

Translations of Patristic Literature in South-Eastern Literature

Collection dirigée par

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**Translations of Patristic Literature
in South-Eastern Europe**

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Edited by

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FOREWORD

For more than two centuries the reception of patristic texts has been an important area of philological research on South-East European culture in the Middle Ages. There are many reasons for the lasting scholarly interest in this topic. To name but a few: a) translation is the main means of transferring ideas and spiritual as well as literary values in the Byzantine commonwealth; b) translations account for close to ninety percent of the literary production in the Balkans from the ninth century to the modern period, and a considerable part of them is made up of translations of patristic texts; c) patristic texts rank very highly in the hierarchy of medieval genres, immediately below biblical and liturgical texts, and therefore the tradition of translations begins already at the dawn of the Slavonic written tradition, and in the course of many centuries it is constantly enriched with new texts and authors or with new versions of already known works; d) translated literature and patristic texts in particular play an important role in the development and the codification of written languages in the course of a millennium; e) the analysis of the reception and the textual tradition of translated works often disclose little known aspects of cultural contacts from the Mediterranean to the Baltic Sea.

Considerations based on the factors enumerated above led to the initiative to propose a congress session devoted to *Les traductions de la littérature patristique dans le Sud-Est européen / Translations of Patristic Literature in South-East Europe* to be included in the programme of the Twelfth Congress of South-East European Studies in Bucharest (2-6 September 2019). The initial impulse came from Prof. Zamfira Mihail, the doyenne of Romanian palaeoslavistics. The panel originally aimed at presenting research results from the field of translations into Slavonic, with a thematic focus on patristic writings (from the end of the second to the eighth century AD). The extended area of interest included into the final programme covered works of writers, among them also those of Christian teachers, up to the beginning of the eighteenth century. The two sessions of the section, hosted by the Library of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church, found a positive resonance. On the suggestion of Dr. Andrei Timotin, the president of the organising committee of the congress, it was decided to publish the papers.

The present volume includes articles that are extended versions of the papers read at the congress, but also contributions by invited authors who could not be present at the scholarly meeting in Bucharest. The publication, just like

the section underlying it, does not and cannot pretend to deal with the topic in all its complexity, because the wealth of objects of research and of scholarly approaches clearly makes such an endeavour impossible, even if it were to be treated in a multi-volume series. The twelve papers published in this volume instead present a mosaic of the many and variegated aspects of the influence of patristic literature on the literary development in this region of the Byzantine commonwealth, an influence that lasted many centuries.

Seen from the receiving side of this influence the papers fall into two groups, concentrating on the reception of the patristic heritage in the (South-)Slavonic and the Romanian literatures, respectively, the first one not only starting earlier and being much longer, but also being the topic of the majority of the papers. On the basis of specific patristic texts or text corpora the twelve papers discuss a wide range of scholarly topics referring to works of John Chrysostom, Origen, Gregory of Nazianzus, Ephrem the Syrian, Proclus of Constantinople, Pseudo-Athanasius and other known or anonymous Church authors. Particular attention is being paid to the establishment of the Greek source for the Slavonic translations; to the reception of specific texts in Bulgarian, Croatian, and Romanian culture; to questions of translation technique and text tradition; to the incorporation and interpretation of patristic fragments in later texts; to problems of textual criticism and of the edition of South Slavonic translations. The publication of some patristic texts that appear as appendices to some papers show various forms of scholarly editions of medieval Slavonic translations and enrich the textual basis of today's palaeoslavistic studies. The reception in Romanian literature is represented in a survey study of the first translations into Romanian of patristic texts and their language and in a paper dealing with the prehistory of miscellanies compiled from texts of the Church Fathers and showing a stable structure and stable contents.

The textology and exegesis of the texts, the perspective of comparative philology and the skilful integration of results obtained from the auxiliary sciences led to notable results in this field. Each new publication following this path is a step forward towards an ever more complete version of the global image of the universe of the patristic writings in South-Eastern Europe and their history. The contributions gathered in this volume will, it is hoped, enrich and deepen our understanding of the reception and the circulation of the texts analysed and their accumulation, and will thus emphasise the impact these writings had, as a constitutive element, on the culture of this region of the Old Continent.

Z. Mihail, R. Marti and L. Taseva

OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC TRANSLATIONS OF THE *HOMILY ON REPENTANCE, CONTINENCE, AND VIRGINITY* (CPG 7555) AND THEIR GREEK SOURCES

Aneta Dimitrova

I. Introduction

The *Homily on Repentance, Continence, and Virginity* is a lengthy and widely popular text on monastic virtues written in Greek around the year 500.¹ In the manuscripts, the homily is either anonymous, or the title mentions St John Chrysostom as its author. Indeed, S. Haidacher identified at least six excerpts borrowed from (Pseudo-)Chrysostomian works,² and it was first published among the editions of Chrysostom's body of work in the early 17th century, but in the first editions it was ascribed to John IV Nesteutes (Johannes Jejunator, or the Faster, archbishop of Constantinople 582-595, feast 2 Sept.).³ The attribution of the homily to John the Faster is generally accepted among scholars,⁴ however, since it was based on a single late manuscript, this authorship has also been disputed.⁵

¹ See S. Voicu, "Seconde spigolature pseudocrisostomiche", *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 14, 2017, p. 272. The earliest known Greek manuscripts date from the 9th century onwards, and there are ancient oriental translations with a well-preserved history of transmission. At least two manuscripts containing the Syriac translation of the homily date back to the 7th century, cf. E. A. W. Budge, *Coptic Homilies in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, London 1910, p. xxiii.

² S. Haidacher, "Chrysostomus-Excerpte in der Rede des Johannes Nesteutes über die Buße", *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 26, 1902, № 2, p. 380-385. The homily is listed under No 269 in Aldama's catalogue of *pseudochrysostomica*, see J. A. de Aldama, *Repertorium pseudochrysostomicum*, Paris 1965, p. 99. More intertextual connections see in S. Voicu, "Seconde spigolature pseudocrisostomiche...", p. 274-310.

³ Henry Savile used the earlier 1609 edition of Fronton du Duc and added two more unspecified manuscripts, cf. H. Savile, *Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τῶν εὕρισκομένων*, vol. 7, Etonae 1612, p. 641-656, and the notes *ibid*, vol. 8, p. 872.

⁴ John the Faster is identified as the author of the homily in *Patrologia Graeca* (vol. 88, coll. 1937-1977, a reprint of H. Savile's edition), in M. Geerard's *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, Vol. 3, Turnhout 1979, p. 411 (CPG 7555), in the aforementioned works of Haidacher, Budge, Aldama, and others.

⁵ M. van Esbroeck suggests that this was Paris. gr. 788 (11-14th century), f. 204, used by Fronton du Duc and reprinted by Savile, cf. M. van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens*,

The doubtful provenance of the homily was not a hindrance to its popularity. It was translated into other oriental languages very early on – as E. A. Wallis Budge puts it, the monks in Egypt “lost little time in translating it into Syriac”, the oldest extant manuscripts in Syriac dating from the mid-7th century.⁶ There were also translations into Coptic (from the same time-period),⁷ Georgian and possibly Armenian,⁸ and Old Church Slavonic from the early 10th century.

The history of the Old Church Slavonic translations is very complicated, involving parallel transmission traditions in different kinds of manuscripts, lost or rearranged folios, two different Greek versions, and numerous individual variant readings. In this article I will try to answer some questions and ask others, concerning the textual history of the Slavonic homily. The translation was part of the *Zlatostruy* (*Chrysorrhoeas*) collection⁹ – Chrysostomian and pseudo-Chrysostomian homilies selected and translated under the supervision of Tsar Symeon (893-927). Most of the extant copies of the homily are found in

Louvain-la-Neuve, 1975, p. 117-118; S. Voicu also refers to this argument, cf. S. Voicu, “Le corpus pseudo-chrysostomien. Questions préliminaires et état des recherches”, *Studia Patristica* 17, 1982, № 3, p. 1202, note 8. According to M. van Esbroeck, the homily belongs to neither John Chrysostom, nor John the Faster: “L’ensemble de la tradition fait de cette pièce une œuvre qui ne peut être, ni de Jean le Jeûneur, ni de Jean Chrysostome, avec lequel cependant certains passages coïncident (Aldama, no 269)”, see M. van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens...*, p. 118. Recently, the most detailed argumentation about the homily’s authorship and date is in: S. Voicu, “Seconde spigolature pseudocrisostomiche”..., p. 269-338, especially p. 269-312. The homily is a compilation, based mainly on Chrysostom’s works, but the compiler, though a faithful follower of Chrysostom, was probably not an Antiochean, *ibid.*, p. 312.

⁶ See note 1 above. The Syriac text is published in E. A. W. Budge, *Coptic Homilies...*, p. 289-338, English translation *ibid.*, p. 339-379.

⁷ According to Budge, “[i]t is only reasonable to assume that the purely Egyptian monasteries (...) also possessed Coptic translations of the Homily”, *ibid.*, p. xxiii. The Coptic translation is published after a 6th-7th century papyrus, British Library, Oriental 5001 (edition of the Coptic text *ibid.*, p. 1-45, English translation on p. 147-191).

⁸ No Armenian text is preserved, cf. M. van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens...*, p. 118: “Malgré la présence d’arménismes dans la traduction géorgienne, nous n’avons pas retrouvé l’ancienne version arménienne”, and again: “Il est donc souvent possible de repérer des arménismes sans que pour autant il soit certain que le texte dépende réellement d’un modèle arménien” (*ibid.*, p. 255). The Georgian manuscript Athos Iviron 11 dates from the 10th century, van Esbroeck gives no information about the time of the translation.

⁹ The Slavonic homily was edited twice as part of the so-called Shorter *Zlatostruy*: Т. Георгиева, *Златоструй от XII век*, Силистра, 2003, p. 158-167, 167-176; *Великие минеи четвы, собранные всероссийским митрополитом Макарием. Ноябрь, дни 13–15*, Санкт-Петербург, 1899, col. 1335-1346, 1346-1356). On *Zlatostruy* see В. Малинин, *Исследование Златоструя по рукописи XII века Императорской Публичной библиотеки*, Киев, 1878; Fr. J. Thomson, “Chrysostomica palaeoslavica. A Preliminary Study of the Sources of the Chrysorrhoeas (Zlatostruy) Collection”, *Cyrrilomethodianum* 6, 1982, p. 1-65; Я. Милтенов, *Златоструй: старобългарски хомилетичен свод, създаден по инициатива на българския цар Симеон. Текстологическо и извороведско изследване*, София, 2013; А. Димитрова, *Златоструят в преводаческата дейност на старобългарските книжовници*, София, 2016.

manuscripts containing the *Zlatostruy* collection. Another isolated version of this homily (with fewer copies) suggests that at least part of the homily was translated twice. The main proposition of the present article is, that there are two intertwined versions of the Slavonic homily (*z* and *h*), which are found in two different groups of manuscripts. The second halves of the two versions are the same, but their first halves are different translations (or a heavily revised single translation) from two different Greek versions (*α* and *β*).

II. Greek manuscripts

The Greek *Homily on Repentance, Continenence, and Virginity* is preserved in at least 48 copies from the 9th to the 19th century,¹⁰ not all of them are complete. Their complicated history of transmission has not been studied yet, most of the manuscripts are hard to access, and there is no critical edition. There are many variant readings between the Greek manuscripts, but without a critical edition or a *stemma codicum* the picture of its transmission will inevitably be fragmentary. Only five complete copies of the homily have been available to me (the *Patrologia Graeca* edition included) – an imprecise representation of the entire transmission, but sufficient for the purposes of the present research. The *PG* edition was used as a reference text, and the four control manuscripts are:

- A* Athens, National Library EBE 211, 9th-10th c., ff. 171v-189v¹¹
- B* London, British Library MS 19703, 12th c., ff. 223v-244v¹²
- P* Paris, Coislin 77, 11th c., ff. 3r-22v¹³
- R* Rome, Bibliotheca Angelica gr. 125, 11th c., ff. 9v-31r¹⁴

They form two groups (*α* and *β*), some of the variants are due to scribal errors and random changes, but other differences suggest deliberate editorial intervention. *PG* and *P* are almost always uniform, it is possible that the edition was based on a very similar manuscript,¹⁵ the discrepancies between them are rare. Here they represent text version *α* (only selected examples are given below).

Version *α* against version *β*:

PG μὴ στήσης σεαυτῶ στήλην] *P*, *om.* *A*, μὴ ποιήση σεαυτὸν στήλην *B R*

¹⁰ Cf. <<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>> (24.07.2019).

¹¹ Available at < <http://digitalcollections.nlg.gr/nlg-repo/dl/el/browse/3598> > (24.07.2019).

¹² Available at < http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_19703 > (16.04.2020).

¹³ Available at < <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10037957m> > (16.04.2020).

¹⁴ Available at < <http://www.internetculturale.it/it/767/manoscritti> > (16.04.2020).

¹⁵ See note 5 above. The manuscript Paris. gr. 788, used for the edition, is not digitised yet and was unavailable to me.

PG λογισμός] P, om. A, λόγος B R
PG ἐρέυνα δε τὰς Γραφάς] P, ἐρευνᾶν δεῖ τὰς Γραφάς A B R
PG τῆς ῥάβδου τὸ παράδειγμα] P, om. τὸ παράδειγμα A L R
PG δέχεται] P, εὐρίσκει A B R
PG ἐκεῖ] P, ἐντεῦθεν A B R
PG εἰκότως] P, δικαίως A B R
PG τηρῆσαι αὐτὴν ὑγράν] P, om. ὑγράν A B R
PG διαθέσεως] P, αἰσθήσεως A B R
PG ἀνοῖξαι στόμα] P, μεθαχᾶναι τὸ στόμα A B R

Manuscripts *A*, *B*, and *R* share many readings (here version β), but they are more diverse, occasionally *B* agrees with α , and all of them have some individual variants (see also the first two examples above).

Individual readings, *B* agrees occasionally with α :

PG ὡς ἄνθρωπος] B P, om. A R
PG φιλότεκνος καὶ φιλόξενος] P, φιλότεκνος A B, φιλόξενος R
PG φοβουμένη] B P, ὀφελούμενος A, ὀφελουμένη R
PG εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνέρχεσθαι οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει] B P, εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνερχόμενον (-ην R) σε οὐκ ἐπιτηρεῖ A R
PG τὴν μελέτην τῶν θείων Γραφῶν] B P, τὰς θείας Γραφάς A R
PG τὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐντάλματα] B P, τὰ διδάγματα τοῦ Σωτῆρος A R

These and many other variant readings reveal the variety of the Greek copies of the homily and demonstrate that using only the available edition of *PG* could be misleading. The division of the copies into two groups (α and β) may seem questionable, since it is based on only four unedited manuscripts, and every new copy added to the list could shed light on their distribution. Nevertheless, these two Greek versions explain many discrepancies between the copies of the Slavonic text. They are the strongest argument to the proposition that there were two (partial) Old Church Slavonic translations of the homily.

III. Old Church Slavonic translations

The Slavonic homily is best attested in at least 38 manuscripts containing the two main versions of the *Zlatostruy* collection – Longer and Shorter *Zlatostruy* (*L* and *S*),¹⁶ inc. БЛАЖЕНЪИ ПАРВЪЛЪ АПОСТОЛЪ ВЪСЪХЪ ІАΖΥΚЪ,

¹⁶ The *Zlatostruy* versions have stable contents with a fixed order of the homilies. *S* contains 81 homilies (S1-81), *L* contains 45 or 138 homilies, numbered from 1 to 137 (L1-45 and L1-137 – the most archaic core of the first 45 homilies was part of the original compilation of the early 10th century, the other texts in L1-137 were added shortly thereafter), *L* and *S* have 62 homilies in common. Most of the manuscripts are Russian, dating from the 15th century onwards, but *S* is

ОУЧЕНТЕЛЪ ЦРЬКЪВЪНЪИИ. In each version of the *Zlatostruy* collection it has some individual features and peculiarities. In *S* the homily is divided into two parts as consecutive texts S36 and S37. In *L* the entire *Homily on Repentance* is No 23 (hereafter L23), its second part is included again as No 46 (hereafter L46, inc. ОУВОИМЪ СЪ БРАТНІЕ МОГЪЩАКЕГО ДОУШѦ И ТѢЛО ПОГОУБИТИ, L46 = S37).

All these versions descend from the same initial translation, each of them is attested in multiple copies with their own transmission history, intertwined with the history of the entire *Zlatostruy* collection (*L* and *S* respectively). For example, L23 has a large part of the text missing (ca. 8 folios, or one quire) – in the manuscripts containing only the most archaic part L1-45, the missing part of L23 is found in the next homily L24, where it was probably accidentally moved, and in the copies containing homilies L1-137, the same passage was moved back from L24 to L23, but not to its original position.¹⁷ Another peculiarity is an unidentified fragment of about half a page (one column) in both S36 and L23 – thematically the added text relates to the overall topic, but is not part of the Greek source. These features are important for establishing the stability of the different versions of the text and the relations between them, but are of little significance for the present study. All the versions, however, have a very important distinctive feature in common: instead of the homily's end (corresponding to PG 88, coll. 1973-1977), its last part is borrowed from another *Zlatostruy* homily. These last ca. 2 folios are from John Chrysostom's *In Epistulam primam ad Corinthios homilia 8*, CPG 4428, which is part of *Zlatostruy* as an independent homily both in *L* and *S* (L27 and S9). The substituted ending of L23 and the complete homily L27 derive from one and the same translation, albeit with some variant readings. This is an important clue in the further investigation of the history of the Slavonic homily.

The *Homily on Repentance* in a different Slavonic version, inc. БЛАЖЕНЪИИ ПАВЪЛЪ ВСЕЪХЪ ЯЗЫКЪ АПОСТОЛЪ, ЗАБЪВАЮАИ ПРНСНО ЗАДЪНИАА, is attested in fewer manuscripts and is almost unknown to researchers. Most notably, it is the first homily in manuscript No 386 from the Hilandar monastery (14th century), the so called Hilandar *Zlatostruy*¹⁸ (hereafter *H*, the homily is H1). Apart from it, this rare version of the homily can be found in some old-recension homiliaries for the Lent (what Klimentina Ivanova refers to as

attested in the oldest copy of the collection – manuscript F.п.I.46 from the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg, 12th century. The texts in *S* were revised and abridged. Only *S* has been published, see note 9 above.

¹⁷ More details about the displaced passage and L24 (*Sermo de pseudoprophetis*, CPG 4583) see in А. Димитрова, “Псевдо-Златоустовото слово *За лъжепророците* (CPG 4583) в сборника *Златоструй*”, *Palaeobulgarica* 39, 2015, № 1, p. 71-84.

¹⁸ Кл. Иванова-Константинова, “Неизвестна редакция на Златоструя в сръбски извод от XIII в.”, *Зборник историје и књижевности, Одељење језика и књижевности* 10, 1976, p. 89-107; cf. Я. Милтенов, *Златоструят...*, p. 137-154.

“староизводни триодни панигирици”,¹⁹ the homily is designated for Monday of the 1st week of the Lent).²⁰ It is not unusual that different revisions or translations of the same text are found in different kinds of manuscripts, such as the *Zlatostruy* collection and the homiliaries.²¹ The comparison between the two versions reveals that the first part (nearly half) of the homily is in two different translations (i.e. S36 and the first half of L23 as opposed to the first half of H1), whereas their second parts are the same (i.e. S37, L46, and the second halves of L23 and H1). Here I will refer to the *Zlatostruy* version as text *z*, and to the version from the homiliaries and *H* as text *h*. Both *z* and *h* have the same ending, part of the *Zlatostruy* homily L27.

The differences between *z* and *h* are on all linguistic levels – lexical, morphological, syntactical, in terms of their word-order and underlying Greek original. At the same time, there are many similarities between them and mutual influence cannot be excluded. Their relations are commented below.²²

Differences in translation between *z* and *h*:

$\alpha+\beta$ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος δοχεῖον γενόμενος
z сѣсѡу дѣ сы стго дѣха
h вѣмѣстнаниѣ дѣховноѣ

$\alpha+\beta$ ἵνα καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον σχῆ
z да прннметъ похваленіѣ
h да хвалѡу нматъ

$\alpha+\beta$ μὴ ἐπαρθῆς ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει σου, μὴ ποτε διὰ τὴν ὑπεροψίαν σου, ἀποστραφῆ ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἐλεγχθῆ σου τὸ ἔπαρμα (v.l. ἀμάρτημα)

¹⁹ Кл. Иванова, “За календарните триодни сборници, писани в Хилендарския манастир”, *Palaeobulgarica* 36, 2012, № 3, p. 11-28. See also: Кл. Иванова, Цв. Данова, „Опит за систематизиране на риторичната традиция в южнославянските календарни сборници (Според съдържанието на балканските триодни панигирици)“, *Palaeobulgarica* 43, 2019, № 2, p. 23-46; Кл. Иванова, “Неизвестна редакция на триодния панегирик в състава на триода”, *Старобългарска литература* 20, 1987, p. 20-39.

²⁰ Until recently I was familiar only with the copy in the *Zlatostruy* manuscript Hilandar No 386 (*H*). I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Klimentina Ivanova and Tsvetomira Danova for giving me information from the yet unpublished *Bibliotheca Homiletica Balcano-Slavica* and sharing with me two more copies of the homily (Hilandar No 390 and Arad 9, their relationship will be discussed in another publication), and to the Hilandar Research Library at the Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio, for providing me with a microfilm of *H*. I would also like to thank Yavor Miltenov and Sergey Kim for their help with literature and insight.

²¹ See e.g. Я. Милтенев, *Златоструй...*, p. 167-186.

²² Unless indicated otherwise, the Greek version α is cited after *PG*, version β after manuscript *R*, $\alpha+\beta$ after *PG*. The Old Church Slavonic version *z* is cited after manuscript *C*, and version *h* after *H*.

z eγda kakō velnyŋna tvoego d'bla w̄bratht ca w̄ tebe b̄b. n w̄iatz th
 boγdetz darz. n wblnyeno th bγdetz velnyŋe

h ieda za razvelnyŋnna d'bla w̄bratht ce tebe b̄b. n wtetz th boγdetz darz

α+β Τί γὰρ κατ' ἄξίαν (v.l. ἐπαξίως) δύνασαι ὑπομεῖναι, ὧν Χριστὸς (v.l.
 ἐκεῖνος) ὑπέμεινε διὰ σέ;

z yto bo esh podzhalz tonyo. ē wnhz podzha tebe radh

h yto bo mozhesh stryp'etih d'ohno. nch'zhe wnh stryp'elz tebe radh

α+β τὰ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ

z nochnyia n d'nynyia

h iazhe v' nochni iazhe v' dne

α+β τοὺς δὲ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ στερουμένους καὶ ἀκούοντας·
 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν οὐδέποτε ἔγνων ὑμᾶς (Mt 25:12)

z drozga zo w̄ razozma wblnchovaeama. n slыshaczia. iako nnikolnhe ne zha
 vacz

h drozgi zhe lнshazemy v' d'bnna. n gl'ozhny n v' b̄ d'

α+β Ὅρα μοι τὰς πέντε παρθένους ἀποκλειομένας, καὶ τὰς ὀμήλικας μὴ
 ἀξιώσασας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἃς καὶ μωρὰς ἀπεκάλεσεν ὁ Χριστὸς, διότι μετὰ
 τὸ πατῆσαι τὰς ἡδονὰς, μετὰ τὸ σβέσαι τὴν κάμινον τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, μετὰ
 νηστείας καὶ χαμευνίαν καὶ ἀγρυπνίαν, τότε μωραὶ εὗρηνται. Καὶ μάλα
 εἰκότως (v.l. β. δικαίως)

z zrh patih d'bz pr'bz dver'bmh stoiatz. n drozgi d'by ne mogosh molnht
 za na iazhe n ozrydnhzy narz'e x'z. zane poprasha plot'io slozjhtih plammn.
 n po sgashen'ia pechnyia poxotih. n po pochen'ih. na zemah legan'ie. n b d'bn'ie.
 tozda zhe bozha bysha. n z'elo v l'epotoz

h vnz' zhe e. d'bz wstavliazhusha v'neiozoz yrb'toga. n neozym'lyshem' drozgi
 zaniezhe n boz'ie nar'z'e x'z. zaniezhe n po ozgashennih wgh'na pl'cskago. Po
 ozgashennih pechn poxot'bn. po zhm'vaezhanh. n post'z n b d'bnh. tozda boz'ie
 po pravd'z nar'z'ny byshe

α+β Μικροῖς πόνοις ἐνταῦθα, μεγάλας βασάνους ἀποκρουσώμεθα (v.l.
 κερδάνωμεν / κερδήσωμεν)

z trsdnmz ca cde малы. da velnk'by moz'z ozb'zhnmz

h малыm trzgd'by. zd'z w̄ velnk'yx'z trzgd'z n moz'z tamoz'klonhm ce

α+β ποία γὰρ ἢ σύγκρισις τῶν προσδοκωμένων

z yto bo ē t'z'no ydem'zhx'z

h koie zhe slaganh'ie w yz'emyx'z

These examples are just a limited selection out of many, they are extracted only from the first half of the homily. The differences between the two texts can hardly be the result of a revision of an existing translation, cf. the last example, where the two Slavonic versions are based on different meanings of the Greek word σύγκρισις – 1. ‘aggregation, combination’; 2. ‘comparison’. Although there are some phrases and sentences in the homily, where *z* and *h* are lexically very similar to each other and suggest a heavily revised translation, all the differences between them add to the impression of a new translation. It is further supported by the instances where the variants correspond to different Greek versions (some of the examples are also cited above).

Text *z* corresponds to the Greek *α*, text *h* corresponds to the Greek *β*:

α ἐρεῦνα δὲ τὰς Γραφάς, *β* ἐρευνᾶν δεῖ τὰς Γραφάς
z ПЫТАН ЖЕ КННГЪ, *h* ПЫТАТИ ДОСТОИТЬ КННГЫ

α μάλα εἰκότως, *β* μάλα δικάϊως
z В ЛѢПОТОУ, *h* ПО ПРАВДѢ

α+*A* κᾶν γὰρ ἰσχὺν σώματος ἔχωμεν, νόσος αὐτὴν καταβάλλει (*v.l.* *A* καταλύει). τὴν χαρὰν διαδέχεται θλίψις (*v.l.* *A* λύπη)
β (*B+R*) κᾶν γὰρ ἰσχὺν σώματος ἔχωμεν, νόσος καταλύει τὴν χαρὰν
z ЛЮБО КРѢПОСТЬ КТО ДА НМАТЬ ТѢЛЕСНОУ. ТО НЕДОУГѢ ЛН Ю ПРНЕМАЕТЬ. А РАДОСТЬ ПРНЕМАЕТЬ СКОРБЬ
h АЩЕ БО Н КРѢПОСТЬ НМАМЪ ТЕЛЕСНОУЮ. ТО НЕДОУГѢ РАДОУИТЬ РАДОСТЬ

α διαθέσεως, *β* αἰσθήσεως
z ЛЮБЗВЕ, *h* УΟΥВЪСТВА

α ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, *β* ἐν βίῳ τούτῳ
z ВЪ МНРѢ СЕМЬ, *h* ВЪ ЖИТНН

α γράφει, ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ὄπλα τῆς πίστεως, καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου
β ἔλεγεν. ἀναλάβετε τὰ ὄπλα (*v.l.* *B add.* τοῦ φωτός) καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν
z ПИШЕТЬ ВЪЗЪТИ УРОУЖЬЕ ВѢРЫ. Н ШЛЕМЪ СПѢСЕНІА
h ПИШЕТЬ. ВЪЗМѢТЕ УРОУЖИЕ Н ШЛѢМЪ

α εὐκαίρως, *β* εὐκλεῶς
z ВЪ БΛΓΟ ВРѢМА, *h* ΔΟΒΡΟСЛАВНО

$\alpha+\beta$ ἀεὶ φέρουσα τῶν ἀνέμων τὰς προσβολάς
 z нѣ тѣрпѣ прѣсно прѣраженна вѣтрѣнааго
 h напѣтна бѣзаконѣннѣ тѣрпѣ

In the last example the reading βεζακον'ηηικῆ in h suggests that there was a Greek version with ἀνόμων instead of ἀνέμων. This and other examples demonstrate that neither of the available Greek manuscripts is an exact match for the Slavonic translations; sometimes they deviate from all the copies used in the present research. Nevertheless, numerous examples of agreement between α and z , on the one hand, and β and h , on the other, are indisputable evidence, that at least two different Greek sources were involved in the Old Church Slavonic translations of the *Homily on Repentance*.

IV. Secondary revisions of the Old Church Slavonic translations

Another layer of differences between z and h goes beyond the scope of the two translations. There are recurring lexical variants between the two Slavonic versions not only in the first part of the homily, but also in their second parts, which derive from a common “ancestor”, i.e. a single original translation. The picture is further complicated by the fact that z is not uniform in all of its copies – in some cases the version in *S* (S36 and S37 / L46) is more similar to h than to the version in *L* (L23). This complex lexical stratification of the Slavonic translations of the homily deserves a separate study. Here I will point out only some examples from the vocabulary (at least 75 pairs of synonyms were established in the entire text).

One of the most notable features of the lexical variants between z and h is the pronounced opposition of Preslav- and non-Preslav words in the two Slavonic texts,²³ e.g. z аауѣа, ааканиѣ, аакати – h поустѣ, поустѣти са; z порода – h рани; z затъ – h женихъ; z дѣла – h радни; z ѣрнѣтъ – h вѣрѣтѣце; z лѣвъ – h шовн, in the second half of the homily also z заговодыць – h жениходарыць; z поустошь – h соуѣтѣиѣ; z паствоухъ – h паствырь; z мнѣпѣти – h мнѣпѣти; z мѣдѣница – h конѣдратъ; z обрѣзъ – h нкона. If we take into consideration only the first half of the homily, this may lead us to the conclusion that the two versions are typical representatives of the so-called “Cyrillo-Methodian” (h) and “Preslav” (z) translations. However, the variant readings in the second half of the text are an indication, that a secondary lexical revision took place in one of the versions. As I commented above, the dividing line between the first and the

²³ See e.g. Я. Милтенов, “Преславските лексикални маркери. 1. Опит за въведение ”, *Palaeobulgaria* 44, 2020, № 2, p. 54-79.

second part of the homily almost coincides with its partition in *S* (S36 and S37). Whereas the differences between *z* and *h* in the first part are on all linguistic levels, the second part is considerably more uniform. The variants are mainly lexical and there are only several isolated instances of concurrence with the two different Greek versions, which will be discussed later. In one case it is beyond doubt, that the variant reading in *z* (L23) is secondary:

PG ταύτας τὰς ἐμπλάστρους λαβόντες τὰ τραύματα ἑαυτῶν θεραπεύσωμεν
z снѣ пастѹрхы (*v.l.* *S* плагстырѣ) прїимше. стрѹгы своѣ (*v.l.* *S* грѣховныѣ)
 нзвразѹиимѣ
h снѣ пастыре прїемше стрѹгы своѣ озвразѹиимѣ

In this sentence, the version in the Shorter *Zlatostruy* (S37), preserved in the oldest copy from the 12th century, has the correct reading πлагстырѣ (ἐμπλάστρους ‘plaster’), *h* already has пастыре (‘shepherds’) due to a scribal error, and it was deliberately substituted by its Preslav synonym пастѹрхы in *L*.

The analysis of several other lexical substitutions supports the conclusion that in version *z* (especially L23) a secondary lexical revision was carried out and as a result the Preslav variants became more frequent.²⁴ For example, the words постѣ / постѣти were used 18 times in *h* (7 in part 1; 11 in part 2 of the homily), and 14 times in *z* (5 in part 1; 9 in part 2), whereas αλυβα / αλκανιѣ / αλκατι were used once in *h* (in part 2) and 5 times in *z* (2 in part 1; 3 in part 2). The preposition ραδι was used 13 times in *h* (8 in part 1; 5 in part 2) and only 5 times in *z* (2 in part 1; 3 in part 2), and дѣлаѣ / дѣлаѣма was used 13 times in *h* (6 in part 1; 7 in part 2) and 15 times in *z* (7 in part 1; 8 in part 2), the discrepancies in the numbers are due exclusively to the different translations of part 1. There are almost no differences in the use of скрѣбѣ and печаль (in *h* 6 and 14 times, respectively; in *z* – 4 and 16 times). The word полъза, used in *h* 7 times (3 in part 1; 4 in part 2), was consistently avoided in *z* – instead, other words were used, such as оутѣха, оуспѣхъ / оуспѣти, мощь / помощь, and оурада twice. The Longer *Zlatostruy* is usually considered to correspond better to the Greek sources than *S*, where numerous revisions and abridgements are attested even in the oldest manuscript. However, these lexical variations demonstrate that the translations in *L* were also revised, at least in terms of their vocabulary.

The last group of examples reveals that the second half of the homily was partially edited after another source. There are at least 18 cases (almost all

²⁴ In presenting the following data, the second half of the homily (“part 2”) includes also the “false” ending from L27. Version *z* here designates predominantly L23, the copy in *S* was not added to the statistics.

of them are concentrated in one portion of the text, some of them are presented below) where a second Greek version was involved – *z* corresponds to the readings in *α* + manuscript *B*, and *h* remains faithful to *β* (and especially to *A*).

Synchronisation of the Slavonic translation (part 2) with a second Greek source:

α+Β ἀπὸ παραδείσου, *β* ἀπὸ γηίνου παραδείσου
z ѿ ποροуаы, *h* ѿ земльнааго пороуаа

α+Β εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνέρχεσθαι οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει
β εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνερχομένον σε οὐκ ἐπιτηρεῖ
z на нѣбо не велитъ възыти
h на нѣбо вѣсχοуаеца. не навлѣдаетъ аи

α+Β μὴ τὸν πνευματικὸν οἶνον ὕδατι ἀχρειώσης
β μὴ τὸν οἶνον μίξις ὕδατι
z да не прѣмѣснши водоу къ дѣховномуу винуу
h да не прнмѣснши къ винуу водоу

α+Β ἔχε ἀντὶ ἄρτου τὴν μελέτην τῶν θείων Γραφῶν
β ἔχε ἀντὶ ἄρτου τὰς θείας Γραφάς
z нмѣн въ хлѣба мѣсто поугенне бжїихъ кннгъ
h нмѣн въ хлѣба мѣ бжїие кннгы

α+Β καὶ ἀντὶ οἴνου τὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐντάλματα
β καὶ ἀντὶ οἴνου τὰ διδάγματα τοῦ Σωτῆρος
z н въ внна мѣсто заповѣдн спѣовы
h н въ внна мѣ хва оугеннеа

α+Β R μὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ βραδύνη ἐπανελεθεῖν ἀποδημήσας. ἀπηλλάγης τοῦ
 τίκτειν, καὶ τρέφειν, καὶ ἀνατρέφεσθαι
A οὐ φροντίζεις τέκνων, ἀπηλλάγης τὸ τρέφειν
z егда медалитъ мужъ прннхтн отшедъ. оупразннлъ сѧ еси раждатн. н
 кормнтн
h н не пегешн се ѿ ѡедаѣхъ. нзбыль еси крѣмле

As a result from the presented data, two major questions arise: 1) Part 1 of which text (*z* or *h*) belongs to the shared part 2 of the homily, i.e. what did the original translation look like? 2) How and when did the new translation of part 1 come into being? The second question is connected to other issues, e.g.: Was the translation of part 1 and the lexical revision of part 2 a single event with only

one person responsible? Is it a coincidence that the dividing line between parts 1 and 2 is almost identical with the division of S36 and S37? For the time being these issues cannot be fully resolved, but I would suggest the following conjecture: the same person who translated part 1 revised also part 2 by synchronising selected passages with the Greek source at his disposal. The substitution of a number of words with their Preslav synonyms may have occurred later, in a second stage of revisions.

As for the first question, several more examples might give a convincing answer. The main support comes from the Greek textual tradition. As already demonstrated above, version *z* follows the Greek α , and version *h* corresponds to the Greek β in the first half of the homily. Therefore, it should be determined to which Greek version part 2 corresponds. The following instances show that the main underlying Greek source for the second part was β .

Part 2 of the homily (*z+h*) corresponds to β :

α Πέτρος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, β Πέτρος
z+h петръ

α φιλότεκνος καὶ φιλόξενος, β *A B* φιλότεκνος, *R* φιλόξενος
z+h стрълнѡлкѡбѣць

α + *R* οὔτε ιδιωτεία οὔτε ἀσχολία, β *A B* οὔτε ἀσθένεια οὔτε πενία, οὔτε ιδιωτία οὔτε ἀσχολία
z+h нн недѡгѣ нн ннщѣты. нн грѡгѡстн. нн непраѣньствѡ

α +*B* αὐτάρκες, β *A R* ἀπέριττον
z въ нѡβλншнн, *h* нѡвблншнѣ

α +*B* οὐ χρυσῶ, οὐκ ἀργυρίῳ, β *A R* οὐ χρυσίῳ περιερχομένῳ
z нн златъ мннѡгѡщѡгѡ, *h* нн златъ мннѡнѡдѡщѡгѡ

α +*B* *om.*, β *A R* καὶ μὴ πέση
z+h н нѣ ѡпѡдѣтъ

α +*B* θυσία, β *A R* θυμίαμα
z+h кадѡло

The agreement of both *z* and *h* with the Greek version β in the second part of the homily allows the assumption that the initial complete Old Church Slavonic translation was based on a Greek source from the β -family. A more comprehensive study of the Greek manuscripts is needed for establishing the

best representative of version β (as regards the Slavonic tradition), but in the present research the closest counterpart to the Slavonic translation h is manuscript A .

V. Conclusions

The case of the Old Church Slavonic translations of the *Homily on Repentance* proved to be very complicated. Some problems deserve special attention and they should be addressed in a future bilingual edition of the text. Here I will repeat the key points, which result from the presented evidence.

The homily was translated into Old Church Slavonic in the beginning of the 10th century as part of the *Zlatostruy* project. This initial translation was based on a Greek text close to β and was the archetype for version h . In the same period of time, a disarrangement of the final folios led to a “false” ending, borrowed from another *Zlatostruy* homily from the same project, and this feature pervaded the entire subsequent manuscript tradition of the text. The initial translation h , however, was best preserved in another type of manuscripts – in the homiliaries. From there it made its way back to a single *Zlatostruy* codex from the Hilandar monastery (H).

In the time between the initial translation and the first copies of the *Zlatostruy* collection that have come down to us, the homily was probably divided into two parts and the first part was lost. It was translated anew from another Greek version (α), which was used also for “correcting” several passages in the existing translation of the second part. From this hyparchetype of z stemmed the variations of the text in the *Zlatostruy* manuscripts (S36 and S37, L23, L46), each of them accumulating new peculiarities during the following centuries.

The most important conclusion is the fact that, although the homiliaries preserved a better version of the initial translation,²⁵ it stemmed from *Zlatostruy*. The *Homily on Repentance* exchanged folios with Chrysostom’s homily 8 of *In Epistulam primam ad Corinthios* (No 27 in the Longer *Zlatostruy*), hence they were in immediate contact with each other at the very beginning and perhaps were translated together.

List of sigla and abbreviations

Sigla of text versions:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| α | Greek version α (PG and P) |
| β | Greek version β (A , B , R) |

²⁵ This is not an exception, cf. note 21 above.

- z* Slavonic *Zlatostruy* version of the homily (L23, S36 and S37, L46, cited after *C*)
- h* Slavonic *Homiliary* version of the homily (H1 and several homiliaries, cited after *H*)
- L* Longer *Zlatostruy* (L1-137 and L1-45, cited after manuscript *C*)
- S* Shorter *Zlatostruy* (S1-81, cited after manuscript Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library, No F.п.I.46, 12th c., ed. Т. Георгиева, *Златоструй...*)
- H* Hilandar *Zlatostruy* (H1-61, cited after its only copy, manuscript Mount Athos, Hilandar Monastery, No 386, 14th c.)

Greek manuscripts and editions:

- PG* (reference text) *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 88, coll. 1937-1977
- A* Athens, National Library EBE 211, 9th-10th c.
- B* London, British Library MS 19703, 12th c.
- P* Paris, Coislin 77, 11th c.
- R* Rome, Bibliotheca Angelica gr. 125, 11th c.

Slavonic manuscripts:

- C* Saint Petersburg, Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, No 33.2.12, 15th c. (Longer *Zlatostruy*, L1-45)
- D* Moscow, Russian State Library, Theological Academy, No 43, 15th c. (Longer *Zlatostruy*, L1-137)

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**СТАРОБОЛГАРСКИЙ ПЕРЕВОД СЛОВА 44 ГРИГОРИЯ
НАЗИАНЗИНА: КРИТИЧЕСКОЕ ИЗДАНИЕ
ПО РУКОПИСЯМ XIII– XVII вв.**

Алессандро Мария Бруни

1. Старославянская традиция Слов Григория Назианзина

Настоящее исследование представляет собой первую попытку создания критического издания староболгарского перевода Слова 44 «*На Неделю новую (Фомину)*» [Εἰς τὴν καινὴν Κυριακὴν] Григория Назианзина Богослова (ок. 329–390 гг., далее Гр.Наз.) на основе всех дошедших до нас списков, относящихся к разным типам рукописных сборников, а также к различным изводам старославянского языка – древнесербскому и древнерусскому¹. Прежде чем приступить к обсуждению источников, необходимо представить общие сведения об этой традиции.

1.1. Корпус рукописных источников

Возникновение и начальное развитие старославянского корпуса проповедей (λόγοι) Гр.Наз. связаны со староболгарской письменностью конца IX-первой трети X вв.² Сохранившийся до наших дней гомилетический свод состоит из 21 текста³. Сочинения помещены в двух сборниках, соответствующих типологически разным византийским прототипам и включающих соответственно 13 и 16 произведений (далее Сб~13 и Сб~16). Первая хрестоматия дошла до нас в одном экземпляре

¹ Работа основывается на предварительных текстологических заметках, опубликованных в А.М. Бруни, “Старославянский перевод Слова 44 Григория Назианзина: Гомилиарий Михановича и древнерусские списки (предварительные текстологические заметки)”, *Slovo* 68, 2018 [2019], с. 35-50. Основные тезисы также обсуждались на XIII конференции палеославистов в Университете Саарбрюккена (22-23 марта 2019 г.).

² См.: А.М. Бруни, *Византийская традиция и старославянский перевод Слов Григория Назианзина. Т. 1.* (Россия и Христианский Восток. Библиотека, 9). Москва, 2010, с. 116-118; idem, А.М. Бруни, “Древнейшая славянская традиция Слова XVI Григория Богослова: старославянские версии и проблемы их изучения”, *Palaeobulgarica* 44, 2020, № 1, с. 28-52.

³ На старославянский язык были переведены следующие слова Гр.Наз.: 1, 2, 5, 6, 11, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21, 24, 27, 28, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45 (нумерация соответствует изданию: J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca*, vols. 35-36, Parisiis, 1857-1858).

восточнославянского извода второй половины – конца XI в. (РНБ, Q.п.I.16 = P);⁴ вторая, известная в науке как литургическая коллекция Гр.Наз., засвидетельствована в 150 рукописях как восточнославянского, так и южнославянского происхождения XIV–XVIII вв.⁵

1.2. Два перевода: Slav.1 и Slav.2

С текстологической точки зрения Сб~16 делится в основном на два класса источников, которые мы предложили условно обозначать как Slav.1 и Slav.2.⁶ Первый термин относится к переводам древнего происхождения, часть которых, по-видимому, создавалась путем редактирования первоначального пласта, сохранившегося как в Сб~13, так и в составе ряда других источников.⁷ Второй – к текстам, которые появились в среднеболгарскую эпоху, как кажется, не позднее начала XIV в., благодаря усилиям старца Иоанна из Лавры Св. Афанасия на Афоне.⁸

1.3. Структурные особенности коллекций

Рукописи Сб~16 имеют разную структуру, причем лишь половина представленных в них сочинений совпадает с репертуаром Сб~13.⁹

⁴ Состав: л. 1: Сл. 39; л. 19: Сл. 43; л. 96: Сл. 40; л. 147: Сл. 38; л. 162: Сл. 2; л. 231об.: Сл. 6; л. 253: Сл. 5; л. 288: Сл. 27; л. 297: Сл. 28; л. 304: Сл. 16; л. 324об.: Сл. 45; л. 356: Сл. 41; л. 373: Сл. 1.

⁵ Описание источников см.: А.М. Бруни, *Θεολόγος. Древнеславянские кодексы Слов Григория Назианзина и их византийские прототипы* (Россия и Христианский Восток. Библиотека, 6), Москва – Санкт-Петербург, 2004, с. 37, 137-138, 119-191; idem, “Палеографо-кодикологические и текстологические разыскания по древнеславянским рукописям 16 Слов Григория Назианзина”, *Russica Romana* 23, 2016 [2017], с. 9-40; idem, “Палеографические заметки о древнерусском кодексе Слов Григория Назианзина ГИМ, Чуд. 11”, *Europa Orientalis* 36, 2017, с. 229-240; idem, “Славянские рукописи Григория Назианзина: дополнения к каталогу литургической коллекции 16 Слов”, in Б.Л. Фонкич (изд.), Монфоко. Исследования по палеографии, кодикологии и дипломатике [Montfaucon. Études de paléographie, de codicologie et de diplomatique], Вып. 4, Москва, 2017, с. 517-522; idem, “Рукописи Григория Назианзина Библиотеки Сербской патриархии и Музея Сербской православной церкви”, in Lj. Banjanin, P. Lazarević Di Giacomo, K. Stanchev (ed.), *Per Aleksander Naumow. Studi in suo onore* (Slavica, 20), Alessandria, 2019, p. 73-81.

⁶ А.М. Бруни, *Θεολόγος...*, с. 126-127.

⁷ Текстологическое изучение традиции показало, что этот пласт, помимо Сб~13, частично засвидетельствован и в других памятниках (См.: А.М. Бруни, *Византийская традиция...*, с. 121, 123, 223-269): Слова 38 и 43 в полном виде читаются в среднеболгарской рукописи НБКМ № 674, датируемая вт. пол. XIV в. (= N), в то время как Слово 40 сохранился фрагментарно в знаменитом Изборнике Святослава 1073 г. (ГИМ, *Син.* 1043), а целиком в Великих Минеях Четых митрополита Макария. См.: idem, “Палеографо-кодикологические и текстологические разыскания...”, с. 9-30; idem, “Древнейшая славянская традиция Слова XVI...”.

⁸ А.М. Бруни, *Θεολόγος...*, с. 128-130.

⁹ Речь идет о Словах 1, 16, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 45. Остальные восемь – это 11, 14, 15, 19, 21, 24, 42, 44.

Внутренняя структура литургической коллекции существенно варьируется в разных списках, которые отличаются расположением Слов по нескольким видам последований или аколуфий, а также наличием или отсутствием в них целого ряда дополнительных текстов, среди которых главное место занимают Толкования Никиты Иракийского (далее ТНИ), византийского писателя и церковного деятеля, литературное творчество которого относится к последней трети XI – первым десятилетиям XII вв. Последние тоже известны в двух переводах и в разных изводах церковнославянского языка.¹⁰

2. Старославянская традиция Слова 44 Григория Назианзина

Объектом данного исследования является Сл. 44 Гр.Наз. в переводе *Slav.1* (нач.: *Поновления чтэте пѣрвѹи законь и добрѣ имѹще*). Проведенные нами археографические изыскания позволили выявить круг рукописей, в которых содержится этот текст. В типологическом плане можно выделить следующие три категории источников.

2.1. Восточнославянские списки: Сб-16 и его структурные особенности

Древнейшая славянская версия Сл. 44 Гр.Наз. сохранилась в нижеуказанных восточнославянских списках Сб-16, относящихся к XIV–XVII вв.:

- J = ЯГМЗ, инв. 15473, нач. XV в.
- K = РНБ, *Кир.-Бел.* 82/207, вт. пол. XV в.
- L = РГБ, ф. 304 (*ТСЛ*) 8, XIV в.
- M = ГИМ, *Син.* 954, XIV в.
- O = ЛМАН, 55, XV в.
- Q = ГИМ, *Чуд.* 11 XIV в.
- R = ЛМАН, 56, XVI в.
- S = ГИМ, *Син.* 43, XIV в.
- U = ГИМ, *Син.* 51, XVI в.
- V = ВСМЗ, В-5636/24, 1551 г.
- Y = РГБ, ф. 209 (*Овчин.*) 81, XVII в.
- Z = РГБ, ф. 209 (*Овчин.*) 82, XVI в.

Во всех этих рукописях Сл. 44 всегда сопровождается ТНИ. Как правило, последние вставлены прямо в текст, который разбивается на

¹⁰ См.: А.М. Бруни, “К сопоставительному изучению византийской и древнейшей славянской традиции Толкований Никиты Иракийского к Словам Григория Богослова”, in И.Г. Коновалова (ред.), *Палеография, кодикология и дипломатика: современный опыт исследования греческого, латинского и славянского рукописного наследия (Международная научная конференция в честь 75-летия д.и.н. Б.Л. Фонкича. Москва, ИВИ РАН, 27–28 февраля 2013 г.)*, Москва, 2013, с. 29–42.

текстовые блоки, соответственно на 36 (JLMQSYZ) или 37 глав (KORUV). Исключение составляет Q, где ТНИ помещены отдельно от гомилии Гр.Наз. (основной текст читается на лл. 96-99, а комментарии на лл. 31об. - 34об.). В зависимости от четырех имеющихся разных типов аколупий, Сл. 44 занимает 3-е, 6-е, 7-е или 12-е место в коллекции.

-1-

JLMSY																
Аколупия	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI
Слова	38	39	40	1	45	44	41	14	16	42	15	43	21	24	19	11

-2-

KORUV																
Аколупия	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI
Слова	19	38	43	39	40	42	21	11	14	1	45	44	41	15	24	16

-3-

Q																
Аколупия	I	II	III*	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI
Слова	38	39	40* ¹¹	14	1	45	44	41	15	24	19	43	11	21	42	16

-4-

Z																
Аколупия	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI
Слова	1	45	44	41	14	16	42	15	43	21	24	19	11	38	39	40

2.2. Восточнославянские списки: Торжественник РГБ

Ко второй категории источников относится Торжественник триодный на первую половину года из Собрания Егорова РГБ (ф. 98 № 257, кон. XV в. – далее Е), который лишь недавно был введен в научный оборот.¹² В этом списке гомилия читается в полном объеме на лл. 347-351, но, в отличие от Сб~16, она не сопровождается ТНИ. Следовательно, текст скопирован без привычного для JKLMQRSUVYZ деления на главы. Насколько нам известно, Е – единственный пример такого типа в восточнославянской традиции.

2.3. Кодекс Н

К третьей категории источников принадлежит Гомилярий Михановича – знаменитая сербская рукопись рубежа XIII–XIV вв., которая хранится в Архиве Хорватской академии наук и искусств в Загребе (Arhiv HAZU, sign III с 19, далее Н) и представляет собой Торжественник

¹¹ В рукописи Q Сл. 40 пропущено (утрачено несколько листов). См.: А.М. Бруни, “Палеографические заметки...”, с. 237.

¹² А.М. Бруни, “Старославянский перевод Слова 44...”.

минейный на март-август и триодный.¹³ Как известно, памятник восходит к болгарскому архетипу и, наряду с такими кодексами, как Сборник Клоца и Супрасльская рукопись, имеет центральное значение для изучения старославянских гомилетических сборников.¹⁴

Манускрипт Н, где Сл. 44 переписано на лл. 143об.-152об., является единственным источником, который напрямую указывает на бытование Сл. 44 Гр.Наз. у южных славян. При этом, кроме этой гомилии, он также содержит Сл. 1 “На Пасху” (лл. 135-137), которое и в данном случае дается в переводе типа *Slav.1*.¹⁵ Более того, равно как и в Е, здесь тоже отсутствуют ТНИ, с той лишь разницей, что на их месте порой читаются иные, небольшие, комментарии. Как выяснялось, некоторые из них отождествляются со схолиями Максима Исповедника к Гр.Наз., общеизвестными в святоотеческой традиции как Амбигвы к Иоанну.¹⁶

3. Критическое издание староболгарского перевода Слова 44 Григория Назианзина

Предварительное изучение всех дошедших до нас рукописей Сл. 44 Гр.Наз. показало, что сербские и восточнославянские списки восходят к единой балканской традиции. В частности, отмечалось, что перевод гомилии был создан в староболгарскую эпоху не позднее рубежа X-XI вв., а также что включение ТНИ в славянский текст Гр.Наз. произошло в момент, когда основной пласт разночтений уже существовал и был разбросан по рукописям разных аколупий.¹⁷ Более того, был сделан вывод о

¹³ Фототипическое издание: R. Aitzetmüller, *Mihanović Homiliar*, Graz, 1957. Описание: V. Mošin, *Ćirilski rukopisi Jugoslavenske akademije, I dio: Opis rukopisa*, Zagreb, 1955, p. 96–99. О датировке рукописи см.: А.А. Турилов, “О датировке и происхождении рукописи Гомилиария Михановича”, *Slavia* 78, 2009, с. 461-468; idem, “Милешевский Панегирик и Гомилиарий Михановича – к датировке и происхождению двух древнейших сербских списков Торжественника общего”, in А.А. Турилов, *Межславянские культурные связи эпохи средневековья и источниковедение истории и культуры славян: этюды и характеристики*, Москва, 2012, с. 367-377.

¹⁴ I. Wezler, *Vier Predigten aus dem Mihanović-Homiliar*. Dissertation. Tübingen: Eberhard-Karls-Universität, 1971; К. Иванова, “Цикл великопостных гомилий в Гомилиарии Михановича”, *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы* 32, 1977, с. 219-244.

¹⁵ А.М. Бруни, “Старославянский перевод Слова 44...”, p. 39.

¹⁶ А.М. Бруни, “Фрагменты из «Амбигв к Иоанну» Максима Исповедника в Гомилиарии Михановича”, in Б.Л. Фонкич (изд.), *Специальные исторические дисциплины [Auxiliary Sciences of History]*, Вып. 2, Москва, 2018, с. 368-373.

¹⁷ А.М. Бруни, “Старославянский перевод Слова 44...”, p. 41-43. Не исключено, что отдельные гомилии, до их попадания в Сб-16, получили распространение в сборниках иного состава, т.е. вне коллекций, содержащих одни сочинения Гр.Наз. На это прямо указывают не только Торжественники (рукописи ЕН), но и фрагменты Сл. 40 в Изборнике Святослава,

целесообразности создания критического текста Сл. 44 на основе совместных показаний как Н, так и EJKLMOQRSUVYZ.

3.1. Кодекс Н и восточнославянские списки

Колляция Н с Е и со всеми дошедшими славянскими списками Сб~16 (JKLMOQRSUVYZ) привела к следующим наблюдениям. Во-первых, отмечаются ошибки, общие для кодекса Н и рукописей JKLMORSUVYZ, которые принадлежат разным структурным типам литургической коллекции. Во-вторых, имеются случаи, когда замены более древних лексических единиц, имеющих в Е и Н, встречаются не во всех списках Сб~16, а лишь в некоторых из них. Это указывает на то, что образование вариантов восходит к периоду, предшествующему окончательной фиксации литургической коллекции.

Критическое издание староболгарского перевода Слова 44 Гр. Наз. составлено по филологическим и лингвистическим критериям, сформулированным в 2010 г. для публикации Слов 38, 39, 40 и 43¹⁸. В его основу лег кодекс Н, чтения которого были систематически сопоставлены с Е и со списками JKLMOQRSUVYZ. Дошедшие в Сб~16 ТНИ не включены в издание по причине того, что они создавались позднее. Однако, в квадратных скобках обозначается начало каждой главы текста, согласно делению восточнославянских толковых рукописей (напр. ["аК"]).

3.2. Принципы издания: лингвистический и текстологический аспекты

Эдиционные принципы, установленные в рамках изучения этой традиции, позволяют обеспечить как *лингвистический*, так и *текстологический характер* издания. При филологическом подходе к тексту сохраняются языковые особенности переводного памятника в древнейшей дошедшей до нас форме. В данном случае речь идет о древнесербском изводе старославянского языка рубежа XIII–XIV вв., поскольку кодекс Н написан по старой рашской орфографии.

При воспроизведении текста строго соблюдаются правописание, оригинальная пунктуация, надстрочные и иные знаки, используемые в Н; указывается также начало каждого листа кодекса и его обратная сторона. Вместе с тем путем внедрения в основной текст манускрипта Н знаков < > и > < обеспечивается возможность критической обработки текста. Восполнение лакун и филологическая эмендация испорченных переписчиками мест текста всегда выделяются и вставляются в рамки соответственно < > и > < таким

которые, вероятно, входили в состав архетипа этой книги еще до ее появления на Руси (*idem*, "Палеографо-кодицилогические и текстологические разыскания...", р. 39).

¹⁸ А.М. Бруни, *Византийская традиция...*, с. 116-131.

образом, чтобы не подвергать внешней контаминации лингвистическую целостность кодекса Н (разночтения, изъятые из других списков, отражают восточнославянскую орфографическую норму).

3.3. Критический аппарат

В критическом аппарате всегда оговаривается любая обработка основного текста и приводится исходное чтение списка Н. Следовательно, возвратность каждого критического решения обеспечивается в полной мере; читатель всегда в состоянии четко разделить, что относится к Н, а что – к воссозданному критическому тексту на основе его сравнительного изучения с остальными списками.

Критический аппарат издания представлен на латинском языке¹⁹ и состоит из двух уровней: первый содержит внутренние сведения о славянской традиции, о разночтениях, пропусках, инверсиях, эмендациях, второй объясняет соотношения с греческой традицией. Сюда вошли также полные сведения о библейских цитатах, указанные ссылками на книги Священного Писания.

Сокращения

ВСМЗ	Владими́ро-Сузда́льский историко-архитектурный и художественный музей-заповедник, Владимир
ГИМ	Государственный Исторический музей, Москва
НБКМ	Национална библиотека “Св. св. Кирил и Методий”, София
РГБ	Российская Государственная библиотека, Москва
РНБ	Российская Национальная библиотека, Санкт-Петербург
ЯГМЗ	Ярославский Государственный историко-архитектурный и художественный музей-заповедник, Ярославль
HAZU	Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb
LMAV	Lietuvos Mokslų Akademijos Biblioteka, Vilnius

Источники

- Е *Торжественник триодный*. Москва: РГБ, Фонд 98 – Собрание Е.Е. Егорова, № 257.
 Н *Гомилиарий Михановича*. Загреб: Arhiv HAZU, sign III c 19.

¹⁹ Предлагаем ниже ключ к латинским сокращениям: *Gr.* = греческий; *Slav.* = славянский (текст); *a.c.* = *ante correctionem*, до исправления; *add.* = *addidit*, добавлено; *ante* = перед / до; *habet* = *имеет*; *i.m.* = *in margine*, на полях; *ins.* = *inseruit*, вставлено; *iter.* = *iteravit*, повторено; *om.* = *omisit, omiserunt* пропущено; *post* = после; *p.c.* = *post correctionem*, после исправления; *restitui* = восстановлено издателем; *sup.lin.* = *supra lineam*, над строкой.

