἐν τύποις τοὺς παλαι |
 {21} παιδαγωγῆσαντα κ(αὶ) ζωγραφίαις,¹²⁶ ὡς αὐτοῦ φησι,¹²⁷

108 Comma in manuscripto.

109 Colon in manuscripto.

110 Signum editoris.

111 Signum editoris.

112 Punctum in manuscripto.

113 Colon in manuscripto.

114 Comma in manuscripto.

115 α in manuscripto simile abbreviationi *ον*, sed vide infra in repetito citato abbreviatio *ον*.

116 Signum editoris.

117 Comma in manuscripto.

118 Colon in manuscripto.

119 Superior ε.

120 Paragraphus signum editoris.

121 Comma in manuscripto.

122 ζ correctio editoris, quamvis ξ in manuscripto.

123 Punctum in manuscripto.

124 Comma in manuscripto.

125 Unif. η.

126 Signum editoris.

127 Signum editoris.

τῶ¹²⁸ βίῳ¹²⁹ | {22} (ἐπι)δημήσαντα¹³⁰ οὐ σαρκοφόρον ὁμολογεῖ·
καίτοι¹³¹ ἄναγκ(αίως)¹³² | {23} τούτου ὀφείλοντο
ἐξάκολουθ(ου) ληφθῆναι παρ' αὐτοῦ¹³³ | {24} ἀντ¹³⁴, ἀϋλων
αἰνιγμάτων κ(αὶ) ἐνυπνίων ἐκστάσεων ἢ¹³⁵ ἐν | {25} Χ(ριστ)ῶι
παντὸ(ς) τοῦ πληρώμ(α)το(ς) τηξ θεότητος κατοικία
σωματικῶς¹³⁶ {26} ἐναργεστ(έ)ρα τε κ(αὶ) βεβαιότερα
καθέστηκεν | {27} ὧς ἄ¹³⁷ πεναντί(ως) ἔχουσα τ(ῶν) συμβόλων.
τί γὰρ αὐτῷ¹³⁸ βούλεται {28} τὸ λέγειν,¹³⁹ εἰ[ι]δέναι σαφῶς¹⁴⁰
την ἀνεπιθολῶτ(ον) | {29} τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλήθειαν,¹⁴¹ ἢ την
ἀμιγῆ τ(ῶν) οὐσιῶν || {202 r} {1} καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἔνωσιν,¹⁴² εἰ
γὰρ αὐτῆ εἰλικρινῶς | {2} παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιστεύετο, οὐκ ἀν' κατὰ
τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐξέλιμηνεν {3} εἰκόνας. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο σαφέστερον
προϊόντες¹⁴³ | {4} καθυποδείξομεν¹⁴⁴ καὶ οἴου πυροῦ
αἰρέσεως¹⁴⁵ καπνὸ(ς) | {5} ταῦτά ἐστι(ν),¹⁴⁶ ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ
θεωρεῖσθω κ(αὶ) μὴ παρέργως¹⁴⁷ {6} τὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
εἰρημένον¹⁴⁸ ἐν τῷ¹⁴⁹ φωτὶ τοῦ π(α)τρὸς ὁ|ρασθαι¹⁵⁰ {7} τὸ

-
- 128 Unif. ῶ.
129 Unif. ω.
130 Colon in manuscripto.
131 Comma in manuscripto.
132 Duo accentus in manuscripto + abbreviatio.
133 Colon in manuscripto.
134 Locus cum correctionibus.
135 ἢ in manuscripto.
136 Comma in manuscripto.
137 Sic in manuscripto.
138 Unif. ῶ.
139 Signum editoris.
140 Comma in manuscripto.
141 Signum editoris.
142 Colon in manuscripto.
143 Comma in manuscripto.
144 Colon in manuscripto.
145 Comma in manuscripto.
146 Signum editoris.
147 Comma in manuscripto.
148 Signum editoris.
149 Unif. ῶ.
150 Comma in manuscripto.

ἄδυτον φῶς¹⁵¹ αὐτὸν τὸν αἰδίως γεννηθέντα {8} Θ(εὸ)ν Λόγον.
 εἰπὼν γὰρ γεννηθ(έν)τ(α)¹⁵² οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ| {9} ἔφη ὁ¹⁵³ ἡ¹⁵⁴
 δηλωτικὸν¹⁵⁴ τῆς τοῦ π(α)τρ(ὸ)ς ὁμοουσιότητ(ος),¹⁵⁵ καίτοι {10}
 τοῦ πραγμάτος τεθρουλλημένου¹⁵⁶ κ(αὶ) ἀσφαλεί(ας) πολλῆς
 {11} ἐ(πι)δεδημένου· οὕτω τοῦ Ἀρείου ἀνομολογοῦντος {12}
 κ(αὶ) τὸ ἐξ οὗ τουτέστιν (ἐ)κ τοῦ π(α)τρ(ὸ)ς¹⁵⁷ μὴ ἀποδεχομέν
 ου.¹⁵⁸ | {13} ἔτι (δὲ) διέλαθεν ἑαυτὸν ἀποδεδεγμένος, ὃ πάση¹⁵⁹
 δυνάμει {14} ἐξόμνησθαι ἔσπευδειν.¹⁶⁰ εἰ γὰρ αἰνίγματα καὶ
 σύμβολα {15} κ(αὶ) προαναζωγραφήσ(εις) εἰς ἀμυδρὰν τῆς
 ἀληθείας| {16} κατάληψιν Θ(εὸ)ς παρέλαβεν,¹⁶¹ ὡς κ(αὶ)
 αὐτὸς φησὶν,¹⁶² | {17} ὅτι καίτοι τὴν διὰ λόγου
 δῆλωσι(ν) ἐν γραφαῖς πολλὰ πλάσιεστέρον {18} τῆς
 εὐάγγελικῆς ἱστορίας ἐκδεδωκ(ώς).¹⁶³ {19} τί ἑαυτὸν κόπ(τ)ει
 πόνοις ἀνωφελέσι(ν) οὕτ(ως) μάλῃλον {20} (δὲ) κ(αὶ)
 ἐ(πι)βλαβέσι¹⁶⁴ θ(ε)ομαχεῖν προαιρούμενος;¹⁶⁵ | {21} τί γὰρ
 ἄλλο ἐστὶν εἰκονογραφία¹⁶⁶ ἢ τῆς ἀληθείας| {22} ἔμφασις ἢ
 μελλούσης¹⁶⁷ ἢ ἀπουσίας;¹⁶⁸ ὡσπ(ε)ρ γ(ὰρ) | {23} ἐν τῇ¹⁶⁹
 ψυχῇ¹⁷⁰ τοῦ μεν προσδοκωμένου ε¹⁷¹στι¹⁷² ν ἐλπιδί,¹⁷³ τοῦ| {24}

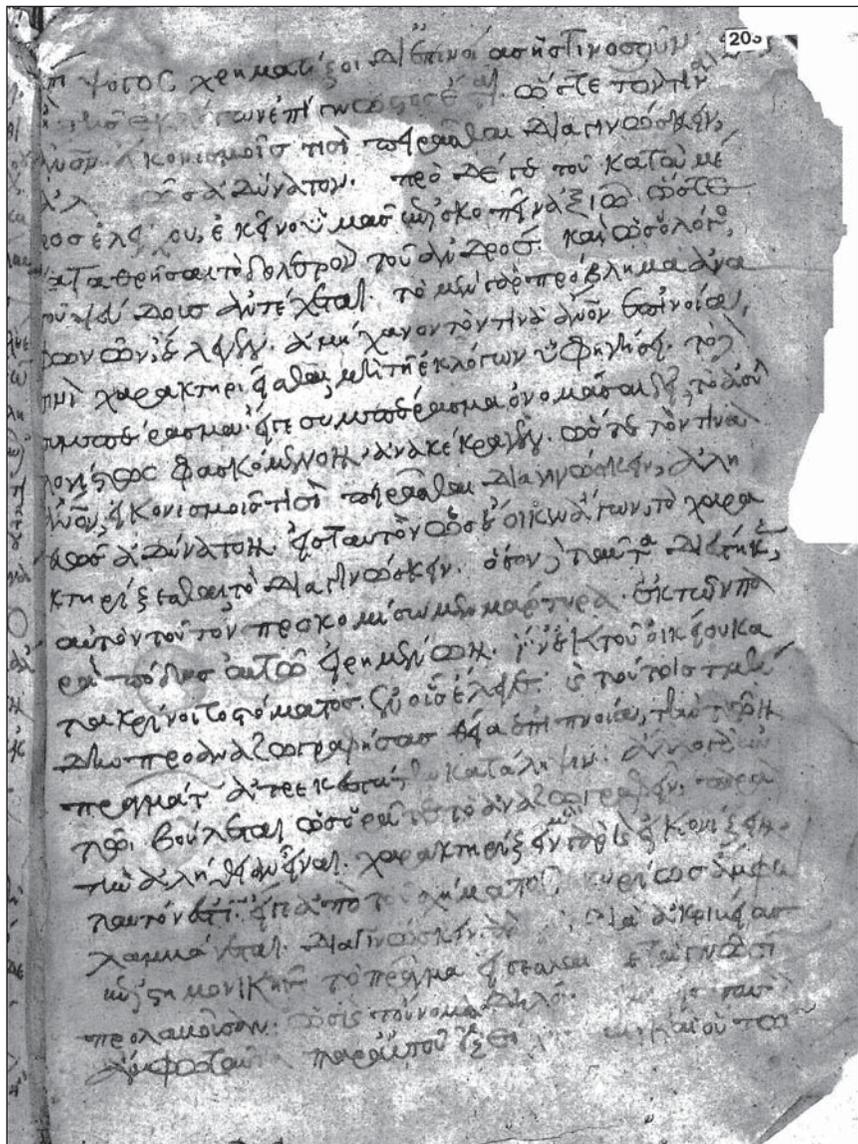
- 151 Punctum in manuscripto.
 152 Semicolon in manuscripto.
 153 Unif. ὁ.
 154 Comma in manuscripto.
 155 Colon in manuscripto.
 156 Semicolon in manuscripto.
 157 Comma in manuscripto.
 158 Colon in manuscripto.
 159 Unif. ἡ.
 160 Punctum in manuscripto.
 161 Colon in manuscripto.
 162 Colon in manuscripto.
 163 Signum editoris.
 164 Comma in manuscripto.
 165 Punctum in manuscripto.
 166 Comma in manuscripto.
 167 Comma in manuscripto.
 168 Punctum in manuscripto.
 169 Unif. ἡ.
 170 Unif. ἡ.
 171 Unif. ἐ.
 172 Unif. ἰ.

δὲ παρόντο(ς)¹⁷⁴ αἰ[σθη]^{xvii}ησις, τοῦ (δὲ) ἀπόντ[ος μν]^{xviii}ήμη, οὐίτω {25} κ(αὶ) ἐ(πι) τῶν πραγμάτων ἔστιν εὐρεῖν¹⁷⁵ [ὦ] ὅτε ὁ! {26} πειρώμενος τὶ τούτ(ων) ἀναιρεῖν¹⁷⁶ κ(αὶ) τὴν τῆς ψυχ(ῆς) κολοβοῖτο || {202 v} {1} γνῶσιν κ(αὶ) πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα διαμάχεται! {2} καὶ τάχά γε τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῦ σπουδάζ¹⁷⁷εται¹⁷⁸ κ(αὶ) εἴθισ(τ)αι {3} τοῦτο ἀν' εἰ μὴ παντελεῖς¹⁷⁹ τῆς ἐνσάρκου τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου | {4} ἐπιφάνειας ἀναίρεσις,¹⁷⁹ εἰ γὰρ μὴ ταῦτα [ο]ὔτ(ως)¹⁸⁰ ἔχει καθ' οὐδ' {5} ἔφημεν τρόπον,¹⁸¹ ἤρκει μ(ο)νός ὁ λόγος τοῖς πάλαι! {6} μηδενὸς ἔργου γεγεννημένου¹⁸² τοῦ προζωγραφοῦντος! {7} τὴν ἀλήθειαν· ἀλλὰ κάκεινο ἦν κ(αὶ) ταῦτα¹⁸³ οὐκ ἐκωλύειτο.¹⁸⁴ {8} ἀλλ' ὦ¹⁸⁵ σπ(ε)ρ οὐχ' ἔκτανος οὐσης διὰ τ(ῶν) εἰρημένω(ν) | {9} τῆς διανοίας τὸ αὐτοῦ βούλημα συνοραῖν περιληπ(τ)ικῶς {10} ἐξεικονισμένον¹⁸⁶ τὴν κατὰ μέρος ἔφοδον ἐ(πι)πορεύεται¹⁸⁷ {11} δεῖξαι ὡς οἷός τε ὢν βρενθυσόμενος, ὅτι! {12} δὴ Θεὸς σαρκοφόρος ἡμῖν¹⁸⁸ οὐκ ἐπέφανε· ποιεῖ (δὲ) τοῦτο {13} καθ' ὃν προέφημεν τρόπον¹⁸⁹ οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γυμνάζων {14} τοῦ θεανδρικοῦ σώματος(ς)¹⁹⁰ τ(ὸν) λόγ(ον) διὰ τὸ ἀνύποπ(τ)ον,¹⁹¹ {15} ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ καθέκαστα πεπλανημένου ἀλλό εξ ἀλλίου {16} θηρεύων.¹⁹²

- 173 Signum editoris.
 174 Comma in manuscripto.
 175 Rasmus locus.
 176 Semicolon in manuscripto.
 177 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.
 178 Colon in manuscripto.
 179 Signum editoris.
 180 ωθνη superscriptum.
 181 Semicolon in manuscripto.
 182 Comma in manuscripto.
 183 Comma in manuscripto.
 184 Signum editoris.
 185 Correctio editoris, in manuscripto ὦ.
 186 Comma in manuscripto.
 187 Colon in manuscripto.
 188 Comma in manuscripto.
 189 Punctum in manuscripto.
 190 Comma in manuscripto.
 191 Signum editoris.
 192 Paragraphus signum editoris.

λέγει^{xix} γὰρ ὦδε¹⁹³ ἀμήχανόν ἐστι τὸν | {17} τινὰ
 ἄν(θρωπ)ον¹⁹⁴ ἐ(πι)νοία¹⁹⁵ τινὶ χαρακτηριεῖ^{xx}σθαι μὴ τῆ¹⁹⁶ ἐκ |
 {18} λόγων ὑφηγήσει,¹⁹⁷ δι' ἧς ἐστὶ τ(ῶν) ὄντων ἕκαστον¹⁹⁸
 ὀρι(σ)τικῶς {19} κ(α)τεληφέναι. τὰ γὰρ ἰδιάζ¹⁹⁹οντα τοῦ τινος |
 {20} συμβεβηκότα δι' ὧν τῶν ὁμοειδῶν ἀφεστήκε κ(αὶ) τ(οῖς) |
 {21} αὐτοῖς^{xxi} ἐκείνοις ἐτ(ε)ρώς κεκοινωνήκεν οὐδαμῶς τῆ²⁰⁰ |
 {22} τῆς ὄψεως καταλήψει κ(α)τ' οὐδὲν ἀνύσιμον ὑπάρχει.²⁰¹
 {23} οὐ γ(ὰρ) εἰ τοῦδε τινὸς καταγέται τὸ γένος ἢ τῆνδε^{xxii} |
 {24} πάτραν ἰδίαν ἐ(πι)γράφεται,²⁰² τὴν ποίαν μετιῶν
 τέλχην,²⁰³ {25} διατριβῆς^{xxiii} τὲ π²⁰⁴οίας κ(αὶ) ἐταιρείας
 εὐμορεῖ²⁰⁵ κ(αὶ) | {26} τῆς λοιπῆς τῶν τρόπων ἀγωγῆς,²⁰⁶ δι'
 ἧς ἐπαινετό(ς) ἢ || {203 r} {1} ἐπίφογος χρηματίζ²⁰⁷οι δι'
 ἐπινοίας ἡστινοσοῦν | {2} ἢ τῆς ἐκ λόγων ἐπίγνωστος^{xxiv}
 ἔσται,²⁰⁸ ὥστε τὸν τινὰ | {3} ἄν(θρωπ)ον εἰκονισμοῖς τισὶ
 πειρᾶσθαι^{xxv} διαγινώσκειν²⁰⁹ | {4} ἀλ[ηθ]ῶς ἀδύνατον.²¹⁰ πρὸ
 δέ γε τοῦ κατὰ μέρος {5} ἐλέγχου²¹¹ ἐκεῖνο ὑμας ἐ(πι)σκοπεῖν
 ἀξιῶ,²¹² ὥστε | {6} καταθρῆσαι τὸ δολερὸν τοῦ ἀνδρός καὶ ὡς
 ὁ λόγο(ς)²¹³ | {7} τοῦ ψευδοῦς ἀντέχεται.²¹⁴ τὸ μὲν γὰρ

-
- 193 Punctum in manuscripto.
 194 Comma in manuscripto.
 195 Unif. α.
 196 Unif. ἦ.
 197 Colon in manuscripto.
 198 Comma in manuscripto.
 199 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.
 200 Unif. ἦ.
 201 Signum editoris.
 202 Signum editoris.
 203 Colon in manuscripto.
 204 Correctio editoris, in manuscripto τ.
 205 Colon in manuscripto.
 206 Punctum in manuscripto.
 207 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.
 208 Signum editoris.
 209 Comma in manuscripto.
 210 Colon in manuscripto.
 211 Comma in manuscripto.
 212 Signum editoris.
 213 Comma in manuscripto.
 214 Colon in manuscripto.



Y-II-7 f. 203 r — 4 linea: finis de citati de Joannis Grammatici.

πρόβλημα ἀναφωνῶν, {8} ἔλεγεν ἀμήχανον τὸν τινὰ
 ἄν(θρωπ)ον ἐπινοία²¹⁵ | {9} τινὶ χαρακτηριεῖσθαι²¹⁶ μὴ τῆ²¹⁷ ἐκ
 λόγων ὑφηγήσει,²¹⁸ τὸ (δὲ) | {10} συμπέρασμα (²¹⁹εἶγε συμπέ-
 ρασμα ὀνομάσαι δεῖ²²⁰ τὸ ἀσυλλογί(σ)τως {11} φασκόμενον)²²¹
 ἀνακέκραγεν²²² ὥστε τὸν τινὰ | {12} ἄν(θρωπ)ον²²³
 εἰκονισμοῖς τισὶ πειρασθαι διαγινώσκειν²²⁴ ἀληθῶς {13}
 ἀδύνατον,²²⁵ εἰς ταυτὸν ὡς οὐ ἔοικεν ἄγων²²⁶ τὸ
 χαρᾶκτηρίζ²²⁷ εσθαι²²⁸ {14} τὸ διαγινώσκειν.²²⁹ ὅσον (δὲ)
 ταῦτα διεστήκ(εν)²³⁰ | {15} αὐτὸν τοῦτον προκομίσωμεν μαρ-
 τυρα²³¹ ἐκ τῶν παρὰ {16} πόδας αὐτῶ εἰρημένων²³² ἴν' ἐκ τοῦ
 οἰκείου κατὰκρίνοιτο {17} σ(τ)όματος,²³³ ἐν οἷς ἔλεγε.²³⁴ καὶ
 τούτοις τμηθῆν {18} προαναζωγραφήσας θεία²³⁵ ἐπινοία²³⁶
 τῆν τῶν {19} πραγμά(των) ἀτρεκεστάτην κατάληψιν. ἄλλο
 γ(ὰρ) αὐτῶι {20} βούλεται,²³⁷ ὡς ὁρᾶτε,²³⁸ τὸ ἀναζωγραφεῖν
²³⁹ παρὰ | {21} τῆν ἀλήθειαν εἶναι²⁴⁰ χαρακτηρίζ²⁴¹ εἰν μὲν²⁴²

-
- 215 Unif. α.
 216 Comma in manuscripto.
 217 Unif. ἦ.
 218 Signum editoris.
 219 Colon in manuscripto.
 220 Comma in manuscripto.
 221 Signum editoris.
 222 Punctum in manuscripto.
 223 Comma in manuscripto.
 224 Comma in manuscripto.
 225 Punctum in manuscripto.
 226 Comma in manuscripto.
 227 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.
 228 Comma in manuscripto.
 229 Colon in manuscripto.
 230 Comma in manuscripto.
 231 Colon in manuscripto.
 232 Punctum in manuscripto.
 233 Signum editoris.
 234 Punctum in manuscripto.
 235 Unif. α.
 236 Unif. α et comma in manuscripto.
 237 Signum editoris.
 238 Signum editoris.
 239 Comma in manuscripto.

γὰρ κ(αι) εἰκονίζ²⁴³ειν| {22} ταυτὸν ἐστὶ εἴ γε ἀπὸ τοῦ
 σχήματος²⁴⁴ κυρίως ἀμφωλαμβάνεται {23}· διαγινώσκειν γὰρ
 ..²⁴⁵ διὰ ἀκριβείας| {24} ἐπιστημονικῆς τὸ πραγῶμα εἰσέσθαι
 [μ]ετὰ γνῶσι(ν)| {25} προλαβοῦσαν,²⁴⁶ ὡς κ(αι) τοῦνομα
 δηλοῖ²⁴⁷ ...μι... εἰς ταυτ(ὸν) | {26} ἄμφω ταῦτα παρ' αὐτοῦ
 ἐξείληπται²⁴⁸ καὶ οὕτω || {203 v} {1} ἀσυνεσίαν
 κατακρίνειτο²⁴⁹ μὴ ἐπιγινώσκων,²⁵⁰ ἅ| {2} ἔλεγεν²⁵¹ ἢ
 ἐπιλελησμένος²⁵² βεβαίως ψευδόμενον ἀνιλεγχθήσεται. {3} εἰ
 (δὲ) τὸ χαρακτηρίζ²⁵³εσθαι οὐχ' ὡς κυριολεξία {4} παρ' αὐτοῦ
 ἐξείληπται· ἀλλ' ἐν καταχρήσει| {5} ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀρίζ²⁵⁴εσθαι²⁵⁵
 ὀρισμοῦ γὰρ κ(αι) χαρακτηρισμοῦ| {6} ταυτὸν ἄρα κατὰ
 ταυτὸν.²⁵⁶ κ(αι) τί μελλεῖ ἐκ τούτου ἀπώ²⁵⁷ναίσθαι {7}²⁵⁸
 κ(α)τὰ τῆς εἰκόνης Χ(ριστο)ῦ νεανιευόμενος;²⁵⁹ ὅπου γε οὐδε²⁶⁰
 | {8} παρ' ἡμῖν ὑπογράφων,²⁶¹ μᾶλλον (δὲ) βελτίον κατ' αὐτ(ὸν)
 | {9} εἰπεῖν ὀρίζ²⁶²ων, εἰκόνα Χ(ριστο)ῦ, ὡς Χ(ριστ)ὸν αὐτ(ὸν)
 ὑπογράφει κ(αι) ὀρίζει| {10}· μαινομένων γὰρ ἂν εἴη, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ
 σωφρόνων τῶν| {11} πάντη ἀποξενωμένων ταυτὸν φάσκειν

-
- 240 Punctum in manuscripto.
 241 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.
 242 Superior est.
 243 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.
 244 Punctum in manuscripto.
 245 Rasmus locus 1–2 litterae.
 246 Signum editoris.
 247 Rasmus locus 2–3 litterae.
 248 Rasmus locus 2–3 litterae cum abbrev.
 249 Colon in manuscripto.
 250 Signum editoris.
 251 Colon in manuscripto.
 252 Comma in manuscripto.
 253 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.
 254 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.
 255 Colon in manuscripto.
 256 Colon in manuscripto.
 257 Unif. ó.
 258 Comma in manuscripto.
 259 Punctum in manuscripto.
 260 Unif. è.
 261 Colon in manuscripto.
 262 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.

εἶναι τὸν ὀρισμ[ὸν].²⁶³ | {12} εἰ (δὲ) δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐ τιμητέα
 παρ' αὐτῶι ἢ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ εἰκῶν,²⁶⁴ {13} ὃ²⁶⁵ τι μὴ(δὲ) κ(αὶ)
 Χ(ριστὸ)ς ἐπιδέχεται ὀρισμὸν,²⁶⁶ οὐ(δὲ) τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα {14}
 αὐτῶ²⁶⁷ τινὸς²⁶⁸ φροντίδος κριθείη ἄξιον²⁶⁹ ὡς ἐ²⁷⁰ οἶκε, | {15}
 διὰ τὸ μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸν ὀρισμὸν τοῦ πρωτοτύπου | {16} κ(αὶ)
 δημιουργοῦ Θεοῦ.²⁷¹ κ(αὶ) ταῦτα μὲν²⁷² ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς
 ἐκφωνήσεως {17} τοῦ προβλήματος²⁷³ κ(αὶ) τοῦ
 συμπ(ε)ράσματος. | {18} λοιπὸν (δὲ) κ(αὶ) δι' ὄλου τοῦ
 κεφαλαίου²⁷⁴ προερχέσθω <αι> ἢ | {19} κατὰ λόγον βάσανος²⁷⁵
 ἀδύνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνεπίχειρητον {20} κ(αὶ) ἀδύνατον
 ἐ(πι)νοίαι τινὶ χαρακτηρεῖσθαι²⁷⁶ τὸ ἐπινοία²⁷⁷ {21} ἀντὶ τοῦ
 τέχνη²⁷⁸ παρέλαβεν· ὅθεν τὸ χαρακτηρί²⁷⁹ εἶσθαι {22} ἀντὶ τοῦ
 διαγνωσθήσεσθαι τὸν τινὰ ἀν(θρώπ)ον²⁸⁰ ἐχρῆν δηλῶσαι {23}
 ἀδύνατον εἶτε τὸν προεγνωσμένον λέγει, εἶτε | {24} τὸν
 ἀγνώτα· ἵνα μὲν τὸν ἀγνώτα λέγει,²⁸¹ ἀποφαίνοιτο | {25} ὡς
 ἀδύνατον μὴ γνωσκόμενον(ον) γινώσκεισθαι,²⁸² ὁ γὰρ τιζ | {26}
 ἄν(θρώπ)ος,²⁸³ [εἰ μὴ]²⁸⁴ δόλως γινώριμος καθεστήκοι,

-
- 263 Signum editoris.
 264 Punctum in manuscripto.
 265 Unif. ὄ.
 266 Colon in manuscripto.
 267 Unif. ὦ.
 268 Comma in manuscripto.
 269 Comma in manuscripto.
 270 Unif. ἔ.
 271 Colon in manuscripto.
 272 Comma in manuscripto.
 273 Punctum in manuscripto.
 274 Comma in manuscripto.
 275 Signum editoris.
 276 Colon in manuscripto.
 277 Unif. α.
 278 Unif. η.
 279 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.
 280 Comma in manuscripto.
 281 Signum editoris.
 282 Colon in manuscripto.
 283 Signum editoris.
 284 Rasmus locus 3–4 litterae.

χαρακτη||[ρίζ]εται {204 r} {1} ἀληθῶς ὡς τοιόσδε²⁸⁵ οὐκέτι
 μὴν κ(αὶ) ἀπλ(ῶς) | {2} ἄν(θρωπ)ος ὁ γὰρ τὸν τοῦ ὄλου
 ἄν(θρώπ)ου λόγον εἰδῶς κ(αὶ) τὸν τοῦ | {3} καθ' ἕκασ(τ)α,²⁸⁶
 ὅτι ἄν(θρωπ)ος,²⁸⁷ διαγινώσκει,²⁸⁸ τοῦτο (δὲ) πρὸς ἡμ(ῶν) | {4}
 [οὐ]δὲν ἕξει,²⁸⁹ οὐ τὴν ἀδιαγνώσ(τ)ου ἄν(θρώπ)ου εἰκόνα τίς
 ἡμῶν ἀποδέδεκτο {5} πώποτε· εἰκότως οὖν, ἀδολεσχία τοῦτο
 ἐστίν. | {6} [εἰ] δὲ π(ε)ρὶ τοῦ ἐγνωσμένου τοῦτο
 ἀποφαίνοιο,²⁹⁰ ὁρᾶτε τὸ | {7} ψεῦδος ἡλίκον· παραθεντες γὰρ
 αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπόφασιν | {8} .. ἐγνωσμένω, λεγόμεν οὕτ(ω).²⁹¹
 ἀμήχανον τὸν τινὰ ἄν(θρωπ)ον²⁹² | {9} [ἐ]γνωσμένον²⁹³
 ἐπινοία²⁹⁴ τινὶ ἤτοι τέχνῃ²⁹⁵ χαρακτηριεῖσθαι μὴ | {10} τῆ²⁹⁶ ἐκ
 λόγων ὑφηγήσει.²⁹⁷ ἄρα οὖν λόγων ὑφήγησιν ἐπιδέδεκτο {11}
 θάμαρ προκομίσασα τὸν δακτύλιον κ(αὶ) τὴν ῥάβδον {12} εἰς
 τὸ παραστήσαι Ἰούδαν αὐτῆ²⁹⁸ συνελθλυθέναι;²⁹⁹ ἦ | {13} τὸν
 ποικίλον ἐπεγνωκῶς χιτῶνα τοῦ Ἰῶσηφ Ἰ(σρα)ήλ
 ἢ³⁰⁰ μαγμείνον {14} λόγων ὑφήγησιν ἐδεήθη<ι>,³⁰¹ ὅστις αὐτοῦ
 ἐγεγόνει ὁ | {15} υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ;³⁰² κ(αὶ) οὐχὶ μόνον ἕκασ(ον)
 τούτ(ων) ὀφθὲν³⁰³ τὸν οὗ ἐγγεγόνει {16} παρίστησι,³⁰⁴ μήτι
 τούτ(ων) τῶν σημείων διὰ λόγων ὑφηγεῖτο {17} τὴν ἕκασ(τ)ου

285 Punctum in manuscripto.

286 Signum editoris.

287 Signum editoris.

288 Colon in manuscripto.

289 Signum editoris.

290 Signum editoris.

291 Punctum in manuscripto.

292 Colon in manuscripto.

293 Comma in manuscripto.

294 Punctum in manuscripto.

295 Unif. η.

296 Unif. ἦ.

297 Colon in manuscripto.

298 Unif. ἦ.

299 Signum editoris.

300 Unif. ἦ.

301 Signum editoris.

302 Punctum in manuscripto.

303 Comma in manuscripto.

304 Colon in manuscripto.

πατριαν,³⁰⁵ καὶ οὐτινος τὸ γένος κατάλγεται,³⁰⁶ {18} ποίας τὲ
 τέχνης καὶ ἐταιρείας εὐμοίρησε(ν),³⁰⁷ | {19} ἢ κ(αὶ) πρὸς τὰ
 οὕτω φανερὰ ἀπαναισχυντήσει,³⁰⁸ ὁ δὲ στ(αυ)ρὸς| {20} τί ἄλλο
 βούλεται,³⁰⁹ ἢ ἀναδιδάξαι ἡμ(ᾶς),³¹⁰ ὅτι ἐν τῷ³¹¹ τύπῳ³¹² {21}
 τούτου³¹³ κατέβαλε τ(ὸν) ὑπερήφαν(ον) στ(αυ)ρωθεὶς ὑπὲρ
 ἡμῶν {22} ὁ Χ(ριστο)ς,³¹⁴ <ὁ> δῆτα κ(αὶ) ἡ τούτου εἰκ(ὼν), ὅτι
 ἐν τῇ³¹⁵ καθ' ἡμας | {23} μορφῇ³¹⁶ ὥφθη ὁ ἀσχημάτιστος
 ἀγίας(ων) κ(αὶ) σώσ(ων) ἡμας,³¹⁷ | {24} εἰ δὲ ταῦτα τὲ κ(αὶ)
 μυρία οὕτ(ως) ἔχοντα ὁσημέραι καθολοῦνται,³¹⁸ {25} δυνατ(ὸν)
 ἄρα τὸν τινὰ ἄν(θρωπ)ον προεγνωσμέινον {26} ἐπινοῖαι³¹⁹ τινὲ
 χαρακτηρίζ³²⁰ εσθαι³²¹ — οὐ γὰρ³²² [ὡς] αὐτ(ὸς) | {27} φησὶ
 χαρακτηριεῖσθ(αι) τῇ ἀδελφία³²³ τοῦ μέλλοντος || {204 v} {1}
 ἀθετῶν τῶν ἐσ(τ)ώτων τὴν ἐνέργειαν³²⁴ — καὶ ἄνευ τῆς ἐκ
 λογῶν {2} ὑφηγήσεως,³²⁵ ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁρῶ τῶν νέων τὰς ὄ³²⁶
 {3} ὑπομειδιώσας καὶ οἶονεὶ προαναφωνούσας τ[α] | {4} ἐκ
 τοῦ παραλόγου σχήματος συντεθέντα αὐτῷ³²⁷ συλλογ[ῆ?] | {5}
 κ(αὶ) εἰς τὸ ἀνακαλύψαι μὲν αὐτὸν προτρεπούσ(ας)· ὁ δὲ κ(αὶ)

-
- 305 Colon in manuscripto.
 306 Signum editoris.
 307 Signum editoris.
 308 Signum editoris.
 309 Colon in manuscripto.
 310 Signum editoris.
 311 Unif. ῶ.
 312 Unif. ω.
 313 Unif. ω.
 314 Signum editoris.
 315 Unif. ἦ.
 316 Unif. ἦ et comma in manuscripto.
 317 Signum editoris.
 318 Semicolon in manuscripto.
 319 Comma in manuscripto.
 320 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.
 321 Colon in manuscripto.
 322 Rasmus locus.
 323 Unif. α.
 324 Comma in manuscripto.
 325 Signum editoris.
 326 Breve nomen (substantivum) fem. ὄψεις?
 327 Unif. ῶ.

πό[ρ]ισω {6} εὐθύς. ἔχετε,³²⁸ ὧ παῖδες, τὰς ἀφορμας τοῦ κατ' αὐτοῦ {7} γέλωτο(ς).³²⁹ ἐκ μιᾶς γὰρ προτάσεως³³⁰ ἐλήφθη αὐτῷ³³¹ ὁ συλλογισμός,³³² {8} καὶ ταύτης³³³ ψευδους,³³⁴ καὶ εἰ λαμπρ(ῶς) αὐτῷ³³⁵ προ³³⁶τέθη {9} τὸ πρόβλημα. καὶ λαμπρότ(ε)ρον ἐπεφέρετο {10} τὸ συμπεράσμα.³³⁷ ἐστὶ³³⁸ (δὲ) ἡ πρότασις αὕτη· οὐδὲν τῶν χαρακτηρισ(τ)ικῶν {11} ἴδιωμάτ(ων) τοῦ τινος ἀν(θρώπου)³³⁹ διὰ τῆς γραφικῆς ὄψ(εως) | {12} καταλαμβάνεται,³⁴⁰ τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ διὰ τοῦ λέγ(ειν)³⁴¹ τὰ γ(αὐρὸ) ἰδιάζ³⁴²οντα {13} τοῦ τινὸς συμβεβηκότα,³⁴³ δι' ὧν τῶν ὁμοειδῶν | {14} ἀφεστήκε³⁴⁴ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἐτ(ε)ρώς κεκοινώνηκεν,³⁴⁵ | {15} οὐδαμῶς τῆ³⁴⁶ τῆς ὄψεως καταλήψει³⁴⁷ κατ' οὐδὲν ἀνύσιμα | {16} ὑπάρχει. ὅθεν καὶ εἰς βεβαίωσι(ν) τῆς καθόλου αὐτοῦ ἀποφάσ(εως) {17}³⁴⁸ τὴν παράδοξον ἐκείνην ποιεῖται ἐπαγωγῆν,³⁴⁹ ὅτι.³⁵⁰ οὐδὲ | {18} γένους,³⁵¹ οὐ(δὲ) πατριας,³⁵² οὐ(δὲ) τεχνῆς,³⁵³ οὐ(δὲ)

-
- 328 Signum editoris.
 329 Colon in manuscripto.
 330 Comma in manuscripto.
 331 Unif. ῶ.
 332 Punctum in manuscripto.
 333 Comma in manuscripto.
 334 Punctum in manuscripto.
 335 Unif. ῶ.
 336 Unif. προε.
 337 Colon in manuscripto.
 338 Unif. forma cum accentu ἔστι.
 339 Punctum in manuscripto.
 340 Colon in manuscripto.
 341 Colon in manuscripto.
 342 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.
 343 Punctum in manuscripto.
 344 Punctum in manuscripto.
 345 signum editoris.
 346 Unif. ῆ.
 347 Punctum in manuscripto.
 348 Comma in manuscripto.
 349 Colon in manuscripto.
 350 Signum editoris.
 351 Colon in manuscripto.
 352 Signum editoris.

διατριβ(ῆς),³⁵⁴ οὐ(δὲ) ἔταιρεί(ας),³⁵⁵ | {19} οὐ(δὲ) τῆς τῶν
 τρόπων ἀγωγῆς. κ(αὶ) λοιπ(όν) ἐπιφέρει κ(αὶ) τὸ
 συμπέρασμα,³⁵⁶ {20} ὡς ἐμμεθόδως δῆθεν κατασκευασας,³⁵⁷
 λέιγων {21} ὥστε τὸν τινὰ ἄ³⁵⁸ν(θρωπ)ον εἰκονισμοῖς τισὶ
 πειρᾶσθ(αι) διαγιγνώσκειν {22} ἀληθ(ῶς) ἀδύνατον.³⁵⁹ εἰ (δὲ)
 καὶ τις φιλονεικοίη συλλογισμῶ³⁶⁰ {23} τοῦτο παραχωρεῖν³⁶¹
 τὸ λέγειν³⁶² ὁ τις ἄν(θρωπ)ος διὰ λογίου {24}
 χαρακτηρίζ³⁶³εται³⁶⁴ οὐδὲν ἦττον τοῦ τ(ῶν) συλλογισμ(ῶν) |
 {25} εἶδους³⁶⁵ ἀπορρι³⁶⁶φ³⁶⁷ήσεται,³⁶⁸ ὅτι τε τ(όν) καθόλου
 προσδιορισμ(όν) | {26} οὐκ ἔχει,³⁶⁹ ἀλλὰ ἄμφω μερικαῶς ταῶς
 προτάσεις³⁷⁰ ὁ τις ἄν(θρωπ)ος³⁷¹ | {27} δι' εἰκονισμοῦ οὐ
 χαρακτηρίζ³⁷²εται,³⁷³ κ(αὶ) ἀλλ(ως) ἐν τρίτῳ³⁷⁴ σχήματι || {205
 r} τῶ³⁷⁵ {1} δοκεῖν πλακῆσεται,³⁷⁶ ἐξ οὗ τὸ καθόλου
 συνηγμ(ένον) οὐ(δέ) | πω {2} εὐρηται,³⁷⁷ κ(αὶ) ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης τὲ
 οὐδὲν ἀναγκαῖον | {3} συνάγει. ἐγὼ (δὲ) τοις παισιν ἐκ

353 Signum editoris.

354 Signum editoris.

355 Signum editoris.

356 Signum editoris.

357 Signum editoris.

358 Unif. ἄ.

359 Colon in manuscripto.

360 Unif. ῶ.

361 Colon in manuscripto.

362 Colon in manuscripto.

363 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.

364 Comma in manuscripto.

365 Comma in manuscripto.

366 η supra correctum.

367 Unif. θ.

368 Colon in manuscripto.

369 Semicolon in manuscripto.

370 Signum editoris.

371 Comma in manuscripto

372 ζ correctio editoris, in manuscripto ξ.

373 Signum editoris.

374 Unif. ω.

375 Unif. ῶ.

376 Colon in manuscripto.

377 Colon in manuscripto.

φιλοτιμί(ας) κ(αί) τὴν ἐκ τ[ῆς]³⁷⁸ {4} ἀδολεσχί(ας) τὲ κ(αί) ἀσυνταξί(ας) τῶν λόγ(ων) τοῦ σ(τ)ωμύλου {5} τούτου παραχωρήσω τ(έ)ρφιν ἐτί γε μὴν ζητῆσαι παρ' αὐτοῦ, {6} πῶς τὰ καθέκασ(τ)α³⁷⁹ δι' ὀρισμοῦ βούλεται διαγιγνώσκειν,³⁸⁰ {7} τοῦτο τηξ τῶν τοιοῦτ(ων) λόγ(ων) ἐπισ(τ)ήμης οὐκ ἐπιτρειπούσης.³⁸¹ {8} π(ῶς) δὲ κ(αί) ἢ π(ατ)ρὶς κ(αί) τὸ πατρῶον γένος,³⁸² ἢ τέχνη κ(αί) ἢ συνεταιριεία {9} κ(αί) ἢ ἀγωγή τ(ῶν) τρόπων³⁸³ εἰς ὀρισμὸν παραλαμβάνεται | {10} ἔμαυτῷ³⁸⁴ καταλείψας³⁸⁵ τὸ ὑπερὸ αὐτοῦ <παραλαμβάνειν καὶ... | {11} τὸ ὑπερὸ αὐτοῦ>³⁸⁶ σ(τ)ένειν,³⁸⁷ ὡς τοιαύτη³⁸⁸ σαθρᾶ³⁸⁹ ἐπερειδ[ο]μέλου {12} παραστάσει. ὁ (δὲ) δρασσόμενος τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐν τῇ³⁹⁰ | {13} πανουργία³⁹¹ αὐτῶν^{xxvi392} κ(αί) διδούς ῥῆμα τοῖς εὐαγγελισοιμένοις {14} τὴν ἀλήθειαν,³⁹³ ἥτις ἦν πρὸς τὸν π(ατέ)ρα κ(αί) ἐφαινερώθη {15} ἡμῖν^{xxvii} ἐν σαρκί,³⁹⁴ ὃς ἔφαγέ τε κ(αί) ἔπιε συναυλιζόμενος {16} δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα τοῖς αὐτοῦ {17} ἀποστόλοις καὶ μύσταις μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι | {18} αὐτὸν³⁹⁵ (ἐ)κ νεκρῶν,³⁹⁶ τὴν τε ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πν(εύματος) λαβῶν {19} παρὰ τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) αὐτοῦ ἐξέχεεν^{xxviii} ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ | {20} μαθητάς, αὐτοὺς ὀδηγήσαι ἡμᾶς εἰς πάσαν τὴν | {21} ἀληθειάν ῥυόμενος ἡμ(ᾶς) ἀπὸ πᾶσ(ης) ἐπηρεί(ας) κ(αί) πλάν(ης).

-
- 378 ο(υ) in manuscripto.
 379 Comma in manuscripto.
 380 Colon in manuscripto.
 381 Signum editoris.
 382 Signum editoris.
 383 Comma in manuscripto.
 384 Unif. ῶ.
 385 Comma in manuscripto.
 386 Erratum scriptoris.
 387 Signum editoris.
 388 Unif. η.
 389 Unif. ᾱ.
 390 Unif. ῆ.
 391 Unif. α.
 392 Colon in manuscripto.
 393 Colon in manuscripto.
 394 Signum editoris.
 395 Comma in manuscripto.
 396 Colon in manuscripto.

- (i) John 1:14.
- (ii) John 1:1.
- (iii) Luke 1:2 inexact quotation, the case was changed.
- (iv) 2 Thes 2:15.
- (v) Gal 1:8 with changing.
- (vi) Gouillard edited from κ(αί) to διαπορεύοντ(αί).
- (vii) Gouillard ὡς om.
- (viii) Gouillard added ν.
- (ix) Gouillard ἰ correxi.
- (x) Gouillard εσ correxi.
- (xi) Gouillard π om.
- (xii) John 8:12.
- (xiii) 1 Tim 1:5.
- (xiv) Gouillard Θ(εο)ῦ om.
- (xv) Gouillard read εσ, but “οί semble meilleur” GOUILLARD 173, n. 18.
- (xvi) Gouillard wrote μη(δε)μίαν.
- (xvii) 23 τοῦ μὲν... – 24 μνήμη cf. Arist. *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*. 449b4.
- (xviii) 23 τοῦ μὲν... – 24 μνήμη cf. Arist. *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*. 449b4.
- (xix) Gouillard edited from λέγει to ἀδύνατον.
- (xx) Gouillard wrote χαρακτηρίζεσθαι.
- (xxi) Gouillard αὐτοις om.
- (xxii) Gouillard δε om.
- (xxiii) Gouillard διατριβῆν correxi.
- (xxiv) Gouillard ος om.
- (xxv) Gouillard περιᾶσθαι om.
- (xxvi) 1 Cor 3:19.
- (xxvii) 1 John 1:2.
- (xxviii) Acts 2:33.

SUMMARY

The *editio princeps* of the anonymous treatise “The First Antirrhetic Answering the Main Points in Illegal Speeches by John Heresiarchus, Lekanomantes and Ex-parhedros of Byzantium against the Christ’s Image, or Rather against the True Incarnation of God’s Son” according to the unique manuscript Escorial Y-II-7, f. 200–205.

Anna Kreinina
St. Petersburg
kreynina23@gmail.com

**THE LIFE
OF THEOPHANO THE EMPRESS:
THE SLAVONIC VERSION
OF AN UNKNOWN BYZANTINE ORIGINAL**

We provide here a previously unknown recension of the *Life* of St. Theophano which is to be found in the Slavonic manuscript No 51 from the A. F. Gilferding collection of the State Public Library in St. Petersburg.¹ This Middle Bulgarian manuscript contains a collection of homilies and lives and is dated to the 14th century. The collection, containing 293 folios, includes: the *Life* of Anthony the Great (17 January); the *Life* of the Great Martyr Panteleimon (27 July); the *Life* of St. Theophano (12 December, fols. 60–91); the *Life* of the Great Martyr Artemius of Antioch (20 October); the *Life* of the Martyr Febronia (25 June); and the homilies of Gregory of Nyssa, Athanasius the Great, Basil the Great, and John Chrysostom.

The empress Theophano (865–895/896) was the first wife of Leo VI.² She was imprisoned, along with her husband, for three years because Leo had been falsely accused of intending to assassinate his father, the emperor Basil. Because Theophano's main virtues were charity and asceticism, she was proclaimed a saint shortly after her death; Leo built a church in her honour.³ Although her hasty canonisation encountered opposition from the clergy, the cult of Theophano developed rapidly

(1) We would like to thank Prof. S. A. Ivanov for drawing our attention to this Slavonic manuscript and for his helpful guidance in preparing this survey. Cf.: Kl. IVANOVA, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Balcano-slavica* (Sofia, 2008) 361. Another copy of the possibly same recension is the Moldavian Slavonic codex N 164 of the Library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences in Bucharest.

(2) P. KARLIN-HAYTER, *La mort de Theophano* (10 nov. 896 ou 895), *BZ* 62 (1969) 13–19.

(3) G. MAJESKA, *The Body of St. Theophano the Empress and the Convent of St. Constantine*, *Byzantinoslavica* 38 (1977) 14–21.

and continued in later centuries,⁴ playing a considerable role in the rehabilitation of the ‘Macedonian’ dynasty.⁵

The text published below represents an independent Byzantine source, and it appears here along with an anonymous contemporary life published by E. Kurtz, as well as with the *Life* of Theophano by Nikephoros Gregoras (14th century).⁶ The lost Greek original was probably composed in the Palaeologan period, when there was a great deal of interest in rewriting previous lives of saints, and it was translated into Middle Bulgarian Church Slavonic shortly thereafter.

The beginning of the *Life* is not preserved and the text contains many lacunae due to the poor condition of the manuscript. The text probably begins with a description of one of the wonders performed by Theophano in the Church of the Virgin⁷ (see the Greek recension published by E. Kurtz).⁸ The *Life* then describes the future empress’ youth and the many attempts to marry her into various noble and wealthy families; the attempts were unsuccessful, as Theophano was destined for a “greater marriage.”⁹ The beginning of the story about the bride show for the future emperor Leo VI is absent but the end of the marriage agreement concluded by the candidates, is preserved. The description of the outcome of the competition is much the same in both recensions: the empress Eudokia noted the agility and beauty of Theophano, asked about her parents and homeland, and told the other girls to return home, presenting them with gifts and money.¹⁰ In the Greek *Life* this episode is followed by the picture of Eudokia presenting Theophano to the emperor Basil and proclaiming her the bride of Leo. The emperor, struck by the beauty of the young lady, took

(4) G. МАЈЕСКА, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington DC, 1984) (DOS, 19) 296–298.

(5) G. DAGRON, *Emperor and Priest. The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2003) 192–223.

(6) E. KURTZ (ed.), *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI*, *Записки имп. Акад. наук, серия VIII, т. 3, вып. 2* (1898) 1–45.

(7) *Сборник поучений и житий XIV в.* РНБ, Гильф. 51, fol. 60.

(8) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 4.

(9) *Сборник...*, fol. 60v.

(10) *Сборник...*, fol. 61, 61v; KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 5.

from the fold of his robe the jasper ring and placed it on her finger;¹¹ the Slavonic manuscript contains only the end of the story about the betrothal.¹² The Slavonic recension describes in much less detail the preparations for and the conduct of the wedding ceremonies, which were accompanied by various favors to the emperor's subjects.¹³

Shortly after the wedding Eudokia died. In the Slavonic recension of the *Life*, the death of the empress is followed by Basil's funeral oration¹⁴ in which he grieves deeply about parting from his wife — for this speech we find no match in the Greek recension. Then the hagiographer explains that the monk Theodore Santabarenos won Basil's favor and slandered Leo, accusing him of plotting against Basil,¹⁵ an episode the Greek recension describes in great detail.¹⁶ The Slavonic recension, however, immediately after mentioning Santabarenos' name, proceeds to the story of how the monk showed Basil the image of his deceased son Constantine.¹⁷ There is no mention of this story in the anonymous contemporary life, but we find a parallel passage in the *Life* of Theophano by Nicephoros Gregoras:¹⁸ Basil grieved profoundly after the death of his son and prayed for a dream in which he could talk to him. At this point, an unknown monk named Santabarenos, who claimed to be able to call into being images of the dead, wormed himself into the emperor's confidence; just as a ventriloquist showed Saul the image of Samuel, so Santabarenos showed Basil the image of Constantine, "one underground demon from among his accomplices". Leo began to reproach Santabarenos, calling him an "enemy of the truth and a servant of false demons". In revenge, Santabarenos slandered Leo, becoming a "traitor to the innocent man"; he convinced Basil that the prince was intriguing against him. Basil put Leo in prison, and Theophano and their daughter followed him there.¹⁹ In the Slavonic recension Theoph-

(11) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 6.

(12) *Сборник...*, fol. 62.

(13) *Сборник...*, fol. 62v; KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 6.

(14) *Сборник...*, fol. 62v, 63.

(15) *Ibid.*, fol. 63v.

(16) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 7.

(17) *Сборник...*, fol. 63v–65, fol. 66.

(18) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 35–36.

(19) *Сборник...*, fol. 65v; ed. KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 36.

ano first tearfully begs Basil not to separate her from her husband, and he graciously agrees to allow her to go with him.

Then (at the end of fol. 66 the text is considerably corrupt) the *vita* tells how Leo endured his difficult imprisonment.²⁰ He asked God for mercy, proclaiming his piety.²¹ We do not find this appeal in the Greek sources. In the Greek *Life* it is said simply that Leo ‘in silence sought help from God.’²² Theophano tried in every possible way to support her husband, delivering a long speech intended to comfort him.²³ This speech is quite different in many ways from the version in the Greek recension (see concordant passages on fols. 69, 70, and 70v).²⁴ The Slavonic and Greek *vitae* then turn to the story of how one night a young man in military dress appeared to Theophano and her husband.²⁵ The young man held a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left. The story in the two recensions is almost identical except for one detail: in the Slavonic recension the young man holds a helmet,²⁶ not a shield, in his left hand. He told them that their prayer had been heard and that Santabarenos’ conspiracy had been exposed. He also predicted to Leo that he would inherit the imperial throne.²⁷

(20) *Сборник...*, fol. 66v.

(21) *Ibid.*, fol. 67–67v.

(22) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 8.

(23) *Сборник...*, fol. 67v–70.

(24) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 9.

(25) *Сборник...*, fol. 70v–71; KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 10.

(26) *Сборник...*, fol. 70v. Although the young military man in the narrative was St. Demetrius of Thessalonike, the iconographic depiction in the Slavonic recension is slightly unusual, for St. Demetrius was generally depicted with a shield, not a helmet, in his left hand. See: C. WALTER, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot, 2003) 67–93; A. GRABAR, *Quelques reliquaires de saint Démétrius et la martyrium du Saint Salonique*, *DOP* 5 (1950) 1–28; *idem*, “Un nouveau reliquaire de saint Démétrius,” *DOP* 8 (1954), 305–315; R. CORMACK, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons* (London, 1985) 50–94; P. LEMERLE, *Note sur les plus anciennes représentations de St. Démétrius*, *Δέλτιον τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας* 10 (1981) 1–10; D. WOODS, *Thessalonica’s Patron: Saint Demetrius or Emeterius?*, *HTR* 93 (2000) 221–234.

(27) *Сборник...*, fol. 71; KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 10.

Then both *Lives* state that Theodore Santabarenos, seeing that Basil was ill, asked the emperor to let him go home.²⁸ At the same time the emperor's bodyguard, Stylianos Zaoutzes, grieved profoundly over Leo's fate.²⁹ The emperor asked him why he was grieving, and Stylianos at first answered elliptically; when Basil did not understand his hints, Stylianos finally said that the people were dissatisfied with Basil's rule, reproaching the emperor for believing the slander against his son and for imprisoning him.³⁰ In the Slavonic manuscript, we find an indication that some sort of celebration was approaching, and Basil was afraid to appear before a large crowd of people without his son.³¹ Indeed, the *Life* gives a precise reference to the celebration of the memory of the Prophet Elijah.³² Fearing a popular uprising, Basil freed Leo from prison and embraced and kissed him.³³ The next morning, on Elijah's feast day, the emperor went to the Church of *Asomaton* together with his son, to everyone's delight.³⁴ The Greek *Life* mentions that Basil nearly fled back to the palace, being "a bit scared" of the crowd of people shouting "Glory to thee, O Lord". In contrast, the Slavonic recension says nothing negative about the emperor's actions. Soon Basil fell ill and, anticipating his death, called for "both his children, Leo the Wise and Alexander"; the Greek recension also mentions Basil's third son, Stephen.³⁵ Having called for his sons, he pronounced an edifying speech (absent in the Greek recension).³⁶ After the speech Basil named Leo as emperor, and Alexander as co-emperor. Fols. 77 and 77v contain Leo's funeral oration for his father. This speech is also absent from the Greek recension.

Theophano helped her husband during his reign, and during this time Alexander, "being an adolescent, practised learning", just as Leo

(28) *Сборник...*, fol. 71v; KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 11.

(29) *Сборник...*, fol. 72.

(30) *Сборник...*, fol. 73v–74; KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 12

(31) *Сборник...*, fol. 74v.

(32) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 13.

(33) *Сборник...*, fol. 75

(34) *Сборник...*, fol. 75v–76; KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 14

(35) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 14.

(36) *Сборник...*, fol. 76–76v.

had in his own youth, when he “loved to practise reading the Holy Scriptures as well”.³⁷ Then the *vita* says that Theophano renounced royal honours³⁸ and dedicated herself to prayer; faithfully keeping the commandments of Christ,³⁹ she wore a hair shirt under her expensive clothes and she fasted continually; she gave money to the poor, bread to the hungry, and clothing to the naked; she visited prisoners in jail; she helped orphans and widows, and treated servants like brothers; she felt anger towards no one, did not swear false oaths, and never took the Lord’s name in vain.⁴⁰ At night she slept on a mat, getting up for prayer every hour. Having exhausted her body, Theophano fell ill, but did not stop her gracious deeds.⁴¹ In anticipation of her death, she summoned Leo and addressed him with these last words: “Govern justly the kingdom handed to you, do not stop to conquer enemies who, like fierce wolves, attack the spiritual sheep of Christ’s flock.” She advised him not to be angry in vain, to be merciful to beggars, and to judge with righteous judgment.⁴² This speech is also absent in the Greek *Life*.

When Theophano died, her face retained a wonderful glow until her entombment. Emperor Leo deeply mourned her death and fols. 81–82 contain his speech, filled with sorrowful cries and quotations from Holy Scripture. He praised not only her beauty and spiritual qualities, but also her mind: Theophano, with her wise advice, helped Leo to rule; moreover, he exclaims, “the whole Imperial city knew that the graces and goodness of your soul were ruling here”.⁴³ In the Greek recension this speech is also absent. Then follows a description of how the body was transferred to the Church of the Holy Apostles; at that moment a miraculous event occurred, which is mentioned in both *Lives*: on a dark winter day suddenly the sun began to shine so brightly that the porters who were carrying her coffin became overheated, but when

(37) *Сборник...*, fol. 78.

(38) *Ibid.*, fol. 78.

(39) *Ibid.*, fol. 78v.

(40) *Ibid.*, fol. 79.

(41) *Ibid.*, fol. 80.

(42) *Ibid.*, fol. 80v.

(43) *Ibid.*, fol 81v.

her body was entombed at the church, it got dark again. After forty days miracles began to occur.⁴⁴

Then the narrative suddenly breaks off and a new one begins, telling the story of the miraculous healing of a nobleman who, in the Slavonic recension, is called “the first of the senate”.⁴⁵ In the Greek recension this figure is identified as the father of the hagiographer,⁴⁶ but the Slavic hagiographer does not provide any direct evidence for any links between the author and the heroes of his narrative. During the celebration of the memory of St. Elijah, according to ancient custom, the precious veils for adorning the Church of the Prophet were collected there from the most prominent churches, including the Church of the Holy Apostles, where the body of Theophano was entombed. This mission was entrusted to the candidate Myron, a secretary of the nobleman in the narrative. Having taken the casket with Theophano’s *maphorion* to the Church of the Prophet, he was returning to his master, but on the street he met a woman possessed by an evil spirit. She began to insult the saint but the candidate could not endure it and struck her on the head with the casket. She fell and immediately recovered. Myron, amazed at the miracle, related the story to his master.⁴⁷ The latter, having put Theophano’s *maphorion* on the feet of the ailing nobleman, had him healed in three days.

The nobleman’s wife, Eirene, was known for her good deeds, and her labors for her husband caused her to faint and to have an epileptic seizure. The servants brought her into the house and her husband ordered them to fetch Theophano’s ring from the Church of the Holy Apostles. He placed the ring in a cup of water and then brought the cup to his wife’s lips — after drinking this water, she was completely healed in eight days.⁴⁸ Later on, two years after his wife’s death, the nobleman retired and handed his business over to his son, *protospa-*

(44) *Сборник...*, fol. 82–83; KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 17.

(45) *Сборник...*, fol. 83v.

(46) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 17.

(47) *Сборник...*, fol. 84–84v; KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 17–18.

(48) *Сборник...*, fol. 85; KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 18–19.

tharios Michael.⁴⁹ On one occasion, the father assigned a task to his son who then turned it over to his own negligent servant. When the father asked for the results of the assignment, the task turned out to have been forgotten. The father then began abusing his son, who in his turn angrily slapped the servant and then immediately fell down and lost consciousness. The father, upon learning of the incident, got up from his bed and, in spite of being ill, rushed to his son.⁵⁰ He decided that his son was dead and because the doctors could do nothing, he began to think about the burial. Later, he decided to transfer his son's body to the home prayer chapel. At night when everybody else was sleeping, the father kept himself awake and prayed. Through the intervention of a divine force, the son suddenly regained consciousness in the morning. He threw off the veil, came to the congregation at the church, and asked the assembled people if they had seen the Mother of God enter the church with Theophano.⁵¹ They answered "no". Then the son said that he had been healed by the Mother of God who had heard Empress Theophano's prayer. When his father questioned him about this, the son explained that in a dream he had met a beautiful woman dressed in a scarlet robe with a white *maphorion* and a gold crown.⁵² She was accompanied on her right by St. Theophano and on her left by his mother, praying for him.⁵³ The Mother of God asked Theophano to heal the son but she hesitated, asking "Who am I to do this?" The Mother of God, however, assured her that the healing would come through Theophano herself. At the request of the Mother of God, Theophano touched the forehead of the young man with her right hand and healed him. Those present ran to the chapel and saw that the lamps that hung behind closed doors were shaking as if there was an earthquake — and they offered their gratitude to the Mother of God and to St. Theophano.⁵⁴

After this miracle, the sources relate a story about a person who did not believe in the miracles worked by Theophano, thinking that they

(49) *Сборник...*, fol. 85v; KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 19.

(50) *Сборник...*, fol. 86; KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 19–20.

(51) *Сборник...*, fol. 87.

(52) *Ibid.*, fol. 87v; KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 20.

(53) *Сборник...*, fol. 88.

(54) *Ibid.*, fol. 88v.

were caused by God for the sake of humanity and His mercy. Once in a dream this man saw Martin *artoklinos*, the uncle of the saint, who asked him why he did not fulfill his request to glorify the saint in hymns and canons. The man objected that Theophano was not an ascetic, a martyr, or a wonder-worker;⁵⁵ the text breaks off at this point, but in general it corresponds to the Greek recension: on fol. 89v the man is willing to write down everything Martin tells him. The *artoklinos* commands him to begin with the following words: “Christ set you in place for the church as a luminous lantern of the Epiphany”. Immediately waking up and taking a pen and paper, he wrote out two canons. In the Slavonic recension the tone of the canons is not mentioned.⁵⁶ Later the man lapsed into unbelief again and was struck by kidney stones; in the Slavonic text the kidneys are called *рыбѣщца* (“little fishes”).⁵⁷ Although a description of his illness is lost, the man suffered for twenty-seven days,⁵⁸ and no treatment could help. In a continuation of this narrative, the man saw Martin *artoklinos* again (in the Greek recension, this figure is identified as Michael, the hagiographer’s brother).⁵⁹ The author of the Slavonic recension, apparently confusing Martin with the Michael of the Greek recension, writes that this man “was pulled from the jaws of death”.⁶⁰ Martin advised the man to take some water, send somebody to the Church of the Holy Apostles, sprinkle the relics of the blessed Theophano (in the Greek recension he is instructed to anoint the coffin of St. Methodius), and to bring oil from the icon-lamp. The man drank the holy water, and some time later the kidney stone passed and the pain on the right side subsided; later the same thing happened on the left side, too.⁶¹

The *Life* ends with praise of the saint, but much shorter than in the Greek recension.⁶²

The Slavonic and Greek recensions are very similar. The main characteristic features of the Slavonic text are the vast and numerous

(55) *Сборник...*, fol. 89.

(56) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 22.

(57) *Сборник...*, fol. 89v, 90v.

(58) *Ibid.*, fol. 90.

(59) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 22.

(60) *Сборник...*, fol. 90.

(61) *Ibid.*, fol. 90v.

(62) *Ibid.*, fol. 91; KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 23–24.

speeches by the characters and the lack of interest in the details and realia described in the Greek recension. In the Slavonic recension there is no mention of some topographical realia: the street of *Bonou*⁶³ or the baths at *ta Armatiou*.⁶⁴ Stylianos is called the emperor's bodyguard, but nowhere in the Slavonic recension is there a reference to his name, Zautzes, his title of *protospatharios*, his position of *hetairiarchos*, or his proclamation as *basileopator*.⁶⁵ The Slavonic recension is much more rhetorical and didactic, and its characters preach more than they act. It is saturated with a large number of quotations from Scripture and even from Hippocrates,⁶⁶ especially in its characters' speeches.

The author of the manuscript probably had at his disposal both *ὑπομνήματα*⁶⁷ — the source used by Nikephoros Gregoras — and a protograph on which the anonymous *Life* of St. Theophano is based. Relying on the text of the protograph, the author of the *Life* under consideration lavishly decorated his story with expressive comparisons and quotations. Thus, in one passage Theophano is called *εἰσομαρμα* (“divinely wise”)⁶⁸ and the title of *augusta*⁶⁹ is replaced by the more wordy definition of *αἰρετικῶν ἐκκυβερτα* (“holding the scepters of the Empire”).⁷⁰ Instead of the determinative pronoun in the Greek text, *διὰ ζευξιν αὐτῆς*,⁷¹ we find in the Slavonic recension a noun, *разрѣженіе супружннцѣ* (“separation of the spouse”),⁷² and sometimes a pronoun corresponds to a pronoun, a noun, and an adjective, for example in the Greek text *ἐκ δεξιῶν δὲ ταύτης*⁷³ which is translated as *сеи вѣсплѣнн жєнѣ одєєнѣа* (“on the right of this shining woman”)⁷⁴ in the Slavonic recension.

(63) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 17.

(64) *Ibid.*, 18.

(65) *Ibid.*, 11.

(66) *Сборник...*, fol. 80.

(67) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 26.

(68) *Сборник...*, fol. 78.

(69) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 14.

(70) *Сборник...*, fol. 78.

(71) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 6.

(72) *Сборник...*, fol. 62v.

(73) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano...*, 20.

(74) *Сборник...*, fol. 88.

Although the author in general omits details, he does remark that the abundant feasts on the occasion of the wedding of Leo and Theophano were served at court.⁷⁵ The Slavonic text also contains an indication of the specific psalms Theophano recited.⁷⁶

Below we publish the full text of the Slavonic recension of the *Life* complying with the following rules: interpunction marks are left at the same places as in the manuscript; diacritical marks are omitted; and the text is reproduced line-by-line with the original. Passages which are literally identical in the Greek and Slavonic recensions are underlined, and non-literal coincidences are given in bold. We have omitted passages in the Greek text that do not appear in the Slavonic recension.

E. KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI* (St. Petersburg, 1898)

РНБ, собр. Гильфердинга, № 51

p. 4, 22–25

(...) 7. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ καιρὸς τῆς μεθελικιώσεως ἤξει καὶ ἡ σωματικὴ αὐτῆς προέκοπτεν ἡλικία καὶ τοῖς θαυμαστοῖς διεπλάττετο ἠθεοσι (...) καὶ γὰρ εἶχετο ἡ παῖς τῶν πατριῶν καὶ συνηύξανε σοφία καὶ νοθεσία κυρίου, ἐπεμελεῖτο ψυχῆς, ἐπαιδαγωγεῖ τὸ σῶμα (...)

f. 60

Н ВЗРѢ ІАЖЕ ПА НОВО БНДѢ. Н ІАЖЕ ѿ ОПРО |
 КОВНЦѢ СЛЫША, ПОЖ ЕКАЗА ѿЦѢУ. ОН |
 ЖЕ, ОУДНВЛѢАШЕ СѦ ОУБѢ Н ПЪ, ІАКО ВЪ ЛѢ |
 ПОПѢ ПІАКОВА НОВА НА ДЪЦЕРН СЛЫШѢ |
 СЪЛОУЧНВША СѦ. Р.....АШЕ ЖЕ СѦ Н СЛА |
 ВЛѢАШЕ БѢ, Н БЕЗБОЛѢЗНЬНО ПОГО РОЖ(Ѧ)Б |
 ШЖѦ Ч(Ѣ)ПѢѦ. Е.....[ОПР]ОКОВНЦА |
 НЗВЫЧЕ ВЗРѢ КОНА.....ЕІМЕ |
 ННАА СЛО.....ОМЪ. |
 Н ПѢЛЕІНЫН ПОЖВЪЗРА |
 РПЪ, БѢ БНДѢПН БЪ ВЗРѢХЪ |
 ДОБРѢДѢПѢЛЕН. НЕВ ІАКОЖЕ НЕВѢСТА |
 ЧРЪПОГЪ ОУКРАШАВАЖЦН, БАЖЕНА..... |
 ЛЕЖАШЕ СВОЕН ДШН Н ПОРАБОЦѢ..... |
 ПѢЛѢ. Н ВЪЗЫГРНІА Е..... |
МЪ.....

(75) *Сборник...*, fol. 62.

(76) *Ibid.*, fol. 79v.

p. 4, 30–33

(...) εἶλκε δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ καιρὸς
καὶ εἰς γάμου κοινωνίαν
συναρμοσθῆναι πεντε-
καιδεκαετῆς γὰρ γενομέ-
νη, ὑπὸ πολλῶν τῶν
ἔκπαλαι περιβλέπτων τῶ
γένει περὶ αὐτῆς τῷ πατρὶ
προσλαλοῦντων

οὐδεμία σύζευξις ἐτελεῖτο
διὰ τὸ αὐτὴν ὡς οἶμαι εἰς
κοινωνὸν βασιλείας ὑπὸ
θεοῦ ὀρισθῆναι. (...)

p. 5, 29 – 6, 2

9. (...) καὶ ἦ πάντων πρώ-
τη μετὰ τάχους ἐκ τοῦ
οἰκείου τόπου ἀναστῆ (...)
καὶ πρώτη τῷ βασιλεῖ
προσκυνήσῃ, αὕτη ὑπάρ-
χει κοινωνός βασιλέως.»
τοῦ δὲ προβλήματος δι’
αὐτῆς προλεχθέντος, πᾶ-
σαι ὁμοῦ ὡς ἀπαλαὶ καὶ
ἄπειροι κόραι ἐκάστη τού-
των θηρώμεναι τὴν δό-
ξαν, τὸν λόγον εἰς ἔργον
πληροῦν ἐπεχείρουν. τῇ δὲ
ἐπαυ-ῖον ἡμέρα μεσημβρί-
ας ἐν ὥρα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἅμα
τῇ πιστοτάτῃ ἀγούστῃ
πρὸς θέαν [p. 6] αὐτῶν
ἐπανήλθον. (...) αἶ δὲ τὸ
οἰκεῖον σύνθημα ἐκάστη
πληρῶσαι παρευθὸ βου-
λομένη (...)

f. 60 v.

εἰλῆσε. πρὶν ζυβασιше же н на брака
прнвѣщеніе тѣ брѣма па(т)надецаго
ѣв лѣто па проходаше. тѣм же
н мнѡсн ѿ нже древе славын(х) родомъ,
н бога(т)спкомъо ж вѣзориныхъ
вѣще подвнжѣе слово ѡ ѡу ѡ нн,
вѣчалше ...л...(т) нн(х) слава опроковнчн.
нкр.....н логча доврпты
пач.....наше. не
мне.....ше н мнѡгое то ж ра|
зоу ма.же нн вѣ чьромъ ѡ ѡ ѡ |
проковнчъ оугаждаше(н), боу такоже
.....а не попуцажшо(у)ж семоу быти, н ж
.....ацоу тѣ на болшее съпраженіе.
.....н са оупражцоу, такоже
.....да слов.....

f. 61.

взѣпавши, н прѣва ѿ нны(х) вѣ рѣптеіе
попекши ѡрево, н томоу прѣж(а)е нны(х)
по(а)вѣще поклоненіе ѿ дапн потъца|
вши са, таковаа бжде(т) съцр(с)твѣжши
самодръжца вѣзж(а)елѣнномоу снѡу.
пакѡвое оуѣв свѣщаніе вѣса млдыж
опроковнца оупрѣднвше же н оупа|
внѣше мждрѣ коупно н разъмно, гопо|
вашъ себе. сице съвѣща тѣмь прѣ(а)|
реченнаа отроковнца, н ѡрево прочее
ждаахъ прншептеіе. не на мнѡсѣ
же попрѣдѣ, н ѡрѣ сз бгоубезнож ѡрн|
цеж направио прінде. которааж(а)о же
ѡ дѣвь прѣ(а)реченныи съвѣтъ тѣ|
щи са исплннннн, прѣ(а)в.....

πολυτελή δειπνα καὶ
δῶρα τοῖς ὑπηκόοις πα-
ρεῖχοντο, πτωχοτροφίαι
τε καὶ εὐποιῖαι ἀνὰ πᾶ-
 σαν τὴν πόλιν δαψιλῶς
 ἐμπαρεῖχοντο, καταδίκων
 ἐλευθεριακαὶ αἰχμαλώτων
 ἐπαναρρῦσεις κατὰ τόπον
 ἐγένοντο (...)

ма вѣхъ знѣдмн. ѿ ѡзы ѿ
 цн

p. 7,2–7

(...) οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον
 ἢ θεοφιλῆς καὶ θεία
αὐγούστα, ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ
 νέου καὶ σύμβιος τοῦ
 πιστοῦ Βασιλείου, τέλει
 τοῦ βίου χρησαμένη πρὸς
κύριον ἐξεδήμησεν.
καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀναξ Βασιλείος
τὴν διάλευξιν αὐτῆς
ᾠδύρευτο,

f. 62 v.

гъ нзбранъ н вѣщѣнъ бѣн. не мнѡгѡ
 же поспѣдѣ. н црѣдѣ вѣщѣн дльгъ поелѡу
 жн; н къ вѣщѣемѡу вл(д)цѣ опндѣ. н земно
 е н вѣременное цр(с)тѣво вѣспавльшн, къ
 неплѣннѡмѡ опндѣ. црѣ же распрѡжѣ
 нїѣ съпрѡжннцѣ не прѣпла горцѣ вѣ
 плакаашѣ еѡ н ѡмнлено вѣзываашѣ.
 н пакова еѡ слѣзла н вѣцаашѣ. ѡубы спрл
 спн. кпѡ мн ѿ ннѣ ѡпѣшѣнїѣ бждѣтѣ.
 кпѡ мн попеченїѡмѡ спрнчѡспнп еѡ мн
 ркымъ. кого вѣвѣтннка прїнмѣ прл
 чѣѣ н наспавннка къ поспрѣбннмъ.
 кпѡ рѣкѣ помѡщн н ѡпѣшѣнїѣ проспрѣ
партн вѣ печалн бѣдѡспѡужмѡу.
на прѣбываешн добра н.....

ὁ δὲ υἱὸς καὶ βασιλεὺς
 πάνσοφος Λέων τὴν
 στέρησιν τῆς μητρὸς

f. 63

дѡмѣ. ѡ еспѣспѣла по(д)бїѣ. копорѡ пѡ
 завнспѣ ѿ неѣ спце вѣ добрѣ члспѣ
 грѣчѣкѡго ѡспроенїѡ. копорын дѡ
 мѡ мѡж ел(д)кѣѡ прогна пчелѣ. не ѡ рл
 дѡспннын вѣѡрѣ бѣѣ вѣ грѡѣз нспѣцн
 еѡ. зандѣ по(д) земла наше слнцѣ, н бѣхѡ(м)
 вѣнезлапѣ бѣзѣслнчнн. вѣвѣпла еѡкрѣ
 п еѡ ѿ цр(с)кын(х) вѣвѣдѡ. еѡмрѣпннын бѡ
 пѣѣѣ вѣлакѣ покрѣпѣ, н ноцѣ не вѣвѣпла
 намѣ сппавн еѡ. плачѡп еѡ пѣѣѣ чѡдѡ.
 нѡвѡ рѣдѡспѣ црѣдѡ. вѣздычлспѣ вѣ
 еѡ поелѡшнѡѣ. н ѡмнленѣ гл(с) неспзнѣл

ἐδυσφόρει, ἢ νέα δὲ
ἀγούστα καὶ νύμφη
τῆς δευτέρας μητρὸς καὶ
φαιδρᾶς κηδεστρίας τὸν
χωρισμὸν προσεπένθει.
(...)

ЖП ЕА ВЗРѢ ЦР(Ѣ)КАА. ВЕСЬ ГРА(А) ЛЮПѢ РЫ...
ЕПЪ НЕ ПРЗПАЩИ ПЪОЕ ЛНШЕНІЕ.....
ЕІА Н ЕНХЪ МНЪЖАНШАА ПЛ.....

p. 7,7–20

(...) καὶ αὖθις ὁ βασιλεὺς
(...) καὶ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια
ταύτην ἰδρύσας, ὡς πα-
τῆρ γνήσιος τὴν αὐτοῦ
φιλοστοργίαν ἐδείκνυε. 12.
(...) ἀλλὰ σπεύδων αὐτὸν
εἰς ταραχὰς καὶ ματαίας
φροντίδας εἰσαγαγεῖν,
εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὴν καρδίαν
τοῦ ἀββᾶ Θεοδώρου, τοῦ
διὰ τὸν τόπον Σανταβα-
ρηνοῦ προσκληθέντος,
μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ τὸν τρό-
πον Σατᾶν Βαριησοῦς
ὀνομασθέντος, (...) δό-
λους καὶ συκοφαντίας
συροάπτειν κατὰ τοῦ νέου
διδάσκει (...)

f. 63 v.

ПОЗАВНДѢ ЦРѢВѢ. СѢЛѦВ БО ЛЮБЛѢШЕ Н
ІАКО ѠЦѢ ЧАДОЛЮБИВЪ НАЛЕЖАШЕ КЪ НЕН.
Н ХОПѦ ПЖ ВЪ ПЪЩАА ПОПЕЧЕНІА ВЪКРЕПН,
ВЗННДЕ ВЪ ДШЖ НѢКОПОРАГО ННОЧЬСКИ
МЪ ПО ВНДНМОЛУ ѠБЛОЖЕНА НМЕНЕМЪ,
ѠЕОДѦРЪЗ ПТОМУѠ НМѦ. ПОРЕКЛОМ ЖЕ,
САНДѦВАННѠС. НЕПНННѢ ЖЕ РЕЦН,
САПАНА ТѦЖКЫН.⁷⁷ ЗАЧА(П) ЕѠ ПОГО САПАІ
НА ПОРОДН. Н ПЪЗ ПЪЗНО ЗЛОБЫ ВЪРѢКОЖ
ПОРОДН РОЖ(А)ЕНІЕ. Н ПОКОРН ПОГО СЪШНПН
ЛЪСЪ НА БЛАЖЕНЫА СЪПРѢЖНИКА И ЦРѢ,
ЛЪВА ГЛА ПРѢМЖДРАГО, Н ПРОСПО РЕЦН, ІАБЛЕ
.... ПОГО ѠЦѠѠ НАВѢПННИКА БЫПН СѢѢ(А)

p. 35, 10

15. Τίς δ' ἦν οὗτος ὁ
Σανταβαρηνός (...)

.....КПО ЖЕ БѢПЪЗ САНДѦВАН

p. 35,14 – 35,23

(...) ὄθεν ἱερούς ἄνδρας
ἐκάλει πρὸς συμμαχίαν
τοῦ πάθους καὶ σαφεῖς
θεοῦ λατρευτὰς ἐντυχεῖν
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δι' εὐχῶν τῶ
θεῶ, εἰ μὴ ἄλλως γέ πως,
διὰ γοῦν ἢ ὀνειρώων καὶ

f. 64

[ΜΟ]ΛНПН ЕА Ѡ НЕМЪ КЪ ЕѠ. НЛН ННАКО НѢКАІ
КО ВЪ СЪНѢ НЛН ВЪ НОЩНЫ(Х) ВЪСЪХЪЩЕННХЪ
ОПРОКА БЕРѢДЖ ПОЛУЧНПН. БЫВАЖІ
П ЕѠ Н СЪНѠВЕ МНЪЖНЦЕЖ ДШН. ПОСЛѢІ

ένυπνίων τινῶν τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς ὀμίλιας τυχεῖν· γίνονται γὰρ καὶ ὄνειροι πολλάκις ψυχοπομποί τινες προμηθεῖς, πλάττοντες ἐν τῷ φανταστικῷ τῶν καθευδόντων εἰδῶλα καὶ τύπους δὴ τινὰς τῶν τεθνεώτων, καὶ ἀναζωπυροῦσιν ὅπως ποτὲ τοῦ κάμνοντος τὴν ψυχὴν (...) τότε τοίνυν ἐν ἀφανείᾳ διαγῶν καὶ μοναδικὸν τριβώνιον περικείμενος ὁ Σανταβαρηνὸς πρόσσεισι τῷ αυτοκράτορι Βασιλείῳ, ἦθος πλασάμενος εὐλαβὲς τι καὶ ἔνθεον, καὶ δεῖξειεν ὑπισχνεῖται τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ Κωνσταντῖνον (...)

pp. 35,28 – 36,2

(...) φαίνονται γὰρ καὶ ἀποκρίνονται περὶ ὧν ἄν τις ἐρωτᾶν βούλοιο μορφαί τινες τεθνεώτων γνωρίμων· εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ φαινόμενα οὐ ψυχαὶ ἀλλὰ χθόνιοί τινες καὶ ὑποχθόνιοι δαίμονες. τῇ δὴ τοιαύτῃ κακοτεχνίᾳ κἀνταῦθα χρησάμενος ὁ ἀλιτήριος, ὅπερ πάλαι τῷ Σαοῦλ ἢ ἐγγαστροίμυθος πέπραχεν ἀναγαγοῦσα τὸ τοῦ Σαμουὴλ ὁμοίωμα, τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη τεχνάζεται καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Κωνσταντῖνου | διασκευασθῆναι μορφὴν παρασκευάζει τινὰ

ДОВАПЕЛНИ НѢЦІН ПРѠМЫСЛАНПЕЛЕ. ПРВОІ РАЩЕ ВЪ МЪЦПАПЕЛНОМЪ СПАЩІНМЪ БНІ ДЫ Н ВЕРАЗЫ НѢКОПОРЫЖ ОУМЕРШІНХЪ, Н ПРОХЛАЖДАЖТЬ НѢКАКО СПРАЖДАЖИГО ДШЖ, ІАКО ЖЕ БЕРѢДОВАПН Н РАДОВАПН ІА Н ЛІКАПН МЪЦПАНМН. ПОГДА ЗѢУ НЕ ІАВЛЕНЪ ПРѢБЫВАШЕ. Н ННУЧЫСКЫН ПРОХОЖДАШЕ ПЖ(П) ІАНДАВАРННУ. Н ПРНІ СПЖПН КЪ ІАМОДРЪЖЦЪ БІАІІІЪ, УБ..... ЧАН ПРНПКОРНКЪ БІАГООВѢННЪ Н..... Н БЖ(Е)ПЪКЕНЪ. Н ПОКАЗАПН У.....
.....НСПАНП.....

f. 64 v.

ІАВЛѢЖП БУ ІА Н ШВѢЩІАВЖ(П), У НХЖЕ АЩЕ КТО ВЪПРОСИПН ХОЩЕ(П) ВЕРАЗЫ НѢІ КЫМН ОУМЕРШН(Х) ВѢДОМЫ(Х). СЖП ЖЕ ІАІ ВЛѢМАА НЕ ДША, НЖ ДОЛНѢНШІН НѢІ ЦІН Н ПРѢНЕСПОДНІН БѢУКЕ. ПАКО БОЕ ЖЕ ЗЛОХЫПРЪСЕТКО ПРІЕМЪ Н УННЪ УКАА ІННЫН, ЕЖЕ ОУБУ ДРЕВЛЕ ІАДОУ ІАЖЕ ВЪГІАІ СПРНМНЮУ СЪПКОРН ВЪЗВЕ(А)ШН ПОМОУ ІАМОУНЛОУ ПО(А)БІЕ, ЕЕ Н ПЪ ОУЖЕ КЪЗНЫІ СПКОВА. Н ВЪМѢСПО ЕЖЕ КΩΝΣΤΑΝΔΙΝΗΩΒЪ ПРНВЕСПН ВЕРАЗЪ, ПРНВЕДЕ НѢІ КОЕГО Ш ІАКОН(Х) СЪБЕВѢДННКЪ ПРѢНЕСОІЪГО БѢІА. ЕЕГО ВНДѢВЪ Н СЪ ННМЪДОВАКЪ ІАМОДРЪЖЕЦЪ. Н ПРѢЛЪСПЪЪ, МНѢШЕ ІА ІАМОГО БОЕ.....
.....ІАВѢ. НЕ.....

τῶν αὐτοῦ γε ὀμιλητῶν
ὑποχθονίων δαιμόνων.
τοῦτον ἰδὼν καὶ ὀμιλήσας
ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ τῆς
ἀπάτης οὐκ αἰσθόμενος,
ἔδοξεν αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν
φανερῶς τὸν υἱόν (...)

p. 36,7–13

16. (...) καὶ περιφανῶς
πανταχοῦ διαλοιδορεῖσθαι
καὶ ἀλάστορα τῆς ἀληθείας
ἀποκαλεῖν καὶ θιασώτην
δαιμόνων ἀπατηλῶν.
ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος πρὸς ταῦτα
ὑβριοπαθῶν ἐμεμῆνει
(τὸ κάθαρμα!) καὶ ὄαπτει
διαβολὰς καὶ δόλους
κατὰ Λέοντος πιθανὰς
καὶ Ἐριννύων μεστάς· καὶ
γίνεται προδότης ἀνδρὸς
ἀνευθύνου καὶ ὑπελθῶν
πεῖθει τὸν αὐτοκράτορα
λέγων ὡς· «Ἐπιβουλεύει
σοὶ Λέων ὁ σὸς υἱὸς
ἀχθόμενος τῇ πολυετίᾳ
καὶ Ξίφῃ καὶ Λόχους
συσκευάζει κατὰ τῆς σῆς
κεφαλῆς» (...)

p. 7,33 – 8,5

12 (...) εἰώθασι γὰρ ἤθη
χρηστὰ ὀμιλίαι κακαὶ
[p. 8] διαφθείρειν, καθά-
περ καὶ ὄανις ἐνδελεχοῦ-
σα κοιλαίνει πέτραν.
διὸ καὶ ἀκρίτως, μᾶλλον

f. 65

н мвленнѣ повзрѣдохъ ѡкарѣти. н ври
га неспинѣ нарнцати н логжнтелѣ бѣи
свѣ прѣльстпннн(х̄). он же ω εν(х̄) ουκοι
ρηзна(х̄) злоепрѣж(д̄)ж, вэ ср(д̄)ци бѣсвѣанїа
непльнѣаше (εδ̄). н мышлѣаше навѣпты н
льстп на льба кззньны н оубїнепва
непльнѣ. н бы(ε) прѣдатель мѣжа непо
вннн. н ше(д̄), повннѣ емод... гл̄.
яко, навѣптуеи пд пве.....
пвоемоу цр(ε)пвоу. н мѣч.....
епѣ на пвож гл̄в.....
рдн оумышлѣ.....
лн паче рѣцн, ч.....
паны наоучае.....
мн словесы к.....

f. 65 v.

яко же забывъ. **вѣыкошж бω нѣкако**
вѣѣды злы расплѣбати вѣычж блн
гы⁷⁸ по лп(ε)лог. н каплѣ мѣккал провнвл
пн камень.⁷⁹ сѣда кромѣ н вѣжж(д̄)енїа
копормго. нзврѣ же напворнпѣ гнл вко
его прѣвжж(д̄)елѣннаго н началѣпва н|
зрнновена. повелѣѣ вэ нѣкоемъ до

(78) 1 Cor. 15:33.

(79) Choeril. Fr. 10 Kinkel.

δὲ ἀνεξετάστως εἶπεῖν, τὸν υἱὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν βασιλέα Λέοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποροίπτει καὶ ἀποκήρυκτον αὐτὸν τῆς βασιλείας ποιήσας, ὡς ἐν εἰρκτῇ τινι, ἐνὶ κοιτῶνι ἀπρεπῶς κατακλείει, μηδὲνα ἄλλον μετ' αὐτοῦ συγχωρήσασθαι διάγειν κελεύσας, πλὴν τῆς γαμετῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ τέκνου.

.....ЖЕ ВЪ ПЕМНИЦИ ПЕРЪДО СРЪКІ
.....НААЖЕ СЪПРЪЖНИЦА Ѡ
.....ДЪЦЕРЬ НМАЦИН Ѡ ЛЬ
.....ЦИН РАЗЖЧЕНІА, НЕ
.....ЕЖЕ МЖЖОУ ВЪА
.....А СКОБОДНА ЗРЪК
.....СЪПРЪЖНИКА
.....ВЪ БЛАГО ДНЬ

p. 36,23–27

17. (...) τραπέζης πολυτελοῦς ἢ ἀπαράκλητος ἀσιτία. τίς γὰρ ἂν διελεῖν δυνηθείη μίαν ψυχὴν ἐν δυοῖ πνέουσιν σώμασιν ἢ τίς διαστήσειεν οὓς ἦνωσε κύριος;» τοῦ μέντοι βασιλέως συγκεχωρηκός τὴν εἴσοδον μετὰ πολλοὺς τοὺς αὐτῆς κοπετούς, εἰσῆει καὶ αὕτη μετὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς πρὸς τὸν ὁμόζυγον Λέοντα (...)

f. 66

...ПЕЗЫ МНВОГОВПНЫЖ, НЕУПЧШНОЕ
МДЕНІЕ. КПО БѠ ОУКѠ РАЗДѢЛНПН
ВЪЗМОЖЕ(П) ЕДННЖ ДШЖ ВЪ ДВОН(Х) ДЫШЖ
ЦЖ ПЧЛЕЕ(Х). НЛН КПО РАЗСТАВНПНЖ НЖЕ
СЧЕПТА ГЪ. Н ЦРЮ ОУКѠ ПОПОВПНЕСШ
ПОН ВЪХОДЪ ПО МНВОГЫ(Х) ПОЖ РЫДАНІН(Х),
ВЪННДЕ Н ПА СЪ ДЪЦЕРІЖ КЪ СЪПРЪЖНИ
КѠУ ЛЬКѠУ. СМЪ ПАКО ПО П.....НІЮ
БЖІЮ СЪДѢАНОУ. БРАГЪ ОУК.....
ЛН СНЪ ЛЪЖЕНМЕНПНН.....
ЕГО ЖЕ ПРЪ(Д)ВАРНЪ.....
ННКОПОРЫНЖЕ СЛѢ.....
ННѠЧЪСКАГО ЗРП.....
НРАКѠ(М) ТАВЪ СЪ.....
Н НГРАШЕ ТАКО.....
.....ПА.....

p. 8,12–19

13 (...) ἥσχαλλε δὲ καὶ ἐδυσφόρει τὴν χρειάν τῶν ἀναγκαίων στερούμενος· βλέπων γὰρ τὴν γαμετὴν καὶ τὴν παῖδα δι' αὐτὸν μετ' αὐτοῦ τῇ εἰρκτῇ συ-

f. 66 v.

СРЪВЧШЕ ПАКЫ Н ПЧАЛОВАШЕ НЖЖ(Д)НЫІ
НХЪ ЛНШАВАЕМЪ, СЪ СЪПРЪЖНИЦЕЖ Н ЧАІ
ДОМЪ. Н СІА ОУКѠ СЕДМЪ СЕДМНЦЕЖ ХЛАДЕІ
НЕКЫЖ ПЕЩН ПЛАМЕНЬ ПЧАЛНЫН ВЪСТАІ
ЛѢАХЖ⁸⁰ ПЧМЪ. ТАКО ПАЧЕ ВЪСРЪКѠГО ПРАВЕІ
ДНАГО СЛѠВА ВЪВРЪЖЕНН ВЪ ПЕМНИЦЪ.

(80) Cf. Dan. 3:15 ff.

γκλεισθέντας, τὴν ψυχὴν
πλέον διεπρίετο καὶ τὸ
ὄμμα πρὸς Θεὸν συχνῶς
ἀτενίζων σὺν δάκρυσι
τὸ πρόσωπον τοῖς γόνασι
κατακρύπτων, ἀλαλήτω
φωνῇ σιγῶν τὸν Θεὸν εἰς
βοήθειαν ἐξεζήτει (...)

зрѣ оубо мѣдрѣншїи лѣвѣ еице нмѣщї
.....мь н люте ꙗко спрѣж(ѧ)ѡца н оцн
.....щѣ, лице ездзѣмн ммѣ
.....а кз боꙋ вѣ зкфрꙋшени
.....н зрн на нашѣ озлої
.....ѣко вѣ мрѣчноѣ еїѣ
.....ѡж(ѧ)ени быхѡ(м̄).
.....намь поплꙋстн
.....тн ѣд нже...

f. 67

егда свѣтлымн ѡдеж(ѧ)амн н цр(ѣ)кымн оꙋї
кращаах ѣд. н ѡ вѣрѣ(х̄) зрѣщїи хъ⁸¹ ма оꙋї
блажаемь бѣ хъ ꙗко доброчѣпнень. ег(ѧ)а
чѣсптымн блнѣмн оꙋпокаваах ѣд, н разлн
чнымн бршны мол исплзнѣашѣ ѣд трѣпел
зѣ. егда мнѡжкѣтѣа послꙋшнын(х̄) ракої
лѣпнѣ мн прѣ(ѧ)стѡахѣ. вѣкѣжѣ мн еице
поплꙋстн неправеднѣншаа спрѣ.....
тѣ еси нже н іѡснѣа вѣ рѡвѣѣ.....
чѡца оꙋслышавын, н ѡ ѣ.....
нзбавлен н на прѣбѣы.....
чѣспть, аще н мало.....
сптн ѣд, да ѣбоѣг.....
ка. прнзрн оꙋѣ.....
покажн рабнѣд.....
вѣ.....ѡ...прѣ.....

f. 67 v.

многѡж снлож. лѣжѣ конь вѣ спсѣнїѣ.⁸²
рѡвѣ нзрѣы на ма н некопа лѣжнын мнн(х̄)
н ѡспѣпннкѣ ѡѣодѡрѣз н вѣплднѣ(т̄) ѣд
вѣ ѣмѣж ѣже зѣтѣорн.⁸³ н вѣздѣж(ѧ)ь емѣ
до(ѣ)нно вѣздѣмнїѣ⁸⁴ ꙗко прѣзѡрнѡѣѣ. тѣы
ѣѡ еси нже тѣаковынмь ꙗкоже тѣз
грѣдынмь прѡтнѣлѣѣжн ѣд. ѣщїи

(81) ms зрѣщїи мь.

(82) Ps. 32 (33):16–17.

(83) Ps. 7:16.

(84) Ps. 27 (28):4.

p. 8, 19–21

13. (...) ἡ δὲ τούτου γαμετή,
ἡ ἅγια Θεοφανώ, ἡ ὄντως
νέα Σάρρα, ἡ τῶ Ἀβραὰμ
ἐν πάσαις ταῖς θλίψεσι
συναλγοῦσα (...)

.....ЖЕ МЫ СМѢРЕННЫМЪ, МЪЗДАЖ
.....СІА ОУБѢ ПРѢМЛѢДРЫН ЛЬБЪ
.....ЛШЕ КЪ БОУ. ПОГО ЖЕ
.....ФАНѢ ПРП(А)ОБНАА.
.....РА. ІАЖЕ АВРААМЪ
.....ЗНОУЖІІА, СКОЕ
.....НИКА, БЛГОДШЬ
.....ЖДАШЕ ЕГО НІ

f. 68

СПРНѢ ГВЛЫШН СѢ ДРЪЖАПЕЛЕ ЦР(С)КЫН(Х)
СКУППРЪ БЖДЕМЪ, НЕ ПРОСТО ПІАКО РѢЧН
КЛЕВЕПНИКЪ ПРѢМЛЕМЪ, НИЖЕ ОУПОМЛѢІ
ВЛЕМЪ НЕМЛ(С)ПНЕНѢ ПОСЛОУШНОЕ, РЕКІ
ШЕ НЖЕ ПО(А) ВЛАСПІА НАШЕЖ СЖЦН(Х). НЖ Н
ОУБОГЫ(Х) ПРАЦЛЕМЪ. Н АЖЕ ВЪ НИЩЕПѢ ЖЕ
Н ПРѢБОВАНИ, НЖЖ(А)НЫМН ПРННОПОМНІ
НАЕМЪ. Н ПИЦА ВЕНАНЫ ПѢММЪ
Н НАГЫЖ ѠДѢЕМЪ. Н ДАН.....
ѠДРѢ(Х) СЛОНОВѢ(Х) ВЪСКЛ.....
ПРЪВЫМН МУРЫ ПОМ⁸⁵.....
АЛЧАПЪ, ПІА ЖЕ Н СЖ.....
КАА Н СМѢШЕНІ.....
ВЪСХОЦНМЪ ПР.....
ЗАБЖДЕТЬ ГЪ Н.....
.....П.....

f. 68 v.

ВЪСЕ ПѢЛО ГНОННЫМН РНАМН. ХЛѢБЪ
НА ВЪСѢКЪ В(І)ЕРЪ Ѡ ЖЕНЫ НСПРАШЛЕМЪ
ПРѢМЛѢШЕ. Ѡ СН(Х) ОУБѢ ВЪСѢ(Х) ДОБЛЕІ
СПЪБНЫН ѠНЪ Н НЕПОКОЛѢБЛЕМЫН СПЛЫ
ПЪ, НЕ НЕ ДОБЛЕПТЬ В НѢЧТО НЛН ПОМЫІ
СЛНПН НЛН РЕЦН ПРѢДПЪ НН ГЛЪ МЛЛѢІ
НШН ХОУЛНЫ ВЪЗПОСА КЪ БОУ. Н СІА Ѡ
.....ЖДАЕМЪ СЪРѢДНИКЪ ЖЕ Н
.....ОЕЖ ЖЕНЫ ПОНЖЖДАЕМЪ.
.....ГЛЪ КЪ БОУ, Н СКОЧАН СѢ
..... Ѡ ІѠВѢВѢ(Х) МЛЛѢНША

(85) Am. 6:4–6.

.....ΥΓΗΠΕΛΕ Ε̅ Ε̅Ο(Λ̅)ΡΑ
ΡΑΔΗ ΕΓΟ Η ΣΛΑΒΥ
 ΧΩΜ ΕΛ, Η̅ Ν̅ Ε̅Ο
ΝΑ ΓΗΟΝΨΗ ΓΑ

f. 69

p. 9,3 – 9,6

14. (...) τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα
 καὶ θεοτόκον εἰς πρεσβεί-
 αν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν προβαλώ-
 μεθα, τοὺς ἀγίους ἀπαντας
 συνικέτας ἡμῶν γενέσθαι
 παρακαλέσωμεν· ἐμβλέ-
 ψωμεν εἰς ἀρχαίας γενεὰς
 καὶ ἴδωμεν, τίς ἐπίστευσε
 τῷ θεῷ καὶ κατησχύνθη
 ἢ τίς ἐνέμεινε τῷ φόβῳ
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπερείδεν αὐτὸν
 (...)

МНА ОУБѢ И НА(Е) БЪ ІАКО ЖЕ ОНОГО НАПРЪІ
 ВЪА ПАКЫ ВЪЗВЕДЕ(П) ЧЬСѢ. ПРѢЧ(Е)ТЪА
 МПѢРЕТОГО НЕ ДИИЖЖ ПЕЧАЛНЫ(Х) ОУТѢШЕІ
 НІЕ МОЛЕВНѢ ПРИЗОВѢМЪ. И СПЫНХЪ ВЪІ
 РѢХЪ МНѢЖЬСѢВА НАМЪ ПОМОЩНИКѢ(М)
 БЫПН ПѢ(Х) МПѢВОЖ И СЪКРОУШЕНІЕМЪ
 СР(А)ЦА ОУСПРОУВШН. ВЪЗЪРѢМЪ ІАКОЖЕ
 РѢХѢ(М) НА ПРЪВЫЖ РЪДЫ, И ВЪДНМЪ КПО
 Ѡ ВЪСЕЖ ДШЖ ВѢРОВА БЪН И ПОСѢДѢ ЕΛ.
 НАИ КПО ПРѢБЫ(Е) ВЪ СПРАСѢ ΕΓΟ НЖЕ Ε(Е)
 ЗЧМЛО ПРѢМЖАРѢСѢН⁸⁶ ІАКОЖЕ СОЛОМѢ
 НОУ МННП ΕΛ, И ПРѢЗРѢ ΕΓΟ. ЛЮПА
 ЗНМА НАХОДЦІИХЪ НАМЪ ЛЮПЫН(Х), НЖ
 СΛ(А)КА НЖЕ НЕ ПОМНѢГОУ ПРІАПН НА(Е) ХОПΛ
 ЦМА ПРОЛѢПЪ НАСΛЖ(А)ЕНІА. НЕ ДО КОІ
 НЦА БѢ ЗΛΕЖДЕПЪ НА(Е).....

f. 69 v.

p. 9,13 – 9,25

(...) οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι βασιλεὺς
 ἀπὸ μητρος ἐχρίσθης
 οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι διαδήμα-
 τι βασιλικῶ ἐκοσμήθης
 ἔγνωσ, ὅτι πορφυρίδι καὶ
 τρυφῇ καὶ κολακείᾳ ἐκ
 βρέφους συνανεστράφης
 καὶ οὐδὲν δυσχερὲς ἔστι ἐν
 τῷ βίῳ. Θλίψιν οὐκ ἔγνωσ,
 πενίαν οὐκ οἶδας, θυμὸν
 δικαστῶν οὐχ ὑπέστης,
 δεσπότην ἀγανάκτησιν

ЗНАЕМЪ ІАКОВА СПРАЖДЖ(П) НЖЕ ВЪ АЗАХЪ
 И ПЕМННЦА(Х). ВѢСН БО О СΛ(А)ЧАНШІН МЖІ
 ЖОУ. ІАКО ЦРЪ Ѡ АПРОБЫ ПОМАЗАНЪ ЕСН
 СΛМЫЖ. И ЦР(Е)КОЖ ОУКРАСН ΕΛ ДІАДОМОЖ.
 И ПИЦЖ И СΛАВЫ Ѡ МЛАДЕНСѢВА ДОВОІ
 АНѢ НАЕΛΑΔН ΕΛ, И НИКОГДА ЖЕ НЕКОУСЪ
 ПРѢПРЪПѢ НѢЧЬЕГО ПЕЧАЛНА. НИЩЕІ
 ПЫ НЕ ВЪДѢМЪ ЕСН. СЖДІНЕСКАГО НЕ ПОЗНАІ
 ΛЪ ЕСН ГНѢВА. АЗНАИЩЪ НЕ ПРІАМЪ ЕСН
 УНБСѢВО. И РАДН ΕΓΟ ПОПОУСѢН ПЕБЕ
 НСКОУСѢНПН ΕΛ БЪ. ДА АЩЕ ОУБѢ КОГДА
 НА ЦР(Е)ПѢВА БЫСѢПЖ ВЪСЪХЪЩЕНЪ БЖДЕІ
 ШН, БΛΑΓΟПРНΛΕЖЕНЪ ВЪСЕМѢ БЖДЕШН

οὐ κατείδες, πένητος
 διαγωγήν οὐ γινώσκεις,
 ἐνδείας φύσιν οὐκ οἶδας,
δεσποτηρίων πύλας οὐκ
 ἤσθου, μαστίγων μολώ-
 πων οὐκ ἐπειράθης, καὶ
 δυσχερῆς ἢ μικρὰ αὐτῆ
 καταφαίνεται σοι θλίψις.
 ἀλλὰ μὴ ὀλιγῶρει παιδεί-
 ας κυρίου μηδὲ ἐκλύου ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος· ὄν
γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος, παιδεύ-
 ει· μαστιγοῖ δὲ πάντα υἱόν,
 ὄν παραδέχεται.

πολιουσινομου. НЖ НЕ ПРѢМАГАНМЪ
...НАКАЗАНН ГНН. ННЖЕ Ѡ НЕГО НАКАЗЪЕ
ЛЮБНТЬ ГЪ⁸⁷ ...

p. 9,26 – 10,4

(...) τάχα δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκείας
βασιλείας κληρονόμους
ἡμᾶς καταλείψαι βουλό-
μενος προοιμνάζει τὴν
 θλίψιν· συγχωρεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ
θεὸς τοῦτο παθεῖν, (...) ἵνα
 ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡμῶν ἐτέρας
εὐδοξίας, τὴν θλίψιν τῆς
ἀδοξίας εἰς μνήμην κα-
τέχοντες, τοῖς ὑπηκόοις
εὐμενῶς ἐν συμπαθείᾳ
χρησώμεθα καὶ γινῶμεν
διὰ τῆς πείρας, ὅτι ὀργὴ
βασιλέως ὡς ὀρμὴ λέοντος,
 καὶ πρᾶως καὶ ἡσυχῶς
καὶ δικαίως τὰ σκῆπτρα
τῆς [p. 10] ἀρχῆς διθύνω-
μεν.» ταῦτα καὶ πλεῖστα
 τούτων ἢ ἀγία Θεοφανῶ
σοφῶς ἀεὶ τῷ τιμίῳ ἀνδρὶ
 καὶ βασιλεῖ παραινοῦσα

f. 70

ДННКЫ ЕВОЕГО ЦР(Е)ПѢІА УСПАВНПН НА(Е) ΧΟΙ
 ПѢ, ПОПРѢЕНТѢ ПРѢ(А)ОБЕЮЧНПНПНА РА
 ДН ПОКАЗАНІА ЕЕГО НЕПЦЕВА. ПОПΟΥ
 ЦАЕП ЖЕ МНА Н БЪ ПРАКОВА СПРАДАПН
 НАМЪ. ІАКО ДАВЪ ВРѢМА БЛАГОСЛАВІА НА
 ШЕГО ІАКОЖЕ РѢ(Χ) ВЪ ПАМѢ(П) СМЪ ПРИХОДА
 ЦЕ, МЛ(Е)ПНЕНН О СГРѢШАЖЦН(Χ) БЖДЕМЪ,
 Н ПОЗНАЕМЪ Ѡ НЕКОУА ЕМОГО, ІАКО СІПРЪІ
 МЛЕНІЕ ЦР(Е)КОЕ ІАКО ЖЕ СПРЪМЛЕНІЕ ЛЪВУ
 ВО.⁸⁸ Н ПІАКО ЕЪ КРОПОРЕПІЖ Н ПРАВДОЖ, ЕКУ
 ППРА ГРЪЧЬКАГО НАЧАЛІЕВА ОУПРАВНМЪ.
 ЕІА Н МНУЖАНШАА СН(Χ) ПРѢМЖДРАА ВЪ НСПН
 НЖ ФЕОФАНУ ВЪСПОМННАШЕ ЕВОЕМОУ МЖ
 ЖУ, НА МНУСѢ ПГОГО ПЕЧАЛЪ ОУПАЛѢАШЕ.
 Н ОУГРЪДАНА ПАЧЕ ПЕВРѢШЕ ПГОГО...МІПЪВ
 ДНІЖ Н НОЦІЖ ЕЪ ЕІАЗД.....

(87) Heb. 12:5–6.

(88) Prov. 19:12.

ὡς νέα Εἰσδανδοῦλ τὴν
θλίψιν τοῦ ἰδίου ἀνδρὸς
ἐθεράπευεν. καὶ προθυ-
μοτέρως αὐτὸν εἰς εὐχὰς
διεγείρουσα, νυκτὸς καὶ
ἡμέρας τῷ θεῷ ἐν δάκρυ-
σιν εὐχαριστεῖν (...)

p. 10,10–30

15. ἐν μᾶ δὲ νυκτὶ καθευ-
δόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
ἰεράς αὐτῶν ἐσπερινῆς δο-
ξολογίας, ἐπέστη αὐτοῖς
κατ' ὄναρ νεανίας τις,
στρατιωτικὴν στολὴν ἡμ-
φισμένος, ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ
χειρὶ δόρου κατέχων, τῇ
δὲ εὐωνύμῳ ἀσπίδα. καὶ
τοῦτον οἱ γεννάδες ἰδόντες,
φόβῳ καὶ δέει
περισχεθέντες ἔδοξαν, ὅτι
ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπέμφθη
πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν τούτων·
τρόμῳ δὲ πολλῷ πρὸς τὴν
γῆν πεπτωκότες αὐτὸν
προσκυνεῖν ἐπεχείρουν
καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ προσ-
δραμόντες ἔδοξαν αὐτὸν
ἰκετεύειν μὴ ἄωρον αὐτοῖς
τὸν θάνατον ἐπενεγκεῖν.
ὁ δὲ ὄραθεῖς (...) ἔφη «μὴ
θροεῖσθε, φίλοι· εἰρηνικός
εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων
(...) ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀνέστητε καὶ
ἀνορθώθητε· ἡ γὰρ βοή-
θεια ὑμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι
κυρίου σωτήρος ἡμῶν
ἐγένετο· τῆς γὰρ εὐχῆς

f. 70 v.

НЕ МНМО ПЕЩИ. ВЪ ЕДННЖ ѿ НОЩЕН
СПАЩИМЬ П'ЕМЬ ОУЖЕ ПР'ЕПАВШЕМЪ ѿ
ВЕЧЕРН'ЕАГО С'ЩЕННАГО СЛАКОЛОВ'ІА НХЪ,
ПР'Е(Δ)СТА ВЪ СЗН'Е ЮНОША Н'БКЫН ВЪ ВЪНІ
НБКЖА ВА'БАНЬ ВАЕЖАЖ. ВЪ ДЕННОН
ΟΥБВ РЖЦ'Е ДРЪЖЖ КОП'ІЕ, ВЪ Л'ЕВ'ЕН ЖЕ
ШЛ'ЕМЬ. ЕГО ЖЕ С'ЩЕННЫН ВОНЪ СЗПРЖІ
ГЪ ВНА'ВЪ НЕДОУМ'ЕН'ЕМЬ Н СПРΑΧΩ(Μ)
СЗДРЪЖНМЬ, МН'ЕША ПОГО ІАКО ѿ ЦР'Е
НА ОУБ'ІЕН'ІЕ Н(Χ) ПОСЛНА. ПР'ЕПЕТОМ ЖЕ
МНВОМЬ НА ЗЕМΛΑ ΠΛ(Δ)ШЕ: Н НОС'Е ЮНΩ
ШН ВНОМОУ ВЪБЕМШЕ, ΜΟΛ'ΕΧЖ ЕГО
ПРІЛЕЖНО НЕ БЕЗГОДН'Е П'ЕХЪ ОУБ'ІЕ!
Н'ІЕ НАВЕС'ПН Н ГОРЦ'Е. ІАВЛЕН ЖЕ СΑ
...Ε.....С'ЩЕНН'ЕН ДВОИЦН ІАКОЖЕ
.....ВАНЬ, А НЕ ѿ СЗГОΟ...!

f. 71

...ВЫ ЖЕ ВЪСПАНЕТЕ Н НСПРΑВН'ТЕ СΑ.⁸⁹ ПО
МОЩЬ ВАША ВЪ НМА Г'НЕ СЗП'ВОРШАГО

(89) Cf. Ps. 19(20):9.

ὕμῶν ἐπακούσας ὁ κύριος
τῶ πατρὶ καὶ δεσπότῃ τὰ
περὶ ὑμῶν ἀπεκάλυψε καὶ
τὴν ματαίαν ἀκοήν, ἣν ἐκ
τοῦ ἀλαζόνος ἐδέξατο, εἰς
οὐδὲν ἐλογίσατο. καὶ ἰδοὺ
πάλιν δοξάσει ὑμᾶς τῇ
δόξῃ, ἣ ἐγεννήθητε, καὶ
κληρονόμους τῆς αὐτοῦ βα-
σιλείας ὑμᾶς καταλείψας
πρὸς κύριον ἐκδημήσει.
χαίρετε ἐν κυρίῳ, πάντοτε
χαίρετε, τὸ ὑπήκοον ὑμῶν
εὐμενῶς καὶ δικαίως καὶ
σοφῶς διθύνοντες.» καὶ
ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀφανῆς ἐκ
τούτων ἐγένετο. διυπνι-
σθέντες δὲ (...)

p. 11,6–25

16. ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου
παρωχηκός, ὁ ἄθεος Θε-
όδωρος, ὁ αὐτῶν διάβολος
καταστάς, ὁ νέος Ἀμᾶν
καὶ Ἰαννῆς καὶ Ἰαμβοῆς
διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἀναφανείς,
προσηλθε τῶ μεγάλῳ καὶ
χρηστῶ βασιλεῖ Βασιλείῳ,
αἰτῶν καὶ λέγων, ἀπο-
σταλῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ ἴδια
ἀψόμενον τῶν οἰκείων
πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς πατρί-
δος. βλέπων γὰρ τὴν νό-
σον τοῦ ἀνακτος Βασιλείου

НѢО Н ЗЕМЛѦ.⁹⁰ МЛПѢКЫ БѢ ВЛШЖ ОУСЛЫ
ШЛ ІАКОЖЕ РѢХЪ ГѢ, ВЛШЕМОУ УЦЮУ ІАЖЕ
У ВЛСЪ ѠКРЫ. Н ОУЕПНЛА Н ЛЪЖНЛА
ІАЖЕ Ѡ ПРЖКЛАПЛО ѠЕОΔΩРА РЕЧЕ
ННАА, ПОГО РЛЗΟΥМѢПН СЗПКОРН. Н
СЕ ПАКЫ ПРΟΣЛАВНПЪ ВЛ(Ѣ) СЛВКОЖ ВЪ НЕН
ЖЕ РОДНСТЕ СЛ. Н НАСЛѢДННКЫ СКОЕГО
ЦР(Ѣ)ПВІА УСПАВНПЪ Н ОПНДЕПЪ КЪ ГОУ.
РМ(Л)УНПТЕ СЛ ПРΟЧЕЕ О ГН ВЪЕЕГД⁹¹ ПО ЛП(Ѣ)ЛЪ
РМ(Л)УНПТЕ СЛ, НАЧЛЛСРПА СЪ КРОПОСПІЖ
Н ПРВКОЖ ПРВКЦПЕ КРЖМНЛА. Н СІА
РЕКЪ, НЕ ВНДНМЪ БЫ(Ѣ) Ѡ НЕЮ.
ВЪЗБЪНЖВШЕ ЖЕ Н ПРН.....
.....ѢХЪ СЛ.....

f. 71 v.

НЕ МНУГО ПОУРѢДѢ Н ЛЪЖННН МННХЪ
ѠЕО(Л)РЪ ЕГО ЖЕ МНУГАЖДН СЛОВО ВЪІ
СПОМѢНЖ. НОВЫН АММАНЪ.⁹² Н АНІН Н
АМВРІН⁹³ ДѢЛЫ СЛВЪ СЛ, ПРНПЖПН
КЪ ЦРЮ МОЛА ЕГО ѠПΟΥСПНПН Н ѠНІ
ПН ВЪ СКОЕ ѠУПСПКО. СЛ(Л)КЖА ВЪСѢ(М)
ВЕСЫН НМА НЕЖЕ СОН(Х) ЦѢЛОКАПН, КОУІ
ПНО ЖЕ Н СОНМЪ ВЕСЕМЪ СЗПКОРНПН

(90) Ps. 123(124):9.

(91) 1 Thessal. 5:16.

(92) Esth. 3:1 ff.

(93) 2 Tim. 3:8.

δέ φησι· «ποῖα» αὐτὸς δὲ
 πάλιν· «ἄπερ κατὰ σοῦ
 φάσκοντες σκώπτουσί
 σου τὸ κράτος.» ὁ δὲ
 συσχεθεὶς ἀγωνία καὶ
 ὄψει ἐρυθρίασας, λαβὼν
 αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρὸς πρὸς τὸ
 ἐσώτερον ταμιεῖον κατ'
 ἰδίαν εἰσέδου(...)

ГЛЕМА; И ЦРЬ РЕЧЕ. КАА. ОН ЖЕ ПА
 КЫ ВЪЗЪ ѠВѢЩА. ІАЖЕ НА ПѦ ГЛАПЪ И
 ОУКАРѢЖПЪ ПВОЖ ДРЪЖАВЪ. ЦРЬ ЖЕ О
 СІХЪ ОУБОЛВ ІА И СТРАХ(М) ОУБЛА(П) БЫБЪ,
 РЖКОЖ СТИЛІАΝΟΥ ДРЪЖАВЪ, ВЪ ВЪНДІ
 ПРЪНДѢ ПОЛАПЪ ВЪННДЕ ІЗ.....
 ГО.....ЖНОВЪПРН.....

pp. 12,20 – 13,1

(...) ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν νόσω
 περιπεσὼν καὶ τῷ γῆρα
 χάριτι θείᾳ προβαίνων, τὸν
 ἐκ τῶν σῶν τιμίων λαγύ-
 ρων φυέντα βλαστόν, μα-
 ταίας φωνῆς ἐπακούσας,
 πρὸ τοῦ ἐκσπασθῆναι
 ξηρὸν ἀπειργάσω, καὶ
 ἀποκῆρυκτον αὐτὸν τῆς
 βασιλείας ποιήσας ἐν
 εἰρκτῇ ἐπὶ ἀφώνῳ κατέ-
 χεις· καὶ πᾶσα ἡ σύγκλη-
 τος ἅμα τῇ πόλει καταβοᾷ
 σου τοῦ κράτους, ὅτι ἀθέω
 ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῆς σῆς σωτηρί-
 ας ἐχθρῷ προσπεισθεὶς τὸ
 φῶς τοῦ κόσμου τὸ ἐκ θεοῦ
 τοῖς πᾶσι δοθὲν ὑπὸ τὸν
 μῦθον ἀποκρύβεις.» ταῦτα
 οὖν ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς
 (...)

f. 73 v.