- J *16 Слов Григория Богослова.* Ярославль: ЯГМЗ, инв. 15473 = 2 (32).
- K *16 Слов Григория Богослова.* Санкт-Петербург: РНБ, Собрание Кирилло-Белозерского монастыря, № 82/207.
- L *16 Слов Григория Богослова.* Москва: РГБ, Фонд 304/1 – Главное собрание библиотеки Троице-Сергиевой лавры, № 8.
- M *16 Слов Григория Богослова.* Москва: ГИМ, Синодальное собрание, № 954.
- N *16 Слов Григория Богослова.* София: НБКМ, № 674.
- O *16 Слов Григория Богослова.* Вильнюс: LMAV, № 55.
- P *13 Слов Григория Богослова.* Санкт-Петербург: РНБ, Основное собрание, Q.п.1.16.
- Q *16 Слов Григория Богослова.* Москва: ГИМ, Чудовское собрание, № 11.
- R *16 Слов Григория Богослова.* Вильнюс: LMAV, № 56.
- S *16 Слов Григория Богослова.* Москва: ГИМ, Синодальное собрание, № 43.
- U *16 Слов Григория Богослова.* Москва: ГИМ, Синодальное собрание, № 51.
- V *16 Слов Григория Богослова.* Владимир: ВСМЗ, Отдел книжных и рукописных фондов, № В-5636/24.
- Y *16 Слов Григория Богослова.* Москва: РГБ, Фонд 209 – Собрание П.А. Овчинникова, № 81.
- Z *16 Слов Григория Богослова.* Москва: РГБ, Фонд 209 – Собрание П.А. Овчинникова, № 82.
- y *consensus codicum EJKLMOQRSUVYZ*
- w *consensus codicum JKLMOQRSUVYZ*

^{143v} ст҃го грнгорна б҃гословца слово· въ нѣлю новою поновленна·

1 I. [·ѧ·] Поновленна ѹтѣте п'рвын законь н добрѣ нмѹще· паѹе же
 новаѧ ѹтѣте поновленнн· н се же не ієднною· но многашнн·
 5 коіємоуждє прѣмѣненню лѣта· тыждє дѣнь приводецю· да не
 тьмьна врѣменемь боудоуть добраѧ· нн прѣндоуть забвенна·
 глаубеннаи ѡмрачаема·: [·Ѣ·] понавѣлають бо се оубо къ бѣоу
 10 ѡстровн по нсанн ѧкоже поутохомь^а· ѧкоже оубо сіє ѡстровы
 разоумѣтн м'ню же ѡ странь цркви нынѧ оустрачаемы· н ѡ
 слаааго невѣрованна въсклааающе се· н основаннє прнємлающе
 твѣрдоіє бѣн· понавѣлають же се градь мѣдѣнь· въ нномь
 прѣцѣ^б· мню бо дѹшю крѣпкоу н златоѡбразноу· н ннѧ
 оутѣрждєноу на бл҃гоуьстне·: [·҃·] пѣтн же г҃вн пѣснь новѣю
 повелѣваієт се намь^с· нже н соущєн въ вавулонѣ н въ злын метежь
 въвѣкшнм се грѣхьмн· по семь же къ нєрѣлмоу с҃псшьєн се тамо бо
 не могоущнмь пѣтн б҃жнє пѣснн акн на земан тоуждєн^д· здѣ
 же новюю пѣ· н жнзнь

*Tit. post ст҃го add. ѡца ншего KORUV | б҃гословца] бѣсѣвнѧ LQS : б҃гослова
 KMORVYZ | слово] om. J | въ нѣлю новою поновленна] в новою нѣлю н в поновленна
 EJKLMOQRUYZ : в новюю нѣ· н поновленнє SV : post add. оує бѣ· Н || I (PG
 608 A–B): 1 ѹтѣте EHMQU: ѹтѣтѣ JKLRVYZ | нмѹще] нмѹщє
 EJKLMOQRSUVZ: нмѹщн Y | же] om. S | 2 поновленнн] поновленна у | многашнн]
 многашды у | 3 коіємоуждє] коіємоуждо у | тыждє] тыже QS : тоже
 EJKLMORUVYZ | 6 по] om. у | поутохомь] поутохота JLZ : ѹтохомь U | 7–8 ѡ
 слаааго] ѡ слаѣнааго U | 8 невѣрованна] невѣрна K | въсклааающе се JHZ :
 всклаааощн са KLMORUVY: въсклаааоща са EQS | прнємлающе] прнємлающа
 EKLOQRSUVY | 10 крѣпкоу] крѣпу ES | н ннѧ] om. U | 12 соущєн]
 боудоущнн Q | въ злын метежь HQ : om. EJKLMORSUVYZ | въвѣкшнм се]
 воѣкшнм са U | грѣхьмн] грѣхомь у | 13 с҃псшьєн се EHKLQSZ : с҃псь са
 MORUVY | 13–14 пѣтн б҃жнє пѣснн] б҃жна пѣтн пѣснн у | 14 тоуждєн] ѹюжен ѡ
 цюжен E |*

^а Ис 41, 1; ^б Иер 1, 18; ^с Пс 149, 1; ^д Пс 136, 4.

15 стоецннмъ н прѣбывше іеже въ добрѣемъ н оупрѣвляюще· «н»
 wbo оупремнвше оуже другоіе же оупремляюще ѿ
 1 новотворѣщаго дѣха²⁰·

5 II. [·д·] понавляеть же се н храм' свѣдѣнна¹⁴⁴ н зѣло велмн
 свршенинѣ нже сказа бѣ^a· а веселеннѣ свршн^b· а монсн свршннѣ
 съставн· [ѣ] понавляет же се н црѣвнѣ дѣдво· н іеже не іеднною·
 10 нь помазаваіемоу прѣвѣіе а постав'ляіемоу второіе^c· [·ѣ·] быше
 же поновленна въ нѣрлмѣ· н зима бѣаше нже невѣрованна^d· «н»
 ісѣ прнде бѣ н ѣлвкѣ· бѣ надѣ врѣменемъ н ѣлвкѣ новъ· днѣ
 расыпаіемъ· третнн же днѣ вскрѣшаіемъ н прѣбываіе въ
 вѣкы· да азъ спсоу се ѿ прѣваго паденна· в'зору се· н
 боудоу новаѣ тварь· такоу дѣла ѣлвколюбства
 потвараіемъ· [·з·] възнскаіет' же бжкы дѣдъ· срѣдѣ іста «въ себѣ»
 ствараіема· н дѣха прѣваго

15 стоецннмъ] строяцннмъ JK MORUVYZ : строяцнмъ ELQS | прѣбывше іеже въ]
 прѣбывше не съ JZ | н] om. JLZ | н у : om. H | 16 оупремнвше] въ премноуше
 JKLMORUVYZ : оупремнвше Q *sup.lin.* S: оуправнвше Q | другоіе же H :
 другоіе EKMOQRUVY : другоіе же S : другоію JLZ || II (PG 608 B – 609 B): 1
 велмн EHJLQZ : om. KMORSUVY | 2 свршенинѣ] свршенъ JLZ | сказа бѣ] бѣ
 сказа у | веселн] веселенъ EJKLMOQRUVYZ : веселенъ S | свршн]
 свршннѣ Q | 2-3 свршннѣ съставн] съпоставн ELS : съпоставн Q : съставн
 JK MORUVY: поставн Z | 3 н іеже HKORUVY: іеже EJLMSZ : нже Q | 4
 помазаваіемоу HQ: помазаіемоу EJKLMORSUVYZ | прѣвѣіе HU : прѣвоіе
 EKLMORSVYZ | быше] быша EKLMOQRSUYZ | 5 н ERS : om.
 HJKLMQOUVYZ | 6 бѣ² *post* врѣменемъ JZ | 6 днѣ] он днѣ у | 7 расыпаіемъ у :
 распыпаіемъ H | прѣбываіе (прѣбываіа) EQS: прѣбываіеть HJKLMORUVYZ |
 въ вѣкы EJKLMOQRSVYZ : въ вѣкѣ HU | 8 *post* азъ спсоу се *ins.* н
 EJKLQRUVYZ | новаѣ] нова у | 9 дѣла] радн JK LORUVYZ | ѣлвколюбства
 HQ : ѣлвколюбнѣ EJKLMORSUVYZ | 9 възнскаіет' же EHQ : възнска тоже
 [тѣже] JKLMORSUVYZ | 10 бжкы] бжтвннн у | въ себѣ (въ себѣ) у : om. H |

²⁰ *παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ καινοποιοῦ Πνεύματος Gr. : παρὰ τοῦ καινοποιοῦ Πνεύματος Slav.*

15 ВЪ ОУТРОБѢ ПОНАВЛАЯЕМЪ^с НЕ АКИ НЕ НМЫНЪ КТО БО АЩЕ НЕ ДѢДЪ
 «НЖЕ ТОЛКЪНЪ» НЪ АКИ НОВЪ ВЪДЫН ННА ПРНАЛАГАЕМЪ. УТО АН
 МН МНОГНМН ПОНОВЛЕННЪ. ІЕДНОСОУЩНМЪ Н ННАШЫНАД ІАВНТН.
 1 ІАЖЕ Н ПРАЗДНОУЕМЪ ДНЬ. К' ЖИЗНИ ПО СМРТИ ПРЕНАЖИВШЕ СЕ^с
 «ПОНОВ'ЛЕННА» ПОНОВ'ЛЕННА ПРАЗДНИКЪ БРАТНІЕ. ДА СЕ ОУБО ГЛѢТЬ
 МНОГАЩН СЛАСТНОУ^с СНИ ЖЕ КАІА^с ВЪДОУЩЕН НАОУЧЕНТЕ
 НЕВЪДОУЩНН ЖЕ СЛОУХЪ ПОНОВЕНТЕ

5 III. [·й·] СВѢТЬ ІЕДННЪ НЕПРНСЕЖЕМЪ. Н НЕПРѢСТАВЛАЯЕМЪ БЪ. НН
 НАУЕТЪ НН КОНУАВАЯЕМЪ НН МѢРННМЪ. ПРНСНОСВѢТЬАБЪ Н
 ТРЬСВѢТЬАБЪ. НЕ МНОЗѢМЪ ІЕЛНКЪ ІЕСТЪ РАЗОУМѢВАЯЕМЪ. МНЮ ЖЕ Н
 НЕ МНОЗѢМЪ. Н СВѢТНАД ВЪТОРАІА ПРѢВААГО СВѢТА ЗОРЕ. ІЕЖЕ W
 НЕМЪ СІАЫ Н СЛОУЖБЕНН ДСН. СЪ ЖЕ СВѢТЬ НЖЕ ВЪ НАС'. НЕ ТЪЮНО
 ІЕЖЕ ПОСЛѢЖДЕ СЕ НАУЕТЪ. НЪ Н НОЩНЮ РАЗДѢЛАЈЕТ СЕ.
 РАЗДѢЛАЈАЕТЪ НОЩЬ. РАВ'НОУТНѢ. ЗРАКОМЪ ВѢРОВАНЪ Н ВЪДОУХОМЪ
 РАСПРОСТѢРТЬ. Н ПРНЕМЛЕ ІЕЖЕ ДАЈЕТЪ. ВНАДѢ¹⁴⁴ННІЕ ЖЕ ЗРАКОУ
 ДАЈЕТЪ. ПРѢВѢІЕ ЖЕ

12 нже толкѣн (нже толкѣн) у : om. Н | новъ (новъ) JKLMOQRSYZ : нъвъ Е :
 новаа Н | прналагаемъ EQS : прналагаема JKLMORUYZ : прналагаетъ Н | ante
 многнмн ins. тѣмн у | 13-14 іедно соущнмъ н ннашыннад іедно соущнын
 ннѣшннаго JZ | 14 іаже н | іаже нынѣ KMORUY | праздноуемъ ДНЬ ...
 понов'ленна] om. JLZ | к' жини по смрти пренаживше се HQ : om.
 EJKLORSUVYZ | 15 понов'ленна QS : om. EHKLMORUVYZ | праздникъ]
 om. KY | 16 многашнн] многашды у | post наоученте add. сд Е | снн же HQ : же
 снн J : нже Y : же LVZ | каіа] котораа Q || III (PG 609 B-C) : 1 непрѣставлаемъ]
 непрѣмѣнаемъ Е | 2 нн науетъ] Q i.m. add. | н] om. JKLQYZ | н₂] om. у | 4
 зоре] зарѣ у | іеже] іаже Q | іеже] н же Q | 6 се науетъ] науа сд
 EJKLMORSUVYZ : науа Q | 6 ante раздѣлајетъ ins. н KY | 7 вѣрованъ н]
 вѣрованѣ Y | 8 прнемле іеже HQ : прннмъ іакоже KMORUY : прннмъ іа іеже
 ELSZ |

^a Исх 31, 7; ^b Исх 35, 30; ^c 1 Пар 11, 3; ^d Ин 10, 22; ^e Пс 50, 12.

10 ОУЗНАЈЕТ СЕ ЗРАКОМЪ. Н ВНАДНМЫНМН МННОУІЕ ДРЪЗНОВЕННІЕ
 ДАРІАЕТЪ. [·ѣ·] ВЪСХОТѢВЪ БО БЪ СІЮ ТВАРЬ СЪСТАВНТН. ІАЖЕ Ѡ
 15 «ВНАДІМЫНХЪ Н НЕВНАДНМЫНХЪ» СЪСТАВН ВЕЛКІН Н ЮДННН. СВОЕГО

ВЕАНУЬСТВА ПРОПОВѢДАТЕЛЬ· ПРИСНОСОУЩИННМЪ ЖЕ САМЪ ІЕСТЬ СВѢТЬ А НЕ
 1 ННЬ· ЧТО БО ТРЕБОУІЕТЬ СВѢТА ВЪТОРАДО· НМОУЩИННМЪ ВЕАНКНН·
 ННЖЫНННМЪ ЖЕ ВЪ НАСЬ· ПРЬВЪЮ ПРОСВѢЩАІЕТЬ СВѢТА СЕГО СНОУ·
 5 ЛѢПО БО БѢ ВЕАНКОМОУ СВѢТОУ ТВАРЬ Ѡ СВѢТА НАУЕТН· НЖЕ РАСЫПАІЕТЬ
 ТМОУ· Н ЗДРЪЖЕЩЕІЕ ТЫГДА НЕОУКРАШЕННІЕ Н ВЕСУНННІЕ·

IV. СЪ ЖЕ НЕВЕБРАЗЫНЬ НСПЪРВА ІАВНЬ· НН <СЛЪНЬУЬНЬ> ІАКОЖЕ МОІЕ СЛОВО
 БО БЕЗЪ ВЕ'РАЗА ЖЕ БЕЗЪ СНАННІА· ПО СЕМЬ ЖЕ Н СЛНЦОУ ДАНО ВСВѢЩАТН
 ВСОУ ВСЕЛЕНУЮ· ІЕЛМА БО ННѢМЪ БЫТНІЕ ПРѢЖДЕ СЪСТАВНН· ПОСЛѢЖДЕ
 УННЬ КОМОУЖДЕ Н ВЕАНУЬСТВО ВЕЛОЖН· ДА УЮДЕСНО ЗДѢЛАІЕТЬ <УТО>
 БОЛЬШЕ ЗДѢ· ВЕЩЬ БЫТНІА ПРѢЖДЕ СЪСТАВН· ВЕЩЬ БО СЛНЦОУ СВѢТЬ·
 ПО СЕМ' ЖЕ ПРИВОДНТЬ ѠКО ДННН· ЗДѢЛАВ ЖЕ СЛНЦЕ· СНЦЕ ПРЬВѢІЕ ВЪ
 ДНѢХЪ УТЕТ СЕ· ВЪТОРОЕ ЖЕ Н ТРЕТНІЕ Н ІЕЖЕ ПО СЕМЬ· ДАЖЕ Н ДО СЕДЬМАДО
 Н ПОКОНЫДАДО ДѢЛЕСЬ ДНѢ· НМНЖЕ РАЗДѢЛАЮТ СЕ БЫВШАІА· СЛОВЕСЫ
 НЕИЗГЛѢМЫННН·

9 оузнрліет HQ : оузнрт сл EJKLMORSUVYZ | 10 дръзновенне Н : дрнованне J :
 дрзованне EKLMOQRUVYZ | дррлетъ] дррнтъ EJKLMOQRSUVZ : om. Y | 11
 вндимыіхъ н невнднмынхъ (внднмзыіхъ ꙗ невнднмзыіхъ) KLMOQRSUVY:
 Ѡ невнднмынхъ н вндимыіхъ Н : вндимыіхъ EJZ | велнкнн HKLOQUVYZ :
 велнкын EJMRS | post велнкнн iter. свѣтъ Н : om. y | 13 свѣта HQ : om.
 EJKLMORSUVYZ | 14 сего снлоу EHKLOQRUVYZ: снлоу сего MS | 16
 здръжешее HU : сдържашее EJKLMOQRSVYZ | весуннне
 EILMOQRSUVYZ : безъуннне K || IV (PG 609 D): 1 слъньюнь (слъньюнь)
 EOQRSUV : слньюнь HJKLMYZ | но] не JZ | н у : нн Н | 2 дано HJORZ :
 данъ EKLMQSUVY | всю] всю EJKLOQRSVUZ : om. MY | 3 іелма]
 іелмаже у | сьставнн] сьставн у | 4 комоужде] комоуждо у | здѣлаіеть больше
 здѣ] сдѣлаіеть что боле сдѣ у | 5 бытнн] бытн іаже JKLOQVYZ : бытн U :
 бытнїе E | прѣжде] om. U | сьставн EJKLMOQRSVYZ : сьставнн Н: om. U |
 6 здѣлав же] сдѣлавъ у | 7 седьмадо] седмадо у | 8 днѣ] om. JLZ | нмнже у :
 нмнже Н | бывшаіа] вшнша JKLMOQUVYZ |

10 >УЧННІАІЕМА· Н АНѢ ВЪНЕЗАДПОУ ВЪЗДАІЕМА· ВСЕМОГОУЩНОМОУ СЛОВОУ· ІЕГОЖЕ
 Н РАЗОУМѢТН >ТЬУНЮ· НЪ АН ГЛѢТН· ДѢЛО ІЕСТЬ ПРѢД'СТАВНМО· АЩЕ БО Н
 ПОСЫЛѢДНІЕ УЛВКЪ ВЕАНУН СЕ· Н СЕ ЖЕ РОУКОЮ БѢЖНІЕЮ Н ВЕБРАЗОМЪ
 15 ПОУЧТЕНЬ· ЧЮДНО НѢ ННЧТОЖЕ· ЛѢПО БО АКН ЦРЮУ ПРѢЖДЕ БЫТН ЦРКЫННМЪ
 ТН ТАКО ВЪВЕСТН ЦРѢ ВСѢМН ОУБО СЛОУЖНМОУ· [і] АЩЕ ОУБО БНХОМЪ
 ПРѢБЫІН ІЕЖЕ БѢХОМЪ· Н ЗАПОВѢДЬ СНАБДѢАН· ТО БНХОМЪ БЫІН

20

ієже не бѣхомъ• къ дрѣвоу жнвотномѸ прнстоупнвшє з дрѣвомъ
вѣдѣннѧ• н что бывше бесмртнн гвнше се• «н» къ бѣоу прнблнж'ше се•
|¹⁴⁵ | нѣ ієлмаже завнстню зладо смрть въ мнрѣ вьндѣ^а• н ѡтрьже
прѣблщнннємъ ѡвкѧ• сего дѣлаѧ нашєю стѣрастню страждєть бѣ бывъ
ѡвкѧ• н поубожаєт се въ тѣло съставнтн• да мы ѡного ннщєтоу
ѡбогатннм се• ѡсоудоу смрть н гробъ н вьскрѣннє• ѡсоудоу новаѧ тварь•
н по прѧздннцѣ прѧздннкѧ• пакн же азъ прѧздннчє н понавладєє своє
спнннє•:

9 оууннѧєма у : н вьуннѧєма Н | не у: om. Н | вьнезапоу НУ : вьнезапъ
EJKLMOQRSUVZ | всемогущюмоу] всемогущему w : всемогущоу Е | ante
тъню ins. не Н : om. у | 10 нѣ] а не у | н restitui : om.
EHJKLMOQRSUVYZ | глѧтн] нзглѧтн у | 11 поуьтєнь] поуьствованъ JMQSU
: поуьствова ELORVYZ: поуьство К | 13 всѣмн] всѣмоу JLZ | внхомъ
прѣблнн] бзѣхомъ прѣблнн EKMOQRSUVY: бзѣхомъ прѣблнн JLZ | 14 внхомъ
блнн] бзѣхомъ блнн у | 14-15 ієже не бѣхомъ HQ : ієже не бзѣхомъ EKMORSUVY : ієже
н бзѣхомъ L : ієже н блнн JZ | 15 з дрѣвомъ] съ дрѣвомъ EJKLOQRSUVZ : om.
M: дрѣвомъ OY | вѣдѣннѧ] вндѣннѧ JKYZ | 16 бывше] бзѣущємъ
EJKLMORSUVYZ : бзѣхомъ Q | н EJLQSYZ : om. HKMORUV |
прнблнж'ше] прнблнжнєвшє сѧ у | 17 вѣ] om. S | вѣ мнрѣ post вьндѣ JLZ | 18
сєго дѣлаѧ...ѡвкѧ] om. K | дѣлаѧ EHKMORSU: рѧдн JLQVYZ | нашєю
стѣрастню post страждєть JLZ | 18-19 вѣ тѣло съставнтн EHLMOQR: тѣло
съставн JZ : тѣло съставнтн KLVY | 19 ante мы ins. н JZ | ѡбогатннм сє]
ѡбѧтѣємъ EJKLMOQRSYZ : ѡбѧтемъ U : ѡбѧємъ V | 21 прѧздннчє н
понавлѧдєє] прѧздннчѧ ѧ понавладѧє EJKLMOQRSVYZ : прѧздннчѧ н
понавлѧдѧ U ||

^a Прем 2, 24.

1 V. [·дї·] ЧТО ОУБО ГЛЕТЬ· НЕ БЪ АН ОУБО ПРЪВАА НЕДЪЛАА ПОНОВЛЕННІЕ·
 ІАЖЕ
 5 ПО СЪВН НОЦН Н ПО ПРОСВѢЩЕННН· НЪ ДНЪШННН СЕ· ДАЖДЪ «W» ЛЮБЕН
 ПРАЗДНИКЫ «ТЬ»· Н МНОГА РАЗЪМЫШЛАІЕ ПРОСВѢЩЕННА· ВНА СЪПЕННЮ
 БЪАШЕ· А СНН СЪПЕННА РОДЪСТВО· ВНА ЖЕ ІЕЩЕ МЕЖДА ГРОБОУ Н
 10 ВЪСКРЪННЮ·
 СНН ЖЕ ЧНСТЪ ВЪТОРААГО БЫТНА· ДА ІАКОЖЕ Н ПРЪВАА ТВАРЬ НАУЧЕТЬКЪ
 W НЕДЪЛЕ ПРИЕМЛЕТЬ· ІАВЪ ЖЕ W ТОІЕ БО СЕДМАГО СОУБОТА БЫВАІЕТЬ
 ПОКОН СОУЦНН ДЪЛЕСЬ· ТАКО^{145v}ЖДЕ Н ВЪТОРАА ПАКЫ W ТОА НАУЧИАІЕТ
 15 СЕ· ПРЪВАА СОУЦНН ІАЖЕ ПО НЕН СОУТЬ· А ВСМАА ІАЖЕ ПРЪДЪ НЕЮ
 СОУТЬ· ВЫСОКЫЕ ВЫШЬШНН ЧЮДНЫІЕ ЧЮДНЪНШН· КЪ ВЫШЬНМОУ БО
 ПРИНОСНТЬ ОУСТАВЛЕННЮ· НЖЕ Н БОЖЬСКИН СОЛОМОНЪ ЗНАМЕНАВАІЕ Н
 МННТ СЕ МЫНЪ· ДАІАТН ЧЕСТЬ СЕДМН· ЖНЗЪНН СЕН ВЪЗАКОНЪІЕ· ПО СЕМ
 ЖЕ Н ВСМЪБН «БОУДОУЦНН»^a W СОУДАААГО БЪАГОДЪВАННА Н ТАМО
 ОУСТАВЛЕННА· НО Н ВЕЛНКИН ДЪДЪ «ТОН» ПРИПЪВАТН МННТ СЕ ІАЖЕ
 ВСМЪН ПЪСНН^b· ІАКОЖЕ Н ПОНОВЛЕННІЕ ДНН СЕМОУ· ПЪСНН ННОУ^c· ДОМОУ
 НЪКОІЕ ПОНОВЛЕННІЕ ПРИЗЫВАІЕ«·» НЖЕ ІЕСМЫ МЫ· НЖЕ БЪЖН ХРАМЪ
 БЫТН Н СЛЫШАТН «С»· НСПОДОБЛЕНН БЫВАТН·»

V (PG 612 C – 613 A): 1 БЪ] БЪШЕ | поновленніе ЕНQ : поновленна
 JKLMORUVYZ] ІАЖЕ HQ : а ІЕЖЕ ЕJKMORSUVYZ : ІЕЖЕ L [2 НЪ] ВЪ JZ | СЕ У :
 СЪВН Н | ДАЖДЪ ЕНKLORSUV : ДАЖЕ JQYZ | W У : om. Н | 3 ТЫ KL
 sup.lin.MOQRSUVY: om. ЕНJZ | РАЗЪМЫШЛАІЕ] РАЗМЫШЛАІА У | ВНА] ѿ НАС S |
 3-4 СЪПЕННЮ БЪАШЕ] СЪПЕННА БЪ ЕJKLMORSUVYZ : СЪПЕННА БЪШЕ Q | 4 МЕЖДА
 ГРОБОУ] МЕЖА ГРОБА W : МЕЖА ГРОБА Е | ВЪСКРЪННЮ] ВЪСКРЪННА У | 5 ЧНСТЪ] В ЧНСТЪ
 LORUVY | 6 ПРИЕМЛЕТЬ] ПРИЕМЛЮТЬ JKLVZ | 8 ПО НЕН ЕНQ : ПРЪД НЕЮ JKLMOQ
 sup.lin.RSUVYZ | ПРЪДЪ НЕЮ ЕНQ: ПО НЕЮ JKLMOQ sup.lin.RSUVYZ | 10 Н
 МННТ СЕ МЫНЪ] МЫНЪ МННТ СА У (post ДАІАТН ЧЕСТЬ *habet* Q) | ВСМЪН У : ВСМЪ Н |
 12 БОУДОУЦНН ЕJKLMORSUVYZ : ПРДОУЦНН Q: om. Н | 13 ТОН У : om. Н | 15
 ІЕСМЫ МЫ ЕJKMOQRSUVY : МЫ Н ІЕСМЫ Н : ІЕСМЫ LZ | СЛЫШАТН СА У :
 СЛЫШАТН Н ||

^a Екк 11, 2; ^b Пс 6, 1; ^c Пс 29, 1.

1 VI. [·ѣ·] нматѣ поновленни слово нь понавлянтѣ се· н ветхнн ѣлвкъ
 ѿвѣрꙗше въ поновленни жнзни жнвѣте^a. всѣмь оꙗзꙗсꙗ наложыше.
 5 ѿ ннхже <смерть вса оꙗды съвѣзавыше>^b всоꙗ злоꙗ дꙗвѣла пнщю
 възненавндѣвшѣ· н<лн> нзблѣвавшѣ н сего дѣла тьꙗню
 помнннющѣ. ветхннхъ да оꙗбѣжнмь·: [·г·] красьнь бѣ въ възорѣ н
 10 добрѣ въ пнщю оꙗморнвын ма плодѣ· бѣганмь бѣлгорꙗманьствнн
 самн на са възнранмь· да тн не съдолѣетѣ доброты помыслѣ н не
 всхытн се свонма вѣждьма· аще моцно да же н до възрѣнннѣ·
 15 ѣвгоꙗ помыслнвѣ сладькоꙗю прѣльствѣ ѣтънꙗю ѣдѣ· како во сꙗсетѣ
 оꙗдобѣ ꙗюжаѣ ѣгоже поꙗбн своѣ· да се не всладнтѣ тебѣ
 гротанѣ ѿ негоже долоꙗ съходнтѣ все даемое· прѣвѣе же възетнѣ
 ѣтно н по възетнн неѣствꙗет се· аще ноздрн те соꙗтъ
 вѣждѣннлы<·> възбѣган бѣлговоннн· осеженннемь раслабѣл ѣсн· ѿрцн
 се гладотамь н мекотамь· аще слоꙗхъ поноꙗднлѣ те ѣсть застави
 дѣврн· льстнвымь словомь н прѣтрѣбнмь· ѿтвѣрен своѣ оꙗста
 словоꙗ бѣжню да прнвалѣꙗешн дѣхъ да не всхытншн смртно^c·: [·д·]
 ѣгда те кто²¹

VI (PG 613 B–C): 1 нматѣ] нматѣ w JZ | ѣлвкъ .post ѿвѣрꙗше *habet* Q | 2 въ] *om.* Q |
 оꙗзꙗсꙗ EJKLOQRUVYZ : оꙗзꙗсꙗ H : оꙗ S | 2-3 ѿ ннхже] ѿ ннхъ S | 3 смерть вса
 оꙗды съвѣзавыше у : *om.* H | 4 нлн EJLMORSUVYZ : н злѣ H : *om.* KQ |
 нзблѣвавшѣ] *om.* Q | дѣла EHQS : радн JKLMORUVYZ | 5 ветхннхъ HU :
 ветхнхъ JKOVYZ : ветхннхъ ELMQRS | бѣ] бѣше Q | въ] *om.* EJLUYZ | възорѣ]
 възоромъ JKLOVYZ | 6 оꙗморнвын EHQS : оꙗмѣртнвын JKLMORUVYZ | *post*
 бѣлгорꙗманьствнн *iter.* н w | 7 доброты] добротъ L | 8 вѣждьма] *a.c.* вѣкома *p.c.*
 вѣждьма Q | да же] да же S | до възрѣнннѣ] до възнраннѣ L | 9 помыслнвѣ] мыслнвѣ
 L | ѣтънꙗю] ѣтънꙗн E | 10 оꙗдобѣ] оꙗдобѣ JKLOZ | ꙗюжаѣ] ꙗюжаѣ E | всладнтѣ
 EHQS : оꙗсладнтѣ JK MORUVYZ | 11-12 ѣтно н по възетнн L *sup.lin.* | 12 ноздрн
 те] ноздрн та у | вѣждѣннлы (вѣждѣннлы) EHQS : обоналы JKLMORU VYZ | 14
 застави] завштн S | 16 прнвалѣꙗешн] прнꙗешн U | 17 бѣ] бѣше Q | 18 словесе како H :
 како словесе

^a Еф 4, 22; ^b Рим 6, 4; ^c Пс 118, 131.

²¹ τί σε *Gr.* : τίς σε *Slav.*

ЛѢСТНѢ ѿвещаныи хъ. поменн кто бѣ н ѿкоудоу погнбе. аще н въ
 ма¹⁴⁶ лѣ словесе како свратнши се. «къ себе възвратн се» да бѣхма
 вьньне нспадешн н снндешн къ смртн. боудн новь въ ветха
 мѣсто. н дѣшн праздноуи поновленна.:

1

VII. [-ѣ] ѿрость да боудеть тебѣ на змню едннѣ. иенаже радн
 ѿпадае. помыслное же да се простреть все тебѣ къ боу. а не къ
 нномоу ннкомѣ же мыслещюмоу на те. н съблазньномоу. разоумь
 всѣмн да се наставляиеть. н да се не прѣвладуннтъ оунышеи
 10 горышннмь. не възненавнждь брата своего. н се же тоу не негоже радн
 хѣс оумрѣть. н твои братъ бысть. бѣ снн владдыка. не
 въздревноун[*] нсправляющюмоу. завидѣнь бывь. тн[*] завндѣтн
 вѣровань. н сего дѣла сведень. не похочуи слъзь пострадавыи. много
 слъзь подобна. по сем же помнловань. не ѿрннн оубогаго
 вѣгатѣвыи бѣтвомь. аще же оубо нь не вѣгатѣн на оубѣгаго. н се
 же много оуне сытннхъ. не оукори страннааго негоже радн хѣс
 странствова. негоже мы вси странннцн н вѣнтцн. не оустранн се
 ра. такоже прѣжде. подждь просещюму храма вдежде пице.
 наслаждаетн се снхъ н надь

ELMORS : како словесн JKOUVYZ | къ себе възвратн се у : om. H | 20 дѣшн] дѣша w :
 дѣша E || VII (PG 613 D-616 A): 1 на змню] на землн R | радн] дѣла EQS | 2 се
 простреть все тебѣ къ боу] протагнеть тебе все къ боу у | 3 съблазньномоу у :
 съблазньвь H | 4 наставляиеть] наставнть U | оунышеи HJKLMORUVYZ : оуне
 ES : оунышеи Q | 5 възненавнждь] възненавндн W : възненавндѣтн E | радн]
 дѣла M | оумрѣть] оумре у | 6 снн] сы HKLMSV : сын EJQORUYZ | 7 бывь
 ELQS : бы HJKLMORUVYZ | тн] н EJKMSYZ: om. L | завндѣтн EHQ:
 завнстн KLMORSUVY : завндн JZ | 7-8 н сего дѣла EQS : н сего радн
 JKLMORUVYZ | 8 сведень] сведенъ S | пострадавыи у : пострадавышнмь
 H | 9 помнловань EJKLMOQRSUVZ : помнлована H : помнлова Y |
 вѣгатѣвыи...оубѣгаго HQ: om. EJKLMORSUVYZ | 11 странствова HJLZ :
 страннова EKMOQRSUVY | 11-12 мы вси странннцн HQ : мы странннцн вси
 ES : мы странннцн JKLMORUVZ : мы грѣшннцы странннцы Y | 12 вѣнтцн]
 a.c. прншеи p.c. вси вѣнтцн Q | 13 ante вдежде et ante пице ins. н H (ante
 вдежде ins. н Y) : om. EJKLMOQRSUVZ | снхъ] нхъ S |

потрѣбованннемь. да не любнши бѣтства. аще не помагаиеть

15 оубогынмь· вставн вставленын· помнлоуи помнлованын· притежн
 1 улькколюбцю улькколюбствнне· дондѣже есть врѣме вса жинь да се
 понавагають тебѣ· н всь жнтна поуть·:

5 VIII. іеже въ сьпф8зѣ· даднте что «н» бѣн· прніесте бо се[·]
 дѣцѣ«» все боу· раздрѣшнсте бо се«» да не боудете проскоупнице[·]
 работнѣн сладн«» оубѣгше свободык· ѿ жнтна· не с моужн
 10 вбауе[·] же сь моужн«» не пріемлю троуждати се прсно
 сладныимн паметн· ^{146v.} ненавнждоу въздоушьнаго нрава· [ѣі·]
 15 снанин бонте се снанишнаго· н нже на высокннхъ прѣстолѣхъ
 вышшаго·[:ѣ] не юдн се ннкакоже не пребываюцюму· не прѣзри
 іеже бывають· не сьжымн ннѣсоже іеже држнмо нскаплеть· не
 възревнлоуи ннкомоуже не завнднмынмь· нь ненавнднмынмь· не
 възнесн се велмн да не болшмн се спадешн· не смышлан злынхъ
 явлати се болнн· пцн же се благынхъ вставлатн· не посмѣн се
 паденню банжннаго· мнноуіен же бе-сблзна· іанкаже ті снла «нь
 н» подан роукѣ долѣежецюму· нн стоужаіе сн ѿуан се
 бѣгодннства· нн дѣіе добрѣ стоуженна· іеднно лѣто четырн
 врѣмена прноснтѣ· н іедннь ѿдѣ времеи многа дѣянн
 прѣмѣненна· да прѣстають тебѣ печаль оубо наслаженне· а печаль
 16 улькколюбствнне] улькколюбство у | 17 н] *om.* у || VIII (PG 616 B–D): 1 іеже] нже
 JKZ: іаже ELMOQRSUVY | сьпф8зѣ *restitui* : сѣ(ѣ)пф8зѣ EJKMOQRSUVYZ :
 соупф8зѣ L: сьоупф8зѣ H | н EKLMOQRSUVY : *om.* HJZ | 2 *post* дѣцѣ *add.* іесте H :
om. у | 3 свободы у : свобода H | не с моужн] не сажн U | 4 же у: н H | троуждати сд
 EHQ : троужаюцин сд JKLMORSUVYZ | 7 ннѣсоже EH : ннѣтоже w | нскаплеть]
 нскапавають ES : нскапавють JKLMOQRUVYZ | 9 не] *om.* JZ | нь
 ненавнднмынмь EHQ : *om.* JKLMORSUVYZ | не възнесн] не възвнчн сд ORUV
 | болшмн] болмн у | 10 пцн же се] печн же сд E | вставлатн] ѡстаіѣ у | 11
 банжннаго] банжннхъ E | 12 *post* ті *ins.* есть Q | 12 нь н EIQSZ : нь
 KLMORUVY : *om.* H | ѿуан у : ѿлоуан H | 13 нн] *om.* Y: н OZ | стоуженна]
 сьтоужан сн EQ : безъ стоуженна OY | 14 времеи EHV^{ac}: временьмъ QS :
 временн JMORUYZ : времена L : времена KV^{pc} | 15 прѣстають EHQZ :
 прѣстанеть JKLVYVYZ | *a.c.* памать пѡті наслаженне *p.c.* печаль оубо
 наслаженне Q |

1 Н »БѢДРЬ« ВЪ СМѢШНИКА МѢСТО ПОСОУПЛЕНЬ ВЪ ОУТВАРЯЮЩЕ СЕ
 ПРОХИРАЛЪ ВЪ ВЕАНУАВА МѢСТО «Н» ПРѢЗОРНВА[*] СМѢРЕНЬ ВНАДНМЪ ВЪ
 ЗЛАТОХРАМНА МѢСТО ОУЗЬКОХРАМНЪ »ННЗОУ ПОННУЕ ВЪ
 ВЪЗВЫШАЮЩА СЕ МѢСТО» АЩЕ СЕ СНИЦЕ СЪМЫСЛНШН Н СНИЦЕ
 ТВОРНШН БОУДЕТЬ ТЕБѢ НБО НОВО Н ЗЕМЛА НОВА^а Н ННО ІЕЖЕ СНХЪ
 СЛОВО ПОСЛОУШАІЕТЬ:

X. [к:] НЪ ДА НДЕМЪ ОУБО НЫНІА ВРѢМЕНН ПОДОБНАІА ВЪКОУПѢ
 ПРАЗДЪНОВАВШЕ ВСЕ БО НА ДОБРО ПРАЗДНИКОУ СЪРНЦЕТЬ СЕ Н
 ВЪКОУПЪ ВЕСЕЛОУІЕТЬ СЕ ВНАДЪ ОУБО КАКОВА ТІ ЦРЦА ВРѢМЕНЬ ЦРЦА
 ДННН ІАВЛАІЕТЬ Н ДАРЬ ПРННОСНТЬ Ѡ СЕБЕ ВСЕ ІЕЖЕ ДОБРОІЕ Н
 КРАСНО

4 поучѣтн] поучѣтн EKRSY : поучѣтн L | доколѣ...тебе у : om. H | 5 вѣ позорникъ]
 бѣ н wзорникъ U | похулаѣн... въчера] om. JZ : i.m. add. L | 6 блгогле] гле
 KMORUVY : om. JZ | 7 оутрѣн же] оутро EJKLMOQRSVYZ | оутрѣн же
 водопонца] om. U | 8 оуншнннн] лоуушнннн Q | помазаіе се] мажа са у | леже]
 лѣганн JLZ : лежан KOQSV | 9 бѣдръ (водръ) JKLMORUVYZ : вѣждри S :
 вѣжурн E : смрадѣ H | посолупленъ HJKLOQRVYZ : посолуплемъ ES : посмлемъ
 U | оутваряюще се] оутваряющаго са JKLOVZ : оутваряюща са Q | въ] om. S |
 10 велнуава у : велнуѣства H | н EJKMQRUVYZ : om. HL | прѣзорнва] i.m. add
 L | 11-12 ннзоу поннне въ възвышающа се мѣсто (ннзоу поннне въ
 възвышающа са мѣсто) у : възвышающа се мѣсто ннзоу поннне H | се] om.
 JZ | 14 послоншаіеть] постнзаіеть ES : постнзаіеть JKLMOQRUVYZ || X (PG
 617 C – D): I да ндемъ] нѣ н да н доідемъ S | оубо] om. у | вѣкоупѣ] om. S | 3
 веселюіеть се] веселнть са L | какова EHLQSVZ : како KMORUY |

^а Ис 65, 17.

5 ЗѢЛО НЫНІА НБО СВѢТАІЕ НЫНѢ СЛНЦЕ ВЫСОУАІЕ Н
 ЗЛАТОВОБРАЗНІЕ НЫНѢ ЛОУНЪН КРОУГЪ ПРОЗРАУНІЕ Н ЗВѢЗДАНЫН
 ЛНКЪ УНСТѢН НЫНІА ПО МОРННХ' ВЛНН НЗАНВАЮТ СЕ СЛНЦОУ ЖЕ
 10 ОБЛАКЪ ВЪЗДОУХОУ ЖЕ ВѢТРН ЗЕМАН САДОВЕ САДОВЕ ЖЕ ВЪЗРОУ
 НЫНІА ОУБО НСТОУННЦН СВѢТАІЕ НСТѢЮТЪ НЫНІА ЖЕ ПАУЕ РѢКЫ
 СНА'НІЕ ЗНМНЫНХЪ СЪОУЗЬ РАЗРѢШНВШЕ СЕ Н ТРАВННЦН БЛГОВОНІЕТЬ Н
 15 САДНН ННЮТЪ Н ЖНІЕТ СЕ ТРАВА Н АГНЬЦН НГРАЮТЪ ОУ ЗЕЛЕНЬ ННВЪ:
 [к:] НЫНІА ЖЕ КОРАБЕЛЬ Ѡ ПРНСТАННЦА НЗВОДНТ СЕ СЪ ІАДРЫ» Н
 20 СННМЪ НЖЕ ПАУЕ »БОЛЮБЦЕМЪ Н ІАДРО^{147v}»МЪ ОКРНІАІЕТЬ НГРАІЕТЬ

ДЕЛФУНЬ· ВЪЗДЫХАЕ АКН СЛАДКО ЗЪЛО· Н ВЪЗСПОУЩАЕМЬ· Н
 ѠПОУЩАЕ КОРАБЛЬНИКЫ З БЛАГОДѢШЬСТВОМЬ· НЫНѢ РАТАН РАЛО
 ПОГЛЪБЛЯЕТЬ· ГОРѢ ВЪЗНРАЕ Н ПЛОДОДАВЦА ПРИЗЫВАЕ· Н ВЪ
 ІАРЬМЬ ПРИВОДНТ СЕ ВОЛЬ ѠРНЫН· Н ПРОУЪРТАЕТЬ СЛАДКОЮ БРАЗДОУ
 Н НАДЕЖДАМН ВЕСЕЛНТ СЕ·: [ѡѢ] НЫНѢ ЖЕ ПАСТОУХЬ Н КРАВАРЬ
 СЪСТРАІАЮТ СВНРААН· Н ПАСТОУШЬСКИН СВНРЕЩЕ ГЛА· Н САДОВН Н
 КАМЕННОМЬ ВЕСНОУЮТЬ СЕ· НЫНѢ ЖЕ САДЬ ГРАДАРЬ ДѢЛАЕТЬ· Н
 НМЕАННЬ ТРЪСТН ТВОРНТЬ Н ВЪЗНРАЕТЬ ВЪННА· Н ПРЪЛОУКОУЮЕТЬ ПЕРО
 ПТНЦЕ· Н РЫБАРЬ

ГЛОУБННОУ ПОЗРННТЬ· Н МРѢЖЮ ОУНЩАЕТЬ Н НА КАМЕНН СЪДНТЬ·:
 7 по морнх'] по моремъ у | *ante* вълны *ins.* оубо ES | 8 *ante* землн *ins.* а у | же] *om.*
 JS | 10 съоузь HJKLMORUVYZ: съвузь EQS | 11 саднн ннютъ] садъ ннуетъ у
 | же] оубо S | 11-12 оу зеленъ] оу зорънъ E | 12 ѡ прнстаннща HJKMORUVYZ : ѡ
 прнстаннщъ ELQS | 12 іадры у : іадрь Н | 13 нже у : н сннже Н | бѡлюбцемъ у :
 ѡлѡвѡлюбцемъ Н | *ante* нграетъ *ins.* нынѢ оубо Q | 14 делфунь EHQ: делфнсъ
 KMORSUVY : делвнсъ JLZ | сладко зѢло HQ : зѢло сладко EJKMORSUVYZ :
 зѢло н сладко L | н възспоущамь] н спущамь у | 15 з] съ у | 16 поглъбляеть]
 погружаеть у | плододавца] плододатъца ES | 16-17 въ іарьмь EHQ : ѡ къ
 іарьму JKLMORSUVYZ | 18 състраіют EHQ : ствараетъ MRSUYZ : стваріють
 JKLOV | 19 свнреще] свнраіють EJLQSZ : стваріють KMORUVY | 20 нмеаннъ
 EH : нмеаннъ w | 22 позрннть] прозрѣуетъ E : прозраеть Q^{a.c.}: пострѣуетъ
 JKLMOQ^{a.c.}RSUVYZ ||

1 XI. [·кѣ·] нына оубо дѣлолюбиваѣа пчела крнло прнвелькшн· н ѿ
 воцннь вставьшн свою моудрость показаеть· н травннкы
 5 попраетъ н збнраетъ цвѣтъ· снн же здѣловаетъ сътннє· ѿ
 шестн оугль· н соупротнвъ лежещеє сътннє нстькоуцнн· премо
 же оугль прѣмѣнѣющнн· дѣло въкоупь доброты н
 10 незблажнненнѣ· снн же медь въ кровѣхъ полагаетъ· н
 здѣловаетъ набдещюмоу плодъ сладкъ· н неврѣнъ· ꙗкоже
 подобно· н намь хвѣмь пчеламь· н такоу прннемше моудрость н
 15 лубодѣаннѣ прнтъюю· [·кѣ·] нына же гнѣздо птнца везеть·
 ѿва нсходнтъ а дроугаѣа вселаетъ се· ѿва ѿкѣтъ парнтъ· а
 дроугаѣа ѿглашаѣтъ лоугь· н оувещаваетъ ѿлѣка· всн бо бѣ
 поють н славетъ гласы нензгланьны· ѿ всѣхъ бо блгохвалнт се
 бѣ мною· н сннце ѿнѣхъ пѣ моѣа бываетъ· ѿ ннхъже азъ пѣтн
 възнмаю· [·кѣ·] нынѣ оубо смѣет се всь жнвоть рожденнє н все
 поуюваннє поунваетъ· нына же възвышаѣтъ въю конь велнудавь
 ·въ гражднхъ· тоуж¹⁴⁸· н поутю оумоуцнвъ переть по полю н по
 рѣкамь красочует се·»

XI (PG 620 B-C): 1 пчела] въчела LORSUV | 2 вставьшн] съставнвьшн
 JK LORV | 3 збнраетъ] снбраѣтъ у | здѣловаетъ] съдѣловаѣтъ у | сътннє] сътн
 | 4 премо же оугль] прѣмѣнѣ же оуглы у | 5 незблажнненнѣ] несъблажнненнѣ
 EJKMOQRSUVZ : неблажнненнѣ V | 6 набдещюмоу] набдѣщю оумъ E | 7
 хвѣмь] хвѣамъ у | пчеламь EHKMYZ: въчеламъ LOQRSUV | 8 лубодѣаннѣ
 EJKLMOQRSUVZ : лубодѣаннѣ Y : лоудѣаннѣ H | 9 ѿва нсходнтъ] om.
 JKLMORSUVYZ | 10 а дроугаѣа] ннѣ E | ѿглашаѣтъ EHQ : наглашаѣтъ
 JKLMORSUVYZ | 11 поють н EHQ : om. JKLMORSUVYZ | post славетъ iter.
 всн EHQ : om. JKLMORSUVYZ | 12 бѣ] om. JKLSUVYZ | 14 поунваетъ]
 поуюваемъ EKMOQRSVY : поунваемъ U : поунвають JZ : поунють L | въю] шею
 Q | 15 въ гражднхъ E : въгражаѣтъ HJKMORSUVYZ : възгражаѣтъ L :
 възграженнхъ Q | оумоуцнвъ EH : прѣрвавъ ѿ ||

1 XII. УТО ННО: [·кэ·] НЫНА МҮЊЦН НЗВНРАЮТ СЕ Н ІАВЛІАЮТЬ· Н
 СВѢТЛЫН ЛНКЪ СЪЗЫВАЮТЬ· ЛЮДН Х̄ОЛЮБЦЕ· Н МОУҎЕННА ІАВЛІАЮТЬ·
 5 СНХЪ ІЕДННЬ ІЕСТЬ Н МОН ВѢНЬУБННКЪ· МОН БО АЩЕ Н НЕ ОУ МЕНЕ·
 ДА ѠПАДЕТ ЗАВНСТЬ· ВѢДОУЩННМЪ ГЛ҃Ю· «МАМА СЛОВЫН»
 ПАСТОУХЪ Н МҮЊКЪ· НЖЕ ПРѢЖДЕ АЛЪУНЫЕ ДОИТЬ· ВАРАЮЩЕ СЕВЕ
 10 САМН· ДА ТОУЖДННМЪ МЛѢКОМЪ ВЪСПНТАІЕТ СЕ ПРАВДНВЫН· НЫНА
 ЖЕ ПАСЫН
 ЛЮДН ГРАДА· Н ВЕСНОУ· ПОНАВЪЛІАІЕ· ДНЬ МНОГАМЪ ТНСОУЩАМЪ
 15 СЫШЪДЫШНМ СЕ ѠВСОУДОУ· РАЗЛУУНЫННМ НРАВА ДОБРОТАМН· Н
 ПАСТОУХОМЪ ПОДОБНЫ· Н СЛОВЕСЫ ПОБЫТНЫННМ· ІЕЩЕ ЖЕ Н СКОРѢ
 РЕЦН· НЫНА ЖЕ ВЕСНА КРАСНАА· ВЕСНА ДХ̄ВНАІА· ВЕСНА ДШЕВНАІА·
 ВЕСНА ТѢЛЕСЕМЪ· ВЕСНА ВНДНМАІА· ВЕСНА НЕВНДНМАІА· ІЕЕЖЕ ТАМО
 ДА СЕ НАПАЛННМЪ· ЗДАѢ ДОБРѢ ПРѢМБННВЫШЕ· Н НОВН КЪ НОВѢН
 ЖНЗНН ДА СЕ ПРНВАНЖНМ СЕ· W Х̄Ѣ ІСѢ ГѢ НАШЕМЪ· ІЕМОУЖЕ СЛАВА
 Н ДРЖАВА ѠТЬ Н ПОКЛАНІАННІЕ· СЪ СТ҃ЫНМЪ ДХ̄ОМЪ ВЪ СЛАВОУ БОУ
 ѠЦОУ АМННЬ·

XII (PG 620 C – 621 A): 1 нзвнрают се HJRZ : свнрліѡт са EKLMQSUUVY | н₂] om. JKLORVYZ | 2 свѣтлы лнкы] свѣтлы лнкы у | 3 іестъ] om. JLZ | 4 гл҃ю] гл҃юща E | мама словын w : мама слова E : om. H | 5 алъуные доитъ] ланнѣ доіѣи у | 6 тоуждннмъ] үюжннмъ w : цюждннмъ E | 7 весноу EJKLOQRVYZ : весна HMSU | понавъліаіе (понавліаіа) EJKLOQRSUVYZ: понавъліаіет се H | тнсоущамъ] тысащамъ у | 9 подобны EH: подобныннм w | 10 весна краснаа post телесемъ habet H | дшевнаіа] дшам EJKLORVYZ | 12 здаѢ restitui : съде EQS : съдаѢ JKLMORUVYZ : въздаѢ H | 13 прнванжнм се] прѣпоустнмъ EKOQRV : прнпустнмъ JLSZ : престоупнм U : прнстоупнмъ Y | 13-14 н држава ѡть н покланіаннїе] ѡть н држава EJKMOQRSUVZ : om. LY | 14 съ ст҃ынмъ дх̄омъ въ славоу боу ѡцоу EHQ : съ оц҃мъ н ст҃мъ дх̄мъ ннѢ н прнсно в вѣкн вѣком амннъ JKOVSZ : om. LY ||

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**JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN POLEMICS
ON ABRAHAM, ESAU, AND JACOB
(VITA CONSTANTINI-CYRILLI X: 75-81)**

Thomas Daiber

1. Recurring motives in Vita Cyrilli

When Saint Cyril was first sent to the Arabs in 855 (probably December)¹, he had not been in charge of the political aspects of the mission which were handled by a man named George, a member of the ministry of foreign affairs in a rank comparable to a state secretary (Vita Constantini-Cyrilli = VC VI: 9²). The practical goal of the mission consisted in the exchange of prisoners of war which took place in a “rythme presque régulier”³ between Constantinople and the Caliphate approximately every tenth year. In leading the theological disputes Cyril’s job was part of the routine between the Caliphate and Byzantium to once a year polemically ask the other to convert to one’s own religion.

Starting with the mission to the Khazars in (autumn) 859 Cyril already seemed to be in full charge of the political goals. We hear nothing about persons with administrative duties who accompanied the brothers Cyril and Method to the Caucasus, although some Khazar fortifications had been built with the help

¹ Кр. Дидди, “По следам глаголических протографов Паннонских легенд (Методологические заметки к критике вариантов)”, in Ch. Diddi (ed.), *ΠΟΛΥΙΣΤΩΡ. Scripta slavica Mario Capaldo dicata*, Москва, 2015, p. 82-97 has clarified the long-standing problem of the exact year of the mission by demonstrating that the date “851” in the extant Cyrillic manuscripts of VC suffers from a misinterpretation of respective Glagolitic letters.

² All quotations from VC (with chapter number in Roman and sentence number in Arabic numerals) follow the edition of F. Grivec and F. Tomšič, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicensis. Fontes*, Zagreb, 1960, here p. 109. It would be out of the scope of this paper to discuss the merits of the other editions of VC. In short, I found the edition of Grivec and Tomšič to be the most explicit in giving reading variants. – Unless mentioned otherwise all English translations of VC are taken from M. Kantor and R. White, *The Vita of Constantine and The Vita of Methodius*, Michigan, 1976.

³ M. Campagnolo-Pothitou, “Les échanges de prisonniers entre Byzance et l’Islam aux IX^e et X^e siècles”, *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 7, 1995, p. 32.

of Byzantine architects⁴ and it is unlikely that no specialist in military affairs was part of the journey to the Khazars, who were at the time, *nolens volens*, Constantinople's most important partner in the region. Instead of giving information about the involvement of state officials the author of VC stresses the importance of Cyril's part in the mission. According to VC the Byzantine emperor had declared that Cyril would be the only one who could conduct the negotiations with the Khazars appropriately (ΔΟΥΣΤΟΙΝΟ VIII: 7⁵). Additionally, the emperor reminded Cyril to not only behave as a theologian but as the official representative of the emperor himself (VIII: 9). At the end of the mission and in response to Cyril's request the Khazars allowed a release of Byzantine captives (XI: 45-46⁶), which is a somehow surprising information in contrast to the Arab mission, where the mission's main goal, the exchange of prisoners of war, was not related by the author of VC at all. And starting with Cyril's Khazar mission, VC will repeatedly tell us of the release of captives as an effect of Cyril's efforts.

In 863, when Cyril embarked on his third mission to Greater Moravia, the Byzantine emperor Michael III. assured Cyril that (XIV: 8) "none other than you can attend to this matter".⁷ Again, VC does not mention any accompanying state officials, but in the case of the Moravian mission this is not astonishing, because, as far as we know, the Moravian mission was not embedded in already established political relations as had been the case with the missions to the Arabs and to the Khazars. Instead, the mission to Greater Moravia was meant as a first political approach. Again, a side effect of the mission consists in the release of prisoners, which happened when the Slavic missionaries on their way to Rome visited the Pannonian principality of Kocel (XV: 22). Having transferred the relics of S. Clement to Rome a liberation of captives is mentioned, too (XVII: 4),⁸ and, finally, also the last words of Cyril (XVIII: 12) on his deathbed are dealing with liberation, this time liberation from the threat of "invisible enemies" (Eph 6:12). The shift from the literal meaning of liberation (freeing real people from captivity) to a theological meaning (freeing oneself from the temptations of the

⁴ В. С. Флеров, "Крепости Хазарии в долине Нижнего Дона (этуд к теме фортификации)", in В. К. Михеев (ed.), *Хазарский альманах, т. 1*, Харьков, 2002, p. 151-168, there p. 158.

⁵ M. Kantor and R. White, *The Vita of Constantine ...*, p. 21: "No one else is capable of doing this properly".

⁶ One may ask what Byzantine captives could probably have been in Khazar hands at that time. As Cyril had not been accepted to the newly founded capital of the Khazars situated at the triangle between Don and Volga, but very probably was guided to one of the old fortresses at the northern side of the Caucasus, it is possible that some captives of earlier wars between the Khazars and Byzantium still lived there.

⁷ M. Kantor and R. White, *The Vita of Constantine ...*, p. 45. See the corresponding sentence in Old Church Slavonic: *Сїю бо речу' не можетъ ннѣ никто исправити ѡкоже ты.*

⁸ The Roman release of captives is historically attested; see F. Grivec and F. Tomšič, *Constantinus ...*, p. 208, footnote 4.

Devil) is no contradiction to a medieval Christian author, but a consequence of his world view that every ‘literal’ historical event has a ‘transferred’ eschatological meaning at the same time.

Obviously, “liberation” and “responsibility” as two recurring motives are linked to Cyril’s activities. The first, “liberation”, is used by the author of VC to characterize Cyril’s personality. Young Cyril tries to liberate himself from the vanity of worldly goods (III: 16), then two times tries to retire from the requirements of governmental service (IV: 17, VII: 1), but instead of being successful to liberate himself from the world, he is immersed in worldly duties to liberate others. Such a rough sketch of the motive of “liberation” in VC is, of course, open to discussion, but it can at least demonstrate that there exists the possibility to speak about recurring motives in VC, which hint at a literary design of the text, although – as in the case of “liberation” – an aesthetically shaped text does not contradict *per se* its historical credibility, and it is possible that eventually captives had actually been released, even though it is unclear to us (XI: 45-46, XV: 22) who they exactly were.