ІАКО ПЫ ОУБВ ВЪ РАЗНЧНЫЖ НЕДѢГЫ ВЪІ
 ПАДЕ, И СТРАСТІЖ СТАРОСТНОЖ ПРѢКЛОІ
 НИ СѦ. ІАЦЕ СЛОУЧИП ІА ПЕЕФЪ НЕНАДЕЖ(А)НѢ
 НѢКАКО ОУМРѢПН, СІРЫ СІ(Х) ВЪСѢЧЬСКИ
 ОСПАВШИ. ІАЖЕ КО Ѡ ПВОН(Х) ЧРѢІІІ
 ІАКОЖЕ Ѡ ЗЕМЛА ПΟΥЧНЫЖ ВЪЗРАСТЫШЕЕ
 КРАСНОЕ ДРѢВО И БЛГОРѢННОІСПѢВНОЕ
 БЖ(І)ПѢВНЫЖ ДРЪЖАВЫ ПВОЕЖ ЛЪЖНЫИ(Х)
 РАДН ГЛЪ Ѡ ПЕБЕ ПОРѢЧЕНО БЫВШЕ, НЕПРАІ
 ВЕДНО ОУКАДОУЕПЪ ННѢ. СЕГО РАДН И ВЪІ
 СІ ВЛАСТЕЛЕ КУПНО ЖЕ И ВЕЕВ ГРАДЪ ВЪІ
 ПІАПЪ НА ПВОА ДРЪЖАВЪ. ІАКО МЪЖΟΥ
 ЛЖКАΟΥ И ПВОЕГО ЦР(І)ПѢІА ВРАГОУ ПОКОІ
 РН ІА, ЕМОУ ЖЕ ДОБРО БѢ НІКАКОЖЕ ЖНІ
 ПІА ВРАПЫ ПРНПН КОГДА, ІАКО ШБЛАКО(М)
 ПЕМНЦЕЖ ПОКРЫЛВ СІН И ЖЕ СІНЦА СѢІІ
ІАГО. ІІА СЛЫШАВЪ ЦРЬ,

(...) ὁ δὲ φησι πρὸς αὐτὸν·
 «ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἐκεῖνος
 κατὰ σοῦ ἐμελέτησε
 δοᾶσαι καὶ δεδιῶς τὴν ἐκ
 τοῦ υἱοῦ σου γνησομένην
 ἐκδίκησιν, πρῶτον τοῦτον
 ἐκπάσαι διενόηθη· τὴν

f. 74

ШАГО СІМНА. ДУБЛЕІПѢВНѢНШІН
 ЖЕ ДШЕВНЫИМЪ ПРѢ(А)СПОІНІЕМЪ КЪ НЕМ(Ъ)
 ѠВѢЩА. ІАКО СІА ВЪСѢ ВОНЪ СЪПЛЕПЕ
 НА ПВОЖ ДРЪЖАВЪ. И БОЖ ІА ДА НЕ ПРЪІ
 ВЪЗЖ(А)ЕЛѢННЫМ СІНЪ ПВОН И ЦРЬ НАШЪ ПІА

γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἔνεδραν καὶ κρουπτήν ἐργασίαν ὁ υἱός σου προδηλωθεῖς, ἐκείνον ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀναστείλαι μανίας σπεύδων καὶ ἐν κρυφῇ αὐτὸν διελέγξας, ---κατ' [p. 13] αὐτοῦ τὴν κατηγορίαν συνήξε.

p. 13,6–33

19. (...) καὶ βασιλέα Λέοντα σὺν αὐτῷ προελθεῖν ἐβουλεύετο. διανοεῖτο γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγων ὅτι «ἐὰν πάλιν χωρὶς τῆς ἐκείνου παρουσίας προέλθω, ὁ λαὸς κατ' ἑμαυτοῦ οὐ μικρὸν ἀνακύψει.» τῇ δὲ ἐσπέρα, ἐν ἣ εἰώθει τὸν ναὸν τοῦ προφήτου διὰ χρυσοπάστων πέπλων κατακοσμεῖν, προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν προορηθέντα Στυλιανόν, δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν συμπάθειαν καὶ συγχώρησιν τῶν οὐχ ἡμαρτημένων τῷ υἱῷ ἀποστέλλει· ἅμα δὲ καὶ βασιλικὰς δίδωσι στολὰς αὐτῷ προσκομίσαι <καὶ> τὴν εἰς αὔριον αὐτῷ ἐπαγγείλασθαι θεωρίαν. οὗ δὴ λόγου τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐξακουσθέντος καὶ φήμης οὐ μικρὰς γεναμένης, ἣ πᾶσα πόλις τῷ θεῷ ὀλονύκτως ἠὺχαρίσται.

КОБОЕ ЛЖКАБОЕ СЗПЛЕПЕНІЕ ОУВ'ЕД'ЕВЬ,
ДОСПОННЫ ВЗЗДАТЬ ЕМОУ СЖДЗ. ПАКО
БОЕ ОУВУ ЛЖКАБОЕ Д'ЕЛО СМЫСЛНВЪ ІАКО
ДА ТВОЕГО СНА Ў ТВОЕЮ РЖКЪ ЎТ'РГ'Н'Е(Т),
Н НЕНАБНІПНА СЗД'ЕП'Е НЖЕ Ў СР'ЕДЫ СРЗІ
ДЕЧНЫЖ ЛЮБНМАГО. ПРОСВ'ЕД'ЕВЪ ОУВУ
ПАКОВОЕ ПВОИ ПРЗВЪЗЖДЕЛ'ЕННЫН ІНЪ.
Н НАШЬ ЎР'Е НЖЕ НА П'А ПОЗ'ІЕННОЕ Ў НЕГО
ЛЖКАВ'ІП'Е, ОНОГО П'АКОВАГО Ў П'И ХОІ
П'А НАЧННАН'ІА СЗПРОП'Н'ЕНО НА НЬ ОУЕОІ
Д'ОРЪ УБЛН'ЕНІЕ ПОЛОЖИ УБ.....
СПРЪ ЗАВН'ІП'ІЖ Н УБЛ.....

f. 74 v.

Н ЎР'Е ЛЬВА СЪПРАЗНОВАТИ ЕМОУ ПОЗ'ЧАА
ШЕ С'А. УБЫЧАН БУ Е(Т) ПО ДРЕВЛЕ ОУДРЗІ
ЖАННОМОУ УБЫЧАЮ ВЪ ВЕЛНКЫН(Х) СП'ХЪ
МОЛЕБН'Е ПВОРНМЫН(Х) ПАМАП'Е(Х), СЪ ЛНП'ІЕІ
А ЖЕ Н ПР'ОНЕХ'УЖЕДЕНМН Ў ХОДНП'И ВЪ
П'ЕХ'Ь ВЕЛНКОМ'ЕННП'ЫЖ ХРАМЫ, Н УІ
УБЫЧНОЕ СЛ'АВОСЛОВ'ІЕ П'АМО СЪВРЪЗШАП'И.
РАЗМЫШЛ'ЕШЕ ВЪ СЕБ'Е Г'ЛА, ІАКО ЩЕ
БЕЗЪ С'НОВН'ЕГО ПРНШЕП'ІА СЪ УБЫЧНЫІ
МЬ ПР'ОНЕХОЖ(А)ЕН'ІЕМЬ ПОСР'ЕД'Е ПР'ОНДЖ
ГРАДА, ЕДА КАКО МНУГЪ НАР'УДЪ СЪ МЛЫ
ВАМН Н КЛНЧЕМЬ ПОДВНГ С'А, Н МЕНЕ ІАКО
НЕ МНЛУСР'ЗДА ОУВЕНЕП'Ъ. ВЕ'ІЕРУУ ЖЕ
ПОСПНГШОУ ВЪ НЖЕ УБЫЧАН Б'Е ЕМОУ ХРА
МЬ ПР(О)СР'ІЕКЫН ОУКРАШАП'И, ПРНЗВ'АНА
СЗПКОРНЬ ПР'Е(А)РЕЧЕНААГО С'ПНАІАНА, П'Е
.....ЕВОЕМОУ СЪГР'ЕШЕНАА ВЪ

f. 75

Г'ЛА КРОПКА П'ОМОУ ПОДАМЬ, Н УБЕЕМЬ П'ОІ
ГО В'УЖ Ц'ЕЛОУЖ Н, Н ІАКО ЛЮБОВНАГО ІНА
РЖКАМА УБЫМЖ. СЕМОУ ЖЕ ОУВУ БЫІ
УШОУ. Н СЛОУХ'Ъ ПО ВЪС'ЕМОУ ПР'ОЛ'АВШОУ С'А
ГРАДОУ. Б'Е В'ИД'ЕТИ РА(А)УЖЩНХ С'А ВЪС'Е(Х)
Н ВЛ'ГОДАР'УМН(Х) Б'А. НА ОУТР'ІА ОУВУ
ПРНЗВАВ'Е ЕГО Ў Ц'Е, ЦР'Е)П'К'ІА Д'ІАДНМОІ

«Δόξα σοι, κύριε» φωνὴν
 ἔξεφώνησεν· ἔξ ἧς φωνῆς
 ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πατὴρ
 μικρὸν δειλιάσας εἰς τὰ βα-
 σίλεια πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν
 ἐπεχειρεῖ, εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ
 πάλιν ἐπανελθὼν καὶ
 τὴν εὐγνώμονα πίστιν
 τοῦ λαοῦ θαυμάσας πρὸς
 ἔπαινον τῶν ὑπηκόων
 ἐτράπη. ἐπιστραφεὶς δὲ
 ἅμα πάλιν μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ
 καὶ βασιλέως, τὴν χεῖρα
 μετὰ χεῖρας λαβών, εἰς
 τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων τοῦ
 ναοῦ χαίρων εἰσέδω· καὶ
 τῆς ἱεραῆς λειτουργίας
 ἐκτελεσθείσης, πρὸς τὰ
 βασίλεια ἀνελθόντες εἰς
 δεξίωσιν τοὺς μεγαίστανas
 προσεκαλοῦντο· (...)

Η ΟΒΩΗ ΠΑΚΥ ΕΞ ΠΡ(Ε)ΚΛΑ. Η ΠΑΚΟ ΒΕΤΕΡΑ
 ΣΗΓΛΗΤΟΥ ΒΞΕΜΟΥ ΜΗΩΓΟΥΤΕΗΗΚΑ
 ΠΡΕ(Δ)ΛΟЖЬШЕ, ΠΡ(Ε)ΠΤΗΗ ΠΠΑΓΟΠΕΝΤΕ ΠΡΑΠΕΙ
ΡΑΖΛΗЧНЫМН. ΗΨ Η ΠΟΙΛΖΙ

p. 14,3 – 14,10

20. ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου
 παρωχηκός, ὁ μέγας καὶ
 πιστότατος βασιλεὺς Βασί-
 λειος νόσω καὶ γήρα καμ-
 φθεῖς, τῇ φυσικῇ κατηπεί-
 γετο διαλύσει. γνοὺς δὲ διὰ
 τῆς πείρας τὴν ἐγγίζουσαν
 αὐτῷ πρὸς κύριον τῆς
 ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκδημίαν,
 προσκαλεῖται τοὺς αὐτοῦ
 τιμίους τρεῖς παῖδας, Λέο-
 ντα καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς
 σκηπτουῆχους καὶ Στέφα-
 νον τὸν μετ' ὀλίγον τῆ

f. 76

ДѢДА РЕЧЕННОЕ Ω ΗΗ(Χ) ΗΣΠΛΖΗΤΑШЕ СΑ,
 ΖΡѢШЕ ΕΩ СΑ ΩΠЦЪ Ω ЧАДѢ ВЕВЕΛΑ СΑ.
 НЕ ΜΗΩΓΟ ЖЕ ΠΟΙΡΕΔѢ, Η ΣΑΜΟΔРЪЖЕЦЪ ΠΠΑΙ
 ΡΩΠΠΨ ΠΡΕΚΛОН СΑ Η ΝΕΔЖГОМЬ ΩΤΑΙ
 ГОТЕНЪ ВЪВЪ, ΠΟΖΝΑВЪ СВОЕ СΚΟΝЧАНІЕ
 ΟΥЖЕ ΠΡΗΒΛΗЖАЖЩЕ СΑ. ТѢМ ЖЕ Η ΠΡΗΠ
 ЗВА ΟΒΩΗ ЧАДѢ СΚΟΝ. ЛЬВА ГЛА ΜΨΑΡΑΓΟ
 Η ΔΙΕΞΑΝΔΡΑ, ΜΗΤΕ ГЛА Ω ЧАДА ΟΥЖЕ ЖНІ
 ΠΪЮ ΚΟΝЕЦЪ ΕΛΗΖЪ. ΒΖΗΗΜΑΠТЕ ЖЕ СЕБѢ
 Η ΒΖІРѢМЪ ΗЖЕ ΠΟ(Δ) ΒΛМН ЛЮДЕМЪ ΕΔΩЩЕ
 Ω ΗΗ(Χ). Η ΗЖЕ ΗΑ ΗΑ ΝΕΠΠΟΒΑЦИМ СΑ ΠΛЗИ
 ΚΩМЪ ΠΡΟΠΠВΗΠТЕ СΑ ВΡΑЖІНМЪ. НЕ ДАΙ
 ДНПТЕ СЗНА СΚΟΝМА ΟЧНМА ΗΗЖЕ ВѢЖ(Δ)МА
 ΠΟΚΟΝ.⁹⁸ ΗΨ ΙΑΚΟЖЕ ΨΗ ΧѢН ΛΗΠТЕ Π(Δ)ΕНТѢ

ἀρχιερατικῇ διαπρέψαντα
δόξη,

днкіѣ възкы ѿганѣѡце ѿ цѣнныѣ
ωγрады цѣрке глѣ. и на рѣаш.....
ждаа двгматы, іако.....

f. 76 v.

падепѣ мѣдростн. пращанте сз
грѣшлѡцимь. да не възносит сѣ на
высѡпѣ рѡгъ влшь, ннже да глѣте на
бѣ неправдѣ.⁹⁹ не ѿеманте чпо некрзл
немоу. рѣкѣ помощн и оупѣшенїа
поданте, нже въз печалн възпа(д)шнмь и
бѣдствѡуѡцимь. сѡцимь въз недѣл
гв(х̄) вращеве бѣдѣте безмьзднн.
апрѡбѣ ѡдрѡпѣ оубогынмь ѿврзл
занте. и прѡсто рѣци, възсѣ(х̄) благын(х̄)
дрзжнте сѣ и не нмапѣ поспнгрнѡпн
васъ зла. сїа рѣкѣ, льва самодрл
жца грѣкѡмь нарече. и цр(с)пѣла дїаднл
мѣ помѡу възложн и багрѣннѡѣ. прѣ
внпн же сз ннмь началствѡ повелѣ и дл
ле[зандр]ѡу. сїа завѣщавѣ влнлїе
.....взрѣ.....ѣвз

καὶ αὐτοὺς δι' ὀσίων καὶ
εὐσεβῶν ὑποστηρίξας
λογίων <Λέοντα> αὐτο-
κράτορα καὶ κυβερνήτην
τῆς βασιλείας χειρίσας,
συγκληρονόμον δὲ καὶ
συμπράκτορα τὸν αὐτοῦ
συνομαίμονα Ἀλέξανδρον
καθιστάνει·

f. 77

слнце малѣмь нѣкопѡрынмь каменемь
іакоже камарѡѣ покрьпѡ бы(с). нже ѿ
цр(с)кын(х̄) іакоже ѿ нѣкопѡрын(х̄) прѣнспѡ
днїн(х̄) възхода и вѣтплѣ сїаа, прѡсѣл
цмаше поглѡшное. сзпрѡпнвннл
х же сѣннѡ іакоже мазнїнннмн
лѡчамн ѡблнстаѡѣ ѡслѣплены
пворѣше, ѿ пвоеа дрзжлѡы неходал
пїн(х̄) ѡгнебднн(х̄) лѡчѣн, и пѣ(х̄) іако лю
бѡдѣннѡца на вѣт(п̄) нзыпн сздѣлѡѡл
ше. оубы како грѣчѣпїн квннн нал
прасно ѡпращнша (с), нже сз прѡпнвннл
нмь неспрѣпнмьѣ наведѡшѣ іазѡы.
іако выше лѣпѡѡпїа спрѣла и паче

(99) Ps. 74 (75):6.

лѣпанїи дѣшныи(х̄) скорла и врагы неі
 авленнѣ оумзвены творщиа и бѣгла
 ти сздѣловажци, дол.....ши прѣбы
 влестѣ до конца не дѣ.....твое бє(?)
 пзчїа малое нма и еже потворцѣу вэ
 п.....їаа хвала, ввсєгда оустра
тѣм же и не рапоуми

f. 77 v.

іеремїа мл(с)тнвнѣншїи. дж(а̄) ми вэі
 зельмѣ твон ѡзыкѣ мало, яко да пла
 ча са ввсѣхъ цѣре и вышьшаго. ѡ кто
 д(с) глабѣ мои водж и очима моима нї
 спочникз ляззз,¹⁰⁰ да плача са тебе оѣ
 сла(а̄)чншїи. како слышж нѣо моа ры
 данїа, не сзспрадоуешн и ты и вбллі
 чнымн сѣпованїи водѣешн са. како
 слнцє не сзкрываешн свон свѣ(п̄), зрѡ за
 ше(а̄)ша паче тебе якоже рещн шевѣцаж
 цмаго по(а)слнечнжа ввса. како блго
 глнвыж и сла(а̄)чншжа меда оумлько
 шж оустны. како празноустѣ блгорѣ
 чнвыи ѡзыкѣ и паче славіа пѣсннвал
 го пощїи. кто намѣ ѡ оѣ любезнѣнш(н̄)
 прѣ(а̄)ложнпѣ попрѣбнаа. кто на(с) дшєі
 гѡуеныи(х̄) нзбавнпѣ дѣанїи.
 сїа и енцєваа льбѣ бѣомждрин цѣрѣ сз мно
 гынмѣ плачемѣ рекѣ ѡ смрзпн своєго
 щѣа, едѡ ѿ плача прѣста н.....
 телнымн того.....

pp. 14,11 – 14,26

προεξάρχειν δὲ καὶ ὑπε
 ρέχειν τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς βα
 σιλείας τὸν ἄνακτα Λέοντα
 στερεοῖ. συνώκει δὲ αὐτῶ
καὶ ἡ ἀγία Θεοφανῶ, περι
ῆς ἡμῶν ὁ λόγος προΐων

f. 78

чрѣла по апл(с)у, грзчыскжа влестѣ
 правѣше добрѣ. сзжнпелеспѣуашє
же помѡу н бѣомждрал ѡефанѡ
 цр(с)твїа скуптра правцин, еажє

εἰς μακρὰν ἐξήνεκται
ἱστορίαν (...)

21. εἶχετο ἡ βασιλικὴ τιμία
ἕνωρις τῆς πατρικῆς βα-
σιλείας, συνήπτετο αὐτοῖς
καὶ Θεοφανῶ ἡ αὐγούστα·
ἐσχόλαζε δὲ ταῖς θείαις
μελέταις ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ὁ
νέος δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς
μαθήμασιν ἠσχολεῖτο (...)
τὰς δημοσίας οὖν τῶν
πραγμάτων ἐξετέλει φρο-
ντίδας καὶ ἡ ῥωμαϊκὴ πο-
λιτεία δικαίως καὶ ἐννόμως
μετ' εὐσεβείας ἐκυβερονᾶ-
το. ἡ δὲ ἅγια καὶ ὄντως
Θεῶ ἔρασμα Θεοφανῶ ἡ
αὐγούστα (...) νυκτὸς καὶ
ἡμέρας ψαλτρῖαις ἀμώμοις
καὶ εὐχαῖς ἀεννάοις τὸν
Θεὸν θεραπεύουσα, οὐκ
ἐπαύετο ἐλεημοσύναις
αὐτὸν ἐκζητοῦσα·

τὰ γὰρ ἄνθη τῆς ἀλουρ-
γίδος φοροῦσα καὶ
τὴν ἐκτὸς εὐπρέπειαν
βασιλικῶς περιβεβλημέ-
νη, τοῖς ῥάκεσιν ἔνδον
κρουπῶς κατέτρυχε τὸ

житїе повыше разоумнѣ понждихω
м сѧ сказати. дрзжаше сѧ оуѣω іако
рѣхω(м) добрѧ братен двѡнца сѧ бляже
ннѡж ѳеофанож самодрзжавїа добрѣ
лице н александрѣ н еце младо опрочѧ
сынъ вѣ оученїи оупражнѣаше сѧ. пѧ
кож(д)е н црѣ львь вѣ бж(с)твны(х) пнелнїи
прочнпани(х) оупражнѣти сѧ люблѣше,
н вѣ ен(х) прнсно оуглабѣвалн оумь.
спнлїанѣ егоже повыше слово взыпо
мѣнѣ, ωбщѧго нарѡда вецн правитн
повелѣнь бы(с). н прочее грѣчыкаѧ влѧ
спѣ законнѣ н правѣ окрѣмлѣма
бѣше. мждрїи же црїе цр(с)каѧ рѣзр(с)ѧ
бше, прнсно ω хоудын(х) мждрѣспѡвал
хж, цр(с)кож не грѣдѧще сѧ чьспїѧ.
.....его славна н чьспна жнпїа
.....мже.....

f. 78 v.

бж(с)твное н мнлѡспынѣмн пом(с) оугл
ждажще. вѣдѣахж еω нзвѣспно іако
заповѣдн сен сѣлѡ радоуеп сѧ бѣ мнѡжае
нны(х) добрѡдѣтѣлен. н іакоже дѣв ѡ нѣ(х)
пѧпорнѧ не ннако женнхѡба лншн сѧ
брака, рѧзвѣ еже мнлѡсрѣдїе н мнлѡ
спына не любнпн. н пѣмн, паче блгр(с) |
ннцѣ мнѣхж сѧ крѧсѡвпн сѧ. нх же
рѣмнѡгжѧ мждрѡс(п)ѣ нсправленмн
копторын оумь вѣзможеть сѧповѣдѧ
пн. сїѣ еω заповѣдн нсплннѣжшн
хѣвы, оуплнпн сѧ пѣцмлше сѧ. кѣ едн |
номѡу пѣкмѡ вѣзнрѣжпн вѣрѣ зрѧ
цѡмомѡ окоу. зрѧпїнх еω хопѧпн
оуплнпн сѧ оие, вѣнѣшнмн одѣѧ
нїи себе оукрашааше мнѡгоцѣнны
ми, рѣбвы же власѣннмн ѡдѣвалше (сѧ)
вѣнѧтрѣ. н постннчьскомѡу жнпїѣ

σῶμα· καὶ ἀσκητικὴν
ἀγωγήν αἰρουμένη (...)

же лажици, поистъ съжнтелѣ нмѣаше
присно. въздръжанїе любѣаше.
различныѣ бѣ съ.....ди н....
.....оа.....

pp. 14,30 – 15,18

(...) τοῖς πένησι διεδίδου.
τῶν δὲ πέπλων τὰ πολυ-
τίμητα εἶδη τοῖς δεομένοις
παρεῖχε,

χηρῶν δὲ καὶ ὄρφανῶν τὰς
αὐταρκειάς ἐπεχορήγει,
[p. 15] χρήμασι καὶ κτή-
μασι κατεπλούτει, τῶν
οἰκετῶν ὡς ἀδελφῶν
προενοεῖτο (...), οὐδέποτε
εἰς θυμὸν ἐκινήθη, οὐκ
ὠργίσθη ποτὲ οὐ μικρῶ οὐ
μεγάλῳ· φθόνος ἢ μῖσος
κατὰ τοῦ πέλας οὐδέπω
ἐπὶ τὴν θεῖαν ψυχὴν αὐτῆς
ἀνήλθεν· οὐκ ἐφθέγξατο
ὄρκον διὰ τῆς γλώττης,
οὐ ψευδῆ ῥήματα διὰ τῶν
χειλέων αὐτῆς ἐξῆλθον,
οὐκ ἐφθέγξατό ποτε
κατὰ τινος λοιδορίαν, οὐκ
ἐπαύσατό ποτε κρυπτῶς
πενθεῖν καὶ σκυθρωπάζειν
καὶ τὴν στρωμνὴν τοῖς δά-
κρουσι καταβρέχειν.

22. τῆς γὰρ κλίνης χρυσο-
ὑφάντοις (...), ἥνικα δὲ ἡ
νῦξ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιεῖτο,
τῆς κλίνης ἀνισταμένη
ψιαθίῳ χορτίνῳ καὶ τρι-
χίνοις ῥάκεσιν ἐν τῷ

f. 79

ше. трѣвоужциимъ вынѣ бога(п)επбо
раздааше, инмъ подаваѣ также кѣ жнзнн
доболаа. алчациимъ хлѣбъ вынѣ
раздрабѣаше. нагынмъ подавааше
вдѣанїа. ѡцин(х) въз темннца(х) съкръбел
нѣ порѣцааше н въз ѡзннцѣ(х) н ѡже
въ ѡзловленїн нзбавѣаше. печал
лнынмъ оупѣшенїе бѣ. сирымъ н вдои
вымъ ѡбнннѣ подааше. рѣбы промы
шлѣаше яко брпїѣ. Въсе пологушнои
ε оупѣшлаше. никогда же безсловет
снѣ на гнѣвъ подвиже сѧ. не прогнѣи
ва сѧ на кого. закнѣтъ нли мрззопѣ
на ѡценнѣа проѣ не възыде дшѣ. клѧи
тѣѣ нли лѣжегланїе никогда же прои
изнесе оусты. гнѣе н въсемъ исплѣнѣѣѣ
ци повелѣнїе, еже никакоже клѧти
сѧ повелѣващѣе. не оукори ниже дои
сади когда не прѣпта плача н сѣпѣѣѣ
по дѣѣ, н поетѣла сѧззѧн ѡмакаѣ¹⁰¹ га
..... нн бѣ на водѣ сѣѣѣѣѣ
..... нли п...

f. 79 v.

нане н рогожѣ съ хѣудымн рѣбы блѣѣѣ
нымн. на ннхже възклѧнѣѣѣѣ себѣ,

ἐδάφει κειμένοις τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἐποιεῖτο, ὥραν ἔξ ὥρας ἀνισταμένη καὶ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν ἀέρα διεκπετῶσα καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἀναπέμπουσα τὰς αἰνέσεις καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς σωτηρίαν ἐπιζητοῦσα. διὸ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄραν σκληραγωγίας ἢ σωματικῆ αὐτὴν περιεστοίχισε νόσος, καὶ ὅσον ὁ ἐκτὸς αὐτῆς διεφθείρετο ἄνθρωπος, τοσοῦτον ὁ ἐντὸς αὐτῆς κατὰ θεὸν ἀνεκαينوῦτο. (...) τὸ γὰρ ὠραιότατον αὐτῆς καὶ τίμιον σῶμα κατατροχόμενον ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ὁρῶσα, οὐδὲν ἀγεννὲς ἢ βλάσφημον προήκατο ῥῆμα. (...)

p. 15,23 – 15,30

(...) οὐκ ἐπαύετο τὰ τίμα λόγια τοῦ ἱεροψάλτου Δαυὶδ τοῦ προφήτου ἐπάδειν. (...) τὸ γὰρ βοῶμα αὐτῆς μετὰ σποδοῦ ἦσθιεν καὶ τὸ πόμα αὐτῆς τοῖς δάκρυσιν συνεκί-

сѣноу малоу причащаше сѧ, еспѣтѣва нѣждѧмь рѣсѣтѧщѣн. ѿнѣдоужѣ нѧ кѣждо чл(с) ношн възспѧщѣн, кључимое благодаренїѣ въздаашѣ бви. блаженн непорочнн глѧщн въз пѣтѣ холащѣн зѧ повѣден г(с)ннхъ.¹⁰² πολοуношн възспѧщѣ нсповѣдатн сѧ сѣдѣлѧмь правды тѣвої еж,¹⁰³ н прочее ψαλма. снце оубѡ πο н нмѧщн. н въ толицѣ злостра(д)ннн н жестоцѣ прѣбыванїн слοужѣщн, недѣгъ възннде тѣлоу люптѣншн. нѣ апл(с)коє н на нѣн нсплзнѣашѣ сѧ, елнн ко възнѣшнїн чл(с)з рѣсплѣвѧеп сѧ, по лнко възнѧпрзнїн обнѧвлѣетѣ сѧ.¹⁰⁴ крѧенѣшшеє єѡ євоє тѣлѡ зрѧщн конєї чннмь жестокοпрѣбыванїтѣмь смѣл рѣно, ннчѡтѡже недοблєстѣвнο нлн малοдоушнο поспрѧдѧ. нѣ по многѡї спрѧдѧтелнοму іѡѡѢ въз... (χ)..... (єл)годѧрѣше.....

f. 80

ко н экранїама. дондеже ѡєрѧщѣ мѣсто гѣн селенїѣ єѡѣ іакѡвлю,¹⁰⁵ тѧї же н дѣлы смѣлн нсплзнѣашѣ. нѣ н спрѧшноє онѡ єжднцѣ помышлѣжн цн. н неѡумытнѧго єждїѣ. н не прѣл спѧашѣ вынѣ тѧжѧкѧ нѣкѧл спѣнѧї нїѧ ѿ срѣды ср(д)цѧ нспοуцѧщн, н пєї пєлѣз тѧко χлѣбъ єдѣщн, н ннптїѣ євоє рѣспѣврѣжѣщн єз плѧчємѣ.¹⁰⁶ нѣ н по іппѡκρѧтѡу ο ποуждн(χ) єѣдл(χ) євоѡ оул плοждѧлше печлнн¹⁰⁷ ннлοрѣтнѧл дїѡѧ

(102) Ps. 118 (119):1.

(103) Ps. 118 (119):7.

(104) 2 Cor. 4:16.

(105) Ps. 131 (132):5.

(106) Ps. 101 (102):10.

(107) Hippocrates, *De flatibus* 1.5.

να. ταῖς δὲ ἀλλοτρίων
 συμφοραῖς συμπαθοῦσα,
δακρυροοῦσα τὸν θεὸν
 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐλιπάρει
καταπονούμενοις χεῖρα
ὀρέγουσα βοηθείας καὶ
 ὀρφανῶν καὶ χηρῶν προ-
 ἴσταμένη ὡς μήτηρ, τῶν
 ἐν θλίψει καὶ ἀθυμῖα χει-
μαζομένων ὑπάροχουσα
<εὐσθυμία καὶ παράκλη-
σις.> (...)

pp. 15,31 – 16,16

(...) καὶ τὴν πρόσκαιρον
 καὶ φθαρτὴν καὶ ρέουσαν
 [p. 16] δόξαν μισοῦσα, τῶν
 μονίμων καὶ ἀρρέυστων
 καὶ ἀθανάτων τὴν λῆξιν
 ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐπεζητεῖ, πά-
 ντα <τὸν> κόσμον καὶ τὰ
 ἐν κόσμῳ διὰ Χριστὸν
 ἀπαρνησαμένη (...)

23. (...) προέγνω γὰρ αὐτὴ
 τὴν ἐκδημίαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
 σώματος καὶ αἰσθομένη
 τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου αὐτῆς
 ἀναχώρησιν, ἀσπάσασθαι
 αὐτὴν πάντας προετρέψα-
 το καὶ τὸν σοφὸν ἄνακτα
πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐκζητήσασα,
 αὐτὸν τὸν τελευταῖον
 ἀσπασμὸν κατησπάσα-
 το καὶ σὺν δάκρυσιν τὰς
 παρειὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς
 χεῖρας φιλοῦσα, τὰ ὑπὲρ
 τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων
 καὶ οἰκετῶν ἐλιπάρει.

н БОЛЮБЕЗНАА. ПѢМЖЕ Н ПАЧЕ САМЫН(Х̄)
 ИСПУЧНИКЪ СЛЗЫ ПОЧАЩИ, БЖ(Е)ПѢНОЕ
 ОУМНОСПИВѢАШЕ. РЖКЖ ПОМОЩИ, ПА
 ДАЖИМЪ ПОДААШЕ. СЩИМЪ ВЗ УБЫ
 СПОАНІИ(Х̄) УБОУРЕВАЕМЫМЪ, ПРИСТА
 НИЩЕ ОУПѢШЕНІА БЫВААШЕ. Н ПРО
 СПО ВЗРѢМЪ ВЗРѢКА ПО АП(Е)ЛОУ БѢШЕ.¹⁰⁸
 ПѢМ ЖЕ Н ПРОСЛАВЛѢЖ Н СЛАВЦЖ ЕГО
 БЪ, Н ПРОШЕНІА Н(Х̄) ИСПЛЗНѢЖ, ПРП(А)БНЫЖ
ЖЕЛАНІЕ ЕА ИСПЛЗНИ.
ЖЕЛААШЕ МНРОУ ХОПА.....
ЗА ПОГО ПРО Н. ГР.....
Б.....

f. 80 v.

ОНА ЖЕ ТАКО СЕ РАЗΟΥМѢ, РАДОСПИ МНУ
 ГЫ ИСПАНИ СИ ДШЖ. ВРѢМЕНИЖА ЕУ
 СІА СЛАВЖ НЕНАВНДАЩИ ВИНЖ, АЖЕ
 ПАМО ЖЕЛААШЕ. ПѢМЖЕ Н СЗПРЖЖНИКА
 СВОЕГО СМОДРЖЖЦА МЖДРАГО ГЛА ЛЬБА
 ПРНЗВАВШИ, ПОЗНА Н РЕ(Ч) СЛ(А)ЧАНШІИ МЖЖЪ
 МОЕ ИСПАНІЕ. Н АЗЪ ОУБЕ КЗ УНОИ ЖИ
 ЗНИ ШХОЖДАЖ АЖЕ ЗАЕ ЖНЗНЬ УСПАВЛШИ
 ПЫ ЖЕ ВЗРЖЧЕНОЕ ПЕБѢ ЦР(Е)ПКО ОУПРАВИ ДО
 ВРѢ. Н ДА НЕ ОСЛАБѢШИ ПОКАРѢЖ ВРАГЫ,
 НЖЕ ТАКО ВЛЦН НЕКРОПЦІИ НА СЛОВЕСНЫЖ
 УБЦА СПАДО ХѢВ НАКАКААПЪ. НЕ ГНѢ
 ВАН ЕА БЕЗВРѢМЕННО. ВѢСИ ЕУ ТАКО ГНѢВЪ
 ЦР(Е)КЫИ ТАКОЖЕ СПРЖМЛЕНІЕ ЛЬБА СЕВРѢПА
 ГО СЗРѢШАЩАЖА МНЛОУН. МѢРИЛО
 ПРАВДЫ НЕПРАВДОУЕМЫНМЪ УБРѢПАН.
 ПРОСАЩІИХЪ МНЛОСПИВНЫНМЪ ОКОМЪ
 УБРАЩАН. ЧТО БУ ВѢСИ АЩЕ ПОСРѢДѢ НХЗ
 Е(Е) ГЪ. НЕ ПРОСПО ГЛАЩІИМЪ ЧТО НА КОГО
 ДАВАН СЛОУХЫ. Н СЗКРАЩЕННѢ РЕЩИ,
 ВЗРѢХЪ ДРЖЖИ ЕА БЛАГЫНХЪ.....
САГО ВЛ(А)КЖ Н БЕЗМРЖПЪ.....
ШНИКА ВЗ ВРѢ(Х̄) НП.....
ЖЖ.....

(108) 1 Cor. 9:22.

p. 16,20–24

(...) τὴν ὁσίαν αὐτῆς ψυχὴν εἰς ὁσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ παρέθετο χειράς. καὶ αὐθις ἢ τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῆς ὠραιότης ὡς φῶς ἡλίου καθαρὸν ἐξαστράψασα ἀκτινοβολεῖν τοῖς παρεστῶσιν ὠρᾶτο· τὸ δὲ τῆς μειδιάσεως τῶν παρειῶν αὐτῆς σχῆμα, τὴν ἀγαλλίασιν καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν τῆς ἀγίας ψυχῆς αὐτῆς ὑπερφαῖνον, μέχρι τῆς ἐν τῷ τάφῳ καταθέσεως αὐτῆς ἀπαράτρεπτον διεφυλάχθη.

f. 81

дѣшъ своѣ бѣи прѣда(сѣ). лица же еѣ на чрътаніе свѣтлѣшише сннца просѣа, иннезре(чѣ)нна добрѣта вѣше тож, изрѣи ѿимъ склавлѣши вѣлѣаше сѣ. боуѣ ма коже мнѣ хотѣшѣ показати дѣшъ еѣ радѣваніе. и дондеже вѣ рѣкѣ поі дожи сѣ, сице имѣѣхъ сѣхрани сѣ. ѿрь же льбѣ не прѣпа добрыѣхъ сѣпрѣжннѣи ѿѣ рапрѣженіа, горко рыдалаше, и плачѣвнѣ вѣсклнцалаше, ка(кѣ) мнѣ глѣши поі лнко прѣмѣненіе добрын(хѣ) прнвзннѣ. како зѣуенѣ вѣдрѣе око и бѣ(сѣ)тѣвнѣа зрѣи шѣе быспро. како благоглѣвын и сѣа дкын ѣзыкѣ мльчн(пѣ). како безгласнѣ прѣбывѣлѣ(пѣ) оуспѣа сѣа(ѣ)чншѣа меѣа и доі брѣгласнѣа. како ѣже на мѣпѣѣхъ не прѣі спанно вѣзѣвѣлемыѣ рѣкы не дѣнспѣі вны ѣпѣ ннѣ. како без вѣспн бы(сѣ) ѿр(сѣ)кѣа свѣтлѣшѣ. како свѣтннннѣ къ нже повзѣждѣу глѣвын и прѣсѣі ...нсправленнѣ, ѣкоже нѣкынмѣ каменѣмѣ покрѣвенѣ бы..... р(сѣ)тѣа похѣла.....о словѣцѣ..... ...з.....зрнпѣ сѣ н.....

f. 81 v.

и пѣлѣмѣ краснѣа. како грѣчыскѣа не рѣзѣрнмѣа спѣнѣа, ѣкоже нѣкопѣороѣ прѣщѣѣхъ сѣмрѣпннѣмн каменнѣн порѣжѣі на, паде на землѣа напрѣсно. тожъ бѣ рѣі зѣумнннѣмѣ сѣмыслѣмѣ, грѣчыскѣа спѣа сѣашѣ сѣа вѣспѣ и добрѣ прѣвннѣа вѣшѣ. кѣто шнрѣколнспѣзвннѣн и оукорененнѣн плапѣанѣ порѣчѣ. плапѣан бѣ вѣмѣ вѣз нѣ спннѣхъ любезнѣншѣітн зѣлѣпѣ, нмѣже поі крѣвѣлѣхѣ сѣ ѿр(сѣ)кѣа. нлн пѣче рѣцн вѣсѣ вѣспѣпѣ ѿр(сѣ)тѣвоуѣщѣітн грѣ(ѣ), ѣгоже вѣзнѣпрѣлѣ лнкѣспѣвоуѣлѣхѣ блг(ѣ)пн. и дѣшн пѣвоѣн ѣко(жѣ)

вѣѣа добродѣтели принедаще, ѿ грѣ
 лица и слава полухъ сла(д)чанше. и мы
 снмь взннмающе, бевелѣхумъ еа. ннѣ
 же горкын жжпелъ взмрзпть наше(д)шн,
 ебонмъ тѣ рзпомъ пожжпъ, и се лежншн
 оумнлено вндѣнїе зрацінмъ тѣ и рыдал
 нїю тако въ истннж до(с)нно. кто выево
 ковнднын кнпарнсь нзвѣшн. кто прн
 сноцзвѣжщжѣ маслннж оубвдн.....
 сладкоплоднын и законно.....
показа безъ влжж.....
зсхытн свѣ.....
чашеж. кто н.....

f. 82

вномоу позавндѣ. камо ѿлетѣ кра
 снаа грѣлица и пѣстынелюбнаа. ты
 же аще и въ цр(с)кыхъ прѣбываше, нж та
 ко пѣстынннградннца живѣше, и посннн
 чьское лобзаше прѣбыванїе. камо
 ѿлетѣ прѣкраснаа голженце оставлы
 шн взпржга. ежже крнлѣ погрѣренѣ и
 меж(д)орамїеа тако възльщнн[sic!] златѣ.¹⁰⁹
 и древле оубе нше потпопа хопѣ оубѣдѣ
 тн прѣстапїе, голженцѣ ѿ кнвѣта по
 сла, таже маслнннжѣ бѣа оусты прннесе.
 ты же ѿ цр(с)кын(х) такоже ѿ нѣкогого
 кнвѣта ѿлетѣвшн, потпопъ паче печаленъ
 здвнже. и скрзбнаа такоже вѣдѣ дроу
 гжѣ выше главы нашежъ възытнъ взпво
 рнла есн. и прочее слззамн потпапѣе
 мъ еа зде, дондеже до ада взпворнмъ е
 шестѣе. кто крнстѣншїнъ цѣлѣтѣ ел
 гоцзвѣжщжѣго[sic!] рѣа, ѿ цр(с)кын(х) оубкрдѣ.
 нж въ кож пѣннъ плачевнжѣ шелѣкжъ еа,
 и колнко взспрїнмжъ рыданїе. оубы. Ѹ
тѣво бѣды. догтонпъ оубе
цн. члкъ, тако пр.....

(109) Ps. 67 (68):14.

..... БѢЛНЫ ПЛКО.....

.....ІН(Х̄) РЕЦНМН, СО.....

f. 82 v.

ПЛАМЬ Н ВЪСѢ СОУЕТА Н ИЗВОЛЕНІЕ ДХА.¹¹⁰
 СІА ГЛА САМОДРЪЖЕЦЪ, БІАШЕ СЕБЕ РЖКАМА
 ВЪ ПРЪСН. Н ЛННПТЫ ОУДАРѢАШЕ СЪ БОЛѢІ
 ЗНІѢ ВЪЗЫВАЖ. КОПОРЫ МН ПРНБЫПОКЪ
 ЖНВШПОУ, ВЪ ПЪЗМѢ ПЕЧАЛНЫН(Х̄) БЫПН ХОІ
 ПѢЩѢ СЛНЦѢ ОУПѢШЕНІА ПРѢКЛОНШОУ
 СѢ КЪ ЗАПАДШМЪ. ПО ГНѢМОУ БШ СЛОВОУ,
 ПВОН СѢПЪ СЪПРОПНБННМЪ ЧЛКШМЪ
 ШНСПЛАВЪ* СІА. Н ВНАДѢВШЕ ПВОА ДОБРАМ
 ДѢЛА Н ПРОЛВНШЖ БѢ НЖЕ НА НБѢЕХЪ.¹¹¹
 СІА Н СН(Х̄) МНШЖАНША СЪ ПЛАЧЕМЪ Н СЪ СЛЪЗАІ
 МН НЗРЕ(Ч) ЦРЬ, ВРѢМА РАЗОУМѢВЪ БЛАЖЕІ
 НЫА ПѢЛШ ГРОБОУ ПРѢДАПН. ТѢМЖЕ
 Н ПРНЧЪТОУ ВЪСЕМОУ БЖІЖ ПРѢМЖДРШСТН,
 Н СЦІЕНННКШМЪ ЧЪСТНЫМЪ ПОСТННЧЫ
 СКЫН(Х̄) ПЛЪКШВЪ НЕМАЛО СЪБРАВШЕМ СѢ,
 Н ЧЪСТНОЕ ТѢЛШ СЪ ШАЛМЫ Н ПѢСНЫМН Н
 СВѢТЛЫМН СВѢЦАМН, ВЪ СЦІЕНННХЪ
 АП(С)ЛЪ ШНЕСОШЖ ХРАМЪ. ЦРЮ Н ВЪСЕМОУ
 СІГКЛНТОУ ПРѢ(Д)НДЖЦОУЕМОУ, БЫ(С) НѢІ
 КОЕ НОВОВНДѢНІЕ ПРѢЖДЕ ДАЖЕ БЫП.....
 ...ВѢРОУЕМО. БОУРН БШ ПОГ.....
ЛНѢ. Н Ш СЪБЫ.....
МН ПОКРЪБ.....
ШБЛАКЫ ПЪЗМН.....

p. 16,25–29

24. τοῦ γὰρ τιμίου σώματος αὐτῆς βασιλικῆ δόξης πρὸς τὸν σηκὸν τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν Ἀποστόλων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐν ὕμνωδαίαις καὶ ἄσμασι καὶ λαμπάσι κομιζομένου, ἐγένετό τι ξένον καὶ παράδοξον θαῦμα, τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἀγνοούμενον, τοῖς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνης περισκοποῦσι φανερώς καὶ ὀραθὲν καὶ λαλούμενον. χειμερίου γὰρ τοῦ καιροῦ ὑπάρχοντος (...)

f. 83

ВЗНЕГДА ЧЕРПНОЕ ОНШ ПѢЛШ Н АГГЕЛШ(М)
 ГОВѢННОЕ НОСНМО Ш ПОЛАПТЫ ВЪНѢ НѢІ
 ГДЕ БЫВЪ, КЪ ПРѢ(Д)РЕЧЕННОМОУ БЖ(С)ПВНОІ

(110) Eccl. 1:14.

(*) lege ШБЛНСПЛАВЪ.

(111) Cf. Mt. 5:16.

pp. 16,31 – 17,12

ὁ ἥλιος ὡς ἐν θερινῇ
 ὥρᾳ τὰς ἀκτῖνας θερμῶς
 ὑφαπλώσας, γαληνιᾶν
 παρεσκεύασε τὴν ἡμέ-
 ραν· (...) ἡνίκα δὲ πρὸς
 τὸν ναὸν τὸν θεῖον εἰσέδου
 τὸ πανάγιον ἐκείνης
 σῶμα καὶ ἐν [p. 17] τῇ
 θείᾳ σορῶ τοῦ λάρανακος
 κατετέθη, πάλιν ἡ ἡμέρα
 τὴν τοῦιδίου καιροῦ
 ἀναλαβοῦσα φύσιν, ζο-
 φώδη καὶ ἀφεγγῆ τὸν
 ἀέρα εἰργάσατο, (...) μετὰ
 δέτην τεσσαρακονθήμερον
 τῆς καταθέσεως ταύτης
 ἡμέραν ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ
 τὰ δι' αὐτῆς ἐξέλαμψαν
 θαύματα. (...) καὶ ὁ
 φθόγγος τῶν θαυ-
 μάτων αὐτῆς εἰς τὰ πέρα-
 τα τῆς οἰκουμένης κατε-
 μηνύθη. καὶ πολλοὶ <οἱ> δι'
 αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀνιάτων νό-
 σων ἀπαλλαγέντες, οἵτινες
 καὶ μάρτυρες τῶν ἐκείνης
 ἐγένοντο ἱερωτάτων θαυ-
 μάτων.

p. 17,18–28

25. ἡλγει μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἐμὸς
 γεννήτωρ τοὺς πόδας καὶ
 ὠδυνάτο σφοδρῶς, τὴν
 θεραπείαν ἀνιάτων ἔχων.
 ἦν δὲ καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ θέ-
 ρους, μῆνα ἰούλιον ἔχων,
 ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡ μνήμη τοῦ θε-

μοу храмоу ѿношаше сѧ, мрачное онѡ
 и прѣмное акїе напрачно снїца свѣто(м̄)
 оубѣлѣаше сѧ и просвѣцлаше и въ тн
 шинѣ глѣбокѣ въсе прѣлагаше сѧ.
 инце вѣспѣз славащїѧ его възпроиша
 влѣпнїи нїже ѿ боура веинѣ, и ѿ знмы
 пншннѣ пворан. вѣнегдаже въ хра(м̄)
 вѣнїде оученїкъ хвѣхъ бѣгомѣдрыѣ тѣл
 ло и блженыѣ ѿεωфаны, пакы въз(д̄)сї
 хъ обычнаго дрѣжаше сѧ оустроенїа,
 и мраченъ и несвѣтелъ ѡблѧкы авлѣмї
 ше сѧ. по скончани же тоѣ четыри
 десѧтнмь прѣше(д̄)шемь днѣмь, изыде
 вѣцїанїе сѧ по писанномоу въ всѧ въсеї
 ленѣѧ. и въ концѧ вѣселеныѣ чюдесъ
 сѧ сила.¹¹² мнѡсн бѡ свѣдѣтеле чюдесъ
 блженныѧ сѣтѣ, поѣ радн не оудобѣ и
ны(х̄) не дѣжѣ прѣмѣнїше сѧ. ѿ нн
зземь ѧкоже сладопѣ н.....
дрѡгѡмѣ прѣдло.....
ногама сѣлѡ.....
 ѧкоже нѣкопор.....

f. 83 v.

пого сѣбѧдѧхѣ, ѧкоже кѣ рѣцѣ вѣче(м̄)
 нмѣнїа мнѡга нздѧпн. вѣше кѡ богаї
 прѣпѣомь кыпѧ и ннмын мнѡгымн
 нзѣвѣнлоуѧ бл҃гымн, нмѣе рѧ(д̄)геп сѧ
 ѧже кѣ плѣннннмь нзлїавшїа сѧ дшѧ,
 нцѣленїа не полоуѣн. вѣше же тогда
 вѣрѣмѧ, вѣнегда памѧ(т̄) чѣстнаго нлїѣ

(112) Ps 18 (19):5.

σπεσίου προφήτου Ἡλιοῦ ἐκτελεῖται. συνήθεια δὲ ἦν ἀπὸ χρόνων ἐκ τῶν περιφανῶν ἐκκλησιῶν συνάγεσθαι πλείστα χρυσοῦφαντα πέπλα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ θεῖος σηκὸς τοῦ προφήτου λαμπρῶς κοσμούμενος ἐδοξοῦτο. συνέβη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ περιβλέπτου ναοῦ τῶν τιμίαν Ἀποστόλων στολὰς προσλαβέσθαι. ἐπλήρου δὲ τὴν τούτων διακονίαν Μύρων ὁ κανδιδάτος ὅστις προστάξει τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρός, ὡς ταχυγράφος αὐτοῦ ὑάρχων, τὸ προσταττόμενον ἐξετέλει λαβῶν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ τότε τοῦ ναοῦ προεστῶτος τὰ τίμια πέπλα σὺν τῷ σεπτῷ μαφορίῳ τῆς ἀγίας Θεοφανῶ βασιλίσης διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸ χρυσοποικίλτον εἶναι, πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ προφήτου Ἡλιοῦ τὰ συλλεχθέντα προπέμπει.

pp. 17,28 – 18,7

τὸ δὲ θεῖον μαφόριον τῆς ἀγίας ὡς διαφανὲς καὶ λεπτότατον πέπλον ὑπὸ τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ χειριδᾶριον κατακρούσας καὶ τῷ οἰκείῳ ἐπιβάς ἵππῳ πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα ἔσπευδεν ἀναστρέφαι. γυνὴ δὲ τις ὑπὸ πονηροῦ πνεύματος ὀχλουμένη (...), τοῦτον θεασαμένη διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ πα-

пр(ὸ)рка εὐκρѣшаемъ ѿ. ѡбѣчно же бѣ
нзначала ѿ нѣкопѡрын(χ̄) нарѡчнпыхъ
цр̄кѡвъ завѣсы вѣзнимапн, н ѿѡннын
храмъ пр(ὸ)рка оукрашапн. семо(ν̄) ѡбѡ
погда бѣвшоу по нже нзначала дрѣжж
цѡмоу ѡбѣчаю, н ѿѡннынъ завѣсѡ(м̄)
ѿ велнкын(χ̄) прннеенѡ(м̄) храмѡвъ н кѣ
пр(ὸ)рѡу прннеенѡ(м̄), лоуѡн ѿ н ѿ велн
кааго прѣхвалнн(χ̄) ап(ε)лѣ храма вѣ немже
бж(ε)пѣбное бл̄женнѣ ѡѡѡфаны лежаше
пѣло разлчннѣ вѣзѡпн завѣсы. нсплѣ
нѣаше же енмѣ лоуѡжѣж мѡрѡ кандн
дапѣ, нже по(д)пнѣгн бѣше страждѣ
цаго. бѣ бѡ прѣ прѣбнн ѿ нгклнп...
ѿ цр̄кѣ мнѡго вѣзмагаемѡ
.....нѡгымн завѣсы, н б.....
.....завѣсь вѣзѡпѣ.
.....ѡ(χ̄) εὐкрѣвъ, запѡ.....

f. 84

спавленнынъ пѣ(χ̄) ѿнепн. сам же
ѡпѣѡ завѣсь [sic!] вѣ ковѣжѡн малѣ заклѡ
нн. бѣше бѡ завѣсь краенѣ н ѡѡлѡ пѣ
нокѣ, егоже н злѡтомѣ ѿ вѣжѡдѣ оукра
ен. н на конѣ вѣѣѡѡ, кѣ послѡвшоמוу
его печаше. жена же нѣкаа ажѡвнн(м̄)
дѣхѡмѣ ѡдрѣжнма срѣте его. таже н ѿ пал
коѡаго доуѣлѡ подѡнжѡма, непѡпѣѡн
нѣкаа н хоулаа вѣлѣ(д̄) его на ѡпѣѡ вѣ
зыѡлаше. канднѡп же прѣпѡпѡмѣ
ѡѡѡпѣ бѣвъ. н хоулы еже на ѡпѣѡ прѣл

ριόντα, αὐθις ἐξαναστᾶσα καταβοᾶν καὶ ὑλακτεῖν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ λόγοις αἰσχίστοις σκώπτουσα τὴν ἁγίαν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἐξεφώνει. ὁ δὲ φόβῳ καὶ δειλία συσχεθεὶς τοῖς ποσὶ πλήξας τὸν ἵππον καὶ τῷ [p. 18] χειριδαριῷ, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τίμιον μαφόριον τῆς ἁγίας κατεῖχε, τὴν δαιμονιώσαν γυναῖκα πλήξας ἐπὶ τὴν κάραν, ὑπτίαν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν πεσεῖν παρεσκεύασεν. ἡ δὲ μεγάλη κράξασα τῆ φωνῇ, ὀαγεῖσα παρευθὺ τῆς ἰάσεως ἔτυχεν. ὁ δὲ τὸ γεγονός ἐωρακῶς ἐξαίσιον θαῦμα, φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ συσχεθεὶς καὶ ἀγῶνι, πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὠχρῶν παρεγένετο (...), τὸ συμβὰν αὐτῷ κατὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ διηγήσατο καὶ τὸ τίμιον μαφόριον τῆς ἁγίας ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν ἐξελθοῦσαν δύναμιν ἡμῖν ἀπεκάλυψεν.

p. 18,7 – 18,17

ὅπερ τίμιον μαφόριον ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ ἐκ πίστεως ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοῖς ἀλγοῦσι ποσὶν ἐπιθεὶς παραπρὸς τῆς ἰάσεως ἔτυχεν τῆς γὰρ ὁδύνης εὐθέως ἀπελαθείσης, καὶ ἡ τοῦ φύματος κατέπεσεν ὀγκωσῖς, καὶ ὥσθεις ταῖς ἐκείνης προσβείαις ἐν ὅλαις

πѣпн не могли. ωβрати конѣ. и прѣ(ѧ)рѣи ченнынмь ковчежцемь въ немже про(ѧ)вныѡ забѣвз заклучен бѣ, бѣсноуѡи ѡѡа женѡ въ чело Σδαρνѣвѣ, възнакъ на пѡпн паспн пѡ езпѡрѡн. она же велнкѣ испоуѡиши гла(ѣ), ακῖε неѡѡленῖе πολοуѡн. он же быбшеε βηδῆββ прѣ(ѧ)ελεбноε чюдо, επραχ(μῖ) и подвнгу(μῖ) οββ απѣ быбѣ кз евоемоу βλ(ѧ)цѣ понде εζλοу [члш]εεα πτομ на пѡпн повѣдоуѡ. и чызавѣвз [sic!] επѡа нзѣ нѣдоу нззε..... нзше(ѧ) шѡа εнаѡ εказ..... завѣвз мѡжы..... же и λωбзавѣ.....

f. 84 v.

нѡгы положнѣвѣ, взнезаапѡ неѡѡле иῖе πολοуѡн. болззнн бо ѡгнанѣ. и мнѡ гын ѡпокъ онз οβѡдѣββ напρακно επα δε. πѣмѣ и εзн помошῖѡ прѡ(ѧ)οβнныѡ завѣвз бы(ѣ). не оу прῖεμѣ прѣше(ѧ) шемѣ днѣ(μῖ) ѡ οδѡ взεπα. и χοδα не прѣпѡκнѡβε ннѡ на εвоεю ногѡу, бѧ и прѡ(ѧ)οβнѡа до(ѣ) н но благодарѣше. немнѡгѡу же прѡ ше(ѧ)шѡу вѣременн, и εзннпелнннца прѣ(ѧ) реченнѡго εголюβεэнаго мѡжа въ

καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖσε ἀποκείμενον
τίμιον δακτυλίδιον τῆς
ἀγίας τὸ ἐξ ἰασπίνου λί-
θου κατασκευσαθὲν ἀνα-
λαβέσθαι καὶ μετὰ τῆς
προσηκούσης αὐτῷ τιμῆς
πρὸς αὐτὸν διακομίσαι.
 τοῦ δὲ προστάγματος
 αὐτοῦ δι' ἔργου τελειω-
θέντος, λαβῶν ἐκεῖνο τὸ
ἐκ πίστεως αἰτηθὲν καὶ εἰς
τὸ ὕδωρ τῶν ἀγιασμάτων
τοῦτο ἐμβάψας τοῖς χεί-
λεσιν αὐτῆς προσαφθῆναι
 προστάττει. καὶ ἅμα τῆς
 προσάψεως γεναμένης, τὰ
 χεῖλη διυγρανθεῖσα, κινεῖν
 ἐπεχειρεῖ τὴν γλῶτταν, (...) καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολλὴν ὥραν
 τὰ ὄμματα ὑπανοίξασα,
τὴν χεῖρα προτείνειν
 πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τούτου
 ἐσπούδαζεν.

pp. 18,33 – 19,17

ὁ δὲ λαβῶν τὸ δακτυλί-
διον εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα
ταύτης ἐμβάλλει. καὶ ἐν
ὄλαις ὀκτῶ ἡμέραις τῶν
ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀγιασθέντων να-
μάτων πίνουσα καὶ [p. 19]
ἀπαλειφομένη τὸ σῶμα
ὕγιης καὶ ἀβλαβῆς κατε-
στάθῃ, δόξαν καὶ αἶνον
τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ ἀγία προσά-
γουσα.

27. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκεῖνης
τελευτῆν καὶ πρὸς κύριον
ἐκδημίαν διετοῦς χρόνου
παραδραμόντος, ὁ μὲν

вЪЛОЖИВЪ, КЪ ОУСТНАМЪ ЛЕ(ЖА)ЦИЖА ПРИ
Ω ΝΕΔЖЕ ВЛАГЖ НѢКЖА ПРІЕМ
ΛΙΝΟ ΚΟΥΠΗΟ ΔΖΥΚΟΜΒ...
ΕΛ. ΠΡΕΜЖЕ ПОМАЛ.....
ΖΩΗ, ΡЖΚЖ НА ВЪ.....

f. 85 v.

прърипенѣ [sic!] прорърѣпъ. тож же мжж
 вѣземь прърипень, вѣ дегнѣа ржкж вѣ|
 ложнженѣ. гажен вѣ вѣ(χ)ωιμη(χ)дне(χ)нже
 Ω него ωиѣеннѣа वोѣ пїжци, н вѣзе
 кропацин пѣло, здравїе пологчи сѣврѣ|
 шено, ллавѣ н хвалѣ вѣ н прп(λ)огнѣн вѣ|
 здажци. по скончани же еѣ двонмь
 прѣше(λ)шемь лѣтѣ(λ), тож оубѣ мжж
 нарѣдннн(χ) оубѣ мльвь прѣмѣнн еѣ за
 еже епароипїѣ ѡпагопнпн еѣ н нны|
 мн недѣгы ѡбѣѣѣу быпн, вѣ домоу
 оумлѣкнжѣвѣ рѣдѣше. домовное же
 попеченїе сїноу сѣоемоу мнханлоу про|
 поеплѣрїѣ вѣржчн. вѣрѣменн же
 зѣвжциу нѣкогда. н попрѣѣѣ бѣвшн

πατῆρ ἡμῶν, τῶν δημοσίων
πραγμάτων ἀπαλλαγείς
τὰς φροντίδας διὰ τὸ
γῆρα αὐτὸν καμφθῆναι
καὶ ἐπαλλήλοις νοσήμασι
περιπεσεῖν, οἴκαδε παγα-
νεύων ἐκάθητο καὶ τὴν
τοῦ οἴκου φροντίδα τῷ
υἱῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμετέρῳ
συνομαίμονι Μιχαὴλ τῷ
πρωτοσπαθαρίῳ διοικεῖν
ἐνετείλατο. (...) καιροῦ
δὲ καλοῦντος καὶ χρείας
τινὸς μικροῦ πράγματος
ἀναγκαίας πραχθῆναι
μελλούσης, ὁ πατὴρ τὴν
διακονίαν πληρῶσαι τῷ
υἱῷ ἐνετείλατο· ὁ δὲ τισι
φροντίσιν ἑτέραις περι-
σχοληθεὶς, τὴν πατρικὴν
διάταξιν διὰ τινος οἰκέτου
γενέσθαι προσέταξεν,
οὐ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς
καταφρονῶν διάταξιν,
ἀλλὰ τὴν εὐτέλειαν τοῦ
πράγματος εἰς οὐδὲν λο-
γισάμενος. τῆς δὲ ἐννάτης
ῶρας τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης
καταλαβούσης, ὁ μὲν
ὀκνηρὸς ἐκεῖνος οἰκέτης
ἐπιλαθόμενος τῆς προστα-
χθείσης αὐτῷ διακονίας
ἀτελεῖ τὴν διάταξιν εἴασεν.
 (...)

ὁ πατὴρ ὡς δεσπότης

p. 19,17–30

κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἠγανάκτει
καὶ λόγοις τοῦτον ἀντι
μαστίγων προσπλήξας,

ἠΐκοπορβῆ. ὤμῃ ελοϋζενίε σε εζβρζσηπῆ
πῆ ἱῆου ζαποκῆδα. ὠη ζε βζ ποπεχηνῆ-
ἠ-νομῶ οϋπρδζηνῆ εῶ, ἠ ὠῆε νεραδηνῆ
ζαποκῆδανίε, λῆηνῆου ἠΐκοεμου ραβῆ
εζβρζσηπῆ σε ζαποκῆδα. δεβαπομῆ
ζε χεου ἀνῆ πογο ποεπηγῆου. λῆηνῆου..
ραβῆ ὠηζ κλ(ῆ)νηε ποκελῆνίε ζαβῆ.....
ενηηα πομου ελοϋζε.....
ζσηηκ. ὤμῃ ζε.....
ῆβῆ ὠηη πρηση(ῆ).....

f. 86

σηηη πῆ ωερῆπῆ, ἠ ἱῆα νεγοδῆσηε.
ἠ ελοβεῆ οϋκορηπῆλημῆ ἠ ἱακοζε ραηα
μη πογο ωβληγῆσηε. ὠη ζε νε μογῆ

δυσφημεῖν καὶ ἀνιάσθαι
 παρασκευάζει. ὁ δὲ τὴν
 ἀγανάκτησιν τοῦ πατρὸς
 ἐξ ὀλιγωρίας μὴ φέρων,
 τὸν πονηρὸν οἰκέτην καὶ
 ὀκνηρότατον δούλον ὡς
 καταφρονητὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ
 προστάξεως ἀμύνασθαι
 ἠβουλήθη. προσκαλεσά-
 μενος γὰρ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ
 τῆς ἀμελείας ἐξερωτῶν,
 ---αὐτὸς ἡμαρτηκῶς ἀναι-
 δέστερος ἀνεφάνη καὶ
 ἀπροεπεῖς καὶ ἀτάκτους
 ἀπολογίας φθεγγάμενος
 τὸ δοκεῖν τὸν δεσπότην
 παρελογεῖτο. ὁ δὲ θυμοῦ
 πλησθεὶς καὶ τῇ χολῇ
 ὑπερζέσας, τοῦτον λαξ
 κατὰ τῶν κενεῶνων κι-
 νηθεὶς καταπλήξαι καὶ ἐκ
 τινος δυστυχοῦς ἀπορίας
 τοῖς ποσὶ σκελισθεὶς,
 ὑπτιος πεσὼν τοῖς κροτά-
 φοις ἐπλήγη καὶ λειποθυ-
 μία ληφθεὶς ὡς παραπλήξ
 ἄφωνος καὶ ἀκίνητος
 παρευθὺ καθωράθη. φω-
 νῆς δὲ καὶ κραυγῆς παρὰ
 τῶν παρεστώτων οὐ μικ-
 ρᾶς γεναμένης, ἀκούσας
 ὁ πατὴρ τὸ συμβὰν τῷ υἱῷ
 παρ' ἐλπίδα, καίπερ νόσω
 κρατούμενος, ἀναστὰς ἐκ
 τῆς κλίνης δρομαῖος ἤλατο
 τρέχων. καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐν
 τῇ τοιαύτῃ θεασάμενος
 ἀμορφία, τίλλων τὰς τρί-
 χας καὶ δακρύων αὐτὸν
 κατεθρήνει·

прѣзрѣти негодованіе ѡчее, лѣкава
 го н лѣннкаго раба оного нача(т) вѣрж(д)еба
 ти неврѣгшаго заповѣдь. прѣзвабь
 оубо его н непазавь что бы(с) вина неврѣ
 женїа его. ѡнъ н по згрѣшени бепову
 днѣнши бѣ, н непо(д)бны н безчнны кз
 немю ѡвѣты прѣрѣше. н гнѣка непаз
 ни са, ногож того ѕдариь вк рѣвь того
 ннзврѣже. н вкзнакь пады вк скранїж
 врѣждень бы(с). н малодушїемь ѡбѣапъ
 бивь, безглазень н недвижнмь лежаше.
 лѣкаваго раба злодѣннпвїемь врѣж(д)ень
 бивь. обичан бѡ е(с) злокзчнзнынмь дѣ
 шамъ, вкмѣпго блгын(х) ѕла свонмь го
 сподε(м) вкздапн. мльвѣ же не мльѣ
 н веплю ѡ ѕлоучышл са пмо бывши,
 ѕвѣдѣ ѡцъ ѕлоучышл са єноу паче на
ж(д)ж, па же н недѣгомь ѕдрзжнмъ лю
екорѣ ѡ одра вкѣпа. н єна вк п.....
ѣвь бѣдѣ, прѣзаж вл.....
не одрзжнмѣ прог.....
єлнца(шє) жалогпнѣ, н.....

pp. 19,30 – 20,8

νομίσας δὲ τοῦτον τεθνά-
ναι τὴν ἐντάφιον αὐτοῦ
ἤρξατο ποιεῖσθαι φροντί-
δα.

28. τῆς φήμης δὲ διαθεού-
σης τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τῶν
συγγενῶν ἀπάντων συν-
δεδραμηκότων, ἐγένετο
οἰμωγαὶ θρήνων καὶ ὀδυ-
νηραὶ φαναὶ τὴν ἄωρον
τοῦ παιδὸς θουλλοῦσαι
ἀκινήσιαν. πολλῶν δὲ
ἀρίστων ἰατρῶν συνελθού-
ντων καὶ πλείστας διαπεί-
ρας μηχανιῶν προβαλλό-
ντων, οὐδεμία ἦν φωνὴ ἢ
ἀκρόασις ἢ κίνησις [p. 20]
τοῦ παιδὸς ὡς νεκροῦ προ-
κειμένου. τούτων οὖν ἐν
τούτοις ἤδη θλιβερώς θουλ-
λουμένων, ἢ τῆς ἡμέρας
διήλθεν ἑσπέρα καὶ ἡ νύξ
ἀρχὴν ἤδη λαβοῦσα τὸ
πένθος ἐπῆρξεν, τοῦ παιδὸς
ἀφώνου καὶ ἀκινήτου τοῖς
πολλοῖς ὄρωμένου.

ἔδοξε δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τοῦτον
πρὸς τοὺς περιβολοὺς τοῦ
οἴκαδε εὐκτηρίου αὐτοῦ
οἴκου τῆς δεσποίνης
προθεῖναι. καὶ μικρὸν ἤδη
σιωπῆς καὶ γαλήνης ἐκείσε
γεναμένης καὶ πάντων,
ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τῆς
ἄγαν ἀθυμίας πρὸς ὕπνον
τραπέντων, μόνος ὁ πατὴρ
νήφων καὶ ἄγρυπνος τὴν
τοῦ υἱοῦ ἀπεκλαίετο συμ-
φορὰν τε καὶ στέρησιν

f. 86 v.

рѣкѣ нзвѣждааше ѿ οἴου. μνησθε
же того оуже взрзшенѣ нздзхнѣвшѣ,
погрѣблпелное ѿполѣ попеченіе пво!
рѣше. ελουχѣ же оуεω повзєждоу
проше(λ)шоу. н взрздннкω(м) его н дрφγω(м)
єзше(λ)шнм єα, рыданїа н плачеве чал
стїи слышаахѣ єα, взрѣмь бєзго!
днѣа опрока плачашнм єα погыбѣ
ль. мнωгым же нзрѣдннмь врал
чємь єзше(λ)шшнм єα н мнωгы некоуєє
показавшнмѣ, ннкако же гла(є) нлн
слышанїє нлн подвнженїє єѣ опрокѣ
мрѣтѣвоу прѣ(λ)лєжѣщюу. ноцѣ вѣ єнхѣ
єѣ н плачь мнωжаашє єα, н рыданїє
взздєнєаашє єα дрзжавнѣншєє.
непщєєа єα клєчнмо ωцѣу того вѣ пє!
рнєвалѣ єцѣж прї(є)пгыж нжє вѣ домоу его
млѣвномь хрлмѣ прѣнєєпн. н помал
лѣ оуєω мльчанїю бывшоу. н пншн!
нѣ малѣ ѿ бєзмѣрныѣ млькы пєчал
лныѣ взрѣ(х) поєпнєшн. н вѣ єзнє!
мь єзвєдєномь бывшнмь, ѿ.....
.....єєа н бдѣ єнѣвнѣ.....
.....їа. н бѣн вѣ пєчалн.....
.....ωбѣєаашє прнпѣ.....

καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀλαλήτοις
φωναῖς ἐλιπάρει.

p. 20,8–20

πολλῶν δὲ ὥρῶν ἤδη τῆς
νυκτὸς διελθόντων, ἡ
ὥρα τῆς ἀλεκτροφωνίας
ἐπέστη καὶ ἡ πρὸς σύναξιν
τῆς ἑωθινῆς δοξολογίας
τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἦκει (...) αὐθις δὲ θεία τις ἐπίσκεψις
εἰς αὐτὸν γεναμένη καὶ
τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ σώμα-
τος εἰς εὐκίνησιαν κινούσα
τὸν ἀκίνητον ἀληθῶς καὶ
τρέχειν καὶ φωνεῖν παρε-
σκεύασε· τὰ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ
κεείμενα πέπλα ὡς δεσμά
τινα διαρρήξας, τῆς κλίνης
ἐξαναστάς δρομαίως πρὸς
τὴν πύλην τοῦ θείου ναοῦ
ἐξίστατο, φωνῇ δὲ μεγάλη
κράζων τοῖς παροῦσιν
ἐβόα· «οὐκ εἶδατε πάντες
τὴν πάντων κυρίαν, τὴν
μητέρα τοῦ κτίστου καὶ
θεοτόκον, ἅμα τῆς ἀγίας
Θεοφανῶ βασιλίσσης εἰς
τὸν ναὸν εἰσιούσας» τῶν
δὲ φησάντων, «οὐ· ἀλλὰ
τίς καὶ πῶς καὶ πόθεν ἡ
τοιαύτη μεταβολὴ γέγο-
νε, τέκνον», αὐτὸς νήφων
καὶ ἐρρωμένον ἔχων τὸν
νοῦν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὡς μη-

f. 87

НЕ ѿβρзєн менє вѣ вѣрѣма спарωсїпн
егда нзнемалгаєтѣ крѣпосїтѣ мол. бѣ
мон не оспавн менє.¹¹³ снцє горѣтѣ рыл
длѣцїоу спарѣоу прѣвѣзѣ вѣса ноцѣ, нн
єдннѣ же оупѣшєнїє нѣкѣое бѣ, опрої
кѣ ꙗкож(ѣ)є нмѣоу ꙗкоже прѣждє.
вѣ послѣднєє же пѣтлоглѣшенїє вѣл
негда днѣбноє начннѣєтѣ смїлпн сѣ
лнцє, бж(ѣ)тѣвнѣл нѣкѣл прншє(ѣ)шн снлѣ
мрзѣтѣое пѣло н ꙗкоже бн рєцн бєздѣл
шнѣ, колѣбѣтн сѣ н глѣснпн сѣдѣл.
нлєжѣцєє бѣ помѣоу покрѣवलѣ дѣ
лєчє ѿ сєбє ѿбρзгѣ опрокѣ, ѿ одрѣ
нѣпрѣснѣ блюдѣшє, н оупѣкомѣ кѣ прѣ(ѣ)л
рєчєннѣомѣ млѣбнѣомѣ хрѣмѣ нтн
окоушѣашє сѣ. глѣсѣм же вєлїємѣ
кѣ прѣ(ѣ)спѣожѣннѣмѣ вѣзѣпн. нє вндѣшѣ
лн вѣшѣ очн бгѣотроковнцѣ дѣвѣ
н бѣцѣ, вѣ єїн молнтѣвннѣн домѣ вѣл
шє(ѣ)шѣ кѣпннѣ сѣ ѿрѣжѣ ѣоофанѣж
.....п(ѣ)бнѣж; онѣм же рєкшннѣ, нн.
.....орѣ н ѿкѣдоу ꙗкоковѣ бж(ѣ)тѣ...
.....ѣнєнїє ѣдѣо глѣцє.....
.....ж н здрѣвѣ нлѣѣж.....
.....н чпѣ же лѣпѣо посѣп.....

(113) Ps. 70 (71):9.

δέπω ὅλως πληγείς, φόβω
πολλῶ συνεχόμενος ἔφη·

p. 20,24–29

29. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ παρὰ πάντων καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πλέον ἑρωτώμενος εἰπεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ θέαν τῆς ὀπτασίας, ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα μετὰ δακρῶν ἔφη: «ᾧμην, ὦ πάτερ καὶ φίλοι, ὡς ἐν ὕπνῳ δὴ τῷ καθεύδειν, μηδὲν δὲ τὸ συνολον ἐπαισθάνεσθαι ἢ λογίζεσθαι τινος τῶν ἐν βίῳ. ἐπέστη δέ μοι ἄφνω γυνὴ τις εὐόπτος καὶ ὠραία, πορφυροῦν χιτῶνα φοροῦσα· ἦν δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ [λεγε· ὁ] ἐπιμετώπιος τῆς κάρας κόσμος τάξιν φακιολίου λινοῦ στιβαρῶς διπλούμενος.

pp. 20,29 – 21,10

περιβέβλητο δὲ καὶ εἰς περιβολὴν μαφορίου, ὡς θέριστρον κόκκινον χρυσοῖς κροσσωτοῖς διαλάμπον. ἐκ δεξιῶν δὲ ταύτης παρεῖπετο ἡ ἁγία Θεοφανῶ ἡ βασίλισσα, ὑποβεβληκυῖα

f. 87 v.

БЛАГОДАРА ПРВОЖ СНАЖ МАРИЕ ВЗВЕЦЮЩЕ,
ТАКО ПЪЛО МОЕ ОУМРЗЦКЕНО ОЖИВНА
ЕИ, МОЛБЫ ПОМОУШАВШИ ПРП(Λ)БНЫЖ
ΘΕΟΦΑΝΥ ΜΟΛΕБНИЦЖ ЦРЦЖ, И ΜΕΝΕ
ВЗ ΜΑΛΤΕ ΔΑЖЕ ΔΟ ΑΔΑ ΠΡΕΚΛΟΝША СΑ
ИСПРАВНА ЕИ И БЛАГОПОДВЖИЖЖ КРЪБІ
ПОСП ΜΗ ΔΑΡΩΒΑ, ΡЖКОВОДНПЕΛНИЦЕ
ΜΟΑ И ΟΕЦМА ЗАСТЖПНИЦЕ.

ВЗПРАШАЕМОУ ЖЕ Ω ΟΥΔΑ И ИНЫ(Χ) РЕЦИ
ЧТО ХОПАТЬ СІА, И ТАВЛЫШЕ СΑ ΠΟΜΩ
ВНДѢНІЕ ПОДРΩБНОУ СЗПОВѢДАТИ.
И Ω ВРЗЗЬ ОУСПА СЗ САЗЗАМН РЕЧЕ СИЦЕ.
ПРІШЛО ΜΗΤΕ Ω ΟΥΤΕ И ΔΡΟΥСН БѢШЕ,
НИЧТО ЖЕ ЖИТЕНСКО ω ЦЮГТИТИ.

ПРѢ(Λ)СПА ЖЕ ΜΗ ΒΑСНЬ [sic, pro *ВЗ СНѢ]

ЖЕНА НѢКЛА

КРАСНА И ПРѢСВѢПЛА ЛИЦЕМЪ. И ЛУГІ
ЧА ТАКО ЗЛАПА ЖЕ И ПРѢСВѢПЛА ИСПΟΥ
ЦАШЕ СΑ Ω НЕГО. ВЗ БАРѢНЖ Ω ВКЛЗІ
ЧЕНА Ω ДЕЖДЖ. БѢЛО ЖЕ ПОВИТІЕ
ТАКОЖЕ СНѢГЪ И ПЕНКО ТАКОЖЕ ПΑЖІ
ЧИНА ИСПКАНО ИΜΒΑШЕ НА ГЛАВѢ
И ВѢИЦЕМЪ ЗЛАПѢМЪ И ΜΗΩΓ.....

..... ИСРΩΜЪ И ΚΑΜΕΝІЕМ.....

.....ѢНЧАНА. ВЗ ХΛΑΜ.....

.....ΥΡЗВЛЕНЖ ΡΩСНЫ З.....

f. 88

СІАЖЦЖ. СЗШЕСПРВОУШЕ ЖЕ СЕН
СВѢПЛАТЕН ЖЕНѢ Ο ΔΕΣΗЖΑ И ЦΑΡЦΑ. БΛΑΙ
ЖЕНΑΑ ΓΛΩ ΘΕΟΦΑΝΑ, ΠΟΛ ΔΕΣΗΟΝ
ΡЖЦѢ СЗПЛЕПШИ СΑ. Ω ШΟΥΑЖ ЖЕ.

τὴν αὐτῆς χειρὰ τῇ δεξιᾷ
 τῆς πανάγνου· (...) ἐπὶ
 δὲ τῆς εὐωνύμου χειρὸς
 τῆς πανάγνου παρείπε-
 το καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ μήτηρ [p. 21]
 δακρυροοῦσα καὶ δεομέ-
 νη ταῖς ἀμφοτέροις καὶ
 θεομῶς λιπαροῦσα· ἐξ ὧν
 πρὸς ταύτην, ὡς ἤκουσα,
 λέξαι· Μὴ ἀθύμει γύναι·
 πιστεύε καὶ ὄψει τοῦ υἱοῦ
 καὶ Θεοῦ τὴν δόξαν. αἶ
 καὶ πλησίον τῆς ἐμῆς κλί-
 νης ἐλθοῦσαι προετρέ-
 ψαντο τὸ δοκεῖν τὴν ἐμὴν
 μητέρα _____ σχηματίσασάν
 με ὑποδείξει ταύταις τῶν
 σπλάγγων τὴν θέσιν· ἡ
 δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσασα τάχει,
 --- λέξαι πρὸς τὴν ὄντως
 ἁγίαν Θεοφανῶ τὴν Θεοῦ
 μητέρα τάδε· Ψηλάφῃσαι
 τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ πάθους καὶ
 ἴασαι τοῦτον· ἡ δὲ ἔφη· Τίς
 γὰρ ἐγὼ εἰμι, κυρία, ἵνα
 τοῦτο πράξω; αὐτὴ δὲ ἔφη·
 Ναί· διὰ σοῦ γὰρ μέλλει
 τελεσθῆναι τὸ ἔργον· ὁ γὰρ
 δούς σοι τὸ κράτος αὐτός
 σοι καὶ τὴν χάριν παρέσχεν.
 ἡ δὲ ἁγία τῶν ἐμῶν σπλάγ-
 χνων ἀψαμένῃ ἔφη πρὸς
 ταύτην· Απαθῆς ὑπάρχει,
 κυρία, τοῖς σπλάγγνοις.

p. 21,10–23

ἡ δὲ φησιν· Ἄψαι τούτου
 τὴν κάραν, μὴ πως ἐκ χο-
 λώδους ἀναθυμιάσεως

μοι μῆτι πλαμαши и молаши окви(х)
 топлѣ и припадаѣши. кз нен же
 вгнелогчевнднаи вна опрокoвнi
 ца, не млодшѣптoуи рече жено
 пзкмо вѣрoуи, и озрoшнi бѣ и ѣна
 моeго глвѣ. и блнзoу вoдѣ на неi
 мже лежахъ прнше(д)ши, поелѣдѣшi
 цѣ и маши и црцѣ ѳеофанѣ како же
 прзвѣе. повелѣ оубо моeи мѣтерн,
 пон показати апробѣ моѣ. пон же
 по повелѣннoмoу сзпкoрoшн, вбраi
 цыши сѣ кз блжeннѣи ѳеофанѣ, рe(ѣ)
 нспыпан вниѣ спрaспн, и нцѣлн еi
 го. она же и кпо еeмѣ азъ г(ѣ)(д)же м(о)а
 рече, како да такoвѣа вeщѣ сзпкoрoѣ.
 и чюднaи вна жeна, пробоѣ рече дѣло
 ..е сзкpзшнп сѣ. нeвo дaрoвѣкын пei
нѣа дрзжaвѣ, пз пpeѣ н.....
дaрoвѣ. сѣтлa же.....
сѣ апробѣ кз нен.....
лa апробѣ и не вp.....

f. 88 v.

и красна пакы жена, коeнн сѣ рe(ѣ) глвѣ
 eго да не како гaдoвнoмoу вѣзвpѣнiю
 ѿ долѣ вѣздавшoу сѣ, нзстѣплeнiе

προσηξάνθη [λεγε· προσηξύνθη ορ προσωξύνθη] τὸ πάθος καὶ ἡ τῶν φρενῶν αὐτοῦ κίνησις ἐπυρώθη. ἡ δὲ φησιν· Ὡς κελεύεις, κυρία. καὶ ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ τοῖς τρισὶ δακτύλοις τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς αὐτῆς ἀψαμένης τοῦ μετώπου καὶ σφοδρῶς τέρως τοὺς κροτάφους συσφιγξάσης, αἰσθόμενός τινος πόνου δριμυτάτου, ἐκ τῆς ὀδύνης ἀνέστην· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀκμὴν βλέπω ταύτας πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ εὐκτηρίου χαριέντως εἰσιούσας.» ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ παιδὸς ἀγασθέντες δρομαῖοι πρὸς τὸν εὐκτήριον εἰσήλθομεν οἶκον καὶ εὖρομεν πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖσε κρεμάμενα φωτοδοχεῖα ὡς ἐκ τινος σεισμοῦ κινήθέντα καὶ ἄλλα φερόμενα πρὸς ἄλλα· αἱ δὲ τῶν κεκλεισμένων θυρῶν ἀσφαλεῖς κλειδοχεῖαι, ὡς ἐκ πατάγου τινὸς ἀνέμου, κρότου καὶ ἤχου οὐ μικρὸν ἀπετέλουν. καὶ ταῦτα ἑωρακότες κοινῇ φωνῇ ἅμα καὶ γνώμῃ τῷ Θεῷ τὴν πρέπουσαν ἀνεπέμψαμεν δοξολογίαν.

30. ἄλλη δὲ με φοβερὰ καὶ ἐξαισίος τῆς ἀγίας ἐπιστασία πρὸς διήγησιν ἐπεισάγει·

οἰμοῦ εγο бжде(т̄). она же ре(ѣ). по повелѣнію твоєму да бжде(т̄). н прѣмн прѣпты дел деннаа своеа рѣкы конѣвшн еа того велѣ, н брѣнн зѣлау смѣжнѣвшн, прѣзмѣ рнж нѣкѣа болѣзнь пріе(м̄), а вѣе вѣрпа. н се н еше пѣ(х̄) зра вѣ сѣн вѣхолощѣ храмъ. прѣ(д̄)стожѣи же глѣмынм̄ ѿ отрока ѣдн вѣше еа, вѣ мѣтвннн храмъ вѣкочнша н вѣрѣпощѣ вѣеа нже пѣмо вѣ дрѣжѣ ныѣ свѣпнннны свѣповннны ѣкоже ѿ нѣкоєго прѣа подкнншѣ еа н прѣи кланѣжѣ еа емо н внамо. вѣрѣж же н кѣчѣа запворены(х̄) двѣрен ѣкоже ѿ доуха божна колѣбанїа н вѣлау н шогї мы непуцаах̄ немало. еїа вндѣи вше, вѣемнѣн же вѣсѣ чюдодѣнствѣ жѣаго бѣ велнчаах̄. н прѣ(ѣ)пѣа его мпѣи ре. н сѣ нннн бѣженѣн ѿεοфанѣ б̄гої дѣренїе вѣзѣнлаах̄. дрѣгоє
не менша прѣ(д̄)варшѣа.....
здѣано, репн елов.....
бѣше енз прѣ(д̄)ре(ѣ)нн.....

pp. 21,23 – 22,6

ὁ γὰρ ἔπαθον, (...) οὐκ ἐπαισχυνθήσομαι φράσαι(...) ἐγένετό μοί τις δυσπιστία τῶν δι' αὐτῆς τελουμένων θαυμάτων (...). μη̄ οὖν ὥρα μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ κλίνης νηφῶν ἐν ἀναπαύσει τὰ αὐτὰ σκοπῶν, τὸν νοῦν ἐγγυμνάζων εἰς ὑπνον ἐτρόπην καὶ φημι [λεγεῖ ὀρῶ?]: καθ' ὕπαρ ἐπέστη πρὸς με Μαρτίνος ὁ ἀρτοκλίνης, ὁ τῆς ἀγίας μὲν θεῖος ὑπάρχων, ἐμοὶ δὲ γνήσιος φίλος καὶ γνωστός κατὰ πάντα· καὶ ὡς δῆθεν λιπαρῶν ἔφη μοι τάδε· «πῶς σὺ λέγεις φιλεῖν με, μὴ τελῶν μοι τὰς μικρὰς ταύτας αἰτήσεις» ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρίθην· «ποίας ταύτας, ᾧ τίμει φίλε» ὁ δὲ φησιν· «εἰπὼν σοι διαφόρως [λεγεῖ διαφόροις] ὕμνοις δοξάσαι μοι τὴν ἀγίαν [p. 22] (...)» ἐγὼ δὲ φημι πρὸς αὐτόν· «καὶ ποία ὑποθέσει χρησσομαι τῶν ἐκείνης κατορθωμάτων οὐ πάρεστιν αὐτῇ ἀσκήσεως δρόμος οὐδὲ μαρτυρίου ἀγῶνες, οὐ θαυμάτων ἐπίδειξις καὶ τί λέξαι ἢ συγγράφασθαι ἀπορῶ.» ὁ δὲ φησι πρὸς με· «μὴ κατοκνήσης διὰ Θεὸν τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος τούτου, ἀλλὰ λαβῶν χάρτην καὶ

f. 89

мѣжо(ѵ). нже члч(с)ко нѣчпо поспрадабѣ, не вѣровааше чюдодѣнствѣмыи(м̄) ѿ бл҃жеи нныѣ. мнѣше ево не радн поѣ паковаа чю(д̄)а езвръшати еѣ, нж ра(д̄)а своего прѣкмо чл҃кюбѣа же н мл(с)пн. пѣмже н помыслы члч(с)кыми борнмь бѣ. воко ѣво не вѣрѣж чю(д̄)дѣнствѣмыи(м̄) вѣ новѣ, воко(д̄)а же вѣрѣж пѣмь. вѣ единь оубо ѿ дн̄и вѣ ползднѣ сице нмашиѣ, гвѣтѣт еа емѣ на водѣ лежѣшиѣ н спашиѣ мартииз артоклннѣ. нже спыа оуецѣ бѣше, знаем же помѣ гоі спѣ по вѣремѣ сыи. н ре(с̄) мола его. како пры рекъ вѣседѣно любнши ма, мама же еіа мола прошеніа ѣрѣ(д̄)нѣ не испленѣешн. онжекѣ нем(ѣ) нкалсѣ(п̄) еіа ѿ дрѣгвѣ, нзрѣ днѣншии ре(с̄). н марп̄нѣ. мнѣжнѣж молнх пѣ ре(с̄), јако да нѣкопѣрыми канѣ ны спѣѣ похвалнши. ѡн же. н коѣ вн нж прѣпн нма(м̄) јако да езплепѣ пѣ(х̄). нѣ еж(п̄) ево поѣ подвнн поспннчѣпн. нн мл(с̄)ісыкыѣ мѣры. нн чюдѣѣ показаніа..... не оуничижан дрѣже г̄а рад..... ма дѣаніа. нж вѣзе(м̄)х, н јаже пн рекѣ.....

κάλαμον ἄπερ σοι λέγω
συγγράφου.»

p. 22,6–23

λαβὼν αὐθις κάλαμον
ἅμα καὶ χάρτην, γελοι-
ᾶζων πρὸς τοῦτον ἔφην·
«λέγε ἅ βούλει· ἐτοιμῶς
ἔχω τοῦ γράφειν ὅσα ἂν
προσφωνῆς μοι.» ὁ δὲ φησι
πρὸς με· «ποιήσον πρὸς τὸ
ὀδηγήσαντα πάλαι θεοφα-
νείας λαμπτήρα φωτοειδῆ
ἔθετο τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σε Χρι-
στός.» καὶ αὐθις ἔξυπνος
ἐγενάμην, εἰς μνήμην φέ-
ρων τὸν ῥηθέντα μοι λό-
γον. ἔξαναστας δὲ τῆς κλί-
νης καὶ τὸ μελανοδόχον
λαβόμενος σκεῦος, ἅμα δὲ
καὶ τόμου τινὸς εὐχρηστον
μέρος, ἠρξάμην γράφειν,
ἄπερ καθ' ὑπνους ἐρρέθη,
καὶ τοσοῦτον ὁ νοῦς μου
κατήπειγε τὴν χεῖρα, ὥστε
μῆτε τὴν βαφήν τοῦ καλά-
μου συγχωρεῖσθαι τελεῖν
με· καὶ αὐθις τοὺς δύο ἅμα
συνεγραψάμην κανόνας,
τὸν εἰς τέταρτον τόνον
ὄντα καὶ τὸν εἰς πλαγίου
δευτέρου. ἔκτοτε γοῦν βε-
βαίαν πίστιν περὶ ταύτην
λαβὼν, ἐδεόμην ἀεὶ τὴν
ταύτης ἀντίληψιν καὶ τὴν
πρὸς Θεὸν παρρησίαν.
31. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον
πάλιν ἢ αὐτῇ μοι ἐπέστη
ἀπρεπῆς δυσπιστία καὶ
ἐμερίζετό μου ὁ νοῦς εἰς πί-

f. 89 v.

КЪ НЕМОУ. РЪЦИ НАМЪ ТАЖЕ ХОЩИ. ГОПОЛ
ВЪ КЪ ЕМЪ ПИСАТИ ЕЛНКА ОУСПЫ РЕ(Ъ)ШН МН
Н АРПОКЛИНЪ ЕЖЕ ГЛАТИ НАЧАПЪ ЕЩЕ.
БГОКНАДЕНІА СВѢПНАНКА СВѢПОВНА
ПОСТАВИ ЦРКВИ ТБЕБЕ ХЪ КЪ НАСТАВЛШЕИ
МОУ ДРЕВЛЕ. Н ТАКО ДБТЕ ѿ СЗНА ВЪСТА
ВЪ, ПѢСНЬМИ ОНѢМИ ТАКО ИМѢЖ НАПЛЫ
НЕНѢ ОУШИ, ВЪЗЕМЪ ВЪ РЖКОУ ХАРПІЖ
Н ПРЪЗІТЬ, ПРѢ(Д)РЧЕННЖА НАПИСА ПѢ
СНЬ. Н ѿ СЕГО НАЧЕНЪ, ВЪ ПЪИ ЧА(С) КАНОНА
СЪПИСА ДВА. ОУМНЖА СКОРОВОТЬ ПРЪСТЬ
ВРЪЗОСТІЖ ПОВѢЖДАЖ. ѿПОЛН ОУ
КЪ НЗВѢСТНЖА ВѢРЖ О ПРП(Д)ВНѢИ ПРІЕ(М),
МОЛШЕ СЪ ЕИ Н ТОЖ ПРИЗЫВААШЕ ЗА
СТЖПЛЕНІЕ. МАЛОУ ЖЕ ПРѢШЕ(Д)ШОУ ВРѢ
МЕНН, ПАКЪ ПРѢ(Д)ВАРИММИ БОРИМЪ
ВѢШЕ ПЪМЫСЛЫ. Н ВЪ ВѢРЖ Н НЕВѢРІЕ
ПОГО РАЗДѢЛѢАШЕ СЪ ОУМЪ. Н ЧТО ЕЖЕ
О СИ(Х). ДНТЕ ПРѢНДОШЖ НЕ МАЛН, Н НЕДЖ(Г)
НАПАДЕ ЕГО ЛЮТѢИШІИ. ИВЪ РЫВІЦА
ЕГО ѿ ЧРѢВНЫЖ ТОПЛОТЫ ВРѢЖ(Д)ЕН...
БЫВШЕ, БОЛѢЗНИ ПЪКОРѢХЪ ЧРѢ.....
.....ЕМОУ ЗАПЪКОРШОУ СЪ.....
.....МѢ(Х) НАСЛАНѢ ПР(Д)Р.....
.....ПѢ ЕЩЕ ИМѢЖ М.....

στιν κάπιστίαν· καὶ ὀλίγου καιροῦ παρωχηκός, περιέστη μοι ἀδόκητος νόσος κατατρύχουσά μου τὸ σῶμα· τῶν νεφρῶν ἐκ τῆς χολώδους θερμότητος λιθιασάντων, ὀδύναι καὶ πόνοι κατὰ τῶν λαγόνων τεχθέντες ἐξέθλιβόν με μεγάλως. ἐκ δὲ τῆς τούτων ὀδύνης καὶ ἢ τῶν ἀναγκαίων χειρῶν ἐπεσκέθη μοι ἔκκρισις καὶ γέγονα ὡσεὶ ἄσκος ἐν πάχνη,

pp. 22,23 – 23,3

ἐν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτὰ ὄλαις ἡμέραις δεινῶς πιεζόμενος. πολλῶν δὲ ἰατρῶν εἰς ἐμὲ ἐλθόντων καὶ μυρίων φαρμάκων διὰ τῶν ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς ἐπιτεθέντων, οὐδεμία μοι ἐλπίς σωτηρίας ἐδηλοῦτο. πάντων δὲ ἐξαπορησάντων καὶ ἀπόφασιν θανάτου προσμελετώντων, ἔφη πρὸς με ὁ ἀνωτέρω μνημονευθεὶς μοι συνομαίμων, ὁ διὰ τῆς χάριτος τῆς ἀγίας ἐκ τοῦ φάρυγγος ἀποσπασθεὶς τοῦ θανάτου· «οἶδας, ἀδελφέ, ὅτι ἀπέκαμέν σοι τῶν ἰατρῶν ἢ ἅπανα τέχνη καὶ τί μέλλεις λοιπὸν ποιεῖν ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ θύραις τὸ τέλος καὶ ἡμᾶς πάντας καταλιμπάνεις· ἀλλὰ δεῦρο ἄκουσον

f. 90

ΔΕΙΛΠΗ(Χ̄) Η̄ ΣΕΔΜΗ(Χ̄) ΒΖΣΦ(Χ̄) Δ̄ΝΕΧ̄, ΛΥΤΟЖ
 СЕЖ ДРЖЧИМЪ ВЪШЕ БОЛѢЗНИЖ.
 ΜΗΥΓΟΜ ЖЕ ВРАЧЕМЪ ПРИЗВАНΟМЪ БЫ
 ВШЕМЪ Η̄ РАЗЛЧНЫМЪ ПРИНЕСЕНЕМЪ
 БЫВШИМЪ ЛѢЧБАМЪ, НИ ЕДИНЖ ЖЕ ЦѢЛ
 ЛЬБЖ ПОЛОУЧАШЕ ЧЛѢКѢ. НЕДОСМѢВШЕ(М)
 ΟΥΚΩ ΠΡΟΠΗΚΒ̄ ΛΥΤΟΜΟΥ ΝΕΔЖГ̄ УНОΙ
 ΜΟΥ ΒΖΣΦЕМЪ, ВЫШЕ РЕЧЕНЫИ АРТОКΛΗ
 Η̄Ζ ΓΑΒΗ ΣΑ ΕΜΟΥ. Η̄ЖЕ РАДН БЛГ(Δ̄)ΠΗ Σ̄Π̄ЫЖ
Ω̄ ΕΑΜΟΓΟ ΓΡ̄ΖΠΑΝѢ НЕΠΡ̄ΖГЫИ ЕГО СЪЛ
 ΜΡЪТНАΑΓΟ. В̄НДѢ ЛН Ω̄ СЛ(Δ̄)ЧАНШ̄ИИ
 БРАПЕ КЪ ΝΕΜΟΥ РЕКЪ, ТАКО НА ПЕБѢФЪ ΒΖΣΦ
 ВРАЧЕВЕСКАА НЕДОСМѢФ̄ ΧΥΠΡΟΣΠЪ; Η̄ ΣΕ
 ΟΥЖЕ ΠΗ Δ̄ΒΕΡΕ(Χ̄) ΚΟΝΕЦЪ. Η̄Ж ΓΡΑДН Η̄ ВЪЛ
 ΡΟΥΗ ΜΗ БЛΓΑΠΗ СЗВѢФΟΥЖЦЮУ. Η̄ ПОСЛН
 Η̄БКОЕГО КЪ БЖ(С̄)ПВНΕΜΟΥ С̄П̄Х̄ АП(С̄)ЛЪ Χ̄ΡΑ
 ΜΟΥ, Η̄ ДА ΒΖЗМЕ(Π̄) ΒΟДЖ Ω̄ Η̄ЖЕ ПΑΜΟ СЛΛ
 Δ̄ЧАНШ̄ИИHX̄ БВДЪ. Η̄ ПОКРОПЛЕНІЕМЪ
 ΜΟЩЕН С̄П̄ЫА̄ Θ̄ΕΟΦΑΝЫ Ц̄РЦ̄Ж̄ С̄ІА̄ ΩΙ
 С̄П̄И Η̄ Ω̄ Η̄ЖЕ ПΑΜΟ БЖ(С̄)ПВНЫ(Χ̄) ΚΑΝДН
 ... (ΜΔ) ΕΛΟ ΒΖΖЕМЪ, ДА ПРИНЕСЕП̄ К ПЕБѢФ.
 ... ΕΩ ΕΕΜΟΥ СЗВѢФΟΥ ΛΥΒ.....

μου και ἀποσταλήτω τις ἐξ
 ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον τέμενος
 τῶν σοφῶν Ἀποστόλων και
 λαβέτω ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκεί-
 νων ναμάτων καθαρῶτα-
 τον ὕδωρ και ἀπομυρυσάτω
 [p. 23] τὸν τάφον τοῦ ὁσίου
 πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μεθοδίου και
 τὸν τῆς ἁγίας Λάρονακα και
 Θεοφόρου Θεοφανῶ βασι-
 λίσσης και λαβέτω ἔλαιον
 ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖσε φωτοφόρων
 κανδηλῶν·

.....ορεα, да бѣде(п̄) по.....
μου. емюу ж.....

p. 23,5–18

ἐγὼ δὲ λαβὼν τὸ σκεῦος, ἐν
 ᾧ τὰνάματα ἦσαν, και τὴν
 βοήθειαν τῶν ἁγίων και
 τῆς Θεοφόρου Θεοφανῶ
 τὴν ἐπικουρίαν προσκα-
 λεσάμενος ἔπιον ἀφειδῶς,
 μέχρις ὅτου ἐξωγκώθην
 τοῖς σπλάγχνοις· και
 ἄμα τῇ καταπόσει τοῦ
 ἁγιάσματος ἐπετάθη μοι ὁ
 καταγάστριος πόνος, ὥστε
 δοκεῖν με διαοραγῆναι και
 θνήξαι. μικρᾶς δὲ ὥρας
 παρελθούσης, ἡ ἔκκρισις
 τῶν ὑγρῶν μου τῇ κύστει
 παρέστη και εἰς τοσοῦτον
 τὸ σσηπὸς τρυγῶδες
 ὑγρὸν ἐξεχύθη, ὥστε δύο
 πλησθῆναι ὑέλινά σκεύη·
 ὀπιθεν δὲ τούτου συνεκ-
 πεπτῶκει λίθος πυρρῶζων,
 ἐρεβίνθου μέγεθος ἔχων.
 εὐθέως ἡ τοῦ δεξιοῦ λα-
 γόνος ἐλώφησε τιμωρία.

f. 90 v.

надоу сѧ емюу чрѣво и аτροва. ѿ ни(х̄) же
 толико сѣлнѣ болѣзнь недѣгоуѣи
 мою привы(с), елико мнѣти пѣхъ рѣз
 сѣдшѣ сѧ, и нѣж(д̄)нѣ дшѣ изврѣгнѣ
 ти. нѣ кпо гѣже ѡ блженѣн ѿеοфанѣ сн
 лы пвож вѣзглѣпъ х̄е. не мнѡго бѡ по
 срѣдѣ. и толико разгнит сѧ и виѣца
 его мокрота нѣдѣ сѧ, јѧко пѣзномѣ
 быти двѣма спѣкѣнома изѣждома.
 поглѣжде же сн(х̄), камыкъ чрѣвенѣ ꙗ
 коже зрѣно ревиѡево нѣврѣже сѧ, и
 двѣ десна спѣна ѿ несѣтрѣпимыѣ
 болѣзни облегчн сѧ. и не по мнѡгы(х̄)
 чѣрѣ(х̄), и лѣвыѣ спѣны болѣзни на
 чѣшѣ пакы вѣзрѣспати, двѣ оѣце
 нныи(х̄) ѡнѣхъ вѡдѣ вѣ сыпотиѣ прѣе(м̄),
 ꙗкобѡе пологчн зѣспѣплѣнѣе. и про
 чѣе блг(д̄)п̄ѣж бѣѣж. и прп(д̄)ѡбныѣ ѿе

καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς πάλιν
ῥάρας καὶ ἡ τοῦ εὐωνύμου
ἤρξατο ἐπαυξάνειν ὀδύνη·
καὶ πάλιν τῶν ἁγιασμάτων
εἰς κόρον ἐμφορηθεὶς τῆς
αὐτῆς ἔτυχον σωτηρίας.
καὶ ἔκτοτε χάριτι θεία
καὶ τῇ τῆς ἁγίας θεοφό-
ρου πρεσβείᾳ ἐκ τῆς τοι-
αύτης νόσου παντελῶς
ἀπηλλάγην. ἡνίκα δὲ
ἀπότοτε μικρὰ μοί τις ἐξ
ἀπροσεξίας προσνύσσει
τοῖς νεφροῖς ὀδύνη, τῶν
θείων αὐτῆς ἐμφορούμενος
ναμάτων, τὴν υἰεῖαν ὡς
ἐκ τινος πηγῆς ἀεννάου
ἀπολάβω.

p. 23,19 – 24,8

32. ταῦτα τὰ τῆς πτωχῆς
ἐμοῦ διανοίας τῆς θεοφό-
ρου βασιλίδος τὰ ἐκ πίστε-
ως διηγήματα· ταῦτα τῆς
ὄντως ἐκ θεοῦ μεμελημέ-
νης τὰ ἐκ βρέφους ἱερὰ
προτεορήματα· ταῦτα τῆς
ἐκ μήτρας ἁγιασθείσης
τὰ λαμπρὰ κατορθώμα-
τα· ταῦτα τῆς ἐκ μήτρας
ἁγιασθείσης καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ
εἰς κοινωνὸν βασιλείας
ἐκλεχθείσης τὰ σεπτὰ δι-
ηγήματα· αὕτη ἡ εἰς τὰ
βασίλεια ψήφω θεοῦ ταύ-
της ἀνάβασις καὶ ἡ ἐν τοῖς
βασιλείοις κρυπτομένη διὰ
Χριστὸν ἄσκησις· αὕτη τῶν
θαυμάτων ἡ ἀναβλύζουσα
χάρις καὶ ἡ τῶν πίστει προ-

οφаны МАТЪВАМИ, ΕΚΒΡΩΣΗΝΕΪ ΠΡΕΪ
ΜΕΝ ΕΑ ΠΑΚΟΒΑΓΟ ΛΥΠΕΪΝΣΑΓΟ ΝΕΔΖΙ
ΓΑ, ΨΠΟΛΕΪ ΛΠΕ ΜΑΛΑ ΗΪΚΚΑΛ Ψ ΝΕΒΖΗΗ
ΜΑΗΤΑ ΚΟΛΦΕΖΝΗ ΡΥΒΗЦΑΜЪ ΕΓΟ Π.....
.....Ε, ΕЖ(Ε)ΠΚΕΝΗΝΙΜЪ ΠΡΟΛ.....
.....ΨΠΕΝΗΝΙΜЪ ΕΩΔΑΜ.....
.....ΕΜΕΪΕΪΣΗ ΕΑ. ΕΪ.....

f. 91

арыж црцж исправленїа. еїа нже ѿ
апробы вѣщенныа такоже самѣназ,
їаже ѿ младенѣтва чюднаа нзачѣствѣ.
еїе еже ѿ бѣ нзбранїе на цр(ε)кка пж взи
звѣен, н нже вж цр(ε)кын(х) хѣ радн пощѣ
нїе. ен чюдєєз блг(д)тѣ н нже єз вѣрож
кж нен прнходѣн(х), нсѣвленїн дарѣ
ванїа. ннаа же їаже врѣма забьвє
нїа глжбнннми покры безчнєлна єж
ца, копорое εΛΟΒΟ εκαζαπн вжзможє(п̄).
о хѣ ісѣ гн нашємъ. єз ннм же ѿцѣ
коѣпно єз єп̄имъ дх̄омъ, слава. арж
жава. чьспѣ н поклонѣнїе. нннѣ н
прєно н вж вѣкы вѣкѣмъ аμнн.

σιόντων αὐτῇ τῶν ἰάσεων
δωρεά: αὐτῇ τῶν θλιβομέ-
 νων ἢ ἀψευδῆς σωτηρία
 καὶ τῶν εὐημερούντων ἢ
 ἀκλόνητος στήριξις: τὰ δὲ
ἄλλα ὅσα ὁ χρόνος διὰ τὸν
 φόβον εἰς λήθην παρέπεμ-
 ψε, τίς ἄρα ἐφίκοιτο λόγος
 ἐκοντὶ γὰρ ταῦτα σιωπῇ
 τιμᾶσθαι ὁ λόγος παρακε-
 λεύεται. (...)

δι' ἧς τὴν εὐχαριστίαν καὶ
 τιμὴν καὶ προσκύνησιν
 προσάγομεν [λεγε· προσά-
 γωμεν] τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ
τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ ἅμα τῷ ἀγίῳ καὶ
ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ
ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν
αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

SUPPLEMENT

Below we provide an English translation¹¹⁴ of the fragments of the Slavonic text that do not appear in the Greek recension:

f. 62 v.

And thus he proclaimed with tears: “Alas, passions! Who is going to be my helper from now on? Who will be my counsellor in cares? Who will stretch a hand of help and consolation... [to] tend [me], suffering in grief.”

...remaining good and in *f. 63* the house. Oh resemblance of nature! What envy carried away such a good part of the order [state, κατασκευῆς] of the Greeks?

What smoke has driven away my sweet bee?

For a joyful gathering all withered into a tomb. Our sun set down under the earth and suddenly we became sun-less. The shining star, you hid yourself from the royal [chambers, τῶν βασιλείων], because a mortal cloud covered you, and we have been left in a night without

(114) English translation by Juliana Dresvina.

light. The children are crying over you. The new queen is weeping. All subjects are moaning. All royal [household = τὰ βασιλεία] is filled with miserable voice. All city is weeping violently not being able to tolerate the want of you... and all is cr[ying] ever more than before...

f. 66 v.

...[Leo was] grieving again and sorrowing, together with the wife and the child being deprived of the necessities. And this inflamed in them the fire of sorrow of the Chaldean furnace sevenfold seven times, for, despite any righteous reason, they were cast into the dungeon. Thus, Leo the most wise, seeing this...

f. 67

...when I was adorned with bright and royal vestments and was praised as honourable by all who were regarding me. When I was comforted by frequent bathing, and my meals were filled with various foods, when the multitude of attendants waited on me with servitude. Why didst Thou suffer this most unjust affliction to befall me?... Thou art the one who had heard Joseph weep[ing] in his pit... and from... delivered him and on the highest [or: on the first, depending on reading] dignity, even if... ...have mercy, for...

f. 67 v.

... [shall not be delivered] by the greatness of his strength, A horse is vain for safety [Ps 32:16–17 LXX Brenton's tr.].

False monk and apostate Theodor *has opened a pit, and dug it up, and he shall fall into the ditch which he has made* [Ps 7:15 Brenton's tr.] And Thou yieldest him a worthy retribution as to the arrogant one. For Thou art the one opposing those proud like him... [like] us humble... retribution [cf. Jam 4:6] and all this Leo the Most Wise... to God.

f. 68

When truth will be revealed, we will be the keepers of royal sceptres, so that we do not accept the speeches of the accusers, neither unmercifully oppress the subjects, namely those who are under our authority. And we also forgive the misers. And those in poverty and want we always remember with the necessities. And abundant food to those... and cloth the naked.

f. 69

...winter is cruel because of the cruel [things] happening to us, but the warmth of pleasure lying ahead of us is sweet. For He will not forget us to the end [cf. Ps 102:9 LXX]...

f. 69 v.

for you are the king, anointed from the very [mother's] womb and adorned with a royal diadem, and you sufficiently enjoyed both sweetness [*lit.* "food"; a common confusion in the Slavonic texts due to the similarity between τρυφή and τροφή] and glory from your infancy, and never suffered any sorrow. You have never seen poverty, nor known the wrath of a judge; you have never experienced bonds, and therefore it has been suffered for you to be tempted — so that when you are elevated to the height of the kingship, you will be well-inclined towards all your subjects. But *do not regard lightly the discipline of the Lord, or... [lose heart] when you are punished by him; [for]... the Lord [disciplines] those whom he loves...* (Heb 12:5–6)

f. 72

...and, as one would say, from his eyes he streamed down a whole river, and received all moaning and sighing unuttered. When King Basil went out [to him] and saw him in this state and ent[ered]...

f. 75 v.

...cried out: "Glory to Thee oh Lord!", and the king and the father heard these people, and, having wondered at the wise love of the people and having praised their diligence and having accepted it sweetly, he turned round and took his son and king by the hand, and entered the church rejoicing. And when the divine service was over, they both returned to the royal [palace] again, and then offering a rich dinner to all the assembly, the royal feast... different, yet...

f. 76

"...But you, like dogs of Christ, bark accordingly, driving away wild wolves from the sacred fence of the church, saying: ...dogmas, because...

f. 76 v.

...devoid of wisdom. And forgive to those sinning, *lift not up your horn on high; speak not unrighteousness against God* (Ps 74:6 LXX Brenton's tr.), take away nothing from your neighbours, provide a helping hand and comfort for those who are in distress and fallen into sorrow, be unpaid physicians to those having ailments, open the *bowels of mercies* (Col. 3:12) to the misers, and, to cut it short, keep to all things that are good, and no evil will be able to affect you." Having said this, he named Leo as the Autocrator of the Greeks, and laid over him the royal diadem and the purple gown. He also ordered Alexan-

der to rule with him as a governor. Having arranged these [things], Basil... faith...

f. 77

[se]eing the sun covered with some small stone as if by a vault, which [sun] rising from the royal [palace] as it were from the netherworld and shining brightly, enlightened all the subjects and blinded the eyes of the adversaries by the rays sparkling like a flash of lightning. Fire-like rays descending from your orb, and those [enemies] were made come to light as bastards.

f. 77 v.

...how can you, heaven, hearing my weeping, not commiserate with me, nor clothe yourself in laments of clouds? How can you, the sun, not hide your light, seeing as set down the one who, as it can be said, enlightened everything under the sun more than you did? How did the good-speaking lips that tasted sweeter than honey lapse into silence? How did the good-uttering tongue, singing better than a melodious nightingale, become idle? Who will satisfy our needs, oh most beloved Father?

f. 79 v.

...also a bast mat together with poor sackcloth vestments, on which she leant, barely partaking of some sleep, yielding to her natural needs. From them she got up at night every hour to render fitting thanks to God, saying: *Blessed are the undefiled in the way, who walk in the law of the Lord* (Ps 118:1 Brenton's tr.) and *At midnight I arose, to give thanks to thee for the judgments of thy righteousness* (Ps 118:62 LXX Brenton's tr.), and the rest of the Psalm. Because of such living and such bad agony and hard labour, most fierce illness entered her body. But the words of the apostle came true in her: *though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed* (2 Cor 4:16). For seeing her most beautiful body to be so humbled by this utterly cruel living, she acted neither doughtily nor faint-heartedly, but, following Job the Long-suffering in... giving thanks...

f. 80 v.

...may you not become weak in vanquishing the enemies, who like aggressive (= not meek) wolves assault the flock of verbal sheep of Christ. Never be angry out of place, because you know that the royal wrath is like an attack of a fearsome lion. Have mercy on transgres-

sors. Find a measure of justice for those unjustly oppressed. Turn your eyes mercifully towards those who address you with requests, for you know not — what if the Lord is among them? Do not agree easily with those who speak against someone. And, in short, adhere to all that is good... this Lord and immortal... [hel]per in everything...

f. 81

...until he laid her in the shrine, thus it was to be safe (translation after comma is conjectural). Leo the king then, not tolerating the departure [from this world] of his good wife, bitterly wept and cried out with tears, saying: "Why such a reversal from good [to bad] has happened to me? Why did the wakeful eye, which was prompt to notice the divine, fall asleep? Why is the good-uttering and sweet tongue silent, why do the lips sweeter than honey and pronouncing good things remain soundless? Why have the hands, which were constantly lifted up in prayers, grown motionless? Why has the royal light disappeared? Why has the lantern which used to shine everywhere and enligh[ten through its] good deeds been covered, as if by some stone? ...praise...

f. 81 v.

...and beautiful in body. Why did a Greek unbreakable wall, as if defeated by some sling with deadly stones, suddenly fall down? It is by her wise reasoning the Greek authority was saved and was run well. Who cut down this broadleaf and well-rooted plane-tree? Because I know the truly most beloved golded plane-tree, and with it the royal [palace] was covered, or, better to say, the whole royal city, inside of which, gathering in the grace and virtues of your soul, as if upon branches, doves and nightingales were sitting, singing doves and nightingales were sitting, among your soul's virtues, singing most sweetly, and we, who were attending to this, were rejoicing. Now the bitter reaper, Death, has come and harvested you with its own sickle, and here you lie as a touching spectacle for those who see you, and it is truly worthy of crying. Who dried out a cypress appearing so tall? Who withered an ever-blossoming olive tree? ...the one which has sweet fruits and corn-... showed without moist... wither... cup. Who...

f. 82

...envied. Whither did the beautiful and wilderness-loving [τρουγῶν ἢ φιλέρημος, a common epithet applied to John Baptist, at least since John Chrysostom] turtle-dove fly away? You then, while still dwelling

in the royal [palace], abode as if a hermit of a desert, and welcomed the life of fasting. Whither did the wonderful dove fly away, *whose wings [were] covered with silver, and her breast with yellow gold* (Ps 67:14 LXX Brenton's tr.), having left her spouse? And, as in the days of old, when Noah wanted to know the end of the flood, he sent a dove out of the ark, who brought an olive branch in its mouth.

f. 82 v.

And all were vanity and waywardness of spirit (Eccl 1:14). Saying this, the Autocrator was beating his breast with his hands, and, hitting his cheeks, cried out with grief: 'What is the point to live for the one who will have to dwell in the darkness of sorrow, as the sun of delight has set towards the Occident?'

f. 87

Cast me not off at the time of old age; forsake me not when my strength fails; O God, forsake me not (Ps 70:9, 18 LXX Brenton's tr.). Thus the old man wept all night long, without any single consolation, having the child in the same way as before.

f. 91

...good deeds of the wise queen, of this one who was sanctified from her birth like Samuel, and her excellences, which were wonderful from her childhood. This choice by God elevated her to kingship and to the fasting for Christ's sake in the royal [palace]. What word can express the grace of miracles and the gift of healing that are granted to those who come to her with faith, those [miracles], which the time has covered with the depth of oblivion [due to] their multitude? To our Lord Jesus Christ, together with the Father and with the Holy Spirit, is the glory, the power, the honour and the worship, now and forever and to the ages of ages. Amen.

SUMMARY

The *editio princeps* of the Slavonic version of the lost Greek recension of the *Life* of Theophano the Empress, which was found in the Slavonic manuscript Nr 51 from the A. F. Gilferding collection of the State Public Library in St. Petersburg. The lost Greek original was probably composed in the Palaeologan period and translated into Slavonic shortly thereafter. The text of the life appears along with an anonymous contemporary life published by E. Kurtz and the *Life* of Theophano by Nikephoros Gregoras.

THE FEAST OF POKROV, ITS BYZANTINE ORIGIN, AND THE CULT OF GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR AND ISAAC THE PARTHIAN (SAHAK PART^CEV) IN BYZANTIUM

In the following paper I will try to show that the feast of Pokrov emerged from Armenian traditions in Byzantium and is preserved in Byzantine traditions in Russia. Thus, the article contains two major parts, “Byzantino-Slavica” and “Armeno-Byzantina,” with a third section as a kind of conclusion.

The cult of St Gregory the Illuminator in Byzantium from the middle of the ninth to the early tenth century and its role in the ideology of the Macedonian dynasty and its earlier background is another main subject of the following study.¹

PART ONE: BYZANTINO-SLAVICA

1.1. Introduction

The feast of Saint Pokrov, Ἀγία Σκέπη, is presently known in both Russian and Greek liturgical traditions, but the Greek service appeared in the nineteenth century as a translation from Russian Slavonic.² The feast of Pokrov seems to be completely unknown to the Byzantine rite.³ This is not to say that it was never known there. The

(1) This paper is dedicated to the memory of Michail Fëdorovich Muri-anov (1928–1996), whose articles opened to me the Byzantine background of the early Russian liturgy, and Karen Nikitich Youzbashian (1927–2009), who introduced me to the world of Armenian studies and to the twists and turns of Armeno-Byzantine relations under Photius and in the Macedonian period.

(2) WORTLEY 1971, 149–151. See the list of abbreviations at the end of the article.

(3) In 1682, the Moscow correctors of the Russian liturgical books stated that they found nothing of the service for Pokrov in the Greek liturgical books. Cf. А. А. ДМИТРИЕВСКИЙ, Праздник в честь Покрова Пресвятой Богороди-

Russian tradition — that is, the tradition of the Church and its hagiographical documents — insists that, quite to the contrary, the feast was established in Constantinople and was accepted in Russia, which was part of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate. There is, however, another Russian tradition, a scholarly one that begins in the late nineteenth century. This tradition insists that the feast is of Russian origin and was established either in Kiev (Sergij Spasskij 1898)⁴ or Vladimir (Medvedeva and Voronin, in the late 1940s)⁵ or Novgorod (Yusov 2009) somewhere in the pre-Mongolian period (before 1237). According to this viewpoint, the evidence of the feast's Byzantine origins that is found in documents from the Russian Church is not to be taken at face value because it represents nothing more than the requisite claims of authority. Of course there are other opinions, even among the Russian scholars. I will mention some of them below.