The second recurring motive in VC is the personal involvement of the Byzantine emperor, who equips Cyril on the occasion of every new mission with ever broadening authority. VC gradually puts Cyril into the most central position of the various enterprises, from his beginnings as a young theologian who displays intellectual brilliance in internal Byzantine affairs (V: 4; the dispute with the iconoclastic patriarch), then giving ideological support in foreign affairs (VI: 9; the mission to the Arabs), then being in charge of a (probably) mixed team on a strategically important mission (VIII: 7; the mission to the Khazars) and finally being head of a mission with decision-making powers (XIV: 16). But unlike “liberation”, the reported accumulating authority of Cyril is hard to interpret as an element of literary design, by which the author of VC would steer the story to its culminating point. The failed mission to Moravia simply cannot be called a triumphant ending, and there is no sign that the author of VC had wanted to glorify it anyway. VC uses for the description of the Arab mission approximately⁹ 11% of the whole text, the Khazar mission comprises 32,2% and the Moravian mission (chap. XIV-XVII) takes up 21,1%. If the last chapter (XVIII) of VC, which relates Cyril’s death in Rome, is added to the Moravian mission, then the Moravian mission would cover 27% of the text of VC, still taking up significantly less space than the Khazar mission. These numbers do not point to an intended promotion of the Moravian mission as the culminating

⁹ The textual extent of a mission is understood as all text between beginning and return from journey. For calculations the electronic version of VC (made from the edition of F. Grivec and F. Tomšič, *Constantinus ...*) was used, which Prof. Jouko Lindstedt organized as part of the “Corpus Cyrillo-Methodianum Helsingiense. An Electronic Corpus of Old Church Slavonic Texts” <<http://www.helsinki.fi/slaavilaiset/ccmh/>> (20.01.2020).

fulfilment of Cyril's life. The Moravian mission is the last mission Cyril had the opportunity to serve in, but nothing supports the view that the author of VC stresses the Moravian mission as the most important event in Cyril's life or even as its glorious finale.

It seems necessary to underline the fact that the Moravian mission can hardly be called the central event in Cyril's life from the viewpoint of the narrator of VC. The contemporaries of Cyril, e.g. the author of the Latin legend, praised him more for finding and translating Saint Clement's relics to Rome than for the invention of Slavic letters as the preliminary condition of the Moravian mission. Slavic philology, of course, always had a special interest in records about Slavic letters and about the literary activities of the Apostles and their pupils in the course of the Moravian mission.¹⁰ But how could any author of the 9th century have possibly imagined the enormous impact Cyril's new alphabet would exert on the cultural and political shaping of the European continent? Reading VC according to its literary design the vita is not so much praising Cyril's cultural importance but, by means of the recurrent motive "responsibility", is just praising a Christian life with ever broadening duties.

While, again, the rough sketch of the recurring motive "responsibility" is open to discussions as to which extent we can trust the records in VC as an historical source, it is sure that on all his missions Cyril serves as a Byzantine theologian, representing Byzantine identity in disputations with Arabs, Jews, and the Frankish clergy. While as yet philology put its main interest in the Moravian mission, this paper is concerned with a lesser studied part of VC, the dispute with the Jewish Khazars, and, given its enormous length, the paper concentrates on one passage of the dispute, which has, as far as I know, not yet found an adequate explanation. The passage will not only unveil some polemical use of apocryphal arguments, but also point to a possible tender spot of Cyril's Byzantine identity.

¹⁰ The political renaissance of the Slavic nations in the 19th century was variously engaged in venerating the "Apostles of the Slavs" (S. Bărlieva, "The Cult of Saints Cyril and Methodius: The Phenomenon of Shared Identity in the Slavic World", in M. Gray (ed.), *Rewriting Holiness: Reconfiguring Vitae, Re-signifying Cults*, Martlesham, 2017, p. 229-241) and so the 'Slavic parts' of VC always stood in the centre of attention. This did not change when Slavic philology started researching the texts; of course the philological discipline was mainly interested in information about the beginning of Slavic literacy. Additionally various political circumstances made it convenient to focus on the Moravian mission as proof for ever-lasting Germanic-Slavic differences (e. g. A. d'Avril, *St Cyrille et St Méthode. Première lutte des Allemands contre les Slaves*, Paris, 1885). All these tendencies contributed to the fact that the Moravian mission of VC mainly stood in the centre of discussion while other parts of VC were only sporadically commented upon.

2. Circumcision and patriarchs

The mission to the Khazars is the most extensively narrated episode of VC and exposes lengthy disputations with Jewish theologians, which – as is stated (X: 95-96) – had been protocolled during the meetings.¹¹ The disputations surely were of importance for official use, otherwise they would not have been protocolled, and obviously had also some interest for the reader of hagiographic literature, otherwise the author of VC would not had given them so much space. We will focus on a controversial case between Cyril and his Jewish interlocutors concerning circumcision. Circumcision is always a delicate question in Christian-Jewish polemics and in VC circumcision is discussed twice. Firstly, the term appears in X: 7, where Cyril tries to demonstrate (until X: 34) that the first law was given to Noah which did not include the commandment of circumcision, and so Jews, claiming to be faithful to a first law, should on principle reject circumcision. In this rather short and, from the side of Cyril, polemic passage, circumcision is discussed within the broader question, how God's speaking to Adam in paradise, to Noah after the flood, to Moses or to Abraham each time should be called: law, commandment, or something else? In defining the term "law" the first passage in VC, where circumcision is thematised, approaches the fundamental question, who – Jew or Christian – is the more legitimate successor of a first law given by God to men.

The second passage in chapter X, which we will discuss in detail, is again concerned with the problem of a blessed origin. It is asked, who – Jews or Christians – are descendants of a blessed patriarch and may therefore be considered to be part of a blessed people. Circumcision becomes topical in sentences 75-81, but the sentences are embedded in the broader concept of a blessed people. While the Jews claim to be the blessed descendants of Shem (X: 64), Cyril's answer to that points to king David (X: 69) and obviously is trying to outline the genealogy of Christ (Lk 1:27 "of the house of David" [KJV]) in a New Testament manner comparable to the motive of the "Tree of Jesse" (maybe coming up shortly afterwards and documented in the arts since the 11th c.¹²).

¹¹ X: 94-05 in M. Kantor and R. White, *The Vita of Constantine ...*, p. 37: "Thus, having condensed this from much, we set it down briefly for remembrance sake. And he who wishes to seek the actual discussions in their entirety can find them in Constantine's writings, which our teacher, Archbishop Method, translated and divided into eight discourses." While the "discourses" seem to be lost, the word "translation" (into Slavic) points to the fact, that the Khazars and Cyril most probably had their discussions in Greek, which, again, sheds some light on the Grecisms in VC. But the passage leaves open whether "the actual discussions" had been protocolled right during the exchanging of arguments or had been made from memory after the return to Constantinople. I prefer the first option, see below.

¹² J. Williams, "The Earliest Dated Tree of Jesse Image: Thematically Reconsidered", *Athanas* 18, 2000, 17-23.

Now, as a counterargument to Cyril, who tries to trace Christian identity back to king David, the question of circumcision is raised again. That the topic circumcision indeed is used as a counterargument against Cyril's attempt to connect Christianity with king David, is only seen when the passage is understood correctly. Firstly, the Jewish theologians ask why Christians reject circumcision, although Jesus himself performed it:

75. ПАКЫ ЖЕ ННОУ ПРНТ'ЮЮ ПРЪДЛОЖИШЕ, ГАДГОЛЮШТЕ: КАКО ВЫ ХРНСТІАНН ОБРЪЗАНІЕ ОТМЕЩЕТЕ, А ХРНСТЪ НЕ ОТВРЪЛ'ШЪ ІЕГО, НЪ ПО ЗАКОНЪ СКОУАВ'ШЪ?

75. And again they put forth another example, saying: "How can you Christians deny circumcision when Christ rejected it not but performed it according to the law?"¹³

We are somehow uncomfortable with the introducing remark of X: 75 that the Jews came up with another "example", because the term does not really fit the text type which it introduces. We come back to the "example" in the conclusion, but let us first consider the continuation of the text:

76. ОТВЕЩА ФНЛОСОФЪ: НЖЕ БО РЕЧЕ КЪ АБРААМОУ ПРЪВЪІЕ: СЕ БОУДН ЗНАМЕНІЕ МЕЖДЪ ТОБОЮ И МНОЮ, ТЪ И ІЕ СЪВРЪШН ПРНШЪДЪ, ОТЪ ТОГО ДРЪЖАВ'ШЕ ДО СЕГО, А ПРОУЕІЕ НЕ ДАСТЬ ІЕ МИМОИДТИ¹⁴, КРЪЩЕНІЕ НАМЪ ВЪДАСТЬ.

76. The Philosopher answered: "But he who once said to Abraham 'Behold, this is the token betwixt me and you', having come, fulfilled it and maintained it from that one even unto Himself. However, He allowed it not to continue henceforth, but gave us baptism."

The answer of Cyril in X: 76 is dogmatic: God (as Jahwe) once gave the command to circumcise and then (as incorporated Christ) gave the allowance not to continue it. Cyril's answer is not a logical argument, but outlines a temporal

¹³ M. Kantor and R. White, *The Vita of Constantine* ..., p. 33.

¹⁴ F. Grivec and F. Tomšič, *Constantinus* ..., p. 192 consider the negation particle to be a wrong addition ("textus in omnibus codicibus corruptus esse videtur"), because they do not understand that the Slavic meaning of мимойдти (in Old Church Slavonic normally "to pass, to go over, to neglect") here is a Grecism про-χωρέω = "to go on, to go further" (cf. W. Bauer, K. and B. Aland, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, Berlin - Boston 1988, coll. 1450). The sense of the argument (first circumcision, then baptism) is clear, and so F. Grivec and F. Tomšič as also M. Kantor and R. White, *The Vita of Constantine* ..., p. 35 translate it correctly *ad sensum*. VC is full of Grecisms, which are crucial for a deeper understanding of the text – as we will see later on.

sequence from a Christian perspective. Patristic exegesis draws Jewish writings together as an “Old Testament” which would be a prophecy of the “New Testament”, and so a temporal scheme is implied which says that from Abraham to Christ circumcision was needed for a believer, but after Christ it is baptism which is needed. And as Cyril hardly could have said something else, it is exactly the intention of the Jewish question in X: 75 that this temporal scheme is explicitly assured by their Christian opponent. The Jewish invective comes in the next sentence, but while sentence X: 77 was never properly understood, the whole passage was subject to harsh comments like “haec explanatio circumcisionis falsa est” and “C. hunc locum erronee explicat”.¹⁵ So, we have to deal with X: 77 at length, analysing the sentence according to the wrong (77a) and to the correct translation (77b):

77. ρεκοше же они: то яко радн ннїи прѣвѣе оугоднше богу,
того знаменїа не приєм'ше нъ Авраамыи?

77a. And they said: “Then why were there once others who pleased God, and yet accepted not this token but Abraham's?”¹⁶

Indeed may we ask: who were the others (ннїи), pleasant to God (оугоднше богу), who lived “once”, which means long ago (прѣвѣе = gr. ἀρχαῖος resp. πρῶτος¹⁷) and did not accept (не приєм'ше) this token (того знаменїа = this sign of the covenant with God) but (нъ) Abraham's (Авраамыи)?

The sentence is unintelligible in the available translations, which all handle the grammatical structure of the sentence very capriciously and which are all based on the assumption that “this token” means baptism. Given this assumption the sentence is absurd, regardless what “once” is suggested to mean:

If the others “once” lived at the time before Jesus, they had been pleasant to God by accepting circumcision, and both Cyril and the Jewish interlocutors would clearly agree with that. Jews would argue that circumcision is the only token, and Christians would apply the restriction that circumcision is the only token until Jesus introduced baptism. Because baptism had not been practised before the time of Jesus, which other token could the “others” have happened to accept or reject? Under the condition that the “others” lived before

¹⁵ F. Grivec and F. Tomšič, *Constantinus ...*, p. 193, footnotes 13 and 15.

¹⁶ M. Kantor and R. White, *The Vita of Constantine ...*, p. 35.

¹⁷ W. Bauer, K. and B. Aland, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch ...* coll. 223 and 1452seq.

Jesus, it is absurd to speak about baptism as an act they could have rejected – it had not been available at all.¹⁸

If it is assumed, that the others “once” lived after the introduction of baptism, then the question is even more incomprehensible. It makes no sense for a Jew to ask why a Jew is pleasant to God by accepting circumcision. There are, of course, examples of circumcised Christians, but the argument is clearly put in a formal way and casuistic considerations about the apostle Paul (who surely had been circumcised before his conversion to Christian faith) are not in the focus, apart from the fact that it is spoken about Christians, who as Christians accepted circumcision – but rejected baptism, a *contradictio in adiecto*.

The sentence is absurd in every way it can be turned, and so either the harsh comment of Grivec is true that Cyril had no working concept of circumcision, or there must be something wrong with the linguistic form of the translation(s)¹⁹. As VC is full of Grecisms²⁰ there is one candidate in the sentence who could take on another meaning under a Greek perspective, and this is the conjunction *нъ*, which in a Slavic text surely displays adversative meaning, but in a text, where all lexemes are closely related to the meaning of underlying Greek equivalents, there is also a concessive meaning available, because in Old Church Slavonic *нъ* regularly translates gr. *ἀλλά*,²¹ which can have the

¹⁸ We leave aside, of course, the question, if the patriarchs before Abraham had other signs including a sort of baptism.

¹⁹ F. Grivec and F. Tomšič, *Constantinus ...*, p. 193: “Cur igitur alii antea complacuerunt Deo, qui hoc signum non acceperunt, sed Abrahami?”; D. Bartoňková, L. Havlík, J. Ludvíkovský, Z. Masařík, R. Večerka (ed.), *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici*, vol. 2: *Textus biographici, hagiographici, liturgici*, Praha, 1967, p. 88: “Tak jak to, že se jiní zalíbili Bohu dříve, aniž přijali toto znamení, nýbrž (znamení) Abrahamovo?”; Б. Ангелов, К. Куев, Хр. Кодов, К. Иванова, *Климент Охридски. Събрани съчинения*, vol. 3, София, 1973, p. 132: “А защо тогава други хора преди това угодиha на бога, макар че не носеха Христовия знак, а Авраамовия?”; J. Bujnoch, *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz. Leben und Wirken der Slavenapostel Kyrillos und Methodios nach den Pannonischen Legenden und der Klemensvita. Bericht von der Taufe Rußlands nach der Laurentiuschronik*, Graz, 1972, p. 83: “Warum aber fanden vorher andere bei Gott ein Wohlgefallen, die nicht dieses Zeichen angenommen hatten, sondern das des Abraham?”. А.-Э. Н. Тахиаос, *Святые братья Кирилл и Мефодий, просветители славян*, Сергиев Посад, 2005, p. 280 omits the passage in his translation altogether and declares (footnote 1), that there are ‘некоторые неясности изложения’ (‘some unclear points in the argument’).

²⁰ Th. Daiber, “Gräzismen in der Vita des hl. Kyrill”, in S. Kempgen, M. Wingender, L. Udolph (eds.), *Deutsche Beiträge zum 16. Internationalen Slavistenkongress*, Wiesbaden, 2018, p. 111-116. Th. Daiber, “‘Wenn einer den Abendmahlskelch zerbricht...’. VC XV: 10-11 und das irische Thema der Slavenmission”, *Cyrrilomethodianum* (in print).

²¹ Р. М. Цейтлин, Р. Вечерка, Э. Благова, *Старославянский словарь (по рукописям X–XI веков)*, Москва, 1994, p. 384.

concessive meaning “although”.²² And, at a closer look, the noun *Αβραάμω* is not congruent at all with its alleged reference word *σημαίνειν*, because nowhere (not even in the reading variants) do we read **Avramloe (znamenie)* or **Avrama (znamenie)*. So, *Αβραάμω*, a possessive derivation from the personal name *Αβραάμ*,²³ is nominative plural and means “those, belonging to Abraham” resp. “those, being Abrahamites”. Given the two emendations (*ης*, *Αβραάμω*), which do not alter the text of VC but just give it a grammatical understanding, the sentence correctly reads like this:

77b. And they said: “Then why were there once others who pleased God, and yet accepted not this token, *although they were Abrahamites?*” [italics: translation Th.D.]

The reference word for the demonstrative pronoun “this (token)” is not “baptism” (the last autosemantic word in the foregoing sentence X: 76), but “circumcision”, which is the global theme of the passage. The sentence asks for people who pleased God, were Abrahamites and were not circumcised. The sentence is addressed to Cyril, so the “others” have to be pleasant to God from a Christian point of view. It would not be intelligent, if the Jews pointed to uncircumcised Abrahamites, which from a Jewish point of view are pleasant to God – it would ruin their whole argumentation. Therefore, a slightly ironic tone can’t be ignored, when the Jews call someone “pleasant to God” who for sure does not count as that from their point of view. Of course, it is not spoken about ethnic Jews who became Christians. The question is concerned with Abrahamites, who are not circumcised, and who are pleasant to God in Christian eyes, and who lived long ago (*πρὸ χρόνων*). These “others” existed, and Cyril immediately knows what is alluded to:

78. *Ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀπεκρίθη: ἕτι οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιείκειας τῆς
θεοῦ ἠγάπησεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀβραάμ ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ τοῦ
ἐπιείκειας, ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐκ ἠγάπησεν αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸν
(read with 16 mss: πο) πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπιείκειας τοῦ
θεοῦ προύκειντο, ἐν τῇ ἐπιείκειᾳ.²⁴*

78. The Philosopher answered: “Because none of them, it appears, had two wives save Abraham. Therefore He

²² W. Bauer, K. and B. Aland, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch ...*, coll. 74, quoting as an example John 1: 31.

²³ Kurz, J. (ed.), *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*, vol. 1, Praha, 1958, p. 9.

²⁴ The formulation *ἐν τῇ ἐπιείκειᾳ* is a Grecism from *κατὰ βαδίω* = ‘to hold on to something’ (W. Bauer, K. and B. Aland, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch ...*, coll. 261).

circumcised the flesh of his foreskin, setting a boundary not to be transgressed further and setting an example for others to follow in accordance with the first period of Adam's life.

Cyril identifies the persons which were referenced by the Jewish interlocutors and therefore knows that now matrimonial sex and moral behaviour is at stake. What seems like a change of the topic (from circumcision to polygyny) is indeed part of the argument. The "others" who lived at the time of Abraham and did not accept circumcision are the "Edomites", the descendants of Esau as discussed in the Jewish Talmud. Circumcision firstly had only been commanded to Abraham,²⁵ and in accordance with patristic exegesis Cyril is arguing that only Abraham received God's command to circumcise because only he had two wives²⁶ and God gave the command of circumcision 'to set a boundary' for polygyny.

Cyril knows that the hidden theme of the Jewish invective is Esau. Esau, one of the grandsons of Abraham (an "Abrahamite") is prominently featured in the Talmud.²⁷ Esau was not circumcised and did not practise circumcision in his household.²⁸ In the later Jewish apocalyptic thinking Esau is connected with the fourth imperium of Evil, which has to be destroyed before the coming of the Messiah.²⁹ The fourth imperium of Evil was identified by Jewish writers with the Roman empire and after the Roman empire had accepted Christianity as its state religion, Esau generally became the ancestor of Christians, too.³⁰ Further, Esau is rated as morally tainted, because until his 40th year he had numerous affairs with women but did not marry. This is the background for the Jewish question, which overtly can be paraphrased like this: "Why should your morally

²⁵ L. Goldschmidt, *Die rechtswissenschaftliche Sektion des Babylonischen Talmuds. Bd. 1,1: Das Bürgerliche Recht*, Berlin, 1907, p. 253 ("die Beschneidung wurde auch von vornherein nur Abraham anbefohlen").

²⁶ On the terms "wife" and "secondary wife" see W. Plautz, "Monogamie und Polygynie im Alten Testament", *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 75, 1963, № 1, 3-27.

²⁷ G. Langer, "Esau im Talmud", in: G. Langer (ed.), *Esau – Bruder und Feind*, Göttingen, 2009, p. 123-133. Exegesis of the biblical text and theological literature see in D. Vorpahl, "Es war zwar unrecht, aber Tradition ist es". *Der Erstgeburtsrechts- und Betrugsfall der Brüder Jakob und Esau*, Potsdam, 2008.

²⁸ I. Singer (ed.), *The Jewish Encyclopedia. A Descriptive Record of The History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. Complete in XII Volumes*, vol. 4, New York - London, 1903, p. 93.

²⁹ M. Hadas-Lebel, "Jacob et Esau ou Israël et Rome dans le Talmud et le Midrash", *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 201, 1984, № 4, 369-392.

³⁰ G. Oberhänsli-Widmer, "Esau: Zur Biographie eines Feindbildes im Judentum", in Th. Jürgasch (ed.), *Gegenwart der Einheit: Zum Begriff der Religion*, Freiburg i. Br., 2008, p. 280 and 289; cf. also B. A. Anderson, *Election, Brotherhood and Inheritance: A Canonical Reading of the Esau and Edom Traditions*, Durham, 2010; E. Assis, *Identity in Conflict. The Struggle between Esau and Jacob, Edom and Israel*, Winona Lake, 2016, p. 285seq.

depraved Christian patriarch, the Abrahamite Esau, be considered pleasant to God if he did not accept circumcision, although it being the sole token for a believer in old times?" The question, of course, is polemical. Christians did generally not accept their descendance from Esau. For example, Tertullian knew that there had been some uncircumcised Abrahamitic patriarchs and argued especially against the statement that Christians were descendants of Esau.³¹ Tertullian's example shows that we are dealing with a traditional argument Cyril could have become familiar with not only by reading the Talmud, but also by reading the Church Fathers. Cyril's knowledge of the "Esau problem" is not proof that he read the Talmud, but is proof of his theological erudition. His answer diplomatically takes the Esau problem into consideration without explicitly naming it. On the one hand he speaks about matrimonial behaviour without ever mentioning the name Esau, and then, like Tertullian, he changes to Jacob (X: 79), who is considered the ancestor of the Christians. After Cyril had declared that circumcision is a sign for the preference of monogamy (above X: 78), the thematic change from Abraham as the Jewish patriarch to Jacob as the Christian patriarch can be made smoothly. Jacob's struggle with the Angel is considered as a kind of "circumcision" in a long exegetical tradition:

79. Іаков оубо такожде сътвори, оутраплы³² жнлу стегна юго,
заніе ѧ жены поіеть.

79. And He did the same unto Jacob, having shrunk the
sinew of his thigh for taking four wives.³³

Jacob, as Cyril declares, had also received a command to keep to monogamy because he had more than one wife.³⁴ Cyril's exegetic argument, comparing circumcision with Jacob's "Struggle with the Angel" in Gen 32:24-32, is in accordance with traditional exegesis. Jacob's "hollow" (KJV) resp. "sinew (English Standard Version) at his thigh" (Gen 32:26) had been understood as an euphemistic description of the male sexual organ long ago (at least since Jerome),³⁵ and Philo, who is not out of the scope in a dispute with

³¹ Tertullianus, *Opera omnia. Pars secunda*, Paris, 1844 (PL 2); see especially chapter 3 of "Adversus Iudaeos" resp. p. 602seq.

³² Cf. оутрънжтн (Р. М. Цейтлин, Р. Вечерка, Э. Благова, *Старославянский словарь...*, p. 753) and its derivation оутръ(п)нжтн / утрь(р)нѣти 'to solidify' (R. Aitzetmüller, *Altbulgarische Grammatik als Einführung in die slavische Sprachwissenschaft*, Freiburg i. Br., 2nd ed. 1991, p. 208), here participle preterite active II.

³³ M. Kantor and R. White, *The Vita of Constantine...*, p. 35.

³⁴ See W. Plautz, "Monogamie und Polygynie...", p. 10seq.

³⁵ D. Shanzer, "Latin Literature, Christianity and Obscenity in the Later Roman West", in N. McDonald (ed.), *Medieval Obscenities*, Woodbridge, 2006, p. 191.

Jewish theologians, related circumcision to sexual morality on the basis of a long tradition³⁶.

Connecting circumcision with moral behaviour and – without mentioning Esau – changing the theme to Jacob’s moral behaviour Cyril is making a path towards the final argument. In his next sentence he adds proof to the foregoing statement that Jacob’s struggle with the Angel had been a kind of circumcision by stating that Jacob did not have any sexual contact with women after the struggle with the Angel:

80. ρΑΖΥΜΕΒΒ' ЖЕ ВНН8, ІЮЮЖЕ ТО СЪТВОРН, НАРЧУЕ НМЕ ІЕМОУ
 ΙΗΖΡΑΗΛ, СΗΡЪУЪ ОУМЪ ЗРЕ БОГА, К ТОМОУ БО НЕ ІАВΛΑΙΕΤ' СЕ
 ПРНМЪШЬ [СА³⁷] КЪ ЖЕНЪ.

80. He named Jacob Israel, that is, the mind that sees God, after he understood the reason for which this was done unto him.³⁸ For it appears, he was no longer to have relations with a woman.

It is interesting, that Cyril underlines Jacob’s sexual abstinence after his ‘circumcision experience’, which says something about the textual sources Cyril might have drawn from. There are, of course, many Christian polemical remarks on circumcision, among them, that unlike baptism circumcision cannot be practiced on women. This (expectable) argument seems to have come up only later than the 9th c.³⁹ But Cyril also does not make any allusion to circumcision

³⁶ Philo did not invent “die symbolische Deutung der Beschneidung” (L. Cohn (ed.), *Die Werke Philos von Alexandria in deutscher Übersetzung. Zweiter Teil*, Breslau, 1910: 14, footnote 4, see also p. 15). The arguments about circumcision go a long way from the circumcision of a body part (Gen 17:11) to a spiritual meaning (Deut 10: 16) up to the Christian suspension of circumcision (Romans 2:25, Galatians 5:6). For a history of circumcision related to Christian identity see A. S. Jacobs, *Christ Circumcised. A Study in Early Christian History and Difference*, Berlin, Boston, 2012, e.g. p. 58seq.

³⁷ According to the edition of F. Grivec and F. Tomšič, *Constantinus ...*, p. 121 only 6 reading variants (4 mss: прнмѣшь са, 2 mss: прнмѣшь се) out of 58 known copies of the text have a second (in the sentence) reflexive particle here which indeed is needed: прнмѣштн са къ ‘to unite oneself with + Dative’ ((P. M. Цейтлин, Р. Вечерка, Э. Благова, *Старославянский словарь...*, p. 507) equals gr. συν-οικεῖν + Dative ‘live together with someone’ like in 1 Peter 3:7 (Participle present active συνοικοῦντες). The Slavic scribes did not cope well with the underlying Greek semantics and morphosyntax of VC, which originally, as I am sure, was written in Greek.

³⁸ The Old Church Slavonic sentence is burdened with a Greek style participium coniunctum (ρΑΖΟΥΜΕΒΒЪ ‘after he [Jacob] had understood’) which has a subject different from the subject of the following finite verb (ІЮЮЖЕ ТО СЪТВОРН = ‘why he [God] had done that’). The impersonal translation in M. Kantor and R. White, *The Vita of Constantine ...*, p. 35 is *ad sensum*.

³⁹ B. Geyer, *Die Sententiae Divinitatis, ein Sentenzenbuch der Gilbertschen Schule*, Münster, 1909, p. 111.

in Islam, although Cyril acknowledges Islam to go back to an Abrahamitic patriarch (Ismail, cf. VI: 41), too, and so Christian polemics after the development of Islam may well contain some side blows to other cutting practices.⁴⁰ However, Cyril's stressing of Jacob's sexual abstinence could well contain a reference to monastic sexual abstinence in the way Ambrosius interprets Jacob's 'circumcision experience' as an initial moment for monastic behaviour.⁴¹

At this stage of the argumentation we should summarize: By their question (X: 75) the Jews force Cyril to overtly affirm (X: 76) a temporal scheme: since the times of Abraham the act of circumcision is the token, which signifies to be pleasant to God, but since the baptism of Christ the act of baptism signifies to be pleasant to God. In their next argument the Jewish interlocutors use the temporal scheme to polemically ask (X: 77) why some patriarchs before Christ ("Abrahamites"), although considered from a Christian point of view to be pleasant to God, did not practice circumcision? Cyril knows that a polemical allusion to the sexual behaviour of Esau, the Abrahamite and alleged Christian patriarch, is at stake (Esau is compared to a pig in the Talmud),⁴² and so Cyril relates circumcision first with the matrimonial behaviour of Abraham (X: 78) and secondly with the matrimonial behaviour of Jacob (X: 79), who is accepted by Christians as the Christian patriarch. After giving the justification that Jacob's experience is indeed related to sexual behaviour (X: 80), Cyril is now polemically playing back the moral implications to his Jewish interlocutors:

81. ΑΒΡΑΑΜ' ἤε τοῦο ἢε ῥαζσμῆ.

81. But Abraham understood this not.

The short conclusion of the argument is clear, but full of implications: 'Our Christian patriarch (Jacob) understood the moral meaning of his circumcision experience, but your Jewish patriarch did not.' The replay implies a dilemma for Jewish polemics. If the Jewish interlocutors denied the connection between circumcision and sexual behaviour ('Circumcision has nothing to do with sexual behaviour and you Christians don't understand this'), then Cyril could ask them which Abrahamitic patriarch they mean exactly in X: 77. Since the relation of Christians to the unnamed uncircumcised Abrahamitic ancestor of Christians (Esau) is not biblically grounded (cf. on the contrary Mt 1:2) but only polemically inferred by Jewish apocryphal traditions, it can easily be challenged. On the other hand, if the Jewish interlocutors were to accept the relation between

⁴⁰ Like Athanasius speaking of Esau, Jews and Ismail; cf. K.-H. Uthemann, *Anastasios Sinaites. Byzantinisches Christentum in den ersten Jahrzehnten unter arabischer Herrschaft*, Berlin - Boston, 2015, p. 680-684.

⁴¹ Ambrosius, *Opera omnia. Tomi primi, pars prius*, Paris, 1845 (PL 14), p. 626 = "De Iacobo et vita beata", lib II, cap. VII.

⁴² G. Oberhänsli-Widmer, "Esau: Zur Biographie eines Feindbildes ...", p. 286.

circumcision and sexual behaviour, then any deepening of the topic should be avoided because Cyril could mention David and Bathsheba or king Salomon with his 700 wives and 300 secondary wives (1 Kings 11:3). Both sides are prudent enough to change the topic of their conversation at this point, and we shall do the same.

3. Conclusion

In order to make a passage of VC understandable which has been called corrupted or deemed untranslatable, we retold an exchange of arguments between Cyril and his Jewish interlocutors. The dispute is told from a Christian point of view and so the retelling of the passage had to reproduce this point of view in order to highlight the polemical respectively ironical tone of the statements. The passage is difficult to understand not so much due to theological subtlety but due to the precondition that the “Esau problem” has to be inferred. It seems to me that the fact that we are dealing with a text which requires presupposed knowledge contributes to the credibility of the remark (X: 95-96) that the record of disputes in VC is based on protocols. If the text of VC had been fictionally declared to be a record of authentic material, the author of VC would hardly have risked to produce sentences which display their coherence only after appropriate presuppositions have been made. Incomprehensible sentences normally do not appear to be authentic, but to be a product of poor fictional ability.

Of course, it can always be stated that the average reader of the 9th c. had well been aware of the context to be inferred, so that a fictional production of the given dispute did not run the risk to be incomprehensible to its audience. The question of VC’s historical authenticity will, at least partially, always be subject to individual assessment because of its intrinsic relation to the hermeneutic circle: The interpreter puts sentences of VC into a certain context in order to display their rationality, and the more available sources are adduced to demonstrate the presence of the context, the more the text itself appears to be an arbitrary combination of available sources.

But besides the question whether the related dispute is fictional or not, the emotional interest of both parties in a subject like “the first law of a blessed people” or “signs of belonging to a blessed people” is authentic. It is the polemics contained in X: 75-81 which give the text its coherence and its interest to readers and so the polemics – fictionally created or authentically protocolled – are the message to be conveyed. The polemics result from the attempt to combine two unrelated categories. On the one hand, both parties are operating with terms of ethnical genealogy (“Abrahamites”, patriarchs), and on the other hand ethnical genealogy is crosscut by “confessionality”, which is unrelated to offspring. Unifying confessionality and genealogy may well have been a major

point of debates in the Khazar empire, which introduced Judaism as its state religion⁴³ and so had to arrange itself with genealogical models of the Pentateuch. But Cyril's thinking is not free from ethnical categories either. That can be seen, when Cyril traces Christianity back to the Greeks (in the dispute with the Arabs VI: 53): "All the arts have come from us", that is "the Greek".⁴⁴ As is well known, Christianity had considerable difficulties to accept pagan learning as 'neither approbated, nor damned',⁴⁵ and Cyril, too, is forced to bring together a Greek Byzantine confession and a culture going back to Greek pagan scholars.

The exchange of arguments in X: 75-81, which does not refrain from sharp polemics, has its *Sitz im Leben* in disputes about the theological legitimation of governmental power, based on the demonstration that one is the legitimate descendant of a blessed patriarch. These observations add to the second recurring motive as stated in the introduction of this paper: Cyril's responsibility on all his missions consists of representing Byzantine governmental power and X: 75-81 shows how emotionally loaded the demonstration of an "original" superiority (in its literal meaning) can be.

Leaving now historical questions to the historical sciences, let us go back to the introduction of X: 75-81, which calls the forthcoming exchange of arguments an "example". Old Church Slavonic usually uses the word *прѣтъва* to translate Greek *παραβολή*,⁴⁶ while for 'putting something forth in a dialogue' we would expect formulations like *προβάλλειν πρόβλημα*, *προτείνειν πρότασιν* or lexemes like *ζήτημα* or *ζητούμενον*, respectively. Neither do the sentences X: 75-81 compare something to something ("example"), nor do they speak allegorically or otherwise in a transferred or metaphorical meaning. Of course, we find a comparison between the Jewish patriarch Abraham and the Christian patriarch Jacob as well as transferred meaning when Jacob's struggle with the Angel is understood as a kind of circumcision. But neither for the author of VC nor for Cyril this would count as speaking "parabolically". A parable is not a rhetorical means on sentence level, but a disguise of literal meaning on text level. So in order to explain the term *прѣтъва* in X: 75 it can be speculated that

⁴³ That the Khazars are related with Judaism is generally accepted, but the exact date of their conversation and the extent to which all social classes indeed accepted Judaism is disputed (cf. O. Б. Бубенок, "Так когда же хазары приняли юдаизм?", in O. Б. Бубенок (ред.) *Хазарский альманах*, т. 14, Москва, 2016, 64-81).

⁴⁴ I. Ševčenko, "Three Paradoxes of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission", *Slavic Review* 23, 1964, № 2, p. 230 argues convincingly that the personal pronoun "us" is to be understood as "Greek culture", and in the context of "arts" Cyril is most certainly alluding to pagan learning.

⁴⁵ As H.-D. Kahl, *Heidenfrage und Slawenfrage im deutschen Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Studien 1953-2008*, Leiden - Boston, 2011, p. xxvii, puts it.

⁴⁶ P. М. Цейтлин, P. Вечерка, Э. Благова, *Старославянский словарь...*, p. 514.

πρητβγα here is related to the LXX, where παραβολή usually translates Hebrew māshāl, which is not so much connected with a textual narrative form like parabola, but is more concerned with sentential analogies.⁴⁷ The meaning “analogy” may well be conserved here, as the Jewish interlocutors are trying to make a contrastive analogy between circumcised and uncircumcised Abrahamites. This remark, of course, is somehow speculative, but it is beyond speculation that the arguments contained in X: 75-81 are fully comprehensible.

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⁴⁷ “Ein māshāl entsteht durch einen Vergleichsvorgang. Der Vergleich kann zunächst sowohl in einem Analogie- als auch in einem Kontrastverhältnis zweier Größen bestehen” (K. Schoepflin, “[ⲧ ⲱ ⲛ]- ein eigentümlicher Begriff der hebräischen Literatur”, *Biblische Zeitschrift* 46, 2002, p. 22seq.).

**ON EDITING THE SLAVONIC PSEUDO-ATHANASIAN
QUAESTIONES AD ANTIOCHUM DUCEM
WITH AN EDITION OF QQ 39-41 AS AN EXAMPLE***

Lara Sels

The basic idea underlying textual criticism, with its ‘common-error method’, is that of progressive textual corruption, and its quest for origins is often imbued with a sense of authorial originality and pristine perfection. If the perception of a textual tradition is in line with such a view – viz. of initial integrity and subsequent loss and distortion – the text critical endeavour and its ambition to restore the text will be straightforward. Some textual traditions, however, do not begin with an authorial *creatio ex nihilo* – as in the case of translations –, and some textual traditions are marked by repeated attempts to mend a perceived initial imperfection or incompleteness – for instance when translations are later compared to source text versions. Secondary pursuits of textual wholeness may imply the scribal use of multiple exemplars, and, in the case of translations, intermediary recourse *ad fontes*, with revised, expanded, conflated, ... witnesses as a result. This imposes limitations on reconstructive text editing.

In 2016 William Veder published an edition of the Pseudo-Athanasian erotapocritic collection *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*¹ (henceforth *QAD*; *CPG* 2257; for the Greek collection of 137 QQ see *PG* 28, 597-700). The edition is shaped as an interlinear presentation of (1) the Greek source text, (2) a Glagolitic reconstruction, based on (3) a Cyrillic reconstruction of text version *a*’, believed to reflect a contemporary expanded version of an original 9th or

* The edition published here was initially meant to be part of a publication by the present author and Ilse De Vos with as a title “On the Icons, the Cross and the Donkey. Questions 39-41 of the Slavonic *Quaestiones ad Antiochum Ducem*”, for the Festschrift in honour of Joseph A. Munitiz SJ. Due to circumstances the article was never finished. However, the present edition of the group II/a version of QQ 39-41 of the *QAD* is the result of joint work on the Greek and Slavonic traditions, for which I would like to thank my co-editor Ilse. Moreover, many thanks are due to William Veder for generously sharing his materials on the subject, even though we disagree.

¹ У. Федер, *Въпроси и отговори към княз Антиох*, Т. 1-2, Шумен, 2016; see on the subject also W. Veder, “Der ‘zweite südlavische Einfluss’ aus der Sicht der Textüberlieferung”, *Welt der Slaven* 59/1, 2014, p. 95-110.

10th-century translation (version *a*),² and (4) a Cyrillic reconstruction of text version *b*, considered a secondary revision.³ This approach is fully in line with Veder's assessment of the textual evidence: the expanded text version *a'*, represented by the witnesses *R* and *P*,⁴ is considered primary, while text version *b* – with the *Laurentian florilegium*, or *L*, as its most prominent witness⁵ – is seen as an early revision of *a'*, and as the starting point for the more compact collections in subgroups *c* and *d*, both considered abridgements.⁶

Veder perceives wholeness at the beginning of the *QAD* tradition: the witnesses on top of his stemma have near-complete collections of questions-and-answers (*L* has 123 QQ, *R* has 133 and *P* 132 QQ), and this is reflected in his ambitious reconstructive edition of the entire *QAD* corpus of 137 QQ, with an archetypal *a'* text as a starting point.

However, there is a competing view in scholarship that sees the extensive collections of *R*, *P* and *L* as conflated, multi-layered versions with QQ of different age and origin, resulting from various attempts, especially from the 13th-14th centuries on, to rewrite and expand earlier, more limited collections, and to realign them with Greek versions of the *QAD*.⁷ In this view, the most pristine Slavonic *QAD* version is perceived as an ancient core of some 35 QQ, now hidden within the collections of several witnesses of Veder's *bcd*-group (here called group I), while Veder's *a*-group (here group II) is considered a literal, late, possibly Athonite translation (or retranslation, loosely based on a preexisting Slavonic text) on the basis of a late and isolated version of the Greek *QAD*.

These views were expressed in earlier publications and need not be repeated here at length. The present article rather poses the question of the implications of these views for text editing, for the complex tradition of the Slavonic *QAD*. The scholarly disagreement, as well as the observation that the existing edition leaves important parts of the tradition invisible, inspires the

² “допълнение на първичния превод”, У. Федер, *Въпроси и отговори...*, Т. 1, р. 19.

³ “ревизия на *a'*”, *ibid.*

⁴ On the one hand, the so-called *Roman Patericon* (*Rimski paterik*) in *Cod. Pragensis*, N. Mus. slav. IX.F.15 (14th c.) and on the other *Cod. Petropolitanus*, RNB, Sol. 1046 (18th c.).

⁵ *Cod. Petropolitanus*, RNB, F.I.376 (1348), ed. К. Куев, *Иван Александровият сборник от 1348*, София, 1981.

⁶ These ‘abridged versions of the revision’ (“кратки версии от ревизията на превода”) are published separately, У. Федер, *Въпроси и отговори...*, Т. 2, р. 246-283.

⁷ L. Sels and I. De Vos, “The Slavonic Tradition of the *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*: the Conflated Nature of *Cod. pragensis slav. IX.F.15*”, *Byzantion* 85, 2015, p. 379-400; L. Sels, “Reconsidering the Textual Transmission of the Slavonic *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*”, *Scripta & e-Scripta* 16-17 (23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016), 2017, p. 217-242.

modest editorial ambitions of the present contribution: to offer an alternative type of critical edition for the group II/a versions of the *QAD*, juxtaposed to different matching Greek versions. The present focus is entirely on the tradition of group II/a, which means that the disputed relationship with group I/bcd will not be addressed here. This brief, partial edition aims to provide illustrative evidence of the (undisputed) fact that a literal rendering of a late Greek *QAD* version lies at the basis of group II/a, and that the Prague codex *R* (which represents *a*) offers a secondary, expanded and revised version, made with recourse to a different version of the Greek *QAD*, but also, more importantly, to argue that it is necessary to edit these versions accordingly, viz. separately and with sufficient data from the Greek tradition. It is not useful – even for group II alone – to condense all the evidence into a single archetypal text and to present it synoptically with a single Greek text.

For a huge and complex tradition as that of the Slavonic *QAD*, a bottom-up approach should be preferred: to start with solid partial editions for those textual stages that can, indeed, be edited critically as a unified whole, taking into account the Greek text versions involved in the (re)writing. As an example, a sample edition of the group II/a versions of QQ 39-41 is published here with matching Greek versions.

QQ 39-41 in the Greek and Slavonic traditions

Questions-and-answers 39 to 41 make up an interesting part of the *QAD*, dealing with issues related to the iconoclast debate, that is, to the veneration of icons and the cross.⁸ In the Greek tradition, part of this brief cluster – viz. the beginning of Q39 together with a paraphrase of Q41, linked up to an unknown fragment and an excerpt from Athanasius' third sermon against the Arians (*CPG* 2093) (*PG* 26, 329,38–332,23) – has known a separate transmission under the title *Fragmentum sermonis de imaginibus* (*CPG* 2259, *PG* 28, 709).⁹ The indirect tradition of Q39 has been treated in detail by Caroline Macé, who, among other things, has drawn attention to the parallels between parts of Q39 and fragments from John Moschus' *Spiritual Meadow* and from Leontius of Neapolis' *Against the Jews*. She also pointed to quotations from the pseudo-

⁸ On the Greek text see esp. C. Macé, "Les *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* d'un Pseudo-Athanase (*CPG* 2257). Un état de la question", in M.-P. Bussières (ed.), *La littérature des questions et réponses dans l'Antiquité profane et chrétienne* (Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 64), Turnhout, 2013, p. 121-150.

⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 124-125; the Slavonic tradition of Athanasius' sermons against the Arians, on the other hand, is well known, studied and edited – for the third sermon see P. Penkova's edition: П. Пенкова, *Свети Атанасий Александрийски (Велики). Трето слово против арианите. Изследване и издание на текста*, София, 2016 (no Slavonic translation of the *Fragmentum* is attested).

Athanasian Q39 in John Damascene's third treatise against the iconoclasts, as well as in the *Doctrina Patrum*.¹⁰

In the Slavonic tradition this little cluster of three questions is found in group II/a as well as I/b, but always as a part of the more extensive collections (which may mean that they were not included in the most pristine *QAD* corpus). Here we will focus on group II/a and its subgroups. QQ 39-41 are found in group II^{T-120}, a collection of 120 QQ, first described in a group of four manuscripts from the Trinity Laura of St Sergius but probably attested in some 20 to 25 additional witnesses.¹¹ It has been shown that these witnesses represent a version of the *QAD* (be it an independent translation or a retranslation) made on the basis of a Greek model close to the 16th-c. Greek *codex Oxford, Bodleian* Auct F.4.7 (misc. 106) (sigl. 97). However, QQ 39-41 are not only found in "pure" II^{T-120} witnesses, but also in witnesses containing an expanded compilation, esp. in the Prague *Rimski paterik* (sigl. R) – the sole representative of subgroup II^{R-133}, with 13 additional QQ¹² – and in the even further expanded (and conflated) witnesses of subgroup II^{P-136}, with 16 additional QQ.¹³

The sample edition below offers an excellent illustration of how the revision in the R (or II^{R-133}) was done: for many QQ the text of II^{T-120} is simply kept – such as in the case of Q39 (II^{R-133} = II^{T-120}) –, while other questions show signs of slight rewriting – such as in the case of Q40 (II^{R-133} ~ II^{T-120}). In some instances, however, the text of II^{R-133} clearly depends on a different Greek exemplar – as in the case of the larger part of Q41 (II^{R-133} ≠ II^{T-120}). The edition

¹⁰ See C. Macé, "Les Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem ...", p. 128-143. It is also interesting to note that, in the 12th century, the question of the donkey, laid in the mouth of Jews and Hellenes in Q40 (If the cross should be honoured because Christ was crucified on it, why should donkeys not be venerated because Christ sat on one?) is also found in the *Contra Patarenos* by Ugo Eteriano, active in the second half of the 12th century at the court at Constantinople during the reign of emperor Manuel I Comnenus – cf. *Hugh Eteriano: Contra Patarenos*, Edited and Translated with a Commentary by J. Hamilton, with a Description of the Manuscripts by S. Hamilton and an Historical Introduction by B. Hamilton (The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500, 55), Leiden - Boston, 2004, p. 189-190.

¹¹ That is, according to descriptions and incipits in Kuev's list of manuscripts, see К. Кувев, *Иван Александровият сборник...*, p. 219-244.

¹² *Cod. Pragensis, N. Mus. slav.* IX.F.15 (14th c.), or the "Prague *Rimski paterik*" (Bulg. rec.), see L. Sels and I. De Vos, "The Slavonic Tradition...", esp. p. 385-392 (where the manuscript is referred to not as R but Pr).

¹³ *Codd. Mosquensis* – RGB f. 205, 189 (16th c.) (*K10*) and *Petropolitanus* – RNB Sol. 1046 (18th c.) (*P*); on the latter, published by Porfir'ev in 1890 (И. Я. Порфирьев, "Апокрифические сказания о новозаветных лицах и событиях по рукописям Соловецкой библиотеки", in *Сборник отделения русского языка и словесности Императорской академии наук* 62/4, 1890, p. 327-378), see *ibid.*, esp. 392-394, and L. Sels, "Reconsidering the Textual Transmission ...", p. 226-230.

visualizes the way in which the scribe abandons his basic text in this question, esp. where the Greek ‘majority text’ seems to be more verbose (which seems to be in line with his striving for completeness also observed in the addition of 13 QQ to the collection).

Editorial principles and sigla lists

- (1) The first column of the edition contains **Gr^{97/T}**, that is, a reconstruction of the common ancestor of the Greek Oxford codex, Bodleian Auct F.4.07 (or 97; QAs 39-41 are on ff. 213r-215r) and the Slavonic T-redaction (II^{T-120}) – or, in other words, the Greek text that gave rise to the *QAD* versions of both the Oxford codex and Slavonic subgroup II^{T-120}. I am grateful to Ilse Devos for the establishment of this text, on the basis of 97, three other witnesses that belong to the larger Greek branch (131, 114, 115), and the Slavonic T-version. An *apparatus variarum lectionum* is added underneath each question in the same column.

Branch MSS 131 + 114/115

131 = *Cod. Athous Vatopedi* 38 (first half 10th c.)

114 = *Cod. Florentinus Laurentianus*, Conv. Soppr. 627 (13th c.)

115 = *Cod. Florentinus Laurentianus*, Plut. 59.13 (15th-16th c.)

Branch MS 97 + Slav^T

97 = *Cod. Oxoniensis Bodleianus*, Auct F.4.07 (misc. 106) (16th c.)

- (2) The second column features the text of the Slavonic ‘*Trinity Laura* group’ of 120 QQ, or II^{T-120}, established on the basis of the 10 witnesses listed below, that is, on the basis of the same witnesses also collated by William Veder, to which the (admittedly secondary) Volokolamsk group is added, as well as one witness of South Slavonic recension, viz. codex Berlin, Slav. Wuk. 45.¹⁴

The text is rendered in normalized OCS orthography¹⁵ with modern punctuation, adapted to correspond to the Greek *Vorlage*. Some text parts are underlined to visualize the unique correspondence with – and dependence on – Gr^{97/T} in the first column (as compared to the majority text of the Greek *QAD*), while others are put in italics to mark the differences

¹⁴ It should be noted that the *Berolinensis* has an additional question added to its corpus of 120, viz. a group *l/b* version of the last question, Q137, but apart from this it has all characteristics of group II^{T-120}.

¹⁵ Which solves the issue of the various linguistic recensions. Note that also the readings in the *apparatus variarum lectionum* are rendered in normalized orthography to avoid an apparatus overburdened with orthographical variants. If, however, the precise orthography is relevant for the assessment of the variation, it is offered in italics to supplement the normalized rendering.

(especially prominent in Q41, and to a lesser extent Q40 – with the text version found in the Prague codex, *R* (or Π^{R-133}), in the third column.

B = *Cod. Berolinensis*, Staatsbibliothek, Slav. Wuk. 45 (15th c.) [Serb.]
[K17]

T^l = *Cod. Mosquensis*, RGB, f. 304 (TrS), 122 (15th c.) [Veder 2014:
 T^{22}]

Vo = *Volokolamsk group (consensus codicum)* (16th c.)

V^l = *Cod. Mosquensis*, RGB, f. 113 (Volo.), 512 (16th c.)

V² = *Cod. Mosquensis*, RGB, f. 113 (Volo.), 529 (16th c.)

V³ = *Cod. Mosquensis*, RGB, f. 113 (Volo.), 522 (16th c.)

V⁴ = *Cod. Mosquensis*, RGB, f. 113 (Volo.), 645 (16th c.)

T² = *Cod. Mosquensis*, RGB, f. 304 (TrS), 750 (15th c.) [Veder 2014:
 T^{50}]

T³ = *Cod. Mosquensis*, RGB, f. 304 (TrS), 190 (1418) [Veder 2014: T^{90}]

T⁴ = *Cod. Mosquensis*, RGB, f. 304 (TrS), 166 (16th c.) [Veder 2014:
 T^{66}]

A = *Cod. Mosquensis*, RGB, f. 173.I, 50 (15th c.) [Sels and De Vos
2015: M^T]

An *apparatus variarum lectionum* is added underneath each question, extended to the third column for QQ 39 and 40 (where the text versions of Π^{T-120} and Π^{R-133} are identical or close) but not for Q41 (as it reflects a different Greek exemplar). Besides references to the listed witnesses, the apparatus contains references to the readings in Veder's edition of 2016 (sigl. *Ved.*) and – at least for QQ 39-40 – to the readings of the Prague codex in column three (sigl. *R*); both sigla are put in square brackets, as they do not strictly speaking belong to this text group (as Veder does not claim to edit a/Π^{T-20} but rather *a*).

- (3) The third column contains a diplomatic transcription of QQ 39-41 in the Prague codex, sole witness to subgroup Π^{R-133} , with original punctuation and abbreviations preserved, and superscript letters put between brackets. Some passages are underlined to visualize the correspondence with both $Gr^{97/T}$ and Π^{T-120} , while double underlining (only in Q41) shows the correspondence with the Greek 'majority text' in column four. Italics are used to mark the differences – be they attributable to different Greek source texts or not – with the text of Π^{T-120} in the second column.

R = *Cod. Pragensis*, N. Mus., slav. IX.F.15 (14th c.) (Prague *Rimski paterik*) [Bulg.] [Sels and De Vos 2015: Pr]¹⁶

Witness *P* (*Cod. Petropolitanus*, RNB, Sol. 1046) – which is also used by Veder to establish the *a*' text – is not included here, first, because it brings nothing new to the text of QQ 39-41, and, second, because its entire *QAD* collection, referred to as Π^{P-136} , testifies to a further conflation of Π^{R-133} .

- (4) The fourth column contains the **Greek ‘majority text’** as established by Ilse Devos, who has collated most of the Greek witnesses for this passage, indicating the instances where it differs from the text published in Migne’s *Patrologia graeca*.¹⁷ The text proposed here as a ‘majority text’ is, of course, necessarily a generalization, and it does not claim to be anything else than a basis for comparison with $\text{Gr}^{97/T}$ and with the Slavonic text of *R* in Q41 (that is, where the latter does not follow the reading of Π^{T-120}).¹⁸

¹⁶ See J. Vašica and J. Vajs, *Soupis staroslovanských rukopisů Národního Musea v Praze*, Praha, 1957, p. 224-228.

¹⁷ For QQ 39-41, *PG* 28, 621-624.

¹⁸ The text would also be relevant with a view to the text of group *I/b* (*L*), which falls outside the scope of the present paper.

Gr ^{97/1}	Π ^{T-120}	R (=Π ^{R-133})	Gr ^{maJ}
QA 39			
<p>ἘΡΩΤΗΣΙΣ¹ Τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἐπιτρέποντος μὴ προσκυνεῖν χειροποίητα, διὰ τί προσ- κυνούμεν τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ² τὸν σταυρόν, ἔργα τεκτόνων ὑπάρχοντα, καθὼς⁴, φησὶ⁵, καὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα τυγχάνουσιν;</p>	<p>ΒΖΠΡΟΣΖ¹ Болг² пророки³ повелъ вѣдѣштво⁴ не поклоняти сѧ рѣкотворенымъ, по ѱто поклоняемъ сѧ иконамъ и крѣстоу, а вѣл⁵ ѱобѣтъ сѧ сѣшѧ, ꙗко, ꙗже, и⁹ идоли вѣдѣлѣ;</p>	<p>[f. 154v] ΒΖΠΡΟ(Σ). ΓϺ πρ(ο)ρικυ повелъ вѣдѣшѣ не поклоня/ши/ти сѧ рѣкотвореныи(м), по ѱто поклоняем сѧ икона(м) и кр(с)тѣ, а вѣл ѱлѣ(с)ка сѣшѧ ꙗко, ꙗже(ѱ) и идоли вѣдѣлѣ;~</p>	<p>ἘΡΩΤΗΣΙΣ λΘ'. Τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἐπιτρέποντος μὴ προσκυνεῖν χειροποίητα, διὰ τί προσκυνούμεν τὰς¹ εἰκόνας καὶ τὸν² σταυρόν, ἔργα τεκτόνων ὑπάρχοντα, καθὼς καὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα τυγχάνει³;</p>
<p>¹ Ἐρώτησις] λιη' <i>add.</i> 114, λζ' <i>add.</i> 115 ² καὶ] <i>om.</i> 114 ³ τὸν] <i>om.</i> 131 114 115 ⁴ καθὼς] καθά 97 ⁵ φησὶ] <i>om.</i> 131 114 115</p>	<p>¹ Βεπρссъ] Вєпρссъ T1 Vo ² Болгѡ] Геспдѡу T1 Vo [R] [Ved.] ³ пророкѡ] пророкомъ T1 Vo ⁴ повелъ вѣдѣштво] повелъ вѣдѣшѣ T1 Vo ⁵ а вѣл] <i>om.</i> T2 T3 ⁶ ѱобѣтъ сѧ] ѱобѣтъ T2 ⁷ сѣшѧ] сѣшѣ T1 Vo, сѣтъ T4 ⁸ ꙗко] ꙗкоже T4 Ved., ꙗко и T2 T3 ⁹ и] <i>om.</i> A T4 T2 T3</p>	<p>¹ τὸς] <i>om.</i> PG ² τὸν] <i>om.</i> PG ³ τυγχάνει] τυγχάνουσιν PG</p>	

<p>ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ· Οὐχ ὡς θεοὺς τὰς εἰκόνας προσκυνοῦμεν οἱ πιστοὶ – μὴ γένοιτο – ἀλλὰ ὡς οἱ Ἕλληνες, σχέσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην⁶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἡμῶν ψυχῆς⁷ τοῦ προσώπου⁸ τῆς εἰκόνας ἐμφανίζοντες· ὅθεν πολλὰς τοῦ χαρακτήρου⁹ λειανθέντος⁸ ὡς ζῦλον ἀργύρου⁹ τὴν ποτε εἰκόνα κατακαίομεν.</p>	<p>ΟἸΤΣΒ'ΕΤΣ· Не ꙗко Богѡмъ ꙗконамъ покланѧемъ сѧ вѣрннн — да не вѣдаѣтъ¹⁰ — ꙗкоже¹¹ ἑλληνн, нъ тѣкъмо¹¹ жеаннне н левовъ нашеѧ да ѡуша къ наурѣтаннн лнца ꙗконы наварѣштѣ¹². тѣмъ¹³ мѣножнцѣѧ наурѣтаннн оуѣрѣвѣшоу сѧ¹⁴ ꙗко аурѣво прѣсто нже нѣвогда ꙗкожъ сѣжагамемъ¹⁵.</p>	<p>ῶΤΒ'Ε(Τ). Не ꙗко Богѡмъ ꙗкона(м) покланѣемъ сѧ вѣрннн, да не вѣдаѣтъ, ꙗкоже ἑλλίνн. ꙗкъ тѣкъмо жеанннѣ н левовъ нашеѧ да ѡуша къ наурѣтаннн лнца ꙗконы наварѣштѣ. тѣ(м) мнѡжнцѣѧ наурѣтаннн оуѣрѣвѣшоу сѧ, ꙗко аурѣво прѣсто нже нѣвогда ꙗкожъ сѣжагаме(м).</p>	<p>ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ· Οὐχ ὡς θεοὺς⁴ τὰς εἰκόνας⁴ προσκυνοῦμεν οἱ πιστοὶ – μὴ γένοιτο – ὡς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὴν σχέσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην⁵ τῆς ἡμῶν ψυχῆς⁵ πρὸς τὸν χαρακτήρα⁶ τοῦ προσώπου⁶ τῆς εἰκόνας ἐμφανίζοντες⁷. ὅθεν πολλὰς τοῦ χαρακτήρου⁸ λειανθέντος ὡς ζῦλον⁸ ἀργύρου⁸ τὴν ποτε εἰκόνα κατακαίομεν⁹.</p>
<p>⁶ μόνον – καί] <i>om.</i> 131 114 115⁷ τοῦ προσώπου] <i>hsp. post</i> εἰκόνας 97⁸ λειανθέντος] ὠλοισθέντος 97, λειανθέντος 131, ἀπολειανθέντος 115⁹ ἀργύρου] λοιπὸν <i>add.</i> 131 114, λοιπὸν <i>praem.</i> 115</p>	<p>¹⁰ вѣдаѣтъ] вѣдаемъ Т4¹¹ ἑλληνн — тѣкъмо] ἑλληνн тѣкъмо Т2 Т3 ἑλληνнн¹¹ нъ тѣкъмо (ἑλληνнн нѡ τѡκнѡ) V2, ἑλληνн ннѡ тѣкъмо (ἑλληνн ннѡ τѡκнѡ) V3 V4¹² наварѣштѣ] наварѣштѣ Т2 Т3¹³ тѣмъ] тѣмъже Т4¹⁴ оуѣрѣвѣшоу сѧ] погладнѣвшоу сѧ Т1 Vо¹⁵ сѣжагамемъ] сѣжнгамемъ В Т4, сѣжгамемъ Т1 Vо, сѣжгамемъ [Ved.]</p>	<p>¹⁰ вѣдаѣтъ] вѣдаемъ Т4¹¹ ἑλληνнн — тѣкъмо] ἑλληνн тѣкъмо Т2 Т3 ἑλληνнн¹¹ нъ тѣкъмо (ἑλληνнн нѡ τѡκнѡ) V2, ἑλληνн ннѡ тѣкъмо (ἑλληνн ннѡ τѡκнѡ) V3 V4¹² наварѣштѣ] наварѣштѣ Т2 Т3¹³ тѣмъ] тѣмъже Т4¹⁴ оуѣрѣвѣшоу сѧ] погладнѣвшоу сѧ Т1 Vо¹⁵ сѣжагамемъ] сѣжнгамемъ В Т4, сѣжгамемъ Т1 Vо, сѣжгамемъ [Ved.]</p>	<p>⁴ τὰς εἰκόνας] <i>hsp. post</i> προσκυνοῦμεν PG⁵ τῆς ἡμῶν ψυχῆς] τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν τῆς PG⁶ τοῦ προσώπου] <i>om.</i> PG⁷ ἐμφανίζοντες] ἐμφανίζομεν PG⁸ λοιπὸν ἀργύρου] <i>hsp. PG</i>⁹ κατακαίομεν] καίομεν PG</p>
<p>ῶσπερ οὖν¹⁰ ὁ Ἰακώβ μέλλων¹⁰ τελευτᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου τοῦ¹¹</p>	<p>Ἰακωβ οὐρεῖ Ιακωβъ χοуѧа оумѣрѣтн краевн жѣзѧа ѡнѣфѡѧа поклонн сѧ, не жѣзѧѧ</p>	<p>ꙗкоже ѡуро ꙗκωвъ хоуѧа оумѣрѣтн краевн жѣзѧа ѡнѣфѡѧа поклонн сѧ. не жѣзѧѧ</p>	<p>ῶσπερ οὖν¹⁰ ὁ Ἰακώβ μέλλων τελευτᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου τοῦ¹²</p>

<p>Ἰωσήφ προσεκύνθησεν, οὐ τὴν ῥάβδον τιμῶν ἀλλὰ τὸν ταύτην κατέχοντα, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πιστοὶ οὐ δι' ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον τῶς εἰκόνας ἀσπαζόμενται¹³ εἰ μὴ διὰ πόθον τὸν πρὸς τοῦς ἀγίους ὃν ἐμφανίζομεν τοῦτο ποιοῦντες¹⁴, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν¹⁵ καὶ πατέρας καὶ φίλους ἀσπαζόμενοι, καθὼς καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ποτε τῶς τοῦ νόμου πλάκας καὶ τὰ δύο χειροβίμια τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ γλυπτὰ¹⁷ προσεκύνου, οὐ τιμῶντες τὴν τοῦ λίθου¹⁸ καὶ χρυσοῦ¹⁸ φύσιν ἀλλὰ τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψαντα γενέσθαι Κύριον.</p>	<p>ἸΩΣΗΦ ΠΡΟΣΕΚΥΝΗΣΕΝ, Οὐ Τὴν Ῥάβδον Τιμῶν Ἀλλὰ τὸν ταύτην κατέχοντα, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πιστοὶ οὐ δι' ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον τῶς εἰκόνας ἀσπαζόμενται¹³ εἰ μὴ διὰ πόθον τὸν πρὸς τοῦς ἀγίους ὃν ἐμφανίζομεν τοῦτο ποιοῦντες¹⁴, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν¹⁵ καὶ πατέρας καὶ φίλους ἀσπαζόμενοι, καθὼς καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ποτε τῶς τοῦ νόμου πλάκας καὶ τὰ δύο χειροβίμια τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ γλυπτὰ¹⁷ προσεκύνου, οὐ τιμῶντες τὴν τοῦ λίθου¹⁸ καὶ χρυσοῦ¹⁸ φύσιν ἀλλὰ τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψαντα γενέσθαι Κύριον.</p>	<p>ἸΩΣΗΦ ΠΡΟΣΕΚΥΝΗΣΕΝ, Οὐ Τὴν Ῥάβδον Τιμῶν Ἀλλὰ τὸν ταύτην κατέχοντα, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πιστοὶ οὐ δι' ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον τῶς εἰκόνας ἀσπαζόμενται¹³ εἰ μὴ διὰ πόθον τὸν πρὸς τοῦς ἀγίους ὃν ἐμφανίζομεν τοῦτο ποιοῦντες¹⁴, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν¹⁵ καὶ πατέρας καὶ φίλους ἀσπαζόμενοι, καθὼς καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ποτε τῶς τοῦ νόμου πλάκας καὶ τὰ δύο χειροβίμια τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ γλυπτὰ¹⁷ προσεκύνου, οὐ τιμῶντες τὴν τοῦ λίθου¹⁸ καὶ χρυσοῦ¹⁸ φύσιν ἀλλὰ τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψαντα γενέσθαι Κύριον.</p>	<p>Ἰωσήφ προσεκύνθησεν, οὐ τὴν ῥάβδον τιμῶν ἀλλὰ τὸν ταύτην κατέχοντα, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πιστοὶ οὐ δι' ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον τῶς εἰκόνας ἀσπαζόμεθα εἰ μὴ διὰ πόθον ὄν¹³ ἐμφανίζομεν τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, ὥσπερ¹⁴ καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν¹⁵ ἢ καὶ πατέρας καὶ φίλους ἀσπαζόμενοι¹⁶, καθὼς καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ποτε τῶς τοῦ νόμου πλάκας καὶ τὰ δύο χειροβίμια τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ γλυπτὰ¹⁷ προσεκύνου, οὐ τιμῶντες τὴν τοῦ λίθου καὶ χρυσοῦ φύσιν ἀλλὰ τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψαντα γενέσθαι Κύριον.</p>
<p>¹⁰ ὁ ... μέλλων] τοῦ ... μέλλοντος 97 ¹¹ τοῦ] ὁ 97 ¹² δι'] διὰ 115 ¹³ ἀσπαζόνται] ἀσπαζόμεθα 131 114 115 ¹⁴ ποιοῦντες] ποιοῦμεν 115 ¹⁵ ἢ] εἰ 131 ¹⁶ καὶ] om. 131 ¹⁷ οἱ] om. 131 114 115 ¹⁸ καὶ χρυσοῦ] om. 115</p>	<p>¹⁶ νῆπτι] νῆπτι T2 T3, πονητῆρ B ¹⁷ ἡρῆε] ἡρῆε [Ved.] ¹⁸ σε] σα T4 ¹⁹ γῆλα] γῆλα A ²⁰ η] om. TI Vo A T4 T2 T3 ²¹ η] ηη A T4 ²² ἡκοῖε] ἡκο T4 ²³ η] om. TI Vo ²⁴ ζακοῦνηνιμῶ] ζακοῦνηομῶ T2 T3 ²⁵ η - ζαλτινιμῶ] om. A T4 ²⁶ η] om. TI Vo A T4 T2 T3 [Ved.] ²⁷ καμεῖε] καμεῖνα [Ved.] ²⁸ ἰεστῆρτω] ἰεστῆρτωμῶ TI Vo A T2 T3 [R] [Ved.] ²⁹ Γεπολα] Βογα TI Vo T4 [R]</p>	<p>ЖЕЗЪЗЪ ЗЪТЫ, НЪ НЖЕ ТЪ ДРЪЖАШАГО. СЩЕ Н ВЪРНИН. НЕ ННОГО РА(Δ.) НЪКОЕГО ВЪРАЗА НКОНЫ ЛОВИЗАД(Т), РАЗЪВЪ ЛЮБВЕ РА(Δ.) НЖЕ КЪ СЪТЫМЪ, АЖЕ НАВАВЪЕМЪ СЕ ТРЪРАЩЕ. ИАКОЖЕ Н ГАДА НАША НАН Н ВЦА Н ДРЪГЫ ЛОВЕЗАЩЕ, ИАКОЖЕ Н ЖИДОВЕ ННОГА ДА ЗАКОНЫ(М) СКРЪЖАЛА(М). Н ВЪОН(М) ХЕРЪВНИМО(М) ЗАЛТИН(М) Н НЪВНИМЪ [f. 155r] ПОКАДНЪАХЪ(С). НЕ КАМЕНЪ Н ЗАДА Е(С)СТЕО(М) ПОНТАЩЕ, НЪ НЖЕ ТА ВЪИТН ПОВЕЛЪВШАГО ДЪ.</p>	<p>¹⁰ Ὡσπερ οὖν] Καὶ ὥσπερ PG ¹¹ οἱ] om. PG ¹² τοῦ] τῷ PG ¹³ ὄν] ὄν PG ¹⁴ ὥσπερ] ὡς PG ¹⁵ καὶ - ἡμῶν] om. PG ¹⁶ ἀσπαζόμενοι] ἀσπαζόμεθα PG ¹⁷ γλυπτὰ] τὰ praem. PG</p>

<p>Οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἁλῶνεῖας ἀποσπρεφόμενοι ¹⁹ τὸ μὴ ¹⁹ προσκυνοῦν ²⁰ τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ²⁰, λεγέτωσαν οἱ ἀνόητοι· Πῶς μῦρα πολλακάκις ἁγίων εἰκόνες κατέβρυσαν δυνάμει Θεοῦ; Πῶς βέλος δεξιάμην ἁγίου ἄψυχος ²¹ εἰκὼν ²² ὡς ἔνσωμος ²³ φύσις ἀμα παραδόξως ἐξήγγαγεν; Πῶς ἐκ σορῶν καὶ λειψάνων καὶ εἰκόνων πολλακάκις δαίμονες βοῶντες ἀτελαύνονται;</p>	<p>Λ³⁰ нже отъ прѣзрѣства отъвраштанѣшенса ³¹ ѿже не покланѣтсѣ ³² иконѣмъ н крѣстоу, да глаголетъ ³³ неразумѣннѣ ³⁴ како мѣрѣмъ мѣножнѣнѣ ³⁵ свѣтънхъ иконъ ³⁶ вѣскыпѣша снаоѣкъ божнѣнѣ; ³⁷ како нзвѣкъ прнѣмъ ³⁷ свѣтадогъ вѣдоушнхън ѿвѣдъзъ ³⁸ како вѣтѣлесено ³⁸ иствѣтво крѣвъ прѣславно нстоуѣн; како отъ ковѣрегъ ³⁹ н моштен н иконъ мѣногажѣды бѣсн вѣпнѣштѣ отъганѣемн бываѣтъ;</p>	<p>а нже ѿ прѣзрѣства ѿвѣраштанѣшенса, еже не покланѣтсѣ икона(μ)н κ(ρ)στῷ· да гла(τ) неразумѣннѣ, како мѣрѣм(μ) множнѣса τῶν(χ) иконъ вѣскыпѣша снаоѣ бѣѣѣ. како нзвѣкъ прнѣ(μ) τῆτο вѣтѣлесено ε(ς)κ(τ)во крѣвъ прѣславно нстоуѣн. како ѿ ковѣрегъ н моштен н иконъ мнотаждн, бѣсн вѣпнѣше ѿганѣемн бываѣ(τ).</p>	<p>Οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἁλῶνεῖας ἀποσπρεφόμενοι προσκυνοῦν τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ¹⁸ τῶν ἁγίων ¹⁸, λεγέτωσαν νῦν ¹⁹ οἱ ἀνόητοι· Πῶς μῦρα πολλακάκις ²⁰ ἁγίων εἰκόνες ἀνέβλυσαν ²⁰ δυνάμει Θεοῦ ²¹; Πῶς βέλος ²² δεξιάμην ἁγίου ²² ἄψυχος ²³ στήλη ὡς ἔνσωμος ²³ φύσις ἀμα ²³ παραδόξως ἐξήγγαγεν; Πῶς ἐκ σορῶν ²⁴ καὶ λειψάνων καὶ εἰκόνων πολλακάκις δαίμονες βοῶντες ἀτελαύνονται;</p>
<p>¹⁹ τὸ μὴ] <i>om.</i> 131 114 115 ²⁰ τὰς – σταυρὸν] τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας <i>et</i> τῶν ἁγίων <i>add.</i> 131 114 115 ²¹ ἄψυχος] ἔμψυχος 97 <i>ac.</i>, ψυχος 97 <i>pc.</i> ²² εἰκὼν] στήλη 131 114 115</p>	<p>³⁰ Λ] <i>om.</i> T2 T3 ³¹ отъвраштанѣшенса] отъвраштанѣштсѣ T4 T2 T3 [Ved.] ³² покланѣтсѣ] покланѣтсѣ T1 V1, покланѣтсѣ V3 V2 V4 ³³ глаголетъ] глаголетъ T1 ³⁴ како мѣрѣмъ] како мѣрѣмъ vel како ѿго Vо ³⁵ мѣножнѣнѣ] отъ s.l. <i>add.</i> A ³⁶ иконъ] иконъ Vо ³⁷ како – прнѣмъ] како прнѣмъ T2 T3 ³⁸ вѣтѣлесено] в тѣлесѣ но A T4 ³⁹, в тѣлесѣ но T2 T3, в тѣлесѣ но <i>et sim.</i> T1 Vо T4 ³⁹ ковѣрегъ] ковѣрегъ T2 T3</p>	<p>¹⁸ τῶν ἁγίων] <i>om.</i> PG ¹⁹ νῦν] <i>om.</i> PG ²⁰ ἁγίων – ἀνέβλυσαν] ἔβλυσαν αἱ ἅγια εἰκόνες PG ²¹ Θεοῦ] Κυρίου PG ²² ἁγίου] <i>om.</i> PG ²³ ἔνσωμος] ἔνσωματος PG ²⁴ σορῶν] σορῶν PG</p>	<p>²⁵ Ἴνα δὲ τοὺς ἄφρονας</p>
<p>Ἴνα δὲ τοὺς ἄφρονας ἐπὶ</p>	<p>Ἴαко да мѣножѣ ⁴⁰ оубо не-</p>	<p>Ἴαко да мнотаждѣ Ѹбо</p>	<p>²⁵ Ἴνα δὲ τοὺς ἄφρονας</p>

<p>πλέον²³ ἐντρέψωμεν²⁴, ἄκουσον λόγον²⁵ τινᾶ τὸν²⁵ ἐκ τῶν²⁶ ἀγίων²⁷ πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐπαγγελθέντα²⁸. Φασὶ γοῦν²⁹ ὅτι ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ τινὶ τῶν ἀσκητῶν χαλεπῶς³⁰ ἐπέθετο καὶ διηνώγει³¹ ὁ πορνικὸς³² δαίμων. Ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμέρων ἐπιφάνεται³³ αὐτῷ³⁴ λέγων³⁵. Εἰ θέλεις ἵνα μὴ σοὶ³⁶ πολεμῶ, μὴ προσκυνήσῃς τῇ εἰκόνι ταύτῃ καὶ ἀφίσταμαι ἀπὸ σοῦ. Ἦν δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγίας³⁷ δεσποίνης ἡμῶν³⁸ Θεοτόκου³⁹. Εἶτα τί φασὶ οἱ ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ ἐπitréποντες μὴ προσκυνεῖσθαι τοὺς χαρακτῆρας τῶν ἀγίων, οὕστινας⁴² δι' ὑπόμνησιν καὶ μόνον ἐκτυλοῦμεν καὶ οὐ δι' ἕτερον τρόπον;</p>	<p>СЪМЫСЛЫННА ОБРАТНМЪ Н ПОСРАМНМЪ, СЛЫШН СЛОВО НЪКОЕ ОΥΣ СВАТЫНХЪ ОУТЫШ НАМЪ ВЪЗЪВЪШТЕНО. ΓΑΛΟΛΑΪΤΩ⁴¹ ΟΥΒΟ ΙΑΚΟ⁴² ΕΥΣ ΙΕΡΟΥΣΑΛΗΜΤΩ ΝЪКОЕГО ΟΥΣ ПОСΤЫННЪЗ⁴³ ΛΟΥΤΩ НАΠΑΔΑШЕ Н СЪТЪЖАДШЕ ЈЕМОУ БЛАДЫННЪ БЪСЪ. ВЪ ЈЕДННЪ ОУΒΟ ΟΥΤΩ⁴⁴ ΛΥННН ΙΑΒΛΑΜΕΤЪ СΑ ЈЕМОУ ΓΑΛΟΛΑΪ⁴⁵. ΑШТЕ ΧΟΥШЕШ ДА НЕ ΡΑΤΟΥΪΚ ΤΕΒΕ⁴⁶, ΝΕ ΚΛΑΜΝΗСА НΚОНЪ СЕН Н ΟΥΤЪСΤЪΠΛΗΚ ΟΥΣ⁴⁸ ΤΕΒΕ. БЪ ЖЕ НΚОНΑ СВА ТЫНΑ⁴⁹ ВЛАДЫНЦА НАШЕРА БОГОРОДНИЦА. УЪТО ΟΥΒΟ ΡΕΚЪТЪ ΟΥΤЪΒΑШТА-ΙΪШТЕНСА⁵⁰ СВАТЫНХЪ НΚОНЪ Н ПОВΕΛΒΑΚШТЕ ΝΕ ΠΟΚΛΑ-ΝΗΑТНСΑ⁵¹ ΟΒΡΑΖΟΜЪ СВАТЫНХЪ, НХЪЖЕ ВЪСПΟΜΗΝΗΑ⁵² ΡΑΔΗ ΤЪУННЪ ВЪΟΒΡΑЖАЕМЪ Λ ΝΕ⁵³ ННОГО ΡΑΔΗ НЪКОЕГО ΟΒΡΑΖΑ⁵⁴;</p>	<p>НЕСЪМЫСЛЫННА ВЪРАТН(М) Н ПОСРАМН(М), СЛЫШН СЛОВО НЪКОЕ ОΥ СΤΧЪ ΟΥΤΩ ΝΑ(М) ВЪЗЪВЪШЕНО. ΓΑΛ(Τ) ΨΒΟ ΙΑΚΟ ΕΥΣ ΙΕΡ(Σ)ΑΛΗΜ ΤΩ ΝЪКОЕГО ΟΥ ΠΟΣΤΥННЪЗ ΛΟΥΤΩ НАΠΑΔΑШЕ Н СΤЪЖАДШЕ ΕΜ(Σ) ΒΛΑДЫННЪ БЪСЪ. ΕΥΣ ΕДННЪ ΨΒΟ ΟΥ ΔΑΪΗШ НАΒΑΒΕТ СΑ ΕΜ(Σ) ΓΑΛ· ΑШЕ ΧΟΥШЕШ ДА НЕ ΡΑΤΟΥА ΤΕΒЕ, ΝΕ ΚΛΑΜΝΗСА НΚОНЪ СЕН, Н ΟΥСΤЪΠΛΑ ΟΥ ΤΕΒЕ. ΕΥΣ ЖЕ НΚОНΑ СТЫА ВΛЫЦА НАША БЦ.К. УТО ΨΒΟ ΡΕΚЪ(Т) ΟΥΒΡΑШЦАШЕНСА СΤΧЪ НΚОНЪ Н ПОВЕΛΒΕΛΑШЕ ΝΕ ΠΟΚΛΑΝΗΤΗΣΑ ВЪΒΑΖΟ(М) СΤΧЪ, Н(Χ)ЖЕ ВЪСПΟΜΗΝΗΑ ΡΑ(Δ) ΤЪУНН ВЪΩΒΡΑЖАΕ(М), Λ ΝΕ ННОГО ΡΑ(Δ) НЪКОЕГО ВЪΒΑΖΑ.</p>	<p>ἐντρέψωμεν ἐπὶ πλέον²⁵, ἄκουσον λόγον πιστῶν²⁶ ἐκ πατέρων ἡμῶν διηγηθέντα περὶ εἰκόνας. ²⁷ Φασὶ γοῦν²⁷ ὅτι ἐν Ἱερουσόλοιμοις τινὶ τῶν ἀσκητῶν χαλεπῶς²⁸ ἐπέθετο²⁹ καὶ διηνώγει³¹ ὁ πορνικὸς³⁰ δαίμων. Ἐν μιᾷ οὖν φάνεται αὐτῷ αὐταῖς ὄψεσι τὸ πνεῦμα λέγων ὅτι· ³¹ Εἰ θέλεις³¹ ἵνα μὴ σε πολεμῶ, μὴ προσκυνήσῃς ³² τῇ εἰκόνι ταύτῃ³² καὶ ἀφίσταμαι ἀπὸ σοῦ. ³³ Ἦν δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγίας³⁴ δεσποίνης ἡμῶν³⁴ Θεοτόκου³³. Εἶτα τί φασὶ πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ ἀποστρεφόμενοι³⁵ καὶ ἐπitréποντες μὴ ³⁶ προσκυνεῖσθαι τοὺς χαρακτῆρας τῶν ἀγίων, οὕστινας³⁷ δι' ὑπόμνησιν καὶ μόνον ἐκτυλοῦμεν καὶ οὐ δι' ἕτερον τρόπον;</p>	<p>²⁵ Ἰνα – πλέον] <i>passus non sine difficultatibus</i> ²⁶ πιστῶν] <i>om.</i> PG ²⁷ ἡμῶν] ἡμῶν PG ²⁷ Φασὶ</p>
<p>²³ πλέον] <i>πλέον</i> I31 ²⁴ ἐντρέψωμεν] <i>ἐπitréψωμεν</i> 97 ²⁵ τινᾶ τῶν] <i>τις</i> τῶν I31 I14,</p>	<p>⁴⁰ ΜΒΝΟΚΑΕ] ΜΒΝΟΚΑΕ VI I3 V4 ⁴¹ ΓΑΛΟΛΑΪΤΩ] ΓΑΛΟΛΑΪΤΩ B I2 I3 ⁴² ΙΑΚΟ] ΙΑΚΟ I3 ⁴³ ΠΟΣΤΥННЪЗ] ΠΟΣΤΥННЪЗ I2 ⁴⁴ ΟΥΤΩ] <i>om.</i> I2, ΕΥΣ W (sic) I1 ⁴⁵ ΓΑΛΟΛΑΪ] <i>h add.</i> B ⁴⁶ ΤΕΒΕ] <i>τοββ. A I2, τωββ.</i></p>	<p>ΓΑΛΟΛΑΪΤΩ⁴¹ ΟΥΒΟ ΙΑΚΟ⁴² ΕΥΣ ΙΕΡΟΥΣΑΛΗΜΤΩ ΝЪКОЕГО ΟΥΣ ПОСΤΥННЪЗ⁴³ ΛΟΥΤΩ НАΠΑΔΑШЕ Н СЪТЪЖАДШЕ ЈЕМОУ БЛАДЫННЪ БЪСЪ. ВЪ ЈЕДННЪ ОУΒΟ ΟΥΤΩ⁴⁴ ΛΥННН ΙΑΒΛΑΜΕΤЪ СΑ ЈЕМОУ ΓΑΛΟΛΑΪ⁴⁵. ΑШТЕ ΧΟΥШЕШ ДА НЕ ΡΑΤΟΥΪΚ ΤΕΒΕ⁴⁶, ΝΕ ΚΛΑΜΝΗСА НΚОНЪ СЕН Н ΟΥΤЪСΤЪΠΛΗΚ ΟΥΣ⁴⁸ ΤΕΒΕ. БЪ ЖЕ НΚОНΑ СВА ТЫНΑ⁴⁹ ВЛАДЫНЦА НАШЕРА БОГОРОДНИЦА. УЪТО ΟΥΒΟ ΡΕΚЪТЪ ΟΥΤЪΒΑШТА-ΙΪШТЕНСА⁵⁰ СВАТЫНХЪ НΚОНЪ Н ПОВΕΛΒΑΚШТЕ ΝΕ ΠΟΚΛΑ-ΝΗΑТНСΑ⁵¹ ΟΒΡΑΖΟΜЪ СВАТЫНХЪ, НХЪЖЕ ВЪСПΟΜΗΝΗΑ⁵² ΡΑΔΗ ΤЪУННЪ ВЪΟΒΡΑЖАЕМЪ Λ ΝΕ⁵³ ННОГО ΡΑΔΗ НЪКОЕГО ΟΒΡΑΖΑ⁵⁴;</p>	<p>²⁵ Ἰνα – πλέον] <i>passus non sine difficultatibus</i> ²⁶ πιστῶν] <i>om.</i> PG ²⁷ ἡμῶν] ἡμῶν PG ²⁷ Φασὶ</p>	

<p>115 ²⁶ τῶν] <i>om.</i> 131 114 ²⁷ ἄγιον] <i>om.</i> 131 114 115 ²⁸ ἐπιγεθέντα] διηγηθέντα <i>et</i> περὶ εἰκόνας <i>add.</i> 131 114 115 ²⁹ γούν] γὰρ 115 ³⁰ χάλεπός] <i>om.</i> 131 115 ³¹ διηνώγει] ηνώγει 115 ³² πορνικός] πονηρός 114 115 ³³ τὸν ἡμέρον ἐπιφάνεται] φαίνεται 131 114 115 ³⁴ αὐτῶ] αὐταῖς ὄνεσι τὸ πνεῦμα <i>add.</i> 131 114 115 ³⁵ λέγων] λέγον 114 115 ³⁶ σοι] <i>σε et trsp.</i> <i>ante</i> μή 131 114 115 ³⁷ ἀγίας] ὑπεραγίας ³⁸ δεσποίνης ἡμῶν] <i>om.</i> 115 ³⁹ Θεοτόκου] τῆς <i>praem.</i> 131 ⁴⁰ τῆ] <i>om.</i> 97 ⁴¹ φασι] πρὸς ταῦτα <i>add.</i> 131 114 115 ⁴² οὐστυνας] οὐσπερ 114 115</p>	<p>T3 ⁴⁷ ποκαληнса] κληνηса [R] ⁴⁸ теε. БѢ] теѢ бѢ VI, теѢѢ V3 ⁴⁹ сватына] <i>om.</i> A T4 ⁵⁰ отъбрашитаѣштеса] отъбрашитаѣштеса TI A T4 T2 T3, отъбрашитаѣштѣ Vo ⁵¹ покаланѣтнса] покаланѣтѣ T2 T3 ⁵² вѣспомнѣннѣ] вѣспомнѣннѣ A T4 ⁵³ нѣ] <i>s.l.</i> V4, <i>om.</i> TI ⁵⁴ еврѣза] <i>om.</i> TI Vo</p>	<p>γούν] <i>om.</i> PG ²⁸ χάλεπός] <i>om.</i> PG ²⁹ ἐπιθετο] ἐπιθετο PG ³⁰ πορνικός] πονηρός PG ³¹ Εἰ θέλει] εἰ θέλει PG ³² τῆ – ταύτη] τὴν εἰκόνα ταύτην PG ³³ ἢν – Θεοτόκου] <i>passus non sine</i> ³⁴ δεσποίνης <i>difficultatibus</i> ³⁵ ὑπο- ἡμῶν] <i>om.</i> PG ³⁶ ὑπο- σπερόμενοι καὶ] <i>om.</i> PG ³⁷ προσκυνεῖσθαι] προσκυνεῖν PG ³⁸ οὐστυνας] οὐσπερ PG</p>	
<p>Καὶ οὗτος ⁴³ μὲν ὁ περὶ εἰκότων διὰ βραχέων λόγος. ⁴⁴ Περὶ δὲ σταυροῦ πρόδηλον ὅτι διὰ τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστὸν προσκυνούμενοι οἱ πιστοὶ καὶ ἀσπαζόμεθα.</p>	<p>Н СНЕ ОУБО ІЕЖЕ О НКОНАХЪ ВЪ КРАТЦЪ СЛОВЕ. ⁴³ ПЕРИ ДѢ СТАВЪ СЪ ІЕСУСЪ ІАКО РАСПЪИШАДОСА РАДН НА НЕМЪ ХРИСТА ПОКАЛИЕМЪСА ВЪРЪННН Н ⁴⁴ ЦѢЛУЕМЪ СЪ .</p>	<p>Н СІЕ УБО ЕЖЕ В НКОНАХЪ ВЪ КРА(Т)ЦЪ СЛОВО. ⁴⁴ ПЕРИ ДѢ СТАВЪ С(С) ІАКО РАСПЕИШАДОСА РА(Δ) НА НΕ(Μ) ΧΑ, ΠΟΚΑΛΝΕΜΕСА ВЪРННН Н ЦѢЛУЕМЪ :~</p>	<p>Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὁ περὶ εἰκότων διὰ βραχέων λόγος. Τὸν δὲ σταυρὸν πρόδηλον ὅτι διὰ τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστὸν προσκυνούμενοι οἱ πιστοὶ καὶ ἀσπαζόμεθα.</p>
<p>⁴³ οὗτος] οὗτο 97 ⁴⁴ Περὶ – σταυ- ροῦ] τὸν δὲ σταυρὸν 131 114 115</p>	<p>⁵⁵ же ивѣ] <i>trsp.</i> T2 T3 ⁵⁶ н] <i>om.</i> TI Vo ⁵⁷ цѣлуемъ] цѣлуемъ A T4 ⁵⁸.</p>	<p>³⁸ οὗτος] οὗτο PG ³⁹ ὁ] <i>om.</i> PG</p>	

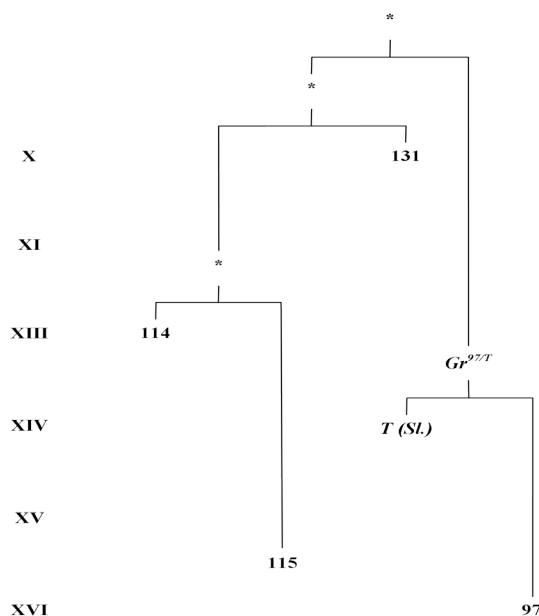
Gr ^{97/T}	Π ^{T-120}	R (=Π ^{R-133})	Gr ^{maj}
QA 40			
<p>ἘΡΩΤΗΣΙΣ.¹ Οὐκοῦν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ εἰς ὄνον ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκάθισεν, ὀφειλομέναι λοιπὸν καὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀσπάζεσθαι; Οὕτω γὰρ² λέγουσι³ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ⁴ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων⁴ παῖδες.</p>	<p>ΒΖΠΡΟΣΖ.¹ ТѢМЪ² оубо, понеже н³ на оуба⁴ Χριστѹ възсѣлъ⁴ ѣсть, дѣлѣжныи ѣсмы прѹче н⁵ оубы⁵ аспѣзати⁵. Снцѣ бо⁶ кѣ⁶ намѹ⁶ галгоуѣтъ⁷ ж⁸ ѡбъсцѣннѣ⁸ н⁸ еллинѣцѣнн отроци.</p>	<p>ΒΖΠΡΟ(С). ТѢ(М) Ѱбо понѣ(ж) н на оуба⁴ χ̅⁴ възсѣлъ ε(с) дѣлѣжныи есмы прѹче н⁵ икоу(М) покλѡнѣтисѧ н⁵ ѡбсѣзати. снцѣ бо кѣ на(М) глѣтъ ѡбъсцѣннѣ⁸ и еллинѣтѣн отроци.</p>	<p>ἘΡΩΤΗΣΙΣ μ΄. Οὐκοῦν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ εἰς ὄνον ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκράθισεν, ὀφειλομέναι λοιπὸν καὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀσπάζεσθαι; Οὕτω¹ γὰρ Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων παῖδες.</p>
<p>¹ Ερώτησις] λθ' <i>add.</i> 114, λγ' <i>add.</i> 115 ² γὰρ] <i>om.</i> 115 ³ λέγουσι] <i>trsp.</i> <i>post</i> ἡμᾶς 114 115 ⁴ Ἰουδαίων – Ἑλλήνων] Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἰουδαίων 115</p>	<p>¹ Βζπρσζ] Βζπρσζ TI Vo ² ΤѢМЪ] ТѢМЪ же A T4 T2 T3 [<i>Ved.</i>] ³ н] <i>om.</i> T2 T3 ⁴ Χριστѹ възсѣлъ] χ̅⁴ εц̅εѡз̅ (sic) V3 ⁵ оубы ѡбсѣзати] оубы ѡбсѣзати н ѡбсѣзати [R] [<i>Ved.</i>] ⁶ кѣ намѹ] <i>trsp.</i> <i>post</i> галгоуѣтъ TI Vo ⁷ галгоуѣтъ] галгоуѣтъ A T4 T2 T3 ⁸ ж⁸ ѡбъсцѣнн] ѡбъсцѣнн [R] [<i>Ved.</i>]; <i>ab</i> ж⁸ ѡбъсцѣнн <i>deest</i> V4</p>	<p>¹ Οὕτω] Τοῦτο PG</p>	

<p>ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ· Οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὄνῳ ὁ Χριστὸς τὸν διάβολον κατήγγισε καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας ἐφυνάειυσεν⁵, οὐδὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν σωτηρίαν εἰργάσατο ἄλλ' ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ· ὅθεν ὄνομα μὲν ὀρώντες οἱ δαίμονες οὐ τρέμουσιν οὐδέ⁶ φοβοῦνται, σταυρὸν δὲ πολλάκις ὀρώντες τρέμουσι⁷ καὶ φεύγουσι⁷ καὶ καταργοῦνται καὶ διώκονται.</p>	<p>ΟΤΖΒ'ΕΤΖ· Не осыла теле⁹ Χρηστῷ ΔΙΑΒΟΛΑ ΟΥΠΡΑΖΔΗΗ¹⁰ Η Б'СЫ ПРΩГНА, НИЖЕ СЪ НИМЬ СЪПАΛΕΝНІЕ СЪД'БАΔ¹¹ НЪ КР'СТОМЪ· Т'ВМЪЖЕ ΟΥΒΟ ΟΣЬΛЫ Ζ'Β'ΑШТ'Е Б'В'СН Н'Е ΤΡΕΠЕШТ'ЖТЪ НН¹² БОЖТЪСА, КР'СТЪ ЖЕ Μ'ΒНОЖИЦ'ЕЖ Ζ'Β'ΑШТ'Е ΤΡΕΠЕШТ'ЖТЪ Η Б'В'ΓΑЖТЪ Η ΟΥΠΡΑЖИМ'ΕΜΗ БЫВАЖТЪ Η ΟΤΖΒ'ΟНИМΗ.</p>	<p>ŪB'Ē(T)· Не съ осыла теле(μ) χ̄ς διαβολα ζ̄πραζηηζ ε(ς), η б'сы прогна, ниже съ нн(μ) с̄пеніе с̄д'βαа, н̄ к̄(с)томь. т'вм̄же ѱво ж̄аще б'всн, не тρεпещ̄(т) нн̄же¹² бож'тса. к̄(с)тъ же множица ж̄аще, трепещ̄(т) η б'вг̄а̄(т). η ζ̄πραжӣвемη быва̄(т) η ѱгонӣμη :-</p>	<p>ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ· Οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὄνῳ ὁ Χριστὸς² τὸν διάβολον κατήγγισε καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας, οὐδὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν σωτηρίαν εἰργάσατο ἄλλ' ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ· ὅθεν ὄνομα μὲν ὀρώντες οἱ δαίμονες οὐ τρέμουσιν οὐδέ φοβοῦνται, σταυρὸν δὲ πολλάκις ὀρώντες τρέμουσι καὶ φεύγουσι³ καὶ καταργοῦνται καὶ διώκονται.</p>
<p>⁵ ἐφυνάειυσεν] <i>om.</i> 131 114 115 ⁶ οὐδέ] οὐτε 131 114 115 ⁷ καὶ φεύγουσι] <i>om.</i> 115</p>	<p>⁹ οсыла теле] съ осыла теле [R] ¹⁰ ουπραζηηη] ουπραζη(Δ)ηηηζ ιεστ̄ [R] [Ved.] ¹¹ с̄д'βαа] с̄д'ба T2 T3 ¹² нн] нн̄ [R]</p>		<p>² ὁ Χριστὸς] <i>trsp. post</i> διάβολον PG ³ φεύγουσι] φρίττουσι PG</p>

<p>ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ· Τὸν μὲν τοῦ σταυροῦ τύπον ἐκ δύο ξύλων συνάπτοντες, ἥνικα τις ἤμῃν τῶν ἀπίστων ἐγκάλεσει ὡς ξύλον προσκυνοῦντας,⁸ δυνάμεθα τὰ δύο ξύλα <u>χωρίσαι</u>⁹ καὶ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ <u>δια-</u> <u>λύσαι</u>,¹⁰ ἢ ἐν τούτοις¹¹ τὸν ἀπίστον <u>σπῆσαι</u> καὶ¹² <u>πεῖσαι</u> ὅτι οὐ τὸ ξύλον σέβομεν ἀλλὰ τὸν τοῦ σταυροῦ τύπον. Ἐπὶ δὲ λόγῳ ἢ καλάμου ἢ σπύργου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἢ δεῖξαι οὐ δυνάμεθα.</p>	<p>ΟΤΑΒΕΤΖ· Кръстьньн ѡво ѡбразъ отъ дъво дръвоу сълагаште, вѣнегда къто намъ отъ невѣрныхъ поноситъ јако дръвоу покланяштинъ сѧ,¹³ можемъ оубо дръвѣ <u>раздѣлити</u> ѡ образъ¹⁴ и кръстьньн <u>разрѣти</u>,¹⁵ снмъ невѣрнаго <u>оуставити</u> ѡ образъ¹⁶ и јако не дръвоу устемъ нъ кръстьньн <u>образъ</u>.¹⁸ Съ копиемъ же нѧ²⁰ трѣстѣжъ²¹ нѧ гъбожъ сѧ <u>сѣтворити</u>²³ нѧ покъзати²⁴ не можемъ.</p>	<p>ὨΒΕΤ· Κρ(ς)τα δβο ωβραζα ὦ δβου Δρββδ σβδκζπλ βαμε. βδνε(Δ,Α)κτο να(μ) ὦ νεβρην(χ) πονοσι(τ) јако Δρββδ покланѣ- аци(μ) сѧ, може(μ) Δεѣ ѡнѣ Δρβвѣ <u>раздѣлити</u> ѡ образъ κρ(ς)тньн <u>разрѣти</u>, сн(μ) невѣрнаго <u>уставити</u> ѡ образъ, јако не дръво усте(μ), нѧ κр(ς)тньн ωβραζъ, сѧ копиемъ же нѧ трѣстѣѧ нѧ гъбожъ, сѧ <u>сѣтворити</u> нѧ покъзати не може(μ) :-</p>	<p>ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ· Τὸν μὲν τοῦ σταυροῦ τύπον ἐκ δύο ξύλων συνάπτοντες, ἥνικα τις ἤμῃν τῶν ἀπίστων ἐγκάλεσει ὡς ξύλον προσκυνοῦντας, δυνάμεθα, τὰ δύο ξύλα <u>χωρίσαντες</u> καὶ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ <u>διαλύσαντες</u>,⁵ ταῦτα ὡς <u>ἀργά</u> ξύλα ἠγεῖσθαι⁵ καὶ τὸν ἀπίστον πεῖσαι ὅτι οὐ τὸ ξύλον σεβόμεθα ἀλλὰ τὸν τοῦ σταυροῦ τύπον. Ἐπὶ δὲ λόγῳ ἢ καλάμου ἢ σπύργου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἢ δεῖξαι οὐ δυνάμεθα.</p>	<p>² συνάπτοντες] προσκυνούμεν add. PG ³ ἥνικα] δὲ add. PG ⁴ ἐγκάλεσει] ἐγκάλεσειεν PG ⁵ ταῦτα – ἠγεῖσθαι] ὡς ἀργά ταῦτα ἠγεῖσθαι ξύλα. PG (ταῦτα, ῥίγα καὶ καταπατήσαι plurimi codd.; ἐν τούτοις [τὸν ἀπίστον] σπῆσαι tantum 97)</p>
<p>⁸ προσκυνοῦντας] προσκυνοῦσιν 97. προσκυνοῦμεν 115 ⁹ χωρίσαι] χωρίσαντες 131, διαίρισαντες 114, διαίρισαντες 115 ¹⁰ διαλύσαι] διαλύσαντες 131 114 115 ¹¹ ἐν τούτοις] om. 131 114 115 ¹² σπῆσαι καὶ] om. 131 114 115</p>	<p>¹³ покланяштинъ сѧ] покланяштинъ сѧ T2 T3 ¹⁴ образъ] образъ A ¹⁵ разрѣти] разрѣтиъ VI ¹⁶ невѣрнаго] н add. TI Vo ¹⁷ оубо] оубошати] оубошатиъ T4 ¹⁸ образъ] н add. A T4 T2 T3 ¹⁹ сѧ] om. A T4 ²⁰ нѧ] н TI Vo A T4 T2 T3 ²¹ трѣстѣжъ] сѧ praem. B ²² нѧ] н TI Vo A T4 T2 T3 ²³ сѣтворити] сѣтворитъ T2 T3 ²⁴ покъзати] покъзвати T4</p>	<p>¹³ покланяштинъ сѧ] покланяштинъ сѧ T2 T3 ¹⁴ образъ] образъ A ¹⁵ разрѣти] разрѣтиъ VI ¹⁶ невѣрнаго] н add. TI Vo ¹⁷ оубо] оубошати] оубошатиъ T4 ¹⁸ образъ] н add. A T4 T2 T3 ¹⁹ сѧ] om. A T4 ²⁰ нѧ] н TI Vo A T4 T2 T3 ²¹ трѣстѣжъ] сѧ praem. B ²² нѧ] н TI Vo A T4 T2 T3 ²³ сѣтворити] сѣтворитъ T2 T3 ²⁴ покъзати] покъзвати T4</p>	<p>² συνάπτοντες] προσκυνούμεν add. PG ³ ἥνικα] δὲ add. PG ⁴ ἐγκάλεσει] ἐγκάλεσειεν PG ⁵ ταῦτα – ἠγεῖσθαι] ὡς ἀργά ταῦτα ἠγεῖσθαι ξύλα. PG (ταῦτα, ῥίγα καὶ καταπατήσαι plurimi codd.; ἐν τούτοις [τὸν ἀπίστον] σπῆσαι tantum 97)</p>	

Observations

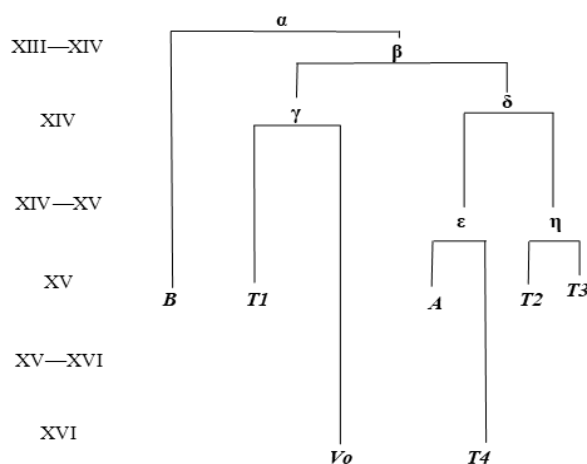
- (1) The juxtaposition of columns I and II shows that the common ancestor of the Greek witness 97 and the Slavonic T-translation ($Gr^{97/T}$) can be reconstructed perfectly: often there is full agreement between Slavonic Π^{T-120} and all witnesses of this particular Greek branch, viz. 131, 114, 115 and 97 (against the Greek ‘majority text’, e.g. Q39 ... τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους ὄν ἐμφανίζομεν τοῦτο ποιοῦντες ~ ... нже кѣ свѣтѣннѣ ѿже ѿвѣдѣмѣ се тѣораштѣ Π^{T-120} <> ... ὄν ἐμφανίζομεν τοῦτο ποιοῦντες Gr^{maj} , or in the same question: οἱ ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὰς εἰκόνας ~ отъвѣрашταιштенѣ свѣтѣннѣ нконѣ Π^{T-120} <> ἀποστρεφόμενοι Gr^{maj}). In other passages the common ancestor can be reconstructed either on the basis of consensus between Slav Π^{T-120} and 97, or on the basis of consensus between Slav Π^{T-120} and 131, 114, 115:
- where 97 and Π^{T-120} share unique readings against all other witnesses, those readings must have been in the common ancestor, e.g.
 - Q39, var. 13: ἀσπαζόνται 97 ~ лобѣзѣиѣтѣ Π^{T-120} <> ἀσπαζόμεθα 131 114 115 (et Gr^{maj})
 - Q40, var. 5: ἐφυγάδευσεν 97 ~ прѣгѣна Π^{T-120} <> om. 131 114 115 (et Gr^{maj})
 - Q41, var. 4: ἀντιτύπους 97 ~ поΔοβοοβραζьны Π^{T-120} <> ἀντιτύπους τοῦ σταυροῦ 131 114 115 (et Gr^{maj} ~ ρавнообраζьны крѣстоу Π^{R-133})
 - where Π^{T-120} shares readings with 131, 114, 115 against 97, those readings must have been in the common ancestor, while in these instances the readings of 97 should be considered secondary, e.g.
 - Q39, var. 10: ὁ Ἰακὼβ μέλλων 131 114 115 (et Gr^{maj}) ~ ѿκοβѣ хотѣ Π^{T-120} <> τοῦ Ἰακὼβ μέλλοντος 97
 - Q39, var. 21: ἄψυχος 131 114 115 (et Gr^{maj}) ~ безΔουшьныи Π^{T-120} <> ἔμψυχος 97^{a.c.}, ψυχος 97^{p.c.}
 - Q41, var. 8: προσκυνούντας 131 114 (et Gr^{maj}) ~ покланѣиштннѣ сѣ Π^{T-120} <> προσκυνούσιν 97 (et προσκυνούμεν 115)



(2) The close match with the Greek text allows for an easy reconstruction of the archetypal text of Π^{T-120} : textual variation can easily be assessed and a *stemma codicum* can be drawn up for the witnesses included in the collation (always keeping in mind that this edition was made on the relatively narrow basis of about one third of the extant witnesses). The patterns of variation are quite consistent, and allow for a solidly argued *stemma*, as shown below.

- For sub-branch η (*consensus T2 T3*), see var. **39**, 5, 8, 11, 12, 16, 24, 30, 37, 39, 51, 55; **40**, 3, 11; **41**, 13, 23
- For sub-branch ε (*consensus A T4*), see var. **39**, 21, 25, 49, 52, 57, **41**, 6, 19
- For sub-branch δ (*consensus A T4 T2 T3*), see var. **39**, 9, **40**, 2, 7, **41**, 4, 18
- For sub-branch γ (*consensus T1 Vo*), see var. **39**, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 14, 23, 54, 56, **40**, 1, 6, **41**, 1, 3, 7, 16
- For sub-branch β (*consensus T1 Vo A T4 T2 T3*), see **39**, 20, 26, 28, 38, **41**, 20, 22

Clearly the *Codex Berolinensis* (*B*) approaches the archetype most (39, 20 and 26: twice η for $\kappa\alpha\iota$ in the Greek exemplar, omitted in all other Slavonic



witnesses; 39, 28: ѠСТЬСТВО for φύσις in the Greek exemplar – in line with the literal approach observed throughout this translation – but ѠСТЬСТВОМЪ in all other Slavonic witnesses but one; 39, 38: ВЪТЪЛЕСЕНО for Greek ἔνσωμος , but variants of ВЪ ТЪЛЕСЕ НЪ or ВЪ ТЪЛЕСИ НЪ in the other Slavonic witnesses; 41, 20 and 22: twice НАН for ἦ in the Greek exemplar, but Н in all other Slavonic witnesses).¹⁹

With both the Greek exemplar and the Slavonic archetypal text of branch II^{T120} firmly established, the Slavonic T-text can positively be characterized as a very literal translation – previous research has pointed out that this close match with the Greek can also be seen on a higher, structural level, viz. on the level of the number and the order of the QQ.²⁰ While the present approach allows for valid conclusions concerning language and translation technique (also relevant for the date and place of origin of this particular text version), this is hardly possible on the basis of the existing *QAD*

¹⁹ For this codex see E. Matthes, *Katalog der slavischen Handschriften in Bibliotheken der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Wiesbaden, 1990, p. 49-55, and Conev's older but more detailed description: Б. Цонев, *Славянски ръкописи в Берлинската държавна библиотека* (Сборник на Българската академия на науките 31), София, 1937, p. 54-78. Interestingly, this codex is also known as the sole witness to the second, 14th-century translation of the so-called *Soterios*, in the Slavonic tradition known as the Symeonic florilegium – see F.J. Thomson, "A Comparison of the Contents of the Two Translations of the Symeonic Florilegium on the Basis of the Greek Original Texts", in *Кирило-Методиевски студии*, Т. 17, София, 2007, p. 721-758.

²⁰ See L. Sels and I. De Vos, "The Slavonic Tradition...", p. 380-381, esp. table 1, and Sels, "Reconsidering the Textual Transmission...", p. 226-227.

edition, as it presents a revised text next to a non-matching Greek text, without fully documenting the stage of initial translation in any other way. Some examples:

Q40 (Veder 2016, p. 79)

Gr ὀφείλομεν λοιπὸν καὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀσπάζεσθαι
 a' ДЛЪЖЬНН ІЕСМЪ ПРΟΥЕЕ Н **ОСЪЛОМЪ ПОΚΛΑΗΑΤΗΣΑ Η ΛΟΒЪΖΑΤΗ**
 There is no indication in the edition that the original Π^{T-120} translation of τοὺς ὄνους ἀσπάζεσθαι is the perfectly literal **ОСЪЛЫ ЛОВЪЗАТН**.

Gr Οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὄνῳ ὁ Χριστὸς τὸν διάβολον κατήρησε
 a' Не ослаатемъ Христосъ дѣявола **ΟΥΠΡΑΖΔΗΝΗΛЪ ІЕСΤЪ**
 The edition does not allow to see that the perfect **ΟΥΠΡΑΖΔΗΝΗΛЪ ІЕСΤЪ** is secondary and that in the original Π^{T-120} translation the Greek aorist κατήρησε was translated as a Slavonic aorist **ΟΥΠΡΑΖΔΗΝΗ**.

Q41 (Veder 2016, p. 81)

Gr δυνάμεθα τὰ δύο ξύλα χωρίσαι καὶ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ διαλύσαι
 a' МОЖЕМЪ ДЪВѢ ОНѢ ДРѢВѢ **ΡΑΖΔ'ΒΛΗΒЪШЕ** Η ΟΒΡΑΖЪ ΚΡΥСТЪННΗ **ΡΑΖΟΡΗΒЪШЕ**

χωρίσαι : χωρίσαντες = a'b διαλύσαι : διαλύσαντες = a'b

The indication, underneath, of the Greek variant (χωρίσαντες ... διαλύσαντες) that *is* in line with the reading of group a' explains, of course, the non-matching Slavonic text presented here, but nothing indicates the process from a literal translation to a later adaptation under the influence of a different Greek source text:

Gr^{97/T} δυνάμεθα τὰ δύο ξύλα χωρίσαι καὶ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ διαλύσαι

Π^{T-120} МОЖЕМЪ ОЕѢ ДРѢВѢ **ΡΑΖΔ'ΒΛΗΤΗ** Η ΟΒΡΑΖЪ ΚΡΥСТЪННΗ **ΡΑΖΟΡΗΤΗ**

→ Gr^{maj} δυνάμεθα, τὰ δύο ξύλα χωρίσαντες καὶ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ διαλύσαντες

→ Π^{R-133} МОЖЕМЪ ДЪВѢ ОНѢ ДРѢВѢ **ΡΑΖΔ'ΒΛΗΒЪШЕ** Η ΟΒΡΑΖЪ ΚΡΥСТЪННΗ **ΡΑΖΟΡΗΒЪШЕ**

- (3) The text published here clearly illustrates the secondary and conflated nature of the collection of the Prague witness R (= Π^{R-133}) (which is also true

of $P \sim \Pi^{P-136}$), used as a basis for Veder's reconstruction of a' . A striving for completeness – in the number of QQ as well as in the text itself of particular QQ – has prompted a scribe to alter and expand a preexisting version a . A similar desire to achieve completeness may have led the present-day editor to prioritize this revised text (a') over a clearly primary but more limited version a (Π^{T-120}).

It is certainly true that for those passages in R (Π^{R-133}) that coincide with the text version of Π^{T-120} , it is an excellent witness: in almost all cases where B has a good reading against the other witnesses (viz. against branch β), it shares this reading with R (with the exception of 39, 28). Other secondary readings found in R in the brief fragment of these three QQ are either insignificant (viz. 39, 2 $\text{Βορωγ} = \text{τοῦ Θεοῦ}] \text{ΓοσποΔωγ}$, together with $TI Vo$, and 39, 29 $\text{ΓοσποΔα} = \text{Κύριον}] \text{Βορα}$, together with $TI Vo T4$) or conscious innovations, as in Q41. But because of this conscious revision, it is methodologically unsound to include R 's readings in the argument for the *constitutio textus* of Π^{T-120} , as it is hazardous to distinguish between passages with proper readings but still in line with the Π^{T-120} tradition, and passages that fall outside the Π^{T-120} tradition because their peculiar readings are already part and parcel of the Π^{R-133} revision.

- (4) Some remarks about the Greek 'majority text', which claims to be nothing more than a basis for comparison: if it proves anything (apart from the fact that the *Patrologia graeca* often provides a flawed basis for collation), it is the fact that almost all Slavonic group II readings have a close match in the Greek tradition, that the different group II versions are all quite literal renderings of known Greek antecedents. And it illustrates the fact that it is rewarding to compare the Slavonic tradition with the Greek *tradition* (rather than just with 'the Greek text'), not only for the establishment of the text and the assessment of the translation technique, but also for the identification of revision layers.

In this contribution a tiny piece of the huge and immensely complex tradition of the Slavonic *Quaestiones ad Antiochum* has been examined, that is, only three out of 137 QQ, in only two of at least six text versions, using only one third of the manuscript evidence available for these versions. However, the article clearly illustrates how well we know the Greek exemplar of the text version examined here, Π^{T-120} , and how this enhances an accurate editing of the Π^{T-120} text. This, together with an insight into the broader Greek tradition, allows for a clear understanding of the revision process in Π^{R-133} , which has been illustrated for QQ 39-41. The present author's argument for a relatively late (13th-14th c.) date for the Π^{T-120} text need not be repeated here.²¹ Finally, this contribution is

²¹ Sels, "Reconsidering the Textual Transmission ...", p. 230.

also a plea for separate and more in-depth editions of consistent parts within the *QAD* tradition – of various redaction layers, of various collections of *QQ* –, taking into account the Greek text where possible, to do full justice to the multi-layered transmission history of the Slavonic *QAD*, and as a solid basis for an opinion about the way in which all these different layers interconnect.

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IN TRANSFIGURATIONEM DOMINI VON PROKLUS VON KONSTANTINOPEL (BHG 1980 / CPG 5807) IN DER SÜDSLAVISCHEN MITTELALTERLICHEN LITERATUR*

Lora Taseva

Dem konstantinopolitanischen Erzbischof Proklus (ca. 390-446) werden knapp 20 Homilien zugeschrieben, aber einige darunter haben eine zweifelhafte Attribution.¹ Mit seinem Namen werden drei Texte für das Fest der Verklärung des Herrn in der byzantinischen Überlieferung verbunden: BHG 1974s / CPG 5872, BHG 1980 / CPG 5807, BHG 1994 / CPG 5253 und 5207/2. Aber laut Radu Gârbacea ist nur der zweite – BHG 1980 / CPG 5807 (Inc. Δεῦτε, φίλοι, καὶ σήμερον τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν ἀόκνως ἐφρασώμεθα θησαυρῶν...) ein authentisches Werk von ihm.²

In die slavische Literatur wird diese Homilie noch in der altbulgarischen Epoche übernommen. Ch. Hannick ist der Meinung, dass die Homilie vier Fassungen hat.³ K. Ivanova, die mehr Quellen bearbeitet hat, stellt in den südslavischen Kalendersammlungen drei verschiedene Übersetzungen fest – zwei in Sammlungen der alten Redaktion und eine in Handschriften nach der neuen/Jerusalemmer Redaktion.⁴ Der Unterschied zwischen den beiden Forschern betrifft die Abschriften im sog. Zlatoust von Jagić und im Zagreber Codex

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¹ D. Blackburne, „Proclus, St. Patriarch of Constantinople“, in H. Wace and W. C. Piercy (eds.), *Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature to the End of the Sixth Century*, Boston, 1911, S. 862; B. Marx, *Procliana. Untersuchung über den homiletischen Nachlaß des Patriarchen Proklos von Konstantinopel*, Münster, 1940; N. Constan, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in late antiquity: homilies 1 - 5, texts and translations*, Leiden - Boston, 2003.

² R. Gârbacea, „Omiliile la Schimbarea la Față atribuite lui Proclu al Constantinopolului. O nouă traducere a Homiliae VIII. In transfigurationem domini (BHG 1980, CPG 5807)“, *Revista Teologică* 98, 2016, № 3, S. 273-274.

³ Ch. Hannick, *Maximos Holobolos in der kirchenslavischen homiletischen Literatur* (Wiener byzantinische Studien 14), Wien, 1981, S. 241-242.

⁴ К. Иванова, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Balcano-Slavica*, София, 2008, S. 600.

HAZU III.c.22. Laut Hannick gehören sie zu verschiedenen Fassungen, und laut Ivanova vertreten beide die zweite (b) altbulgarische Version. Ich neige zu letzterer Meinung und bringe eine textologische Argumentation dafür in einer anderen Publikation.⁵

Das Phänomen von Mehrfachübersetzungen ist in der mittelalterlichen Literatur der orthodoxen Slaven erstaunlich oft vertreten. Es gibt eine große Menge von Publikationen, die die Rezeption konkreter (überwiegend patristischer) Texte erforschen. Ein auch nur oberflächlicher Überblick ist in diesem Aufsatz nicht möglich und auch nicht unbedingt notwendig. Ich will hier lediglich das Buch von E. Mirčeva erwähnen, das in den letzten Jahren das wichtigste verallgemeinernde Werk zum Thema südslavische Mehrfachübersetzungen darstellt.⁶ Der vorliegende Artikel beschränkt sich auf die bulgarischen Fassungen der Homilie von Proklus *In transfigurationem*. Seine Ziele sind folgende: einerseits die Unabhängigkeit der drei Übersetzungen zu beweisen und die Frage zu beantworten, ob sie auf dieselbe Redaktion des byzantinischen Textes zurückgehen, und andererseits ihre Übersetzungsprinzipien und -technik zu vergleichen. Eine breitere Kontextualisierung der Beobachtungen bleibt zukünftigen Publikationen vorbehalten.