The hypothesis of a Vladimir origin of the feast is the most popular among Soviet and post-Soviet scholars. It was refuted in detail by Mariia Pliukhanova already in 1995⁶ but it is still maintained by some scholars, although without any answer to Pliukhanova's criticisms.⁷ For some Russian scholars this hypothesis has been transformed into

цы и величание для него [А. А. ДМИТРИЕВСКИЙ, The Feast in Honour of the Pokrov of the Most Holy Theotokos and the *Megalinarion* for it], *Руководство для сельских пастырей* [*Guidance for Village Priests* (Kiev)] (1885) № 46, 311–316, here 312–313.

(4) СПАССКИЙ 1898.

(5) The idea has been mentioned since the nineteenth century. At that time, Ostroumov published his supposition in a non-scholarly Church review in 1911 [М. А. ОСТРОУМОВ, Происхождение праздника Покрова <The Origin of the Feast of Pokrov>, *Приходское чтение* <Parish Reading> (St Petersburg) (1911) № 19. 401–412]. His paper was a work of journalism rather than scholarship. His claim was then substantiated by N. N. Voronin and his disciple E. S. Medvedeva, first in the latter's thesis (unpublished but widely quoted by Russian art historians to the present): Е. С. МЕДВЕДЕВА, *Этюды о суздальских вратах* [*Essays on the Suzdal Gates*]. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата искусствоведения (Moscow, 1947) (unavailable to me). Cf. Voronin's summarizing paper: Н. Н. ВОРОНИН, Из истории русско-византийской церковной борьбы XII в. II. Праздник Покрова [From the History of the Russo-Byzantine Church Struggle in the Twelfth Century. II. The Feast of Pokrov], *ВВ* 26 (1965) 208–218.

(6) М. ПЛЮХАНОВА, *Сюжеты и символы Московского Царства* [*The Themes and Symbols of the Muscovite Tsardom*] (St Petersburg, 1995) 52–59.

(7) LOSEVA 2009, 130.

a “dogma of creation of the feast of Pokrov by Andrew of Bogolubovo [prince of Vladimir from 1157 to 1174]” (as Pliukhanova put it⁸), opening the way to further far-reaching claims.⁹ Perhaps this dogma retains its popularity because it provides a handy legend to explain the origin of the most beautiful representative of Old Russian architecture, the church of an unknown original dedication established in the twelfth century near Vladimir, on the river Nerl. This church is mentioned in much later sources, and, more important, in modern guidebooks, as dedicated to Pokrov.

The hypothesis of Novgorodian origin is the most recent to appear. It is based on the fact that the earliest documented appearance of certain relevant data is in documents and artefacts of Novgorodian origin. It is corroborated by a specific cult of St Andrew in Novgorod, where Andrew’s Slavic origin (the “Scythian” of the Greek original was rendered as “Slav” in Slavonic versions) is interpreted as “Novgorodian,” and by an affinity between the cult of Pokrov and a purely Novgoro-

(8) “Догма о создании праздника Покрова Андреем Боголюбским” (PLIUKHANOVA 2008, 441, n. 10) in MOLDOVAN 2000, 106, 116–117.

(9) For instance, MOLDOVAN 2000, 106–115: the distribution of the fragments of the *Life of Andrew the Salos* in the Russian Synaxarium (*Prolog*), where the first fragment, on 1 October, is considered to be edited much later than the remaining seven fragments (on 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 12, and 16 October). Moldovan accepts Fet’s dating of the first (short) recension of the *Prolog* to the first half of the twelfth century (MOLDOVAN 2000, 106), but this earlier date is unacceptable to him for the entry on Pokrov on 1 October, which he believes to have been written by prince Andrew of Bogolubovo (MOLDOVAN 2000, 116). However, see LOSEVA 2009, 80–128, on the wider range of possible dating of both the short and long recensions of the *Prolog*, and her observations concerning the inadequacy of Moldovan’s identification of the *Prolog* recension of the *Life of Andrew the Salos* (LOSEVA 2009, 131). In sum, so far we know nothing certain about the recension of the *Life of Andrew* used in the *Prolog* entry on Pokrov on 1 October. Another example of a far-reaching conclusion from the “dogma of Andrew of Bogolubovo” is presented by Loseva herself when she concludes from the fact of the presence of the commemoration of Pokrov in the menologium of a Serbian Gospel of the second quarter of the thirteenth century (Vatican, *Slavo*. 4) that this is a witness of “the direct links of Vladimir-Suzdal Rus’ with Serbia (о непосредственных связях Владимиро-Суздальской Руси с Сербией)” in this period; O. B. ЛОСЕВА, *Русские месяцесловы XI–XIV вв.* [*The Russian Menologia of the eleventh-fourteenth centuries*] (Moscow, 2001) 108. In fact, this is only a witness of some links between Serbia and Rus’ but not anything specific about Vladimir and Suzdal.

dian cult of the icon of Theotokos *Znamēnie* (Holy Sign).¹⁰ These facts can be explained in a more economical way by supposing that the two different Old Russian Pokrov traditions, from Vladimir-Suzdal and from Novgorod, both go back to a common source.

The hypothesis of Kievan origin remains the best supported among the “Russian” hypotheses. No wonder. Its author, Archbishop Sergij Spasskij (1830–1904), whose “Complete Menologion of the East” (*Полный месяцеслов Востока*, 1875–1876) is known by every specialist in hagiography, was the only person among the partisans of the “Russian” view who dealt with hagiographic matters and paid attention to their proper nature, that is, he did not approach the issue as an ordinary historian or philologist. Thus, many scholars agree with Spasskij that the only real alternatives are either Constantinople or Kiev. I, too, share this approach.

Spasskij’s argument was based, first of all, on the history of the Russian *Prolog*, where the commemoration of Pokrov appears in the earliest manuscripts, and second, his thesis was based on the service of the feast. Although many details in his construction have been corrected and changed, the logic of his overall thesis has not been altered.¹¹ However, these reconsiderations seem not to affect very much his logical construction as a whole. Spasskij’s most important claim was in his conclusion that such a total acceptance of the feast throughout all the Russian lands is natural only if the feast had been established by the central Kievan authorities. In fact, even Voronin’s Vladimir hypothesis was nothing more than a modification of the same conclusion, ascribing the central authority not to Kiev but to the Vladimir of Prince Andrew (an approach that is unacceptable especially from the point of view of Church history, as Pliukhanova demonstrated).

Thus, I see no reason to abandon Spasskij’s conclusion that the feast of Pokrov was established for the whole Russian Church in Kiev. There are some reasons, however, not to accept his view that the feast was *created* in Kiev as well.

(10) See Yusov 2009, 37–38, cf. 55–65. Yusov considers this hypothesis as the most plausible but not proven.

(11) See especially LOSEVA 2009 for the *Prolog* and Yusov 2009 for the service, both with detailed previous bibliography and discussion.

1.2. The Theoretical Impossibility of the “Russian” Approach

The main reason for the development of a “Russian” view in the first place is the complete silence of the Byzantine sources. Indeed, this silence is considered as sufficient cause to declare fictitious the whole Russian tradition of a Constantinopolitan origin of the feast.¹² The weakness of such reasoning is obvious because we know other examples of complete silence in the Byzantine sources on important events concerning both Byzantium and Russia, *e.g.*, the Baptism of Rus’ in 988. As far as I know, nobody declares this story fictitious because it is not mentioned in Byzantine sources. But let us look at the methodological basis of the “Russian” approach more closely. Rejection of some Russian sources is not its worst sin.

In fact, the “Russian” approach presupposes that the Russians, in order to address their own liturgical needs, which were quite different from those of Byzantium, searched through Byzantine books in order to find something they could use, but something that was not used already by the Greeks. In this way, they came across a story of a vision in the *Life* of a saint who was never especially venerated in Russia before, Andrew the Salos.¹³ Alternatively, if one of the Slavonic versions of the *Life* of Andrew became available before the hypothetical date of the feast’s establishment in Russia, the idea to use this particular text as the main source implies that the popularity of St Andrew had arisen explosively in Russia at this time, with no known cause. Following this hypothesis, the Russians would have created their feast and invented its false history of establishment under Leo the Wise in order to make this new liturgical custom more authoritative.

The probability of such a chain of events is similar to that of violating the second law of thermodynamics: although technically the probability is greater than zero, in practice, it will never happen.

(12) Cf., *e.g.*, СПАССКИЙ 1898, 283–284.

(13) A correlation between the cult of Andrew the Salos and the cult of Pokrov in Russia is proven, at least, for the North-West Russian lands (Novgorod principality); see the culturological and textological proofs in Yusov 2009, 58–65, and И. Е. Юсов, Службы Андрею Юродивому и Покрову Пресвятой Богородицы: историко-культурные и межтекстовые связи [I. E. Yusov, The Services to Andrew the Salos and the Pokrov of the Most Holy Theotokos: historic-cultural and intertextual connexions], *Древняя Русь* (2008) Nr 2 (32), 85–90.

First of all, one would need to show at least one example of a similar history of some feast somewhere in the Christian world, even if not in Russia. That is, the establishment of a national feast commemorating an event which took place in a foreign land and is known solely from a foreign book, not from a living liturgical tradition. In fact, we know only examples attesting to the opposite procedure for establishing a feast. It was absolutely no problem, in Russia or anywhere else, to establish a new feast commemorating some remarkable events without any need of clothing it in Byzantine dress. Unlike some holy books, the holy feasts do not need pseudepigraphic attribution.

Even if the allegedly pseudepigraphic attribution to Leo the Wise is considered as a later addition to the genuine Russian tradition of the feast, the idea of searching for an appropriate miracle of the Theotokos in the Greek books is beyond the bounds of probability. Why not use any of the already-established feasts commemorating the miraculous intercession of the Theotokos if, for whatever reason, it had been decided that actual Russian realities must be commemorated by relying solely on Byzantine traditions? Why such an obsession to establish a feast that is not Byzantine yet, at the same time, is Byzantine in its content? All these questions must be answered not by relying on psychological reasoning but within the frame of the laws of liturgical development.

Let us therefore consider the methodological basis of the “Russian” approach in a more formal way.

This approach implies that the Russians created a new feast which:

- (1) is not known to the former (Byzantine) liturgical tradition, but
- (2) commemorates some event of the Byzantine past, with no apparent connexion to Rus’, and
- (3) without the appearance of any pertinent object (e.g. relics of Andrew) anywhere in Rus’.

It is apparent from the outset that such an institution, if it is possible at all, would be quite unusual. We find in general two approaches to establishing a new liturgical feast: either a modification of a previously existing liturgical tradition, in conformity with the first law of Baumstark (the Law of Organic Development),¹⁴ or the creation of a

(14) The Law of Organic (Progressive) Development presupposes that the new elements in the liturgy at first take their places alongside the more primitive elements but, in the course of time, cause the latter to be abbreviated and even to disappear completely; A. BAUMSTARK, *Comparative Liturgy*. Tr. A. R. Mowbray (London—Westminster, MD, 1958) 23–24. Cf. R. TAFT, An-

new cult at the place of the commemoration of the event itself, *e.g.*, the relics (grave) of a saint. Such a place (which Delehayé calls the “hagiographical coordinate of place”) for the event of Pokrov is the Blachernae Church in Constantinople but not its replicas, the Russian “Blachernae” churches¹⁵ — thus in accordance with Delehayé’s principles of cult development.¹⁶ In the latter case, however, the new cult will be patterned after previously existing analogous cults and its future will be in conformity with the Law of Organic Development of Baumstark.

In the case of Pokrov, the “Russian” approach provides neither a previous liturgical tradition nor a genuine place of commemoration proper to Rus’. On the contrary, the genuine place of commemoration is clearly a Constantinopolitan one.

There are, of course, alternative paths. There are some legends that were created not “on the graves of martyrs” but purely from an ideology; nevertheless, they resulted in the creation of some specific cults. Among the best known examples are the fourth-century Constantinopolitan legends about St Irene and St Sophia, both of which resulted, first, in the two main cathedrals of the post-Constantinian capital, Hagia Sophia and Hagia Irene.¹⁷ A bit later, modification of the Sophia legend (Sophia and her daughters Pistis, Elpis, and Agape; no later than

ton Baumstark’s *Comparative Liturgy Revisited*, in IDEM and G. WINKLER (eds.), *Acts of the International Congress: Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872–1948)*, Rome, 25–29 September 1998 (Rome, 2001) (OCA, 265) 191–232.

(15) Evgenij Golubinskij believed that the feast could have been established by some private person in one of the Russian “Blachernae” churches: Е. ГОЛУБИНСКИЙ, *История Русской церкви* [*The History of the Russian Church*]. Т. I, вторая половина тома (Moscow, 2nd 1904) 403 [there is a reprint (Moscow, 1997) with different pagination]. This would be probable only if this new Russian Blachernae cult was commemorating something from the already existing Constantinopolitan Blachernae *liturgical* customs. Golubinskij was criticised already by SPASSKIJ 1898, 241–242, but did not take into account his criticisms in the second edition of his book.

(16) See especially H. DELEHAYÉ, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Bruxelles, 2nd 1966) (SH, 13 B); IDEM, *Les origines du culte des martyrs* (Bruxelles, 2nd 1933) (SH, 20); on the concept of “hagiographical coordinates” see IDEM, *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique* (Bruxelles, 1934) (SH, 21).

(17) Cf. M. VAN ESBROECK, *Le saint comme symbole*, in: S. HACKEL (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint. University of Birmingham XIV Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies* (London, 1981) (Studies Supplementary to *Sobornost*, 5) 128–140.

the early fifth century) resulted in two different cults in Rome, *with two different martyria and two different sets of relics*, the martyrs Sapientia and her daughters Fides, Spes, and Charitas in St Pancratius Church on the Via Aureliana (30 September for Sapientia, 1 August for her daughters) and the martyrs Sophia and her daughters Pistis, Elpis, and Agape (17 September) in St Cecilia Church at the St Callixtus graveyard on the Via Appia.¹⁸ One can see that the holy relics appear in due quantity even in the case when the cult is duplicated as a result of two different ways of borrowing and difficulties in translation.

What certainly cannot be seen is the appearance of a cult with no relics or any other marker of the hagiographical coordinate of place. Delehaye's main point is that any cult, in order to be established, must have a proper coordinate of place. Normally, it is the place that appears first, but the inverse order is also possible. What is impossible, however, is the creation of a new cult with no proper coordinate of place at all.

Let us return to our case of the feast of Pokrov. It has no coordinate of place other than that of Constantinople — there are no Russian coordinates of place at all. We must therefore exclude Rus' as a possible place of its creation. To prove the contrary, one needs to demonstrate that there was an earliest form of the Pokrov cult where the commemorated miracle is attributed to some Russian locality. Unless this can be demonstrated, there is only one theoretical possibility, namely, that the feast goes back to the Blachernae Church in Constantinople.

Of course, this possibility faces a major difficulty, for it must account for why this feast disappeared in Constantinople but was preserved in Russia. John Wortley proposed a way to deal with this difficulty already in 1971.

1.3. Wortley's Hypothesis

In 1971, John Wortley published a hypothesis explaining both the rapid disappearance of the feast of Pokrov in Byzantium and its establishment in Russia.¹⁹ Wortley was aware of the existence of Russian sources dating the establishment of the feast to the rule of Leo the Wise (886–912), and considered this dating as probable because of its corre-

(18) F. HALKIN, *Légendes grecques de «Martyres romanes»* (Bruxelles, 1973) (SH, 55) 179–180.

(19) WORTLEY 1971.

spondence to the lifetime of the historical Andrew the Salos (although his *Life* places St Andrew under Leo the Great, 457–474).

Wortley proposed to date the establishment of the feast to the patriarchate of Euthymius (907–912) and, more exactly, to 911. In this case, it is likely that the feast was abrogated by the next patriarch, Nicholas Mystikos, during his second patriarchate (912–925), most likely at the very outset of his tenure, in 912. This action would correspond to the general politics of Nicholas with respect to his predecessor Euthymius.

Euthymius became patriarch after the uncanonical deposition of Nicholas in 907 because of the strict position of the latter in the tetragamia affair. After the death of Leo the Wise, Nicholas returned to his throne and declared the whole activity of Euthymius unlawful. He even went so far as to depose clergy ordained by his predecessor. Unfortunately, in the *Life of Euthymius* the corresponding period is absent because of a lacuna in the only preserved manuscript. Nevertheless, the abrogation of a solemn feast, if it was established by Euthymius, is very likely under Nicholas.

The problem, however, is that such an ephemeral feast is unlikely to have been accepted by the Russians, given that Rus' of this epoch is now considered as a pagan state. Wortley finds an elegant answer by recalling that, in the same epoch, a Russian embassy spent a great deal of time in Constantinople negotiating the peace treaty after the war of the Kievan prince Oleg against Byzantium. The date of the signing of the peace treaty is known exactly: 2 September 911.²⁰ The Russian chronicle (*Primary Chronicle*, so-called *Pověst' vremennyx lēt*) tells us that, before going back to Kiev, the embassy visited remarkable places and attended divine services in Constantinople. The Greeks were trying to impress the Russians by displaying the beauties of their civilisation. Thus, Wortley concludes, it is unlikely that the embassy departed before 1 October. If the feast of Pokrov was already established, its service must have been seen by the visiting Russians, who might then have translated the custom of this feast to Kiev.

(20) This does not take into account the complex problems of the exact dating of Oleg's campaign against Byzantium and the historicity of the previous Russian-Byzantine treaty of 907. These problems are not mentioned by Wortley but they do not affect his argument because, at least, the date of the 911 treaty is not disputed. On the chronological difficulties, see especially А. Г. Кузьмин, *Начальные этапы древнерусского летописания* [A. G. Kuz'min, *The Initial Stages of the Old Russian Chronography*] (Moscow, 1977) 263–265.

Wortley's hypothesis was never refuted but it is largely ignored by scholars writing on the origins of Pokrov.²¹ Unfortunately, just as Wortley did not discuss the Russian bibliography of the topic, so his Slavic colleagues do not mention his article very often and, even in the rare cases when they do mention it, they do not consider it in any depth. Wortley's arguments, however, might easily be supported by evidence from Russian sources.

(21) There has been no discussion of his paper, as Professor Wortley confirmed to me in his e-mail message of 26 August 2010. The only exception is the article by L. RYDÉN, *The Vision of the Virgin at Blachernae and the Feast of the Pokrov*, *AB* 94 (1976) 63–82, here 63, 78–81. Rydén's arguments are as follows: 1. "At that time [911] Russians still had to learn [the] very basics of Christianity. It is not likely that they at this stage were capable of understanding such subtleties as the role played by the Mother of God in the religious life of the inhabitants of Constantinople... If the Kievans adopted the Mother of God as their particular protectress, this would mean that they regarded their city as a new Constantinople." But this was not the case yet; the only known Kievan church of the middle of the 10th century was dedicated to St Elias, not to the Virgin (p. 79–80). — These considerations, however, do not prevent us from supposing that the Theotokos was considered as another heavenly protector of the Kievan Christians, together with Elias; the available data on the earliest years of Kievan Christianity are far from being representative, and are thus insufficient to exclude such a supposition. 2. "If, as Wortley suggests, the passage under consideration in the *Life of Andreas Salos* reflects a feast celebrated at Blachernae on 1 October 911, it follows that Nicephorus [author of the *Life*] committed a rather serious anachronism" when he stated elsewhere that Andreas lived in the fifth century (p. 80). — In fact, Wortley said that 911 is the date of the establishment of the feast, not of the vision itself (cf. below, 1.8, where it is shown that the vision took place earlier than the feast was established). 3. "...if we suppose that the alleged festival on 1 October 911 was arranged to celebrate the vision described in the *Life of Andreas Salos*, we must also suppose that the *Vita* was written before that date," which is extremely unlikely (p. 80). — This argument reveals a tacit assumption that the *Life* was written as a single document all at once, which is in fact impossible (s. below, 1.8.2). I will demonstrate below that the legend of the vision must predate the available recension of the *Life*. 4. It is unlikely "...that the patriarch of Constantinople inaugurated a new festival on the basis of a passage in the *Life of Andreas Salos* just a few years after this *Vita* had been written" (p. 80–81). — This may be true, but the argument implies the same incorrect assumption. Thus, Rydén's argumentation against Wortley is unconvincing.

1.4. The Christian Community in Kiev in the Time of Patriarch Euthymius

In the early tenth century, there was a Christian community in Kiev and, moreover, some Christian participation in the Oleg embassy is very likely. The total number of Russians living in Constantinople, where they lived in their allotted quarter of St Mamas, was at this time several hundred. Most of them were merchants and soldiers in the service of the Byzantine emperor.²²

Although, judging from their names, none of Oleg's ambassadors in the 911 mission appears to have been Christian, the embassy included additional personnel, so the presence of Christians in the party as a whole seems likely. The next time the Russians signed a treaty with Byzantium, in 944, about half of the Russian ambassadors were Christians. They gave their oaths in the church while another group of Russian ambassadors did the same before their idols. Under this date, 944, the Russian *Primary Chronicle* mentions the Church of Prophet Elias in Kiev. The existence of this church at this date is reported as a known fact, which implies that the church existed for a relatively long time before this.²³

The establishment of the Christian community in Kiev goes back to the repercussions of the Russian attack on Constantinople in 860, that is, to the so-called first Baptism of Rus' under Patriarch Photius (the only Baptism of Rus' known to Byzantine sources; s. Photius, *Encyclical Epistle* [867]) and/or under Emperor Basil I and Patriarch Ignatius in about 974 (s. Theophanes Continuatus, *Basilius*, 97).²⁴

(22) See, for details and an estimate of the Russian population, Г. Г. ЛИТАВРИН, Условия пребывания древних русов в Константинополе в X в. и их юридический статус [G. G. LITAVRIN, The Conditions of the Sojourn of the Old Rus'ians in Constantinople in the Tenth Century and Their Legal Status], *ВВ* 54 (1993) 81–92 [reprinted in ИДЕМ, *Византия, Болгария, Древняя Русь (IX – начало XII в.)* [*Byzantium, Bulgaria, and Old Rus' (ninth–early twelfth centuries)*] (St Petersburg, 2000) (Византийская библиотека)].

(23) On the possibility of the existence of a St Elias church in Kiev long before 944, see С. А. ИВАНОВ, Когда в Киеве появился первый христианский храм? [S. A. IVANOV, When did the First Christian Church Appear in Kiev?], *Славяне и их соседи*, вып. 11 (Moscow, 2004) 9–18. There is also a hypercritical point of view according to which the entry in the *Primary Chronicle* corresponding to 944 transposes the realities of the twelfth century.

(24) For the whole dossier, see П. В. КУЗЕНКОВ, Поход 860 г. на Константинополь и первое крещение Руси в средневековых письменных источ-

Thus, there was a good channel by means of which to translate to Kiev the new liturgical custom if it had been established under Patriarch Euthymius. There is no need to speculate how this might have been possible via the pagans. The Russian milieu of Constantinople and, very probably, Oleg's embassy of 911 contained a significant Christian minority.

A specific feast inherited from the epoch of the earliest period of Russian Christianity must have been highly esteemed after the Baptism of Rus' under Prince Vladimir in 988 and it would have become an important part of the common Kievan heritage of all subsequent developments of the Russian Christian tradition.

One can ask why this feast was not abrogated in Rus' at the time it was abrogated in Constantinople, given that the Kievan Christian community was under the omophorion of the Constantinopolitan patriarch. The answer is that only Nicholas Mystikos personally could have been interested in such an action. In his lifetime, however, the relations with the Kievan Christian community were weak and intermittent.

1.5. A South Slavic Alternative

It is known that the Slavonic liturgical and hagiographical texts became available in Kievan Rus' mostly from South Slavs, especially from Bulgaria. The earliest mention of the feast of Pokrov in a South Slavic document goes back to the second quarter of the thirteenth century.²⁵ No wonder that it was usually explained as resulting from Russian influence. But if we are not limited to the "Russian" hypothesis of the origin of the feast, this explanation ceases to be obvious.

In fact, South Slavic manuscripts earlier than the thirteenth century are very rare. Most of the early South Slavic texts are available through the Russian manuscript tradition. Thus, the number of early South Slavic manuscripts available to us is far from being representative.

It is still an open possibility that the Pokrov feast was borrowed by Kievan Rus' from Bulgaria together with the whole set of liturgi-

НИКАХ [P. V. KUZENKOV, *The Campaign of 860 against Constantinople and the First Baptism of Rus' in the Mediaeval Literary Sources*], in: *Древнейшие государства Восточной Европы. 2000 г.: Проблемы источниковедения* (Moscow, 2003) 3–172. The question of how these two ninth-century Baptisms of Rus' are related to one another is still a hotly debated topic.

(25) See above, note 9.

cal books, somewhere in the late tenth century or even earlier, at the time when there was only one Christian church in pagan Kiev. This hypothesis is corroborated by the history of the First Bulgarian Kingdom (ca 681–1018), especially under Symeon I (893–927).²⁶

Symeon had kept peace with Leo the Wise from 904, but almost immediately after Leo's death, in 913, he started the war that lasted until his own death in 927. Before the war, it was normal that Bulgaria, as part of the patriarchate, accepted Constantinople's liturgical innovations. During the war, however, it was not very probable. Therefore, if the feast of Pokrov was established before 913, it is likely that it was accepted by the Bulgarian metropolis. If this feast was abrogated in Byzantium during the war (or even in 912, one year earlier), it is unlikely that it was abrogated in Bulgaria before 1018, when, after the end of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, the real dependency of the metropolis of Bulgaria on Constantinople became much stronger.

This "South Slavic alternative" could seem more probable than a direct impact of Constantinople on Kiev because it corresponds to the most usual routes by which Greek Church culture penetrated Kievan Rus' and does not contradict any established fact. Moreover, it is corroborated by the fact of one relatively early mention of Pokrov in a South Slavic document.

Be that as it may, both alternative hypotheses demonstrate that there were enough means to translate the feast of Pokrov to Kiev if this feast had been established in the period from 907 to 911, and to prevent its abrogation in Kiev after its abrogation in Byzantium in about 912.

1.6. The Original Meaning of the Feast of Pokrov According to Pachomius Logothetos

Pachomius Logothetos, in his sermon on Pokrov²⁷ written in Novgorod for the Novgorodian Archbishop Iona (Jonas) in the 1460s, gives important information unknown from other sources.²⁸ He was

(26) See, as a general introduction: Д. КОСЕВ и др. (ред.), *История на България в четирнадесет тома*. Т. 2: *Първа българска държава* [D. KOSEV *et al.* (eds.), *The History of Bulgaria in fourteen volumes*. Vol. 2: *The First Bulgarian Kingdom*] (Sofia, 1981). Cf. S. RUNCIMAN, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London, 1930).

(27) ВМЧ, cols. 17–23.

(28) His sermon is considered as a compilation based on the *Prolog* sermon on Pokrov and the service of the feast; s. E. A. ФЕТ, *Слова на Покров*

asked to compose a work of high rhetoric based on information provided to him by Russian Church officials. The plot of the story is the same as in the other sources but with one remarkable exception. This is an additional detail explaining the nature of the difficult situation that existed when the Theotokos gave her vision to St Andrew, due to troubles in the Church. The exact wording of Pachomius²⁹ is rather revealing:

Но понеже убо добро есть навъкнути, откуда и коея ради вины сей пречестный Покрова праздник уставивша святей отцы в Костянтинеграде праздновати, елма убо в Костянтинеграде, в немже спасеная содевахуся, но понеже тамо, истинне умаляемей, грех множашеся, яко и при Пророце: виде бо и Давид в Израиле истинну умаляему, помолися глаголя: спаси мя, Господи, яко оскуде преподобнии, и яко умалишася истины от сынов человеческих; егда бо правда одолевает беззаконию, тогда бо милосердие Божие к себе привлечим, а егда ли грех, тогда негодование Божие. Якоже прежде рехом, в Костянтине граде некая стропотная съдевахуся, могуща негодование Божие навести; но нигде же не оставляет Богородица помощию, но непрестанно молится и молитися не престает о человеческом роде.

But it is good to know from where and out of which occasion the holy fathers established in Constantinople to celebrate this most solemn feast of Pokrov. It was still in Constantinople, where [other] salvatory events took place, but because here, when the truth was diminishing the sin was multiplying, as it was under the Prophet. Indeed, when David saw the truth diminishing in Israel he prayed, saying: *Salvum me fac Domine quoniam defecit sanctus quoniam deminutae sunt veritates a filiis hominum* (Ps 11:2 [12:1]). Because [it is known that] when truth overcomes unlawfulness we attract to ourselves God's mercy, but when sin [predominates, we attract to ourselves] God's indignation. As we have said above, in the Constantinian city there took place some evildoings which were able to provoke God's indignation. However, nowhere does the Theotokos leave without help but continuously prays and [she] does not cease to pray of the human race.

[Е. А. Фет, *Sermons on Pokrov*], in: Д. С. ЛИХАЧЕВ (ред.), *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси*. Вып. I (XI – первая половина XIV в.) (Leningrad, 1987), electronic publication at <http://www.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4629>. This evaluation is inexact.

(29) ВМЧ, cols. 18–19, quoted with simplified orthography.

The passage quoted above has no parallel in other widely known sources (although in the next section we will note a parallel in an unpublished source that has never been studied properly).

We know that, normally, the situations of miraculous intercession of the Theotokos were connected with a war or a siege, both in Byzantium and in Rus'. Here, however, the situation was certainly different. If the story had been deliberately invented, it seems extremely likely that a war or siege would have been mentioned as a direct cause of the intercession. Thus, Pachomius' account, with its specific reference to unrest and public danger, appears to be genuine, to reflect the actual events of the time. In the time of Euthymius' patriarchate, only one such instance of Church troubles is likely: it was the time of the tetragamia affair. The fourth marriage of the emperor was considered as a sinful action with a high potential of public danger, and its recognition by the Church appeared as still more dangerous.

Pachomius Logothetos does not mention Leo the Wise nor does he give any other reference that might establish an absolute dating, but his account perfectly fits the historical context presupposed by Wortley's hypothesis. Indeed, there were severe Church troubles at the beginning of Euthymius' patriarchate in 907 that did not cease before the Council of Union in 920, under Nicholas Mystikos (and, indeed, these troubles continued to the late tenth century). The compromise between the two competing Church factions achieved in the *Tomos of Union* of 920 eventually stabilised but, before this, the situation remained especially troublesome. The vision of St Andrew celebrated in the feast of Pokrov would have ideally suited Patriarch Euthymius as a sign of the intercession of the Theotokos fulfilling the lack of legitimacy. But this was certainly not the decision Nicholas Mystikos was able to accept in 912.

Of course, another explanation of Pachomius' passage is theoretically possible. Namely, that he already had in mind the attribution to Leo the Wise and was trying to harmonise his account with this. Leo the Wise is mentioned in the preserved Pokrov texts not earlier than the eighteenth century³⁰ and his name is not traceable in the ear-

(30) "Покров уставися праздновати во дни царя Льва Премудраго в лето 6611 (Pokrov was established to be celebrated in the days of the Emperor Leo the Wise in the year 6611)"; Г. Д. ФИЛИМОНОВ, *Иконописный подлинник сводной редакции XVIII века* [G. D. FILIMONOV, *A Manual of Iconography of the Cumulative Recension of the Eighteenth Century*] (Moscow, 1876) 163. As to the odd date AM 6611 (AD 1103), cf. considerations by ПЛЮХАНОВА, *Сюжеты и*

lier sources. However, our set of sources may be not representative enough, so there is thus nothing preventing this attribution from going back to the time of Pachomius Logothetos and even to the earliest Kievan Christian community. It is doubtful, nevertheless, that Pachomius would not mention Leo the Wise if he were aware of his role. Such a reference would add some authority to the feast, without being in any way compromising. Thus, the most natural explanation is that in the fifteenth-century Novgorodian Pokrov tradition that became available to Pachomius Logothetos via Archbishop Iona, the name of Leo the Wise has been dropped but some memory of the tetragamia affair was still preserved.

1.7. BHG 1136d: a Greek Homily on Pokrov

In the list of the homilies on Pokrov which are considered as being Russian, there are three unpublished ones (all anonymous).³¹ One of them is known in several manuscripts, sometimes under 15 August, as a sermon on the Dormition of the Theotokos. The earliest Russian manuscript (fifteenth century),³² however, places it as a homily on

символы..., 32: in 1103, there was nothing interesting occurring in Constantinople but, according to the *Primary Chronicle*, this is the year of the first Russian victory of a purely miraculous nature (Prince Vladimir Monomachos was praying for a victory over the Polovtsians and, in fear, their army took flight without a battle). Pliukhanova hints that this date could be a trace of some (re)shaping of the feast under Vladimir Monomachos (Kievan prince from 1113 to 1125, in 1103 prince of Perejaslav).

(31) In addition to the two (not three) listed as unpublished by ФЕТ, СЛОВА на Покров (the last item in her list is, in fact, a very well known text published many times within the *Menologion* of Dimitry of Rostov, from the eighteenth century and of no interest to our purpose) a third text appears in MOLDOVAN 2000, 117 (*inc.* Древле Израиля суцаро...). From these three homilies, I was able to check only one (to be discussed in this section), but the two others need to be studied in the future. They may contain some material of Byzantine origin. One of them is a panegyric on Pokrov with the *incipit* “Светлое и преславное настоящее торжество...” which is characterised by Fet as a compilative work of the sixteenth century (based, apparently, on the date of the earliest manuscript) composed from several other sermons on the Pokrov and other feasts of the Theotokos. At least, its beginning is borrowed in the homily of George of Nicomedia (ninth century) on the Conception of the Theotokos by Anna, BHG 1111 (PG 100, 1336–1354).

(32) Russian State Library (Moscow), Bolshakov coll., Nr 66, ff. 204v–214v. According to ФЕТ, СЛОВА на Покров, the sermon is of rare occurrence.

Pokrov. I was able to check another manuscript (dated to 1627 in the colophon), where it is placed under 15 August as a homily on the Dormition.³³ Indeed, the title aside (“Sermon on the Dormition...”), there is absolutely no Dormition motive in the whole of this text. The main motive is the penitence of the faithful and the intercession of the Theotokos, but the Pokrov of Theotokos is present in a long prayer which concludes the homily. Such prayers are a usual feature of the Pokrov homiletics, as Spasskij observed,³⁴ but not of the homiletics associated with the Dormition. The prayer in our homily reveals its liturgical setting, so it would be more fruitful to discuss it a bit later.

1.7.1. The Greek Original and Its Pseudepigraphic Authorship

It is important to state now that, on the basis of *incipit*,³⁵ *desinit*,³⁶ and attribution to the Dormition, our Slavonic homily coincides with the unpublished homily on the Dormition BHG 1136d attributed to Patriarch of Constantinople German II (1222–1240). I think these coincidences are enough to identify the two homilies.³⁷ Unfortunately, I was unable to check any of the Greek manuscripts. Thus, my following consideration must be rechecked and, most probably, corrected

(33) Russian State Library (Moscow), Collection of the Holy Trinity and St Sergius Laura, Nr 681 (*olim* 410), ff. 423–430v. Quoted with simplified orthography.

(34) SPASSKIJ 1898, 263–265, on the prayers in the *Prolog* sermon, that of Pachomius Logothetos, and an anonymous sermon (according to Фет, Слова на Покров, based on Pachomius) published in ВМЧ.

(35) Greek: Πολλαὶ (vel Αἱ πολλαὶ) καὶ διάφοροι πανηγύρεις καὶ ἑορταὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν βίον (vel τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον) καλλωπίζουσι... Slavonic: Многоразлична торжества и праздницы человеческое житие украшают... Translation: “Many and different solemnities and feasts decorate the human life...”

(36) Greek: σὺ γὰρ εἶ μήτηρ ἀληθῶς τῆς πηγῆς τῶν ἰαμάτων Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν· ᾧ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπωμεν... ἀμήν. Slavonic: Ты бо еси воистинну источника целбам Христа Бога нашего, Емуже славу воздаем... Аминь. Translation: “...because Thou art in truth the mother of the source of healings, Christ our God, to Whom we address the glory... amen.” In my Slavonic manuscript the word “mother” is omitted by the scribe but then added in the margin. Halkin, in the *Novum Auctarium* of BHG, indexes one manuscript with a completely different *desinit*.

(37) And to abandon Fet’s conclusion that the sermon was “composed in the fifteenth century by a monk of an unknown monastery [*sc.*, Russian]” (Фет, Слова на Покров).

when both Greek and Slavonic texts are published. At any rate, after the identification of the Greek original of one of the allegedly Russian sermons on Pokrov, the main argument of the partisans of its Russian origin becomes shakier.

The authorship of German is attested in the most of Greek manuscripts³⁸ and was thus accepted by Albert Ehrhard and by the scholarly consensus summarised by Hans-Georg Beck as a mark of German II's authorship.³⁹ However, the attribution to an unspecified Patriarch German is not a rare occurrence in the Byzantine homiletics. If some work ascribed to "Patriarch German" is too late for attribution to German I (715–730), this does not mean that it is to be automatically attributed to German II. Finally, one of the more recently discovered manuscripts, codex Meteor. 516, contains our homily with attribution to John Chrysostom.⁴⁰

There is another reason to doubt German's authorship. Our homily, in its prayer section, mentions "Emperors" in the plural (Slavonic: царей наших сохрани, "our Emperors savest," f. 429v⁴¹). This corresponds to a situation when there were two or more emperors. Such a situation was permanent throughout the reign of Leo the Wise but not in the time of German II. The latter was patriarch under only one Emperor of Nicaea, John III Vatatzes (1221–1254).

Thus, the most reasonable conclusion seems to me that the real authorship of the homily was suppressed (and this stage is preserved in its Slavonic tradition, where the homily is always anonymous) but then the homily was reattributed to the common authorities of the late Byzantine pseudepigraphic homiletics, "German" and Chrysostom.

(38) Ehrhard knew three manuscripts to which one more has been added by Halkin in *BHG* and five more were added by Ehrhard himself in the *Novum Auctarium* of *BHG*. Thus, nine manuscripts are now known to *BHG*.

(39) H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959) (BH, II, 1) 668.

(40) Described by N. A. Bees in 1967 and referred to by Halkin in the *Novum Auctarium*.

(41) Corrected into singular царя нашего on margin. The phrase continues with singular in the next line (ему "to him," *sc.*, to the Emperor).

1.7.2. Liturgical Setting and Contents: Pokrov Vigil

The process of deleting and the subsequent falsification of the authorship of this homily was paralleled by a rethinking of its contents. It is clear that the sermon has nothing to do with the Dormition. It is rightly defined by Fet as “a sermon of moralistic contents.”⁴² Our assurance that it was actually delivered on some festive occasion follows from the opening phrases only (cf. *incipit*). The preacher starts by mentioning the two different manners of celebrating – good and the bad – and from there proceeds to a long moral admonition with appeals to penitence, concluding his speech with a long prayer to the Theotokos. This prayer is a kind of compensation for the complete lack of any other information on the feast being celebrated by the congregation. From this, it is at least clear that the feast is connected to the Theotokos.

But which feast might be indicated? One might suggest that all the major feasts of the Theotokos are to be excluded on the same grounds as the Dormition: there is nothing specific, in our sermon, which can be understood as marks of the Nativity of the Theotokos, or the Presentation, Hypopante, or Annunciation. Normally, the homilies delivered on these feasts contain many specific festal motives. Celebrations of miraculous intercessions of the Theotokos in the cases of wars and sieges (such as the Saturday of Akathistos, but there were many others as well) are to be excluded on similar grounds. Finally, one has to exclude any celebration of some Theotokian relics (such as the Robe or the Girdle or an especially venerated icon) because none of them is mentioned. What, then, remains? Let us see the text itself.

The long prayer at the end of the homily contains the following (I will quote starting from the opening passages and continuing to a passage near the end):

(f. 429r) Владыко вседержителю,
умолен буди рукама понесших
(sic)⁴³ Тебе простираемых (sic) к
Тебе нас ради.

Almighty Master (Δέσποτα παν-
τοκράτορ), becomest implored by
the hands that were bearing Thee,
that are spread to Thee for us.

(42) “[С]лово нравоучительного содержания” (Фет, Слова на Покров).

(43) Here and in the next case marked by “sic” the participle is not in grammatical agreement with the instrumental case of the dual рукама “by (two) hands.” The correct forms are *понесшими* and *простираемыми*. The late Church Slavonic scribes were uneasy with dual forms.

О Владычице милостивая, источник благо-(f. 429v)сердия, источник милости, простри к Сыну Своему пречистыя Сидлани. Сохрани нас заступлением Своим, покрый нас **покровом** крил Твоих, пре<д>стани о всех ради христиан ходатаица.

(f. 430v) ...яко Тебе имам<ы> помощницу и предстателницу непобедиму и крепку заступницу и **покров** и прибежище душам и телесем нашим...

Oh Lady merciful, the source of misericordy, the source of mercy, spreadest to Thy Son the most pure Thy palms. Preservest us by Thy intercession, coverest us by the cover (**Pokrov**) of Thy wings (**σκεπάσον** ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ **σκεπέτῃ** τῶν πτερυγῶν σου), standest as the intercessor of all the Christians.

...because we have Thee as a helper and a protector invincible and a strong defender and a **cover** (**σκεπέτῃ**) and a refuge of our souls and bodies...

These quotes are enough to justify the Russian scribes who used this sermon as a sermon on Pokrov, but they are not enough *per se* to prove a stronger claim that the sermon was originally delivered on Pokrov. Such a claim may be proved or disproved with an analysis of the liturgical setting.

The Greek inclusions within my English translation correspond to the phrases known from other prayers. Our prayer as a whole is a reworking of the well-known prayer Δέσποτα πολυέλεε (“All-Merciful Master”) but, in this case, readdressed to the Theotokos. As it seems, the recension of the prayer Δέσποτα πολυέλεε subjected to reworking was opened by the words Δέσποτα παντοκράτορ (a very archaic opening phrase preserved relatively rarely in the prayers actually used⁴⁴ but is known, at least, from the Eucharistic prayer in *Didache*, 10). Nevertheless, the whole structure of the prayer in our homily suggests that it was some variant of the prayer now known as Δέσποτα πολυέλεε that the preacher had in mind. The most important phrase of the whole of his prayer, σκεπάσον ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ σκεπέτῃ τῶν πτερυγῶν σου, certainly goes back to this source, where it is presented in this form rather than citing its Psalter prototype directly.⁴⁵

But the prayer Δέσποτα πολυέλεε presupposes a specific liturgical setting. In present-day use, it is preserved at the end of Compline

(44) Cf., e.g., the Opisthambon prayer of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts.

(45) Ps 60:5 [61:4]: σκεπασθήσομαι ἐν σκεπέτῃ τῶν πτερυγῶν σου (*protegar in velamento alarum tuarum*) “I will shelter myself under the shadow of thy wings” (Brenton).

(where it is read when the congregation is genuflected and bent down) and in the rite of *Artoklasia* (the Church Slavonic term is *лития*, from Greek *λιτή*, a kind of prayer) which can be introduced at the end of Great Vespers (where it is read as a prayer at the bowing of the heads). In both cases it is preceded by a synapte. In both cases, this is a prayer of zealous supplication whose specific expression is signified by the postures of the faithful. The case of the *Artoklasia* is especially interesting to us for, regardless of the blessing of the bread, it is an additional supplication on the occasion of some solemn service. The main point of the latter is the prayer *Δέσποτα πολυέλεε* (and not the prayer of blessing of the bread which the celebrant reads after this).

Let us return to our homily. Its final prayer to the Theotokos, patterned after a prayer of the *Δέσποτα πολυέλεε* type, points out a situation similar to that of the rite of *Artoklasia*. The congregation is immersed in zealous supplication to the Theotokos, most probably after Vespers and, thus, in full play of the festal all-night vigil (*Pannychis*). The supplication of the *Artoklasia* became united with the rite of the blessing of the bread especially for this purpose: to give to the faithful food for the remaining part of the all-night service.

Thus, it is natural that the purpose of the preacher is not to explain the meaning of the feast but, first of all, to urge the congregation to pray with more zeal. The homily unites an initial exhortation with the following prayer itself. The theme of penitence is the major theme throughout the prayer, and this is in conformation with the bowing of the heads accompanying this type of prayer on festal days (on the ferial days when Compline is served such a prayer is read when the faithful are genuflected and even bent down).

It is especially revealing that the end of Vespers is not a common place to deliver a homily. Our homily is not an ordinary one; it is rather a preface to an unusual prayer together with this prayer itself.

In this liturgical setting the words on “Pokrov” (*σκέπη*) quoted above must be taken much more seriously. Our exhortation with a prayer to the Theotokos ideally fits within the frame of the account of the vision of Andrew the Salos, when the whole congregation was gathered for the all-night vigil in the Blachernae Church. In the feast that was introduced for commemorating this event, such a specific prayer to the Theotokos is quite logically placed and the appearance of such an unusual homily is reasonable.

Otherwise, it is difficult to explain the origin of this homily-prayer addressing the Theotokos on the occasion of an unspecified feast, with no information on the meaning of this unnamed feast but rather with

only a general appeal to penitence. Therefore, my conclusion is that *BHG* 1136d is originally a sermon on Pokrov delivered between Vespers and the remaining part of the all-night vigil. Its difficult destiny in the Byzantine manuscript tradition was a direct consequence of the dropping of the feast of Pokrov from the Byzantine liturgy.

1.7.3. Author: Patriarch Euthymius

The homily is delivered by the head of the congregation, thus, in the frame of Wortley's hypothesis, the only candidate for authorship is Patriarch Euthymius. His name was partially affected by some kind of *damnatio memoriae* under the second patriarchate of Nicholas Mystikos, which is in perfect accord with the anonymity (or pseudonymity) of the sermon in the preserved part of the manuscript tradition.

One can highlight an interesting moment from the text of the homily that sheds some light on the circumstances of its delivery. An important part of the exhortation is a warning for the laics against the sin of blaming the monastics and the clergy (f. 427r–427v). The wording of the argumentation suggests that the bishops are meant, too:

(f. 427v) ...но аще согрешит кто от них, от Бога истязан будет и обличен, и в нынешнем веце и в будущем, и болшим архиереом, по правилам божественных, священноистязан будет.

...but if some of them [*sc.*, monastics and clergy] commits a sin, he will be examined and revealed by God, both in this age and in a future age, and by a higher bishop, according to the divine canons, will be sacredly examined.

The expression "higher bishop" would be fitting if some court procedure concerning a bishop was meant. Unless there is some corruption in the text or in the translation,⁴⁶ the above passage could be understood in connexion with some Church troubles that involved bishops. In the time of Leo the Wise, this was the tetragamia affair.

At any rate, our homily implies some public troubles, most likely connected to the Church, and this is in conformity with Pachomius Logothetos' version of the establishment of the feast of Pokrov.

(46) The phrase is somewhat problematic because Church legislation does not allow one bishop to judge another (a bishop can be judged only by a group of bishops). If the author means a court procedure over the monastics and the clergy, the word "higher" is meaningless because the bishop is always "higher" with respect to them. Thus, some corruption in the text is probable.

1.8. The *Prolog* Sermon on Pokrov

The short sermon on Pokrov,⁴⁷ known since the earliest manuscripts of the Russian *Prolog*, is considered as the most ancient homiletical monument of the feast. Indeed, its author says that he is now establishing this new feast for the first time. The sermon is thus extremely important for the historical study of Pokrov.

1.8.1. Contents

Below is the complete translation of the text, which I have divided into five parts:

- (1) Title: “On the vision of St Andrew and Epiphanius.” The first phrase of the following text is nothing but an enlarged title: “A strange and miraculous vision of the venerated saints Andrew and Epiphanius, how they saw the Holy Theotokos on the air and having come to the Blachernae Church, with the angels and with the Prodomos and with the Theologian John and with other many saints.”⁴⁸
- (2) The scene of the vision, a very short account: “When the people were staying in the church, they [Andrew and Epiphanius] saw [Her] praying with tears of the whole world. And Andrew said to Epiphanius: Do you see the Queen and the Lady of all praying of the world? And he said: I see, father, and [I see Her] covering by Her holy omophorion shining more than the electron [ἠλέκτρον⁴⁹] the people which are in the church.”⁵⁰

(47) Will be quoted (in simplified orthography, without taking into account grammatically incorrect readings) according to the critical edition: LOSEVA 2009, 312–314.

(48) Страшное и чудное видение честною святителю [vel святъцю] Андрея и Епифанія, како видеста святую Богородицю на воздухе, пришедшоу в Влахернскую церковь с ангелы и с Предтечею и с Богословъчем Иоаномъ и с иными святыми мьногими.

(49) Cf. Ezek 1:4, 1:27, 8:2, and a large mystical tradition of visions, both Jewish and Christian. “Electron” literally means here the alloy of gold and silver, not amber.

(50) Народу стоящу в церкви, видеста молящюся с слъзами за весь мир. И глагола Андреи к Епифану: Видиши ли Царицю и Госпожю всех молящюся за мир? Он же рече: Вижду, отче, и покрывъши святым Своим амофоромъ, светящимся паче еликтора люди сущя в церкви.

- (3) The preacher speaks in the first person, stating why and how he established the feast: “When I heard this, I was thinking how this fearful and merciful vision and, moreover, our esperance and intercession remained without feast, but I was relying on Thy, Lady, merciful words which Thou hast said to Thy Son: ‘Oh King of Heaven, acceptest every man glorifying Thee and calling Thy name, and sanctifiest every place where one commemorateth My name, and glorifiest those who glorify Thee, accepting for My name their every prayer and oath.’ Relying on these words I wished that not without feast will remain Thy holy Pokrov, oh Blessed one! But in the manner that Thou wishest to decorate it, oh All-Merciful, decoratest the venerated feast of Thy Pokrov, in order that those who glorify Thee will be enjoyed seeing the most distinguished Thy feast shining forth.”⁵¹
- (4) Continuation of the prayer of the preacher: “In the same manner as Thou hast covered mercifully the people therein, coverest us [who are] Thy sinful servants by the cover of Thy mercy [*vel* wings]. And with defeating the councils and thoughts of the *cogitantes* about us *mala* [Ps 34:4], saveth by the mercy of Thy Son and [also] by Thine, in the present age and in the future, all those who are coming to Thee with fear and faith relying on Thee, [who art] the fast intercession and help.”⁵²

(51) Се убо егда слышав, помышлях, како страшное и милосердное се видение, паче же надеяние и заступление наше бысть без праздника. Надея же ся, Владычице, на милосердная Твоя словеса еже к Сыну Си рече: «Царю Небесныи, прими всякого человека, славящаго Тя и призывающаго имя Твое, и всяко место, идеже бывает память имени Моего, освяти место и прослави прославляющя Тя, именем Моим приемля их всяку молитву и обет». Тем словесем надеяся въсхотех да не без праздника останет святыи покров Твой, Блаженная! Но якоже Ты украсити хощещи честныи праздник покрова Твоего, Всемилостивая, украси, да и прославляющии Тя възвеселятся видяще многиименныи Твои празднии сияюща.

(52) Якоже тамо народы сущыя покры милостивьно, тако и нас грешных раб Твоих покрыи кровом милости Твоея [*vel* крилу Твоею]. И низлагающии съветы и думы помышляющих на ны злая, спаси по милости Сына Твоего и Твоеи, и в сь векъ и в будущи, и вся прикающа к Тебе с страхом и верою, надеющыя на Тя, скорое заступление и помощь.

- (5) Concluding remark: "Such feast was established to be celebrated on the 1 day of the month October, on the commemoration of saint apostle Ananias."⁵³

Sergij Spasskij noted several features of this account⁵⁴ but some of his observations need to be reconsidered, while others still hold.

"The feast is established by the cause of hearing of the *Life* of St Andrew (вследствие слушания жития святого Андрея)" or the relevant fragment of this *Life*, wrote Spasskij. This claim is unjustified by the text. The preacher said that he heard about the vision itself but not that he was hearing the lecture of some written *Life*. His "when I heard this" (part 3) points out the scene of vision (part 2) but not any written text.

"...thus," Spasskij continues, "(the feast) was established a relatively long time after the death of this saint (Andrew) (...следовательно, установлен спустя довольноное время по кончине этого святого)." This conclusion is unacceptable in its present form (as a logical consequence of the former incorrect conclusion), but it is basically right. The preacher states, without specifying the reason, that such a remarkable event remained without feast (part 3). He does not allow us to know how long such a situation continued, but it is certain that the event already belonged to the past. Especially relevant is the phrase "како... се видение... бысть без праздника (how this... vision... remained without feast)." Thus, the author knew both the fact of the vision and the fact that it remained without feast. Such a phrase would be impossible if he had been told about the event almost immediately and was thinking about how to commemorate it.

"...the feast was established not in Constantinople," continues Spasskij, "because in the prayerful address to the Theotokos it is said: 'In the same manner as Thou hast covered mercifully the people *therein*, coverest us (who are) Thy sinful servants by the cover of Thy wings.'" This conclusion, again, seems to me completely unjustified. The opposition "here/there" is natural if we are commemorating an event of the past and if we are commemorating throughout the whole patriarchate and the whole empire an event that took place in one church.

It is remarkable that the *Prolog* entry does not mention the word "Pokrov" as the name of the feast. The name that is meant seems to be

(53) Устави же ся таковыи праздник празновати месяца октября в 1 день, на память святого апостола Анании.

(54) SPASSKIJ 1898, 239.

“*Vision of Andrew and Epiphanius*,” with some non-obligatory and variable epithets. This is additional evidence that the *Prolog* entry goes back to or is identical with a document where the “author” of the feast was speaking in the first person.

1.8.2. Relation to the *Life of Andrew the Salos*

Those few scholars who studied the *Prolog* sermon on Pokrov were convinced of its Russian origin and, consequently, of its dependence on the tenth-century *Life of Andrew the Salos*.⁵⁵ Only Sergij Spasskij has pointed out that the scene of the vision of St Andrew in both the Greek original and the Slavonic version of his *Life* does not contain the words of the prayer of the Theotokos.⁵⁶ He noted that the text of this prayer, being a commonplace of the homiletic Pokrov tradition, does not have its source in the *Life of Andrew the Salos*.⁵⁷

The *Prolog* description of the vision is shorter than that in the *Life*. It may have been produced as an abridgment of the latter account, but it did not necessarily originate in this way. There is absolutely no reason preventing us from considering it as an independent document going back to a tradition earlier than the tenth-century *Life*. Indeed, the *Life* is a typical Byzantine tenth-century hagiographic novel, *roman hagiographique*, of the same kind as, for example, the *Life of Grigentios of Tafar* or the *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. I have proposed to call this kind of novel a *roman anthologique*: it accumulates a great number of different sources and thus becomes a large anthology.⁵⁸ There are serious reasons to consider an important part of the *Life of Andrew*, the so-called *Apocalypse of Andrew the Salos*, as a seventh-century text.⁵⁹ In any case,

(55) Even Lennart Rydén accepted without discussion “the dogma of Vladimir origin” of the feast, and thus its dependency precisely on lines 3732–3758 of the *Life*: RYDÉN 1995, vol. 1, 188; cf. also his earlier article: RYDÉN, *The Vision of the Virgin at Blachernae and the Feast of the Pokrov*, 81–82.

(56) SPASSKIJ 1898, 264.

(57) For the corresponding text of the *Life*, see: MOLDOVAN 2000, 595–596 (Greek text of the recension closest to the Greek original of the Slavonic version), MOLDOVAN 2000, 399 (Slavonic version), and RYDÉN 1995, vol. 2, 254/255 (txt/tr.).

(58) B. LOURIÉ, *The Tenth Century: From roman hagiographique to roman anthologique*, *Scr* 4 (2008) 446–449.

(59) C. MANGO, *The Life of St. Andrew the Fool Reconsidered*, *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi* 2 (1982) 297–313 [reprint: IDEM, *Byzantium and Its Image: History and Culture of the Byzantine Empire and Its Heritage* (London, 1984) (Vari-

such *Lives* as that of St Andrew were not written by some tenth-century scribe at random. All these *romans anthologiques* were created as an accumulation of different available traditions around some unified theme. The traditions themselves are of different origins and different ages. Many such traditions are available through other sources independent of these *Lives*.

Thus, the mutual relations between the *Prolog* entry on Pokrov and the *Life of Andrew the Salos* are *a priori* unknown. The text of the prayer of the Theotokos may be a rhetorical addition of the epitomiser but it may also reflect traces of an independent tradition concerning the vision of Andrew. In any case, the *Prolog* entry is to be dated with no regard to the date of the *Life of Andrew*. An early date, such as from 907 to 911, is by no means excluded.

1.8.3. Author

In Russian scholarship it became normative to repeat Spasskij's claim that the author of the *Prolog* entry on Pokrov was some Great Prince⁶⁰ (the senior among the Russian princes). But why a prince and not a metropolitan of Kiev? Why a secular ruler rather than the head of the Church? Spasskij's answer was that the Kievan metropolitans were Greeks who were quite aware that there was no such feast in Byzantium. Thus, according to Spasskij, their role was passive: the Church authorities simply accepted the proposal of the Great Prince.

In the Byzantine context, these reservations concerning the Church authorities are useless. It is normal that a sermon dedicated to the establishment of a new feast would be delivered by the head of the local Church. On the contrary, it would be quite unusual if the Church homilies had been delivered by a secular ruler. However, in Byzantium under Leo the Wise just such an unusual situation took place. The Emperor was a renowned Church rhetor.

Leo the Wise's collection of homilies (most probably edited by himself) belongs to his homiletic activity in the earlier half of his reign. It is known that in the later years of his rule, especially after the tetragamia affair, he became much less active as a rhetor. Nevertheless, it is certain

orum Collected Studies Series, CS191) Ch. VIII]; Mango criticised Rydén's earlier paper, L. RYDÉN, The Date of the Life of Andreas Salos, *DOP* 32 (1978) 129–155. Cf. Rydén's last response: RYDÉN 1995, vol. 1, 41–45.

(60) SPASSKIJ 1898, 242. Other scholars, after Spasskij, attempted to propose some concrete names, including that of Andrew of Bogolubovo.

that a portion of his homilies is now lost.⁶¹ Thus, his candidature is not to be excluded from the list of possible authors of the *Prolog* entry or its ultimate source (if this entry is a later epitome of some homily). The only other alternative is, of course, patriarch Euthymius — the emperor's spiritual father, with whom he had almost daily meetings when Euthymius became patriarch.

The *Prolog* entry is much shorter than a usual festal homily but, unlike other Synaxarium entries (and the Russian *Prolog* is no exception here), it is constructed as an account in the first person. Most probably, we have here an epitome of an earlier homily. Be that as it may, this does not concern our attribution of the original document, that is, the original sermon known to us through the Russian *Prolog* entry.

This original homily, whether or not it is identical to the Greek original of the *Prolog* entry, must be attributed to either patriarch Euthymius or Leo the Wise.