Die Quellen meiner Beobachtungen sind folgende:

Die byzantinische Homilie wird nach PG 65, coll. 764-772, benutzt, wo sie zusammen mit anderen Werken von Proklus von Konstantinopel herausgegeben ist.⁷ Wegen des Fehlens einer kritischen Ausgabe bin ich gezwungen, mit der nichtkritischen zu arbeiten, wobei ich eine gewisse Unsicherheit bezüglich des griechischen „Originals“ und das Risiko der Unzuverlässigkeit der Daten in Kauf nehme.⁸

⁵ Л. Тасева, „Гомилия на Преображение Господне (ВНГ 1980) в Ягичевом Златоусте и Минее четъей HAZU III.c.22: один или разные переводы?“, *Scripta & e-scripta* 20, 2020, S. 77-97.

⁶ Е. Мирчева, *Староизводните и новоизводните сборници – преводи, редакции, книжовноезикови особености*, София, 2018. Theoretische Überlegungen bietet S. Temčín an: С. Темчин, „Методика отождествления кирилло-мефодиевских гомилий“, in J. Besters-Dilger und A. Rabus (Hrsg.) *Text - Sprache - Grammatik. Slavisches Schrifttum der Vormoderne. Festschrift für Eckhard Weiher*. München - Berlin, 2009, S. 125-137.

⁷ Eine Liste der handschriftlichen Überlieferung von Proklus' Homilien bietet F. J. Leroy, *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople : tradition manuscrite, inédits, études connexes* (Studi e testi 247), Città del Vaticano, 1967, S. 100-107. Laut „PINAKES“ hat sie 77 griechische Abschriften ab dem 9. bis zum 19 Jh. <<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/6924/>> (Zugang am 22.03.2020). Die Homilie ist nach Korakidou und Giardoglou Migne (T. 65) nachgedruckt: Αλ. Κορακίδου, Νικ. Γιαρδόγλου, *Εκλεκτοί λόγοι πατέρων. Τόμος Α'. Δεσποτικά εορταί μέρος πρώτον*, Αθήναι, 1958, S. 133-137.

⁸ Ф. Томсън, „Сравняване на славянски преводи с некритични издания на гръцки текстове – няколко примера за методологическа грешка“, in *Кирило-Методиевски студии*, кн. 3, София, 1986, S. 289-294; И. Огрен, *К проблеме использования печатных изданий греческих*

Kl. Ivanova bezeichnet die drei slavischen Versionen durch die kyrillischen Buchstaben ‘а’, ‘б’ und ‘в’.⁹ Ich behalte die von ihr eingeführte Reihenfolge bei, verwende aber im Folgenden die Siglen mit Großbuchstaben ‘A’, ‘B’ und ‘C’. Folgende slavischen Abschriften konnte ich untersuchen.¹⁰

A

Mih Zagreb, HAZU, Hs. III.c.19 (Homiliar von Mihanović), Ende 13. Jh. – erste Hälfte des 14. Jh.¹¹, Orthographie von Ras¹²

B

Z Zagreb, HAZU, Hs. III.c.22, 3. Viertel des 14. Jh., Orthographie von Rassa (Hauptquelle für B)¹³

J Sankt-Petersburg, RNB, Hs. Q.п.I.56 (Jagičev Zlatoust), 13.-14. Jh., bulgarische Orthographie mit zwei Buchstaben für die ehemaligen Nasalvokale¹⁴

Bel Belgrad, Patriarchatsbibliothek, Hs. 219, 1381, Orthographie von Ras¹⁵

M Moskau, Russische Staatsbibliothek, Hs. ф. 178, № 10272, 3. Viertel des 14. Jh., Orthographie von Ras¹⁶

C

RM Rila Kloster, Hs. 4/8 (von Vladislav Gramatik geschrieben), 1479, Orthographie von Ras, (Hauptquelle für C)¹⁷

Iv Iviron Kloster, Hs. Sl. 10, erste Hälfte 15. Jh., Orthographie mit zwei Jers, ohne Buchstaben für ehemalige Nasalvokale¹⁸

текстов при исследовании древних славянских переводов (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Slavica Upsaliensia 31), Uppsala, 1991.

⁹ К. Иванова, *Bibliotheca hagiographica ...*, S. 600.

¹⁰ Ich möchte mich bei allen Kollegen, Bibliotheken und Archiven bedanken, die mir entweder Kopien zur Verfügung gestellt haben oder mir die Arbeit mit den Handschriften de visu erlaubten. Meine tiefe Dankbarkeit möchte ich auch allen Klostersgemeinschaften ausdrücken, die mir die wissenschaftliche Arbeit mit den Kopien ihrer Handschriften ermöglicht haben.

¹¹ А. Турилов, „О датировке и происхождении рукописи Гомилиярия Михановича“, *Slavia* 78, 2009, № 3-4, p. 466.

¹² Benutzt nach der Faksimile-Edition von R. Aitzetmüller, *Mihanović Homiliar. Faksimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift III.c.19 (Mih. 25) im Archiv der Jugoslavischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste* (Editiones monumentorum Slavicorum veteris dialecti), Graz, 1957.

¹³ Benutzt nach den Papier-Kopien, die mir Prof. Klimentina Ivanova zur Verfügung gestellt hat. Die Qualität der Kopien ist nicht besonders gut: die rubrizierten Passagen sind nicht zu sehen, und die Diakritika sind nicht deutlich lesbar.

¹⁴ Benutzt nach der Edition von М. Димитрова, *Ягичев златоуст. Средновековен български паметник със слова и поучения от началото на XIV век*, София, 2011.

¹⁵ Benutzt de visu im Jahre 2018.

¹⁶ Benutzt nach den digitalen Kopien, die Dr. A.E.Soboleva dank der Vermittlung von Prof. T.V. Pentkovskaja für mich besorgt hat.

¹⁷ Benutzt nach den Kopien, die mir vom Digital-Archiv „Българска ръкописна книга“ des Lehrstuhls für Kyriologmethodievistik an der Sofioter Universität zur Verfügung gestellt wurden.

- Dr* Dragomirna Kloster, Hs. 791, zweite Hälfte 15. Jh., moldavisch¹⁹
BAR Bibliothek der Rumänische Akademie, Hs. Sl. 305, Ende 15. Jh.,
 Orthographie von Ras²⁰
PBS Belgrad, Patriarchatsbibliothek, Hs. 281, 1555, serbische
 Orthographie²¹
MSPC Belgrad, Museum der Serbischen Orthodoxen Kirche, Hs. 106, 1575-
 1585, serbische Orthographie²²
UB Beograd, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 1, 1595, serbische
 Orthographie²³
G56 Sankt-Petersburg, Russische Nationalbibliothek, Hs. Gil'ferding 56
 (abgeschrieben von Mardarij von Rila), 1509, bulgarische
 Orthographie²⁴
G53 Sankt-Petersburg, Russische Nationalbibliothek, Hs. Gil'ferding 53,
 letztes Viertel des 15. Jh. – Anfang des 16. Jh.,²⁵ Orthographie von
 Resava²⁶
446 Hilandar Kloster, Hs. 446, 17. Jh., Orthographie von Resava²⁷
487 Hilandar Kloster, Hs. 487, 17. Jh., Orthographie von Resava
489 Hilandar Kloster, Hs. 489, 17. Jh., Orthographie von Resava
649 Hilandar Kloster, Hs. 649, 17. Jh., bulgarische Orthographie ohne
 Buchstaben für ehemalige Nasalvokale

Von den in „Bibliotheca hagiographica“ gelisteten Abschriften dieser Homilie sind in der Untersuchung nur zwei Kopien – ZPMH 72 (1538, moldavisch) und OLDP, F. 421 (16. Jh. moldavisch) – nicht berücksichtigt, denn

¹⁸ Die digitale Kopie dieser Abschrift sowie von allen Hilandar-Abschriften wurden mir von den Kollegen in der Hilandar Research Library in Columbus, Ohio, zur Verfügung gestellt.

¹⁹ Benutzt nach den digitalen Aufnahmen, die mir Prof. A. Miltenova überließ.

²⁰ Benutzt nach den digitalen Aufnahmen, die für mich im Jahre 2018 in der Handschriftenabteilung der Bibliothek der Rumänische Akademie hergestellt wurden.

²¹ Benutzt de visu im Jahre 2018.

²² Benutzt de visu im Jahre 2018 und nach digitalen Kopien, die für mich hergestellt wurden.

²³ Die Handschrift ist auf der Internet-Seite der Universitätsbibliothek zugänglich: <<http://arhiva.unilib.rs/cirilica/dokument/1/panegirik-slova-i-pohvale-svetih-otaca>> (Zugang am 12.01.2019).

²⁴ Die Handschrift ist auf der Internet-Seite der Russischen Nationalbibliothek zugänglich: <http://expositions.nlr.ru/ex_manus/Serbian_Manuscripts/show.php?i=476D106A-5093-474B-A2D4-025C5ACA0474&l=1> (Zugang am 22.02.2019).

²⁵ В. А. Мошин, „К датировке рукописей из собрания А.Ф. Гильфердинга Государственной публичной библиотеки“, *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы* 15, 1958, S. 414.

²⁶ Die Handschrift ist auf der Internet-Seite der Russischen Nationalbibliothek zugänglich: <http://expositions.nlr.ru/ex_manus/Serbian_Manuscripts/show.php?i=AFB5175C-1771-4BBE-B5CF-C01FEA25B7A8&l=1&lang=1> (Zugang am 22.02.2019).

²⁷ Siehe oben Fußnote 17.

es ist mir nicht gelungen Photos davon zu bekommen. Beide gehören zur Fassung C.

Nach diesen Erläuterungen gehe ich zur vergleichenden Analyse der Übersetzungen über. Ihr Verhältnis zum griechischen Text wird auf drei Ebenen verfolgt: Textvollständigkeit, Syntax und Lexik.

I. TEXTVOLLSTÄNDIGKEIT

Im großen und ganzen geben die drei Übersetzungen den griechischen Text in PG ziemlich genau wieder.

I.1. Auslassungen

Die Auslassungen beschränken sich auf zwei kurze Textpassagen in **A** und eine in **B** sowie auf einzelne Phrasen und Wörter in allen drei Übersetzungen.

I.1.1. Textpassagen

768,12-15: εἰ ἐνταῦθα Χριστὸς κατελίμπανεν ἡμᾶς, τίνοος χάριν ἐκοινώνησεν ἡμῖν αἵματος καὶ σαρκός; εἰ ἐνταῦθα Χριστὸς κατελίμπανεν ἡμᾶς, τίνοος χάριν συγκατέβη τῷ πεσόντι, καὶ τὸν κείμενον ἤγειρεν;

A om.

B НАН НА СЕ $\widehat{\chi}$ б ОСТАВН НЫ. [om. J] κορο ρ $\hat{\alpha}$ [om. J Δ'βα'μα Bel] πρηγестη се ПΛΥΤΗ Η ΚΡΥΒΥ. НАН НА СНІЕ [се J Bel] $\widehat{\chi}$ б ОСТАВН НЫ [πρηδε J]. [+H J] κορο Δ'βα'μα [Δ'βα'ια Bel] снїеде на [н $\hat{\alpha}$ Bel + αδα Η J] παδ'шаго се. Η λεκειαγο β $\hat{\lambda}$ βηже.

C ἀψе ζαδὲ [+ $\widehat{\chi}$ c G56] ὀστάβητῆ νόсь, γесо [γ ψ со BAR Dr] ραδ η πρηόβ ψ μн се н α мь [om. 487] κρ ψ βн ή πλ ψ τн [tr. UB 487 489 649]. ἀψе ζαδὲ $\widehat{\chi}$ c [om. 487 489 649] ὀστάβητῆ νόсь, γесо [γ ψ со BAR Dr γέο sic! MSPC] ραδ η сβн η дe [αψе ... сβн η дe om. G53 446 - ψ UB] κ ψ п α δ ψ шомоу ή λέжещeε β ψ зст α вн.

764,31-34: ὄρος ὑψηλὸν, ἐν ψ Μωϋσῆς, ὁ ἀνοίξας καὶ κλείσας τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης τὰ συστήματα· ὄρος ὑψηλὸν, ἐν ψ Ἡλίας, ὁ ἀνοίξας καὶ κλείσας τῶν ὑδάτων τὰ ὀμβρήματα.

A Гора в ψ сока на н ψ нже мочн. $\widehat{\omega}$ вр ψ зын ή затворнв ψ н γ ψ р ψ мна α го звор α . Гора в ψ сока на н ψ нже н α н η . $\widehat{\omega}$ вр ψ зь ή затворнв ψ д ψ ждевн α т α ш ψ ствн η . Гора в ψ с ψ к α [-αα 487 489 649], на н ψ нже н α т α [н α тн UB] зак α л ψ у ψ нвн [-вн Iv] ή $\widehat{\omega}$ вр ψ зын [-зн Iv] д ψ ждевн α ὀδ ψ жд η т α [с ψ χο ψ т η т α G53].

B om.

C γ ψ ροу в ψ с ψ к ψ с [Г·В· redupl. Iv - ψ PBS MSPC], на н ψ нже м ψ н ψ т η $\widehat{\omega}$ вр ψ зын [-зы G53] ή зат ψ орнв ψ [-ын BAR UB G53 G56 446 487 489 649] м ψ ра с ψ ст α вл η т η .

I.1.2. Phrasen

Fehlende Phrasen gibt es selten in **A** und **C**, aber oft in **B**. Einige Beispiele:

- in **A**

765,52-54: καὶ ἀνήρπασε τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἐκείσε καθεύδοντας.

A om.

B н ѿ вѣка сѣдецие [сѣциѣ Л] въ тмѣ нзвѣ:

C н ѿсхѣити ѿже [om. *PBS MSPC*] ѿ вѣка спѣцие.

768,39-40: τί δῆτα περιττὰ προπετεύη,

A om.

B [γτῶ] Δρονци не орас'но.

C γτὸ σογ'γβο προдрѣзвешн [-лешн *Dr UB G56*].

769,29: Εἰκὴ τοίνυν κατήλθεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,

A om.

B прѣнде ѿна н с'ннде на землю [земли *Bel*].

C ѿце ѿвѣ с'ннѣде на землю.

- in **B**

765,2-3: κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐπισπάσῃται μάρτυρας,

A по закону прѣемлетъ свѣдѣтелие.

B нзвѣтъ [нзвѣдѣ *M*] • послухы [-ъ *J*],

C по законѣ прѣтрѣгнетъ свѣдѣтелие [-а *649*],

765,7-8: Ὅρων γὰρ ὁ Ἰούδας παρὰ τὸ ὄρος Ἀνδρέαν, Θωμᾶν, Φίλιππον,

A внде во ѿуда прн горѣ андрѣю ѿоμου филипа.

B внде [-н *J*] же нюда, андрѣю [-на *J*], ѿоμου же н филипа [фнлнппа *Bel*].

C зрѣ [зрѣт *G53* -а *649*] во ѿуда пѣ горю андрѣа [-ю *489* -а *649*] ѿоμου филиппа.

769,9-10: αἰθέρα πυρώσαντι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σὺν ἐμοὶ πρὸ αἰώνων δημιουργήσαντι;

A *Mih* ѿѿурь раждегшюму • ѿ все с мнѡю прѣдѣ вѣкы сздавшюму коуцию.

B н [om. н *J* + кровь *J*] ѿнце ражег'ша.

C ѿѿѣра [н некаа *UB* въздѡг'хъ *G53*] раждегшюму; ѿ вѣсѣ [-ѣ *Dr* -а *649*] сѣ мнѡю прѣже вѣкѣ сѣдѣтелствовавшюму [дѣтел'ствовавшюмс *BAR*].

С сѣх [сѣ *Iv BAR PBS*] ꙗ̄ сѣ̄х̄ мо̄х̄ вѣзлѡблѣныи [-ныи *G53 649*].

- in **B** und **C**

768,39-40: τί δῆτα περιττὰ προπετεῦν,

A om.

B [υτο] Δυοηци неопас'но

C υτὸ σούγυβο προΔρέζυεши [-леши *Dr UB G56*].

Selten stimmen die Auslassungen in *allen drei Versionen* überein:

765,13-14: καὶ τὴν τοῦ μύρον τιμὴν ἀλειψάση ἀνατιῶς βασκαίνων,

A ἡ πουτο μηρο без вниы завндэӣ.

B η μηρο [твoрyца J] безъ вниы оклеветавиe [оклеветав J].

C ἡ μύροу [μήροу *Dr*] безвниѡвнома завн̄де [-ѣ *Iv UB G53 G56 -A 649*].

I.1.3 Einzelne Wörter

Dutzende verschiedener Wörter fehlen *in den verschiedenen Übersetzungen*:

- nur in **A**

768,11-12: ἔκλινεν οὐρανούς καὶ κατέβη;

A ѡбннзѣ се падышмоу ἡ лежеца̄го вѣставн̄ӣ.

B прѣклоиη̄ · нѣд̄ η снн̄де [om. J].

C прѣклон̄ӣ [-н̄ь *PBS MSPC*] нѣса̄ ἡ [om. *MSPC*] сѣн̄н̄де [-ѣ *UB*].

768,16-17: εἰς μάτην ἐκλήθης τῶν οὐρανῶν κλειδοῦχος.

A вь поустош̄ь нарече̄нь̄ ієсн̄ κλύγאַрь̄.

B вьсоӯе нар̄ε̄ се̄ нѣомь̄ [нѣсемь̄ *M*] κλύγאַрь̄.

C в̄зсoӯе̄ нар̄ε̄ӯе̄ се̄ нѣсн̄ыӣ κλύγאַрь̄.

- nur in **B**

765,24-25: οὐ τὸ παράδοξον σκοπήσας τῆς θείας ἐλλάμψεως,

A не прѣславнoӣ · смот'рн̄в̄ь б̄ж̄твн̄а̄го̄ прoсвѣт'ѣнн̄ӣ.

B прѣславнoго [-а̄ӣ *J*] б̄ж̄н̄ӣа̄ свѣт'ѣнн̄ӣа̄ [свѣд'ѣнн̄ӣа̄ *J*],

C не прѣслāvнoе̄ [непрѣстанoе̄ *MSPC*] с̄мoт'р̄ӣ б̄ж̄твн̄а̄го̄ ōс̄īā̄н̄īā,

768,37-38: Ἔτι, φησὶ τοῦ Πέτρου λαλοῦντος,

A ієце̄ ρ̄ε̄̄ томоӯ петроӯ γ̄λῑц̄ю̄.

B [+ η *J*] еце̄ же̄ пе[троӯ] γ̄λῑцоӯ.

С ἡ ἕμε ρέγε πέτρου Γλιουσιβ.

- nur in **C**

765,39: ἡ παναγία παρθένος Μαρία;

A ἑταῖα μαρηνά.

B πρῆσταῖα [πρῆστῆνηβ J] ἡ πρῆνοβῆνηα [om. M ἑλγοςλοβενηα J] ἄβα [ἄβα M] ἄρηα [ἄροΔη J].

C ἄβα μαρίάμ;

In einzelnen Fällen fehlen die gleichen Wörter *in zwei Übersetzungen:*

- in **A** und **B**

768,20-21: τὸ εἶναι καὶ καλεῖσθαι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας θεμέλιος.

A ἰεζε ναρηατη σε ὠσνοβα ἑρκβηαά.

B ναρηατη τε [ca J] ἑρκβηοε οσῆνοβανηε [πρῆνωσνοβανηιε Bel].

C ἕζε βύτη ἑρκβηοε ὀσνοβάνηε.

- in **A** und **C**

769,25-26: ἀλλὰ τοῦτον ἀπέστειλα εἰς τὴν Παρθένον,

A νῆ σεγο ποσλαχῆ δῆτβηαῶγο.

B νῆ σεγο ποσλαῶ. [+ βῆ M] ἄβῆ,

C ἡῆ [ηῆ Dr ἡο 649] ἑεγο [om. Dr] ποσλάχῆ. ἄβῆστῆβηηκα (sic!) [ἄβῆστῆβηηκα Dr] ἡλίῶ [-8 BAR].

769,31: γέγονεν ὅπερ ἔστε ὑμεῖς.

A βύ ἰεζε ἰε.

B ἡ βύ ἡαῶ ρῆ.

C βύ ἕζε ἰεστῆ [ἕ Dr].

769,2: Πάντες σκανδαλισθήσεσθε,²⁹

A ζβλαζηητε σε ὠ μῆβ.

B om. [σβλαζηητε σε ω μῆβ J βση ω μῆβ σβλαζηητε σε M]

C σβλάζηητε σε ὀ μῆβ,

- in **B** und **C**

²⁹ Vgl. Mt 26:31; Mc 14:27.

768,39-40: τί δῆτα περιττά προπετεύῃ,
A om.
B [ΥΤΟ] ΔΒΟΗЦИ НΕΟΠΑΣ'ΗΟ
C ΥΤὸ σογ'Ҁ880 προΔρβ'з8εиш [-λεиш *Dr UB G56*].

Selten fehlen die gleichen Wörter *in allen drei Versionen*:

765,54-55: Ποιήσωμεν ὡδὲ τρεῖς σκηναίς.³⁰
A створѣнѣмъ трѣнѣ кѣщѣ.
B сътворѣнѣмъ трѣнѣ кровѣ.
C сътворѣнѣмъ трѣнѣ сѣнѣ,

Man kann verallgemeinern, dass die Menge und die Konstellation der Auslassungen keine sicheren Beweise für die intertextuelle Abhängigkeit zwischen den Übersetzungen anbietet. Die einzelnen Fälle von Übereinstimmungen zwischen den drei Fassungen lassen sich als Abweichungen in den jeweiligen griechischen Vorlagen oder als zufällige identische Transmissionsfehler erklären.

I.2. Ergänzungen

I.2.1. Phrasen werden selten ergänzt. Das geschieht häufiger in **B**, aber oft ist die Ergänzung nur in einer Abschrift bezeugt, was sie als Ergebnis der Kopistentätigkeit ausweist. Einige Beispiele für hinzugefügte Phrasen *in einer der Fassungen*:

- in **A**

769,19-20: οὐκ ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος, ἀλλ' οὗτος, εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτός,
A не ѣнѣ нн ѣнѣ нь снѣ. не ѣнѣ въ ѣномѣ нь снѣ. не ѣнѣ ѣнѣмъ нь снѣ.
 ѣдѣнѣ ѣ тѣждѣ снѣ,
B не ѣнѣ др8гын, нь съ [om. J] др8рын. за нногo [εδηηοογo J] нь съ [om. за ... съ M]
C не ѣнѣ въ ѣномѣ, нѣ [нѣ *Dr* но 649] сѣ [сѣн *MSPC* 487]. ѣдѣнѣ, тѣ [om. *BAR PBS MSPC* тѣн 487]. сѣ [сѣн *PBS MSPC* 487]

- in **B**

768,46-47: καὶ ἔτι Σίμων ὑπάρχεις; οὐρανῶν σε κλειδοῦχον κατέστησε,
A ѣ ѣщѣ лн сѣмѣнѣ ѣсн. κλῶγαρα τε нѣнаδго поставнѣ.

³⁰ Vgl. Mc 9:5; Lc 9:33; Mt 17:4.

I.2.2. Ergänzte Wörter sind ungefähr doppelt so häufig in **B** (ca. 40) wie in **A** (ca. 20), und in **C** sind sie am seltensten (ca. 5).

In **A** werden oft Verben und Konjunktionen ergänzt, was erlaubt, sie mit größerer Wahrscheinlichkeit dem Übersetzer oder einem Kopisten als der griechischen Vorlage zuzuschreiben:

764,24-25: ὄρος ὑψηλὸν, ἐν ᾧ Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἡλίας διελέγοντο τῷ Χριστῷ.

A гора висока на нѡже възиде мочи тнѣ н ѡлнѣ. гл҃аста къ х҃соу.

B гора високаа [-ка *M*] на нѣнже мωυσῆ [μονη *M*] ннѣ [н ннѣ *MJ BeI*] съ х҃мь гл҃аста [тг. *J*].

C γору высώκου [г·в· ом. *G53*], на нѣнже мωυσῆ [μοῆη *UB*] н ѡлѣ гл҃аах҃ х҃оу.

765,25-26: καὶ σκηνοποιὸς ἐξ ἀλιέων προέκοπτε,

A н коуциный творитель быти ѿ ловць спѣшаше.

B н [ом. *J*] насѣнноє [на сѣнь *J*] покрѣвеноє [-ннє *M* -ннє н *J*] ѿ маслнны [-ьь *M* -ь *J*]. [+ н *BeI*] ломаше.

C н сѣннѡтворѣць [-ець *Dr* сѣннѡтвораць *PBS MSPC* -рѣць *Iv G53 G56 487 649*] ѿ рѣбарства прѣспѣ [прнспѣ *BAR Dr MSPC UB G56*].

768,11: τίνος χάριν ἔκλινεν

A то чєсо радн ѡбнннн се

B кого дѣлѣма прѣклонн

C чєсо [чєсо *BAR Dr*] радн прѣклонн [-нъ *PBS MSPC*]

In **B** werden gewöhnlich erklärende autosemantische Wörter (inkl. pleonastische oder Doppelübersetzungen) und seltener Konjunktionen und die Kopula hinzugefügt. Ihrem Charakter nach zeigen diese Ergänzungen ein Streben nach Klarheit und semantischer Genauigkeit und sind wohl auch eher im slavischen Milieu entstanden.

764,34: ὄρος ὑψηλὸν, ἵνα μάθωσιν

A гора висока да ѡвѣдеть

B гора внокаа на нѣнже да [ом. *J*] ѡвѣдеть

C γору высώκου [-сѡ *PBS MSPC*], да навѣкноуь [-сєть *G56*]

764,28: καὶ τῷ αἵματι τὰς φλῆας τῶν Ἑβραίων ραντίσας·

A н крѣвнѡ прагы жндовьскы покропннѣ.

В н крѣвы [-нѣ J -нѹ *M Bel*] κρο прагы εβρѣнскѣ [-ыннѣ *M*] χραμνηαμѣ
окропи [ζακροπι *J*].

С њ крѣвѣю прагы [врѣгы] *PBS MSPC*] εβρѣнскыѣ [εβρѣнскыѣ *Iv UB*]
покрѡпнвы [-ын 487 489 649].

765,14-15: καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον τολμηρῶς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς προδίδων.

A оуѣнтелеѣн врагомѣ дрѣзѣ прѣдавѣ.

В н оуѣтелеѣ н вѣкоу врагомѣ сѣ дрѣзѣ новеннѣмѣ прѣдаѣше.

С њ оуѣтелеѣ врѣгомѣ дрѣзѡстнѣ прѣдѣсть.

765,46-47: καὶ ῥάβδῳ πατάξας διήλθε τὸ πέλαγος.

A њ жѣзломѣ оуѣдарнѣ рѣзѣ вѣн поуѣнноу.

В н жѣзломѣ оуѣдарнѣ [*om. J*] рѣзѣ вѣн мѡркѣю [*om. J*] поуѣнноу [*γλοуѣнноу*
M tr. π. м. Bel].

С њ жѣзломѣ [жѣзломѣ *Dr*] порѣжѣ рѣзѣ вѣн поуѣннѣ.

In C werden nur ein paar autosemantische Wörter hinzugefügt:

765,4: ἐν αὐτοῖς

A вѣ тѣхѣ

В вѣ самѣхѣ [*om. J*]

С вѣ εΔήνη тѣмѣ

765,45: ἡ σπηλαίων ἀνθρωπίνων ἀπήλασαν πνεύματα;

A њ пещерѣ υλвѣкыѣнхѣ ѡгнаста дѣхы.

В нзѣ раѣнаѣ [-аннѣ *M J*] υλѣ [-а *M J Bel*] нзѣраста [-ε *J*] дѣхын [-ы *M*
om. J].

С њ лѣ врѣтпы [врѣтѣпн *Iv врѣтѡпы MSPC врѣтѣбы 487 489 649*] υλѣскѣ [-
ын 489] њ [*om. PBS MSPC*] пѣтѡнѡскыѣ ѡгнаше [-а 649] доуѣнѡвѣ;

769,26-27: ἐκ Παρθένου εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν.

A ѡ дѣвѣ на то нѣо.

В ѡ дѣвѣ вѣ тѡ самѡѣ [-о *J M*] нѣо.

С ѡ дѣвѣ хѣ вѣ сѣмѡѣ нѣо.

Identische Ergänzungen an gleichen Stellen *in zwei Fassungen* (wenn es nicht um die Kopula geht) haben mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit keinen slavischen Ursprung, sondern gehen auf die byzantinischen Quellen zurück, die sich offenbar vom Text in PG unterschieden haben. Das beweisen am besten Ergänzungen, die lexikalisch nicht identisch, aber semantisch ähnlich sind:

- A und B

764,45-46: τούτου χάριν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καταλιμπάνει,

A сего ради ε τῆμῃ ἢ ἡνὶ ὠσταβλιαιέτῃ.

B сего [τογο J] ρᾶ ἴζε βιαχοу [βῖαχοу M -ша J] сь ннмь. то [τῃ Bel] н
[om. J] тыне оставн [+ сь ннмь J].

C ραδῆ céго ἢ дрoгýгыñ [-ы 489] oста́вляе́тῃ.

- A und C

764,46-765,1: ἵνα κάκεινφ μὴ μόνφ καταλειφθέντι

A да томоу ἰκo не ἱέδннoмoу ὠσταβλιeнoу.

B да не oнoгo [om. J] eдннoгo oставнть.

C да не oнoмoу ἰкo eдннoмoс oстаβλιeнoс [-н'нoмoс PBS MSPC],

76916-17: καὶ τοὺς παρόντας καλύψας,

A ἢ coυψeιe тoу пoкpнвь.

B [om. J] нaстoиcтвa [нaстoпцaгo J] пoкpывь [пoкpовь M κpовн J]

C ἢ зaдe coгýпнхь пoкpы́хь,

- B und C

768,4: καλὸν ἡμᾶς τὸ ὧδε εἶναι,

A нaмь дoбpo ἱeжe зaдe бьтн.

B нaмь дoбpo ἱe [tr. ie· н· д· J] зaдe бьтн.

C дoбpo ἱe нaмь [tr. UB] зaдe бьтн,

768,24-25: δευτέραν ἔλευσιν.

A нaпpac'нoиe пpнш'твнiе.

B вьтopиe [+ ce н J] спcнoе вьстaннe.

C втoрoе [+ ἢ PBS MSPC G53] спcнoе пpнш'ствiе.

Dasselbe kann man auch für die in *allen drei Übersetzungen* übereinstimmenden Ergänzungen sagen:

769,30-31: μορφὴν δούλου λαβών,

A ἢ ὠβpазь pавннi xoтe вьze.

B н вьcхoт'вeь [+ вь J] oбpазь pавнн пpнeты [oбл'вцн cа J -тῃ Bel M].

C зpáкь páвa xoтe [-в MSPC UB -а 649 om. G53] пpиeм.

764,17: πλοῦτον ἀφθόνως μεριζόμενον,

A Б҃ГАТѢСТВА ѠБЕНЛНѢ ВСѢМЬ ДѢЛНМ Б҃ГАТѢСТВОУ.

B БОГАТСТВО НЕТАБННО [-иемо M -емо Bel -емоε J]· [+ H J] ВСѢМЬ
РАΖѢЛННО [раζλαиемо J]·

C БОГАТСТВО, НЕЗАВНСТНѢ ВЪСѢМЬ РАΖΔΈΛΝΝΟ

765,12-13: εἰς οὐδέποτε τῶν θαυμάτων παροραθεῖς·

A {H} Ѡ КОІЕМЖЕ ННКОЛНЖЕ ѠН ЮДЕСЬ ПРѢЗРѢ·

B [+ H M] НН ВЪ УТОЖЕ [УТО M ЦОЖЕ J] ННКОЛНЖЕ [НА КОЛНЖЕ J om. M]
ЮДСЬ [-сь M -са J] НМЫН [НМѢП J]·

C НН ВЪ УТОЖЕ ННКОГΔΔЖЕ ЮДЕСА НЕПЦЕВАВЪ [-ва PBS MSPC]·

I.3. Transpositionen

Alle drei Fassungen haben die gleiche Umsetzung eines Syntagma im Vergleich mit dem Text in PG: das Zitat aus dem Apostolos (Ph 2:9) ist in den drei slavischen Versionen durch den Attribuierungssatz getrennt:

769,44-45: Ἐχαρίσατο γὰρ αὐτῷ ὄνομα, τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὀνομα, ὡς φησι Παῦλος. Ἀλλ' ἔρεῖς πάντως, ἀγαπητέ·

A ДАРОВА ІЕМОУ НМЕ ІАКОЖЕ РѢ ПАУЛѢ· ІЖЕ ВЫШЕ ВСАКОГО НМЕНЕ· НЪ РѢШН ВСАКО ЛЮБЛЕННІУЕ·

B ДА ВО [НЪ ДАСТЬ СА J] ІЕМОУ ІАКОЖЕ РѢ ПАУЛѢ НМЕ· ЕЖЕ [+ ІЕ J] БОЛІЕ[БОЛІЕ M] ВСЕГО [ВЪСѢКОГО J] НМЕНЕ [-H J]· НЪ [НЕ BEL] РѢШН ВСАКОГО ВЪЗЛЮБЛЕННІЕ [om. J]·

C ДАРОВА БѠ ЕМОУ НМЕ [-а 649] ІАКОЖЕ РѢУЕ ПАУЛѢ [ПАУЛЕЛЪ Dr 649], ЕЖЕ ПАУЕ ВЪСАКОГО [-ѢКОГО Dr -коко sic! MSPC] НМЕНЕ [-Ѣ UB]· РЕУЕШН ВЪЗЛЮБЛЕНЕ [-енне BAR 649 -иен'нѢ PBS MSPC -иен'не Iv UB G53 446 487 489],

Individuelle Transpositionen gibt es in **A**:

769,27-28: Οὐδεὶς γὰρ, φησὶν, ἀνέβη εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς.³¹

A АЦЕ ІЖЕ С НБѢ СШЪ· БЕЗ ДОВЬ ОУБО СННДЕ НА ЗЕМЛЮ·

B ННКОЖЕ БО РѢ ВЪЗЫДЕ НА НБѠ [tr. на н·в· J]· НЪ [om. J] ТЫКМО НЖЕ [еже BEL] С НБѢСЬ [-е J] СЪННДЕ·

C ННКОЖЕ БѠ РЕУЕ ВЪЗЫДЕ [-Ѣ MSPC UB] НА НБѠ, АЦЕ НЕ НЖЕ [юже 489] ѠН НБѢСЬ СШЪДЫН·

³¹ Vgl. Jo 3:13.

Eine Phrase in der Übersetzung **B** ist auch umgestellt. Statt am Anfang der Reihe gleicher syntaktischer Ausdrücke steht sie fast am Ende der rhetorischen Figur:

764,23-25: εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν ἀνῆλθεν ὁ Δεσπότης Ὅρος ὑψηλὸν, ἐν ᾧ Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἡλίας διελέγοντο τῷ Χριστῷ.... / 764,30: καὶ τὴν δι' ὕδατος θυσίαν ἐν πυρὶ δαπανήσας·

B (Z f. 316b28) H [om. *Bel*] ВЪЗЫДЕ НА ГОРОУ [+ H J] ПОМЛНТН СЕ [-ЛН СЛ J] ... (Z f. 316c3-6) H ВОДНОУЮ ЖРЪТВОУ ОГ'НЕМЪ ПОЖЕЖЕ, / ГОРА ВЪСОКАА НА НЕНЖЕ МВУСІН ННІА [H НЛНІА J *Bel*] СЪ ХМЪ ГЛАСА [tr. J]·

Die dargestellten Fakten auf der Ebene der Textvollständigkeit erlauben mir die Schlussfolgerung, dass die drei Übersetzungen auf der Grundlage von ähnlichen, aber nicht identischen griechischen Vorlagen gemacht wurden. Sie standen dem Text in PG relativ nahe und hatten nur kleine Unterschiede untereinander. Auf dieser Ebene gibt die Fassung C die byzantinische Vorlage am genauesten bzw. vollständigsten wieder.

II. SYNTAX

Auf dieser Ebene wird die Wiedergabe der spezifisch griechischen Konstruktionen mit distant stehendem Artikel verglichen, die traditionell als ein wichtiges Kriterium der Übersetzungstechnik betrachtet wird.³² Die Darstellung der Daten folgt der grammatischen Charakteristik des substantivierten Gliedes.

II.1. Infinitiv mit Artikel

Der griechische Text enthält nur drei Konstruktionen mit substantiviertem Infinitiv (eine davon mit kontakt stehendem Artikel). Beide altbulgarischen Übersetzer sind konsequent in ihrem unterschiedlichen Vorgehen: **A** benutzt immer HЖЕ + Infinitiv und **B** nur Infinitiv, d.h. das Streben nach formaler Gleichheit mit dem Original ist bei diesem syntaktischen Muster nur für die Übersetzung **A** typisch. In der mittelbulgarischen Übersetzung **C** wird HЖЕ zweimal benutzt, und einmal (in einem Zitat aus dem Evangelium) gibt es keine formale Entsprechung für den griechischen Artikel. Hier sind die Beispiele:

³² Einen Überblick über die wichtigste Literatur kann man im Buch von A. Dimitrova finden (A. Димитрова, *Синтактичната структура на преводната агиография*, София, 2012, S. 42-50). Die Monographie bietet eine vorbildliche Darstellung der Syntax der altbulgarischen übersetzten Hagiographie.

765,55-768,1: Καλὸν ἡμᾶς τὸ ὧδε εἶναι.³³

A Δοβρο ѿε намъ ѱже зΔѣ бытъ.

B Δοβρο ѿε намъ зΔε бы̆.

C Δοβρο̆ ѿε н́амъ ѱже [om. G53] зΔε̆ бы̆тъ.

768,3-4: Πῶς γὰρ καλὸν ἡμᾶς τὸ ὧδε εἶναι.³⁴

A како бо намъ Δοβρο ѱже зΔѣ бытъ.

B [+ н J] како бо [om. J] намъ Δοβρο̆ ѿε [tr. ѱ• н• Δ• J] зΔε бытъ.

C како же Δοβро̆ ѿε н́амъ [tr. UB] зΔε̆ бы̆тъ.

768,20-21: παραίτησαι τὸ εἶναι καὶ καλεῖσθαι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας θεμέλιος.

A ѿвръзи се ѱже на ρηца ти се ѿснова ц̆рквнӑ.

B [+ Δ M] ѿм̆втаиеш лη се на ρηца ти те [ca. J] ц̆рквноε ος̆нованне [пр̆ѣвснованне Bel].

C ѿрецй се [ѿвр̆ѣци се MSPC] ѱже бы̆тъ ц̆рквноε ос̆нованйе.

II.2. Partizip mit Artikel

Ich habe 11 griechische Konstruktionen des Typs „Partizip mit distant stehendem Artikel“ gefunden. Eine davon fehlt in beiden altbulgarischen Fassungen, zwei weitere nur in der Übersetzung **A**. Die Entsprechungen der vorhandenen Konstruktionen enthalten fünfmal *нже-* in **A**, viermal in **B** und neunmal in **C**, ohne formales Korrelat bleiben 3 Fälle in **A**, 6 in **B** und 2 in **C**. Folglich tendiert die Übersetzung **C** häufiger zu formal identischen Entsprechungen mit einem artikelähnlichen Pronomen als die älteren Fassungen, und die Übersetzung **B** zeigt die größte Unabhängigkeit bezüglich des Originals. Als Illustration sind unten einige Stellen präsentiert:

764,27: ἐν ᾧ Μωϋσῆς, ὁ τοῦ πάσχα τὸν ἀμνὸν σφραγίσας,

A на н̆ѣнже мочи велнкн̆ д̆ньны̆н аг̆нцъ закладъ.

B на н̆енже мωυс̆н [монч M] пасхы [om. J] аг̆нцъ [+ Δ J] закладъ [-Δ J].

C γ̆οροῠ выс̆к̆с [-ογ̆ό PBS MSPC], на н̆енже мωυс̆н̆ ѱже пасхы аг̆нца заклады [-ын 487 489 649],

764,29-30: ἐν ᾧ Ἡλίας, ὁ παρ' ἐκείνοις τὸν βοῦν μελίσας,

A на н̆ѣнже н̆ан̆а ѱже во̆ль ѱже о̆г̆ т̆ѣхъ ραзаρ̆овн̆ь.

³³ Vgl. Mt 17:4; Mc 9:5; Lc 9:33.

³⁴ Vgl. Mt 17:4; Mc 9:5; Lc 9:33.

В на нѣнже нана юнѣць [-а *Л*] ραστεα прѣ ннмы [пр• н• ом. *МЛ*],
С на нѣнже нѣла нже [ом. *G53*] νόλα ο [ο om. *Iv BAR PBS MSPC 487*]
 ѡнѣхъ ραζαρόβнѣы [-ын 487 489]

765,51: ο δὲ σὲ μαθητὴν ἐξ ἀλλείων λαβὼν,
А тебе же понмь оуѣеннка ѡ рыбарь•
В тебе же ѡуеннка ѡ рыбарь поемь [понмн *Вел*],
С тебе же оуѣеннка ѡ рыбарен взъзмь [взъэмь *BAR Dr 649*]

769,28: εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς.³⁵
А ѡце ѡже с нѣе сѡѣ•
В нь [ом. *Л*] тьк'мо нже [еже *Вел*] с нѣсь [-е *Л*] сѡннде•
С ѡце не нже [юже 489] ѡ нѣсь сѡшъдын•

772,6: Ὁ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀκούων καὶ ἐμοῦ ἀκούει.
А нже бо того послоушадѣтъ н мене послоушадѣтъ•
В послоушаден бо [ом. *Л*] того, мене послашадѣтъ [тг. п•м• *Л*]•
С нво того послоушаден [-аг *PBS MSPC*] мене послоушадѣтъ•

II.3. Nominalkonstruktionen

Der griechische Text beinhaltet 14 Nominalkonstruktionen mit distant stehendem Artikel. Eine darunter fehlt in der Fassung **C**. In allen Fällen lassen die altbulgarische Übersetzungen **A** und **B** den Artikel ohne Entsprechung. Das ist die übliche Lösung auch in der Version **C** (elfmal), wo aber das artikelartige нже immerhin zweimal benutzt wird. Unten gebe ich ein paar Beispiele:

764,44: καὶ τῆς φοβερᾶς ἐκείνης ὀπτασίας,
А н страшнаго ѡного вндѣннѣ•
В н страшнаго того вндѣннѣ,
С н стрѣшнаго ѡного зрѣннѣ•

769,38-39: Διτῆ γὰρ τῆ περὶ αὐτὸν τοιαύτη κέχρημαι φωνῆ.
А двон бо снѣць гльсь ѡ нем' творю•
В понеже бо о нѣе таковы [тако *Л*] нзрѣѣ [нзрекохъ *JM*] гльсь,
С соугвѣ [-во *BAR MSPC*] вѡ [ом. *BAR PBS MSPC*] ѡ нѣемь прѣемлю [-аг *BAR PBS MSPC 446 -ла Dr -ан G53*] сѣ [тѣ *Iv* сѣ *BAR Dr 446 489 649* сѣ *G56*] гльсь•

³⁵ Vgl. Jo 3:13.

764,42-43: καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγάπης οὐ χωρίζων,

A ἡ ῶ ἀλόβε ρε νε ῶλογογаше Δρογγ Δρ8Γα•

B τры ῶ Δρογγί [всѣхъ *J*] възлюба δ [вzλογβη *J*]• νε ραζ̣'βλαηε

C ἡ ε̇ζε κβ Δρογγ Δρογγ8 [tr. *PBS MSPC* -α *G53*] ἀλόβε [-τ̣ *UB*] νε ραζλογγην;

765,10-11: τὴν ἄνωθεν χάριν

A γτογце γορνιέε звдннѣ

B свыше [om. *J*] γδ̣• γαγцеме [γαγεце *Bel*]

C ῶζε [ε̇ζε *MSPC G56*] сзвыше вд̣т̣ь

II.4. Substantivierte Präpositionalausdrücke

Die byzantinische Homilie enthält 5 Fälle mit substantivierten Präpositionalausdrücken. In allen Fällen bietet die Fassung **A** formal abhängige Korrelate mit нζε, viermal passiert das in **C** und dreimal in **B**. Ohne formales Korrelat bleibt der griechische Artikel zweimal in **B** und einmal in **C** (aber mit einer hinzugefügten Kopula).

764,23: τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον,

A τ̣ѣхъ ἰζε с петром̣ь•

B πετ̣ρα η [om. *Bel*] ηακωβα η ἰοαηα [нована *J*]•

C ε̇ζε [ῶζε *Dr* ε̇ζε *Iv BAR PBS MSPC UB G53 446 487 489 649* ἰεζε *G56*] ὁ πέτ̣ρ̣ѣ [-ε *MSPC*]•

764,35: οἱ περὶ Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον,

A ἡ ηζε с петром̣ь ἡ ἡἰακωвом̣ь ἡ ἡἰωαηом̣ь•

B ἰαζε [+ ἰε̇ *J*] ῶ ηακωβα η [η om. *Bel*] ἰοαηα η πετ̣ρα [tr. π• ηια• ηο• *J*]•

C ἡ ηζε ὁ πέτ̣ρ̣ѣ [-ε *MSPC*] ἡ ἰωαηηηѣ [-αν̣ѣ *649*] ἡ ἰακωβѣ [-ε *Iv* tr. *UB*],

769,11: σκηνὴν τῷ ἐξ ἑμοῦ, καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν;

A ἰζε ῶ мене ἡ вась коуц̣и̣•

B кровь ηζε {ῶ} мене,

C с̣ѣнь, ἡζε ῶ мене соуц̣ом̣с ἡ с̣з вāmн;

769,11-12: τῷ ἐν ἑμοί, καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν;

A ἰζε в μη̣ѣ ἡ в вась коуц̣и̣ю̣•

B η в μη̣ѣ η с вамы•

C соуц̣ом̣с в μη̣ѣ ἡ в вась;

II. 5. Substantivierte Genitiv- und Adverbialausdrücke

Alle vier Verwendungen von substantivierten Genitiv- und Adverbialausdrücken sind in den drei Übersetzungen ohne artikelähnliches *нже* wiedergegeben:

769,35-36: καὶ μὴ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φρόνει,
A н не *ΥΛΕΥΚΟ* помысли, *[-αία J]*
B н не мозы *ΥΛΥСΚΥХЪ* [-αία J] помыслишти [мнслнте J].
C н не *ΥΛΥСΚΑΔΑ* [-α Iv -αα 649] μόγΔρβστβοуη

769,36: ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ.
A нь *ΕΘЖНІЄ*.
B нь [нѣ J] *БЖВНΔΑ*.
C нь [нѣ Dr нo 649] *БЖІΔ*.

768,2-3: *Τὰ ἄνω φρόνει, τὰ ἄνω ζήτει*,³⁶
A *ΓΟΡЪ* мысли горѣ нѣци.
B н [нь J] *ΓΟΡ'НΔΑ* с'мысли [тг. J + сьмншл'ѣіе J]. [+ н J] *ВЫШНЫ* [от. Bel]
 нѣци
C *ВЫШНΔΔ* [-нѣ PBS MSPC UB -наα 649] μόγΔρβστβ8η· *ВЫШНΔΔ* [-нѣ
 UB -наα 649] нѣци.

Die Übersicht über die Wiedergabe der griechischen Konstruktionen mit distanz stehendem Artikel hat gezeigt, dass die Übersetzung **B** am seltensten formale Abhängigkeit von den griechischen syntaktischen Modellen zeigt. Bei den Konstruktionen mit Infinitiv und Präpositionalausdrücken ist die Fassung **A** sklavischer als **C**, aber bei den zahlreicher belegten Nominal- und Partizipialkonstruktionen gibt die mittelbulgarische Übersetzung **C** häufiger den griechischen Artikel wieder.

III. LEXIK

Die Analyse der lexikalischen Besonderheiten der drei Übersetzungen möchte ich mit einigen quantitativen Daten beginnen. Der griechische Text enthält ca. 480 Lexeme (inkl. die nichtautosemantischen Wörter Präpositionen, Konjunktionen, Artikel, Partikel). Sie kommen in ca. 1500 Belegen vor. 207 griechische Wortbelege (vor allem Artikel) haben keine Entsprechung in den drei Übersetzungen. In **A** fehlen Korrelate für weitere 132 Wortbelege, in **B** für 146 und in **C** für nur 48. Diese Zahlen beweisen auch, dass die Übersetzung **C** bezüglich der quantitativen Entsprechung zum Original am genauesten ist.

³⁶ Vgl. Kol 3:1-2.

Die Übersetzung **A** enthält ca. 1250 Wortbelege, **B** ca. 1330, **C** ca. 1340. Die größere Zahl der Wörter liegt in **B** vor allem an den Ergänzungen in *J* und *Bel* und in **C** am Vorhandensein von in den alten Übersetzungen fehlenden Ausdrücken sowie an den zahlreicheren griechischen Artikeln mit einem slavischen Äquivalent. Jede Version beinhaltet ungefähr 460 Lexeme. Deswegen kann man sagen, dass das Verhältnis zwischen dem Wortschatz des Originals und der drei Übersetzungen fast ausgeglichen ist.

Im folgenden wird eine Übersicht der Übereinstimmungen und Unterschiede bei der Wortwahl der Übersetzer gegeben, und es werden einige Tendenzen, die sich dabei zeigen, kommentiert.

III.1. Gleiche Entsprechungen in den slavischen Übersetzungen

Die Wahl des Korrelats stimmt in den drei Übersetzungen in 672 Fällen (inkl. 12 Wortbelege ohne griechische Entsprechung) überein. Zu den Wörtern, die immer eine und dieselbe slavische Entsprechung haben, gehören oft Eigennamen, Benennungen von konkreten Objekten, terminologische Begriffe, einige Adverbien und Konjunktionen, Pronomen oder Numeralia, z.B.:

ἄγγελος 2x – ангелъ, αἰών 2x – вѣкъ, ἄρτος 2x – хлѣбъ, γῆ 6x – земля, δεσπότης 3x – владыка, διδάσκαλος 2x – оучитель, δίκαιος 2x – правьдывъ, δόξα 3x – слава, ἐγώ 21x – азъ, εἶδω (οἶδα) 5x – вѣдѣти, εἰμί 27x – быти (nur 1 mal in **C** прѣбывати), εἶς 7x – єдинъ (und 1 mal ннъ in **B**), ἔτι 4x – єще, θαλάσσα 2x – море, θαῦμα 4x – чудо (und 1 mal чудеснь in **A**), ἵνα 7x – да, λόγος 4x – слово, μεταμορφοῦμαι 3x – прѣображѣти сѧ, μεταμόρφωσις 4x – прѣображѣннє, μηδεῖς 3x – ннѣтоже, ὄνομα 5x – нма, ὅπου 6x – ндеже, ὄρος 16x – гора, πατήρ 5x – отьць, ποιέω 3x – сѣтворѣти, τρεῖς 6x – трѣє, υἱός 9x – сынъ, ὑψηλός 9x – вѣсокъ, φημί 8x – речѣ, ὧδε 5x – сѣде.

Es gibt auch Fälle, wo ein und dasselbe griechische Wort mehrere Entsprechungen hat, sie aber an gleichen Stellen in allen Fassungen identisch sind, z.B.:

ἀκούω – 7x послышати (768,37; 769,21 und 38; 772,5, 6_{1,2} und 9) und 2x слышати (768,7 und 769,50)
 μέλλω – 1x быти (768,22), 1x хотѣти (764,45)
 μή – 5x єда (765,36, 37, 39, 41 und 42), 3x нє (765,1, 768,49, 769,1, 15 und 35)
 αὐτός – 10x тѣ (764,6 und 35, 768,25 und 37, 769,21 und 38, 772,5, 6, 9 und 17), н 8x (765,5, 9, 20 und 21, 768,34, 769,38 und 44, 772,16).

Solche positionellen Übereinstimmungen in der Wortwahl könnten als Argument für den Kontakt zwischen den Versionen interpretiert werden.

Besonders interessant ist eine Stelle, wo die übereinstimmende positionelle Entsprechung das griechische Wort nicht genau wiedergibt. Alle Fassungen übersetzen regelmäßig οὐρανός durch νεβο – 5x in **A**, 8x in **B**, 7x in **C**, небесънъ 1x in **A**, **B** und **C**, om. 2x in **A**, ζεματα (!) 1x in **A**. Aber einmal erscheint in den drei Versionen цѣсарство:

768,17-18: Ποῦ γάρ σοι λοιπὸν χρήσιμοι τῶν οὐρανῶν αἱ κλεῖς;

A ГДѢ ТИ К ТОМОУ ПОТРѢБННІ ЦѢСТВА КЛЮЧІ.

B [+ н J] ГДѢ ЖЕ [om. JM] ΧΟΨΕΨΗ ΤΥ [om. J] ΒΗΤΗ ΗΑ ΠΟΤΡѢΒΟΥ ВЪ ЦѢВРО
[ЦѢКВЪ J] ΛΗ ΞΕCΗ ΠΟΖΒΑΝЪ,

C ΓΔε̄ же ти [жѣти G53 446] πρόφεε̄ потрѣбнн̄ βοΰδσ̄τ̄ [βδδσ̄ MSPC]
ЦѢТРИА̄ κλύγε̄.

Die ungenaue Entsprechung цѣсарство ist im Kontext nicht falsch. Die Variante könnte entweder in der griechischen Überlieferung wurzeln oder als Beweis für intertextuelle Kontakte interpretiert werden.

III.2. Unterschiedliche Entsprechungen

An ca. 700 Stellen traten zwei oder drei verschiedene Entsprechungen auf. Das heißt, es gibt Unterschiede zwischen zwei oder drei Versionen bei jedem zweiten Wort; dies ist ein quantitativer Beweis für die Unabhängigkeit der drei Übersetzungen. Die lexikalischen Abweichungen in den Versionen können aus verschiedenen Blickwinkeln interpretiert und entsprechend in ein paar Typen von Oppositionen gruppiert werden. Hier werden sie aus zwei Hauptgesichtspunkten betrachtet: dem Verhältnis zwischen dem Original und den Übersetzungen und dem Verhältnis unter den slavischen Versionen.

III.2.1. Das Verhältnis zwischen dem Original und den Übersetzungen auf der lexikalische Ebene kann man semantisch und quantitativ analysieren. Vom ersten Blickwinkel aus verdienen zwei Gruppen von Lesarten Aufmerksamkeit: Fehler und Ungenauigkeiten sowie Varianten, die auf verschiedenen Bedeutungen des griechischen Lexems beruhen. Ich werde sie im weiteren darstellen.

III.2.1.1. Fehler und Ungenauigkeiten gibt es insgesamt knapp 50. Sie erscheinen seltener gleichzeitig in allen Übersetzungen und häufiger in einer

oder zwei von ihnen. Die Fassung **C** ist die genaueste mit nur 4 lexikalischen Fehlern, **A** hat 9 und **B** 31. Hier ein paar *individuelle Beispiele*:

- in **A**

765,33-34: καὶ τρεῖς σκηναὶ ἐγείρειν ἐν ἐρήμῳ λέγεις,

A ἡ τρηή κουψε въ поуcтѣинѣ въcтавнѣтѣ хоуцѣишн •

B н [om. *J*] кровъ [-н *J*] въ поуcтѣины възвѣнгноути [твoрнѣтѣ *J*] глѣишн [tr. г•т• *J* глaшe *Bel*] •

C ἡ [om. *PBS MSPC*] τρηὴ cβήнн възвѣнгноути въ поуcтѣинḡ [tr. *G53 446*] глѣишн •

Formel entspricht das sl. хоуцѣишн dem gr. λέγεις nicht, aber im Kontext ist es durchaus akzeptabel. Es könnte sich auch um einen Fehler wegen Nachbarschaft handeln, denn der vorhergehende Satz (765,32) enthält θέλεις - хоуцѣишн, was die Verwechslung sowohl in der griechischen Vorlage als auch beim Übersetzen oder Abschreiben erlaubt.

769,40-41: ἴν' ὁ πάλαι προφήτης ἀληθεύσῃ βοήσας •

A да ἡздавна прѣркѣ оуcтѣн тѣ възоупнѣвъ •

B да пакы [тако *J*] прѣркѣ възоупнѣвъ [прѣрѣгъcкы глa *J*], нcтннѣнѣ [-н'нн *Bel*] ἱε̄ [om. *Bel* + рeчe бо *J*],

C да пакы̄ [om. *BAR*] прѣркѣ ἡcтннѣcтвoуeтѣ възѣпнѣвъ [възоупнѣвъ *Iv 487 649*],

Hier geht es wahrscheinlich um einen Kopistenfehler, wobei das ursprüngliche *нcтннѣcтвoуeтѣ oder *вънcтннѣ in оуcтѣн тѣ umgewandelt wurde.

769,50-51: Τὸ δὲ Ἑρμονιεῖμ ὄρος ἐστὶ μικρὸν ἐγγὺς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου,

A ἱε̄ρμονѣ • ἡмже гoрa мaлa блнзъ ἡἱε̄рлнмa •

B ер'монѣ же гoрa ἱε̄ мaлa [om. *J*] • въ зeмлѣ ер'дан'cц'ѣн [нwрданц'ѣн *JM* ἱwр'дан'cц'ѣн *Bel*] •

C ἐρμῶнѣннм [-ннм' *Iv*] же, гoрa ἱε̄ мaлa блнзoу [-ъ *UB G56*] ἱwрδaнa [-ъ *Dr*],

Auch in diesem Beispiel ist schwer zu beurteilen, ob man den Fehler in **A** der griechischen Überlieferung, dem Übersetzer oder dem Kopisten zuschreiben soll, denn beide Namen sehen als abgekürzte Formen sowohl im Griechischen als auch im Slavischen ähnlich aus. Die Fassung **B** hat auch eine falsche

Entsprechung, denn es ist statt ἐγγύς ‘vom Orte, in der Nähe; von der Zeit, nahe bevorstehend’ offensichtlich ἐν γῆ übersetzt worden.³⁷

- in **B**

765,29: Καλῶς ὁ πάνσοφος ἀπολογεῖται Λοῦκας·

A Δοερѣ прѣмѣдрыи ѿвѣщаваієть лουκα·

B ἰακοῦε прѣмомуδры [-ын *M*] ѿвѣщаваієть [ḡлієть *M*] лѡка [tr. л· п· ѿ· *J*].

C Δοερѣ прѣмомύδрыи [-и *Iv*] ѿвѣщаваєть лουκᾶ,

Mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit wurzelt der Fehler in der graphischen Ähnlichkeit von καλῶς und καθῶς.

765,25-36: καὶ σκηνοποιὸς ἐξ ἀλιέων προέκοπτε, τῷ Σωτῆρι λέγων·

A ἡ κοῦπιныйи творитель быти ѿ ловць спѣшаше· кь сѣоу въпиіє

B и [om. *J*] насѣнноїє [на сѣнь *J*] покрѣвеноіє [-ннїє *M* -ннє и *J*] ѿ μαλακῆ [-ьь *M* -ь *J*]· [+и *Bel*] λομαλάше· кь [и *J*] сѣоу въпнє [-ѣ *J* -ємоу *Bel*]·

C ἡ сѣннїѡтвѡръць [-єць *Dr* сѣннїѡтвѡраць *PBS MSPC* -ръць *Iv G53 G56 487 649*] ѿ ρыбарства прѣспѣ [приспѣ *BAR Dr MSPC UB G56*] сѣоу възъиває,

Hier enthält die Version **B** zwei Fehler: ἀλιεύς ‘Fischer, Seemann’ wird mit ἐλαία ‘Olivenbaum’ und προκόπτω ‘durch Schlagen ausdehnen, wie der Schmied das Metall durch Hämmern streckt, daher überh. weiterbringen, fördern, Fortgang haben, gedeihen’ mit κόπτω ‘schlagen, hauen, hacken’ verwechselt. Das könnte entweder in der griechischen Überlieferung oder beim Übersetzen passiert sein.

769,38-39: Διττῆ γὰρ τῆ περι αὐτὸν τοιαύτη κέχηρημαι φωνῆ·

A двои бо снѣць глѣь ѿ нем’ творю·

B пониже бо о нїє таковы [тако *J*] нзрѣѣ [нзрєкохѣ *J M*] глѣь,

C со́ръѣь [-бо *BAR MSPC*] бѡ [om. *BAR PBS MSPC*] ѿ нїємь прїємлю [-лїє *BAR PBS MSPC 446* -лᾶ *Dr* -ли *G53*] сн [тѣ *Iv* сн̄ *BAR Dr 446 489 649* сѣ *G56*] глѣь·

³⁷ Hier und im folgenden werden die Bedeutungen auf Deutsch nach dem Wörterbuch von Pape angegeben: W. Pape, *Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, Bd. 1-2, Braunschweig, 1849. In einzelnen Fällen werden auch andere Wörterbücher zitiert.

Die Entsprechung $\rho\omicron\eta\iota\epsilon\zeta\epsilon$ erklärt man durch die Verwechlung von $\delta\iota\tau\tau\eta$ mit $\delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota$.

Manchmal bieten *zwei Fassungen* den gleichen Fehler.
- in **A** und **C**

769,29: Εἰκῆ τοίνυν κατῆλθεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,

A $\acute{\alpha}\psi\epsilon$ πρῶββίβαίετῃ ββίνουγ να ζεμλη•

B $\rho\acute{\eta}\eta\delta\epsilon$ ἦηνα η εῖηδε να ζεμλιου [ζεμλη *Bel*]•

C $\acute{\alpha}\psi\epsilon$ ββὼ εβνήδε να ζεμλιό•

Die slavische Konjunktion $\alpha\psi\epsilon$ in **A** und **C** gibt statt des gr. Adverbs $\epsilon\iota\kappa\eta$ ‘without plan or purpose, at random, at a venture’,³⁸ ‘moderately’,³⁹ ‘наудачу, необдуманно, наобум, кое-как’⁴⁰ die griechische Konjunktion $\epsilon\iota$ ‘if’,⁴¹ ‘если, если бы’,⁴² wieder. Die Entsprechung $\rho\acute{\eta}\eta\delta\epsilon$ in **B** stammt wahrscheinlich von einer Form des Verbs $\eta\kappa\omega$ ‘ich bin angekommen, angelangt, bin da’.

764,45: ὁ μέλλων γενέσθαι προδότης Ἰούδας,

A $\eta\kappa\omega$ χότε πρῶδατελῃ ββίτη ηῖδα•

B χοτεη [-α *J*] ββί πρῶδατελῃ ηῖδα [om. *J*]•

C $\eta\kappa\omega$ χότε [-ε *MSPC UB*] ββίτη πρῶδάτελῃ ἰόδα•

Die Variante in **A** und **C** gibt vermutlich das gr. $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ wieder.
- in **B** und **C**

765,36: καὶ τοῖς δυοῖ ἐξίσσης οἰκοδομεῖν ἐπείγη;

A ηῖ ββῆμα такожде гρδднтн хоцешн•

B η δβῆμα ρавна [-ο *J* ρав’ма *Bel*] τβορηшн ηδ [om. *J*] ζεμλη [να ζ• om. *M*]•

C η ὀβοήμῃ ράβнѣ [-ο 487 489 649] οῦστροήтн ηδ ζεμλη;

³⁸ H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Revised and augmented throughout by Sir H. S. Jones, Oxford, 1996, S. 484.

³⁹ E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*, Cambridge - Harvard - Leipzig, 1914, S. 423.

⁴⁰ И. Х. Дворецкий, *Древнегреческо-русский словарь*, т. 1-2, Москва, 1958, S. 462.

⁴¹ H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English lexicon...*, S. 480-481.

⁴² И. Х. Дворецкий, *Древнегреческо-русский словарь...*, S. 459-460.

Die Form ἐπείγη kommt vom Verb ἐπείγω ‘drängen, eilen’.⁴³ Während die Entsprechung in **A** den Sinn frei, aber adäquat wiedergibt, enthalten **B** und **C** den gleichen Fehler – να ζεμλη. Man kann nicht mit Sicherheit sagen, ob ihre griechischen Vorlagen ἐπὶ γῆ beinhalteten, ob die Übersetzer das unabhängig von einander falsch entziffert haben oder ob die mittelbulgarische Version **C** von **B** beeinflusst war.

Zur Gruppe der Fehler gehören auch einige Fälle von *Veränderung der morphologischen Kategorie*. Diese sind auch in **B** häufiger, z.B.:

764,42-43: καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγάπης οὐ χωρίζων,

A н ѿ лѡб'вѣ не ѿлогаше д'роугь д'рѣга

B тры (sic!) ѿ д'роугѣ [вс'ѣхъ J] възлюбѣ [възломѣ J]• не рѣзѣлаѣ

C н ѣже къ д'роугѣ д'роугѣ [tr. PBS MSPC -а G53] лѡбве [-ѣ UB] не

рѣзлѡгѣ

In **B** steht eine verbale Form statt eines Substantivs.

769,33: ἀργεῖ οικονομία,

A празд'ноугѣть стрѡн•

B некъсьн'но [немст'ноѣ J] смотр'енне•

C прѣзно сѣмотр'ѣнѣ•

Das griechische Verb wird in **B** und **C** durch ein Adjektiv wiedergegeben.

Man kann verallgemeinern, dass ein großer Teil der Fehler in einer Verwechslung der griechischen Formen mit ihren Paronymen wurzelt. Das könnte sowohl in der byzantinischen Überlieferung als auch bei der Entzifferung der Vorlage durch die slavischen Übersetzer geschehen sein. Es gibt auch einige Fehler, die beim Abschreiben des slavischen Textes entstanden sind, und sie sind am häufigsten in der einzigen Kopie der Übersetzung **A** im Homiliar von Mihanović zu finden.

III.2.1.2. An einigen Stellen geben die slavische Lesarten **unterschiedliche Bedeutungen des griechischen Lexems** wieder, was ein sicheres Zeichen für die unabhängige Arbeit mit den Vorlagen ist:

764,17: ἀρυσώμεθα πλοῦτον ἀφθόνως μεριζόμενον,

A на { } таѡм' се• б'гатѣства ѡбнѣнѣ вс'ѣмъ д'ѣлнѣ б'гатѣствомъ•

⁴³ Vgl. ‘hurry oneself, haste to do’ in H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English lexicon...*, S. 613-614.

B πονυρπέμῃ [+ η J] βογάτῃστρο νετλῆνῃο [-ιέμο M -εμο Bel -εμοε J]• [+ η J] βςῆμῃ ραζῆβλαίεμο [ραζῆιέμο J]•
C πονυρπέμῃ [-ῆμῃ UB G53] βογάτῃστρο, νεζδρῆστῆε βςῆμῃ ραζδῆβλαίεμο

Das gr. Adverb ἀφθόνως vom Adjektiv ἄφθορος ‘1) keinen Neid hegend; 2) unbeneidet, gew. reichlich gespendet, im Ueberfluß vorhanden’ hat an dieser Stelle drei verschiedene Entsprechungen. Die erste Bedeutung spiegelt sich in der Übersetzung **C**, die zweite in **A**, und **B** bietet ein falsches Korrelat, das wahrscheinlich dem Paronym ἀφθόρωσ vom ἄφθορος ‘unverdorben, unschuldig’ entspricht.

765,13-14: καὶ τὴν τοῦ μύρον τιμὴν ἀλειψάσῃ ἀναίτιώς βασκαίνων.
A ἡ ποῦτο μῆρο βεζ βηνῃ ζδρῆδεῆ
B η μῆρο [τβορβца J] βεζβ βηνῃ οκλεβεταβαιε [οκλεβεταπ J]
C ἡ μῆρογ [μήρογ Dr] βεζβηνῃόβνομς ζδρῆδεε [-ῆ Iv UB G53 G56 -α 649]

Das gr. Verb βασκαίνω bedeutet ‘einem Übles nachreden, verläumdnen’ und ‘beneiden’. Die erste Bedeutung ist in **A** und **C** wiedergegeben, die zweite in **B**.

768,5-6: καὶ ἔβλαψε καὶ τὸν παράδεισον ἔκλεισεν·
A βρῆδῃ η ποροδογ ζακλιώνη·
B βλοβῃ· η ρδῃ ζατβορη·
C ποβρῆδῃ [πρόποβῆδῃ BAR MSPC]· ἡ ρῆδῃ ζακλιώνη,

Unter den zwei semantischen Nuancen von βλάπτω ‘untauglich machen, schwächen, hindern’ und ‘beschädigen, verletzen’ wählen die Versionen **A** und **C** die zweite aus, während **B** zur ersten neigt.

768,48-49: ἰδοὺ τὸ τρίτον ἀνθίστασαι τῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος βουλή.
A εε ἡ σεμογ σε σογπροτῆβησῃ· σῆνομογ χοτῆβηῆ·
B [+ η J] σε τρετη[αγ]ο σεγο [τρετηε J] ῶστογπαίεσῃ ἔπσοβα [ςβ]βῆτα [ςβῆτα M]·
C εε εῆε τρετῆε σβπροτῆβησῃ σε [σογ- Iv 446] χοτῆβῆε ἔπσοβς

Auch an dieser Stelle sind die Fassungen **A** und **C** einig: durch χοτῆβηῆ geben sie die Bedeutung ‘Wille, Rathschluß’ von gr. βουλή wieder, und **B** interpretiert es als ‘Rathschlag, Rath’.

769,14-15: Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ σὺ τρεῖς σκηνὰς ἐγεῖραι βούλει
A Δα κελμῆ τῆν κῆε χοψεῖσῃ ποσταβητι·

Β ἢ ἢ ἢ ΔΒΑ ἢ ἢ ἢ Τῆν κροβὶ μυκλῶσῃ βῆζβῆγνοῦτῃ [tr. β· μ· Μ].
С тѣмже поніеже ты сѣнн [-ъ *BAR* -ъ *MSPC*] βῆζβῆγνοῦτῃ сβεѣщавашн
 [tr. *MSPC* сβεѣщавашн *Iv*],

Die drei Übersetzungen bieten verschiedene Korrelate für das Verb βούλομαι ‘1) mit Überlegung sich entschließen, vornehmen; wollen, beabsichtigen; 2) lieberwollen, vorziehen’, die verschiedene Nuancen seiner Semantik widerspiegeln.

III.2.1.3. Kontextuelle Entsprechungen

An ca. 20 Stellen kommen kontextbezogene Synonyme vor. Die freie Interpretation wird in allen drei slavischen Versionen benutzt, aber sie ist typischer für die Übersetzung **B**. Sie neigt am häufigsten zu freieren Entsprechungen, die aber im Kontext nicht falsch oder sogar oft gelungen sind.

764,30: καὶ τὴν δι’ ὕδατος θυσίαν ἐν πυρὶ δαπανήσας.
А ѣ крозѣ водѣу трѣбоу ѡгнѣмъ нждегъ.
В н водноую жрѣтвѣу огнѣмъ пожеже.
С ѣ [om. 487] ѡже [ѡже *Dr* ѣже *BAR UB G56 489* еіеже 487 іеже 649]
 ραδὴ βόδῃ [tr. *PBS MSPC*] жрѣтвѣс [-ыѣ *PBS MSPC*] ѡгнѣмъ поѡдын.

Die drei verschiedenen slavischen Verben sind keine genauen Korrelate des griechischen Verbs δαπανάω ‘aufwenden; ausgeben, verwenden im üblen Sinne; verschwenden’, aber sie geben seinen Sinn im Kontext gut wieder.

765,39-40: μὴ γὰρ ἔμβρυον ἐκ μήτρας ἐπέγνω Μωϋσέα,
А іѣдѣ во младаѣннцѣ ѣз мѣре позна мосѣѣѣ
В едѣ въ yrѣвѣ сын младаѣннцѣ [мѣнцѣ *M* -енецѣ *n J* мѣнцѣ sic! *Bel*]
 позна [+ носнма *J*] мωυσεѣ [монсеѣ *M*].
С едѣ во здѣѣтъ [-ѣ 487 489 649 om. *Iv BAR PBS MSPC UB G56*] въ
 оѡтрѣбѣ [yrѣвѣ соѡцоу мѡѣсеѣ *Iv BAR PBS MSPC UB G56*] познѣ [+ мѣнцѣ
Iv BAR PBS MSPC UB] мωυсеѣѣ

Das gr. Wort ἔμβρυον ‘die ungeborene Frucht im Mutterleibe’ bekommt drei verschiedene Entsprechungen in den Versionen. In **A** wird младаѣннцѣ benutzt. Die Zeugen von **B** bieten zwei Varianten an: младаѣннцѣ oder младаѣннцѣ, aber mit der Ergänzung въ yrѣвѣ сы, was eigentlich bezüglich der Bedeutung des griechischen Lexems präziser ist. Die Handschriften mit der Übersetzung **C** teilen sich in zwei Gruppen: zu einer gehören die Rila-Abschrift von Vladislav Gramatik, alle Hilandar-Handschriften und Gilferding 53, die laut Kl. Ivanova

In den Fassungen **A** und **C** wird die wörtliche Entsprechung von $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\theta\rho\nu$ 'das Fließende, der Fluß' $\sigma\rho\omicron\gamma\eta$ benutzt, und **B** bietet das freiere $\nu\omicron\delta\lambda$.

Man merkt, dass **C** am häufigsten die wörtliche Bedeutung des Lexems bevorzugt:

$\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\omega$ 'herbeiziehen, zuziehen, dah. auch veranlassen' 765,3 – **A**
 $\pi\rho\eta\eta\mu\alpha\tau\eta$ – **B** $\eta\zeta\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta$ – **C** $\pi\rho\eta\tau\rho\zeta\eta\gamma\eta\kappa\tau\eta$
 $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$ med. 'etwas berühren, anfassen, ergreifen' 764,16 – **A** $\pi\rho\eta\eta\mu\alpha\tau\eta$ –
B $\pi\rho\eta\zeta\eta\beta\eta\tau\eta$ – **C** $\pi\rho\eta\kappa\omicron\sigma\eta\kappa\tau\eta$ $\varsigma\alpha$
 $\delta\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ 'zweifeln, ungewiß sein' 768,39 – **A** $\delta\rho\zeta\omicron\nu\alpha\tau\eta$ – **B** $\gamma\eta\beta\omega\alpha\tau\eta$ $\varsigma\alpha$ –
C $\varsigma\pi\mu\beta\eta\tau\eta$ $\varsigma\epsilon$
 $\sigma\nu\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'converse with' 764,26 – **A** $\varsigma\beta\eta\rho\alpha\tau\eta$ $\varsigma\alpha$ – **B** $\beta\epsilon\sigma\beta\delta\omicron\nu\alpha\tau\eta$ – **C**
 $\varsigma\beta\epsilon\sigma\beta\delta\omicron\nu\alpha\tau\eta$
 $\pi\rho\omicron\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ 'to be hasty' 765,32 – **A** $\varsigma\beta\delta\rho\zeta\alpha\tau\eta$ – **B** $\eta\epsilon$ $\omicron\pi\alpha\sigma\omega\alpha\tau\eta$ – **C**
 $\pi\rho\beta\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega\alpha\tau\eta$

Dasselbe gilt auch für die Hauptbedeutung der Morpheme, aus denen ein Wort besteht:

$\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ 'ó, der zuerst, voran od. in der ersten Reihe steht' 765,31 –
A $\sigma\tau\alpha\rho\beta\eta\sigma\eta\eta\eta\alpha$ – **B** $\pi\rho\beta\epsilon\zeta$ – **C** $\pi\rho\beta\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\beta$
 $\pi\rho\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\epsilon\rho\omega$ 765,4 – **A** $\eta\omicron\sigma\eta\tau\eta$ – **B** $\pi\rho\eta\nu\omicron\delta\eta\tau\eta$ – **C** $\omicron\beta\zeta\eta\eta\omicron\sigma\eta\tau\eta$
 $\sigma\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta\mu\iota$ 769,7 – **A** $\nu\beta\sigma\rho\alpha\tau\alpha\tau\eta$ – **B** $\omicron\gamma\sigma\tau\rho\eta\tau\eta$ – **C** $\varsigma\beta\rho\sigma\tau\alpha\gamma\eta\kappa\tau\eta$
 $\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\mu\alpha$ 764,32 – **A** $\varsigma\beta\omicron\rho\zeta$ – **B** $\omicron\mu$. – **C** $\varsigma\beta\sigma\tau\alpha\beta\lambda\epsilon\eta\eta\eta\epsilon$

Oft geschieht das auch in **A**:

$\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota$ 768,48 – **A** $\sigma\tau\zeta\lambda\omicron\zeta\eta\tau\eta$ – **B** $\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\eta\tau\eta$ – **C** $\zeta\alpha\beta\zeta\iota\nu\alpha\tau\eta$
 $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\omega$ 764,43 – **A** $\omicron\gamma\kappa\epsilon\delta\eta\eta\eta\eta\tau\eta$ – **B** $\varsigma\beta\epsilon\zeta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\pi\eta\tau\eta$ – **C** $\varsigma\beta\kappa\epsilon\delta\eta\eta\eta\tau\eta$
 $\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\omega$ 765,13 – **A** $\pi\rho\beta\zeta\eta\beta\eta\tau\eta$ – **B** $\eta\mu\beta\eta\tau\eta$ – **C** $\eta\epsilon\pi\eta\psi\epsilon\omega\alpha\tau\eta$

III.2.1.4. Die Wahl der Entsprechungen in quantitativer Betrachtung lässt einige Tendenzen zu fest bevorzugten Entsprechungen für bestimmte griechische Lexeme erkennen. In dutzenden Fälle neigen alle oder einige Fassungen zu Korrelaten, die für sie charakteristisch sind:

$\sigma\kappa\eta\eta\acute{\iota}$ 18x – **A** $\kappa\pi\omega\alpha$ 13x – **B** $\kappa\rho\omicron\upsilon\zeta$ 14x, $\varsigma\beta\eta\eta$ 1 – **C** $\varsigma\beta\eta\eta$ 18x
 $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 6x – **A** $\lambda\upsilon\beta\eta\eta\mu\beta$ 4x, $\lambda\upsilon\beta\alpha\eta\eta\eta\eta\kappa\zeta$, $\nu\beta\zeta\lambda\upsilon\beta\alpha\eta\eta\zeta$ – **B** $\nu\beta\zeta\lambda\upsilon\beta\alpha\eta\eta\eta\eta\zeta$
 3x, $\nu\beta\zeta\lambda\upsilon\beta\alpha\eta\eta\zeta$ 3x – **C** $\nu\beta\zeta\lambda\upsilon\beta\alpha\eta\eta\zeta$ 4x, $\nu\beta\zeta\lambda\upsilon\beta\alpha\eta\eta\eta\eta\zeta$ 2x

ἐγείρω 5x – **A** вЪЗДВНГНѢТИ 2x, поставнѣти, вЪставнѣти – **B** вЪЗДВНГНѢТИ 4x – **C** вЪЗДВНГНѢТИ 4x
 εἶ 9x – **A** аще 5x – **B** или 3x, το κακο, η σοη 2x, аще, τѣкъмо – **C** аще 8x, η σοη
 εὐδοκέω 6x – **A** благоволенѣти, нзволенѣти x4, благонзволенѣти – **B** благонзволенѣти 5x – **C** благонзволенѣти 4x, благоволенѣти
 μαρτυρέω 2x – **A** сѣвѣдѣтельствовати 2x – **B** проповѣдати 2x – **C** сѣвѣдѣтельствовати 2x
 μάρτυς 2x – **A** сѣвѣдѣтель 2x – **B** послухъ 2x – **C** сѣвѣдѣтель 2x
 ἀγάλλιάω 2x – **A** вЪзвеселенѣти сѣ 2x – **B** вЪзрадовати сѣ 2x – **C** вЪзрадовати сѣ 2x
 δεῦρο 2x – **A** грѣсти 2x – **B** прѣти 2x – **C** прѣти 2x
 γινῶσις 2x – **A** вѣдѣ 2x – **B** разоумѣ, оумѣ – **C** разоумѣ 2x
 τοίνυν 3x – **A** оу, вЪиннѣ – **B** нЪинѣ 2x – **C** оубо 3x
 ἐνταῦθα 3x – **A** сѣде – **B** на се 3x – **C** сѣде 3x

Im griechischen Text gibt es insgesamt 174 mehrfach registrierte Lexeme. Für sie bietet die Übersetzung **C** statistisch betrachtet am wenigsten Korrelate (insgesamt 237 Lexeme). Die Zahl der Entsprechungen bei **A** und **B** ist fast gleich (258 bzw. 261 Lexeme), aber **B** hat wegen der Textlücken mehrere fehlende Entsprechungen (leere Positionen), d.h. die Vielfalt der Korrelate ist doch größer als in **A**. Die Zahlen der verschiedenen Entsprechungen bei den mehrfach vorkommenden griechischen Lexemen verteilen sich so:

	A	B	C
1 : 1	112	102	118
1 : 2	46	58	49
1 : 3	10	9	7
1 : 4	6	4	-
insgesamt verschiedene griechische Lexeme: 174	258	261	237

Diese quantitativen Daten bestätigen auch den freieren Umgang mit der Vorlage in der Übersetzung **B**. Die häufigere Verwendung von festen

Entsprechungen für jedes griechisches Wort in **C** stimmt mit der allgemeinen Tendenz der Übersetzungen im 14. Jahrhundert überein.⁴⁶

III.2.2. Das Verhältnis zwischen den slavischen Lesarten kann auch aus verschiedenen Blickwinkeln betrachtet und entsprechend systematisiert werden. Drei Gruppen von lexikalischen Daten werden hier ausführlicher dargestellt: Synonyme, Oppositionen, „markierte“ Lexeme.

III.2.2.1. Vollständige oder partielle lexikalische Synonyme

Oft stellen die Varianten in den drei Fassungen vollständige oder partielle lexikalische Synonyme dar, z.B:

ἐργάζομαι ‘arbeiten, verfertigen, verrichten, erarbeiten’ 765,43 – **A**
 сътворѣти – **B** съдѣѣти – **C** съдѣѣти
 καθυβρίζω ‘übermüthig, frech behandeln, beleidigen, beschimpfen,
 mißhandeln’ 765,33 – **A** οχογλιᾶτι – **B** ουκαριᾶτι – **C** бесуѣствовати
 μινύω ‘etwas Verborgenes anzeigen, verrathen, angeben’ 765,41 – **A**
 повѣдати – **B** показати – **C** възвѣстѣти
 παρέρχομαι ‘1) an der Seite oder daneben vorbeikommen; vorbeigehen,
 verfließen’ 768,9 – **A** прѣмннѣти – **B** прѣходнѣти – **C** прѣнѣти
 τολμηρῶς Adv. vom Adj. τολμηρός ‘kühn, tadelnd’ 765,15 – **A** дрѣзь – **B**
 дрѣзновеннѣ: съ дрѣзновеннѣмъ – **C** дрѣзостѣнѣ
 τρέμω ‘zittern, erzittern, beben’ 768,7 – **A** трѣсти сѧ – **B** трепѣтати – **C**
 трѣсти сѧ

Nicht wenige der Synonyme in dieser Gruppe sind *Wortbildungsvarianten*, z.B.:

ἀκολουθέω 764,19 – **A** вѣслѣдовати – **B** послѣдовати – **C** послѣдовати
 ἀπλῶς 768,22 – **A** прѣстѣ – **B** прѣсто – **C** прѣсто
 γέννησις 765,41 – **A** рождѣннѣ – **B** рождѣство – **C** рождѣство
 γλωσσόκομον 765,13 – **A** ковѣегъ – **B** ковѣезъць – **C** ковѣезъць
 ἐρήμος 765,25 – **A** поустѣннѣ – **B** поустѣ – **C** поустѣ
 θεμέλιος ὄ 768,21 – **A** основа – **B** основаннѣ – **C** основаннѣ
 κάμπτω 764,36 – **A** прѣκλονнѣти сѧ – **B** покланнѣти сѧ – **C** поклоннѣти сѧ
 σοφία 772,15 – **A** прѣмѣдростъ – **B** мѣдростъ – **C** прѣмѣдростъ

⁴⁶ Vgl. die Verallgemeinerung für die athonitischen Übersetzungen in: Л. Тасева, М. Йовчева, „Езиковите образци на атонските редактори“, in А. Давидов и др. (съст.), *Българска филологическа медиевистика. Сборник научни изследвания в чест на проф. д-р Иван Харалампиев*, Велико Търново, 2006, 228-229.

στερέωμα 769,8 – **A** ΤΕΡΒΔΒ – **B** ΟΥΤΕΡΒЪЖДЕННІЕ – **C** ΤΕΡΒΔΒ
 συνετώς 769,47 – **A** ΡΑΖΟΥΜΗΤΒ – **B** ΡΑΖΟΥΜЬНО – **C** ΡΑΖΟΥΜЬНО
 ὕστερον 765,1 – **A** ΠΟСΛ'ΕЖΔΕ – **B** ΠΟСΛ'ΕΔΗ – **C** ΠΟСΛ'ΕЖΔΕ

III.2.2.2. Konstellationen zwischen den Versionen bei lexikalischen Übereinstimmungen oder Unterschieden

Bei der Wortwahl stimmen nicht selten zwei der Versionen überein. Folgende Konstellationen sind zu erwähnen:

- **A = B ≠ C**: 52 Fälle + 8 Fälle, die in **C** fehlen (inkl. 6 ohne griechische Entsprechung), z. B.:

		A B	C
ἄλευρον	765,50	МѦКА	БРАШЬНО
ἀναιτίως	765,14	ΒΗΗΔ: ΒΕΖ ΒΗΗΖΙ	БЕЗВΗΗОВЪНЪ
γογγύζω	765,9	ΓΗ'ΒΑΤΗ ΣΑ	РЪПЪТАТΗ
διδάσκω	772,14	ΟΥ'ΥΗΤΗ	НАКАЗОВАТΗ
ἰκετεύω	765,49	ΜΟΛΗΤΗ	ΠΟΜΟΛΗΗΤΗ ΣΑ
καθίστημι	768,47	ΠΟСТАВΗΤΗ	СЪТВОРΗΤΗ

- **A = C ≠ B**: 98 Fälle + 83 Fälle, die in **B** fehlen (inkl. 9 ohne griechische Entsprechung), z. B.:

		A C	B
αἰθήρ	769,9	Е-Ф-ΕΡЪ	САЗЪНЬЦЕ
αἰρετίζω	769,14	ΗΖΒΟΛΗΤΗ	ΗΖΒЪΡΔΤΗ
ἀλλήλων	764,42	ΔΡΟΥΓ'ΓЪ ΔΡΟΥΓΑ	ΔΡΟΥΓ'ΓЪ
ἄλλος	764,39	ΗΗЪ	ΔΡΟΥΓ'ΓЪ
ἀνάπτω	769,9	ΒЪЖЕЩΗ	ΠΡΟΣΛΑΒΗΤΗ
ἀνθίστημι	768,48	С'ΠΠΡΟΤΗΒΗΤΗ ΣΑ	ΟΤЪСΤ'ΠΠΑΤΗ
ἀποκλείω	765,2	ΖΑΤВОΡΗΤΗ	ΟΥСТАВΗΤΗ !
ἀρτίως	769,50	ΗΖΙΝ'Β	ΔΟСЕΛ'Β
βάθος	772,14	ΓΛ'ΠΒΗΗΔ	Π'Π'ΥΗΗΔ
βασκαίνω	765,14	ΖΑΒΗΔ'ΒΤΗ	ΟΚΛΕΒΕΤΑΒΑΤΗ
ἔλευσις	768,25	ΠΗΗШЬСТВЕНІЕ	ΒЪСТАΗΗІЕ
μερίζω	764,30	ΡΑΖΔ,ΡΟΒΗΤΗ	ΡΑΣΤЕСΑΤΗ

- **B = C ≠ A**: 118 Fälle + 63 Fälle, die in **A** fehlen (inkl. 15 ohne griechische Entsprechung), z. B.:

		A	B C
ἀκολουθέω	764,19	ВЪСАБДОВАТИ	ПОСАБДОВАТИ
ἀπάτωρ	769,12	ОТЪЦЬ: БЕЗ ОТЪЦА	БЕЗОТЪЦЪНЪ
ἀρύω	741,17	НАСЪИТЪТИ СА / НАΠΟΗΤΗ СА	ΠΟΥΡЪТИ, -ПЪ
γέννησις	765,41	РОЖДЕНИЕ	РОЖДЪСТВО
ἐργάζομαι	765,43	СЪТВОРЪТИ	СЪДЪАТИ
ἐρῆμος	765,25	ΠΟΥΣΤЪИНЪНЪ	ΠΟΥСТЪ
καταχθόνιος	764,37	ΠΟΔЪЗЕМΛЪНЪ	ΠΡЪНСΠΟДЪНЪ
μερίζω	741,17	ΔΕΛΗΤΗ	РАЗДЕΛАТИ
πάλαι	769,40	НЪДАВНА	ПАКЪИ
πήγνυμι	769,8	ΠΟΤЪКНЪТИ	ВЪДРЪЖЪТИ
σεαυτοῦ	768,41	САМЪ	СЕБЕ
στένω	768,7	ΤΡΕΠΕΤΑΤΗ	СТЕНАТИ

Die Zahlen sprechen für größeren lexikalischen Abstand bei der Wahl der Korrelate zwischen **A** und **B** als zwischen jeder von beiden und der mittelbulgarischen Fassung **C**. Das kann man leicht erklären: als die Übersetzung **C** hergestellt wurde, hatten beide älteren Versionen schon eine drei Jahrhunderte alte Überlieferung; das ist eine lange Zeit, während der die Texte verwendet und mehr oder weniger bekannt wurden. Man merkt, dass die Übereinstimmungen zwischen **B** und **C** etwas häufiger sind als zwischen **A** und **C**. Das liegt wahrscheinlich an der Verbreitung der Versionen: heute ist die Übersetzung **A** nur in einer Abschrift bewahrt, während **B** vier Kopien hat. Wahrscheinlich war die Überlieferung der Fassung **A** schon im 14. Jahrhundert spärlich.

III.2.2.3. Im Hinblick auf die Präsenz der sogenannten „markierten Lexeme“

Seit Jagićs „Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache“⁴⁷ bis heute wird über die lexikalischen Varianten diskutiert, die die kyrillomethodianische Texte von ihren ostbulgarischen Redaktionen oder neuen Übersetzungen unterscheiden.⁴⁸ Obwohl die skeptische Meinungen bezüglich des Attribuierungspotentials der sog. „markierten Lexeme“ sich in der letzten Zeit vermehren,⁴⁹ sind diese Oppositionen auch ein Teil der vergleichenden Charakteristik der Mehrfachübersetzungen. Deswegen stelle ich

⁴⁷ V. Jagić, *Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache*, Berlin, 1913.

⁴⁸ Einen gegenwärtigen Überblick über die wichtigsten Publikationen bietet Y. Miltenov an (Я. Милтенов, „Преславските лексикални маркери. 1. Опит за въведение“, *Palaeobulgarica* 44, 2019, № 2, 54-79).

⁴⁹ Ibid.

verallgemeinernd die Verwendung derjenigen Wörter dar, die als typisch für eine der früheren Übersetzungsschulen angesehen werden.⁵⁰ Sie kommen in den drei Versionen der Homilie vor, aber nicht in gleicher Menge und in gleichem Verhältnis. Ungefähr die gleiche Anzahl von kyrillomethodianischen Lexemen wird in allen Fassungen benutzt: 21 in **A**, 25 in **B** und 24 in **C**. Ihre Frequenz ist aber unterschiedlich: sie erscheinen 32-mal in **A**, 47-mal in **B** und 40-mal in **C**. Alle Fassungen verwenden ein- oder mehrmals als kyrillomethodianisch bezeichnete Korrelate wie: ἀπαισχύνομαι – постыдѣти сѧ, ἀποστέλλω – посълаати, βοάω – възпнати, възъпнати, διά + Acc – ради, δίκαιος – правьдънъ, ἐπειδή – понеже, ἰμάτιον – риза, καλέω – нарицати, нареци, μύρον – миро, ῥάβδος – жъзъль, φυλάττω – съхранити, χάρις – ради, ὡς – ꙗкоже. Wie man sieht, sind alle Lexeme im altkirchenslavischen Schrifttum weit verbreitet und haben deswegen kein besonderes Attribuierungsgewicht.

Eindeutiger sind die Daten für die Preslavismen. In der Übersetzung **A** habe ich 20 als „markiert“ angenommene Lexeme in 42 Belegen gefunden, in **B** 9 Lexeme in 19 Belegen, und in **C** 11 Lexeme in 15 Belegen. Alle Übersetzungen benutzen für θαῦμα (4x) nur das „neuere“ γοῦδο, statt des „älteren“ δηνο, sowie μηρъ für κόσμος und ποστραδαати für πάσχω.

Die Oppositionen zwischen den Fassungen sind in der Tabelle dargestellt, wobei die Kyrillomethodianismen fett gedruckt, die Preslavismen kursiv und die neutralen Varianten nicht markiert und heller gedruckt sind:

	A	B	C
ἀνίστημι	<i>ВЪСТАВНТИ</i>	ВЪЗДѢВНЗАТИ	ВЪСКРЪСНТИ
ἀπαισχύνομαι	ПОСТЫДѢТИ Сѧ	<i>СРАМЛАТИ Сѧ</i>	ПОСТЫДѢТИ Сѧ
γέννησις	<i>РЪЖДѢННІЕ</i>	РЪЖДѢСТВО	РЪЖДѢСТВО
δαίμων Gen	<i>БЪСОВЪСКЪ</i>		<i>БЪСЪ</i>
Ἑβραῖος	<i>ЖИДОВЪСКЪ</i>	ЄВРЪНСКЪ	ЄВРЪНСКЪ
ἐπειδή	<i>ІЕЛМАЖЕ</i>	НЛИ	ПОНЕЖЕ
Εὐαγγελίων	<i>БЛАГОВѢЩЕННІ ПНСЪЦЪ</i>	ЄВАНГѢЛНСТЪ	<i>БЛАГОВѢСТНЕМЪ</i>
γραφεύς			<i>СЪПНСАТЕЛЪ</i>

⁵⁰ Außer den im Artikel von Miltenov erwähnten Untersuchungen wurden noch einige weitere konsultiert: И. Евсеев, *Книга пророка Исаии в древнеславянском переводе*, Санкт-Петербург, 1897; Е. Дограмаджиева, *Обстоятелствените изречения в книжовния старобългарски език*, София, 1984; И. Карачорова, „Лексиката на Чудовския псалтир и преславската редакция на старобългарските богослужебни книги“, *Български език* 34, 1984, S. 53-61; Л. Тасева, М. Йовчева, „Преводачески особености в Книга на пророк Иезекиил по ръкопис F.I.461 от Руската национална библиотека“, *Palaeobulgarica* 19, 1995, № 4, 40-52; Н. Василева, *Лексиката на Лествицата. Преславски и търновски превод*, Варна, 2002.

θυσία	<i>трѣба</i>	жрѣтва	жрѣтва
κλείω 3x	ЗАКΛΑΟΥΗΤΗ, ЗАТВОРΗΤΗ 2x	<i>затворητη</i>	ЗАКΛΑΟΥΗΤΗ 2x, <i>затворητη</i>
λυπέω	<i>опечалити</i>	оскрѣбити	<i>опечалити</i>
μανθάνω	<i>наοучити са</i>	наѡзѣкнѣти	<i>оучѣдѣти</i>
μαρτυρέω 2x	СЪВѢДѢТЕЛЪСТВОВАТИ 2x	<i>проповѣдати 2x</i>	СЪВѢДѢТЕЛЪСТВОВАТИ 2x
μάρτυς 2x	СЪВѢДѢТЕЛЪ 2x	<i>послoучъ 2x</i>	СЪВѢДѢТЕЛЪ 2x
μέγας	<i>вєлнкъ</i>		<i>вєлнкъ</i>
μορφή	<i>οβραζъ</i>	<i>οβραζъ</i>	<i>зракъ</i>
οικοδομέω	<i>градити</i>	<i>творити</i>	<i>ουστροити</i>
παρθένος ή 3x	<i>дѣва 2x</i>	ДѢВАТА 2x, дѣва	ДѢВАТА, дѣва, <i>дѣвѣствѣннкъ</i>
πάσχα Gen	<i>вєлнкъин дѣньнъ</i>	пасха Gen	пасха Gen
σκηνή 17x	<i>кѣца 14x</i>	кровъ 14x, сѣнь	<i>сѣнь 17x</i>
σκηνοποιός	<i>кѣцьнъ творитєль</i>	насѣньнъ покрѣвєнъ	<i>сѣнницотворѣць</i>
σκιά	<i>сѣнь</i>	сѣнь	сѣнь
σπήλαιον	<i>пещєра</i>	<i>нзбєрѣнъ !</i>	врьтѣпъ
χάριν 2x	радн	<i>дѣльма 2x</i>	радн 2x
ὥς	<i>акъ 2x</i>	ѣкоже, ѣко	ѣкоже, ѣко
	KM 5/7 – Pr 19/35	KM 10/24 – Pr 6/8 n 8/9	KM 14/18 – Pr 6/6 n 8/24

Die Übersicht zeigt, dass die drei Übersetzer sowohl mit der Lexik der kyrillomethodianischen als auch der Preslaver Tradition frei umgegangen sind. Folglich waren beide lexikalischen Schichten in der Zeit der Entstehung der Übersetzungen schon ein Teil des Wortschatzes der Schriftsprache, was für die mittelbulgarische Übersetzung selbstverständlich ist, aber für beide altbulgarischen Fassungen gewisse Hinweise auf die Datierung gibt. Eine gleichzeitige Verwendung kyrillomethodianischer und Preslaver Lexeme beobachtet A. Dimitrova im Zlatostruj.⁵¹

Das Vorhandensein ostbulgarischer Innovationen ist bei der Fassung A deutlicher. Einige der Oppositionen verdienen besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Dazu gehören Varianten, die nicht sehr verbreitet sind. Hier muss man vor allem *вєлнкъин дѣньнъ* in A für *тоѡ πάσχα* erwähnen. Der Hebraismus wird selten

⁵¹ Vgl. A. Димитрова, *Златоструят в преводаческата дейност на старобългарските книжовници*, София, 2016, S. 38-40, 312-313 und die konkreten Beobachtungen der Autorin bei der separaten sprachlichen Analyse der Homilien L1-L45.

übersetzt: einmal in der Übersetzung der Ἐκθεσις ἀκριβῆς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως des Johannes von Damaskus von Johannes dem Exarchen⁵² und einmal in der Preslaver Übersetzung der Lestvica.⁵³ Die griechisch-slavische Lexikographie einzelner Texte bietet nur noch ein Beispiel für die Korrelation τοῦ πάσχα – велнкоДѣньннын in einer späteren Moskauer Edition der kirchenslavischen Kormčaja.⁵⁴ Der Begriff ist bei den meisten orthodoxen Slaven bis heute erhalten, während die Westslaven Derivate mit ‘Nacht’ benutzen – *Wielkanoc* (pol.), *Velikonoce* (tsch.).⁵⁵ Zu den für die in Ostbulgarien entstandenen Texte typischen Wörtern werden die Konjunktionen акъ, ельмаже und дѣльма gezählt. Die beiden ersten werden nur in **A** verwendet und die dritte nur in **B**. Das Lexem стѣнь für σκιά erscheint im Zlatostruj,⁵⁶ und die Opposition сѣнь – стѣна ist entsprechend in der älteren und jüngeren Übersetzung der Eriphanios-Homilie über die Höllenfahrt Christi nachgewiesen.⁵⁷ Gegen Εὐαγγελίων γραφεύς benutzt die Version **B** das neutrale евангелнстѣ, während die anderen den Ausdruck mit благовѣщеннн пнсѣць (**A**) und благовѣстнемь сѣпнсатель (**C**) übersetzen. Diese slavisierende Tendenz ist für die Preslaver Texte⁵⁸ sowie für einige spätere athonitische Literaten charakteristisch.⁵⁹

⁵² R. Aitzetmüller, *Des Johannes von Damaskus Ἐκθεσις ἀκριβῆς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως in der Übersetzung des Exarchen Johannes*, Bd. 4, *Index und Rückläufiges Wörterverzeichnis*, Freiburg i. Br., 1983, S. 19. Die Wiedergabe von τοῦ πάσχα durch велнкъ дѣнь (ВетѣхАи великъ дѣнь съ ученикѣ своими ѹдѣ) erklärt T. Ilieva als fehlerhaft („погрешен“), denn in diesem Kontext ist die erste Bedeutung von πάσχα im Griechischen, nämlich ‘Opferlamm’ (‘жертвено животно’) – realisiert, die zweite – ‘Ostern’ (‘денят, в който се отбелязва това събитие от свещената история’) – ist auf metonymischen Weg entstanden (T. Илиева, *Терминологичната лексика в Йоан-Екзарховия превод на „De fide orthodoxa“*, София, 2013, S. 142, 155). In der Proklus-Homilie ist die erste Bedeutung richtig wiedergegeben: 764,27: ἐν ᾧ Μωϋσῆς, ὁ τοῦ πάσχα τὸν ἀμνὸν σφαγιάσας, – **B** на нѣнже мѡуѣн [монсн М] пасхы [оп. Л] агѣньць [+ а Л] заклавъ [-а Л].

⁵³ Vgl. H. Василева, *Лексиката...*, S. 41.

⁵⁴ И. Христов, *Гръцко-църковнославянски речник, съставен въз основа на Речника на църковнославянския език от архимандрит д-р Атанасий Бончев*, Света гора: Зографски манастир, 2019, S. 638.

⁵⁵ Vgl. M. Тихова, „Великен и wielkanoc“, in *Преславска книжовна школа*, т. 17, Шумен, 2017, S. 46-48.

⁵⁶ А. Димитрова, *Златоструят...*, S. 436.

⁵⁷ Д. Иванова-Мирчева, Ж. Икономова, *Хомилията на Епифаний за слизането в ада*, София, 1975, S. 210.

⁵⁸ Т. Славова, Л. Грашева, „Преславско книжовно средище“, in *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, т. 3, София, S. 318.

⁵⁹ Л. Тасева, „Езикът на преводача Закхей: между книжовното наследство и формалистичните тенденции на епохата“, *Slavia* 69, 2000, № 2, S. 209.

Die quantitativen Daten und die Analyse einiger aussagekräftiger Beispiele zeigen, dass beide älteren Fassungen die Lexik beider altbulgarischen Übersetterschulen verwenden, aber sie tun das mit unterschiedlicher Intensität. Ähnliche Verhältnisse hat die Forschung auch in anderen altbulgarischen Mehrfachübersetzungen hagiographischer und homiletischer Werke festgestellt,⁶⁰ aber ihre chronologische Interpretation ist widersprüchlich. E. Mirčeva ist der Meinung, dass die große Zahl von typischen Preslavismen eine Eigenschaft der früheren, in Preslav entstandenen Texte ist, während das spätere Preslav die eng regionalen sprachlichen Besonderheiten eher eingeschränkt verwendet.⁶¹ Ich teile diese Ansicht nicht, denn ihre Schlussfolgerungen beruhen auf Homilien und Viten, deren spätere Preslaver Etappe hauptsächlich im Codex Suprasliensis bezeugt ist. Und die Forscherin selbst betont an vielen Stellen die von K. Ivanova in der „Bibliotheca hagiographica Balcano-Slavica“ festgestellte Tatsache, dass diese Handschrift sehr viele eigenartige oder seltene Versionen der Texte beinhaltet.⁶² Eine Regel auf der Grundlage von Ausnahmen zu formulieren, ist kaum akzeptabel, dies um so mehr, als bei anderen Texten genau das Gegenteil nachgewiesen ist; z. B. gibt es in der

⁶⁰ Vgl. z.B. Ch. Voß. „Zwei altbulgarische Übersetzungen der Vita des Johannes Hesychastes. Zur Frage der Archaizität des martyrologischen Textbestandes für den Monat März im Codex Suprasliensis und im Uspenskij spisok der VMČ“, in Ch. Voß, H. Warkentin und E. Weiher (Hrsg.) *Abhandlungen zu den Großen Lesemenäen des Metropoliten Makarij. Kodikologische, miszellenologische und textologische Untersuchungen*, Bd. 1 (Monumenta linguae slavicae dialecti veteris 44), Freiburg i. Br.: Weiher, 2000, S. 297-336; Д. Атанасова, „Преводи и книжни контексти. Деяние на св. Никола (Praxis de stratilatis) и южнославянските календарни сборници“, *Старобългарска литература* 52, 2015, S. 118-141; Е. Мирчева, *Староизводните и новоизводните ...*, S. 110-116, 151-153, 251-155. Die Autorin vergleicht je zwei altbulgarische Übersetzungen der Vita der 40 Märtyrer von Sebaste (BHG 1201), der Homilie auf die Verkündigung der Gottesmutter (BHG 1085c) und der Vita von Kondrat aus Nikomedia (BHG 359).

⁶¹ Е. Мирчева, *Староизводните и новоизводните...*, S. 225-255, und besonders S. 254-255. Das sind die Schlussfolgerungen aus dem Vergleich und der Analyse der beiden Preslaver Übersetzungen der Vita des Kondrat im Codex Suprasliensis und in der Hs. Pogodin 64. Im Unterschied zu I. Tot (И. Тот, „Житие Кондрата“, *Studia Slavica* 21, 1975, № 3-4, S. 237-275) und in Übereinstimmung mit А. Војадџиев (А. Бояджиев, „Житието на св. Кондрат – първоначалната история на неговия славянски текст и развитието на старобългарската правописна система с голям ер“, in *Кирило-Методиевски студии*, кн. 10, София, 1995, S. 46-81) hält die Autorin die Version im Suprasliensis für älter.

⁶² Е. Мирчева, „Codex Suprasliensis и Bibliotheca hagiographica Balcano-slavica“, in А. Милтенова (съст.) *Преоткриване: Супрасълски сборник. Старобългарски паметник от X в.*, София, 2012, S. 25-34, und besonders S. 31-32; Е. Мирчева, *Староизводните и новоизводните...*, S. 254-255, 260-262.

späteren (wörtlichen) Übersetzung der Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodios mehr Preslavismen als in der früheren (freien) Übersetzung.⁶³

Das Vorhandensein kyrillomethodianischer Lexeme in der Version **B** der Homilie *In transfigurationem*, die sich in der Entwicklung der Schriftsprache nicht als übliche Korrelate durchsetzen konnten (z.B. κροβъ für σκηνή), und die große Zahl von selteneren Preslavismen in der Fassung **A**, darunter einige übersetzte griechische theologische Begriffe (БЛАГОВЪЩЕННИ ПИСЬЦЬ für Εὐαγγελίων γραφεύς und ВЕЛНЬЗИ ДЬНЬНЪ für τοῦ πάσχα), zusammen mit dem freieren Umgang mit dem Original in **B** und seiner größeren formalen Unabhängigkeit bezüglich der griechischen syntaktischen Konstruktionen, erlauben die Annahme, dass die Übersetzung **B** älter ist als **A**. Als kyrillomethodianisch kann man sie aber eher nicht einordnen, denn es fehlen darin bedeutende sprachliche Archaismen; aber das Ende des 9. oder der Anfang des 10. Jh. sind als Entstehungszeit der Fassung **B** durchaus möglich. Wahrscheinlich könnte ein detaillierter Vergleich der Übersetzungstechniken und der sprachlichen Besonderheiten mehrerer alter Übersetzungen mehr Licht in diese Frage bringen.

Interessant ist, dass die Preslavismen, die in den athonitischen Übersetzungen und Redaktionen oft vorkommen, in der Fassung **C** gering sind. Und das nähert sie den in Tärnovo entstandenen Übersetzungen oder den dort revidierten Texten athonitischer Herkunft an.

SCHLUSSFOLGERUNGEN

Nach dieser ausführlichen Darlegung kann man einige Schlussfolgerungen bezüglich der am Anfang gestellten Fragen ziehen:

1. Die Einordnung der drei Versionen als *unabhängige Übersetzungen* durch K. Ivanova kann man mit folgenden Argumenten unterstützen:

- a) begrenzte Zahl von gemeinsamen Auslassungen und identischen Ergänzungen;
- b) viele individuelle Auslassungen und Ergänzungen;
- c) eine große Zahl von individuellen lexikalischen Varianten;
- d) Beispiele in den drei Versionen für die Übertragung von paronymischen Wörtern und Formen sowie von unterschiedlichen Bedeutungen der griechischen Lexeme; dafür ist eine selbständige Arbeit der Übersetzer mit den griechischen Vorlagen nötig.

2. Die *Originale*, mit denen die Übersetzer gearbeitet haben, stehen dem Text in PG relativ nahe. Sie zeigen auch gewisse gemeinsame Abweichungen von ihm, sind aber nicht vollkommen identisch.

⁶³ М. Йовчева, Л. Тасева, „Двата старобългарски превода на Псевдо-Методиевото Откровение“, in *Кирило-Методиевски студии*, кн. 10, София, 1995, S. 22-45.

a) Beweise für die Nähe der Quellen für die Übersetzungen, die deren Text demjenigen von PG gegenüberstellen, sind:

- einzelne gemeinsame Auslassungen und identische Ergänzungen ohne Entsprechung in PG;
- einzelne sprachlich nicht identische, aber bedeutungsähnliche Ergänzungen.

b) Für die nichtvollständige Übereinstimmung der griechischen Vorlagen für die Versionen **A**, **B** und **C** sprechen:

- viele individuelle Auslassungen und Ergänzungen (ein Teil davon könnte in den griechischen Quellen wurzeln);
- viele Fälle, bei denen die Variantenlesungen in den Übersetzungen zu Wörtern und Formen mit ähnlicher graphischer oder akustischer Gestalt führen, deren Verwechslung schon in der byzantinischen Transmission des Textes passieren konnte.

3. Im Bezug auf die *Übersetzungsprinzipien* und *-technik* kann man verallgemeinern, dass die Fassung **B** einen freieren Umgang mit dem Original zeigt, während **A** und **C** in der formalen Nachahmung der griechischen Muster genauer sind. Das zeigen die folgenden Phänomene:

a) die Wiedergabe der griechischen syntaktischen Konstruktionen mit Artikel plus Infinitiv, Partizip und substantiviertem Präpositionalausdruck;

b) die Wahl der kontextuellen oder freien Entsprechungen für die griechischen Wörter (öfters in **B**) oder der genauen wörtlichen Korrelate (öfters in **A** und **C**);

c) die Variabilität der Korrelate für die griechischen Lexeme: **B** hat eine reichere Synonymie, während **A** und **C** häufiger zu festen Entsprechungen tendieren;

d) die Anwesenheit von sog. „lexikalischen Markern“ – es gibt wenig seltene Lexeme mit starker Attribuierungskraft, aber in den drei Texten sind mehrere Wörter vorhanden, die häufiger mit einer der beiden altbulgarischen Schulen verbunden werden. Als lexikalischer Bestand und besonders hinsichtlich der Zahl ihrer Verwendung erscheinen die Kyrillomethodianismen öfters in der Übersetzung **B** und **C**, und die Preslavismen überwiegen in **A**.

4. Was die *Datierung* betrifft, schließt der Mangel an bedeutenden morphologischen Archaismen in beiden alten Übersetzungen die Möglichkeit aus, auch nur eine von ihnen der Tätigkeit der Slavenlehrer zuzuschreiben. Aber auf der Grundlage der komplexen Charakteristik der Übersetzungsvorgänge kann man annehmen, dass beide Versionen **A** und **B** in Ostbulgarien in 9.-10. Jh. entstanden sind. Die Übersetzung **B** steht insgesamt der kyrillomethodianischen Tradition näher und die Übersetzung **A** eher den Preslaver Tendenzen. Deswegen halte ich es für wahrscheinlicher, dass ihre relative Chronologie umgekehrt zu ihrer alphabetischen Bezeichnung ist und dass die Fassung **B** bald

nach den Ankunft der Schüler von Kyrillos und Methodios in Ostbulgarien entstanden ist, während **A** eher zur „reifen“ Preslaver Produktion gehört.

Die mittelbulgarische Fassung **C** zeigt die üblichen Besonderheiten der Übersetzungen des 14. Jahrhunderts, aber nicht auf einer extremen Ebene der formalen Abhängigkeit vom Original, die für manche auf dem Berg Athos entstandenen Texte typisch ist. Deswegen und wegen der Verwendung von mehr Kyrillomethodianismen als von Preslavismen würde ich als ihren Entstehungsort eher Tärnovo vermuten.

Man kann verallgemeinern, dass diese drei Übersetzungen der Homilie *In transfigurationem* die gewöhnlichen Wege und Etappen der Rezeption byzantinischer patristischer Texte mit liturgischen Funktionen illustrieren und ein gutes Beispiel für die sogenannten Mehrfachübersetzungen bei den Balkanslaven darstellen.

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**THE SERMON ON THE TRANSFIGURATION OF CHRIST (CPG 3939)
ASCIBED TO ST. EPHREM THE SYRIAN IN SOUTH SLAVONIC
TRANSLATION: THE CONSTRUCTION OF RHETORICAL RHYTHM***

Ekaterina Dikova

As stated in the so-called Appendix Dionysiaca, “all discourse is adorned with meter, but in poetry it is perceived with the senses, while in prose it is perceived with the mind.”¹ This view is, needless to say, true and, therefore, not exceptional. The interest in non-poetic rhythm² in medieval works³ is,

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¹ For the English translation of this quote see V. Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and Rhythm in Byzantium: The Sound of Persuasion*, Cambridge, 2013, p. 23. For the original text – καὶ πᾶς μὲν λόγος μέτρῳ κεκόσμηται, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ποιητικὸς αἰσθητῶς, ὁ δὲ πεζὸς νοητῶς – see M. Consbruch, *Hephaestionis enchiridion, cum commentariis veteribus*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 332. Available also online at <<https://archive.org/details/hephaestionisenc00hephuoft>> (02.04.2020). Valiavitcharska’s book has been the guiding light for the present study and I would like to warmly thank its author.

² This interest is as old as prose itself as attested in numerous ancient instances (“Aristotle and Isocrates, for example, emphasise that rhetorical discourse must carefully avoid the... rhythms of prose” – V. Valiavitcharska, “Reading Poetry, Performing Rhetoric: The Place of Poetic Performance in Byzantine Rhetorical Education”, a paper under review in *The Practice of Rhetoric: A Festschrift for Jeffrey Walker*, eds. Debra Hawhee and V. Valiavitcharska, p. [1]). Rhythm was studied in relation also to ancient Greece (see e.g. A. W. de Groot, *A Handbook of Antique Prose-Rhythm*, Groningen, 1919, especially p. 98-108 and the literature quoted there; de Groot proposes periodisation and typology of the ancient Greek clausula, and, at the end of his monograph, briefly presents other rhetorical techniques to achieve rhythm – mainly the choice of words and the word order (p. 142) and turns his attention to the chronological changes of rhythm in an ancient collection of writings copied in Byzantium. For other classical investigations on prose rhythm see V. Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and Rhythm...*, p. 12 and the literature quoted there.

³ Particularly in relation to the Greek Middle Ages see W. Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus in der rhetorischen Literatur der Byzantiner*, Wien, 1981 (p. 21-26, 51-153 are on Byzantine authors and p. 27-42 present an overview of the scholarship on the issue). It should be noted here that the author – and the scholars quoted by him – are interested mainly in the clausulae, even though he points out in his preliminary notes that rhythm is more than attention to rules related to the clausula and that the rhythm in prose includes all the efforts to influence the formal structure of the sentences by means of isocolon, homoioteleuton and, for some reason, paronomasia (*ibid.*, p. 19).

similarly, neither sporadic, nor new. Since its origin, however, a general principle has been sought (cf. e.g. Mayer's law⁴ on Byzantine clausulae and its modifications by later scholars) but hardly ever have various rhetorical devices been observed as a complex tool for achieving rhythm⁵ and, even more rarely, studied in translated literature. Besides, hardly any of the rhythmical analyses of translated works I have come across so far juxtapose the target texts with their respective source texts in terms of rhythm and rhythmical devices applied, at least as far as Slavonic translations are concerned.⁶ Having all the previous

The most recent – and most exhaustive – monograph on Byzantine oratorical rhythm is V. Valiavitcharska's *Rhetoric and Rhythm...*

⁴ W. Meyer, *Der accentuirte Satzschluss in der griechischen Prosa: vom IV. bis XVI. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen, 1891, p. 6-7. [Available also online at <https://archive.org/stream/deraccentuirtesa00meyer/deraccentuirtesa00meyer_djvu.txt> (04.04.2020)]. On the previous pages (4-5) the author presents Bouvy's theory on stress as the carrier of rhythm in the Byzantine hymnography. For later comments on Mayer's law, incl. the Maas modification, see W. Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus...* p. 27-32. The briefest and most clear explanation of the two laws is given by Lauxtermann, *The Spring of Rhythm. An Essay on the Political Verse and Other Byzantine Metres*, Wien, 1999, p. 74: "The accentual prose rhythm is governed by two laws: Bouvy's law, according to which the clausula ends with a proparoxitone word, and the law of Meyer/Maas dictating that the number of unaccented syllables between the two last stress accents of clausula could be even (usually 2 or 4, rarely 6)... there are too many variables for the rules to be universal".

⁵ One of the significant exceptions is V. Valiavitcharska's *Rhetoric and Rhythm...*, where various aspects and rhetorical techniques of rhythm in prose are studied in the broad context of Byzantine progymnasmata as well as statistical comparison is proposed between Greek homilies and a whole corpus of their Old Bulgarian translation – those in the 10th-century *Codex Suprasliensis* – in terms of number of syllables and number of accents in the cola. Another scholar who sees rhythm as a complex of various tools is R. Koycheva. She discovers similar assonance and consonance as well as preservation of homoioteleuton on its original places and keen attention to stress placement in ecclesiastical hymns (R. Koycheva, "Sound and Sense in the Hymnographic Text: On a Troparion from the Acrostic Triodion Canon Cycle of Constantine of Preslav," *Scripta & e-Scripta* 1, 2003, p. 147-160).