1.9. Conclusion to the Byzantino-Russian Dossier

The Byzantino-Russian dossier, and especially the part concerning *BHG* 1136d, supports Wortley's hypothesis. The feast of Pokrov certainly has a Byzantine origin, and its appearance under Leo the Wise at the time of the tetragamia affair (907–911) is especially likely.

There are three factors that point to this particular time:

1. The explicit mention in the Russian tradition;
2. The possibility of the early disappearance of the feast in Byzantium under Nicholas Mystikos (912–925) but its preservation in Rus';
3. The very nature of the troubles as mentioned in the source, especially in *BHG* 1136d and Pachomius Logothetos: not a danger

(61) On Leo's homiletical activity, see Th. ANTONOPOULOU, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI* (Leiden—New York—Cologne, 1997) (The Medieval Mediterranean, Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453, 14), here 71, cf. 26. On Leo's reign, see especially an old monograph still important in Church policy matters, Н. ПОПОВ, *Император Лев VI Мудрый и его царствование в церковно-историческом отношении* [N. POPOV, *The Emperor Leo VI the Wise and His Reign in the Church-Historical Aspect*] (Moscow, 1892); see also H. TOUGHER, *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912): Politics and People* (Leiden—New York—Cologne, 1997) (The Medieval Mediterranean, Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453, 15).

from external enemies or a civil war but rather disruptions resulting from moral sins.⁶²

As to the third point on this list, let us recall the battles between the partisans of Nicholas Mystikos, who was deposed at the beginning of 907 (February or a bit later) and those who accepted the new patriarch, Euthymius. In about spring of 907 (not later than the summer), a council in Constantinople, with the participation of Rome and the Eastern patriarchates, confirmed the deposition of Nicholas and permitted Leo a fourth marriage. The same council convinced Euthymius to accept the patriarchal throne. These circumstances gave rise to an open conflict complicated by scenes of violence among the clergy and the faithful. The words of the preacher of *BHG* 1136d about the blaming of the clergy by the faithful would seem quite natural in such a situation.

It is interesting to add that the earliest Russian liturgical service on Pokrov seems to be a translation from Greek.⁶³ This is not in conflict with the hypothesis of the Kievan origin of the service (as Michail Mur'janov has shown, the Kievan service to the Russian saints Boris and Gleb was also written in Greek and its Greek original is also lost⁶⁴), but is natural for a feast of Byzantine origin.

Therefore, Wortley's hypothesis that the feast of Pokrov has a Byzantine origin is stronger. Stronger but not yet proven. Proof would require an analysis of the Byzantine prehistory of the feast and its date of 1 October. Given the chronology of the conflict of 907, autumn would be an appropriate time to establish a feast which is aimed at calming things down. But the exact date of 1 October needs to be explained on liturgical grounds.

And there is another problem that remains even in the Byzantine context: the feast, according to the *Prolog* entry, was established not immediately after the vision but at some later time. If so, it must be a modification of some pre-existing liturgical tradition. Such a pre-exist-

(62) In her recent study of the liturgical service for the feast, Pliukhanova notes that it contains "...an element of a litany on some concrete cause (элемент молебна по какому-то конкретному поводу)" but without the possibility of defining it exactly (PLIUKHANOVA 2008, 446).

(63) Cf. YUSOV 2009.

(64) М. Ф. Мурьянов, Из наблюдений над структурой служебных мией [From Observations on the Structure of the Liturgical Menaea] (1979), in: ИДЕМ, *История книжной культуры России. Очерки. Часть 2* (Moscow, 2008) (История книжной культуры России) 71–85.

ing tradition is a prerequisite, for inventing a new feast which marks no contemporary event and relies on no liturgical tradition is akin to planting a tree in asphalt – it simply will not take root in such a void.

Thus, we must continue with a search for the Byzantine liturgical tradition that was reused in the feast of Pokrov on 1 October.

PART TWO: ARMENO-BYZANTINA

2.1. Introduction

Our next task is to understand why the feast of Pokrov was appointed on 1 October. As explained above, there must have been a liturgical tradition behind this choice. So far, it is not at all clear why the date of 1 October was chosen. The *Life of St Andrew the Salos* provides no date, and even the *Prolog* entry, which mentions 1 October as the date on which the feast was established, does not give this as the date of the vision itself.

It is possible that the task will be simplified by the fact that we have to explore the origins of a liturgical cycle comprising, at least, the next day, 2 October, which marks the commemoration of St Andrew the Salos. In the *Life of St Andrew* it is clearly stated that he died on 28 May,⁶⁵ and this is the only date of his commemoration known to the Synaxarium of Constantinople (a late recension only; the earliest recensions, which are close to the ninth-century archetype, do not include his name at all).⁶⁶ On Russian soil, the commemoration of 28 May is unknown, despite the presence of this date in the Slavonic version of the *Life of Andrew the Salos*.⁶⁷ It is clear that the commemoration of St Andrew on 2 October is a part of the Pokrov liturgical cycle; it is not

(65) RYDÉN 1995, vol. 2, 302.4388-4391; MOLDOVAN 2000, 630.6162-6164.

(66) *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 713–714. For the date of the earliest recension, see especially A. LUZZI, *Studi sul Sinassario di Constantinopoli* (Rome, 1995) (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici, 8) 5–6, n. 3.

(67) MOLDOVAN 2000, 450.6162-6165. Moreover, this date became known in Russia together with the Slavonic translation of the *Stišnyj Prolog*, i.e. the translation of the *Calendar in Verses* of Christophorus of Metilena, eleventh century [E. FOLLIERI, *I Calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo* (Bruxelles, 1980) (SH, 63)]; the South Slavonic translation of the fourteenth century became available in Russia not earlier than the late fourteenth century: A. A. ТУРИЛОВ, К истории Стишного Пролога на Руси [A. A. TURILOV, Toward the History of the *Stišnyj Prolog* in Rus'], *Древняя Русь* (2006) Nr 1 (23). 36–39.

so clear, however, whether the feast of Pokrov was established from the very beginning as a cycle including 2 October, or whether this commemoration of St Andrew represents a later development.

The eve of 1 October, i.e. 30 September, is the feast of a saint whose importance for Byzantium was especially great in the late ninth and the early tenth centuries: St Gregory the Illuminator of Armenia. A date in this chronological vicinity may have been chosen deliberately, especially if it is true that the feast of Pokrov was established in the first years of the tenth century. This is just another reason to go deeply into the study of the ninth- and tenth-century cult of St Gregory in Constantinople, although this cult is, regardless, important for the understanding of the Byzantine state ideology of the Macedonian period.

2.2. The Discovery of the Relics of St Gregory during the Patriarchate of Photius

2.2.1. Historical Context

The commemoration days of St Gregory the Illuminator were never connected to the day of his death because the latter was never known. This Moses of the Armenian people died in the same manner as the biblical Moses, that is, in an unknown place and on an unknown date. There were two principal sources of his commemoration dates: his vision of Christ and the Heavenly Tabernacle over the future see of Etchmiadzin, in Vafaršapat (the name Etchmiadzin means “Descended the Only-Begotten” and it comes from this vision) and the days of discovery and translation of his relics.

For the early Macedonian period, there was one especially important (re)discovery of St Gregory’s relics together with those of his companions Gaiane and Rhipsime (Hripsime) and also with the relics of the martyrs Sergius and Bacchus; this took place in Constantinople purportedly at the time of Patriarch Photius. The detailed account of this event is preserved in Armenian only (*BHO* 339–340). It was composed by an Armenian Church official in 878/879 (year 327 of the Armenian era⁶⁸) for the Armenian prince of princes Ašot Bagratuni (820–891), who ruled as King Ašot I from 886. This account is based on

(68) Thus in *BHO* 340. Two other editions (see below) have the year 325 of the Armenian era, which corresponds to 876/877 (reflecting the common confusion between the numbers 5 and 7, Ե and Է, in Armenian writing). For “327” as the genuine reading, s. GREENWOOD 2006, 188–189, n. 8 *et passim*.

the oral description made by the Byzantine ambassador, the eunuch Nikodemos, who presented himself as the officer responsible for the whole process of the discovery. It is this account that is echoed in the thirteenth-century Armenian chronicle of Vardan and other late Armenian sources.⁶⁹ The most probable author of the written text is the Armenian Catholicos Georges II of Garni (878–898).⁷⁰

It is beyond any doubt that the document as it stands represents the Church policy of Patriarch Photius, who worked strenuously for the union with the Armenian Church and whose mutual relations with the Armenian ecclesiastical and secular authorities were especially close and warm.⁷¹ The fact that the Byzantine cult of St Gregory the Illuminator received, in the early Macedonian period, a new impetus is proven.⁷² Its political background is more or less known, too. Basil I was an Armenian, and Photius (himself partially of Armenian descent) was directly involved in promoting Basil's depiction as a ruler from the dynasty of Arshakids, a lineage going back to the old Armenian kings. It was probably Photius himself who composed the genealogy tracing

(69) The account was first studied as a hagiographical document and translated into a European language (French) in VAN ESBRÖECK 1971; he knew only one edition, of 1902 (= *BHO* 340 while VAN ESBRÖECK 1971 mistakenly identifies it as *BHO* 339). In fact, there are three independent editions (s. references below, n. 94) of this text based on three different manuscripts (the edition from 1901 by L. M. Ališan = *BHO* 339; from 1902 in the Etchmiadzin periodical *Ararat* = *BHO* 340; and from 1954 by N. Połarean, not in *BHO*). Oddly enough, van Esbroeck ignores *BHO* 339 completely, focusing instead on PEETERS 1942. Peeters quotes *BHO* 339 only (apparently with no access to *BHO* 340). For the manuscript tradition and an English translation taking into account the different readings, see GREENWOOD 2006, where he also lists two unpublished manuscripts from Matenadaran, Yerevan.

(70) VAN ESBRÖECK 1971, 404.

(71) For a general outline but with no specific attention to our document, see: I. DORFMANN-LAZAREV, *Arméniens et byzantins à l'époque de Photius : deux débats théologiques après la triomphe de l'Orthodoxie* (Lovanii, 2004) (CSCO, 609, Subs 117).

(72) Cf. one interesting fact among others: Gregory the Illuminator was included by Photius in a new series of mosaics in St Sophia representing the same holy hierarchs as in the epistle of Photius to Ašot; see S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Les portraits de Grégoire l'Illuminateur dans l'art byzantin*, *Byzantion* 36 (1967) 386–395 [repr. in EADEM, *Études byzantines et arméniennes. Byzantine and Armenian Studies*, vol. 1 (Louvain, 1973) (Bibliothèque arménienne de la fondation Calouste Gulbenkian) 55–60].

Basil back to the Arshakid king Trdat III the Great (*ca* 287–330), the first Christian king of Armenia.⁷³ This Arshakid genealogy of the Macedonian dynasty became the foundation of the imperial official ideology.

Thus, the political and ecclesiastical meaning of the rediscovery of the relics of St Gregory and his companions in Constantinople is clear. What is not so clear, however, is the precise date and the precise place of the discovery.

2.2.2. Precise Place: τὰ Καριανοῦ Monastery near Blachernae

The Armenian account *BHO* 340 (based on a manuscript dated to 1454) studied by van Esbroeck localises the event at an unspecified Holy Trinity church in the region of Constantinople called “Garin.” The Holy Trinity Church in that district was, in fact, the principal church among three located there. The second church was dedicated to the protomartyr St Stephen and the third to the Holy Cross. Thus, van Esbroeck identified this region as the quarter τὰ Καριανοῦ near Blachernae⁷⁴ with its monastery of Staurakios⁷⁵ whose title was comprehended as “of the Holy Cross.” Such a mistake was likely not only by the Armenian author, apparently unaware that the monastery was named after the emperor Staurakios (who died at the monastery in 811 shortly after having been tonsured), but the error might also have been transmitted by his Byzantine informant, given that the name of the monastery was variously garbled in the Byzantine sources. One such error includes the form τὰ Σταυρακά, which apparently has no connexion to Staurakios and refers instead to “Cross.”⁷⁶ Indeed, the prin-

(73) Cf. especially K. H. ЮЗБАШЯН, *Армянские государства эпохи Багратидов и Византия IX–XI вв.* [K. N. YOUZBASHIAN, *The Armenian States of the Bagratid Epoch and Byzantium of the ninth–eleventh centuries*] (Moscow, 1988) 100–105; A. SCHMINCK, *The Beginnings and Origins of the “Macedonian” Dynasty*, in: R. SCOTT, J. BURKE (eds.), *Byzantine Macedonia: Identity, Image and History. Papers from the Melbourne Conference, July 1995* (Melbourne, 2000) (*Byzantina Australiensia*, 13) 61–68.

(74) On this quarter “voisin de l’église des Blachernae,” see R. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire géographique* (Paris, 1964) 367.

(75) See below Note 1 on this identification of the two monasteries, τὰ Καριανοῦ and of Staurakios.

(76) VAN ESBRÖECK 1971, 405. On the monastery of Staurakios, see JANIN 1969, 470–471. Here I have elaborated a bit on van Esbroeck’s overly succinct phrase “...un monastère de la Trinité, appelé *Staurakion* ou de la Croix.”

cipal church of the Staurakios monastery was that of the Holy Trinity. There is nothing known about the Church of St Stephen here, but its existence does not contradict the known facts.

Two other Armenian editions used by Timothy Greenwood (based on manuscripts dated to 1224 and 1737) complicate the matter even more. Both of these sources refer to this region not as “Garin” but as “Dap’n,” that is Daphne (Δαφνή), which is a different district in Constantinople. The confusion between the two quarters is easily accounted for by Armenian writing, where գառնիւ and դափնիւ look very similar. But which of the two readings is correct? Greenwood argues for “Garin” but only “on the balance of probabilities”.⁷⁷ His main arguments in favour of “Garin” are the dedications of the corresponding churches. The sanctuaries of the palace of Daphne were dedicated to St Stephen, the Holy Trinity, and the Theotokos, with no dedication to the Holy Cross. Moreover, the Holy Trinity in Daphne was an oratory (εὐκτήριον) within an imperial palace and not a church in the proper sense.

Greenwood’s only argument in favour of “Daphne” is the reference, in our account, to an unknown *papias* Aetios as the overseer of the church. The title *papias* is possible only if the church belonged to an imperial palace. To date, the offices of *papias* are known for the Great Palace, the Magnaura palace, and the Daphne palace, the latter being instituted by Michael III⁷⁸ (the eunuch Nikodemos dates the events he reports to Michael’s reign).

Of course, this does not mean that there were no specific *papias* for τὰ Καριανοῦ, where an imperial palace is also known. Three of the four daughters of Empress Theodora, according to the *Life* written in the late ninth century, were secluded, in 856 or shortly thereafter, in the monastery τὰ Καριανοῦ — ἐν τῇ τῶν Καριανοῦ μονῆ.⁷⁹ Janin considers this *Life* as an authoritative source, and thus attempts to explain the presence of a monastery in this quarter despite the fact that the other (but later) sources are silent about it, referring only to an imperial

(77) GREENWOOD 2006, 183–184. PEETERS 1942, 120, mentions only “Daphne,” apparently unaware of the reading of *BHO* 340. Van Esbroeck disregards both *BHO* 339 itself and Peeters’s quotation from it, although he often refers to Peeters’s paper.

(78) A. K[AZHDAN], Papias, in: IDEM (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 3 (New York—Oxford, 1991) 1580.

(79) *The Life of Theodora*, 11, line 10; Α. Μαρκόπουλος, Βίος τῆς αὐτοκράτειρας Θεοδώρας (*BHG* 1731), *Σύμμεικτα* 5 (1983) 249–285, here 268.

palace in this area.⁸⁰ Greenwood seems to be right in claiming that this interpretation of our text "...affords a neat solution to this long-standing conundrum, namely that the imperial palace τὰ Κορναίου included at least one church within its boundaries, dedicated to the Holy Trinity."⁸¹ Janin suggested either that Michael III transformed an imperial palace into a monastery for his sisters or there was a monastery near the palace. The first supposition seems unlikely to me given that the later authors refer to a palace and not a monastery in τὰ Καρναίου. The interpretation that best fits the sources would be a monastery in which the nuns were members of the emperor's family located within the confines of the imperial palace. It is very probable that the monastery ceased to exist sometime in the tenth century.

The argument in favour of the τὰ Καρναίου locale relies upon the insistence of the Armenian account, which says that the discovery of the holy relics is celebrated in Constantinople on the fifth Saturday of Lent.⁸² In fact, the feast of the fifth Saturday of Lent is the so-called Saturday of Akathistos, and our Armenian account, for some reason, apparently confuses this feast with the commemoration of the discovery of the relics. The Typicon of the Great Church in the oldest, tenth-century, manuscript prescribes for this day a pannychnis (whose basic element was a vespers service) in the Blachernae Church, with orthros (matins) in the Holy Soros and the Eucharistic liturgy in the Great Church (St Sophia).⁸³ The Saturday of Akathistos was established after the siege of Constantinople by the Avars (626). The Blachernae Church was its main sanctuary because as the faithful gathered here to pray to the Theotokos, the enemy fleet sank off the Blachernae wall.⁸⁴ Regardless of the reasons for the confusion in our Armenian account,⁸⁵ such a confounding with the Saturday of Akathistos is especially likely if

(80) JANIN 1969, 278.

(81) GREENWOOD 2006, 183.

(82) See the next section for the Lenten time as the date of this celebration.

(83) J. MATEOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Saint-Croix, n° 40, X^e siècle. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*. T. II, *Le cycle des fêtes mobiles* (Rome, 1963) (OCA, 166) 52/53–54/55 (txt/tr.).

(84) On this, see: L. M. PELTOMAA, *The Role of the Virgin Mary at the Siege of Constantinople in 626*, *Scr* 5 (2009) 284–299.

(85) In the Armenian rite, although from an unknown epoch and only in some sources, the fifth Saturday of Lent is the commemoration of Gregory the Illuminator's Entry into the Cave (cf. examples of manuscripts quoted in AKINEAN 1947, col. 607–610). This Armenian festivity could interfere, in our

the relics were discovered near the Blachernae Church and not in the Daphne palace.

Locating the events of our account in Daphne would presuppose a grave error on the part of the narrator, who places the discovery of the holy relics in the main church of the Holy Trinity, a location that surely could not be confused with an oratory within the emperor's palace. Our Armenian account seems to state clearly enough that the event took place in one of the three separately standing churches and not within any palace. Because he thinks this account is a late composition, Greenwood considers it to be somewhat confused; as we will show in the next section, such problems arose from the over-exactitude of this source rather than from any later misunderstanding. Thus, Greenwood's conclusion that the reading "Gařin" is the genuine one must be repeated with certitude.

**Note 1: van Esbroeck's identification
of the monastery τὰ Καριανοῦ with the monastery of Staurakios**

There is a specific problem in van Esbroeck's identification of the monastery τὰ Καριανοῦ with the monastery of Staurakios. In this passage, van Esbroeck referred to Janin's entry on the monastery of Staurakios, apparently forgetting that Janin wrote that "[a]ucun document n'indique l'emplacement de ce monistère."⁸⁶ Based on my personal acquaintance with van Esbroeck, I take the liberty of suggesting that this identification belongs to van Esbroeck himself – he may have forgotten that he himself, not Janin, originated this argument and thus did not explain his reasoning in his paper. Thus, I will try to retrace his steps.

In the Byzantine sources, we have absolutely no data concerning the dedication of the monastery τὰ Καριανοῦ and its sanctuaries. Thus, the data of our Armenian account are of prime importance. They show that the principal church of the monastery was that of the Holy Trinity. Such a dedication was not common in Constantinople,⁸⁷ so an attempt to identify this monastery with another one known from other sources is reasonable. There are three important reasons in favour of the identity of the two monasteries against two less serious reasons *contra*.

Armenian account, with the commemoration of the discovery of the relics in Constantinople.

(86) JANIN 1969, 471; cf. VAN ESBRÖECK 1971, 405.

(87) The data in JANIN 1969 are statistically representative. In Janin's lists we have 136 entries for the Theotokos, 36 for St John the Baptist, 12 for St Stephen, and only 7 for the Holy Trinity.

- (1) Among Janin's seven entries listing Holy Trinity sanctuaries there is one associated with the monastery of the Holy Trinity of Staurakios; its location is unknown to Janin. The dedication of this monastery is identical with that of the main church of τὰ Καριανοῦ according to our Armenian document;
- (2) The second coincidence can be derived from the very name Staurakios, especially in the form τὰ Σταυρακά. The name of the monastery can be read (and certainly *was* read by some in Byzantium) as the monastery of the Holy Trinity of the Cross. This makes it possible to consider one of the monastery's churches as being dedicated to the Holy Cross, as stated in our Armenian account;
- (3) The St Stephen church mentioned in the Armenian account is unattested in the Staurakios monastery but its existence here is admissible;
- (4) However, in the Staurakios monastery there was an oratory (εὐκτήριον) of St John the Baptist, which is in some contradiction to our Armenian account. Indeed, the list of the three churches of "Garin" makes no sense if it is not exhaustive for this quarter. Nevertheless, this contradiction appears less acute if we take into account that the Armenian list enumerates only the churches, whereas the sanctuary of St John the Baptist was an oratory;
- (5) Finally, the last traces of the monastery of Staurakios can be found in the *De ceremoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenete in the middle of the tenth century (references to it in the later chronicles are dedicated to events of the early ninth century), which corresponds to the disappearance of the monastery τὰ Καριανοῦ about the same time, most probably before the end of the tenth century.

Taken together, reasons (1), (2), and (5) are much stronger than reasons (3) and (4), and this is especially important given that the dedication to the Holy Trinity was uncommon in Constantinople. We have a relatively narrow set of church complexes that included a Holy Trinity sanctuary, and, within this set, we have a series of important agreements and much less important disagreements between one of these complexes and that of our Armenian account. Unless there was an unattested complex even more similar to that of our Armenian account, we have to assume that the monastery τὰ Καριανοῦ is that of Staurakios.

2.2.3. Date: between 862 and 867

The date of the rediscovery of the holy relics in the eunuch Nikodemos' account is somewhat strange: it appears during the reigns

of the emperors Michael and Theodora but also under patriarch Photius. Patriarch Photius (858–867, 877–886) started his first patriarchate when Theodora had already ceased to be regent (856) and had been removed from court (August or September 858). Theodora's retirement was likely a precondition of the deposition of patriarch Ignatius in November 858⁸⁸ and, consequently, of the enthronement of Photius on 25 December. Both van Esbroeck and Greenwood consider such dating as an anachronism, although explain it in different ways.

Greenwood's approach is somewhat overcritical: "Rather than interpreting the inclusion of Photius in the account as simply a mistake, it seems to me that it was deliberate and that it reveals the influence of Photius in the composition of the text."⁸⁹ In other words, Greenwood supposes here a deliberate falsification inspired by Photius himself at the beginning of his second patriarchate (which began on 22 October 877), when the Armenian text was composed. Greenwood's point of view does not allow him to date precisely the discovery of the relics, but he argues for the dating of the historical core of the account to the period when Theodora was regent, from 842 to 856. In fact, Greenwood writes along the same lines as Peeters, whose conclusions were almost the same while even more critical regarding the historicity of the account.⁹⁰

Van Esbroeck proposes the exact date of 26 May 843.⁹¹ The only anachronism he acknowledges in our text is that Photius is named as patriarch. Nevertheless, according to van Esbroeck, "...il se peut qu'il ait participé à la procession avant avoir accédé aux charges ecclésiastiques suprêmes."⁹²

Both van Esbroeck and Greenwood overlook a short period when Photius was patriarch at the same time that Michael and Theodora were the emperors, from 863 (or even 862), when Theodora returned to the court,⁹³ to 23 September 867, when Michael was murdered. The

(88) J. HERRIN, *Women in Purple. Rulers of Medieval Byzantium* (London, 2001) 227.

(89) GREENWOOD 2006, 184.

(90) PEETERS 1942, 121.

(91) VAN ESBRÖECK 1971, 404–405.

(92) VAN ESBRÖECK 1971, 404.

(93) On the return of Theodora to the court, see: F. HIRSCH, *Byzantinische Studien* (Leipzig, 1876) 66 (first observation of the fact, imprecise in some details); J. B. BURY, *The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos*, *Eng-*

discovery of the holy relics described in our account must be dated to this interval and the account itself must be considered as free from any errors in chronology.

2.2.4. The Date of the Liturgical Commemoration

The only scholar who paid due attention to the date of the liturgical commemoration was van Esbroeck. Unfortunately, an error in his translation compromised his efforts in this field. The relevant passage was translated by Greenwood, too, with no formal error but nevertheless incorrectly. Neither translation grasped the relevant Armenian liturgical term.

The Armenian text reads as follows: Եւ իրագործեցան սասցեալքս ի քառասներորդսն [Alishan; *Ararat* edition: քառասներորդսն] մեծի պասեքին, ի հինգերորդումս շաբաթուն⁹⁴ — “And the aforesaid occurred during the Lent of great Easter, on the fifth Saturday.”⁹⁵ The key word here is քառասներորդք/քառասներորդք, which is the literal

lish Historical Review 22 (1907) 209–227, 417–439, here 434 (the date of Theodora’s return to the court and her regaining of the title of Augusta based on her role in the court ceremonial); IDEM, *A history of the Eastern Roman empire from the fall of Irene to the accession of Basil I., A.D. 802–867* (New York, 1912) 117, n. 3 and 284, n. 4; HERRIN, *Women in Purple...*, 228 and 293, n. 99 and 100. Pope Nicholas I addressed Theodora as Augusta in his letter to her in 866.

(94) Quoted according to BHO 339: Ղ. Մ. ԱԼԻՇԱՆ, *Հայաստանում. Պատմութիւն Հայոց*. Հատոր Բ (Վենետիկ, Ի Վանս Ս. Ղազարու, 1901) [L. M. ALIŠAN, *Antiquities. The History of Armenia*, vol. 2 (Venice, San Lazzaro Island, 1901)] 42–48, here 48, and BHO 340: Պատմութիւն յաղագս զիւտի նշխարաց Գրիգորի Հայոց Մեծաց Լուսաւորչի [The History of the Discovery of the Relics of Gregory the Illuminator of Great Armenia], *Արարատ* [Ararat] 35 (1902) 1178–1183, here 1182. The 1954 edition (unavailable to me), according to GREENWOOD 2006, has here the same reading.

(95) Greenwood’s translation modified; Greenwood translated the passage as “the forty days” instead of “the Lent” (GREENWOOD 2006, 181). “Forty days” is here an explicative translation but rather unhelpful because the Armenian text uses a precise liturgical term. Van Esbroeck translated “...dans les quarante jours après la grande Pâque, le cinquième samedi,” and then calculated the date of the discovery as the year when the memory of Sergius and Bacchus on 26 May coincided with the fifth Saturday *after* Easter (VAN ES BROECK 1971, 404–406). These calculations are of course unacceptable but the very idea that the additional commemoration of Sergius and Bacchus in May has some connexion with the discovery of their relics in Constantinople is still worthy of attention.

rendering of the Greek term *τεσσαρακοστή* which means the 40-day fast period. Thus, the Armenian account establishes the commemoration on the fifth Saturday of Lent, which is known in the Byzantine rite as the Saturday of Akathistos.

The same date is confirmed by Vardan the Great, who finished his *Historical Compilation* in 1267: “Nikit [*sic* “Nicetas” instead of the correct “Nikodemos”⁹⁶] reported: ‘We found the relic of St Gregory the Illuminator during Lent [ի յաղու հացու, *lit.*, “in salting of breads”] in the fifth week on Saturday,’ which they made a festival.”⁹⁷ Kirakos Ganjakec’i, who studied with the same teacher as his close colleague Vardan, included the same story but in a more imprecise fashion in his *History*, which covers the period to 1265.⁹⁸ Neither historian mentions the relics of either Sergius and Bacchus or of Gaiane and Rhipsime.

Although it is scarcely possible that the discovery of the relics was commemorated on the Saturday of Akathistos, it is nevertheless a com-

(96) The year in the corresponding fragment is also indicated incorrectly: 325 of Armenian era instead of 327.

(97) R. W. THOMSON, *The Historical Compilation of Vardan Arewelc’i*, *DOP* 43 (1989) 125–226, here 186. Armenian text: Մ. ԷՄԻՆ, Մեծին Վարդանայ վարդապետ Բարձրբերդեցիոյ, Պատմութիւն տիեզերական (Մոսկվա, 1861) [M. EMIN, Vardan the Great Barjberdc’i, *The Universal History* (Moscow, 1861)] 116 = [Ղ. ԱԼԻՏԱՆ, Հասարակական պատմութեան Վարդանայ վարդապետի (Ի Վենետիկ, ի Սուրբ Ղազար, 1862) (Մատենագրութիւնք նախնեաց. Պատմագիրք Հայոց) [Ջ. ԱԼԻՏԱՆ, > *The Historical Compilation of Vardan the vardapet* (In Venice, in San-Lazzaro, 1862) (Ancient Literature. Historiography of Armenia)] 85. There is no critical edition of this work by Vardan. The edition by Ališan is based on two early manuscripts, one of which is to be dated before 1304 and written by Step’anos Siunec’i, who was a great historian himself. The manuscript background of the *editio princeps* by Emin goes back to the fifteenth century. In the Armenian rite, Lent is called “the fast of salt and bread,” աղուհացից պահք, because the faithful limit their meal on the *feria* to salted bread only (I am grateful for this clarification to Alexandr Kananyan and to Fr Ghevond, vardapet in Jerusalem).

(98) Critical edition: Վ. ՄԵԼԻՔ-ՕՀԱՆՅԱՆՅԱՆ, Կիրակոս Գանձակեցի, Պատմութիւն հայոց (Երեւան, 1961) [K. MELIK’-OHANJANYAN, Kirakos Ganjakec’i, *The History of Armenia* (Yerevan, 1961)] 14; translation by R. BEDROSIAN (1986), online publication <http://rbedrosian.com/kg2.htm>, p. 11: “An imperial eunuch came and related all this to King Ashot, and when he heard it, he glorified God and instituted a feast of Saint Gregory on that day, Saturday in the sixth week of Lent. This feast is observed to this day.” The eunuch is anonymous here, the year is not indicated, and the festival is placed on the sixth (not fifth) Saturday of Lent, although not in Byzantium but in Armenia.

prehensible error given the fact that the Church of the Holy Trinity in τὰ Καρδιανοῦ was located near the Blachernae Church, where the Saturday of Akathistos was one of the most important local feasts. Indeed, the events described in the Armenian account are hardly possible on a day when a great feast was celebrated in almost the same location.

Van Esbroeck's means of determining the genuine commemoration date can be at least partially invoked, and we can also be guided by the commemoration days for Sergius and Bacchus as well. Indeed, we have in Constantinople an additional day dedicated to their memory apart from the normal date on 7 October.⁹⁹

The Constantinople Synaxaria contain an additional commemoration of Sergius and Bacchus on 26 May (with variants on 27 and 28 May) ἐν τοῖς Ῥουφινιαναῖς.¹⁰⁰ This phrase refers to the monastery created in about 394 near Chalcedon by Claudius Rufinus, a minister of Theodosius the Great.¹⁰¹ This location of the feast is explainable by the activity of the anchorite John († ca 877) who was appointed under Basil I (about 867) as the hegumen of the famous monastery of Sergius and Bacchus ἐν τοῖς Ὀρμίσδου, where their relics were available to pilgrims. His *Life* by Joseph the Hymnographer is preserved in a Georgian version only.¹⁰²

(99) For the hagiographical dossier of Sergius and Bacchus and their commemoration date on 7 October, see E. K. FOWDEN, *The Barbarian Plain. Saint Sergius between Rome and Iran* (Berkeley—Los Angeles—London, 1999) (The transformation of the classical heritage, 28), esp. 8, n. 1.

(100) *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 709, 713.

(101) Janin guesses that "Rufinianes" is a quarter of Constantinople that may be located on the shore facing the Prince Islands, but van Esbroeck in 1971 was unable to suggest a specific location, stating that nothing certain was known. However, in his 1996 article van Esbroeck recalled a forgotten study by J. Pargoire dedicated to the monastery: J. PARGOIRE, *Rufinianes*, *BZ* 8 (1899) 429–477; cf. M. VAN ES BROECK, *La Vie de Saint Jean higoumène de Saint Serge par Joseph le Skevophylax*, *Oriens Christianus* 80 (1996) 153–166, here 155. Pargoire demonstrated that the monastery was situated three miles to the east of Chalcedon.

(102) On this *Life*, see K. KEKELIDZE, *Un monument inconnu de la littérature byzantine en version géorgienne*, *Bedi Kartlisa* 19–20 (1965) 61–68 (I am grateful to D. Kashtanov for a copy of this paper); it is a translation from Kekelidze's Russian edition: К. КЕКЕЛИДЗЕ, *Неизвестный памятник византийской литературы в грузинском переводе*, in: ვ. კეკელიძე, *ეტიუდები ძველი ქართული ლიტერატურის ისტორიიდან* [K. KEKELIDZE, *Studies from the History of the Old Georgian Literature*], VIII (თბილისი, 1962) 244–255 (first

Van Esbroeck explained convincingly why the monastery of Rufinians became a place associated with the cult of Sergius and Bacchus using, on the one hand, the different known dates of commemoration of these saints, and, on the other, the dates associated with hegumen John. The monastery also became a place of commemoration of John himself, which is natural if he used this place as a silent retreat, especially in his final days.¹⁰³

There is, however, a problem. The *Life* of hegumen John contains another story about a discovery of the relics of Sergius in Constantinople, a story that is different from that of our previous Armenian source. In this source, it is stated (§ 15) that John discovered many relics of saints including, among others, those of St Sergius (without Bacchus): "...Et en allant ici et là, il découvrit beaucoup d'autres reliques de saints, car les saints le lui présentaient avec diligence comme à un véritable saint. Bien plus à Constantinople, dans le sanctuaire de saint Serge, il découvrit lui-même les reliques cachées depuis de longues années, et que quelques hommes étourdis avaient cachées ainsi ignominieusement sous terre."¹⁰⁴ The "sanctuary of St Sergius" mentioned here is none other than the main church of the monastery where John was the hegumen. The date of the discovery is not specified but it seems to imply that it occurred during the period of his hegumenate. The differences with the Armenian account encompass the time, the place, the identity of the discoverer, and the contents of the discovery (no relics other than those of Sergius). Unfortunately, van Esbroeck accepts these data

published in 1955). The text is published by Kekelidze with an introductory article in: კ. კეკელიძე, ეტუდები ძველი ქართული ლიტერატურის ისტორიიდან, III (თბილისი, 1955) 251–270, the text on p. 260–270. Translated in VAN ES BROECK, *La Vie de Saint Jean higoumène...*, 159–166. The hagiographer called himself "Joseph the Skeuophylax" and is identified as Joseph the Hymnographer by Kekelidze. Joseph was appointed *skeuophylax* by Patriarch Ignatius at the beginning of his second patriarchate, not earlier than 867 (not during his first patriarchate, as Kekelidze thought); cf. A. K[AZH DAN], D. C[ONOMOS], N. P[ATTERSON] Š[EVČENKO], Joseph Hymnographer, in: KAZHDAN (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2, 1074. JANIN 1969, 451–454, accepts uncritically the data of the Georgian source (without discussing or even naming the source, and with a typo in the reference to *Bedi Kartlisa*, cf. JANIN 1969, 452 et n. 9: "1955" instead of "1965").

(103) VAN ES BROECK, *La Vie de Saint Jean higoumène...*, 155–156.

(104) Translation from VAN ES BROECK, *La Vie de Saint Jean higoumène...*, 163.

uncritically and without any comment;¹⁰⁵ by 1996 he may have forgotten his 1971 study, although, in a different way, his previous statement that the May dates of the commemoration of Sergius and Bacchus correspond to the discovery of their relics in Constantinople still holds. Thus, the problem passed unresolved and unobserved.

I think that there are serious reasons not to believe in the version of the *Life* written by Joseph the Hymnographer. The story is contained in the section of the *Life* (§§ 1–16) in which Joseph was relying on his anonymous oral informer from the monastery of John (in the remaining section, he was writing as an eyewitness).¹⁰⁶ His account is very general and rather vague. The implied date of the discovery, although different, is not very remote from that of the Armenian account (not earlier than 867 *vs* not later than 865, respectively). Both hegumen John and Joseph the Hymnographer belonged to the Ignatians, and in their milieu, the good deeds of Photius during his first patriarchate would scarcely have been acknowledged. All these factors point to the attribution to John as the discoverer of the relics as a pious local tradition from John's monastery. All the details are obliterated and a little anachronism is overlooked, but the honour of finding the main relics of the monastery is reattributed to the only person and the only place which were really worthy – the monastery of Sergius and Bacchus and its hegumen, who was already famous for his ability to discover the relics of saints.

In contrast, the Armenian account is quite detailed, and its author, eunuch Nikodemos, was a participant in the events he describes. He was not especially interested in the relics of Sergius, and he thus had no need of inventing such detail. Moreover, according to the synaxaria, there was no specific feast of Sergius and Bacchus in this monastery outside of their commemoration on 7 October.¹⁰⁷ It is thus unlikely that any real discovery of the relics took place here: otherwise, its date would be marked as a feast, at least on the local level. And, finally, the common veneration of the relics of Gregory the Illuminator and

(105) VAN ESBROECK, *La Vie de Saint Jean higoumène...*, 156: "Si quelqu'un du avoir trouvé l'idée de faire au printemps une Panégyrie des saints Serge et Bacchus aux Rufiniennes, qui ne devaient pas être très fréquentées après la crise iconoclaste, c'est assurément l'higoumène de Saint-Serge qui avait retrouvé leurs reliques."

(106) VAN ESBROECK, *La Vie de Saint Jean higoumène...*, 155.

(107) See, for a general context, JANIN 1969, 451–454.

Sergius is a historical fact going back to the realities of Armenia in the seventh century.

The joined veneration of St Sergius and St Gregory the Illuminator can be traced back to the activity of the Armenian Catholicos Nerses III Šinoł (“the Builder”) shortly after 642; he was the creator of their common sanctuary in Vałaršapat which contains the relics of both saints. This Catholicos of the epoch of the Monothelite union, who was in full communion with the Chalcedonian Church of Constantinople, is the one most likely responsible for the translation to Constantinople of the parts of the relics that were rediscovered in the ninth century.¹⁰⁸ The rediscovery of the relics at this time seems natural, especially if they had been deprived of their identifying inscriptions during the Iconoclastic period, which was a hard time for the veneration of saints’ relics. (The miracle of their rediscovery described in the Armenian account depicts the identification of relics of previously unknown saints but does not describe the discovery of the relics themselves – the actual relics were preserved in the Trinity Church from a remote period.)

Thus, it is reasonable to accept 26 May (or 27–28) as the date of the discovery of the holy relics in the Holy Trinity Church. Such a variation of the date in the Synaxaria is especially natural if the original feast included three days corresponding to the three groups of saints (Gregory, Gaiane, and Rhipsime on the one hand, and Sergius and Bacchus on the other), from 26 to 28 May.

All these considerations seem to me sufficient to conclude that Joseph’s version of the events is erroneous: it detaches the finding of Sergius’ relics from the other relics found at the same time (even from the relics of Bacchus!¹⁰⁹) and ascribes the finding to John, in whose monastery the relics of Sergius were eventually deposited.

The disagreement between the two accounts emerged from the fact that the relics of Sergius had been translated to the monastery of Sergius and Bacchus from the place where they had been discovered several years before. We can therefore affirm our previous conclusion that 26–28 May are the days of the commemoration of the discovery of the holy relics in τὰ Καϱιανοῦ.

(108) For a detailed study, see VAN ESBROECK 1971, 406–411.

(109) The *Life* of John does not mention the relics of Bacchus in the monastery. The Russian pilgrim in 1200, Antony of Novgorod does not mention them either, but other pilgrims mention here the relics of both Sergius and Bacchus (s. JANIN 1969, 453). The earliest mention of Bacchus’ relics is contained in the account of an anonymous Englishman *ca* 1190.

It is especially interesting to ask whether the proclamation of the future Basil I as co-emperor on 26 May 866 was in any way connected with the new feast of Gregory the Illuminator on the same day.¹¹⁰ The ceremony was performed when Basil persuaded Michael III to make him a co-emperor after the murder of caesar Bardas on 21 April 866. It is logical, therefore, that a date shortly thereafter would have been chosen for the ceremony. The source providing a detailed account of the ceremony is Symeon Logothetos (who wrote after 948 and certainly before 1013, most probably nearer to 948) in his *Chronicle* 131, 39–40.¹¹¹ In his description, the ceremony is dated to the day of Pentecost, with no date according to the Julian calendar and no mention of any saints. The date 26 May has been determined by modern scholars as the date of Pentecost for the corresponding year. Most probably, the ceremony performed in St Sophia on Pentecost had no connexion to the commemoration day of either Gregory the Illuminator or of Sergius and Bacchus. Constantine Porphyrogenete, in his *Life of Basil*, 18, also describes the feast on this day as Pentecost, and mentions no other feasts.¹¹²

2.3. Gregory the Illuminator and Isaac the Parthian as the Saints of the Macedonian Dynasty

2.3.1. Isaac the Parthian in Photius' Cult of St Gregory the Illuminator

The cult of St Gregory the Illuminator promoted by Photius presumed a reference to some "prophecy." In his *Life of Ignatius*, Nicetas Paphlagon describes a complicated intrigue allegedly conducted by Photius after his involuntary retirement in 867. It was at this point that Photius began the work that paved the way for the official acknowledgment of Basil's descent from the Armenian Arshakids, and his account of the intrigue concludes with a prophecy about Basil's reign. The most interesting aspect here (and the aspect most neglected by modern historians) is the content of this prophecy. Nicetas Paphlagon does not go in detail, saying only that Basil was "prophesied" to be

(110) Vera Zemskova drew my attention to this coincidence of the dates.

(111) Symeon Logothetos, 252–253. I share the view of the editor and other scholars who do not identify this Symeon Logothetos with Symeon Metaphrastes. See, for details, the editor's "Prolegomena," *ibid.*, p. 4*–8*.

(112) BEKKER, *Theophanes Continuatus...*, 239.

“the most fortunate and the most long-living among all the emperors forever,” and noting that the manuscript containing both the genealogy and the prophecy was full of such lies that everybody would roar with laughter when they heard about it.¹¹³

The most precise among the Byzantine authors is Constantine Porphyrogenete in his *Life of Basil*, 19. In describing Basil’s coronation as co-emperor on 26 May 866, he wrote: “And then was accomplished a prediction and a prophecy (given) three hundred and fifty years before by Isaac, the most able seer among the priests and the monks, who was himself of the Arshakid descent, who has been taught by the vision that after the period of such number of years somebody from the descendants of Arshak will raise the sceptres of the Roman Empire.”¹¹⁴ It is evident that Constantine means the well-known *Vision* of Sahak Part’ev (Isaac the Parthian; BHO 547), but from a specific Byzantine recension that was distinct from the literal Greek translation of the *Vision* which is preserved among the undated texts of the anti-Armenian polemics.¹¹⁵ The most obvious distinction is that both the Armenian original and its known Greek version deal with Armenia only and by no means with the Roman Empire, while the *Vision* in Constantine’s recension concentrates exclusively on Byzantium.¹¹⁶

The *Vision* of Sahak in Armenian is known in a separate recension and it also appears within the text of the late fifth-century *History of Lazar P’arpec’i*.¹¹⁷ The text is the same in both cases. Its Armenian or-

(113) Nicetas Paphlagon, *The Life of Ignatius*, PG 105, 568 A: (Photius) ...ὄν εὐτυχεστάτα καὶ πολυχρονώτατα τῶν ἐξ αἰώνος βεβασιλευκότων βασιλεύσοντα προφητεύει. Μυρίοις δὲ ψεύδεσιν, οἷς ἤδει γάννυσθαι τοῦτον ἀκούοντα, τὸ σύγγραμμα καταρτισάμενος...

(114) BEKKER, Theophanes Continuatus..., 241: τότε δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἐτῶν πρόρρησις καὶ προφητεία τὸ τέλος ἐλάμβανεν Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ διορατικωτάτου τῶν ἱερέων καὶ μοναχῶν, ὃς ἐξ Ἀρσακιδῶν καὶ αὐτὸς καταγόμενος δι’ ὀράματος ἔμαθεν ὅτι μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον τὸν μεταξὺ ἐκ τῶν ἀπογόνων Ἀρσάκου μέλλει τις ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς βασιλείας σκηπτρα ἀναβιάζεσθαι.

(115) G. GARITTE, *La Vision de S. Sahac en grec*, *Mus* 71 (1958) 255–278.

(116) The number 350 is retained from the original Armenian text although it makes no sense here: it refers to 516 (= 866–350) whereas Sahak Part’ev died ca 439.

(117) Text of the vision: Ղալազար Փարպեցի, 60–75. The English translation by R. W. THOMSON, *The History of Lazar P’arpec’i* (Atlanta, GA, 1991) is unavailable to me. A Latin translation of the *Vision* is provided by GARITTE, *La*

igin is now considered as certain although its specific attribution to Lazar P'arpec'i is still in some dispute. In any case, the *Vision* is an early Armenian text. Its first mention in Greek appears in the list of the catholicoses of Great Armenia (Greek title is Καθολικοὶ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας), ca 700. This reference is especially interesting because it summarises the account of the situation when St Sahak tells of his vision. This account is known in Armenian in the text of Lazar P'arpec'i, where it prefaces the *Vision* of St Sahak but is not part of the text of the *Vision* itself. The text of Lazar seems not to have been translated into Greek, although the context surrounding the occurrence of the *Vision* was certainly known in Byzantium, at least through this list of catholicoses. This situation bears a striking similarity to that of Photius between his two patriarchates, when he was composing (or, at least, adapting) the genealogy of Basil the Macedonian from the Arshakids.

Catholicos St Sahak was deposed because of intrigues among the Armenian princes. His three successors were not very successful, and the Armenian princes eventually repented and asked St Sahak to return to his see. He refused (leaving the position to St Mesrop Maštoc' instead) and explained his actions by referring to the vision that he had received after having been deposed (§§ 13–24).¹¹⁸ Such a story would certainly have been near to Photius' heart after 867.

Nicetas Paphlagon states that the Arshakid genealogy of Basil the Macedonian that was composed by Photius also contained some prophetic element. We know also, from Constantine Porphyrogenete, that this prophetic element went back to the *Vision* of St Sahak. We might thus reasonably recover other elements of this prophecy by comparing the contents of the *Vision* of St Sahak with the realities of the reign of Basil I.

The prophecy of Sahak focused on two figures, not only the king but also the patriarch. In this prophecy, the patriarch who will appear with the future Arshakid ruler will himself be a descendant of St Gregory the Illuminator and thus he, too, will be of Arshakid descent. Both

Vision de S. Sahac... A French translation of the whole text by Samuël Ghésarian is published in V. LANGLOIS (éd.), *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*. T. 2 (Paris, 1869). Unfortunately, I had no access to the separate recension of the *Vision*, but it is reported to be almost identical to that of Lazar P'arpec'i.

(118) G. GARITTE, *La Narratio de rebus Armeniae. Édition critique et commentaire* (Louvain, 1952) (CSCO, 132; Subs, 4) 403–404 (Greek text), 407–408 (Georgian version).

the Arshakid king and the Arshakid priest are the messianic figures of the eschatological revival of the relevant kingdom (Armenia in the Armenian original but Byzantium in the Byzantine recension of the late ninth century): there “...will rise a king from the lineage of the Arshakids, and the patriarchal see will be renewed by the offspring of Saint Gregory” (...յաննէ թագաւոր յազգէդ Արշակունեաց, և նորոզի աթոռ հայրապետութեան ի շառաւելէ սրբոյն Գրիգորի:).¹¹⁹ The part of the prophecy of Sahak which concerns the Arshakid patriarch is completely suppressed from Constantine Porphyrogenete’s account – and not without reason, as we will see below – but it is traceable in earlier sources relating to patriarch Stephen I (886–893).

Stephen was officially the youngest son of Basil I (born in November 867) but, most likely, was actually a son of Michael III (as was Stephen’s older brother, Leo VI the Wise). Basil had Stephen castrated in his childhood in preparation for a Church career. He became a monk during Basil’s reign and was ordained as a deacon by patriarch Photius (in fact, Photius may have participated in Basil’s plan to prepare Stephen for patriarchate¹²⁰). Shortly after Basil’s death (29 August 886), Leo VI deposed Photius (formally this was a voluntary resignation) and sent him into exile to the monastery of Bordi in Armenia; he then made Stephen patriarch, probably on Christmas Eve of 886.¹²¹ Stephen was consecrated at age 19.

Such a turn of events must have taken Photius by surprise, although he had violated the canons himself in ordaining Stephen as a deacon long before the canonical age (which was set at 25 years of age, according to canon 14 of the Council in Trullo, 692). In his *Nomocanon* (title I, ch. 23), Photius repeated Novella 123 of Justinian (ch. I, 1), which established the minimal age for episcopacy as 30 years or, in some exceptional cases, 25 years.¹²² However, Basil’s idea that the next patriarch must be his own son, thus an Arshakid and also a descendent of St Gregory the Illuminator, fit the prophecy of Sahak and was thus duly approved by Photius. Indeed, Leo the Wise’s funeral oration for

(119) Ղազար Փարպեցի, 71.

(120) This opinion is shared by TOUGHER, *The Reign of Leo VI...*, 83 (Stephen as a figure close to Photius and, thus, acceptable to the clergy as patriarch).

(121) See especially J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Trois études sur Léon VI : I. L’homélie de Léon VI sur le sacre du patriarche Étienne*, *TM* 5 (1973) 181–206.

(122) Γ. Α. ΠΑΛΛΗ, Μ. ΠΟΤΛΗ, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, τ. Α' (Athens, 1852) 59–60.

his father seems to confirm the idea that Photius agreed with Basil's desire to appoint his son as patriarch. Leo's funeral oration was delivered in September or October 886. Photius was still the patriarch at that time and was probably present when Leo delivered his speech (which expressed Leo's retroactive support of Photius in his earlier conflict with patriarch Ignatius).¹²³

Leo praises Basil especially for establishing peace in the Church during the conflict between the two patriarchs, Photius and Ignatius. Leo then proceeds to connect this success in peacemaking to the dedication of his younger brother Stephen to the Church: Basil, he says, "...does not stop after having collected into the one (body) the divided Church but gave his child to the Church..." in a manner similar to that of Abraham. Leo's action, however, was even greater because Abraham acted according to the command of God, but Basil acted according to his own proper choice. "Thus, as if it was not he who gave something to God but as if he rather received the greatest (gifts) when acting as peacemaker for the Church, he confesses his gratitude presenting the fruit of the womb."¹²⁴ It is far from obvious why the dedication of his own child to the Church has any relation to peacemaking. At the time the speech was delivered, Stephen was not yet patriarch. Such an explanation of Basil's behaviour does not make sense unless we accept that this connexion between Stephen and the peace of the Church had something to do with the future. Indeed, if Stephen is the future Arshakid patriarch from the offspring of St Gregory the Illuminator, everything falls into place: Basil provided a temporary pacification of the Church through his intervention in the conflict between Photius and Ignatius, but after this he took measures toward establishing a definitive peace by dedicating his own son to the Church. Why was such an

(123) Leo's attitude toward Photius, as it is expressed in this homily, is analysed in the "Introduction" of the editors in A. VOGT, I. HAUSHERR, *Oraison funèbre de Basile I par son fils Léon VI le Sage* (Rome, 1932) (*Orientalia Christiana*, 26,1 = № 77) 18–23.

(124) VOGT, HAUSHERR, *Oraison funèbre...*, 64/65 (txt/French tr.) = TH. ANGELOPOULOU, Leonis VI Sapientis Imperatoris Byzantini *Homiliae* (Turnhout, 2008) (CCSG, 63) 210.449–461: καὶ οὐχ ἴσταται μέχρι τοῦ διεσπασμένην οὖσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς ἓν συναγαγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν παῖδα δωρεῖται τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ... ὡς οὖν οὐκ αὐτός τι Θεῷ συνεισεγκών, ἀλλ' ἐκείνου μάλλον τὰ μέγιστα λαβών, τὸ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν εἰρήνην δι' ἐκείνου περιποιηθῆναι δῶρον τῷ ἐκ κοιτίας καρπῷ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ὁμολογεῖ.

exotic measure considered effective? The only possible answer lies in the prophecy of St Sahak.

Another overlooked reference to the *Vision* of St Sahak is contained in an anonymous laudatory poem in honour of Basil I written, most probably, by Photius himself soon after his return to the patriarchal see in 877 (and if it is not by Photius himself, it certainly comes from his circle). The concluding part of the poem opens with the following lines (l. 198–199):

ἄπαντα ταῦτα Χριστὸς ὁ ζωῆς ἄναξ
 ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἔγραψεν εἰς θεῖον θρόνον.
 All the above Christ who is the king of life
 Wrote in the heavens on the divine throne.¹²⁵

To write something on the divine throne located in the heavens is not usual in Byzantine imagery. It would be tempting to understand these verses as containing an ellipsis, “Christ... (sitting) on the divine throne,” but such a phrase would demand another preposition (ἐπί instead of εἰς; for εἰς in the corresponding meaning cf. Jn 8:6). In the *Vision* of St Sahak, the words quoted above about the future king from the Arshakids and the future patriarch from the offspring of St Gregory were written in golden letters on the parchment that was lying on the seat of the heavenly throne.¹²⁶ It seems to me the most natural to understand the whole poem as a rhetorical composition on the motive of the renovation of the empire according to the *Vision* of St Sahak.

This brief review thus indicates that the prophecy of St Sahak was considered as pertaining both to Basil as well as to his son Stephen, who was also a constituent part of the so-called genealogy of Basil from the Arshakids. This, in turn, leads us to the conclusion that the Byzantine cult of St Gregory the Illuminator absorbed, under Basil, a new component: St Gregory became the forefather of the future patriarch, Stephen.

2.3.2. St Gregory the Illuminator in the Cult of St Patriarch Stephen

For Leo the Wise, it was certainly difficult to justify why Stephen could be allowed to become patriarch at age 19. Such an age of consecration was unprecedented even for ordinary bishops. Stephen’s

(125) A. ΜΑΡΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, An Anonymous Laudatory Poem in Honor of Basil I, *DOP* 46 (1992) 225–232, here 231.

(126) Ղազար Փարպեցի, 71.

reputation as the divinely appointed successor of Photius was an important precondition to the success of his appointment. In his homily on the consecration of Stephen, Leo does not limit himself to the usual phrases about the “divine choice” of the new patriarch “known by God before the conception,”¹²⁷ but provides an allusion which is probably referring to the *Vision of St Sahak*: Ἀρχιερεὺς ἀνεῖται τῷ Θεῷ, ὃς τοῖς κάτω μὲν ἀνακτόροις τὰς μητρικαῖς ὠδῖνας ἀπέλυσεν, τῶν ἄνω δὲ βασιλείων, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, τοῦτον ἐξεδέχετο στέφος (“An archpriest is promised to God – which resolved the maternal pains to the king’s dwellings of below and received, as you see, this crown of the royal abodes of above”).¹²⁸ The words “as you see” point to the current situation, that is, the consecration of Stephen as patriarch. This consecration does not presuppose any “crown,” let alone a crown of an earthly king. A simple wordplay with στέφος and the name Stephen would not suffice to justify the mention of heavenly royal abodes (or “royal palaces”) in a strict symmetry with the earthly ones. The royal descent of the new patriarch would justify such a metaphor but if Leo alludes to his descent from the saints belonging to the royal dynasty of the Arshakids it would make more sense. In the context of the *Vision of St Sahak*, such a metaphor would accentuate the descent of the patriarch from both royal and saintly stock. If this guess is true, Leo recalls the already well known prophecy of Stephen as the future patriarch – according to the Macedonian reinterpretation of the *Vision of St Sahak* – in trying to justify Stephen’s uncanonical consecration at the age of 19.

Stephen’s personal reputation at the time of his patriarchate was high. After his early death on 17 or 18 May 893, he was venerated as a saint. His relics were deposited in the monastery of St George the Syceote near the Blachernae. The day of his repose was a feast (17 or 18 May according to different recensions of the *Synaxarium*¹²⁹). However, the main synaxis in his memory with a solemn procession from St Sophia to St George the Syceote monastery, where the Eucharistic liturgy was celebrated, was on 27 May.¹³⁰ Thus, although the date of St Stephen’s death on 17 or 18 May was a local feast in the monastery in which his relics were deposited, his main feast was celebrated on a different date,

(127) ANGELOPOULOU, Leonis VI Sapientis..., 302.102 (cf. 300.43), 302.98–99.

(128) Ibid., 300.39–41.

(129) *Synaxarium CP*, cols. 689, 694. Cf. JANIN 1969, 77–78.

(130) *Synaxarium CP*, col. 714. MATEOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église...*, t. I. *Le cycle des douze mois* (Rome, 1962) (OCA, 165) 300/301 (txt/tr.).

27 May, with a stationary liturgy regulated by the Typicon of the Great Church. There must be a reason for the importance of the date 27 May.

This date makes sense within the cycle containing the commemoration of St Gregory the Illuminator, given both that St Gregory was considered as the forefather of Stephen and also that his cult included a commemoration of the prophecy of St Sahak about Stephen. A feast of St Stephen on this day is an indirect demonstration that the cycle including the commemoration of St Gregory the Illuminator on 26 to 28 May still existed in 893, and that the *Vision* of St Sahak was still present in the actual official ideology. Given that the saints whose relics were discovered in τὰ Καριανοῦ were enumerated in the Armenian account listing Gregory the Illuminator first, then Gaiane and Rhipsime, and finally Sergius and Bacchus, it is most likely that the day commemorating St Gregory was the first day of the cycle, 26 May, on the eve of the day of the commemoration of his alleged successor as patriarch, Stephen.

We see, however, that in the tenth century, the commemoration of St Gregory in May was suppressed – there is no trace in the Synaxarium or the Typicon. Moreover, we have seen in Constantine Porphyrogenete that the part of the prophecy of St Sahak concerning the Arshakid patriarch no longer fit the current situation and was probably forgotten. It is certain at least that the *Vision* of St Sahak ceased to be a document of actual Byzantine ideology and, in its Byzantine recension (where St Sahak prophesied about the Roman Empire, not about Armenia), it was completely forgotten. The Greek and Georgian versions available among the anti-Armenian polemical documents demonstrate its apprehension as a fulfilled prophecy about the interruption of priesthood in the Armenian Church.

Such changes occurred too rapidly to be a natural result of changing interpretations. Rather, one sees here the result of censorship due to a change in official ideology. The Arshakid genealogy of the Macedonian dynasty was still required, but now without its component relating to the patriarchate. The liturgical commemoration of St Stephen was nevertheless preserved, but not as a successor of St Gregory the Illuminator. The day of the main commemoration of St Stephen remained 27 May, in conformity with Baumstark's second law,¹³¹ but henceforth outside the liturgical cycle of St Gregory the Illuminator.

(131) "Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch hochwertiger Zeit" ("...primitive conditions are maintained with greater tenacity in the more sacred seasons of the Liturgical Year"); see BAUMSTARK, *Comparative Liturgy*, 27–28.