⁶ No source text is provided, for example, in the rhythmical analysis of the Lord's Prayer (B. Былинин, "К проблеме стиха славянской гимнографии (X–XIII вв.)", *Славянские литературы: X Международный съезд славистов, София, 1988 г. Доклады советской делегации*, Москва, 1988, p. 37-38). R. Jakobson, although noticing that the syllabic verse of the Old Bulgarian poetry is related to the Byzantine political verse, does not compare any target texts with its source (P. O. Яковсон, "Заметка о древне-болгарском стихосложении", *Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности Российской академии наук* 24 (2), 1923, p. 351-358. <<http://feb-web.ru/feb/izvest/default.asp?feb/izvest/1919/02/192.html>> (04.04.2020). In a later study he is interested in one peculiarly rhythmical feature – the number of syllables per cola – and discovers that: 1) the Slavonic translation of Greek heirmoi, stichera, and liturgical prayers tend to preserve the syllabic count of their source texts; 2) they occasionally contribute to their rhythm; 3) the same principles are valid for the translations in other Slavic languages (R. Jakobson, "The Slavic Response to Byzantine Poetry", *Actes du XII^e congrès international des études byzantines, Ochride, 10-16 Septembre 1961, Rapports*, vol. 8, Belgrade-Ohrid, 1961, p. 249-265). Rhythm is certainly not among the primary subjects of interest for Palaeoslavonic Translation Studies as

significant contributions as a stable scholarly background, I would like to propose here, as a kind of experiment (or *étude*), a rhythmical analysis of a single translated text. This analysis will aim at elucidating how rhythm in a particular Byzantine homily was rendered in its South Slavonic counterparts.

While analysing the rhythm in the homily in question, I will not look for invariants or prevailing tendencies but will rather try to be attentive to the techniques for its rendering applied by its medieval translators. I will also show that, unlike the rhythm in poetry, the rhythm in a rhetorical work is governed by the meaning, that it changes according to the meaning and the messages conveyed in different sections of the text and that various rhythmical patterns alternate together with the alternation of ideas and intentions.

I have selected my primary source almost at random. The Transfiguration of Christ is one of my favourite feasts and topics in Christianity, and St. Ephrem the Syrian is one of my favourite theologians. This is what actually prompted me to choose the Sermon on the Transfiguration of Christ ascribed to St. Ephrem the Syrian as the subject of my analysis.

Even though of dubitable authorship, this sermon was most probably first created in Syriac. Yet, the earliest found Syriac manuscript of it – burnt later on – was noted to attribute the work to St. John Chrysostom.⁷ Whatever its

proven also by respectable collections of investigations like Л. Тасева и др. (eds.), *Преводите през XIV столетие на Балканите. Доклади от международната конференция, София, 26-28 юни 2003*, София, 2004. Yet, some attention has been drawn to the isocolic structuring of original Old Bulgarian / Old Church Slavonic texts in terms of number of stresses and number of syllables in the cola. See mainly R. Picchio, "Sulle strutture isocoliche nella letteratura slava ortodossa", *Letteratura della Slavia ortodossa*, Bari, 1991, p. 279-307, which inspired other scholars to conduct similar investigations (for an extensive list of such studies and some comments on them see V. Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and Rhythm...*, p. 154-157). Numerous studies, moreover, were dedicated to the poetics (incl. rhythmical peculiarities) of original Bulgarian poetry.

⁷ Cf. M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. 2: *Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum*, Turnhout, 1974, p. 390. On the same attribution see also S. P. Brock, *St. Ephrem: A Brief Guide to the Main Editions and Translations*, s. loc., 2012. Available at <<http://syri.ac/brock/ephrem>> (04.04.2020). Here CPG 3939 is seen as part of the group of 15 texts attributed to Ephrem "which have a Syriac original that can be identified" but some of which "cannot be genuine Ephrem". M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum...*, p. 390 notes – after D. Hemmerdinger-Iliadou – not only the attribution of the same sermon to Isaac of Antioch but also another Syriac manuscript (a fragment) in which the homily is anonymous. In the Georgian manuscript tradition the homily was occasionally attributed also to Theodoros Abu Qurra (Ch. Hannick, *Maximos Holobolos in der kirchenslavischen homiletischen Literatur*, Wien, 1981, 244). The overall authorship, manuscript, and translation traditions of St Ephrem's works are extremely complicated in all languages – also due to his vast popularity even during his lifetime. As far as the Slavonic versions are concerned, it has been stated also that the Old Bulgarian translation of the *Parainesis* (of which CPG 3939 is not part) was revised at some point (according to the Greek one) and in places it agrees rather with the Latin version (made prior to the 10th century) than to the Greek one (F. Thomson, "The Old Bulgarian Translation of the Homilies of Ephraem Syrus", *Palaeobulgarica* 9, 1985, № 1, p. 124-125). All

original language, I hope I will manage here to prove that rhythm could be – and was – rendered consciously. And I will do this by comparing it in the Greek text,⁸ on the one hand, and in its two South Slavonic translations, on the other. The Greek text used here is taken from two editions and a 14th-century manuscript which, in places, seems closer to the Slavonic target texts than the edited ones.

The first Slavonic version is of the old redaction, i.e. according to the *Studion Typikon*, and it is represented by only one preserved copy of the late 13th – early 14th century⁹, with Raška orthography but in fact an earlier Bulgarian translation.¹⁰ This is MS IIIc19 from the collection of Antun

this – which is part of the medieval preference for authority over authorship – does not affect the main concept of the present article as rhythm is seen here a complex and multifaceted rhetorical device that was translated.

⁸ According to its recent Greek edition in: Όσιος Εφραίμ ο Σύρος. Έργα, Τόμος Ζ΄. Επτμ. Κωνσταντίνος Φραντζολάς, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1998. Available also online at <<https://www.rogerpearse.com/weblog/ephraim-graecus-works/>> (25.05.20220) where the sermon in question is accessible under number 134. The earliest, Assemani's, edition of the same text is also currently accessible online (J. S. Assemani, *Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera omnia quae extant graece, syriace, latine*, vol. 2, Rome, 1743, p. 41-29, digitised and distributed online by the Bonn University and Regional Library at <<http://digitale-sammlungen.ulb.uni-bonn.de/content/pageview/99006>> (20.05.2020) as its first page). The Greek manuscript I use is *Supplément grec* 43 (1340-1360), f. 1-8, is available online from the website of the National Library of France at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/services/engine/search/sru?operation=searchRetrieve&version=1.2&query=%28gallica%20adj%20%22bhga%201982%22%29&lang=en&suggest=0>> (03.04.2020). the only one of the work which I have found online.

⁹ The most recent investigation on the dating and origin of this manuscript whose prototype goes back to the epoch to the pupils of the holy brothers Cyril and Methodius belongs to A. Turilov (A. Турилов, “О датировке и происхождении рукописи Гомилиярия Михановича”, *Slavia* 78, 2009, № 3-4, p. 461-468). In it the author manages even to identify the first scribe of this manuscript and proves that it was created not earlier than 1280 and not later than the 1320s. For an overview of previous datings see *ibid.*, 462-463.

¹⁰ It is a well known fact in palaeoslavistics that the Mihanović Homiliary, in which the copy is found, is the most popular representative of the type of the panegyric collections which entered the Old Bulgarian literary tradition at a very early stage (the type combining both the movable and immovable church calendar) and that this same codex – the Mihanović Homiliary – is one of our oldest and most significant panegyric collections (К. Иванова, Ц. Данова, “Опит за систематизиране на риторичната традиция в южнославянските календарни сборници (Според съдържанието на балканските триодни панигирици)”, *Palaeobulgarica* 43, 2019, № 2, p. 15). Some studies have been dedicated to determining the place and time of origin of certain texts found there, the most recent of which proves that Pseudo-Chrysostomian Homily on the Beheading of St. John the Baptist was translated as early as in the 10th century in Eastern Bulgaria (Х. Давидкова, “Старобългарският превод на Псевдозлатоустовото Слово за Усекновение на Йоан Кръстител (ВНГ 859)”, *Проглас* 28, 2019, № 2, p. 249-259. <<http://journals.uni-vt.bg/proglas/bul/vol28/iss2/11>> (04.04.2020).

Mihanović kept at the Croatian Library of Sciences (HAZU) and edited as a facsimile¹¹ in 1957. The second Slavonic version is of the new redaction, i.e. according to the *Jerusalem Typikon*. It is represented by about ten manuscripts¹² and I study here the earliest one, the Zographou copy (Ms 109) of the 14th century,¹³ Bulgarian orthography, Bulgarian translation.

Now let us begin from the beginning – the short but moving introduction of the Sermon, visualising the contemporaneous concerns of the author’s audience – harvest and grape-gathering in the season when Transfiguration is celebrated:

Ἐκ τῆς χώρας θέρους χαρμονή,
 ἐκ τοῦ ἄμπελῶνος καρποὶ ἐδεσμάτων,
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν Γραφῶν διδαχὴ ζωοποιός.
 Ἡ χώρα εἰς ἓνα καιρὸν ἔχει τὸ θέρος,
 καὶ ἡ ἄμπελος εἰς ἓνα καιρὸν ἔχει τὸν τρυγητόν,¹⁴
 ἡ Γραφή δὲ πάντοτε ἀναγινωσκομένη ἀναβλύζει διδαχὴν ζωοποιόν.

Ἡ χώρα, ὅταν θερισθῆ, ἀπέσχε,
 καὶ ἡ ἄμπελος, ὅταν τρυγηθῆ, ταπεινοῦται,
 ἡ Γραφή δὲ καθ’ ἡμέραν θεριζομένη,
 οἱ στάχυες τῶν ἐρμηνευόντων ἐν αὐτῇ οὐκ ἐκλιμπάνουσι
 καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν τρυγεῖται, καὶ οἱ βότρυες τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐλπίδος οὐ
 δαπανῶνται.

The punctuation even in the modern edition well presents the structuring of cola building up periods and it was my decision to divide each colon¹⁵ on a

¹¹ R. Aitzetmüller (ed.) *Mihanović Homiliar*, Graz, 1957, f. 231a-233b.

¹² The exact copies of this later Slavonic version are listed in Ch. Hannick, *Maximos...*, p. 244, К. Иванова, *Bibliotheca hagiographica Balcano-Slavica*, София, 2008, p. 602-603.

¹³ The respective manuscript is a *Panegyricon* of the 16th century, but the sermon in question (f. 287-292) is dated to the third quarter of the 14th century and was added later in the codex during its rebinding (see К. Иванова, *Bibliotheca hagiographica...*, p. 75); the orthographic peculiarities noted are also present in this interpolated part. I am truly indebted to the brotherhood of the Athonite Zographou Monastery for granting me access to the high-quality digital reproductions of the respective folia.

¹⁴ This line is in gray because it is not present in the Slavonic translations analysed below. It is also missing in the Greek manuscript mentioned above (to be more precise, the words omitted there are crossed out here: ἡ χώρα εἰς ἓνα καιρὸν ἔχει τὸ θέρος, / καὶ ἡ ἄμπελος εἰς ἓνα καιρὸν ἔχει τὸν τρυγητόν, *Supplément grec 43*, f. 1).

¹⁵ The literature on the classical concept of period and cola is vast, but it is worth mentioning here that, as V. Valiavitcharska in “Reading Poetry...”, p. [17] points out, the eleventh-century rhetorician John Siceliotus distinguishes as a colon any phrase between nine and eighteen syllables (the shorter phrases belong to commata).

separate line. The same structuring in cola by means of punctuation is recognisable also in the two South Slavonic versions as we will see below. But as I started with meter, let me briefly propose a metrical analysis of the excerpt (“x” marks unstressed syllables and “/” – stressed ones,¹⁶ the one-syllable clitics are not stressed¹⁷):

xx/x/xxx/
 xxxx/xx/xx/x
 xxxx/xx/xx/
 x/xx/xx//xx/x
 xx/xxx/xx//xxxx/
 xx/x/xxxxxxxx/xxx/xxx/xx/

 x/x/xxx/x/x
 xx/xx/xxx/xx/x
 xx/xxx/xxxx/x
 x/xxxxx/xxx/xxx/xx
 xxx/xx/xxx/xxxxx/x/xxxx/x

At first glance no particular meter seems to be followed, which is, certainly, normal for non-poetry. But if we concentrate on the endings of the phrases, on the endings of the cola,¹⁸ we will easily discover the alternation of anapaestic (xx/) and amphibrachic (x/x) endings in the first period and only

¹⁶ It has been established in the scholarship that the Greek musical accent had already transformed into stress and prosodic metres had been substituted by accentual ones by the 4th century (see e.g. M. D. Lauxtermann, *The Spring...*, p. 73) and that, as far as accentual clausula is concerned, its origins are sought as early as in the 3rd century (W. Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus...*, p. 37-42 and the literature cited there) i.e., the “rhythmical revolution started in prose some fifty years earlier than it did in poetry” (M. D. Lauxtermann, *The Spring...*, p. 74). On Byzantine rhetorical opinions on accent see V. Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and Rhythm...*, p. 47 quoting the 14th-century treatise of Joseph Rhacendytes. On the importance of the accentuation in Byzantine manuscripts for their editions see M. De Groot, “The Accentuation in the ‘Various Verses’ of Christophoros Mitylenaios,” F. Bernard and K. Demoen (eds.) *Poetry and Its Contexts in Eleventh-Century Byzantium*, Farnham, 2012, p. 133-145 and the literature quoted there.

¹⁷ The question of enclitics is definitely not an easy one. On the clitics and their place in the accentuated phrase, see e.g. W. Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus...*, p. 34 (quoting Skimina). On a typology of clitics under ‘usual’ and ‘new’ ones in certain Byzantine manuscripts and their dependence on rhythm, see M. De Groot, “The Accentuation...”, p. 133-145.

¹⁸ It is certainly a well-known fact that “the end of the colon is more restricted in permissible variants than the beginning or the middle” and that in Byzantine metrics “we have to count backwards: the strictness with which the rule of metrical agreement applies, strongly decreases from the end to the beginning of the colon” (M. D. Lauxtermann, *The Spring...*, p. 65).

amphibrachic-based (x/x) clausulae¹⁹ in the second. Besides, the exception of the two penultimate cola actually builds up to the symmetry of the 2 periods. What is more, the cola in the two periods are parallel also in terms of number of accents. And all this is related to the meaning, as the first three cola are statements, the next three are elaboration on them and the whole second period is an analogy between the temporary results of harvest and grape-gathering on the one hand and the eternal result of contemplating on Scripture on the other.

<i>Isocolon (or parison)</i>	<i>Metrical foot of the clausulae</i>	<i>Number of accents</i>	<i>Type of phrase</i>
xx/x/x <u>xx</u> /	anapaest	3	statements
xxxx/xx/x <u>x/x</u>		3	
xxxx/xx/ <u>xx</u> /		3	
x/xx/xx//x <u>x/x</u>	amphibrach	6	elaboration
xx/xxx/xx//xxxx/		5	
xx/x/xxxxxxx/xxx/xxx/ <u>xx</u> /		6	
x/x/xxx/ <u>x/x</u>	amphibrach	4	analogy
xx/xx/xxx/x <u>x/x</u>		4	
xx/xxx/xxx <u>x/x</u>		4	
x/xxxxx/xxx/xxx/xx		4	
xxx/xx/xxx/xxxxx/x/xxx/ <u>x/x</u>		6	

In other words, the Greek text proposes here parison or isocolon – which means similar cola in the periods – governed by the meaning. This isocolic structuring, as we proved in terms of accent and clausulae, is supported also on other levels – morphological, lexical, phrasal and grammatical, if we count the linguistic levels and all types of anaphora, epistrophe, mesodiplosis and parallel structures, if we consider it rhetorically:

Ἐκ τῆς χώρας θέρους χαρμονή,
 ἐκ τοῦ ἀμπελώνος καρποὶ ἐδεσμάτων,
 καὶ ἐκ τῶν Γραφῶν διδασχὴ ζωοποιός.
 Ἡ χώρα εἰς ἓνα καιρὸν ἔχει τὸ θέρος,
 καὶ ἡ ἀμπελος εἰς ἓνα καιρὸν ἔχει τὸν τρυγητόν,
 ἡ Γραφή δὲ πάντοτε ἀναγινωσκομένη ἀναβλύζει διδασχὴν ζωοποιόν.

Ἡ χώρα, ὅταν θερισθῆ, ἀπέσχε,

¹⁹ My understanding of clausula is probably much freer than the ones of Bouvy, Meyer and Maas, as I have simply looked at what seemed similar at the very ends of a series of cola, and not at all the eight last syllables there. For a brief presentation on the theories of the rhythmical clause ending (or the Byzantine accentual cursus) see V. Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and Rhythm...*, p. 13-15, 34-35, 62-64.

ПИСАНІЕ ЖЕ, ВСЕГДА ИСТАЧАЕТЪ ПОВУЕНІЕ ЖИВОВАДѢТЕЛЬНОЕ •	5
НИВА ЕГДА ПОЖИТА БѢДЕТЬ НСТЫЦИТ СА •	5
И ЛОЗА ЕГДА <u>ИВР</u> АНА БѢДЕТЬ, СМѢРИТ СА •	5
ПИСАНІЕ ЖЕ НА Р'СѢКЪ ДНЬ ПОЖИДЕМО,	4
КЛАСОВЕ СКАЗАЩИНМЪ Е НЕ <u>ВСК</u> ДѢВАТЪ •	4
И НА Р'СѢ ДНЬ <u>ИВН</u> РАЕТ СА, И ГРОЗДѢ ЖЕ ВНИЕМЪ,	7
ОУПОВАНИА НЕ <u>НСТЫЦА</u> ВАТЪ СА •	

Unfortunately, so far we cannot make a valid metrical analysis, because these earliest manuscripts are not consistent in marking accents and because the only reconstructed middle-Bulgarian accent system – of the Turnovo Dialect – is just a hypothesis, besides, not reliable enough.²¹ What is more, some accents might have been added after the completion of a manuscript. Accents start to become popular in the Slavonic manuscripts, as it seems, as late as in the 14th century and are more abundant in the later copies. The later copies of this homily, however, are not of much help, as each of them shows quite a different distribution of accents.²² But in terms of the number of accents we have similar pictures (see the respective columns in the table above). Besides, the earlier

²¹ Its author admits that the 14th-century material he uses does not allow him to exactly determine the distribution of accents and that he based his conclusions on later sources (В. А. Дыбо, “Именное ударение в среднеболгарском и закон Васильева-Долобко”, Славянское и балканское языкознание. Античная балканистика и сравнительная грамматика, Москва, 1977, p. 194). It concerns only some nouns (*ibid.*, 189-273) and verbs (В. А. Дыбо, “Закон Васильева-Долобко и акцентуация форм глагола в древнерусском и среднеболгарском”, *Вопросы языкознания* 2, 1971, p. 93-114) and is based on primary sources different from the ones under consideration here.

²² I have compared these excerpt in three later manuscripts, namely: RAN 305 of the 15th century (K. Ivanova *Bibliotheca...*, p. 122), MSPC 106 of the 16th century (*ibid.* 85), and Hil. 446 of the 17th century (*ibid.* 146). They give the following pictures. In RAN 305 there is an alternation of dactylic (in the 1st, 2nd, 4th colon) and amphibrachic-based clausulae (3rd, 5th colon) in the first period and paeon-primus-based endings (i.e. /xxx) in the second period (in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th colon) in which only the last colon (the 5th) is ended by an amphibrach. In MSPC 106, again, the prevailing endings are dactylic – in the 1st, 2nd and 4th colon of the first period and in the 1st and 3rd of the second; the 3rd and the 5th cola of the 1st period have clausula with an accent on the fifth syllable if we count backwards, while in the 2nd period only the 1st and 3rd colon have dactylic endings. Hil 446 is peculiar as it has dactylic endings in all the cola except for the one which comes last in the first period (РАДОУАНИА – СМѢДИН – ЖИВОТВОРНОЕ – СЪБРАНИА – ЖИВОВАДѢТЕЛЬНОЕ; НСТЫЦИ СЕ – СМѢРИТ СЕ – ПОЖИДЕМО – ОУПОВАНИА – НЕ НСТЫЦАВАЮТ СЕ). In other words, the prevailing clausula there is with an accent on the third syllable when counting backwards, or, to put it in another way, they are proparoxytone.

translation seems a little bit more consistent in keeping equality of the number of stresses in parallel cola.

And if this points mainly to the length of the cola and, as one might argue, it may well be related to a word-for-word translation, let us look at other techniques for parison building-up. It is easily recognisable that all the repetitions constructing the isocolon (or parison) in the source text – the anaphoras, epistrophies and mesodiploses – are preserved at their places (with the exception of the colon which is omitted in the two Slavonic translations). In addition, other repetitions in the parallel cola are applied in either of the two Bulgarian texts. And if we concentrate on the endings of the cola, this time in the later Bulgarian translation (see the text of Zogr 109 in the table above), we might hypothesise on the accentual endings, the clausulae and suppose – on the basis of our current linguistic insight – prevailing dactylic (/xx) endings in the first and amphibrachic-based (x/x) endings in the second period. Yet, what is really apparent are the morphemic similarities at the ends of certain cola. The alternation ρΑΔΟΒΑΝΗΔ – ΣΒΕΡΑΝΗΔ // ΖΗΒΟΤΒΟΡΗΘΕ – ΖΗΒΩΔΑΤΕΛΗΘΕ frames the first period while the adjacent НСТЫЦИHT CA – СМѢРИHT CA, together with ѠСККД.ВВАЖТЪ – НСТЫЦАВВАЖТ CA frames the second period, which is an additional strengthening of the structure similar to the one which the Greek alternation of the accentual endings suggests. And if homoioteleuton²³ i.e. similar endings of the final words of the cola, pairs only 4 of the cola in the beginning of the earlier manuscript (see the text of HAZU IIIc19 in the table above), they are abundant in another excerpt of it, where, interestingly, homoioteleuton does not correspond to the respective Greek original and its other Slavonic counterpart.

Assemani, p. 47

Εἰ οὐκ ἦν σὰρξ, ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ τίς ἐκάθειυδε;

Καὶ εἰ μὴ ἦν Θεός, τοῖς ἀνέμοις καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ τίς ἐπετίμα;

Εἰ οὐκ ἦν σὰρξ, Σίμων ὁ Φαρισαῖος μετὰ τίνος ἦσθιε;

Καὶ εἰ μὴ ἦν Θεός, τὰ πλημμελήματα τῆς ἀμαρτωλοῦ τίς συνεχώρει;

Εἰ μὴ ἦν σὰρξ, ἐπάνω τοῦ φρέατος κεκοπιακῶς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιορίας τίς ἐκάθητο;

Καὶ εἰ μὴ ἦν Θεός, ὕδωρ ζῶν τῇ Σαμαρείτιδι τίς ἐδίδου καὶ ἤλεγχεν ὅτι πέντε ἀνδρας ἔσχεν;

Εἰ μὴ ἦν σὰρξ, ἐνδύματα ἀνθρώπου τίς ἐφόρει;

Καὶ εἰ μὴ ἦν Θεός, δυνάμεις τίς ἐποίει καὶ θαύματα;

HAZU IIIc19, f. 233B

²³ And, more precisely, homioptoton, i.e. repetition of similar case ending in the last words of the cola in the first period. Another, less popular, term for grammatical rhyme is homoiokatalepton (“ὁμοιοκατάληκτον”, V. Valiavitcharska *Rhetoric and Rhythm...*, p. 73 quoting an anonymous medieval treatise on rhetorical figures).

аще не бѣ пль въ кораблѣ кто спаше •
 ἢ ἄψε не бѣ бѣ въ тромѣ ἢ морю кто запрѣщаше •
 аще не бѣ пль сѹмевнѣ фарисѣанннѣ с кннмѣ сѣдѣаше •
 ἢ ἄψε не бѣ бѣ згрѣшеннѣ грѣшннѣ кто пращаше •
 надѣ кладеземѣ ѿ штиѣ кто сѣше •
 ἢ ἄψε не бѣ бѣ водоу жнвоу самаранинѣ кто дашаше ἢ ѡблншаше •
 аще не бѣ пль ѡдеждю ѡлвчу кто ношаше •
 ἢ ἄψε не бѣ бѣ слыѣ кто творшаше •

Zogr. 109, f. 291r

аще не бѣ пль , въ кораблѣ кто спаше •
 ἢ ἄψε не бѣ бѣ , въ тромѣ ἢ морю кто запрѣти •
 аще не бѣ пль , снмннѣ фарисѣн сѣ кымѣ ѣдше •
 ἢ ἄψε не бѣ бѣ , сѣгрѣшеннѣ грѣшнннѣ кто прости •
 аще не бѣ пль , надѣ стоденцѣмѣ пльннѣ трорѣжь сѣ кто сѣдѣше •
 ἢ ἄψε не бѣ бѣ , водоѣ жнвоѣ самарѣнннѣ кто дашаше ἢ ѡблншаше ἰако
 ПАТ' МѢЖИ НМѢ •
 аще не бѣ пль , ѡдѣаннѣ ѡлвчу кто ношаше •
 ἢ ἄψε не бѣ бѣ , слыѣ кто творѣше ἢ ѡдеса •

This excerpt is part of the long antithetical polemic on the divine and human nature of Christ (about one third of the whole text). The antithesis and the numerous repetitions of the introductory phrases – аще не бѣ пль... ἢ ἄψε не бѣ бѣ...; εἰ μὴ ἦν Θεός,.. καὶ εἰ οὐκ ἦν σὰρξ, respectively – make this part very rhythmical in the three texts. Besides, grammatical parallelism is quite strong in them all – the verb is in the ultimate position, the interrogative pronoun in penultimate, and the object (direct and/or indirect) is what comes first in these cola. The only two exceptions are in the last line and in the line about the Samaritan woman – the Greek and the later Slavonic version have a couple of words after the verb there. In the earlier translation, however, these explanatory parts are omitted: the whole phrase telling about the five men of the woman and the last word of the last quoted line are omitted in order to preserve the rhythm strong and the pace fast.

In this excerpt from the earlier translation, again, we can only hypothesise on the repetition of a feminine clausula – all words in the subordinate clauses seem paroxytone. But truly impressive is that all the cola end with verbs, and, moreover, verbs in imperfect, third person singular, which leads up to rhyme-like phrasal endings. This peculiarity may well be explained as a kind of compensation for other occurrences of homoioteleuton elsewhere in

the Greek source text, where, as it seems, the rhyme-like endings were not entirely rendered. For example:

Assemani, p. 48

ἤλοις τίνος χεῖρες καὶ πόδες ἠλώθησαν;

...

τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ πῶς ἐσχίσθη

καὶ αἱ πέτραι ἐρράγησαν

καὶ οἱ τάφοι ἀνεώχθησαν;

HAZU IIIc19, f. 233v

ΓΒΟΖΔΒΜΗ ΥΝΗ ΡΟΥЦѢ Η ΝΟΖѢ ΠΡΗΓΒΟΖΔΗСТА СЕ •

...

ΠΡѢΠОНΑ ЦРΚОВНАІА ΚΑΚΟ ΡΑΖΔΗΡΔШЕ СЕ •

Η ΚΑΜΕΝΗΕ ΚΑΚΟ ΡΑΣΠΑΔΔШЕ СЕ •²⁴

Zogr. 109, f. 291v

ΓΒΟΖΔΒΜΗ ΚΤΟΜΔΥ ΡѢЦѢ Η ΝΟΖѢ ΠΡΗΓΒΟΖΔΗШѢ СѦ •

...

ЦРѢКОВНАΔ ΖΔΒѢСА ΚΑΚΟ ΡΑΖѢΔ СѦ •

Η ΚΑΜΕΝΗΕ ΡΑΖСѢΔЕ СѦ •

Η ΓΡΟΒΗ ѠΒΡѢΖΟШѢ СѦ •

In the Greek source text, however, such occurrences of grammatical rhymes are always confined to only two successive cola (words are more often repeated at the ends of longer series of phrases than morphemes are). So the presence of the noted feature might well be a mere preference of the translator in accordance with classical rhetorical precepts.²⁵

Another figure to construct an isocolon is zeugma, a figure in which one word or part of a sentence, governs other parts.²⁶ A nice example of it is to be found in the following dicolon, where ‘He shows them that’ governs both ‘He is the Creator of Heaven and Earth’ and ‘He is the Lord of the living and the dead’:

*No. of
syllables*

²⁴ The last line is missing. Unfortunately this only copy of the earlier translation is not complete – more than one third of it is not among the folia of the codex it was found in – and there is no other copy to fill in these gaps.

²⁵ See e.g. V. Valiavitcharska *Rhetoric and Rhythm...*, p. 65 quoting Cicero, *ibid.*, p. 73-74 as well as the examples there.

²⁶ Zeugma could be explained also as some kind of parallelism complicated by ellipsis.

Καὶ δείκνυσιν αὐτοῖς ὅτι **αὐτός ἐστιν** ὁ ποιητῆς οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, 10+13
καὶ **αὐτός ἐστι** Κύριος ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. +13

HAZU IIIc19, f. 231v

Н ПАКН ПОКАЗАНІЄТЬ НМЪ • ІАКО **ТЪ ІЄ** ТВОРЦЬ НБΟΥ Н ЗЕМАН • 10+9 +11 /
ТЪ ІЄСТЬ ГЪ ЖИВІНІХЪ Н МРТВІНІХЪ • 8+11+11

Zogr 109, f. 287v

Н ПАКН ПОКАЗΟΥЄТЬ НМЪ ІАКО **ТЪН ЁСТЬ** ТВОРЕЦЪ НБΟΥ Н ЗЕМАН • 10+9
Н **ТЪН ЁСТЬ** ГЪ ЖИВИМЪ Н МРТВИМЪ • +10

Parallelism of the subordinate clauses is obvious and underlined by the anaphora of αὐτός ἐστι(v)/ ТЪН ЁСТЬ/ ТЪ ІЄСТЬ. The structure is similar in the Greek and the two Slavonic texts. In terms of syllables, I am convinced that they should be counted in relation to the figure itself. In the Zographou manuscript we have the scheme 10+9+10 syllables, while in the Greek version, the subordinate clauses are absolutely equal 10+13+13. In the earlier Bulgarian translation we have an alternation that does not seem very symmetrical – 10+9+11 – but it is only because, as it seems to me – the scribe was not aware of zeugma or at least had a different understanding of it. I mean he considered the conjunction ІАКО to be part of the subordinate clause (as we do now) and a sure mark for this is the punctuation²⁷ – the dot before ІАКО. The structure then is 8+11+11.

Needless to say, more narrative passages are less rhythmical and slower in pace – by means of longer phrases (or, rather, phrases of various lengths), an increase of both conjunctions and explanatory words, and a significant decrease of parallel repetitions and of any other type of symmetry. Once again, rhythm is governed by meaning.

Let us look at another excerpt, presented below as follows: the lines in Greek are from *Supplément grec 43, 2v*²⁸ and the following cola are their respective translations – first from HAZU IIIc19, f. 232A and then from *Zogr. 109, f. 288r*.

²⁷ The original punctuation (in the manuscripts) is, undoubtedly, crucial for the rhythm. For the various functions of punctuation according to Byzantine textbooks see V. Valiavitcharska “Reading Poetry...”.

²⁸ This part of the manuscript available to me is closer to the translations in consideration than the edited text where whole phrases are either missing or dislocated. I have, therefore, amended it according to the manuscript even though I kept the spelling of the edition (because of my insufficient knowledge of Byzantine palaeography). The crossed-out words are here because, as the edition shows, they are found in other manuscripts but are missing in MS 43; some of them are rendered in either of the Bulgarian translations, others are omitted. The gray colour, again, marks

Ἀνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ *πρὸ*
τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ.

ВЪЗВѢДЕ ІЕ ДА ПОКАЖЕТЬ НМЪ ЦРЬТВО СВОЕ • ПРЪДЪ СМРТНЮ •

Ἔβζεέδε εἶ ἢ *να γορῆ ἢ ποκαζα ἡμ'* ЦРТВІЕ СВОЕ, *πρ'ἔξε* СЪМР'ТН СВОЕ •

καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ *πρὸ* τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ,
καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ *πρὸ* τῆς ὑβρεως αὐτοῦ.

ἢ СНЛОУ СВОЮ ПРЪДЪ ОΥΚΑΡΙΑННЕМЪ ІЕ ГО •

ἢ СНЛЪ СВОѦ ἢ СЛѦВЪ СВОѦ ПРЪЖЕ ХΟΥЛЫ Е ГО •

καὶ τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοῦ, *πρὸ* τῆς ἀτιμίας αὐτοῦ.

ἢ ΥΤ ПРЪЖДЕ БЕУБСТНІЕМЪ СВОИМЪ •

ἢ ΥСТЬ ЕГО ПРЪЖЕ БЕУБСТІА Е ГО •

ἵνα ὅταν κρατηθῇ καὶ σταυρωθῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

γνώσωνται ὅτι οὐ δι' ἀσθένειαν ἐσταυρώθη,

ІЕГДА НМОУТЬ ἢ ЖНДОВЕ ОΥВЪДЕТЬ ἢ ІАКО НЕ НЕМОЩН РАДН РАСПЕТЬ БИ •

ДА ВЪНЕГДА ВДРЪЖНМЪ БѦДЕ ἢ РАСПЬНЕТ СѦ Ѡ ЖНДОВЪ, РАЗΟΥМѦПТЬ ІАКО НЕ
НЕМОЩН ДѦЛЪ РАСПАТ СѦ •

ἀλλ' ὅτι εὐδοκία αὐτοῦ ἔκουσίως εἰς σωτηρίαν τοῦ κόσμου.

НЪ ДОБРОНЪЗВОЛЕННІЕМЪ СВОИМЪ • БАГЪТНЮ СВОЕЮ НА СПЕННІЕ МΗΡΟΥ •

НЪ РОЛЕѦ БАГОРОЛЕНІА Е ГО НА СПЕНІЕ МΗΡΟΥ •

Ἀνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ δείκνυσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν δόξαν τῆς
θεότητος αὐτοῦ *πρὸ* τῆς ἀναστάσεως.

ПАКН ПОКАЗАЕТЬ НМЪ СЛОВОУ СВОЮ ПРЪДЪ ВЪСКРЪННІЕМЪ СВОИМЪ •

Ἔβζεέδε ἡχῶ *να γορῆ ἢ ποκαζα ἡμ'* СЛѦВЪ БЖТВА СВОЕ ГО, *πρ'ἔξε* ВЪСТАНІА
Е ГО •

ἵνα ὅταν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστῇ

ἐν τῇ δόξει τῆς φύσεως τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ,

ДА ІЕГДА ВЪСКРЪНЕТЬ ἢЗ ΜΡΤЪВЫНХЪ ВЪ СЛѦВѦ ІЕСТВА СВОЕГО БЖТВНААГО •

ДА ВЪНЕГДА ἢЗ ΜΡТ'ВЫ ВЪСТАНЕТЪ, СЛѦВЪ ΕСТЬСТВА БЖТВА ЕГО РАЗΟΥМѦПТЬ
ВЪСН,

γνώσωνται ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κόσμου κόπου αὐτοῦ ἔλαβε τὴν δόξαν ὡς
ἐνδείξ,

ὄψβδετ̄ь іако не мьздоу за трогд̄ь своі прііє славоу ієго • ἀκη σκούδ̄нь •
 іако не трогда радн прнп̄т̄ь славе̄п̄ іако просітел̄ь,

ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτοῦ πρὸ του αἰώνων, σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Πατρός.
 нь б̄т̄ іє̄м̄ іспр̄ьва н̄ ѿ в̄тка сь ѡц̄єм̄ н̄ д̄х̄м̄ ієго •
 н̄п̄ б̄т̄ше єго пр̄ѣжде в̄тк̄ъ сь ѡц̄єм̄з н̄ п̄д̄ ѡц̄и •

καθὼς εἶπεν ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ ἐκούσιον πάθος·

іако же р̄єг̄є г̄рад̄ьн̄ на в̄олн̄ѣа стр̄аст̄ь •

Πάτερ, δόξασόν με τῇ δόξῃ ἣ εἶχον πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι παρὰ σοί.

іако же р̄є ѡг̄є вь слави ме славоі юже ім̄ѣх̄ ѿ тебе • пр̄ѣжде даже мнр̄ь не
 б̄ьн̄ •

ѡг̄є прославі ма славо̄п̄ аже ім̄ѣх̄ пр̄ѣжде даже не б̄ь мнр̄з оу тебе,

The most obvious sign of the rhythm decrease here, as it seems at first glance, is the various lengths of the cola as well as fact that the borders of the phrases are not as stable as they are in the introductory part of the homily (their distribution is a bit different in each of the versions). Rhythm is, nevertheless, still present, highlighted by the words and phrases to be emphasised when read before an audience. The later translation seems to follow more exactly the Greek text, but the repetitions of the pronoun at the end of the cola are not always kept. Even in such paragraphs, the earlier Bulgarian translator strove to achieve equal number of syllables in parallel subordinate parts even if separated by a number of cola.

<i>HAZU IIIc19, f. 232A</i>	<i>No. of syll.</i>
в̄зв̄еде іє да покажет̄ь н̄м̄ ц̄р̄тво своіє •	13
пр̄ѣд̄ь см̄рт̄н̄ю •	4
н̄ слаоу своіо <u>пр̄ѣд̄ь оукар̄іан̄ієм̄з ієго</u> •	5+8
н̄ ч̄сть <u>пр̄ѣжде</u> <u>веч̄ьст̄н̄ієм̄з сво̄н̄м̄</u> •	2+8
...	11+8
пакн̄ показ̄ает̄ь н̄м̄ славоу своіо <u>пр̄ѣд̄ь в̄скр̄̄н̄ієм̄з сво̄н̄м̄</u> •	19
...	8
іако же р̄є ѡг̄є вь слави ме славоі юже ім̄ѣх̄ ѿ тебе •	8
<u>пр̄ѣжде</u> <u>даже</u> <u>мнр̄ь</u> <u>не</u> <u>б̄ьн̄</u> •	8

Here, these parts are not only parallel, but eight-syllable clauses (except for the first one²⁹). In this instance, these are adverbial phrases introduced with the preposition meaning ‘before’. The earlier Bulgarian scribe applied two spellings of the adverb – the one-syllable $\text{πρ}\text{Ѣ}\text{Δ}\text{Ь}$ and the two-syllable $\text{πρ}\text{Ѣ}\text{Ж}\text{Δ}\text{ε}$ – or, in other words, he applied the figure of metaplasm just to keep the equal number of syllables. Even more curious is the fact that in the last of those adverbials – $\text{πρ}\text{Ѣ}\text{Ж}\text{Δ}\text{ε}$ $\text{Δ}\text{Δ}\text{Ж}\text{ε}$ $\text{μ}\text{Η}\text{Ρ}\text{Ь}$ $\text{н}\text{ε}$ $\text{β}\text{Ι}\text{Η}$ – a Gospel’s quotation from John 17:5 is shortened (cf. $\text{πρ}\text{ὸ}$ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι παρὰ σοί and $\text{πρ}\text{Ѣ}\text{Ж}\text{Δ}\text{ε}$ $\text{Δ}\text{Δ}\text{Ж}\text{ε}$ $\text{н}\text{ε}$ $\text{β}\text{Ι}$ $\text{μ}\text{Η}\text{Ρ}\text{Ь}$ оὔ $\text{τ}\text{ε}\text{ρ}\text{ε}$). The segmentation I propose above helps us to understand this kind of complicated rhythm. I call it – here and in the previous example with the zeugma – *internal rhythm*, because it is inside a colon but still readily perceived.

Another segment of the text – this time from the later translation (unfortunately this part of the earlier one is lost) – exemplifies antimetabole, that is to say, the alternation of $\text{πρ}\text{Ѣ}\text{β}\text{ε}\text{π}\text{Δ}\text{ε}\text{μ}\text{Ь}$ $\text{З}\text{Δ}\text{ѣ}$ with its inverted counterpart $\text{З}\text{Δ}\text{ѣ}$ $\text{πρ}\text{Ѣ}\text{β}\text{ε}\text{π}\text{Δ}\text{ε}\text{μ}\text{Ь}$ in the leading phrases of the excerpt (in bold).

Assemani, p. 45	<i>N. of syl.</i>	<i>N. of acc.</i>
Ἐὰν ὧδε μένωμεν,	7	3
τὸ χειρόγραφον τοῦ Ἀδάμ <u>τίς</u> σχίσει;	11	4
Καὶ τὸ χρέος αὐτοῦ <u>τίς</u> ἀποτίσει;	11	4
Καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα τῆς δόξης αὐτῶ <u>τίς</u> ἀποκαθιστᾷ;	16	5
Ἐὰν ὧδε μένωμεν,	7	3
ἃ εἶπόν σοι, <u>πῶς</u> γενήσονται;	10	4
Ἡ Ἐκκλησία <u>πῶς</u> οἰκοδομηθήσεται;	13	3
Τὰς κλεῖς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν <u>πῶς</u> λήψη παρ' ἐμοῦ;	17	6
<u>Τίνα</u> δῆσεις;	4	4
<u>Τίνα</u> λύσεις;	4	4
Ἐὰν ὧδε μένωμεν,	7	3
ἀργοῦσι πάντα τὰ ῥηθέντα διὰ τῶν Προφητῶν.	15	5

Zogr. 109, f. 289r-v	<i>N. of syl.</i>	<i>N. of acc.</i>
Ъце ЗДѣ прѢβѣдемъ ,	6	3
рѣкопнсаніе адάмово <u>κτο</u> ραстрѣгнетъ .	14	4
ΔΛβγъ εγο <u>κτο</u> ή σταжетъ .	7	4
	14	5

²⁹ If we follow Jakobson’s idea of reconstructing Old Bulgarian pieces (P. Якобсон, “Заметка...”), we can easily create an eight-syllable phrase of it, too, e.g. $\text{πρ}\text{Ѣ}\text{Ж}\text{Δ}\text{ε}$ $\text{σ}\text{μ}\text{Η}\text{Ρ}\text{Η}\text{Ν}$ $\text{σ}\text{ω}\text{ε}\text{Ο}$. But all such attempts would be mere hypotheses and would not accord with the primary sources observed here.

Ἡ ὧ Δ'ΒΑΝΙΕ ΣΛΑΒΥ ΕΓΟ ΚΤΟ ὠΒΗΟΥΗΤΖ ·	6	3
Ѡце прѣбѣдемъ заѣ,	8	4
Ѡже рѣх ти <u>κκκκ</u> бѣдетъ ·	8	3
цр̄квн каа сѣз̄н̄ждет са ·	14	5
κλυαα цр̄б̄ств̄ѣа <u>κκκκ</u> пр̄ї̄н̄мешн ѿ мене ·	7	3
<u>κκκκ</u> свѣжашн κ̄ο̄ο̄ ,	7	2
κ̄ο̄ο̄̄ лн ρ̄λ̄ζ̄̄ѣшншн ·	6	3
Ѡце заѣ прѣбѣдемъ ,	14	4
нспр̄λ̄ζ̄н̄ат са вс̄с̄б̄ гл̄ε̄μαα ѿ пр̄ρ̄κ̄з̄ ·		

The peculiarity is foreign to the Greek text here and it not only parallels those leading phrases but attracts attention. Parallelism in the subordinate cola is obvious and it should be noted here that the internal rhythm is stronger in the translation – the subordinate clauses beginning with κτο in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th colon are all four-syllable ones and, to achieve this, the translator added a semantically unnecessary conjunction ἡ. Was it because he needed to compensate for the rhyme-like endings of these three cola he could not render? And is it an accidental peculiarity that in this excerpt the cola paired by an equal number of syllables are not grammatically parallel, while those which have different number of syllables are grammatically parallel? Which is actually compliant with the Byzantine rhetors' prescriptions for parison.³⁰

Especially interesting here are the seven-syllable cola, in which also the figure of anadiplosis is applied – that is the repetition of κοοο at the end of the previous colon and in the beginning of the successive one. Once again, word order is changed on purpose, obviously, for the purpose of rhythm – a better length similarity is acquired in various paired cola (7 by 7; 8 by 8). In the Greek source text, the cola with an equal number of syllables are parallel. But most importantly, here – as in all the previous examples – the main constituents of rhythm are present in both the source text and the target texts: the paired colon structure including parallelism, regulation of the number of stresses and syllables per cola and various rhetorical figures as well as – as we may hypothesise – the clausal stress regulation (occasionally also rhyme-like endings).³¹ These

³⁰ See e.g. an anonymous treatise on figures, insisting that paired cola should be either isosyllabic or have similar grammatical endings (quoted after V. Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and Rhythm...*, p. 73, who also concludes that Byzantine authors tended to alternate figures of balance and symmetry “with the use of clausula” (*ibid.*, p. 76)).

³¹ On the elements of rhythm according to Byzantine (and classical) theory see V. Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and Rhythm...*, p. 37 and 39 (Siculus (or John Siceliotes) seeing it as a “product of cadence, word arrangement, and colon size and composition”), p. 49 (Athanasius Angelou’s discussion on the “rhythmic function of word placement, length and accent”), p. 50 (the overall

features “appear as important elements of good prose rhythm in rhetorical treatises of figures”.³²

The conclusions that have piled up so far are many, but I would like to focus on three. First, rhythm in rhetorical works was not only translatable but translated (which should be taken into consideration by modern interpreters³³ as well). Second, the two Bulgarian translations reveal the usage of both similar and different techniques to render rhetorical rhythm, which means that the respective scribes had not only rhythmic intuition but also significant rhetorical preparation to render rhythm in their native language and that they had different preferences and knowledge. The earlier translation strives for equal cola mainly by means of more “poetic” techniques – such as equal number of accents, of syllables, occasionally rhyme-like endings, even when there are no such features in the Greek source text. The later translation is not that strict in this but rather respects complicated symmetry and shows a better awareness of rhetorical figures and prescriptions. And whether these differences are also chronological – that is, whether the complicated symmetry of the later translation is to be related to the requirements of its contemporaneous Byzantine rhetoric³⁴ – is a question which awaits an answer. Last but not least, one more general conclusion is that when we have inadequacy of meaning between a target and a source text, this should not always be considered a mistake, at least not before rhythm and other rhetorical considerations have been analysed. Sometimes the interpreter had to choose – to keep the meaning or to keep the rhythm since, as it has been said, “No one can serve two masters.”

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conclusion that for Byzantines “rhythm in prose was generated by clause length, word composition, and closing cadence and was measured not by a sequence of metra but by the individual word”), p. 57 and 59 (on the figures of rhythm, balance and symmetry), p. 65 (Cicero on rhyme, antithesis and parallelism).

³² V. Valiavitcharska, *Rhetoric and Rhythm...*, p. 19 commenting on Lauxtermann’s argument.

³³ Lauxtermann insists that future editors should be attentive in this respect. In the Epilogue of his ingenious scrutiny of political verse, other Byzantine metres and rhythm in general, he systemises the three main points to be observed by future editors of medieval texts in relation to colon structure, isosyllaby, and stress regulation (M. Lauxtermann. *The Spring...*, p. 97-98).

³⁴ The only preserved rhetorical theory in Slavonic is the translation of Georgios Choïroboskos’ treatise on tropes which cannot serve as a guide to our understanding of the rhetorical practice among the Slavs. This leaves us with “textual analysis as the only option” (V. Valiavitcharska, *Rhetorics and Rhythm...*, p. 157) and, probably, with the Byzantine rhetoric treatises as an additional one.

THE HOMILIES OF ORIGEN AND JOHN CHRYSOSTOM IN CROATIAN-GLAGOLITIC BREVIARIES OF 13-15TH CENTURY

Petra Stankovska

The Breviary

A breviary is a liturgical book used in Western Christianity that contains prayers and readings for everyday use and was originally intended to be used for group or individual prayer by priests and monks. In the early Middle Ages, a Benedictine breviary was in use in Europe and consisted of two main parts: the Proper of Season and the Proper and Common of Saints. Additionally, it may also contain the biblical book of the Psalter and special offices. Since the 12th century, the breviary spread to other orders and resulted in the creation of multiple variants. In addition, the volume of some of the content increased too much. One of the efforts of the Council of Trent (ending in 1533) was therefore the unification of the breviary, which also led to changes in the range of readings. With respect to patristic content, this mainly affected the texts marked as homilies of Origen, which are no longer included in the post-Tridentine breviary.

Croatian-Glagolitic Medieval Breviary

The only translation of the breviary into the Slavonic liturgical language (Croatian Church Slavonic) was probably made in the middle of the 13th century, when Pope Innocent IV officially authorised Bishop Filip of Senj (1248) and Bishop Fruktuos of Krk (1252) to use the Slavonic liturgy among the Benedictines of Omišalj, Krk.

To date, 20 handwritten Croatian-Glagolitic breviaries from the 13–15th century have been preserved in their entirety or almost. They are of pre-Tridentine origin (*Breviarium Romanum secundum consuetudinem Romanae Curiae*)¹ and contain the Proper of Season (7 codices) or the Proper and Common of Saints (2 codices) or both of the above-mentioned parts (11 codices).² According to the textual and linguistic variants (phonetic, morphological, syntactic and lexical) identified in biblical texts, breviaries are

¹ Josef Vajs, “Co značí slova: »по закону римского двора« v nadpisech hlaholských breviářů chrvatských”, in *Jagić-Festschrift. Zbornik u slavu Vatroslava Jagića*. Berlin, 1908, p. 232-233.

² M. Pantelić, A. Nazor, *II. Novljanski brevijar. Hrvatskoglagoljski rukopis iz 1495. godine. Župni arhiv Novi Vinodolski. Fototipsko izdanje*. Zagreb, 1977, p. 10-12.

divided into two groups, the so-called Northern and Southern groups, depending on how the Glagolists used the earlier accessible Old Church Slavonic translations of the Bible or its parts (e.g. Old Testament pericopes, the Gospel, the whole Psalter, etc.). In some breviaries (from Krk and Istria) they are adopted without any corrections (the Northern textual group), and in some other breviaries (from Zadar and Krbava), they are corrected to match the Latin version as closely as possible (the Southern group).³ Some of these differences are present also in non-biblical patristic texts, however, to a lesser extent or are differently distributed.

The texts of the Church Fathers appear in various nocturns and are marked, according to the Latin breviary, as a “sermon” (Lat. *sermo*) or as a “homily” (Lat. *homilia*) when interpreting the Gospel pericope. Throughout the whole Croatian-Glagolitic breviary, we cannot find any text of Origen marked as a “sermon” and only nine texts are marked as a “homily of Origen” (*omiliě Orijena*), out of which eight can be found in the Proper of Season. Seven of them interpret the readings from the Gospel of Matthew and two of them follow pericopes of the Gospel of Luke. The texts attributed to John Chrysostom in the breviary are mostly marked as a “sermon” and are therefore not included as a direct interpretation of a particular text from the Gospel. The book contains five such texts and only two of them are marked as a “homily”, both interpreting a text from the Gospel of Matthew. One of them can be found in the Proper of Season and the second one in the Common of Saints, representing the second homiletic reading (the first one being the homily of Origen) on the Feast of the Transfiguration of Jesus.

This article summarises the information regarding the authorship of the homilies that are attributed to Origen and John Chrysostom in the Proper of Season of the Croatian-Glagolitic breviary. We will explore the likelihood of the existence of an Old Church Slavonic translation of those texts in the books of the Christian East and examine the method of translating selected lexemes, syntactic constructions or parts of texts of the homilies in question.

The Occurrence of Origen’s and Chrysostom’s Homilies in The Proper of Season of Croatian-Glagolitic Breviaries and the Problem of Their Authorship

We will only deal with the Homilies of Origen and John Chrysostom that are part of the Proper of Season⁴, since there are variants from the majority

³ The Northern textual group mostly includes the breviaries VB1, VB2, VB3, VO, MA, KOS, PAD, while the Southern group is made up of the breviaries VAT, MO, DR, PM, ILL, DAB, D2, VAT19. The others are referred to as mixed since some readings belong more to one group and some to another one.

⁴ The Proper of Season contains the Office of the different liturgical seasons: Advent, Christmastide, Septuagesima, Lent, Holy Week, paschal time, time after Pentecost. So liturgically, the most important parts are: Christmas time (with Advent) and Easter time (with Lent). In these

of the preserved manuscripts and two printed books available for the homilies from this part of the Croatian-Glagolitic breviary.⁵

Most of the homilies attributed to Origen in the Croatian-Glagolitic breviary (as well as in the Latin one) are located in the Christmastide section (the 1st–3rd homily) and immediately after it (the 4th and the 5th homily). Two can be found in the Lent period (the 6th and the 7th homily); and in the time after Pentecost, another homily of Origen (the 8th homily) and one homily of John Chrysostom can be found. For the sake of clarity, all of the above-mentioned homilies are listed in order, including the day on which they are planned as a reading, the first verse of the Gospel pericope they interpret and a citation stating where in the Patrology or elsewhere⁶ they are published, including information on the actual author of the homily.

I. Orig – The Vigil of the Nativity – in Vigilia nativitatis Iesu, Mt 1:18, the authorship is not certain (in medieval Latin homiliaries⁷ and breviaries it is listed as Origen's, which also applies to some other homilies, marked with a note on the uncertainty of Origen's authorship) (PL 95: 1162)⁸; all the breviaries.

II. Orig – The Sunday Within the Octave of Christmas – Dominica infra Octavam Nativitatis, L 2:33, Origenis (PG 13: 1839-1840); all the breviaries.

III. Orig – The Sunday within the Octave of Epiphany, L 2:42, Origenis: (PG 13: 1849-1850); all the breviaries.

two parts of the breviary, we can see some differences (in readings and number of textual variants) in the Croatian-Glagolitic tradition..

⁵ P. Stankovska, *Rekonstrukce charvátskohlaholského homiliáře*, Disertační práce Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2001. Prague, p. 32-295.

⁶ Even though we are dealing with the text of a breviary, in order to enable easier orientation and access to the non-Slavonic text of the homily, we refer to their place in the Patrology, for which the abbreviations PL and PG are used: PL – J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia latina cursus completus*. Paris, 1844–1855, and PG – J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia graeca. Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca*, Paris 1857–1866.

⁷ Origen's homilies can be found, among others, in the collection: E. Benz, E. Klostermann, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. Origenes zwölfter Band, Origenes Matthäuserklärung III, Fragmente und Indices, Erste Hälfte*. Leipzig, 1941. In particular, the homily on the reading, beginning with the verse Mt 1:18, in the collection is taken from the Homiliary of Charlemagne (p. 239). Available at: <https://books.google.cz/books?id=YIkYCgAAQBAJ&pg=PA239&lpg=PA239&dq=ut+nato+inf+anti+vel+ipsi+Mariae+curam+videretur+gerere&source=bl&ots=fZJH6HCwdv&sig=ACfU3U2pRg6E3_x4Py8k7M_CazPwooqvwA&hl=cs&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwib17_j7qPkAhUF3KQKHxDpCJIQ6AEwAnoECAgQAQ#v=onepage&q=ut%20nato%20infanti%20vel%20ipsi%20Mariae%20curam%20videretur%20gerere&f=false> (accessed 11.04.2020).

⁸ In Latin patrology, the majority of the homilies of Origen examined in this article and which interpret the Gospel of Matthew are listed by the Deacon Paulus Winfrid in the 95th part of the patrology in the section "Homiliae de Tempore", collected by Paulus Winfrid at the command of Charlemagne.

IV. *Orig – The Third Sunday after Epiphany, Mt 8:1, the authorship is not certain* – the argument that the authorship of this text does not belong to Origen but actually represents a homily of some early medieval priest, is supported by the fact that the style, composition, and the linguistic means of all the homilies “Origenis in diversos”⁹ deviate from the known texts of Origen,¹⁰ therefore it is possible that they represent the work of early medieval writers who were able to draw from and use Origen’s commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew,¹¹ (PL 95: 1189); all the breviaries. However, the breviary LJ contains a different translation of some abbreviated parts of the text.

V. *Orig – The Fourth Sunday after the Epiphany, Mt 8:23, S. Bedae Venerabilis* (the beginning is the same as *Origenis*): Bedae Venerabilis, Homilia 58,¹² (PL 95: 1162); all the breviaries.

Only the beginning of the homily (reflected also in Bede’s homily) matches that of Origen (6 in diversos) cited after the edition of Franciscus Procter and Christophorus Wordsworth:

Ingrediente Domino in naviculam secuti sunt eum discipuli ejus: non imbecilles sed firmi et stabiles in fide, mansueti et pii, spernentes mundum, non duplici corde sed simplici. Hi ergo secuti sunt eum: non tantum gressus ejus sequentes, sed magis sanctitatem ejus comitantes, et justitiam ejus consecutantes. Et ecce tempestas magna facta est in mari, ita ut navicula operiretur fluctibus.¹³

⁹ These are the homilies listed here under the numbers: 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

¹⁰ Ch. V. de La Rue, K. H. E. Lommatzsch (eds.), *Origenus Ta Heuriskomena Panta / Ex variis Editionibus, et Codicibus manu exaratis, Gallicanis, Italicis, Germanicis et Anglicis collecta, recensita atque annotationibus illustrata, cum vita auctoris, et multis dissertationibus*, vol. 24, Berolini, 1846, p. 251-253.

¹¹

<<https://books.google.si/books?id=CgdNAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA252&lpg=PA252&dq=docente+in+monte+domino+discipuli+erant+cum+ipso+sicut+alacres+sicut+domestici&source=bl&ots=E--T0732sl&sig=ACfU3U2ccHc8aenpbZ3bZwGUsiEJnXM-VA&hl=cs&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwidi5jFgNfoAhXFAxAIHdcoDdAQ6AEwAHoECAsQKw#v=onepage&q=docente%20in%20monte%20domino%20discipuli%20erant%20cum%20ipso%20sicut%20alacres%20sicut%20domestici&f=false>> (accessed 10.04.2020).

¹² J. A. Giles (ed.), *The Miscellaneous works of Venerable Bede*, vol. 5, *Homilies*, London, 1843, p. 52-53.

<https://books.google.si/books?id=uhAMAQAIAAJ&pg=PA452&lpg=PA452&dq=ingrediente+domino+in+naviculam+secuti+sunt&source=bl&ots=gSZ7j-G_GZ&sig=ACfU3U3iozopUQP06gqBLxKEFveabRooCQ&hl=sl&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjiu_P7g9LoAhU1wcQBHaEmBvsQ6AEwCHoECAgQLA#v=onepage&q=ingrediente%20domino%20in%20naviculam%20secuti%20sunt&f=false> (accessed 5.04.2020).

¹³ F. Procter, Ch. Wordsworth (eds.), *Breviarium ad Usus Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*. Cambridge, 1886, p. CCCLVIII.

<<https://books.google.si/books?id=jgQ4AAAAIAAJ&pg=RA1-PR480&lpg=RA1-PR480&dq=ingrediente+domino+in+naviculam+secuti+sunt&source=bl&ots=AzcIcN2Sx2&sig=>

Hereafter, the Croatian-Glagolitic text matches Bede's homily:

Cum enim multa magna et miranda ostendisset in terra, transiit in mare, ut et ibidem adhuc excellentiora opera demonstraret...
 Egda bo m'noga i velič divima čudesā ēvil' b(ě)še n' z(e)mli. Pride na more da tu čudesā ēvil bi čud'něiša...

and not Origen's homily:

Facta est tempestas magna et non pusilla...

VI. Orig – The Friday after Ash Wednesday, Mt 5:43, the authorship is not certain, the Latin text of the whole homily (PL 95 contains only the incipit) was extracted from the Latin breviary which was printed in Venice in 1521¹⁴ and identified by J. L. Tandarić as the text most similar to the Croatian-Glagolitic breviaries in terms of its content;¹⁵ all the breviaries.