This cycle was suppressed, and the commemoration of Stephen on this day thus became apparently arbitrary, seemingly with no reason.

In addressing the sudden oblivion of the *Vision* of St Sahak and the suppression of the date of the discovery of the relics of St Gregory in May, we must pose two questions: who was interested in performing all this and by what means did they do so?

2.3.3. The Cult of St Gregory the Illuminator under Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos

The meaning of the May commemoration of St Gregory was connected (at least under Basil I) with the *Vision* of Sahak and, in turn, with the patriarchate of Stephen. His election at the age of 19 was an act unfriendly to Photius and his entourage. Photius' party regained the patriarchate after the death of Photius († 890/895, likely 893/894) in 901, in the person of his relative and disciple Nicholas Mystikos. He certainly did not accept the legitimization of Stephen's consecration by means of the prophecy of St Sahak. Thus, he was interested in the suppression of the corresponding May cult, as well as of the alleged prophecy of St Sahak concerning the patriarch of Constantinople. Such a reaction seems to be natural in the context of Photius' pre-886 ideology, now adapted to a different situation *mutatis mutandis*. The Arshakid genealogy is still preserved, but for the emperors only. No specific connexion between the patriarch of Constantinople and St Gregory the Illuminator was necessary, and thus there was no need to invoke the *Vision* of St Sahak. Nicholas Mystikos had neither the competence nor the need to abrogate the commemoration of patriarch Stephen, but it was necessary to him to break any association of Stephen's commemoration day with St Gregory and the prophecy of St Sahak.

Thus, the date of the suppression of the May commemoration of St Gregory and his companions is, most likely, in 901 or shortly thereafter, during the first patriarchate of Nicholas Mystikos (901–907). The means of the suppression will be dealt with in greater detail.

It was relatively easy to suppress the commemoration of St Gregory the Illuminator in May because the main day of his commemoration was 30 September (an ancient feast of Armenian origin, as discussed below). The commemoration in May was an additional one and related to the discovery of the relics. It was suppressed together with the memory of the discovery itself, and this is why we have no account of this discovery in Greek. Forgetting the discovery of the relics was the price to pay for the suppression of St Gregory's feast in May.

2.3.4. An Alternative to the *Vision* of St Sahak: the *Apocalypse* of Andrew the Salos

The elimination of the *Vision* of St Sahak, because it could not be accomplished simply by decree, was a more difficult task. The only way to accomplish the fast and effective elimination of an ideological document was by issuing an appropriate competing document. As Michel van Esbroeck put it, “[r]ien n’élimine mieux un document que la création d’un parallèle destiné à le remplacer.”¹³²

The document aiming to supersede the *Vision* of St Sahak had to be, of course, an apocalypse, that is, a document of the same genre as the original *Vision*. More precisely, it must be a piece of *Reichseschatologie*.¹³³ There is only one such document which enjoyed an enormous popularity during the tenth century: the *Apocalypse* of Andrew the Salos (see above, 1.8.2, on the date of this apocalypse and the composite nature of the known recension of the *Life* of Andrew the Salos). Regardless of the exact date of this apocalypse (possibly the late seventh or the eighth century), it was (re)actualised in the tenth century when it was included in the *Life* of Andrew.

Incorporation into a hagiographic novel is a testament to widespread popularity. Properly speaking, only an already popular saint can become the main character of a hagiographical novel,¹³⁴ and so the

(132) M. VAN ESBRÖECK, *La Lettre sur le Dimanche, descendue du ciel*, *AB* 107 (1989) 267–284, here 283.

(133) Cf. G. PODSKALSKY, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie. Die Periodisierung der Weltgeschichte in den vier Grossreichen (Daniel 2 und 7) und dem Tausendjährigen Friedensreiche (Apok. 20). Eine motifgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (München, 1972) (Münchener Universitäts-Schriften. Reihe der philosophischen Fakultät, 9).

(134) Everything said by Delehay concerning the origin of the *Passions épiques* [especially in H. DELEHAYE, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Bruxelles, 1966) (SH, 13 B)] is applicable to the hagiographic novels which are a particular case of the “epic” hagiography: the cult of a saint precedes the creation of his *Life*. However, the way in which the “anthological” hagiographic novel of the tenth century was created is more complicated: it presupposed an agglomeration of sources of varying nature (not only hagiographical) but, among others, some earlier hagiographic source(s) on the principal heroes (e. g., seventh-century recensions of the *Barlaam and Ioasaph* for the tenth-century Byzantine novel) or their prototypes (e. g., early Macedonian Gregory of Agrigent for tenth-century Gregentius of Taphar). The sources of other great tenth-century “anthological” novels (*Life of Theodore of Edessa*, *Life of Basil the New*) have not been studied systematically, but the existence of a pre-existing

rise in popularity of St Andrew the Salos, testified by the creation of his tenth-century *Life*, presupposes a noticeable increase in the popularity of his cult even earlier. This fact corresponds to the early tenth century as the date of the (re)appearance of the Apocalypse of Andrew the Salos as a self-standing work, a period that corresponds to the patriarchate of Nicholas Mystikos.

Unlike the *Vision* of St Sahak, the Apocalypse of Andrew the Salos is a traditional Byzantine historical apocalypse of the epoch opened by the Arabic expansion in the seventh century, fashioned after the “canons” established by the late seventh-century pseudo-Methodius of Patara. Thus, unlike the *Vision* of St Sahak, it was easily compatible with the Byzantine mentality. However, because the Apocalypse of Andrew the Salos seems so ordinary within the context of Byzantine tradition, it is difficult to discover anything in its contents that might provide specific reasons for choosing it as a counterweight to the *Vision* of St Sahak. One can reasonably suppose that, in the early tenth century, there were dozens of similar texts available. Their familiar Byzantine appearance was a necessary but insufficient condition to be chosen for replacing the authority of St Sahak. The real mechanism of replacement was to be effectuated within the cultic realm, that is, on the same level where the *Vision* of St Sahak had been planted in the Byzantine official ideology in the first place.

Here, our first interest lies in the hagiographical coordinates¹³⁵ of the cult of St Andrew the Salos, that is, the place of its cult and the date in the calendar. The place of the early tenth-century cult of St Andrew is difficult to define¹³⁶ but the earliest date of his liturgical commemora-

literary “core” in these cases seems more than likely. The case of the *Life of Basil the New* is similar to our case of the *Life of St Andrew the Salos* in the respect that its pre-existing “core” included an apocalypse (although not of the kind of *Reichseschatologie* but about the heavenly toll-houses). See LOURIÉ, *The Tenth Century: From roman hagiographique to roman anthologique*, with further bibliography.

(135) On this notion, see H. DELEHAYE, *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique* (Bruxelles, 1934) (SH, 21), ch. 1.

(136) The place where St Andrew reveals his apocalypse to his disciple Epiphanius is indicated as the home of the latter, which is an unknown place. For the places of the veneration of St Andrew the Salos in late Byzantine Constantinople, see G. P. MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, DC, 1984) (DOS, 19), esp. 315–316 and 383. Majeska assumes that the two St Andrew the Salos monasteries mentioned in Russian sources are not identical and that the mention of the relics of

tion, which is the date of his death according to the *Life*, is 28 May. This date had to be retained by the hagiographer from the existing St Andrew cult. St Andrew, known in the early tenth century, at least, as the recipient of an apocalypse, was commemorated on 28 May. This date became the hagiographical coordinate of time for the cult approving a new historical apocalypse. Its proximity to the main commemoration day of patriarch Stephen, 27 May, and its belonging to the period of the earlier liturgical cycle from 26 to 28 May could hardly have been fortuitous.

After 893, the earlier cycle commemorating the discovery of the relics of Sergius and Bacchus, Gregory the Illuminator, and Gaiane and Rhipsime contained a commemoration of patriarch Stephen on 27 May. Initially, this commemoration was aimed only at proclaiming Stephen as the successor of St Gregory the Illuminator, as prophesied in the *Vision* of St Sahak. Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos, in removing both the commemoration of St Gregory on this day and the commemoration of Gaiane and Rhipsime on the next day, 28 May, was attempting to eliminate any connexion between patriarch Stephen and the *Vision* of St Sahak. Thus, the commemoration of St Andrew as the recipient of a genuine Byzantine historical apocalypse is suitably placed on the next day after the commemoration of patriarch Stephen. The earlier cycle covering the three days from 26 to 28 May was transformed into the three self-standing commemoration days of Sergius and Bacchus, Stephen, and Andrew the Salos. A connexion between Stephen and Andrew would have persisted until the memory of the earlier cycle had died out completely. The Synaxarium variants of the date of the commemoration of Sergius and Bacchus (from 26 to 28 May) demonstrate that the earlier cycle was reconsidered as dedicated to these martyrs exclusively. Such a three-day cycle of Sergius and Bacchus would not prevent the commemoration of other saints on the same days.

Taking into account St Andrew the Salos' commemoration date on 28 May, we have to accept that his cult approving his apocalypse was introduced (or, at least, reinforced) under Nicholas Mystikos as a replacement for the specific recension of the cult of St Gregory the Illu-

St Andrew in a late Russian recension of one of them is an interpolation with no historical value (taking into account that, according to the *Life of St Andrew*, his body was taken into heaven in the same manner as the body of the Theotokos). I would prefer to wait for a proper study of this interpolation and its possible source but, at any rate, the cult of St Andrew in Constantinople is too complicated a matter to be reviewed here.

minator, which was connected to the cult of patriarch Stephen through the *Vision* of St Sahak. With the new cult of St Andrew, Nicholas Mystikos managed to break the link between Stephen and Gregory the Illuminator and to stop the circulation of the Byzantine recension of the *Vision* of St Sahak.

This state of affairs concerning the cult of St Andrew the Salos, established in the first patriarchate of Nicholas Mystikos, was altered by the establishment of a new feast of Pokrov but then restored in his second patriarchate (912–925) and preserved in the late Byzantine and post-Byzantine tradition until the nineteenth century. The *Life* of Andrew the Salos written later in the tenth century “canonised” this form of his cult with his commemoration date on 28 May.

The circulation of the *Vision* of St Sahak after 901 had thus been halted, but we will see that its impact was still traceable.

2.4. The Veneration of “Pokrov” before the Feast of Pokrov

2.4.1. Photius, 860: the Discovery of “Pokrov”

In attempting to explain the origin of the word “Pokrov” (Σκέπη) as it is applied to the feast of the Theotokos, it became standard practice to quote the Akathistos: χαίρει, σκέπη του κόσμου, πλατυτέρα νεφέλης — “Hail, O Shelter [Pokrov] of the World, wider than the cloud[s]!” (oikos 6). This sixth-century text, however, has only a remote relationship to our feast. Indeed, it is interesting that the word σκέπη is applied here to the Theotokos and that from the seventh century on, the corresponding hymn has been the central element of the most solemn festivity in the Blachernae Church (Saturday of Akathistos). However, the “Pokrov” in this text has no relation to any specific garment worn by the Theotokos. It is, rather, applied to the Theotokos herself.

The first application of the word σκέπη to the garments of the Theotokos is to be found in the *Homilia secunda de oppugnatione barbarorum* (= homily IV) of patriarch Photius, delivered on 4 August 860 almost immediately after repelling the Russian attack on Constantinople (end of July; the attack began on 18 June).¹³⁷ The patriarch caused

(137) For the date, see J. WORTLEY, *The Date of Photius’ Fourth Homily*, *Byzantinoslavica* 31 (1970) 50–53, supported, e.g., by C. ZUCKERMAN, *Deux étapes de la formation de l’ancien état russe*, in: M. KAZANSKI, A. NERSESSIAN, C. ZUCKERMAN (éds.), *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient. Actes du Colloque International tenu au Collège de France en octobre 1997* (Paris, 2000) (Réalités byzantines, 7) 95–120. For an English translation and

the wrecking of the entire Russian fleet by immersing the Robe of the Theotokos into the sea near the Blachernae Church. It appears that on this occasion, for the first time since the middle or late fifth century, the soros where the Robe had been preserved was opened.¹³⁸

When Photius, in his homily after the victory over the Russians, uses the word σκέπη, he is still relying on the imagery of the Akathistos. Nevertheless, he makes an important shift in meaning. In speaking not about the Theotokos herself as the σκέπη but about the actual σκέπη he says: ταύτης τὴν σκέπην εἰς τεῖχος εὐρεῖν ἀπολιόρητον (“...to find her [Theotokos’] shelter as a bulwark unassailable”). The mention of “bulwark” here is another reference to the Akathistos: Τεῖχος εἶ τῶν παρθένων, Θεοτόκε παρθένε, καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰς σὲ προσφευγόντων — “A bulwark art Thou to virgins and to all that flee unto Thee” (oikos 10), but he introduces a new entity: a “shelter” of the Theotokos which is different from the Theotokos herself.

In the following lines, Photius focuses on the garment of the Theotokos (περιβολή) precisely in the function of a shelter, although at this point without an explicit identification: ἥς [sc., of the Theotokos] καὶ τὴν περιβολὴν εἰς ἀναστολὴν μὲν τῶν πολιορκούντων, φυλακὴν δὲ τῶν πολιορκουμένων σὺν ἐμοὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἐπιφερόμενοι τὰς ἰκεσίας ἐκουσιαζόμεθα, τὴν λιτανεῖαν ἐποιούμεθα... (“...and the whole city together with me carrying over her garment as the repellent for those assaulting but the custody of those assaulted, we offer freely supplications and we serve the litany...”).¹³⁹ However, near the end of the homily the identification between the garment of the Theotokos and her “shelter” becomes almost explicit: we were saved, Photius said, τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ λόγου τῆ περιβολῆ σκεπασθέντας τε καὶ διασημανθέντας (“...by the garment of the Mother of the Logos sheltered and marked out”).¹⁴⁰

In Photius, “Pokrov” is still not a technical word for the Robe (garment) of the Theotokos deposited in the Holy Soros of Blachernae. However, through its function as shelter, the Robe becomes “Pokrov.”

a general historical setting of Photius’ homilies, see C. MANGO, *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople, ca. 820 – ca. 891* (Cambridge, MA, 1958) (DOS, 3).

(138) On the veneration of the Robe of the Theotokos in the fifth century and the corresponding hagiographical legends, see LOURIE 2007.

(139) Β. ΛΑΟΥΡΔΑΣ, *Φωτίου Ὁμιλίες* (Θεσσαλονίκη, 1959) (Ελληνικά. Παράρτημα, 12) 45.

(140) *Ibid.*, 51.

It appears that this shift in meaning of the metaphor of σκέπη used in the Akathistos was produced by Photius himself on the very day when his homily IV was delivered, Sunday, 4 August 860. In his first homily on the Russian attack (homily III), Photius also entrusted the City to the Mother of God, but without invoking this imagery at all. Instead, Photius asked the Theotokos to save the City by the means she knows herself (Σῶσον πόλιν σήν, ὡς οἶδας, ᾧ δέσποινα).¹⁴¹

The panegyric of Theodore Syncellus to the Robe of the Theotokos (BHG 1058), which describes a siege of Constantinople interrupted by the miraculous intercession of the Theotokos acting through her Robe, contains no “Pokrov” imagery and indeed no use of the word σκέπη or its derivatives at all. If it is true that this work is also dedicated to the Russian attack in 860,¹⁴² it is another witness suggesting that the “Pok-

(141) ΛΑΟΥΡΔΑΣ, Φωτίου Ὁμιλίαι, 39.

(142) For the text (the best but not a critical edition of the Greek original together with a Slavonic version and a Russian translation), see X. ЛОПАРЕВ, Старое свидетельство о Положении Ризы Богородицы во Влахернах в новом истолковании применительно к нашествию Русских на Византию в 860 г. [Ch. ЛОПАРЕВ, An Old Testimony about the Deposition of the Robe of the Theotokos in Blachernae in a New Interpretation Applied to the Invasion of Byzantium by the Russians in 860], *BB* 2 (1895) 521–628. For the date and attribution to the events of 860, see J. WORTLEY, The Oration of Theodore Syncellus (BHG 1058) and the Siege of 860, *Byzantine Studies / Études byzantines* 4 (1977) 111–126 [repr.: IDEM, *Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium...*, ch. XIII]. For a study and an English translation with commentary and with the complete earlier bibliography, see A. CAMERON, The Virgin’s Robe: An Episode in the History of Early Seventh-Century Constantinople, *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 42–56 (however, Cameron does not cite Wortley, following instead Vasil’evskij (1896) and Wenger (1955), and thus considering this text as related to the attack of the Avars in 619/620; Wortley returned to the viewpoint of Loparev which, since then, has been supported by Jugie (1944)). For the legend of Galbas and Candidus and its date and also about the origin of the feast of the Robe on 2 July, see LOURIÉ 2007. The feast of the Theotokos established by the anonymous patriarch who is the central figure of Theodore Syncellus’ panegyric is by no means that of 2 July. This date is too early if the events took place in 860 because the attack was repelled in the last days of July (Loparev was still unaware of the chronology of the Russian attack, now precisely established). If the events took place in 619/620, this date is nevertheless unacceptable because the feast of 2 July has Palestinian origins (where it was the feast of the Ark of the Covenant in Cariathiarim) and was accepted in Constantinople as the common feast of the Robe and Juvenal of Jerusalem in the epoch of Zeno after the proclamation of the *Henotikon* (482); its hagiographical legend is that of Galbas and Candidus (BHG 1058a), which suppressed the earlier legend

rov" imagery in Photius' homily IV was his personal invention and by no means commonplace.

After the time that Photius delivered his homily, a cult of "Pokrov" (Σκέπη) is traceable in Byzantium up to the tenth century. The monastery where Photius lived after his deposition in 867 was called Σκέπη. Pseudo-Symeon specifies that it is here where Photius composed the genealogy of Basil I from king Trdat.¹⁴³ This monastery was located near Constantinople.¹⁴⁴ A direct link between the dedication of the monastery and the wording of homily IV of Photius would not have been overlooked.

Janin supposed, although tentatively, that this is the monastery of Σκέπη in which St Euphrosynia the Younger (ca 854–921/923) resided when she returned to Constantinople ca 903.¹⁴⁵ Janin hesitated in his identification because St Euphrosynia's monastery would have been for women, and thus would not have been suitable for Photius. It is possible, however, that the monastery changed its destination before

known through the *Historia Euthymiaca*. Theodore Syncellus clearly states that the feast whose origins he explains was established as a completely new one. No date of this feast is preserved within the text or its title (this means that the preserved manuscript tradition of the panegyric has no connexion to the liturgy) – probably because the feast had lost its importance or fallen into oblivion. It is probable that the corresponding feast is the synaxis of the Theotokos on 25 July *πέραν ἐν τῷ Παγιδίῳ, πλησίον τοῦ Νέου Ἐμβόλου* (*Synaxarium CP*, col. 844; cf. JANIN 1969, 208). Its date fits perfectly the chronology of the Russian attack of 860 (it is very possible that it was repelled on 25 July), although its place (near the New Portico which may be, according to Janin, in modern Beşiktaş) is too remote from Blachernae; however, this place of the synaxis according to the later tenth-century sources (the *Synaxarium* and the *Typicon* of the Great Church) may originally have been a secondary one but the only location that preserved an old commemoration.

(143) Nicetas Paphlagon, *Life of Ignatius*, PG 105, 640 B; BEKKER, Theophanes Continuatus..., 689.5ff. Both sources use an anti-Photian pamphlet contemporaneous to the events. See A. K[AZHĎAN], Symeon Magistros, Pseudo-, in: K[AZHĎAN] (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 3, 1983.

(144) JANIN 1969, 455.

(145) *Ibid.* The *Life of Euphrosynia the Younger* (BHG 627) by Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos (early fourteenth century) is published by H. D[elehay] in AASS Novembris III (1910) cols. 858–877; cf. his introduction for the chronology of St Euphrosynia's life. On the monastery of Σκέπη, see ch. 34 (874 B) and 47 (877 D: the miraculous healing of a nun of the monastery of Σκέπη from the relics of St Euphrosynia). Thus, the monastery continued to exist for a while after 921/923.

903. Be that as it may, the existence of one or even two monasteries of Σκέπη demonstrates that some sort of cult of “Pokrov” existed. It is also remarkable that this cult was extinguished during the tenth century, when the monastery (or monasteries) disappeared.

2.4.2. When “Pokrov” Becomes “Omophorion/Maphorion”

When later Byzantine historians recalled the miracle of 860, they replaced the word “garment” with the word “omophorion” or “maphorion.” The earliest source is Symeon Logothetos (Chronicle, 131, 30), in the middle of the tenth century. Here, the garment of the Theotokos which Photius immersed in the sea is called “omophorion” (ὠμοφόριον).¹⁴⁶ However, in the nearly contemporaneous *Chronographia* of Pseudo-Symeon, the author uses the term “maphorion” (μαφόριον);¹⁴⁷ his work dates from the late tenth century (his last entry is dated 963) and he uses the chronicle of Symeon Logothetos among his main sources.¹⁴⁸ This change was easily possible because the word “omophorion” was often used instead of “maphorion” (a shawl-like vesture covering the head and shoulders) and not necessarily in the meaning of a bishop’s pallium.¹⁴⁹ Although the term might sometimes refer to a bishop’s garment, generally it meant either a woman’s cape and tippet or a monastic cape.¹⁵⁰ Thus, the use of “maphorion” instead of “omophorion” may have been meant to clarify that the part of the Theotokos’ garment used by Photius was, in fact, different from the distinctive bishop’s pallium.

In any case, both “maphorion” and “omophorion” contradict the first person account of Photius, who used the word περιβολή which is not very suitable to describe a headdress. Nevertheless, even in Photius’ lifetime, the word μαφόριον became the usual term to indicate the Robe of the Theotokos in Blachernae (instead of the previous “indefinite terms” ἐσθῆς (or ἐσθηῆτα), περιβόλαιον, περιβολή, φορεσία). Wortley points to Joseph Hymnographer, the author of the liturgical canon for the feast of the Robe in Blachernae on 2 July, as the earliest

(146) Symeon Logothetos, 247.270.

(147) BEKKER, Theophanes Continuatus..., 674.22.

(148) A. K[AZHDAN], Symeon Magistros, Pseudo-

(149) G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961) 1556.

(150) *Ibid.*, 834.

witness of this tradition.¹⁵¹ Indeed, in his canon to the Robe (most often called here ἔσθητα, cf. even in the acrostic: Ἐσθητα τιμῶ τῆς πανάγνου Παρθένου. Ἰωσήφ), he identifies explicitly περιβόλαιον and μαφόριον: Φαιδρὸν περιβόλαιον τὸ σόν, μαφόριον... (“Thy bright dress, maphorion...”).¹⁵²

It is also important that Joseph elaborates on Photius’ imagery of σκέπη: ...τὴν Ἐσθητά σου, κειμένην σεβόμεθα, ὡς κιβωτὸν ἀγίαν, καὶ εὐσεβούντων σκέπην (“...we venerate Thy Robe lying here as the holy arc and the shelter (Pokrov) of the pious ones”).¹⁵³ The service for 2 July as a whole is oversaturated with this “Pokrov” imagery, as Lathoud has pointed out,¹⁵⁴ but there is no possibility of dating this hymnography. Even the date of the canon of Joseph is somewhat problematic due to the imprecise chronology of his life,¹⁵⁵ but a post-867 date is commonly accepted (this is when Joseph returned from exile after the deposition of Photius and even became his close collaborator during Photius’ second patriarchate¹⁵⁶).

(151) WORTLEY 2005, 185. The canon of Joseph on the Robe of the Theotokos is published in *PG* 105, 1004B–1009C; I will quote all Greek liturgical texts according to the *Menaia* of Venice, here: ΒΑΡΘΟΛΟΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΟΥΤΛΟΥΜΟΥΣΙΑΝΟΥ τοῦ Ἰμβρίου, *Μηναῖον τοῦ Ἰουλίου* (Βενετία, ³1863) 6–11 (service for 2 July), 7–10 (canon).

(152) Canon of Joseph, IX, 5; cf. also VIII, 2: Νοητὸν ὡς λαμπάδιον ἔχοντες, ἐν λυχνίᾳ τραπέζῃ προκειμένον, τὸ ἱερὸν μαφόριον, τῆς πανάγνου Παρθένου, τὰς τῆς καρδίας, φωτιζόμεθα κόρας ἐκάστοτε (“Having the sacred maphorion of the all-pure Virgin as an intellectual luminary staying on the candlestick of the table <sc., altar> we enlighten the pupils of the heart every time”).

(153) Canon of Joseph, VII, 2; the same identification of the Robe with the maphorion in III, 3.

(154) I counted seven entries outside the canon of Joseph. Cf., for a review, D. LATHOUD, Le thème iconographique du « Pokrov » de la Vierge, in: *L’art byzantin chez les slaves. Recueil dédié à la mémoire de Th. Uspenskij*. Deuxième recueil (Paris, 1932) (Orient et Byzance, 5) 302–314, here 302–303. Lathoud was the first who situated the service on 2 July in connexion to the Pokrov.

(155) In addition to the discussion of the exact date of Joseph’s death during the second patriarchate of Photius (886 or 883), there is a problem of his (or some other Joseph’s?) authorship of a canon to Theodora of Thessalonica, who died in 892. Cf. K[AZHDAN], C[ONOMOS], P[ATTERSON] Š[EVČENKO], Joseph Hymnographer, 1074.

(156) Testified by both *Lives* of Joseph: *Life* by John the Deacon (*BHG* 945–946), ch. 30 (*PG* 105, 968 D – 969 AB); *Life* by Theophanes the Monk (*BHG* 944),

The same Joseph also wrote a liturgical canon for the feast of the Girdle of the Theotokos in the church of Chalkoprateia on 31 August; here it is the Girdle, rather than the Robe, that is the palladium of the City.¹⁵⁷ Wortley thinks that this canon was written before 860 (thus, even before Joseph's exile in 858), when the Robe was considered as the second Marian relic after the Girdle.¹⁵⁸ In this canon, the Girdle is called "shelter" ("Pokrov"): ...νῦν δὲ ἀναβᾶσα, οὐρανῶν ὑπεράνω, κατέλιπες ἀνθρώποις, τὴν τιμίαν σου Ζώνην, Παρθένε Θεοτόκε, κραταίωμα καὶ σκέπην ("...while now after having risen higher than the Heavens Thou hast left to humankind Thy precise Girdle, o Virgin Theotokos, as strength and shelter").¹⁵⁹ If the "Pokrov" imagery applied to the Girdle is genuine (that is, not influenced by the cult of the Robe), it is the source of the same imagery applied to the Robe by Photius in 860. Its ultimate source remains unknown because the history of the cult of the Girdle of the Theotokos in Constantinople is far from being written.¹⁶⁰

ch. 12 [Α. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ <Α. ΡΑΡΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ>, *Σборник греческих и латинских памятников, касающихся Фотия патриарха / Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patriarchae pertinentia* 2 (С.-Петербург, 1901) 10–11].

(157) PG 105, 1009C–1117D; Βαρθολομαίου Κουτλουμουσιανού του Ιμβριου, *Μηναῖον τοῦ Ἀυγουστου* (Βενετία, ³1863) 154–159 (for both canon and service as a whole).

(158) WORTLEY 2005, 184–185 and n. 32.

(159) Canon of Joseph, VII, 2; cf. I, 4: (Thy people, o Theotokos) ...ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν σκέπην, καταφεύγει πάντοτε ("...to Thy shelter has recourse always"). Other components of the service use the "Pokrov" imagery quite often but this is a secondary effect of the convergence with the service of 2 July. This convergence goes so far that both services share the same troparion *apolytikion* which, of course, mentions the "Pokrov" once more: Θεοτόκε ἀειπάρθενε, τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ σκέπη, Ἐσθῆτα καὶ Ζώνην τοῦ ἀχράντου σου σώματος, κραταίαν τῇ πόλει σου περιβολὴν ἔδωρήσω... ("O Theotokos everlasting Virgin, the shelter of humankind, the Robe and the Girdle of Thy most pure body Thou hast given to Thy capital City as a covering [περιβολή, the term used by Photius in his homily IV for the Robe]...").

(160) Not even the hagiographical dossier of the feast is published in full (several unpublished homilies are enumerated in *BHG*). As an introduction to the dossier one can use WORTLEY 2005, which could be completed by the dossier of archbishop Sergij (Spasskij): Архиепископ Сергий (Спасский), *Полный месяцеслов Востока* [*Complete Menologion of the East*], т. III (Владимир, ²1901) [reprint: Moscow, 1997] 346–348, who also published a Slavonic version of the

Joseph Hymnographer is the earliest witness of the transformation of the Robe of the Theotokos into the maphorion. The date of this transformation is later than 860 – before this date documents do not mention “maphorion” at all. Joseph wrote his canon to the Robe after 867, that is, certainly under Basil I. Thus, the Robe became σκέπη in 860 and “maphorion” sometime later, under Basil I. Around the same time, the maphorion becomes σκέπη.

We must, therefore, study the mechanism by which this important transformation occurred.

2.4.3. A Secondary “Pokrov” Cult: The Maphorion of St Theophano

We have an important, yet indirect, witness of a late ninth-century maphorion cult. It is another cult in which a maphorion plays a prominent role: the cult of St Theophano, the first wife of Leo the Wise. It presupposed a veneration of the maphorion of Theophano herself as its major relic. It is also important that it is the only case of the veneration of the maphorion of any female saint, and thus it is specific to the time of Theophano’s death (10 November of either 895 or 896).

Theophano finished her life in the Holy Soros Church in Blachernae, where she resided for a short time after having separated from her husband. According to the *Life* of Euthymius, her spiritual father and the future patriarch visited her for the last time in her abode in the Holy Soros. At that time, she transmitted to him, together with the precious liturgical vessels and their veils, her shawl. Euthymius’ hagiographer focuses his attention on this last object: σὺν τούτοις δὲ παρέχει τὸ ἐπ’ ἐκκλησίας αὐτῇ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς καὶ ὤμων ἐπικείμενον περιβόλαιον, εἰς τύπον τοῦτο ἀναφορᾶς ἐπιδόσασα (“...and together with these she hands over the covering, περιβόλαιον, which she wore in the church on the head and the shoulders adding it as a symbol, τύπος, of the anaphora”).¹⁶¹ The context here is clearly liturgical: ἀναφορά is mentioned as an addition to the liturgical vessels with their veils. Although the shawl is not the ἀναφορά (Eucharist) itself, it is, nevertheless, its symbol (typos). It is also important that the same scene contains an indirect but clear indication that Theophano is

entry on 31 August of one of the recensions of the Synaxarium of Constantinople which is lost in the Greek original: *ibid.*, t. I (Владимир, ²1901) [reprint: Moscow, 1997] 597.

(161) P. KARLIN-HAYTER, *Vita Euthymii Patriarchae CP. Text, Translation, Introduction, and Commentary* (Bruxelles, 1970) (Bibliothèque de Byzantion, 3) 45.

a saint: Euthymius, himself a saint, asks her in the same manner as the desert fathers used to say farewell to each other: ἀλλ' εἰ παρρησίας τῆς ἐλπίζομένης τύχης, καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν ἐλαχιστότητος μέμνησο (“...but if you achieve the hoped-for boldness, let you remember our most humble self”).¹⁶² Let us recall that the above scene took place in the Holy Soros Church, the epicentre of the cult of the maphorion of the Theotokos since the reign of Basil I.

A contemporary *Life of Theophano* (BHG 1794) reports miracles from her shawl, which is always called a μαφόριον.¹⁶³ The shawl was deposited in the Church of the Holy Apostles, where Theophano herself was buried. Chapter 25 describes a miraculous healing of a possessed woman. This woman met a man who was carrying Theophano’s maphorion wrapped in a thin tissue. She started to disparage St Theophano. The man was unable to hold back his anger and he hit her on the head with the maphorion, whereupon the woman healed immediately. The man who was carrying the maphorion was heading for the father of the hagiographer himself, who, of course, was also healed with the maphorion. The maphorion is mentioned throughout this account, each time with epithets familiar for the maphorion of the Theotokos: three times τίμιον (“precious”), one time σεπτόν (“venerable”), and one time even θεῖον (“divine”).¹⁶⁴

In another scene of healing (ch. 27–29), a paralysed boy sees in a vision the Theotokos visiting him hand-in-hand with Theophano. The Theotokos orders Theophano to heal the boy, but she declines. The Theotokos insists, however, and Theophano concedes. Here, Theophano is presented as a “deputy wonderworker” of the Theotokos. The Theotokos in this scene wears a shawl: περιβέβλητο δὲ καὶ εἰς περιβολὴν

(162) KARLIN-HAYTER, *Vita Euthymii...*, 45.

(163) The Slavonic version of another *Life of Theophano* (see A. KREININA, *The Life of Theophano the Empress: the Slavonic Recension of an Unknown Byzantine Original*, *Scr* 7–8.1 (2011–2012) 169–230), which is lost in Greek, has in the corresponding places *завѣтъ* (e.g., f. 83v), which is normally used to render the term *καταπέτασμα*. Cf. *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského. Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae* 1 (Praha, 1966) [reprint: C.-Πετερδωγρ, 2006] 631. Thus, it is not clear whether the original Greek term was *μαφόριον* or, say, *περιβόλαιον*, as in the *Life of Euthymius*.

(164) E. KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte über die hl. Theophano die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI.*, *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg*, sér. VIII. T. III, 2 (1898) 17–18.

μαφορίου (“dressed with the dress of maphorion”).¹⁶⁵ This episode makes clear the relationship between the two maphoria: one is a copy of the other.

The possibility of such a “secondary” maphorion cult reveals that the cult of the maphorion of the Theotokos deposited in the Holy Soros in Blachernae was already quite strong up to the beginning of the 890s (that is, to the last years of Theophano’s life). Enough time had passed by this point – that is, after the cult had started under Basil I no earlier than 867 – to establish it securely.

Thus after only about twenty years or even less, the cult of the maphorion was extremely fashionable, even to the extent of producing a secondary relic, the maphorion of Theophano. But the case of the maphorion of Theophano remained a unique exception. Beginning in the middle of the tenth century, “maphorion” is one of the routine synonyms of “Robe,” attracting no specific interest to its precise form. The only exception is the “Russian” feast of Pokrov and, to some extent, the Byzantine and Russian iconographical traditions that may have their roots in the Pokrov-related Byzantine iconography.¹⁶⁶

(165) KURTZ, *Zwei griechische Texte...*, 19–21, esp. 20.

(166) Here I avoid any discussion of the possible Byzantine roots of the earliest Russian iconography of the Pokrov which is often posed in connexion to the rite of the “Usual Miracle” in the Blachernae Church (this rite is to be dated not later than to the eleventh century). See Н. П. КОНДАКОВ, *Иконография Богоматери* [N. P. KONDAKOV, *The Iconography of the Theomater*]. Т. 2 (Петроград, 1915) 92–103; LATHOUD, *Le thème iconographique du « Pokrov »...*; A. GRABAR, *Une source d’inspiration de l’iconographie byzantine tardive: les cérémonies du culte de la Vierge*, *Cahiers archéologiques* 26 (1976) 152–162; В. Г. ПУЦКО, «Богородиця Десятинна» — міф чи історична реалья? [V. G. PUTSKO, *The “Theotokos of the Tithes Church”: a Myth or a Historic Artefact?*], *Ruthenica* 5 (2006) 162–169; В. V. PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA, 2006) 145–163, 236–242. My main reason for avoiding this discussion here is the fact that the two earliest iconographic traditions of the “Pokrov” contradict both the *Life of Andrew the Salos* and the *Prolog Pokrov* entry in an important detail: the maphorion of the Theotokos is not in her hands but in the hands of angelic figures above her head. It appears in this way in the Pokrov section of the Suzdal Golden Gates (1220s/1230s) and in the Galician Pokrov icon. The latter is now dated to the second half of the eleventh century or the early twelfth century according to the radiocarbon analysis of the icon panel: Л. Г. ЧЛЕНОВА, *К вопросу атрибуции древних икон из собрания Национального Художественного музея Украины с помощью радиоуглеродного метода* [L. G. CHLENOVA, *Towards the attribution of the ancient icons from the collection of the National*

The vision of St Andrew the Salos in the Holy Soros and the establishment of the feast of Pokrov would presuppose such an interest in the fashion of the Virgin's Robe. Such an interest was extremely high *ca* 900, enhanced by the accompanying cult of St Theophano — a saint whose abode was the Holy Soros, whose main relic was her maphorion, and who became a “deputy healer” of the Theotokos.

2.4.4. How “Pokrov” Becomes “Omophorion/Maphorion”

After having answered when the “Robe” of the Theotokos became the “maphorion,” we are now in a position to ask how this happened — and then to be able to ask why.

The most natural explanation would be a change of the material artefact, as if there were two different relics, one the principal artefact and a different one overshadowed by the first; these two artefacts, during the reign of Basil I, would then have swapped places. At first glance, this hypothesis seems to be corroborated by some facts.

The earliest explicit mention of the “maphorion” of the Theotokos is contained in the Life of Theodore the Syceote, ch. 128, written by his disciple Georges the Syceote soon after the death of the saint in 613. Patriarch of Constantinople Thomas (607–610) presented the saint with a golden cross with relics embedded in the middle. Among the relics, there was the “hem of the shawl (μαφόριον) of the Most Holy Theotokos”. Nothing is said about the place where the shawl itself was preserved.¹⁶⁷

Wortley is sceptical about the possibility that the maphorion in this cross represents a relic independent of the two major Theotokian relics of Constantinople, her Robe in Blachernae and her Girdle in Chalko-

Art Museum of Ukraine with the radiocarbon method], *Восточноевропейский археологический журнал* [*The East European Archaeological Journal*] 8 (13) (2001) <http://archaeology.kiev.ua/journal/061101/chlenova.htm> (electronic journal) (for this reference I am grateful to Feofan Areskin). This fact means that the origins of the earliest Russian Pokrov iconography are even more unclear than is commonly thought.

(167) A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Vie de Théodore de Sykeôn*. Vol. I (Bruxelles, 1970) (SH 48) 103.10–14: μερίδα ἐκ τοῦ τιμίου ξύλου, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λίθου τοῦ ἁγίου Κρανίου, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου μνήματος τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ, καὶ κράσπεδον ἐκ τοῦ μαφορίου τῆς παναγίας Θεοτόκου, ἐπὶ τῷ βληθῆναι εἰς τὸ ὀμφάλιον τὸ μέσῳ τοῦ γενομένου σταυροῦ (thus, other relics are parts of the True Cross, the stone of Golgotha, and the Holy Sepulchre). Cf. WORTLEY 2005, 180–181.

prateia. Instead, he opts for two variants as the most probable: this maphorion is either from the the Robe itself or it is a deliberate fraud (resulting from the “promiscuous proliferation of relics”).¹⁶⁸ In addition, Wortley discusses the possibility of the identity of this maphorion with some other similar relics mentioned under different names. He concludes that it is perhaps impossible to distinguish between the different fabrics attributed to the Theotokos in our sources.¹⁶⁹ I would emphasise however that only seldom are such fabrics described in terms similar to those describing the maphorion. I know only two examples, apparently with no relation to Constantinople of the late ninth century.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, the hypothesis that the “Robe” became the “maphorion” as a result of some change of the material object of the cult seems extremely unlikely.

Thus, without contradiction to the known facts we have to conclude that the garment of the Theotokos preserved in the Blachernae Church and used by Photius in 860 was simply *reinterpreted* as being a maphorion. This is our answer to the question *how*.

Possibly some earlier traditions about a maphorion-like relic of the Theotokos preserved in Constantinople played some role in this process of reinterpretation, possibly not. In any case, there was no such tradition concerning the garment preserved in Blachernae before its first evidence in the canon of Joseph Hymnographer. The difference in

(168) WORTLEY 2005, 180, 184.

(169) *Ibid.*, 185–186.

(170) According to an early legend preserved within the Arabic *Transitus* AB 8 (CANT 175), empress Eudocia received a “turban” (عمامة; here a rendering of σουδάριον) of the Theotokos from the grave in Gethsemane. This tradition corresponds to the fact that the earliest legend of the vestment of the Theotokos in Constantinople (reported in the *Historia Euthymiaca* but dated to the 450s) presents it as a funerary garment (see LOURIE 2007; cf. *ibid.* on the parallel with the *ligamentum, quo utebatur in capite* of the Theotokos in the Jerusalem Sion basilica ca 570). A relic called “повои of the Saint Theotokos” is reported by the Russian pilgrim Antony in 1200 as being placed in the Imperial palace: Х. М. ЛОПАРЕВ, *Книга Паломник. Сказание мест Святых во Цареграде Антония Архиепископа Новгородскаго в 1200 году* [Kh. M. LOPAREV, *The Pilgrim Book. A Narration on the Holy Places in Tsargrad by Antony Archbishop of Novgorod in 1200*] (С.-Петербург, 1899) (Православный Палестинский Сборник, XVII, 3) 19. The word used by Antony has different meanings, including a woman’s headdress like a shawl, but it can also mean “shroud”; cf. *Словарь русского языка XI–XVII вв.* [A Dictionary of the Russian Language of the Eleventh–Seventeenth Centuries] Вып. 15 (Москва, 1989) 166.

terminology between this canon and Photius' 860 homily is especially revealing.

2.4.5. The Bishop's "Maphorion" of St Gregory the Illuminator

There must be some specific impetus for such a redefinition of existing terminology. Was there a specific conception of the term "maphorion" in Constantinople under Basil I? Before answering *yes* we must discuss a unique case in which the word "maphorion" is used in the sense of a bishop's omophorion. This is the so-called Escorial *Life* of St Gregory the Illuminator (BHG 712g = Vg).¹⁷¹ Unlike other recensions of the *Life* of St Gregory (including those of the Armenian *Agathangelos Aa*, its Greek version *Ag*, and the metaphrastic reworking of the latter, BHG 713), this text describes in detail the rite of the consecration of St Gregory (ch. 145). Garitte noted the striking similarity of this text with the Byzantine rite of the consecration of a bishop according to the eighth-century *Euchologion Barberini*.¹⁷² After having completed the act of the laying on of hands with the prayer of consecration, the bishops put the omophorion on their newly-consecrated colleague with the triple acclamation "Worthy! Worthy! Worthy!" In the description of this standard procedure Vg calls the omophorion a "maphorion" (145.6). Given that the rite described here is quite similar to the known one from the *Euchologion Barberini*, we are sure that μαφόριον has here the meaning "omophorion." This is a strange and short-lived terminological usage.

(171) Not reported in the dictionaries (cf. above, n. 143), the unique case for the whole database of the *TLG* (September 2010). Publication of the text according to the unique manuscript: G. GARITTE, *Documents pour l'étude du livre d' Agathange* (Rome, 1946) (*Studi e Testi*, 127) 23–116. For a more up-to-date introduction to the complicated hagiographical dossier of St Gregory the Illuminator, see R. W. THOMSON, *Agathangelos, History of the Armenians. Translation and commentary* (Albany, 1976) [contains a reprint of the 1909 critical edition of *Aa*: Գ. ՏԵՐ-ՄԿՐՏՅԵԱՆ, Ս. ՄԱՆԱԵԼՍ, Ագաթանգեղոսի Պատմութիւն Հայոց (Էջմիածին—Տիֆլիս, 1909; ²1914) <G. TĒR-MĒKṚṬC'ĒAN, S. KANAENC', *Agathangelos' History of Armenia* (Etchmiadzin—Tiflis, 1909; ²1914)>] and К. С. ТЕР-ДАВТЯН, С. С. АРЕВШАТЯН, Агатагелос, *История Армении. Перевод с древнеармянского, вступительная статья и комментарии* (Ереван, 2004) [К. S. TĒR-DAVTJAN, S. S. AREVŠATJAN, Agatangelos, *The History of Armenia. Translation from Old Armenian, Introduction, and Commentaries* (Yerevan, 2004)].

(172) GARITTE, *Documents...*, 132–134.

Vg together with **Vo** (BHG 712c) go back to a lost early Armenian *Life* independent of the Armenian *Agathangelos* and representing the ideology of some circles more oriented toward imperial unity than to Armenian isolationism.¹⁷³ The date of the Greek translation is unknown but may be estimated from the following considerations. The unique manuscript **Vg** is dated to 1107. A very early date for the Greek translation, contemporaneous to **Ag** (sixth century), is considered by scholars as less likely than a later one. However, the Arabic recension **Va** (BHO 332) goes back to **Vg** and is preserved in a tenth-century Sinai manuscript; the date of the translation itself is thus the ninth or the tenth century, which corresponds to the earliest layer of Christian literature in Arabic. The account of the consecration of St Gregory in **Va** is an exact translation of the corresponding passage of **Vg**.¹⁷⁴ The only modification is the replacement of the term “maphorion” with the term “sticharion” (Byzantine analogue of “alb”). The corresponding term الاستخارية (*al-istihāriyyat*) is a slightly Arabised transliteration of σιτχάριον. Nevertheless, it is already an Arabic word and by no means a slavish transliteration of an obscure foreign term. The Arabic translator thought that the piece of the bishop’s garment he describes is indeed a sticharion. Needless to say, the mention of sticharion at this moment of the service is extremely inappropriate. It can be explained only as an unhelpful attempt to translate μάφοριον in its usual sense of shawl.

This Arabic version shows us that our Greek text in its known form (in which the bishop’s omophorion is called a “maphorion”) was considered in the ninth and not later than the early tenth century within the influential monastic milieu of Sinai and Palestine¹⁷⁵ as an important

(173) See GARITTE, *Documents...*, for **Vg**, and IDEM, *La vie grecque inédite de saint Grégoire d’Arménie* (ms. 4 d’Ochrida), *AB* 83 (1965) 257–290, for **Vo** (the so-called *Ochrid Life* known in the fragmentary ms of the tenth century covering the passion of the holy virgins). Thus, I would prefer to abstain from any guess about the plausibility of the use of the Byzantine rite of the consecration of a bishop in the corresponding Armenian milieu. The rite as described in the *Euchologion Barberini* is impossible to date precisely.

(174) Н. МАРР, Крещение армян, грузин, абхазов и аланов святым Григорием [N. MARR, *The Baptism of the Armenians, the Georgians, the Abkhazians, and the Alanians by Saint Gregory*], *Записки Восточного отделения Императорского Русского Археологического общества* [*Notices of the Oriental Department of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society*] 16 (1905) 63–211, here 128.

(175) On this milieu, see S. H. GRIFFITH, *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine* (Ashgate, 1992) (Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS380).

hagiographical source – worth translation, although its specific usage of the word “maphorion” was in this milieu incomprehensible.

Among Byzantine texts, there is one providing a distant parallel to the wording of **Vg**. This is the tenth-century hagiographical novel *The Life of St Gregentios* (1.50). Gregentios’ mother sees a prophetic dream on the night when Gregentios was born: St Nicholas endows her son with many symbolic gifts mostly having ecclesiastical meaning, and, included among other liturgical garments, μαφόρια καὶ ὠμοφόρια.¹⁷⁶ Given that there is no liturgical garment normally called μαφόριον, it is reasonable to conclude that we have here a pleonasm, μαφόρια being used in the sense of “omophoria” and ὠμοφόρια added as a more popular synonym.

Vg and, indirectly, **Va** demonstrate that the word μαφόριον was used as a synonym of the high ὠμοφόριον in ordinary language (as it is in the Greek of **Vg**), but within a relatively small and strict hagiographical genre in the ninth or the early tenth century (or, of course, possibly even earlier). The *Life of St Gregentios* preserves a trace of this usage in a later time, in the tenth century, but now within the freer genre of the long hagiographical novel. After this, it disappears completely.

We have no data on the origin of such usage and we do not know the date of **Vg**. It is enough for us, however, to know the two following facts: (1) such a usage was actual (probably actualised) in the late ninth century, together with **Vg**, and (2) its actuality was connected with the actuality of the cult of St Gregory.

These two facts lead us to the time of patriarch Photius, but especially to the early Macedonian period. The bishop’s “maphorion” as a substitute for the term “omophorion” was brought to Constantinople by Gregory the Illuminator together with his **Vg** and was forgotten in the tenth century, when the Macedonian dynasty became stable, and, correspondingly, its Armenian heavenly patrons lost their outstanding importance.

2.4.6. Why “Pokrov” Becomes “Omophorion/Maphorion”

Now we are able to trace the origins of the peculiar terminology applied to the omophorion of St Gregory the Illuminator. This omophorion plays an extremely important role in the *Vision of Sahak*. In

(176) A. BERGER, *Life and Works of Saint Gregentios, Archbishop of Taphar. Introduction, Critical Edition and Translation* (Berlin—New York, 2006) (Millenium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte der ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr., 7) 190.

this vision, the most important objects were indeed the omophorion of St Gregory and the orb (golden sphere) of the Arshakids.¹⁷⁷ Sahak sees them on the silver plate placed on the heavenly altar table. Then, the *angelus interpretans* explains that the omophorion means the sacerdotium from St Gregory and the golden globe means the regnum of the Arshakids.¹⁷⁸ Such a context does not allow any other interpretation of the word used for “omophorion.” The word used in the *Vision of Sahak* is նափորոն (*nap’ort*), an early classical borrowing from Greek (a corruption of ὀμοφόριον/μαφόριον) and, probably, the earliest term for the bishop’s omophorion in classical Armenian (its synonyms are attested much later).¹⁷⁹ However, նափորոն carries the whole spectrum of meanings of its Greek prototype, including “(woman’s) shawl,” etc. In the Greek literary translation it is rendered, notwithstanding the real meaning of the passage, as ὑφασμα¹⁸⁰ (“veil”), while the Georgian translation is correct in using the words that mean “(bishop’s) omophorion” unambiguously (ომფორი, ინაფორი).¹⁸¹

When **Vg** calls the bishop’s omophorion “maphorion,” it tries to match the semantics of *nap’art* in its Armenian prototype, ignoring the

(177) The orb was a rather common sign of imperial power. For its use by Basil I, see G. MORAVCSIK, *Sagen und Legenden über Basileios I*, *DOP* 15 (1961) 61–126, 11 pl., here 80.

(178) Ղազար Փարպեցի, 62, 71.

(179) Գ. ԱՐԵՏԻՔԵԱՆ, Խ. ՄԻԲԻՍԵԼԵԱՆ, Մ. ԱՐԳԵՆԵԱՆ, *Նոր Բարձիրք Հայկազեան լեզուի*, Ա-Բ (Ի Վենետիկ, 1836–1837) [G. AWETIK’EAN, X. SIWRMĒLEAN, M. AWGEREAN, *A New Lexicon of the Armenian Language*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1836–1837)], s.v. նափորոն (II, 409 ; with a variant նասպորոն) and եմփորոն (I, 658; with variants եմափորոն, եմափորոն, all of them being closer to Greek ὀμοφόριον).

(180) GARITTE, *La Vision de S. Sahac en grec*, 265, 273.

(181) ლ. მელიქსეთ-ბეგ, ქართული ვერსია სპავ პართელის წინასწარმეტყველებისა [L. MELISKET-BEG, *The Georgian Version of the Prophecy of Sahak the Parthian*], *ტვილისის უნივერსიტეტის მოამბე* [*Bulletin of the University of Tiflis*] 2 (1922–1923) 200–221, here 208.16 and note 7; 213.23 and note 13 (two manuscript variants). This term is discussed in Л. МЕЛИКСЕТ-БЕКОВ, *О грузинской версии апокрифического Видения Саака Парфянина о судьбе Армении* [L. MELIKSET-BEKOV, *About the Georgian Version of the Apocryphal Vision of Sahak the Parthian Concerning the Destiny of Armenia*], *Известия Кавказского Историко-Археологического института / Bulletin de l’Institut Caucasienne [sic] d’Histoire et d’Archéologie* 2 (1917–1925) 164–176, here 175. In the later Georgian usage the omophorion is normally called ომფორი/ინაფორი.

fact that the Greek liturgical terminology is more specific and thus normally does not allow the use of the word “maphorion” in this sense.

As we have seen above, the role of the *Vision of Sahak* in early Macedonian ideology was not limited to the secular aspects of legitimising the dynasty. The part of the prophecy pertaining to the patriarch was actualised as well. It would be therefore only natural if the omophorion seen by St Sahak figures in the Macedonian imagery in at least some way. Thus, let us consider the following synchronism: the *Vision of St Sahak* becomes a basic document of the Macedonian ideology after 867 and preserves its status until about 901 (see above); the date of the transformation of the Theotokos’ Robe into “maphorion” is also after 867 and before 883/886. Under Basil I, before the consecration of Stephen in 886, the omophorion in the *Vision of St Sahak* is still waiting for its owner, the future patriarch from the stock of St Gregory the Illuminator who is identified – in the Byzantine context – with the future patriarch Stephen.

When the garment of the Theotokos, the palladium of the City, was renamed “omophorion,” it was an expression that the Theotokos had become the *locum tenens* of the eventual patriarch from the stock of the Arshakids. Until the omophorion of St Gregory finds its owner, the Theotokos herself, with her own omophorion, stands watch over her City.

Of course, after 893 and especially after 901 (under Nicholas Mystikos), this meaning of the omophorion of the Theotokos lost its actuality and subsequently fell into oblivion.

From this reconstruction of a short-lived ideological imagery we have to keep in mind two important facts: (1) the holy garment of the Theotokos became an “omophorion” under the strong influence of the cult of St Gregory the Illuminator; and (2) the imagery of “omophorion” was used, according to our reconstruction, as a compensation for the lack of legitimacy of the patriarch of Constantinople (Stephen).

2.5. Conclusion to the Armeno-Byzantine Dossier

Liturgical commemorations of St Andrew the Salos and Pokrov are adjacent to those of St Gregory the Illuminator and other saints of his entourage. This fact suggested an exploration of the hagiographical dossier of St Gregory the Illuminator in Byzantium in the second half of the ninth century.

The revival of the cult of St Gregory initially developed in the context of the Church politics of patriarch Photius and his attempts at reuniting the Armenian and the Byzantine Churches. The relics of St

Gregory the Illuminator and Gaiane and Rhipsime were discovered in Constantinople within the frame of this activity, between 862 and 867.

An intensification of the veneration of the Robe of the Theotokos took place at the same time (860) with no connexion to the cult of St Gregory the Illuminator or the Armenian Church politics of patriarch Photius. In 860, the Robe of the Theotokos began to be venerated as a Σκέπη. This was a personal initiative of Photius.

Under Basil I, the founder of the Macedonian dynasty, the new Byzantine cult of St Gregory became the basis of the state ideology – seen through a Byzantine adaptation of the eschatological *Vision of St Sahak*. This was an initiative of Photius, too. This cult, used to legitimise the future patriarch Stephen, led to the redefinition of the Robe of the Theotokos as her “omophorion,” in analogy to the omophorion of a bishop.

Thus, the cult of the Pokrov of the Theotokos – employing the term omophorion – was established under the second patriarchate of Photius (867–886). This cult was connected to the veneration of St Gregory the Illuminator within the eschatological perspective of the “Byzantinised” *Vision of St Sahak*. However, this resulted neither in the establishment of a new feast on 1 October nor any specific veneration of St Andrew the Salos.

The cult of Andrew the Salos was called for in a later epoch, under Nicholas Mystikos (his first patriarchate, beginning in 901), as a means of substitution of the ideology of “Arshakid” priesthood, when the alleged Arshakid provenance of the Macedonian dynasty was reduced to royal succession only, and no longer encompassed the succession of the priesthood; this resulted in a laying aside of the *Vision of St Sahak*, which was probably replaced with the *Apocalypse of Andrew the Salos*. This, in turn, resulted in the establishment of the commemoration of St Andrew the Salos on 28 May, replacing the commemoration days of the discovery of the relics of St Gregory the Illuminator and the holy virgins during the time of patriarch Photius.

Thus, during the first patriarchate of Nicholas Mystikos, the preconditions allowing the establishment of the feast of Pokrov were in place. The Robe of the Theotokos became first the Σκέπη and then the “omophorion.” The meaning of the omophorion of the Theotokos as the omophorion of the highest bishop of the City and its connexion with St Gregory the Illuminator’s cult were suppressed but certainly not erased completely during the short tenure of Nicholas Mystikos’s first patriarchate, from 901 to 907.

Some traces of the earliest account of the vision of St Andrew the Salos predating the establishment of the feast of Pokrov may be preserved in the *Life of St Andrew*. For the sake of completeness, I review them in Note 2 below.

**Note 2: A Tentative Reconstruction of a Liturgical Cycle
Possibly Related to the *Vision* of St Andrew
within the *Life of Andrew the Salos***

Within the *Life of Andrew the Salos* the story of the vision in the Holy Soros of Blachernae is preceded by episodes¹⁸² which are not formally a part of the same continuous narrative but which, nevertheless, have some liturgical value and may be interesting, if not for the study of the Pokrov feast then at least for the composition of the hagiographical novel.

The story of the Pokrov vision is preceded by the story of the miracle of St Akakios for Epiphanius, the disciple of St Andrew. At first glance, the two subsequent parts of the *Life of Andrew the Salos* are not connected to each other. The Akakios episode ends with the hagiographer's statement that, since that event, Epiphanius became especially devoted to St Akakios and often visited his church. The Pokrov episode, which follows, is introduced by another hagiographer's statement saying that Andrew and Epiphanius used to attend the vigils (ἀϋπνη δοξολογία) in the chapel of the Coffin, Hagios Soros (Ἅγιος Σορός), belonging to the Blachernae Church. It is certain that the tenth-century composer of the *Life of Andrew* considered these two episodes as separate. But there is a clear sign that he was working with material that was, at that point in time, unfamiliar to him.

After receiving Andrew's command to go to the St Akakios Church in Heptascalos,¹⁸³ Epiphanius visits the service in the church of St John the Baptist (ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ) that very morning. Only after that does he continue on his way to St Akakios. There then follows the first vision of St Akakios in his church during vespers; the second vision of Akakios the following night, when Epiphanius was sleeping at home; and the communion in St Akakios Church on the morning of the next day, which concludes the whole story about Epiphanius and his temptation. The visit to the church of St John in this story is not only unmotivated, but stands in direct contradiction to the words Andrew ad-

(182) RYDÉN 1995, vol. 2, 248/249–254/255 (txt/tr.), MOLDOVAN 2000, 592–596 (Greek), MOLDOVAN 2000, 394–399 (Slavonic).

(183) On the basilica (martyrium) of St Akakios in Heptascalos (“Seven Ladders”), see JANIN 1969, 14–15.

dressed to his obedient disciple.¹⁸⁴ It is not good if, having been directed by your spiritual father to go to a specific place, you decide to visit a different place along the way. The John the Baptist church episode is clearly an undigested remnant of a somewhat different plot which appeared in the source used by our hagiographer.

The reference to the St Akakios Church is a clear sign of the epoch. This basilica, although it was built already by Constantine the Great and reconstructed by Justinian the Great, was in ruins before the time of Basil I (867–886); Basil rebuilt it.¹⁸⁵ The exact date of the rebuilding is unknown but, in any case, the St Akakios Church in this text is one of the new sanctuaries of the Macedonian dynasty.

St Akakios was the martyr who died in the future Constantinople (then Byzantium) in 302/303, and so was considered as a heavenly patron of the City. As a consequence of the episodes of the *Life of Andrew the Salos*, St Akakios is visited and reveals visions with a miracle immediately before Andrew and Epiphanius went to the main sovereign of the City, the Theotokos in the Holy Soros. A lesser patron of Constantinople prepares the way for the City's greatest patron.

Was there, in Constantinople, a Church of St John the Baptist that was in some way remarkable in the same early Macedonian period? In this period, there were several dozen John the Baptist sanctuaries in Constantinople, so it is difficult to answer without additional information.¹⁸⁶

However, some additional information could be provided from the text of the *Life of Andrew*. The Akakios episode and the following Blachernae episode are distinct from their broader context. These two stories are connected with precise sanctuaries while those that precede them¹⁸⁷ and

(184) Andrew says to Epiphanius to go to St Akakios Church αὐριον γὰρ πρωῖ εἶτε τὸ δειλινόν — “in the morning or in the afternoon.” Epiphanius goes to St John the Baptist in the morning and to St Akakios in the afternoon.

(185) Constantine Porphyrogenete writes about this church in his *Vita Basilii*, 82: ...ἤδη σχεδὸν καταρροῦντα καὶ πρὸς πτώσιν συναυνόμενον ἀνακαινίσας καὶ παντοίοις κατασφαισάμενος ὄχυρώμασι τοῦ πτώματος ἤρπασε καὶ ἐδραίως ἐστηκέναι πεποίηκεν (“...already almost ruined and tending to tumble down he renewed [it] and, having been strengthened from everywhere by the counterforces, prevented it from tumbling down and made it stand firmly”); I. ΒΕΚΚΕΡ, Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus (Bonn, 1838) (CSHB) 324–325.

(186) Cf., however, above, Note 1, on the St John the Baptist oratory in the monastery of Staurakios.

(187) The *Vision* of St Andrew as a pillar of fire to a pious woman near the column of Constantine.

follow them¹⁸⁸ are not. It is tempting to consider them as a sort of “stational liturgy,” especially taking into account that both the Blachernae and Heptascalos quarters are relatively close to each other, near the Golden Horn, and that there were, in the late ninth century, several John the Baptist shrines in the same area.¹⁸⁹

If the visions of St Akakios and of the Theotokos were connected, in the source used by our hagiographer, forming a single chain of events, then the chronology was as follows:

- first day, morning: liturgy in the St John the Baptist Church;
- first day, evening: vespers in the St Akakios Church;
- second day, morning: liturgy in the St Akakios Church;
- second day, evening and third day, night: vigil in the Hagios Soros in Blachernae.

The St Akakios scene would be especially well placed in the late ninth century, when the Church of St Akakios was rebuilt by Basil I. It is difficult to judge whether the confused story about the miracle of St Akakios and the visit to some John the Baptist church had any connexion to the earliest story of the vision in Blachernae which might have circulated before the feast of Pokrov was established.

PART THREE: THE FEAST OF POKROV WITHIN THE CYCLE OF ST GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR

3.1. The Marian Relics and the Wives of Leo the Wise

Symeon Metaphrastes in his synaxarium entry on 31 August, the feast of the Girdle of the Theotokos, relates the story of a miraculous healing of a wife (σύζυγος) of Leo the Wise named Zoe from an impure spirit. Leo opened the casket with the Girdle, which turned out to be absolutely uncorrupted, and “then patriarch” (unnamed) placed the Girdle on the head of Zoe, who was cured immediately.¹⁹⁰ The story is unknown in all earlier sources. Zoe could be identified with either Zoe Zaoutzaina (died in 899; she was Leo’s second wife, whom he married

(188) The denunciation of a nobleman, on the Hippodrome.

(189) At least, numbers 2 (in the monastery called “of Egyptians,” near the Blachernae wall), 26 (in Petra), 30 (in the monastery of Staurakios, see above Note 1), and 32 (ἐν τῷ Στροβιλίῳ, on the shore of the Golden Horn) in the list of Prodromos shrines in JANIN 1969, 410, 421–429, 430, 440.

(190) In *Menologium Basilii Porphyrogeniti*, PG 117, 613 AB. The Girdle was positioned διὰ χειρὸς τοῦ τηνικαῦτα πατριάρχου.

soon after the death of Theophano in November of 895 or 896, and she had been his mistress much earlier) or Zoe Carbonopsina (his fourth wife, from 905 to 912, and his mistress from about 904).

This story about the opening of the casket containing the Girdle is related in a more historical way by patriarch Euthymius in his homily on the feast of the Girdle of the Theotokos and on the *encaenia* of the Holy Soros of Chalkoprateia celebrated on the same day (31 August).¹⁹¹ The homily was delivered when the memory of the discovery of the Girdle in an absolutely perfect condition was still fresh. Euthymius dates this event to “nine hundred years or more” (...ἑτῶν... ἐνακοσίων, ἢ καὶ πρὸς) from the infancy of Jesus (§ 4).¹⁹² According to the traditional Byzantine chronology, which dates the birth of Jesus to AM 5500, this results in 5500 + 900 = AM 6400 (892 AD) as the *terminus post quem*. This date is compatible with both Zoe Zaoutzaina and Zoe Carbonopsina. Euthymius, however, does not say a word about either of them, nor does he mention the name of the current emperor, although it is evident from the chronology he provides that the only possible emperor here is Leo VI.

(191) M. JUGIE, *Homélies mariales byzantines. Textes grecs édités et traduits en latin* (Paris, 1922) [repr.: Turnhout, 2003] (PO, 16,3; N° 79) 503–514 [81–90].

(192) JUGIE, *Homélies mariales...*, 510 [86]. This dating is interpreted by Jugie as 880/884, supposing that the Theotokos gave birth to Jesus when she was between 16 and 20 years old. Jugie makes a mistake in presupposing that the age of the Girdle is the same as the age of the Theotokos (whereas, according to the homily, it is the same as the age of Jesus). Then, Jugie himself disregards his own computus by placing the event under the first months of the patriarchate of Stephen, before the moment when Euthymius was made syncellus (*ibid.*, 479–480 [55–56]). Such a strange supposition seems to have no other basis than the wish to avoid acknowledging the high esteem in which Euthymius held Photius (*cf. ibid.*, 488–489 [64–65]). In fact, dating the homily to Photius’ time is excluded on purely chronological grounds. Janin dates the homily to “vers 888,” without explanation (JANIN 1969, 238; *cf. here n. 10*, which is probably an erroneous repetition of *n. 11*). In this he was apparently following Jugie, although with a precision based on ch. 4 of the *Vita Euthymii*, where it is stated that, before becoming syncellus, Euthymius arrived in the imperial palace for the first time after an absence of two and one-half years. Supposing (and this is only a guess) that the previous visit of Euthymius took place somewhere during the reign of Basil I in the first half of 886, one arrives at 888 as the date when Euthymius became syncellus. For Jugie and probably for Janin, too, fundamental to the dating is the fact that, in the title of the homily, Euthymius is called “monk” but not “syncellus,” unlike the title of another homily of his authorship, where he is called “presbyter and syncellus.”

This homily, together with the silence of the chroniclers, proves that the story about the healing of a wife of Emperor Leo is fictitious — one cannot take it at face value.¹⁹³ This is not to say, however, that the story is of no value for historians. Both Zoe Zaoutzaina and Zoe Carbonopsina were associated with severe spiritual temptations and Church troubles. However, the role of Euthymius in these two affairs was quite different. Euthymius never accepted the marriage with Zoe Zaoutzaina, knowing that she was Leo's mistress when his first wife, Theophano, was still alive. Euthymius severed communication with his spiritual son Leo until Zoe's death. Leo received a dispensation for the marriage, with Zoe Zaoutzaina from patriarch Antony Kauleas (893–901), who became the principal peacemaker in this affair. But in the tetragamia affair it was Euthymius — acting as the patriarch — who became the key figure in the readmission of Leo to the Church. Leo was excommunicated for his fourth marriage with Zoe Carbonopsina, and his readmission to the Church was certainly worthy of representation in the symbolic imagery of a hagiographical legend. However, the possibility that the legend represents the story with Zoe Zaoutzaina and patriarch Antony Kauleas cannot be excluded *a priori*, even if the troubles provoked by this story are not nearly as serious as those relating to the tetragamia affair.

In any case, the legend says that the casket with the Girdle of the Theotokos was opened under Leo the Wise as a means of overcoming the temptations provoked by Leo's marriage with one or another of the Zoes. This is the only available and quite reasonable explanation of a historical fact testified by the homily of Euthymius — that Leo resorted to the relic to cure his wife.

It is tempting to consider the homily as having been delivered when Euthymius was patriarch and to identify its historical context in terms of the tetragamia affair. Such a treatment is provided by Wortley,¹⁹⁴ and it seems to me the most natural. However, for the sake of completeness, I would like to re-evaluate this conclusion.

There are two important arguments against Wortley's dating of the homily:

(1) The title of the homily, in which its author, Euthymius, is called "monk," without indication of his patriarchal title (this reading appears in both manuscripts used in Jugie's edition). Wortley responds

(193) As Jugie does uncritically (*ibid.*, 485 [61]).

(194) WORTLEY 2005, 176, n. 17. Cf. note 192 about Jugie's interpretation.

by noting that Euthymius was a monk before his elevation as well as during his patriarchate and after his deposition. Wortley's treatment of the title is partially corroborated by the attitude toward the Euthymian patriarchate at the time of the second patriarchate of Nicholas Mystikos (cf. above, 1.7.3, on the possibility of a deliberately anonymous transmission of his homiletic legacy). The original titulature of patriarch Euthymius could have been censored later, when the official Church considered his patriarchate as illegitimate (during the period from, at least, 912 to 920). Thus, I agree with Wortley that the titulature of the author of the homily in its title is not important in dating the work.

(2) Euthymius' statement that he is preaching from obedience (§ 1: ...ὕπακοὴν πληροῦντες ἀνδρὸς πιστοτάτου καὶ τὰ θεῖα ἐμπεπλησμένου¹⁹⁵ — "...performing obedience to the man most faithful and filled with divine (things)"). It is not common for patriarchs to preach as a demonstration of obedience to other men. Wortley does not mention this difficulty.

If Euthymius were patriarch, such a phrase would indicate the emperor; if the phrase were pronounced before Euthymius' patriarchate, it would indicate instead a patriarch (either Antony Kauleas or Nicholas Mystikos), because, in Church matters, if Euthymius were not patriarch, he would not have been directly subordinate to the emperor. However, the wording of the phrase is rather revealing. The epithet *πιστότατος* is common when applied to emperors with the sense "most Christian"¹⁹⁶ but would be redundant if applied to the clergy (the second epithet is the equivalent of *θειότατος*, which is applicable to different kinds of people). Thus, the man who asked Euthymius to preach was Leo the Wise.

If this is indeed the case, the homily is to be dated to the patriarchate of Euthymius. Moreover, it is extremely unlikely that Euthymius would have been asked to preach on the memory of an event that helped to legalise Leo's marriage with Zoe Zaoutzaina: Leo eventually acknowledged Euthymius' right not to accept this marriage. However Leo's demand fits perfectly into the high stakes of the tetragamia affair.

Our considerations corroborate Wortley's view on the historical place of the homily of Euthymius. It is datable to the patriarchate of

(195) JUGIE, *Homélie mariales...*, 506 [82].23–24. Jugie identifies this man with patriarch Stephen (ibid., 480 [56]), which is obviously an anachronism.

(196) LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 1088, s.v. *πιστός*, meaning D, 1.

Euthymius, and Leo resorted to the Girdle of the Theotokos because of his troubles due to his fourth marriage, to Zoe Carbonopsina.

Thus, under Euthymius' patriarchate, the cult of the Girdle became involved in the tetragamia affair. This is an indirect but strong proof that the cult of the maphorion, even more popular in this epoch, was used as a weapon in the same affair, too – in the lines described in the first part of this study, where the establishment of the feast of Pokrov was hypothetically ascribed to patriarch Euthymius. This original hypothesis has been strengthened, but is still unproven. To go further, we have to look at the Constantinopolitan liturgical calendar around 1 October.

We have seen above (2.4.6) that the cult of the maphorion of the Theotokos was influenced by the cult of St Gregory the Illuminator. The Theotokos herself was considered as the *locum tenens* of the future patriarch of the Roman Empire, who was to be a descendent from the stock of the Arshakids and who is the legitimate owner of the omophorion of St Gregory the Illuminator. Thus, the proximity of the feast of Pokrov to the St Gregory cycle within the Constantinopolitan liturgical calendar is worth examination.

3.2. The Symbolic Nature of the Date 1 October

Any explanation of the establishment of the feast of Pokrov must account for the choice of the date 1 October. The simplest explanation would be possible, of course, if the event commemorated (the vision of Andrew the Salos and Epiphanius) had occurred on 1 October. This is not the case, however. The feast was not established immediately after the event (see above, 1.8.1), the date of which, in any case, was never specified exactly in any of the sources. In the *Life of Andrew the Salos* the corresponding event is loosely inscribed into a kind of stational liturgy connecting the Holy Soros of Blachernae with some church of John the Baptist and the church of St Akakios (see above, Note 2), but the known feasts of the corresponding saints and sanctuaries are remote from 1 October. Moreover, the original date of the commemoration of St Andrew the Salos himself, on 28 May (see above, 2.1), is also remote from 1 October.

Therefore it is unlikely that the date 1 October is, in any way, a historical one. On the contrary, it is very likely that it is symbolic. It must be explained by means of an examination of the structure of the Church calendar rather than by the chronology of historical events. However, looking at the Constantinopolitan Church calendar, we see

immediately that the closest neighbours of the feast of Pokrov are our old friends St Gregory the Illuminator (30 September, on the eve of Pokrov), Rhipsime (26 September), and Gaiane (27 September).

3.3. The Autumn Commemorations of St Gregory the Illuminator and His Companions in Constantinople

The historical days of the martyrdom of the holy virgins are indicated in the Armenian *Agathangelos* (**Aa**) as 26 and 27 Hoři, which are rendered in the Greek version of the *Agathangelos* (**Ag**) as 26 and 27 September. The historicity and genuineness of these dates has been demonstrated, most recently, by Jost Gippert, who placed the *Agathangelos* data in the context of early Georgian sources.¹⁹⁷

Of course, the correspondence between the Hoři of the old Armenian movable year and the Julian September is very rough (and, moreover, changing at the rate of one day every four years), but here, once more, we are dealing with one of the most popular “techniques” of the translation from one liturgical calendar to another.

In the available recensions of the Synaxarium of Constantinople, only the commemoration of 27 September is preserved (for Gaiane, but together with Rhipsime and the other virgins). In later recensions, even this commemoration is shifted to 30 September, on the same day as St Gregory the Illuminator.¹⁹⁸ Since the early second Christian millennium, this commemoration of St Gregory together with Gaiane and Rhipsime and those with them on 30 September becomes normative for the Byzantine rite. Thus, for the tenth century, at least, the commemoration of Gaiane on 27 September was still preserved.

The separate commemoration of Rhipsime on 26 September is well attested in the Coptic rite, which preserves the commemoration of Rhipsime and Gaiane together on 26 September (29 Tot),¹⁹⁹ and, moreover, the commemoration of Gregory the Illuminator on 27 Septem-

(197) J. GIPPERT, *Old Armenian and Caucasian Calendar Systems. 2. Armenian hoři and sahmi*, *The Annual of the Society for the Study of Caucasia* 1 (1989) 3–12. The historical facts here are the atrocities against the Christians during the invasion of Armenia by the Roman emperor Maximinus Daia in 311–312 (cf. PEETERS 1942, 105–106).

(198) See *Synaxarium CP*, col. 83, 85 and 89–93.

(199) R. BASSET, *Le Synaxaire arabe jacobite (rédaction copte). Texte arabe publié, traduit et annoté* (Paris, 1904) (PO 1, 3) 306 [92] – 308 [94].

ber (30 Tot).²⁰⁰ If some Byzantine tradition borrowed the 26 September commemoration date, the same commemoration should also be found in the Syrian Jacobite rite as well, for this rite was very close to Byzantine liturgical traditions up to the middle of the sixth century. In fact, most of the Syrian Jacobite calendars do not have any commemoration date for Rhipsime. However, there is one among them (from the fourteenth century) that contains the commemorations of Rhipsime, Gaiane, and Gregory on 26, 27, and 30 September respectively,²⁰¹ and there is another one (from the twelfth or thirteenth century) containing a separate commemoration of Rhipsime (with other virgins, unnamed, but without St Gregory), but on 28 September.²⁰² The Jerusalem rite of the first millennium did not know the commemorations of 26 and 27 September at all.²⁰³

Such a distribution correlates with the distribution of the commemoration of the great feast of John the Theologian on 26 September, a powerful liturgical tradition of Ephesus and the patriarchate of Antioch.²⁰⁴ It was accepted in Constantinople and Jerusalem, but in the Syrian Jacobite rite it was accepted in some local traditions only. The feast of Rhipsime on 26 September is incompatible with another great feast on the same day, and so it was shifted to 27 September. It was

(200) Lacking in the Coptic Synaxarium but preserved in other calendrical manuscripts: F. NAU, *Les ménologes des évangélistes coptes-arabes édités et traduits* (Paris, 1913) (PO 10, 2) 189 [25]. Preserved also in the Ethiopic Synaxarium on the same day = 30 Maskaram: G. COLIN, *Le Synaxaire éthiopien. Mois de Maskaram. Édition critique du texte éthiopien et traduction* (Turnhout, 1986) (PO 43, 3, N 195) 504/505 [186/187] (txt/tr.).

(201) P. PEETERS, *Le martyrologe de Rabban Sliba*, AB 27 (1908) 129–200, here 161–162/196–197 (txt/tr.).

(202) Calendar Nau IX: F. NAU, *Un martyrologe et douze ménologes syriaques, édités et traduits* (Paris, 1912) (PO 10, 1) 107 [107]. The same date for both Gaiane and Rhipsime in the marble calendar of Naples (ca 821–841): PEETERS 1942, 92.

(203) Cf., as a comprehensive introduction to the Jerusalem calendars, G. GARITTE, *Le calendrier palestinogéorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (X^e siècle). Édité, traduit et commenté* (Bruxelles, 1959) (SH 30).

(204) In Ephesus, John the Theologian was the principal saint. His death was celebrated on the day of the autumn equinox (26 September for the early Christian centuries) which, in the region of Ephesus, was the beginning of the year from antiquity (however, the Christian liturgical calendar started on 1 October).

preserved on 26 September in the Coptic rite, where the feast of John the Theologian is absent on this day.

For Constantinople *ca* 900, it is certain that 26 September was the feast of John the Theologian, while 27 September was the commemoration of Gaiane together with Rhipsime and the other virgins.

As to the Byzantine commemoration of St Gregory the Illuminator on 30 September, the question of its origin needs to be reopened despite a widely accepted hypothesis put forward by Paul Peeters (see Excursus below). My own conclusion is that this date represents an ancient Armenian tradition whose roots were forgotten even in the Armenian Church and which was accepted in Constantinople long before the Macedonian period (together with the cult of St Gregory the Illuminator itself, that is, in the sixth century and certainly not later than in the seventh).

Regardless of the historical origin of the commemorations of 27 and 30 September, they were perceived as connected to each other, that is, as a kind of liturgical cycle with 30 September as its most important day. This is why, when the Armenian saints became less actual for Byzantium and the cycle collapsed, it resulted in the common feast of all these saints that was held on 30 September.

3.4. The Choice of 1 October for the Pokrov Feast

Up to the first years of the tenth century, the maphorion of the Theotokos became a powerful symbol of divine protection. It was connected with the Theotokos' role as supreme bishop of the City, and even the memory of the identity of the Theotokos' omophorion with that of St Gregory the Illuminator was fresh. Moreover, we know that at least one Marian relic, the Girdle, was used as a means of overcoming the internal Church conflict provoked by the fourth marriage of Leo the Wise.

After the deposition of Nicholas Mystikos and the enthronement of patriarch Euthymius in 907, the situation echoed, in some ways, the situation that had prevailed with patriarch Stephen before and especially after his consecration. Once more, the canonical rights of the new patriarch were less than obvious, and so, once more, an intervention on the part of the Theotokos was welcome.

As we have seen above (part One), the feast of Pokrov had also been established as a way of overcoming an internal Church conflict. The proposed history of its appearance under patriarch Euthymius and its disappearance after a short time during the second patriarchate of

Nicholas Mystikos fits perfectly within the context of the specific Theotokos cult of *ca* 900 and the circumstances of the tetragamia affair in 907. Shortly after this time, that is, around the end of the first half of the tenth century, the omophorion of the Theotokos lost its meaning as a bishop's garment and became a simple maphorion.

The fact that the commemoration of the vision of the Theotokos was appointed on 1 October, the day immediately following the feast of St Gregory the Illuminator, is especially revealing, given that the Robe of the Theotokos was reconsidered as a bishop's omophorion within the cult of St Gregory which, in turn, had been reshaped under the influence of the Byzantine adaptation of the *Vision* of St Sahak.

At a time no later than the first patriarchate of Nicholas Mystikos, the second Constantinopolitan commemoration of St Gregory, in May, was abrogated. However, the commemoration of St Andrew the Salos (28 May) was retained in the liturgical cycle that had been established at that time (26–28 May). The feast commemorating St Andrew had been established to replace a commemoration of the vision of St Sahak (s. above, 2.3.4). Thus, the only way to reestablish an additional feast related to St Gregory was to put it within the established Byzantine cycle of St Gregory in the neighborhood of 27 and 30 September. In so doing, patriarch Euthymius was referring to the memory of the identity between the omophorion of the Theotokos and the omophorion of St Gregory the Illuminator from the *Vision* of St Sahak. This memory had been suppressed a few years earlier by Nicholas Mystikos, but during the tetragamia affair the authority of Nicholas Mystikos was severely undermined.

Another hint regarding the establishment and placement of these feasts is provided by the personalities of the two main saints who appeared in Andrew's vision together with the Theotokos, St John the Forerunner and St John the Theologian. The presence of these particular saints must have an explanation, but so far no scholar has been interested in exploring it, despite the obvious fact that an arbitrary choice is no more likely here than, say, in the scene of the Transfiguration of Jesus. But while in the latter case, the traditions that underlie the appearance of Moses and Elijah are understood and have continued to be studied, in our case, the very need to pose such a question is unrealised.

The choice of St John the Theologian is perfectly comprehensible in terms of the calendar. The date 26 September, the commemoration of the repose of St John the Theologian, is the last major feast before 1 October.

In the Greek hagiographical dossier of St Gregory, this day is, moreover, the first day of the commemoration of the holy virgins accompanying St Gregory. The day of the martyr death of Rhipsime, 26 September, would have been kept in mind even by those who were celebrating her commemoration on the next day, together with Gaiane. The presence of St John the Theologian in the vision of St Andrew the Salos marks the beginning of the corresponding liturgical cycle, 26 September.

The presence of St John the Baptist in Andrew's vision is, at first glance, unmotivated. The *Life of Andrew the Salos* does not demonstrate any specific reverence toward this saint. The scene of the visit of Epiphanius to a church of St John the Baptist on his way to the church of St Akakios is interesting, but this episode as it is preserved in the form transmitted in the hagiographical novel seems to be corrupted irreparably (s. Note 2). If we looked for a calendrical analogy to the appearance of St John the Theologian, we would expect not the appearance of John the Baptist, but rather St Gregory the Illuminator. But the descriptions of the vision of St Andrew, both in his *Life* and in the sermon in the Russian *Prolog*, agree that the Theotokos appeared in the company of St John the Theologian, St John the Forerunner, and "many other" but unnamed saints. Why are these saints not Gregory the Illuminator together with the holy virgins?

To have imagined St Gregory the Illuminator on such a distinguished place near the Theotokos in the heavens above Constantinople would have been difficult even in the time of Basil I. In the early tenth century, such a position for St Gregory would have been absolutely unthinkable. However, Gregory's common epithet, "Illuminator" (Λημιστήρις), coincided with that of another Illuminator who was especially popular in Constantinople, John the Baptist. The very word "Illuminator" (Φωτιστής) means "he who baptises." In Byzantium, the common title of St Gregory was "the Illuminator of Great Armenia." This title would be inappropriate as the name of the protector of Constantinople, but it made the figure of St Gregory interchangeable with that of John the Baptist. Thus, in the vision of St Andrew, St John the Baptist replaced St Gregory the Illuminator.

The feast of 1 October was arranged along the lines of the previous (pre-901, that is, before the patriarchate of Nicholas Mystikos) cult of St Gregory the Illuminator. Most probably, the commemoration of St Andrew on 2 October appeared together with the Pokrov feast itself, both as its afterfeast and also as the concluding day of the seven-day cycle starting on 26 September.

The choice of the date 1 October is explainable in the same context as the choice of the omophorion of the Theotokos as a protective means for the see of Constantinople when its patriarch had insufficient canonical rights. This context is the cult of St Gregory the Illuminator in its forms specific to the early Macedonian period. Such a meaning of the omophorion of the Theotokos existed for only a short time, and this short time coincided precisely with the timeframe indicated on the basis of the Slavic milieu (s. part One).

The two lines traced in the present study, one working back from the Slavonic sources and the other working forward from the Armenian and Byzantine sources, meet on 1 October of 907, the first year of the patriarchate of Euthymius, soon after the deposition of Nicholas Mystikos.²⁰⁵

Excursus: St Gregory the Illuminator's Feast on 30 September

1. Peeters' Hypothesis

The earliest attestation of the feast of St Gregory the Illuminator on 30 September is the Naples marble calendar datable to *ca* 821–841.²⁰⁶ All the Oriental witnesses are much later, including the Synaxarium of Constantinople (ninth-tenth century) and various Armenian and Syriac liturgical documents (available from the early second millennium). Thus, Paul Peeters concluded that the presence of this commemoration of St Gregory in the Armenian tradition (and, I would add, the Syrian Jacobite one as well) is secondary and dependent on the calendar of Constantinople.²⁰⁷

The Constantinopolitan date 30 September has, in turn, an Armenian origin. Here I agree with Peeters, but I differ with him in some of the details. According to Peeters, 30 September is a Julian rendering of the date of the principal feast of St Gregory in the Armenian calendar

(205) I would like to express my gratitude to John Wortley for his advice and to Kirill Khrustalev, Sergei Ivanov, Vera Zemskova, Elena Bormotova, Tatiana Senina, Andrei Orlov, Pavel Lukin, Alexandre Kananyan, and Eugen Shteyn for their assistance in my work, as well as to Claudia R. Jensen for improving my English.

(206) For the publication of this calendar with a study, see H. DELEHAYE, *Hagiographie Napolitaine. I, AB 57* (1939) 5–64.

(207) PEETERS 1942, 128–130; for the Syrian Jacobite calendars, see the data in NAU, *Un martyrologe...*; for a more complete review of the Armenian data, see AKINEAN 1947.

on 10 (sometimes 11) K'āloc', which commemorates his vision of the Heavenly Tabernacle with the pillar of light and Jesus Christ in person over the site of the future Cathedral of Etchmiadzin. According to Peeters, the correspondence between 10/11 K'āloc' of the Old Armenian movable year and 30 September points to the years 752–750 as the time of the establishment of the Byzantine feast on 30 September.²⁰⁸ Peeters' idea that the Byzantine Julian dates could be derived from the Armenian movable dates is insightful and, applied to the December commemorations of Gregory the Illuminator,²⁰⁹ is now proved to be true.²¹⁰ Nevertheless, it does not work for 30 September. First of all,

(208) PEETERS 1942, 129 and n. 3. Peeters mentions Nicholas Marr's datings of different recensions of the *Agathangelos* (from the seventh to the eighth century) as possible evidence of an interest in the cult of St Gregory at this time. However, these dates are either too late (for **Aa** and **Ag**) or unfounded (for **Vg** and the lost Greek original of **Va**; cf. above, 2.4.5). Peeters' calculation seems a bit inexact. If 30 September renders 11 K'āloc', the corresponding four years are 748–751; if 10 K'āloc', 744–749. Cf. É. DULAURIER, *Recherches sur la chronologie arménienne technique et historique* (Paris, 1859) 385 (in Tableau A, the years where 1 Navasard corresponds to 24 and 23 May).

(209) Peeters explains two commemorations of Gregory of Armenia in the Naples calendar on 2 and 3 December as renderings of 11 and 10 K'āloc' for the years 496–504 (PEETERS 1942, 125). Peeters' calculations need to be slightly corrected: the interval in question is 488–499, which seems to be, nevertheless, within the same period of the Church history of the Christian East. 2 December = 10/11 K'āloc' for the years 492–495/496–499 (1 Navasard = 26/25 July), 3 December = 10/11 K'āloc' for the years 488–491/492–495 (1 Navasard = 27/26 July); DULAURIER, *Recherches...*, 384 (in Tableau A). December commemorations of St Gregory are known to the Coptic and Jacobite Syrian rites, but on other days. In the Byzantine tradition, they disappeared completely, although this tradition was the source of the calendar of Naples and probably also of some Oriental calendars.

(210) In light of the Karshuni version (**Vk**), whose lost Armenian archetype is datable to 604–610 [M. VAN ESBROECK, Un nouveau témoin du livre d'Agathange, *Revue des études arméniennes* 8 (1971) 139–221]. **Vk** testifies to the historicity of the Church unity between the Armenians, the Georgians, the Albanians, and the Laz in the late fifth century, on the eve of the First Council of Dwin (506), where all these nations rejected the Council of Chalcedon (for all this see VAN ESBROECK 1971). The legend of the common Baptism of all these peoples by St Gregory the Illuminator in Bagavan is proper to the recensions of the series **V** and unknown to the "national" Armenian recensions of the series **A**. The early date of the Armenian original of **Vk** proves the existence, ca 500, of the feast of St Gregory in commemoration of this (fictitious) Baptism of the four nations in Bagavan. Taking into account Peeters' calculation, it results

Peeters is unable to identify any historical event affecting the Byzantine cult of St Gregory precisely at this time. Moreover, there is a series of facts unknown to Peeters but important to the history of the cult of St Gregory which allows another explanation of the origin of the commemoration on 30 September.

Peeters explained why the earliest commemoration date of the vision of St Gregory is 10/11 K'āloc'. The corresponding liturgical cycle is described in the text of the Armenian *Agathangelos* and its derivatives. The cycle starts on 26 Hoři, the martyrdom of Rhipsime. A period of nine days then follows, during which Trdat has time to put Gaiane and the other virgins to death, to be transformed into a wild boar, to repent, to remove St Gregory from the cave after fifteen years of imprisonment, and to be healed by St Gregory. After this, there are sixty-six days of the catecheses of St Gregory to Trdat and those with him. On the sixty-fifth day of these catecheses (the penultimate day of the whole cycle), the miraculous vision of Christ occurs. The entire cycle thus takes seventy-five days (9 + 66). Its first day is 26 Hoři and its seventy-fifth day is 10 K'āloc' (inclusive counting) or 11 K'āloc' (exclusive counting), which implies that the day of the vision was 9 or 10 K'āloc'.²¹¹ There is no attested date of commemoration on 9 K'āloc', and thus it is 10 K'āloc' that is to be taken as the genuine date of the feast dedicated to the vision of St Gregory.

The commemoration of 10 K'āloc' is preserved in the Armenian calendar up to the present. It is certainly in perfect conformity with the early tradition preserved in the *Agathangelos*. It is therefore all the more perplexing that the main commemoration of the vision of St Gregory eventually became the eve of the Dormition of the Theotokos, which is also the day of the *encaenia* of the Cathedral of Etchmiadzin. It is

in a date of around 500 for the establishment of the feast on 10/11 K'āloc' (I would prefer a bit earlier date, the beginning of the catholicosate of Babken I (490–516)) in Bagavan as the common feast of the four nations. The meaning of the feast was in celebration of a discovery of the relics of St Gregory, whose relics were the principal sacred object in Bagavan; its reconsideration as the feast of *Šotakat'* ("effusion of light" which is a commemoration of the vision of St Gregory) may be secondary (as van Esbroeck seemed to think) or, alternatively, the very discovery of the relics was appointed on the day of *Šotakat'*.

(211) Cf. PEETERS 1942, 113. It seems that originally the feast occupied two days, 10 and 11 K'āloc' (the seventy-fourth and seventy-fifth days of the cycle), which is corroborated by the calendar of Naples with its commemorations of Gregory on both 2 and 3 December.

this feast that is normally called Շողակաթ (*Šotakat'* – “Effusion of Light”),²¹² and the same name, *Šotakat'*, was applied to the cathedral itself in sources from the early seventh to the tenth/eleventh century.²¹³ For the latter feast, the cycle reported in the *Agathangelos* (starting on 26 Horì) is broken, but another connexion was established – with the feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos. It is to be noted that the *Agathangelos* in all its recensions is silent about the cult of the Theotokos.

2. The Dormition of the Theotokos and the Dedication of the Cathedral of Etchmiadzin

The intervention of the cult of the Theotokos is not so strange if we recall that the Cathedral of Etchmiadzin – the very cathedral whose construction was revealed to St Gregory in his famous vision – is dedicated to the Theotokos, and this is why the day of its *encaenia* is on the eve of the Dormition (in the same manner, as, in Jerusalem, the *encaenia* of the Church of Resurrection is on the eve of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 13 and 14 September, respectively). Unfortunately, in the early sources the dedication of the Cathedral of Etchmiadzin is not attested directly, despite the fact that the late priestly tradition assumed that the dedication to the Theotokos went back to the fourth century²¹⁴ (which is, of course, absolutely impossible).

(212) In the current Armenian calendar, the Dormition is the nearest Sunday to its fixed date, 15 August of the Julian calendar (= 5 Navasard of the fixed Armenian calendar created by Hovhannes Sarkavag in the early twelfth century and applied retroactively from the date 1084). The feast of *Šotakat'* is, thus, the Saturday before this Sunday. Its fixed date is 14 August = 4 Navasard of the fixed calendar.

(213) Cf. A. PLONTKE-LÜNNING, *Frühchristliche Architektur im Kaukasus. Die Entwicklung des christlichen Sakralbaus in Lazika, Iberien, Armenien, Albanien und Grenzregionen vom 4. bis zum 7. Jh.* (Wien, 2007) (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-hist. Kl. Denkschriften, 359; Veröffentlichungen zum Byzanzforschung, 13) 168–173, esp. 169. For the Cathedral of Etchmiadzin, see, first of all, А. Ю. КАЗАРЯН, *Кафедральный собор Сурб Эчмидзин и восточнохристианское зодчество IV–VII веков* [A. YU. KAZARYAN, *The Cathedral of Holy Ejmiacin and the Eastern Christian Architecture of the 4th–7th Centuries*] (Москва, 2007) (with a detailed English résumé, p. 210–214).

(214) Reported in Հ. ՇԱՀՆԱԹՈՒՆԵԱՆՆ, *Ստորագրութիւն Կաթողիկէ Էջմիացիի եւ հինգ զաւանցն Արարատայ, հ. Ա (Էջմիացիւ, 1842)* [H. ŠAHNAT'UNEANC', *A Description of the Cathedral of Etchmiadzin and of five gavařs of Ararat*, vol. 1 (Etchmiadzin, 1842)] 16; quoted uncritically in КАЗАРЯН, *Кафедральный собор Сурб Эчмидзин...*, 19 and 186, n. 86.

However, regardless of the earliest dedication of the Etchmiadzin cathedral in the fourth century, its rededication to the Theotokos and especially to the Dormition of the Theotokos would be fitting in 484, when the cathedral was rebuilt by Vahan Mamikonean after its devastation.²¹⁵ It was a time of a rapid spread of new forms of the Theotokos cult throughout the Eastern Christian world. Among these forms, the most important was a new feast of the Dormition which had its main shrine in Gethsemane near Jerusalem. The feast was established after 438 and before 449 (probably in 444) on 7 August, but then switched to later dates. Constantinople and the Caucasus (unlike Egypt) followed the Jerusalem rite, where the Dormition absorbed an earlier Jerusalem feast of the Theotokos on 15 August (formerly the Annunciation), resulting in the Dormition cycles with the principal dates 13 and 15 August. Unfortunately, we know little about the Dormition cult in Armenia in the late fifth and the early sixth centuries.²¹⁶ An interesting liturgical rubric in the title of a sixteenth-century manuscript of an Armenian *transitus* identifying the Dormition date of 15 August with 25 Navasard²¹⁷ (instead of the expected fixed date 5 Navasard) may be a remnant of the epoch when 15 August as the Dormition date was adopted: from 508 to 511, when 25 Navasard was the equivalent of

(215) КАЗАРЯН, *Кафедральный собор Сурб Эчмиадзин...*, 15, 185 (notes).

(216) For details, see LOURIÉ 2010, 180–183, with further bibliography. A pre-Justinianic cycle persisted for several centuries in the Georgian tradition (abrogated, in Constantinople and Jerusalem, by Justinian in 543 after the construction of the *Nea* church in Jerusalem). This pre-543 Dormition cycle occupied the days from August 13 (the gathering of apostles in Sion) to 16 (the empty tomb episode), with the Dormition on August 15. An earlier cycle in the Syriac *Transitus* S 3 (uncertain date in the second half of the fifth century) presupposed August 13 as the very day of the Dormition. The Georgian cycle of the sixth century may be identical to that of the contemporary Armenian Church, but this supposition is far from certain.

(217) Armenian *Transitus* AM 6 (under the name of John the Theologian), which is a translation of the Greek epitome G 6 of the *Transitus* G 3 (John of Thessalonica, † 630); cf., for classification of these *Transitus*, S. J. SHOEMAKER, *The Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* (Oxford, 2002) (Oxford Early Christian Studies) 421. Diplomatic edition of one manuscript (among several known ones): T. DASNABEDIAN, Une récit arménien du Pseudo-Jean l'Évangéliste sur la Dormition, *Armach* 1 (1992) 27–38 [repr.: EADEM, *La Mère de Dieu : Études sur l'Assomption et sur l'image de la très-sainte Mère de Dieu* (Antélias, 1995) 51–72]. The liturgical rubric in the title seems not to be a part of the text.

15 August – the epoch of the catholicos Babken and the First Council of Dwin.

After 484, when the see of Etchmiadzin was dedicated to the Dormition of the Theotokos, an intervention of the Theotokos cult into the cult of St Gregory the Illuminator became unavoidable. It resulted, as we will see below, in a new St Gregory cycle that ran from the Dormition to 30 September and which was founded, albeit with some violations, on the basis of the *Agathangelos*. Indeed, the *Agathangelos* does contain a cycle of dedications of churches, although with no connexion to Etchmiadzin. This cycle is connected to the process of the Baptism of Armenia, although the cycle containing the vision of St Gregory is connected to earlier events (specifically, the conversion of Trdat).

3. The Dates of the Baptism of Armenia in the *Agathangelos*

The chronology of the events relating directly to the Baptism of Armenia described in the *Agathangelos* is as follows:

Date	Place	Event	Aa (§)	Notes
1 Navasard	Ashtishat in Taron	Destruction of pagan temples. Establishment of the feast of St John the Baptist and St Athenogenes instead of the pagan feast of the New Year	809 and 836	Ashtishat was the principal cultic centre of pagan Armenia, where the New Year's festival was one of the most important celebrations.
20 days	Taron	Baptism of the people and building of the churches	809–814	
One month (= 30 days)	The whole of Armenia, from Taron to Bagavan	Gregory travels around the whole of Armenia while King Trdat waits for him in Bagavan	817	In the Armenian calendar, all the months contain 30 days.
When one month was spent	Bagavan	Meeting of Gregory and Trdat	817	On the 50 th (= 20 + 30) day from 1 Navasard (20 Hori).

One month (= 30 days)	Bagavan	Fasting time, preparation for the Baptism	829	
When one month was spent	Bagavan	Baptism of the king, his family, and many people in Euphrates	832–834	On the 80 th day from 1 Navasard (20 Sahmi).
Seven days “after this”	Bagavan	Gregory continues to baptise people	835	From 21 to 27 Sahmi.

The *Agathangelos* obviously describes a liturgical cycle but, as a whole, this cycle is not preserved in any existing calendar. Only the feast of St John the Baptist and St Athenogenes on the New Year (1 Navasard) is preserved as established by St Gregory.²¹⁸ However, in the same text of the *Agathangelos*, another date of this feast is prescribed, also with the authority of St Gregory, on 7 Sahmi (Aa 815). This feast is also preserved in the Armenian calendar.²¹⁹ Two competing liturgical traditions concerning the saints whose relics were brought by St Gregory from Cappadocia after his consecration are thus included in *Agathangelos*’ account side-by-side.

4. Two Remnants of Earlier Commemorations of St Gregory: 20 Sahmi and 20 Hori

The feast on 20 Sahmi is also present in the later Armenian calendar although without its seven-day afterfeast. Its original meaning, a commemoration of the Baptism in Bagavan, was translated (if Peeters and van Esbroeck are right) *ca* 500, to 10/11 K’aloc’. Nevertheless, 20 Sahmi became the day of commemoration of two virgins among those with Rhipsime, Nanē (St Nino of Georgia) and Manē. The latter, called Mani in other sources, lived as a hermit and was found by St Gregory the Illuminator just before her death. She was then buried by him in her cave, the very cave in which St Gregory himself also ended his days as

(218) G. BAYAN, *Le Synaxaire arménien de Ter Israel. I. Mois de Navasard* (Paris, 1910) (PO, 5, 3; N 23) [repr. Turnhout, 2003] 355[11]–357[13]; here a feast of St John the Baptist only, without Athenogenes.

(219) G. BAYAN, *Le Synaxaire arménien de Ter Israel. III. Mois de Sahmi* (Paris, 1927) (PO, 15, 3) 314[378]–215[379]; St John the Baptist together with Athenogenes.

a hermit. The earliest document concerning Mani is **Vk**, the Karshuni recension of the *Agathangelos*. The legend about Mani is a part of a legend about the first discovery of the relics of St Gregory.²²⁰ Thus, the commemoration of Mani on 20 Sahmi is an indirect commemoration of St Gregory (that is, the discovery of his relics, the day of his death being unknown in the same manner as the day of the death of the biblical Moses).²²¹ The chronology of the Armenian *Agathangelos* explains the reason for the original choice of this date.

The Armenian calendar preserves the date 20 Hoři as the commemoration day of the apostle of Caucasian Albania, Elisæus (Elišē),²²² whose biography (his death in a pit of poisonous reptiles) is suspiciously similar to that of St Gregory. And, according to the **V** family of *Agathangelos*, it was Gregory who baptised the Albanians along with the Armenians. Such a rededication of an earlier Armenian feast of the St Gregory cycle to the legendary disciple of apostle Thaddeus is obviously an Albanian tradition intended to demonstrate the apostolic origin of the Albanian Church and, thus, her right to autocephaly. After the absorption of the Albanian Church by the Armenian one (ca 705), this feast was preserved because the place of the earlier Armenian feast on 20 Hoři was free.

We have to conclude that most of the dates specified in the above chronology of **Aa** are important feasts in the later Armenian tradition. Moreover, these feasts preserve explicit or implicit indications of a connexion to the cycle of St Gregory the Illuminator and the Baptism of four nations in the Caucasus. Our chronology thus appears to represent a liturgical cycle that did exist somewhere, although it was no longer comprehensible to the editor of **Aa**, who added an alternative feast of John the Baptist and Athenogenes on 7 Sahmi. It would indeed be difficult to imagine any non-liturgical meaning for such a detailed chronology in a hagiographical text

(220) See, for details, VAN ESBROECK 1971, 390–395.

(221) In the fixed Armenian calendar (since the thirteenth century) the commemoration of St Gregory on 30 September is rendered as 21 Sahmi. This feast was borrowed in Byzantium with no relation to the earlier Armenian traditions (s. above).

(222) G. BAYAN, *Le Synaxaire arménien de Ter Israel. II. Mois de Hori* (Paris, 1910) [repr.: Turnhout, 2003] (PO 6, 2; N 27) 302[334]–304[336], 307[339]–308[340].

5. The Pentecost after the Dormition of the Theotokos

Having established that our liturgical cycle in **Aa** presents some liturgical realities, we have to reexamine its coverage of the first fifty days from 1 Navasard to 20 Sahmi. The current commemoration of St Mani on 20 Sahmi is a remnant of an earlier feast of the discovery of the relics of St Gregory. But what is the importance of 1 Navasard itself? Why was it used as the starting point of a pentecontad cycle?

Normally, the starting point for all the calendric pentecontads is the date of Easter. It is a Jewish custom from the Second Temple period presented in such Jewish calendars as those of the *Temple Scroll* or the *Songs of the Sacrifice of Sabbath*. Up to the early fifth century, the second Pentecost after Easter was still celebrated throughout the Christian world (the movable feast of the Holy Apostles in the Constantinopolitan rite and the Syrian Jacobite rite of Antioch up to the middle of the sixth century and, in the Syrian Jacobite rite of Tikrit, up to the eighteenth century), and it persisted up to the second millennium as the *Agat' enagoba* (St Athenogenes' feast) in the Georgian rite and is currently celebrated as the *Vardavar* in the Armenian rite. A more elaborated system of the pentecontad periods covering the whole year is still traceable in the Syrian Nestorian calendar.

When, in the middle of the fifth century, the feast of the Dormition was introduced, its liturgy was patterned after Easter. Around 500, it became the starting point of a new series of pentecontads. In the Jerusalem rite, there were two Dormition pentecontads which were accepted by the rite of Constantinople, too, as well as by some Syrian anti-Chalcedonian traditions: from 15 August to 3 October and from 3 October to 21 November. The feasts of 3 October (Dionysius the Areopagite as an eyewitness of the Dormition and the open heavens) and 21 November (Presentation of the Theotokos) go back to the liturgical institutions of the patriarchate of Jerusalem *ca* 500.²²³

Are the two commemorations of St Gregory the Illuminator on 20 Sahmi and 30 September Armenian analogues of these Jerusalem pentecontads?

The feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos was introduced as a date in the Julian calendar having no constant equivalent in the Old Armenian calendar. 30 September is the fiftieth day after 12 August, the eve of one of the known Dormition dates, 13 August. It is preserved as the first day of the Dormition cycle in the first millennium Georgian

(223) LOURIÉ 2010, 192–192.

rite, which was probably shared by the Armenians (implying 15 August as the day of the Dormition itself). In the Syriac “Dormition in Six Books” (*Transitus* S 3), however, this is the very date of the Dormition itself; this source may reflect the calendar shared by the Armenians in the late fifth century, the time of the reconstruction of the Etchmiadzin cathedral. The chronology of this *Transitus* implies that 12 August is the date of the gathering of the apostles.

If, in the 480s, the Etchmiadzin cathedral was consecrated on the eve of the Dormition feast (the Armenian tradition insists on this sequence of the *Šolakat’-encaenia* and the Dormition feast), the date of the consecration was, most likely, 12 August, corresponding to the Dormition on 13 August. The further shift to 14 and 15 August is a sixth-century or even later development. It would be only natural if a new cult in the principal cathedral of Armenia reused the vision of St Gregory the Illuminator that was related to the same cathedral. Unlike Dionysius the Areopagite, St Gregory was not an eyewitness to the Dormition, but he was the seer of the heavenly temple represented by the cathedral now rededicated to the Dormition. Thus, it was in the style of the epoch to connect the feast and its witness through a fifty-day cycle.

It is not clear so far, however, how this cycle is connected to the pentecontad reported in the *Agathangelos* for 1 Navasard to 20 Sahmi. To answer this question, we have to turn to the very beginning of the Dormition feast in the Armenian Church.

6. The New Year on 1 Navasard and the Dormition of the Theotokos

Unlike the previous ecumenical councils, whose opening dates were chosen with a symbolic proximity to Pentecost, the Second Council of Ephesus (449) opened on 8 August, a date having no relation to this feast. I have argued elsewhere that this date was chosen in relation to the earliest Dormition cycle (from 7 to 9 August), where it corresponds to the gathering of apostles in Sion. This council seems to be the first occasion when a recent Palestinian feast was accepted by the Churches throughout the whole universe.²²⁴ This council was subsequently called “latrocinium” in Rome but certainly not in Armenia. Two bishops from Roman Armenia were presented among the fathers of the council.²²⁵

(224) LOURIE 2010, 180–183.

(225) John of Sebastia in First Armenia (Nr 10 in the list) and Acacius of Ariarathia in Second Armenia presenting Constantius of Melitene, who was

According to the Old Armenian calendar, 7 August 449 (the first day of the Dormition feast) was 2 Navasard and, correspondingly, 1 Navasard was 6 August, the eve of the Dormition. Thus, in 449, the pentecontad from the eve of the Dormition coincided with the Agathangelos' pentecontad from 1 Navasard to 20 Sahmi (this is true for the years from 448 to 451).²²⁶ In this way the Dormition feast arrived in the Armenian Church accompanied by a remarkable synchronism with the earlier cycle of St Gregory the Illuminator (from 1 Navasard to 20 Sahmi). This cycle was certainly taken into account during the rededication of the Etchmiadzin cathedral in the 480s, when the date of the Dormition feast shifted to 13 August. The link between the Dormition and an important feast related to St Gregory on the eve of this feast was preserved in conformity with Baumstark's second law. A new Gregory-related feast appeared on 12 August. Thus, the calendar of the Armenian Church preserves one feast established by St Gregory the Illuminator on 1 Navasard and another feast related to him on the eve of the Dormition.

The later cycle related to the Dormition became a more important commemoration of St Gregory, and St Gregory's commemoration on 20 Sahmi thus lost most of its importance (allowing a substitution of Gregory's name by those of two saints related to him, Nino of Georgia and Mari), but a new commemoration of St Gregory appeared on 30 September. However, its direct connexion to the *Šolakat'-encaenia* feast on the eve of the Dormition was necessarily lost when the Armenian Church adopted 15 August as the date of the Dormition.

ABBREVIATIONS

AKINEAN 1947 — Ն. ԱԿԻՆԵԱՆ, Ս. Գրիգոր Լուսավորչի տօները ՆՇապուհի մարմարեայ տօնացոյցին վրայ [N. AKINEAN, *The Feasts of St Gregory the Illuminator in the Marble Calendar of Naples*], *Հանդես Ամսորեայ* [*Handes Amsoreay = Monthly Magazine*] 21 (1947) cols. 600–614.

absent (Nr 18): S. G. F. PERRY, *The Second Synod of Ephesus, together with Certain Extracts Relating to It, From Syriac Mss. preserved in the British Museum*. English Version (Dartford, 1881) 15–16.

(226) It is interesting that 7 August 449 was Sunday and 6 August was Saturday. Has this fact anything to do with the Armenian tradition of celebrating the Dormition only on Sunday (nearest to its fixed date August 15) and the *Šolakat'-encaenia* only on the previous Saturday?

- GREENWOOD 2006 — T. GREENWOOD, The discovery of the relics of St Grigor and the development of Armenian tradition in ninth-century Byzantium, in: E. M. JEFFREYS (ed.), *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization: In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman* (Cambridge, 2006) 177–191.
- JANIN 1969 — R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin. III. Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 2¹⁹⁶⁹).
- LOSEVA 2009 — О. В. Лосева, *Жития русских святых в составе древнерусских прологов XII — первой трети XV веков* [*The Lives of Russian Saints within the Old Russian Prologoi of the twelfth — first third of the fifteenth centuries*] (Moscow, 2009) (Studia historica).
- LOURIÉ 2007 — B. LOURIÉ, *L'Histoire Euthymiaque : l'œuvre du patriarche Euthymios/Euphemos de Constantinople (490–496, † 515)*, *Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne* XX/2 (2007) 189–221.
- LOURIÉ 2010 — B. LOURIÉ, Peter the Iberian and Dionysius the Areopagite: Honigmann–van Esbroeck's Thesis Revisited, *Scr* 6 (2010) 143–213.
- MOLDOVAN 2000 — А. М. МОЛДОВАН, *Житие Андрея Юродивого в славянской письменности* [*The Life of Andrew the Salos in the Slavic Literatures*] (Moscow, 2000).
- PEETERS 1942 — P. PEETERS, S. Grégoire l'Illuminateur dans le calendrier lapidaire de Naples, *AB* 60 (1942) 91–130.
- PLIUKHANOVA 2008 — М. Б. ПЛЮХАНОВА, В поисках исторического источника (Службы Покрову) [In Search of the Historical Source (of the Service to Pokrov)], in: M. DI SALVO, G. MORACCI, G. SIEDINA (a cura di), *Nel mondo degli Slavi. Incontri e dialoghi tra culture. Studi in onore di Giovanna Brogi Bercoff*. Vol. II (Firenze, 2008) (Biblioteca di studi slavistici, 8) 437–447.
- RYDÉN 1995 — L. RYDÉN, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool*, 2 vols. (Uppsala, 1995) (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 4), 2 vols.
- СПАСКИЙ 1898 — Архим. Сергей [СПАСКИЙ], Святой Андрей Христа ради юродивый и праздник Покрова Пресвятыя Богородицы [Saint Andrew the Fool for Christ and the Feast of the Intercession of the Theotokos], *Странник* 3 (1898) 3–33, 193–214, 393–425, 605–652 [quoted according to the republication: *Жизнь и деяния св. Отца нашего Андрея, юродивого Христа ради*. Вступительная статья, перевод с греческого языка и комментарии Е. В. Желтовой. С приложением сочинения архиеп. Сергея (Спасского) «Святой Андрей, Христа ради юродивый, и праздник Покрова Пресвятой Богородицы» (St Petersburg, 2007) (Библиотека христианской мысли. Источники) 180–314], especially part «Б. Место и время установления праздника Покрова Пресвятой Богородицы» [B. The Place and the Time

- of Establishment of the Feast of Pokrov of the Most Holy Theotokos]», p. 233–266.
- Symeon Logothetos — S. WAHLGREN, *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon* (Berolini—Novi Eboraci, 2006) (CFHB, Ser. Berolinensis, XLIV/1).
- Synaxarium CP* — H. DELEHAYE (ed.), *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi adiectis synaxariis selectis* (Brussels, 1902) (AASS, Propylaeum ad AASS Novembris).
- VAN ESBROECK 1971 — M. VAN ESBROECK, Les témoignages littéraires sur les sépultures de saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur, *AB* 89 (1971) 387–417.
- WORTLEY 1971 — J. WORTLEY, Hagia Skepè and Pokrov Bogoroditsi: A Curious Coincidence, *AB* 89 (1971) 149–154 [reprint: IDEM, *Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204* (Aldershot etc., 2009) (Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS 935) Ch. XII].
- WORTLEY 2005 — J. WORTLEY, The Marian relics in Constantinople, *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 45 (2005) 171–187 [repr.: IDEM, *Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium...*, ch. XI].
- YUSOV 2009 — И. Е. ЮСОВ, *Гимнография праздника Покрова Пресвятой Богородицы как источник изучения истории русского литературного языка* [*The Hymnography of the Feast of Pokrov of the Most Holy Theotokos as a Source for the Study of the History of the Russian Literary Language*]. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата филологических наук (Moscow, 2009) (unpublished thesis).
- ВМЧ — *Памятники славяно-русской письменности, изданные Археологической комиссией. I. Великие минеи четию. Октябрь, дни 1–3* [*Monuments of Slavic-Russian Literature Published by the Archeographical Commission. I. The Great Menologion. October, Days 1–3*] (St Petersburg, 1870).
- Ղազար Փարպեցի — Գ. ՏԷՐ-ՄԿՐՏՅԵԱՆ, Ս. ՄԱԼԽԱՏԵԱՆ, Ղազարայ Փարպեցիի Պատմութիւն հայոց և Թուրք առ Վահան Մամիկոնեան (Թիֆլիս, 1908/1907) (Ղուկասեան մատենադարան, Բ) [G. Tēr-Mkrty'eān, S. Malxasean, Łazar P'arpec'i's *History of Armenia and the Epistle to Vahan Mamikonean* (Tiflis, 1908/1907 <different dates on the cover and on the front page, respectively> (Łukasean Library, 2) = reprint of the 1904 critical edition].

SUMMARY

PART ONE: BYZANTINO-SLAVICA

- 1.1. Introduction
- 1.2. The Theoretical Impossibility of the “Russian” Approach
- 1.3. Wortley’s Hypothesis
- 1.4. The Christian Community in Kiev in the Time of Patriarch Euthymius
- 1.5. A South Slavic Alternative
- 1.6. The Original Meaning of the Feast of Pokrov According to Pachomius Logothetos
- 1.7. BHG 1136d: a Greek Homily on Pokrov
 - 1.7.1. The Greek Original and Its Pseudepigraphic Authorship
 - 1.7.2. Liturgical Setting and Contents: Pokrov Vigil
 - 1.7.3. Author: Patriarch Euthymius
- 1.8. The Prolog sermon on Pokrov
 - 1.8.1. Contents
 - 1.8.2. Relation to the *Life of Andrew the Salos*
 - 1.8.3. Author
- 1.9. Conclusion to the Byzantino-Russian Dossier

PART TWO: ARMENO-BYZANTINA

- 2.1. Introduction
- 2.2. The Discovery of the Relics of St Gregory during the Patriarchate of Photius
 - 2.2.1. Historical Context
 - 2.2.2. Precise Place: τὰ Καριανοῦ monastery near Blachernae

Note 1: van Esbroeck’s identification of the monastery τὰ Καριανοῦ with the monastery of Staurakios
 - 2.2.3. Date: between 862 and 867
 - 2.2.4. The Date of the Liturgical Commemoration
- 2.3. Gregory the Illuminator and Isaac the Parthian as the Saints of the Macedonian Dynasty
 - 2.3.1. Isaac the Parthian in Photius’ Cult of St Gregory the Illuminator
 - 2.3.2. St Gregory the Illuminator in the Cult of St Patriarch Stephen
 - 2.3.3. The Cult of St Gregory the Illuminator under Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos
 - 2.3.4. An Alternative to the *Vision* of St Sahak: the *Apocalypse* of Andrew the Salos
- 2.4. The Veneration of “Pokrov” before the Feast of Pokrov
 - 2.4.1. Photius, 860: the Discovery of “Pokrov”
 - 2.4.2. When “Pokrov” Becomes “Omophorion/Maphorion”
 - 2.4.3. A Secondary “Pokrov” Cult: The Maphorion of St Theophano

- 2.4.4. How “Pokrov” Becomes “Omophorion/Maphorion”
- 2.4.5. The Bishop’s “Maphorion” of St Gregory the Illuminator
- 2.4.6. Why “Pokrov” Becomes “Omophorion/Maphorion”
- 2.5. Conclusion to the Armeno-Byzantine Dossier
 - Note 2: A Tentative Reconstruction of a Liturgical Cycle Possibly Related to the *Vision* of St Andrew within the *Life of Andrew the Salos*

PART THREE: THE FEAST OF POKROV WITHIN THE CYCLE OF ST GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR

- 3.1. The Marian Relics and the Wives of Leo the Wise
- 3.2. The Symbolic Nature of the Date 1 October
- 3.3. The Autumn Commemorations of St Gregory the Illuminator and His Companions in Constantinople
- 3.4. The Choice of 1 October for the Pokrov Feast

Excursus: St Gregory the Illuminator’s Feast on 30 September

- 1. Peeters’ Hypothesis
- 2. The Dormition of the Theotokos and the Dedication of the Cathedral of Etchmiadzin
- 3. The Dates of the Baptism of Armenia in the Agathangelos
- 4. Two Remnants of Earlier Commemorations of St Gregory: 20 Sahmi and 20 Hoři
- 5. The Pentecost after the Dormition of the Theotokos
- 6. The New Year on 1 Navasard and the Dormition of the Theotokos