VII. Orig – The Thursday of the Second Week of Great Lent, Mt15:21, s. Laurentii Novariensis episcopi,¹⁶ the edition of the text was prepared by Jean Mabillon¹⁷ and by Migne as Laurentii Novariensis homilia secunda (PL 66: 118); all the breviaries. Giuseppe Persiani¹⁸ discusses the authorship of this homily in more detail and states that, depending on the homiliary, this homily is

ACfU3U13x3yFolbwGX0Jag4i5cH8kzsQ-A&hl=sl&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjiu_P7g9LoAhU1wcQBHaEmBvsQ6AEwCnoECAgQOw#v=onepage&q=ingrediente%20domino%20in%20naviculam%20secuti%20sunt&f=false> (accessed 10.04.2020).

¹⁴ The text was taken from the copy kept in the library of the Old Church Slavonic Institute in Zagreb.

¹⁵ J. L. Tandarić, *Hrvatsko-glagoljska liturgijska književnost. Rasprave i prinosi*, Zagreb, 1903, p. 171.

¹⁶ "Laurentius, surnamed *Mellifluus*, thought to have been bp. of Novara c. 507. A Laurentius, surnamed *Mellifluus*, from the sweetness with which he delivered homilies". <<https://www.studylight.org/dictionaries/hwd/l/laurentius-15.html>> (accessed 10.04.2020).

¹⁷ J. Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta sive Collectio veterum aliquot operum et opusculorum omnis generis, Carminum, Epistolarum, Diplomatum, Epitaphiorum etc.*, Paris, 1773, p. 56)

<<https://books.google.cz/books?id=pzFhAAAacAAJ&pg=RA2-PA56&lpg=RA2-PA56&dq=numquid+aliud+fuit+in+meretrice+quam+lacrymarum&source=bl&ots=8XqTCzIQKk&sig=ACfU3U1KMG3aIPGKnX2uvDQgKoI6zD1isQ&hl=cs&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwis8P2n15vkAhXNbfAKHVwSCL0Q6AEwCnoECAkQAQ#v=onepage&q=numquid%20aliud%20fuit%20in%20meretrice%20quam%20lacrymarum&f=false>> (accessed 10.04.2020).

¹⁸ <https://books.google.cz/books?id=2JB_rQpAv80C&pg=PA92&lpg=PA92&dq=laurentius+episcopus&source=bl&ots=iBCr01XYUp&sig=ACfU3U35aU5dO6OAlSG1dNhZKchl90sw4A&hl=cs&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiz2-f0mpvkAhUBfAKHRDiAgEQ6AEwAnoECAkQAQ#v=onepage&q=laurentius%20episcopus&f=false> (accessed 11.04.2020).

either attributed to Origen or to John Chrysostom, and Laurentius of Novara may have transferred it into Latin.¹⁹

VIII. Orig – The Seventh Sunday after Pentecost, Mt 7:15, the authorship is not certain: the publication of the text listing the differences between the texts in the Homiliary of Claudius of Turin and Rabanus Maurus as “Hom. 6 aus d. Homiliar Karls d. Großen”;²⁰ all the breviaries.

JChrys – The 17th Sunday after Pentecost, Mt 22:34, the authorship of Chrysostom is not likely, “Ex opere imperfecto in Matthaeum, inter spuria opuscula beato Chrysostomo ascripta” (PL 66: 1429, only the incipit, PL 107: 1061, the first part and the notes from the commentary of Rabanus Maurus); all the breviaries.

Incipit of the homily: Convenerunt ut multitudine vincerent, quem ratione superare non poterant. A veritate nudos se esse professi sunt, qui multitudine se armaverant...

In the Croatian-Glagolitic breviary: Sabrašē se da množastvomъ premogutъ egože računomъ premoći ne mogutъ ot istini. nazi ot istini biti dējutъ. iže se v m'nožas'tvo oružili sutъ.

Authorship of Homilies, the Possibility of the Existence of Greek Originals or Old Church Slavonic Translations from the Christian East

The attribution of authorship of the homilies (marked with “the authorship is not certain” above) to Origen probably dates back to the 8th or 9th century. Several sources indicate that Paul the Deacon, a monk at the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino, collected the homilies attributed to Origen (s.v. PL 95) at the end of the 8th century at the behest of Frankish king Charlemagne, and obtained six homilies on pericopes beginning with the verses Mt 1:18, L 2:21, L 2:33, Mt 8:1, Mt 8:23, Mt 7:15.²¹ Various authors²² expressed doubts about the authorship of Origen as well as his authorship of the homilies on the Gospel of Matthew, which is why it can be considered likely that

¹⁹ G. Persiani, “Notes sur les deux antiques versions latines de l’homélie chrysostomienne *De Chananaea* (CPG 4529)”, *Classica et mediaevalia* II, 1998, p. 89-90).

²⁰ E. Klostermann, E. Benz, “Zur Überlieferung der Matthäuserklärung des Origenes”, in A. von Harnack, C. Schmidt (eds.), *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, Bd. 47, Leipzig, 1932, p. 127-128.

<https://books.google.si/books?id=zXIXAAAIAAJ&pg=RA1-PA128&lpg=RA1-PA128&dq=fuerunt+verissimosque+domini+prophetas+usque+ad+mortem&source=bl&ots=634nGaBhv0&sig=ACfU3U2z3OZowU4K84Qo35lonrNu_3wNBQ&hl=cs&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi-3sGL8eDoAhXOFXcKHcLrC-UQ6AEwAHoECAsQKA#v=onepage&q=fuerunt%20verissimosque%20domini%20prophetas%20usque%20ad%20mortem&f=false> (accessed 12.04.2020).

²¹ E. Klostermann, E. Benz, *Zur Überlieferung der Matthäuserklärung...*, p. 108-109. e

²² Ch. V. de La Rue, K. H. E. Lommatzsch (eds.), *Origenus Ta Heuriskomena Panta...*, p. 251-253.

Origen was indeed not the author of these homilies, even though they drew inspiration from his commentaries. Thus, Origen was probably the author of only two homilies on the Gospel of Luke (L 2:33, L 2:42). Under the name of John Chrysostom (Mt 22:34), we can probably also find the medieval compilation of commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew as is the case with other homilies “of Origen”. Given the fact that they are not known in the Greek version, meaning that we only know them from Latin collections, it is unlikely that traces of the translation from Greek could be found in such texts or that they could be found in Old Church Slavonic translations in Eastern Christian liturgical books.

Issues of Translation of Selected Lexemes and Parts of Texts

Given that the texts discussed in this article did not show any direct traces of a translation from Greek or any other older Old Church Slavonic translation, we will assume that the translations of all nine homiletic readings discussed herein were created from Latin when the Croatian-Glagolitic version of the breviary was created. First, we will deal with the material of all texts together, although interesting differences between the homilies discussed can be noted – in that, for example, the majority of them do not include many lexical variants of synonymous terms²³ (the II. Orig, III. Orig, IV. Orig, VI. Orig and JChrys) or do not contain any at all, whereas some of them (the I. Orig, V. Orig, VII. Orig, VIII. Orig) include certain variants that will be analysed. The distribution of variants in individual homilies is not clear, since they do not represent homilies in the same annual cycle (e.g. Christmas or Easter), nor do they represent homilies that could be identified as actually authorial (e.g. the II. Orig and III. Orig), etc. Alternatively, variants of some lexemes may be the result of some misunderstandings or limited understanding of a synonymous term that the copyist sought to replace with a more comprehensible or common expression. To some extent, this may be similar to the situation observed in some biblical pericopes, when one variant can be found in the Northern textual group of breviaries, whereas the Southern group includes a different one, adapted to the Latin version. Such variants can be of a different nature (phonetic, syntactic, morphological). In the case of homilies, these are mostly lexical differences with the occurrence of synonymous pairs, in which one lexeme can be described as “Paleo-Slavonicism”²⁴ and the other one belongs to the active use in the Croatian version of Church Slavonic; or one of them is denoted as “Paleo-Slavonicism” and the other one as “Croatism”.

²³ Here we do not consider synonymous expressions found in only one manuscript because they represent a specific feature of a certain manuscript. However, even such examples are very rare.

²⁴ Such labelling is suggested by H. Bauerová who also gives specific examples of lexemes (H. Bauerová, “Ke klasifikaci lexika charvátskohlaholských textů”, in A.-M. Dürriegl, M. Mihaljević, F. Velčić (eds.), *Glagoljica i hrvatski glagolizam*, Zagreb – Krk, 2004, p. 567-575).

Otherwise, homiletical texts mostly contain five types of variants:

(1) obvious transcription errors that appear as non-standard words or omissions, e.g. I. Orig: *po o(t)cu videl' se bi tvoriti osip̃* N2 VAT MO PM N1 BAR DAB DR D2 KOS *pečalb videl' se bi tvoriti osip̃* ILL, *videl' se bi tvoriti osip̃* VO LJ instead of *peču videl' se bi tvoriti osip̃* VB1 LJ MA for Lat: *curam videretur gerere Ioseph*;

(2) word variants (e.g. *govoriti* instead of *glagolati* or regular replacement of the relative pronoun *iže* with *ki* or the conjunction *egda* with *kada*) or phonetic variants in some (MA, ILL) manuscripts from the 15th century (mostly rhotacism, e.g. in II. Orig: *vzmoremb* instead of *v'zmožemb*);

(3) variants of morphological forms (e.g. verbal in V. Orig: *nas'ľadovahu* N2 VAT MO DR PM DAB ILL, var. *nas'ľadovali sut'* VB1 VO VB3 LJ N1 MA D2 KOS);

(4) some variants of syntactic constructions, of which the most interesting ones are those that, when translated, mimic the actual or supposed Latin Ablative Absolute. For the sake of completeness, we also list the non-variant parts:

I. Orig: *nato infanti ... curam gerere Ioseph – poroenu biv'su m'laděncu* N2 VAT DR MO PM ILL D2 N1 BAR, var. *o poroždeně bivšem' mladěnci* VB1 VO MA, var. *poroždeně bivšem mlad(ě)ncě* KOS, var. *roždenim̃ bivšim̃ m'laděncem̃* LJ ... *peču tvoriti Osip̃* – this is an interesting part showing the change in the translation of the dative *nato infanti* conditioned by the valency of the predicate as the expression is correctly translated with the prepositional locative *o mladěnci peču tvoriti* in the apparently primary version of the translation in VB1 VO MA and KOS. Only the dative in N2 VAT DR MO PM ILL D2 N1 BAR is the result of corrupting the text and mimicking the Latin case, thus reminiscent of the construction of the Dative Absolute, and in LJ, this supposed Dative Absolute is substituted by the instrumental; *Danieli ... incluso claustris non apertis allatum est prandium – daniel̃ ... zat'vorenb̃ bě ... prinese emu obědb̃ neotvorenimi v'ratī* – the Latin Ablative Absolute is expressed by a simple sentence with a subject and a predicate, and the Ablative *claustris non apertis* is expectedly translated using the instrumental case;

III. Orig: *ibant itaque parentes ad solemnem diem pasce et cum factus esset Iesus annorum duodecim diligenter observabat – idučima že roditelema ... ljub'veno ob'služevaše* – in contrast to the previous example, the Croatian-Glagolitic text includes the Dative/Instrumental Absolute, which otherwise represents a characteristic and common way of translating the Latin construction of the Ablative Absolute in the Croatian-Glagolitic texts. However, it is used here in the translation of a sentence with a subject and a predicate; *et revertentur parentes cum infantulo Iesu remansit... – v'račajućima se roditelema ego eg'da otrok̃ is(us)̃ os'ta...* – the same as in the previous example;

IV. Orig: *docente in monte Domino discipuli erant cum ipso – učěcu g(ospod)u* [var. *učěcímъ gospodemъ* LJ] *na gorě i učenicu běhu š'nimъ* – the Latin Ablative Absolute is replaced by the classic Old Church Slavonic construction of the Dative Absolute; only in LJ is it replaced by the typically Croatian-Glagolitic Instrumental Absolute. The use of the Dative Absolute may be due to the influence from the translation L 20:1 *učěštju gospodu* Mar²⁵, probably known among the Croatian Glagolists by heart; *descendente eo de monte, turbae secutae sunt eum: nine v'istinu shodeću emu* [var. *togda saš(a)dšimъ gospodemъ* LJ] *z' gori* – the same as in the previous example, this can also represent a parallel with the Gospel J 4:51 *śhoděštju emu* Mar and similarly elsewhere in the same homily: *Descendente nunc Domino – nis'hodeću nine g(ospod)u; ad mysteriorum sublimia nisi abiecto onere se audere minime valent – k tain(ě)i viš'něi ace ne iz'vržete brěmenъ v'ziti nikakože ne možete* – here, however, the translation of *abiecto onere* is made using the subordinating conjunction *ace...*;

V. Orig: *ingrediente Domino ... secuti sunt eum – vřad'šu g(ospodě)vě* ... *nas'ľadovahu i* N2 VAT MO PM, var. *vřadšu is(u)su ... nas'ľadovahu i* DR BAR, var. *vřbdšim' g(ospodě)mъ ... nas'ľadovali sut' ego* VB1 VO VB3 LJ N1 D2 KOS MA – the beginning of this homily actually imitates that of the verse Mt 8:23 *Ascendente Iesu...* at the opening of the reading from the Gospel interpreted in the homily. It is interesting to note that in that part the breviaries which mostly include the version of the text adapted to Latin, therefore the corrected one, use the Old Church Slavonic construction of the Dative Absolute, unlike the breviaries, which mostly include the original, unaudited version, and include the Croatian Church Slavonic Instrumental Absolute instead.

VII. Orig: *accepta fiducia accessit ad fontem – i priětb* [var. *priě* VAT PM DR MO N1 ILL D2 KOS BAR] *up'vanie i pris'tupi ka is'toč'niku* – the Latin Ablative Absolute is translated with a sentence containing a subject and a predicate, similar to the construction *Danieli ... incluso* in I. Orig;

(5) relatively rare lexical variants when one lexeme is replaced by a synonym (e.g. *prězde z drěv'le*) in I. Orig: *kupina drěv'le gorući viděše se* VAT MO DR LJ appear instead of *kupina prězde gorući viděše se* N2 VB1 VO LJ N1 for the Latin: *quondam rubus conburi videbatur*.

We will focus on identifying the occurrence of lexemes from synonymous pairs (rarely triples) of the Old Church Slavonic and Croatian Church Slavonic expressions in the analysed texts. We will check the equivalents for the Latin lexemes, determined on the basis of a study of some

²⁵ Mariinskoe Tetraevangelie. Glagolitic manuscript from the 11th century, published: Vatroslav Jagič (ed.), *Мариинское четвероевангелие с примечаниями и приложениями*, Санкт-Петербург, 1883.

biblical texts and readings from the homilies of Saint Jerome, in which we discovered synonymous equivalents. In addition, we will highlight translations of some lexemes or phrases specific to the texts in question.

Synonymous Pairs of Slavonic Words in the Book of Esther, the Book of Wisdom, 1 and 2 Maccabees and Homilies of Saint Jerome

Out of the expressions translated using synonymous pairs in the readings from the Book of Esther, the Book of Wisdom, 1 and 2 Maccabees²⁶ (*convivium, diadema, corona, dux, exercitus, eunuch, gens, inutilis, invenire, Iudaei, melior, mirari, populus, princeps, provincia, regnare, regnum, res, rex, sacerdos, templum*), the Book of Job²⁷ (*inimicus, amicus, aurora, camela, holocausta, nuntius, satan, simplex, tangere in ventus, timere, terra, pulvis, filius, angelus*) and the homilies of Saint Jerome²⁸ (*scriba, hebraeus, hebraicus, blasphemare, filius, pecuniae, villicus, oikonomos*), the ones repeated in the analysed texts are the following: *exercitus, gens, invenire, mirari, regnum, res, rex, inimicus, tangere, blasphemare, pecuniae, scriba, timere, amicus, ventus, angelus, filius, and terra*. We will not deal with the further analysis of the last six expressions as these words are used in a special sense in the Book of Job, which is not included here.

In the otherwise inhomogeneous texts discussed herein, the majority of the expressions appear only once (only one homily written in parentheses), and if they occur more than once, more homilies or the number of occurrences are noted in parentheses. For the sake of transparency, the distribution of equivalents for the above-mentioned expressions in the Homilies of Origen was divided into four groups:

(1) Similar to the Distribution in Biblical Texts from the Manuscripts of the Southern Group

The expression *voi* (II. Orig) for Latin *exercitus* is the variant known from the biblical texts in the manuscripts of the Southern textual group. In the Northern group, the expression *voinstvie* is used. Similarly, the word *ězikъ* (VII. Orig) for Latin *gens* is used in the biblical texts in the manuscripts of the Southern textual group, whereas the manuscripts of the Northern textual group contain the word *narodъ*, the same as in the homilies of Saint Jerome in all the manuscripts. The situation is somewhat more complicated with the equivalents

²⁶ P. Stankovska, "Některé faktory důležité pro posuzování slovní zásoby v chorvatskohlaholských breviářích", *Filologija: časopis Razreda za filološke znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu* 68, 2017, p. 193-221.

²⁷ П. Станковска, "Избранные лексемы Книги Иова в хорватско-глаголических breviариях, паринейниках и четьем-переводе", in Л. Тасева et al. (eds.), *Българистиката в Европа: настояще и бъдеще, София*, 2019, p. 222-227.

²⁸ P. Stankovska, "Homilije sv. Hieronima v srednjeveškem cerkvenoslovanskem prevodu (v Propriumu de tempore)", in *Edinost in dialog*, (in press).

for the Latin expressions *mirari* and *inimicus*. Considering the alternate use of the equivalents *diviti se* – *čuditi se*, which also appears in the biblical texts of the Southern group manuscripts (in the Northern group only *čuditi se* is used), the situation in the analysed texts is similar to that in II. Orig: 1. *diviti se* in all the manuscripts, the var. *čuditi se* in BAR, 2. *diviti se* in all the manuscripts, 3. *čuditi se* in all the manuscripts, and the var. *diviti se* in N1. Similarly, in most cases, the word *nepriateľ* is used in all the manuscripts (7 times in VII. Orig) for the Latin *inimicus*, except for one example in all the manuscripts including *nepriateľ* and the var. *vrag* in N1 (VII. Orig).

(2) *Similar to the Distribution in Biblical Texts from the Manuscripts of the Northern Group*

For Latin *regnum* and *rex*, all the manuscripts include only the equivalents *česar* (I. Orig) and *česarstvie* (IV. Orig), the same as in the texts of Saint Jerome and the biblical texts in the manuscripts of the Northern textual group. The variants *kral* and *kráľovstvie*, known from the biblical texts in the manuscripts of the Southern textual group, do not occur at all. Similarly, only the equivalent *obrěsti* (I. Orig, twice in II. Orig, VII. Orig) appears for Latin *invenire*, the same as in the biblical texts in the manuscripts of the Northern textual group. On the contrary, the manuscripts of the Southern textual group include alternations of the expressions *obrěsti* and *naiti*. The expression *tangere* is also replaced with the verb *kosnuti* in all instances (3 times in I. Orig), the same as in the biblical texts in the manuscripts of the Northern textual group, whereas the verbs *kosnuti* and *taknuti* alternate in the manuscripts of the Southern group.

(3) *Appearance of a Croatised Expression*

The use of the lexeme *s'tvar* (VII. Orig) for Latin *res* and for Latin *causa* (VII. Orig) is interesting because this word appears only as a variant in the above-mentioned biblical texts, a “Croatism” in the 15th-century original print (BAR), the rest use the word *rěč* or *več*.

(4) *Specific Translation Solutions*

In the analysed text, the verb *blasphemare* is translated with the word *blesti/blusti* or *zlosloviti*: *non blasphemaverunt ... a blasphematoribus prevedeno zlosloviše ... ot zloslovečih* N2 VB1 VO VB2 VB3, the var. *bledoš* ... *ot bledučih* DAB, *bludiše ... ot bludečih* VAT MO LJ N1 DR (VIII. Orig) and elsewhere as *bludet* N2 N1 VAT MO LJ DR DAB, var. *bledut'* VB1 VO VB2 VB3 (VIII. Orig). Neither of these terms in this particular meaning is attested in the classic Old Church Slavonic texts which served as the basis for the creation of the Great Dictionary of the Old Church Slavonic Language²⁹ and the Greek-Old Church Slavonic Index³⁰, unlike the equivalent in the homily of

²⁹ J. Kurz, Z. Hauptová (eds.), *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského*. Praha, 1966–1997.

³⁰ E. Bláhová (ed.), *Řecko-staroslověnský index, I. díl*, Praha, 2008.

Saint Jerome with the translation *huliti*, which is the equivalent used also in classic Old Church Slavonic texts. This might be due to the context as the homily of Origen speaks of the rebuke of God and the homily of Saint Jerome about the rebuke of man. The noun *pecunia* in the homily is used in the sense of “treasure” or “treasury”, which is why the equivalent *skroviće* is used (twice in VIII. Orig).

Synonymous Equivalents of Latin Terms from the Homilies of Origen and J. Chrysostom

There are not many synonymous equivalents for Latin terms in our homilies, and in individual readings, they mostly occur for different words to varying degrees. That is why we have listed all such cases in individual homilies, neglecting obvious transcription errors, distorted text or variants found in only one of the manuscripts studied. We always cite the Latin term (mostly in its basic grammatical form, unless a more convenient form can be used for comparison, e.g. a participle). After the colon, we list its equivalents and the abbreviation of the manuscripts in which they are found. If the term appears in a biblical citation, the verse from the Bible is indicated in parentheses after the Latin word:

I. Orig:

Iesu (Mt 1:18): *isusova* N2 VAT MO DR LJ N1 PM ILL BAR D2 – *sp(a)sa* VB1 VO LJ MA KOS

antequam (Mt1:18): *prězde neže* N2 MO LJ N1 PM ILL BAR D2 – *prězde daže ne* VB1 VO LJ MA KOS

quae: *kaě* N2 VAT MO DR N1 PM ILL BAR – *kotora* VB1 VO LJ MA D2 KOS

ideo: *sego radi* N2 VAT MO DR N1 PM ILL BAR D2 – *v istinu* VB1 VO LJ MA KOS

iens: *hode* N2 VAT MO DR N1 PM BAR D2 – *gredi* VB1 VO LJ MA KOS ILL

plasmator: *saz'datelb* N2 VAT MO DR N1 PM ILL BAR – *obrazovatelb* VB1 VO LJ MA KOS

innenarrabilis: *neis'čislna* N2 VAT MO DR LJ N1 ILL BAR D2 – *neiz'glagolitelna* VB1 VO LJ MA KOS

magnum: *veliě* N2 MO – *velika* VAT DR N1 ILL D2 BAR – *prěvelika* VB1 VO LJ MA KOS

plasmatio: *obrazovatelnica* N2 VB1 VAT MO N1 – *obrazovanie* VO LJ DR ILL MA D2 BAR

excogitare potuit: *pomisliťi v'z'može* N2 VAT MO DR LJ N1 BAR – *pomisliťi može* VB1 VO DR BAR MA

superiora: *viš'nihb* (gen. negationis) N2 VAT DR MO N1 – *svr'hnih'* VB1 VO LJ

II. Orig:

in ortu Iesu: v rož'denii is(us)a N2 VAT MO ILL PM DR N1 BAR – *v
ěvlení sp(a)sa* VB1 VO LJ MA D2 KOS

Domine: v'ladiko N2 VAT – *g(ospod)i* DR MO N1 BAR

III. Orig:

infirmus: slab N2 VAT MO DR N1 D2 PM BAR ILL – *nemoćnъ* VB1
VO VB3 LJ MA KOS (2x)

V. Orig:

operiretur (Mt 8:24): *pogružati se* N2 VB1 VAT VO VB3 MO LJ N1
MA KOS D2 – *pokrivati se* PM DR BAR

pius: krot'kъ N2 PM DR MO BAR – *blagъ* VB1 VO VB3 LJ N1 MA
KOS D2 – *krěpkъ* VAT

non duplici corde, sed simplici: ne lastiju na čis'timъ sr(ъ)cemъ N2 VAT
MO DR ILL PM – *ne přegubim' nъ prostranim' sr(ъ)cemъ* VB1 VO
VB3 LJ N1 MA D2 KOS

(sanctitatem) ... comitantes: nas' lědovaše N2 VAT MO DR PM BAR ILL
– *poslědujuće* VB1 VO VB3 LJ N1 MA D2 KOS

iustitiam: učeniju N2 VAT MO DR PM BAR ILL – *pravdě* VB1 VO
VB3 LJ N1 MA D2 KOS

consectantes: pod'ružajuće se N2 VB1 – *pridružajuće se* VAT VO PM
VB3 LJ DR MO ILL N1 MA D2 KOS – *prižrěblajuće se* BAR

tempestas: tuča N2 VAT MO DR ILL PM – *bura* VB1 VO VB3 LJ N1
MA KOS

operiri: pogružati se N2 VB1 VO VB3 VAT N1 MO – *pokrivati se* LJ
PM DR BAR

magna et miranda: velič divima čudesa N2 VB1 VO N1 ILL KOS –
vidima čudesa VB3 MA – *divna čudesa* VAT LJ – *divna* PM DR
BAR

VI. Orig:

infirmus: ne ukreplěni ni razumejući N2 VB1 VAT VO VB2 VB3 PM
MO N1 MA ILL BAR – *ne ukreplěni ni razum'ni* LJ – *ne ukreplěni
ni umiči* DR – *ne ukreplěni ni neumiči* KOS BAR

hi qui oderunt: nenavideći N2 VAT MO LJ ILL VB1 VO VB2 VB3 MA
– *oni iže nenavidetъ* PM DR KOS BAR N1

VII. Orig:

in partes (Mt 15:21): *v s'trani* N2 MO ILL – *v preděli* VB1 VAT VO PM
VB2 VB3 DR LJ N1 MA D2 KOS BAR

meretrix: ljuboděica N2 MO ILL – *bludnica* VB1 VAT VO PM VB2
VB3 DR MO N1 MA D2 KOS BAR

antiquus: pravadni N2 MA – *prěd'ni* VB1 VAT VO VB2 VB3 MO BAR
– *drěvni* DR LJ N1 KOS – *star'* ILL

mirum negotium: div'naě potřeba N2 VAT DR N1 KOS BAR – *divnoe
čudo* VB1 VO VB2 VB3 LJ

VIII. Orig:

attendite (Mt 7:15): *nabdite se* N2 VB1 VO VB2 VB3 PM DAB DR MA
N1 D2 – *v'nem'lite* VAT MO KOS BAR – *čudaite se* ILL

intrinsicus: *v'nutruudu že* N2 VB1 VO VB2 PM MA D2 – *a vnutř*
VAT DR DAB KOS BAR VB3 – *i v'nutre* MO ILL D2 – *v'nutř LJ* –
a vnutř bo N1

sed veritate vacui Christianorum (prosecutores): *na i v istinu pravihb*
h(rist)běnb N2 VAT DAB VO VB1 VB2 VB3 – *na istině taći*
kr's't'ěn'ski DR MO N1 – *neistini taći kr's't'ěn'ski* LJ – *na istini taći*
h(rist)běnski KOS BAR (*progoniteli*)

rapere et coacervare: *v'shićati i s'tužati* N2 VB1 VO VB2 VB3 –
popadati i uđiti VAT DR MO LJ N1 DAB KOS

non desinunt: *ne pres'tajutb* N2 VB1 VO VB2 VB3 – *ne ustajutb* VAT
DR MO LJ N1 DAB KOS

(*animas*) *rapere*: (*duše*) *vshićati* N2 VB1 VO VB2 VB3 – *popadati* VAT
DR MO LJ N1 DAB KOS

miserabiliter: *nepodobno* N2 VB1 VO VB2 VB3 DAB – *nevolno* VAT
DR MO LJ N1 KOS

nolite considerare sed inspicite: *ne smotrite* N2 – *ne razg'ledaite* VAT
MO – *ne smotrite nb smotrěte* VB1 VO VB2 – *raz'gledaite na*
g'ledaite DR LJ N1 DAB

blasphemaverunt ... a blasphematoribus: *zlosloviše ot zloslovećihb* N2
VB1 VO VB2 VB3 – *bledoše od bledućihb* DAB – *bludiše ot*
bludećihb VAT MO LJ N1 DR

blasphemant: *bludetb* N2 VAT MO LJ N1 DR – *bledut'* VB1 VO VB2
VB3

JChrys:

videatur: *da uzrit' se* N2 VB1 VO VB2 VB3 ILL BAR DAB LJ N1 – *da*
vidit se VAT PM

magister: *učitelb* N2 VB1 VO VB2 VB3 ILL DAB N1 VAT PM –
moistarb LJ DR BAR

Even though some of the homilies include very few variants of lexemes, we can conclude that their distribution in the discussed homilies differs. In some of them, the Northern or Southern textual group of Croatian-Glagolitic breviaries can be traced due to their lexical variant(s) (I. Orig, II. Orig, III. Orig, V. Orig), whereas this is not possible in some other homilies. The distribution of variants is such that one belongs to the previously-created manuscripts of the 14th century and the other to the newer ones from the 15th century (VI. Orig, VII. Orig and JChrys). In VIII. Orig, however, the two textual groups can be distinguished clearly, but N2 mostly contains variants of the manuscripts of the Northern textual groups, even though in the rest of the discussed texts such variants belong more to the Southern groups.

Analysis of Synonymous Pairs of Expressions

In the material analysed, the equivalents for certain Latin words are particularly interesting, mainly because of their distribution. These include the Latin words *Iesus*, *infirmus*, *ire*, *magister*, *proximus*, *sacramentum*, *sequi*, and *tempestas*.

Iesus – in the texts, this name appears in each of the homilies, altogether 16 times, 7 of which appear in a citation from a Gospel. In the majority of cases, the translation equivalent used is *isusb*, except in the first and the second homily of Origen read during the Christmas time. In this case, two occurrences in the text of the homily are both translated as *spasb*, one appears in the biblical verse Mt 1:18 and one in the text II. Orig in the variant of the Northern textual group manuscripts. One beginning of the Gospel reading (L 2:33) includes the translation *isusb*. The expression *spasb* occurs either in all or almost all manuscripts of the homilies of the Advent, i.e. the Christmas liturgical cycle, e.g. in the Homily of Gregory the Great for the 3rd Sunday of Advent, in the Homily of Venerable Bede on the Nativity of Jesus Christ and then on St. John, predominantly in the manuscripts of the Northern textual group and mostly in connection with “*spasb hristb*”, in some manuscripts also with the variant “*spasitelb hristb*”. The emphasis probably lies on the main “role” of Christ as the saviour. Outside the Christmas cycle, the expression is used four times in all the manuscripts of the homilies of the Easter Cycle or in the manuscripts of the Northern textual group, and after Pentecost as a variant in the manuscripts of the 15th century (PM ILL LJ).

ire – only one instance (I. Orig) includes the variant *hoditi* in the manuscripts of the Southern textual group and the verb *gresti* in the manuscripts of the Northern group. In all other cases, the Latin verb *ire* is substituted with the verb *iti* (III. Orig) or the verb *poiti* (in the sense of a future tense for the conjunctive *eamus: poiděmb* II. Orig).

sequi – the material contains 11 occurrences of this verb, which mostly denotes the physical act of following Jesus by his worshippers. In this context, it is translated without exception with the verb *naslědovati* without variants, except in both Gospel citations, in which some manuscripts include the variant *v'slěd iti* (Mt 8:1) and *po němb iti* (Mt 8:23), both identical to the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Gospel. In two cases, however, the Latin term denotes a more abstract following of thoughts or the teachings of Jesus, and is then translated with the verb *poslědovati* (IV. Orig) or with the variant *poslušati* (VI. Orig).

infirmus – similar to the equivalents of the verb *sequi* we find varying different equivalents with nuances related either to their physical or abstract meaning. In the case of physical weakness, the expression *s'labb* is used in the manuscripts of the Southern group whereas the variant *nemočnb* can be found in the manuscripts of the Northern group (twice in III. Orig). However, when the

expression indicates uncertainty in faith, we find the equivalent *neukreplěň* (VI. Orig).

sacramentum – both cases denote the miracle of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. The first expression, *s'větina*, appears at the beginning of the homily and is the same in all the manuscripts. It also appears later and in the manuscripts of the Northern group, the expression *s(ve)tina* is used again, whereas the manuscripts of the Southern textual group use *s(ve)tba* (I. Orig).

proximus – two equivalents can be found, where the Croatism *b'liž'ni* is used in the text of the homily and only BAR includes the variant *iskr'ň* (twice in VI. Orig). In the Gospel verse preceding the homily (Mt 5:43) in all manuscripts the expression *is'kr'n'ň* is used, the same as in the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Gospel (*iskrěněgo* Mar);

magister – the distribution of both equivalents, the Old Church Slavonic *učitelb* and the Croatized *moistarb*, is probably not accidental either. Both are used interchangeably, however when it comes to the denomination of Christ, most manuscripts include the variant *moistarb*, but when the phrase *zakona učitelb* occurs, the majority contain the variant *uč(i)telb*, also known from Old Church Slavonic manuscripts. Few (LJ DR BAR) include the variant *moistarb* (JChrys).

tempestas – the expression appears twice (V. Orig) and the “Paleo-Slavonicism” equivalent *bura* occurs in the manuscripts of the Northern textual group, while the rest contain the Croatism *tuča*.

Conclusions

1. Most of the homilies marked as the work of Origen in the Proper of Season of the Croatian-Glagolitic breviaries of the 13–15th century actually do not belong to Origen (6 on the readings from the Gospel of Matthew) and only two are probably attributable to Origen (the II. Orig and III. Orig on the text from the Gospel of Luke). Moreover, the homily of John Chrysostom probably represents a medieval compilation of Chrysostom's commentaries.

2. From the material we can conclude that the basic translation means of the Latin construction of the Ablative Absolute were the ordinary sentence and the constructions of the Instrumental Absolute, which is even used twice as a translation of the main sentence and once at the beginning of the homily (V. Orig), imitating the verse of Mt 8:23. In this part, the manuscripts of the Northern textual group use precisely the Instrumental Absolute, unlike the manuscripts of the Southern group, in which the Dative Absolute is used, also possibly as a means to archaize the expression. The Dative Absolute is found in two other places, which are very reminiscent of the verses L 20:1 and J 4:51, and might therefore be imitated. Thus, this construction may not have represented the original linguistic means of the Croatian Glagolists who translated the breviary.

3. When comparing the equivalents for the Latin lexemes studied in the selected Old Testament books and homilies of Saint Jerome, it is evident that the variants, more common in such texts in the manuscripts of the Northern textual group, can be found in I. Orig and IV. Orig, while the ones that are more common in the manuscripts of the Southern group appear in II. Orig and VII. Orig.

4. The texts of the homilies generally include relatively few variants. In some texts, there are none or almost none (II. Orig, III. Orig, IV. Orig, VI. Orig and JChrys). In principle, however, according to the existing variants in the studied homilies, there are differences in the manuscripts of the Northern and the Southern group (I. Orig, II. Orig, III. Orig, V. Orig, and in the VIII. Orig, the manuscript N2 is included in the variants of the Northern group). In others, it is not possible to identify the Northern and the Southern textual group based on the variants. The distribution of variants is such that one belongs to the previously created manuscripts of the 14th century and the other to the newer ones from the 15th century (VI. Orig, VII. Orig and JChrys).

List of abbreviations of the cited Croatian-Glagolitic breviaries:

- BAR Baromićev, 1493, paper, print.
 DAB Dabarski, 1486, parchment, Zagreb, Archive HAZU, sign. IIIc21
 DR Dragučki, 1407, parchment, Zagreb, Archive HAZU, sign. IIIb25
 D2 Archive of St. Peter, 15th c., parchment, Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, sign. Cap. S. Pietro D215
 ILL Vatikanski 10, 1485, parchment, Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, sign. Borg. Illir. 10
 KOS Kosinjski, incunabula, 1491, paper
 LJ 2. Ljubljanski, 15th c., parchment, Ljubljana, NUK, sign. Ms 163
 MA Mavrov, 1460, parchment, Zagreb, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, sign. R 7822
 MO Moskovski, 1442-43, parchment, Moscow, RGB, coll. Sevastyanov, sign. F. 270, 51
 N1 1. Novljanski, 1459, parchment, Novi Vinodolski, parish house
 N2 2. Novljanski, 1495, parchment, Novi Vinodolski, parish house
 PAD Padovanski, mid-14th c., parchment, Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, sign. MS 2282
 PM Pašmanski, 14th-15th c., parchment, Zagreb, Archive HAZU, sign. IIIb10
 VAT19 Vatikanski 19, 1465, parchment, Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, sign. Vat. Slav. 19
 VAT Vatikanski 5, mid-14th c., parchment, Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, sign. Borg. Illir. 5
 VB1 Vrbniški prvi, 13.th–14th c., parchment, parish house in Vrbnik

- VB2 Vrbniški drugi, 14th c., parchment, parish house in Vrbnik
VB3 Vrbniški tretji, 15th c., parchment, parish house in Vrbnik
VO Breviary of Vitus of Omišalj, 1396, parchment, Vienna, Österreichische
Nationalbibliothek, sign. Cod. Slav. 3

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EMBEDDED THEOLOGY: EXTRACTS OF GREEK THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE CONTAINED IN THE SLAVONIC *DIOPTRA*

Jürgen Fuchsbauer

In spite of their theological importance, the complete oeuvres of many outstanding Church Fathers of Late Antiquity, such as the Three Cappadocians, as well as of notable Byzantine writers such as Nicetas Stethatus were not translated into Slavonic during the Middle Ages.¹ Yet, a wider Slavonic audience became acquainted with their thinking through the Slavonic versions of extracts contained in other works such as the *Dioptra*.

The *Dioptra* was composed in 1095 by a Byzantine monk named Philippos, who is known under the Greek epithet *Monotropos*, or the Latin *Solitarius* in western scholarly literature. The work represents a lengthy didactic poem consisting of five books, which are for the most part written in the so called political verse. Except for the first book, the *Klauthmoi* (in Slavonic *Plačeve*), the text is composed as a dialogue between the Flesh (σάρξ) and the Soul (ψυχή), in which, contrary to expectation, the latter poses questions and the former answers. The work addresses not only topics of religious but also of secular philosophical character.

The *Dioptra* was translated into Middle Bulgarian Church Slavonic around the middle of the 14th century.² The exact imitation of the Greek original and the high linguistic standardisation render it a work representative of the Silver Age of older Bulgarian literature. Likewise, its dissemination over Eastern Europe is typical of the Second South Slavonic influence on East Slavonic. The popularity this poem enjoyed among the Orthodox Slavs from the 14th to the 19th century is attested by approximately 200 extant witnesses.³ Philippos incorporated numerous quotes and paraphrases of biblical, theological, and philosophical writings into the metrical parts of the work. However, inter-

¹ Cf. F. J. Thomson, "Checklist of Slavonic Translations", in L. Sels, J. Fuchsbauer, V. Tomelleri, I. De Vos (eds.), *Editing Mediaeval Texts from a Different Angle: Slavonic and Multilingual Traditions. Together with Francis J. Thomson's Bibliography and Checklist of Slavonic Translations*, Leuven, 2018, p. 43-129.

² J. Fuchsbauer, *Die Übertragung der Dioptra ins Slavische – Ein Beispiel mittelkirchenslavischer Übersetzungstechnik*, Dissertation, Wien, 2010. Available at <<http://othes.univie.ac.at/9921/>> (23.04.2020).

³ H. Miklas, J. Fuchsbauer, *Die kirchenslavische Übersetzung der Dioptra des Philippos Monotropos. Band 1. Überlieferung. Text der Programmata und des ersten Buches*, Wien, 2013.

persed in the books II-V there are also extensive passages in prose, which represent quotations or compilations from the works of other authors.⁴ These insertions in the text are used to add authority to the author's argumentation. In book IV this is made explicit. The Soul doubts the Flesh's claim that after the second coming of Christ the saints will be honoured over the angels. The Flesh counters with a quote from Anastasius of Sinai, which is preceded by the following verses⁵:

IV,143-7

[Ψυχή:] δοκεῖ μοι δὲ ὡς ἄπιστον καὶ ὡς ψευδὲς τὸ ῥῆμα·
 ΜΗΝΤ ЖЕ ΜΗ СѦ ІАКО НЕГѢ РЕНЪ НЪ ЛЪЖЕНЪ ГЛЪ СЪ ·

...

Σάρξ: Ἐμὸν οὐδὲν τὸ σύνολον ἐρῶ σοι ὦ κυρία·
 Моє ннѣтоже сѣпроста рѣ кѣ ти ѿ гѣ ·
 μήπως καὶ παρακούσης μου ὡς ψευδῆ τὰ λεχθέντα·
 Да нека ко прѣслоушаѣши ми іако лъжна рече на ·
 παρέξω δέ σοι μάλιστα γραφικὴν μαρτυρίαν·
 прнведаѣ же ти па ѣ ѿ пнсѧ нна свѣдѣ тельство ·⁶

Additionally, the *Dioptra* proper is followed by a number of chapters taken from other authors. These are not integrated into the argumentation but offer, so to speak, further reading. The Greek witnesses of the *Dioptra* differ with regard to the number of additional chapters. Nevertheless, a certain number of them was obviously added by the author himself. The Slavonic translator took over all of the 23 prose chapters he found in the Greek model he used. Even though Eirini Afentoulidou⁷ did a great job in identifying the sources of the *Dioptra*, the authors of 6 of these chapters still remain unknown to us. The other chapters were partly taken from the works of some of the most important ecclesiastical writers. Like its immediate model, the Slavonic *Dioptra* contains extensive parts of Gregory of Nyssa's *De anima et resurrectione*, of John Chrysostom's *Ad populum Antiochenum homilia X*, of his *Expositiones in Psalmos*, of John of Damascus's *Expositio fidei*, of Pseudo-John of Damascus's homily *De iis, qui in fide dormierunt*, and of Anastasius of Sinai's *Quaestiones et Responsiones*. Additionally we encounter extracts of the works of two minor theologians of the 6th century, namely of Eustratius of Constantinople's *De statu anima-*

⁴ Ei. Afentoulidou-Leitgeb, "Die Dioptra des Philippos Monotropos und ihr Kontext. Ein Beitrag zur Rezeptionsgeschichte", *Byzantion* 77, 2007, p. 9-31.

⁵ J. Fuchsbauer, *Die Übertragung...*, p. 24s.

⁶ "The Soul: This statement seems implausible to me and untruthful. // The Flesh: I won't tell you anything that is mine, so that you do not misunderstand my words as untruthful. I'd rather offer you something from the scriptures."

⁷ Ei. Afentoulidou-Leitgeb, "Die Dioptra...", p. 11ss.

rum post mortem and of Olympiodorus Diaconus's *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten*. Finally, there are sections taken from two authors contemporaneous to Philippus: a short chapter entitled Ὅτι πέντε εἰσὶ αἱ ψυχῆς δυνάμεις of Michael Psellus and extracts from Nicetas Stethatus's *De anima, De hierarchia, Paradisus spiritualis*, from his letter No 6 To Gregory, from the letter to a near friend and a text entitled Τίς ὁ οὐρανὸς καινός by the same author. It has to be stated that the interpreter of the *Dioptra* did not consider already existing translations. He translated the text as he found it in his Greek model. Later copyists did not correct the text with the help of existing translations either.

Francis Thomson recently published a list of Slavonic translations from the Cyrillo-Methodian to the Petrine period, which is based on his famed catalogue.⁸ Comparing Thomson's list with the works the respective extracts were taken from, we see which of them had presumably been unknown to the Slavs before the *Dioptra* was translated. Both Anastasius of Sinai's *Quaestiones et Responsiones* and John Chrysostom's *Ad populum Antiochenum homiliae* had already been translated into Slavonic in the 9th or 10th century. Of Gregory of Nyssa's *De anima et resurrectione*, John of Damascus's *Expositio fidei*, and Olympiodorus Diaconus's *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten* there existed only abridged versions in Slavonic. Pseudo-John of Damascus's *De iis, qui in fide dormierunt* and Nicetas Stethatus's *Paradisus spiritualis* were translated in the 14th century only, that is roughly at the same time as the *Dioptra*. But John Chrysostom's *Expositiones in Psalmos*, Eustratius of Constantinople's *De statu animarum post mortem*, Michael Psellus's Ὅτι πέντε εἰσὶ αἱ ψυχῆς δυνάμεις, as well as Nicetas Stethatus's *De anima, De hierarchia*, his letter No 6 To Gregory, his letter to a near friend, and his Τίς ὁ οὐρανὸς καινός are not to be found in Thomson's list. Presumably, they were not known to Slavonic readers otherwise.

The longest of the extracts of the works of other writers inserted into the *Dioptra* are those taken from Gregory of Nyssa's *De anima et resurrectione*. Yet, most prominently among the "contributors" ranks Nicetas Stethatus, whose writings were not nearly as popular in Slavonic as the *Dioptra*. Remarkably, the extracts taken from both of them predominantly circle around the nature of the soul and around the hereafter. Sentences like the following from Nicetas's Τίς ὁ οὐρανὸς καινός must have surely attracted the interest of the hesychasts, who played an important role in spreading the *Dioptra* across South Eastern and Eastern Europe:

IV.e.13⁹

εἰ οὖν ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος ὁ Θεός ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς ἐκείνοις οὐρανοῖς κατοικεῖ [...] οὐδὲν ἐν ἐκείνοις πως κτίσμα θεοειδέστερον ἄρα, ἢ μόνον

⁸ Cf. F. J. Thomson, "Checklist...".

⁹ Cf. Fuchsbauer, *Die Übertragung...*, p. 66s.

φῶς ἀπρόσιτον· ἐν ᾧ οἰκῶν ὁ Θεός, φῶς ὡς ἱμάτιον ἀναβάλλεται· καὶ τοὺς
ὀσίους αὐτοῦ θεοειδῆς ἀπεργάζεται·
Ѡѡе оубо прѠвдѠѡ клнцѠ бѡ на новыѡх ѡнѡхъ небесеѡхъ жнветѡ [...] ннѡтоже
вѡ ѡнѡхъ нѡкако тварѡ бѡвѡднѡшѡ оубо, нѡ тѡѡа свѡтъ непернстпннн
вѡ нѡм же жнвѡ бѡ, свѡтѡмѡ ѡко рѡзоѡ ѡдѡвѡет сѡ· н прѡподобнѡа сѡѡ
бѡвѡднѡнѡ сѡдѡвѡвѡетѡ.¹⁰

Does this mean that Nicetas got known among the hesychasts on the Balkans, the hermits of northern Rus', the Old Believers because his works had been incorporated into the *Dioptra*? Hardly. Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, and Anastasius of Sinai are indicated in the text of the *Dioptra* as authors of the respective extracts, the latter in one instance as πατήρ ὁ Σιναΐτης. John of Damascus's name is given in the margins. Even though six of the prose chapters were taken from works of Nicetas Stethatus, his name is mentioned only once in the Slavonic *Dioptra*, and that in margine, namely in connection with the summary of his *De anima* contained in the 5th book. For the substantial extracts of his *Paradisus spiritualis* and of the sections taken from the two of his letters quoted above, which together form the first part of the appendices to the *Dioptra*, no author's name is given at all. The same holds for two other appendices, namely the ones taken from the works of Olympiodorus Diaconus and Michael Psellus. The compilation of Eustratius' *De statu animarum* and Nicetas' *De anima* contained in book V bears the heading *Kyrillou* in many Greek MSS and, respectively, *Kirillovo* in the complete Slavonic tradition. This alludes to the monk Cyril Phileotes (ca. 1015-1100).¹¹ Nicetas Stethatus' chapter *Τίς ὁ οὐρανὸς καινός* in the 4th book is ascribed to Theodore the Studite in a marginal notice to some Greek and to the oldest Slavonic witnesses. Finally, the extract of Nicetas' *De hierarchia* in the 4th book is attributed erroneously, but understandably to Dionysius the Areopagite, and that by Philippus, the author of the *Dioptra*, himself. The extract is preceded by the verse:

IV,137¹²
φησὶ οὖν Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης
Ѡлѡ т же днѡнѡснѡ арѡпагѡтскѡн¹³

¹⁰ "So if the Sun of Justice, God, dwells in those fresh heavens, nothing created in these is more similar to God than the inaccessible light. Dwelling in it, God endues in the light like in vesture and makes his pious godlike."

¹¹ Peter Van Deun (personal communication).

¹² Cf. Fuchsbauer, *Die Übertragung...*, p. 22s.

¹³ "Dionysius the Areopagite said."

Obviously, Philippus did not know whose works he was citing. This may result from the fact that he at least partly utilized not complete texts of these authors but already existing compilations.

The following table gives an overview of works and extracts of other authors contained in the Slavonic *Dioptra*, of other translations of the same text as recorded by Thomson, and of the person they are attributed to in the *Dioptra*.

Author	Title	Other Translation	Attribution in the <i>Dioptra</i>
Gregory of Nyssa	<i>De anima et resurrectione</i>	9th-10th c. (extracts)	Author
John Chrysostom	<i>Ad populum Antiochenum hom. X</i>	9th-10th c.	Author
	<i>Expositiones in Psalmos</i>	-	Author
John of Damascus	<i>Expositio fidei</i>	9th-10th c. (extracts)	Author (in marg.)
Pseudo-John of Damascus	<i>De iis, qui in fide dormierunt</i>	14th c.	Author (in marg.)
Anastasius Sinaita	<i>Quaestiones et Responsiones</i>	9th-10th c.	Author
Eustratius of Constantinople	<i>De statu animarum post mortem</i>	-	“Kyrillos”
Olympiodorus Diaconus	<i>Commentarii in Ecclesiasten</i>	9th-10th c. (extracts)	-
Michael Psellus	Ὅτι πέντε εἰσὶ αἱ ψυχῆς δυνάμεις	-	-
Nicetas Stethatus	<i>De anima</i>	-	Author (in marg.)
	<i>De hierarchia</i>	-	Dionysius the Areopagite
	<i>Paradisus spiritualis</i>	14th c.	-
	Epist. 6 (To Gregory)	-	-
	Letter to a near friend	-	-
	Τίς ὁ οὐρανὸς καινός	-	Theodore the Studite (in marg.)

Nicetas Stethatus was fairly well known to the Slavs. Thomson¹⁴ lists 14th century translations of his *Paradisus spiritualis*, his Three Hundred Chapters, and his Questions and Answers, as well as a 16th century translation of his work on the Roman Azyma, Lent and the Marriage of Priests, and a second translation of

¹⁴ F. J. Thomson, “Checklist...”.

the *Paradisus spiritualis*, dating to the early 18th century. However, studying the Slavonic reception of an author like Nicetas Stethatus, we must bear in mind that through the excerpts contained in a work so popular as the *Dioptra* a much greater Slavonic readership got acquainted with his thinking, yet, as his name is hardly given, without knowing it was his.

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LE *SLOVO* 50 DE SAINT ÉPHREM LE SYRIEN DANS DEUX MANUSCRITS SLAVONS DU XIV^E SIÈCLE DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE*

Zamfira Mihail

La thématique du panel *Translations of Patristic Literature in South-Eastern Europe. Les traductions de la littérature patristique dans le Sud-Est européen* nous permet d'approfondir le sujet des textes patristiques, circulation des manuscrits, la lecture, et leurs multiplication aux Pays Roumains, parmi lesquels nous nous sommes arrêtée aux écrits d'Éphrem le Syrien¹. Cette fois-ci nous abordons le problème de l'ancienneté de deux manuscrits slavons par l'intermédiaire de l'un de ses enseignements (*Slovo* 50). Dans les manuscrits patristiques slavons existants dans diverses bibliothèques roumaines, les écrits de Saint Éphrem sont parmi les plus nombreux, après ceux de Saint Jean Chrysostome et Saint Isaac le Syrien.

La Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine est la dépositaire de 822 manuscrits slavons et slavo-roumains [par la suite = mss.sl.]. Les manuscrits séculaires d'une collection constituent tout un chapitre spécial de référence en vertu de leur rareté et des soins particuliers qu'exige leur conservation. La datation des manuscrits – tant de ceux sur support de parchemin que de ceux sur papier – en l'absence de données explicites, implique des études approfondies. Les catalogues de manuscrits² avancent d'habitude des hypothèses en ce qui

* Texte élargi d'un chapitre de la communication *Les écrits d'Éphrem le Syrien en slavon (XIV^e – XVIII^e s.) de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine*. Voir aussi Z. Mihail, “Сочинения Ефрема Сирина на славянском языке в Библиотеке Румынской академии”, in Л. Тасева, П. Данова (съст.), *Югоизточна Европа през вековете: Социална история, езикови и културни контакти*, София [sous presse].

¹ Autres études sur la diffusion de l'oeuvre de saint Éphrem le Syrien aux Pays Roumains: Z. Mihail, “Diffusion en roumain de l'oeuvre de saint Éphrem le Syrien: une expression de l'héritage byzantin”, *Byzantinische Forschungen* 25, 1999, p. 111-129; eadem, “Lectures grecques et latines dans les monastères orthodoxes aux XIII^e – XV^e siècles”, in C. C. Petolescu, T. Teoteoi, A. Gabor (coord.), *Studia Historica et Theologica. Omagiu profesorului Emilian Popescu*, Iași, 2003, p. 663-669.

² Mss.sl. de la BAR ont été décrits intégralement dans les ouvrages: P. P. Panaitescu, *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei*, vol. I (1-300), București, 1959 [= *Mss. sl. I*]; P. P. Panaitescu, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române și slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. II (301–

concerne leur ancienneté fondées sur l'expérience de celui qui fait la description et, quoique les filigranes identifiés sont en général mentionnés, on ne renvoie que rarement à des catalogues de filigranes.

Les plus anciens mss. sl. de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine [par la suite = BAR] sont quelques fragments et deux exemplaires *in integrum*, contenant des textes de culte, des XI^e–XIII^e siècles³. Les manuscrits du XIV^e siècle sont bien plus nombreux et très importants puisqu'ils témoignent non seulement des livres de culte, mais aussi l'intérêt pour la lecture des Saints Pères. Les codex (*sbornic*) contiennent les écrits patristiques les plus anciens et aussi des écrits de Saint Éphrem.

En nous arrêtant aux ceux du XIV^e s., nous constatons que leur datation diffère, cependant, selon les considérations de différents paléographes. P. P. Panaitescu, dans *Mss. sl. I, II*, et PPP, ZM dans *Mss. sl. III*, considèrent qu'en dehors des mss. sl. avec des textes liturgiques du XIV^e s. restent aussi les mss. sl 72, 100, 130, 139, 148, 205, 298, 315, 491, 677, contenant des écrits de différents Pères.

Nous avons rencontré des datations englobant un nombre augmenté de mss. sl. de cette période dans une étude de A. D. Paskal⁴. L'auteur prend en considération des dates proposées par divers slavistes roumains, optant pour la plus ancienne. Il ajoute ainsi au XIV^e siècle les mss.sl. BAR 139 et 298 (la deuxième moitié du XIV^e s.⁵; XV^e et XVI^e s.⁶) aussi que ms. 148 (la fin du XIV^e s.⁷ et XV^e s.⁸).

Un ouvrage de grande érudition et acribie, signé par Ion Radu Mircea⁹, qui identifie les auteurs byzantins et slaves dans des textes faisant partie des codex trouvés à présent dans plusieurs bibliothèques roumaines, propose des datations bien plus précises (chronologiquement délimitées) pour les versions

600), éd. Dalila-Lucia Aramă, révisée par G. Mihăilă, București, 2003 [= *Mss. sl. II*]; P. P. Panaitescu, Z. Mihail, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române și slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. III / 1, București, 2018 [= *Mss. sl. III*].

³ BAR mss. sl. 4, 20, 450, 491, 613, 676, 682, 790, des XII^e – XIII^e siècles, dans *Mss. sl. I, II, III*.

⁴ А. Д. Паскаль, “Вопросы происхождения древнейших кириллических рукописей, найденных на территории Румынии, в современной румынской историографии”, in В. С. Ефимова (отв. ред.), *Славянское и балканское языкознание. Палеославистика – 2*, Москва, 2019, p. 234-259, paru après la rédaction du présent ouvrage.

⁵ I. Iufu, “Despre prototipurile literaturii slavo-române din secolul al XV-lea”, *Mitropolia Olteniei* 15, 1963, nr. 7-8, p. 511-535, spéc. p. 512-515, réédité dans idem, *Manuscrite slavo-române din mănăstirile românești*, éd. par C. Vilău, București, 2016, p. 81-104.

⁶ *Mss. sl. I*, p. 173 et 397.

⁷ E. Lința, “Cele mai vechi manuscrise slave din țara noastră”, *Romanoslavica* 18, 1972, p. 245-264, spéc. 258-259.

⁸ *Mss. sl. I*, p. 188.

⁹ I. R. Mircea, *Répertoire des manuscrits slaves en Roumanie. Auteurs byzantins et slaves*, éd. P. Bojčeva et révision du texte français S. Todorova, Sofia, 2005. Les livres de culte n'ont pas été pris en considération.

slavonnes étudiées, ces références visant les décennies où ces textes auraient été rédigés. L'auteur déclare lui-même dans l'*Introduction* que ses références se fondent sur « la vérification de la date attribuée à chaque œuvre au moyen des *répertoires des filigranes* [n.n., zm] » et que « notre travail s'est déroulé par étapes, comme suit : 1. La rédaction de fiches descriptives-analytiques [...] chaque fiche est accompagnée d'*illustrations*, de *reproductions des filigranes* et de l'*incipit* des œuvres respectives »¹⁰. Mais, dans cette édition posthume, la reproduction des filigranes caractéristiques pour chaque manuscrit n'était pas prise en compte et il n'y a aucune référence à leur valeur quant à la datation proposée par Mircea¹¹. Les filigranes ne sont pas du tout mentionnés et dans la *Bibliographie générale* n'est enregistré aucun catalogue de filigranes. Les datations des manuscrits proposées par Mircea sont mentionnées dans le *Tableau des manuscrits*¹², avec des références très précises aux intervalles de temps où ils étaient copiés, ce qui nous fait croire que l'auteur se fondait sur la datation du papier utilisé, qu'il aurait identifié d'après les filigranes dans les catalogues de spécialité. La datation avec les années respectives indiquées (pour 17 mss.) par Mircea surprend parce que la question des filigranes n'a pas été mentionnée dans la *Note de l'éditeur*, et on ne faisait que transcrire les chiffres des années ou des décennies quand ces manuscrits ont été copiés. Or, sans un support documentaire nominalisé, les datations proposées par Mircea peuvent être contestées¹³, même si la justification de ses nouvelles datations avait été faite, selon ses dires, par « la vérification de la date attribuée à chaque œuvre au moyen des répertoires des filigranes »¹⁴. Mircea a précisé ou invalidé la plupart des datations antérieures concernant les mss. qu'il considère provenir du XIV^e s.¹⁵ et, jusqu'à présent, aucune étude n'est parvenue à le contredire¹⁶.

¹⁰ I. R. Mircea, *Répertoire*, p.12.

¹¹ Je n'ai pas pu vérifier s'il en reste quelque chose de l'archive, des fiches et des manuscrits de Ion Radu Mircea après son décès [1991]. L'Institut d'Études balkaniques de Sofia m'a répondu qu'ils ne possèdent rien de l'archive de Pavlina Bojčeva, qui avait reçu de la part de la famille le manuscrit qu'elle avait publié. Nous ne savons pas si elle avait ou non accès aux fiches ou aux rédactions antérieures de Mircea. Aux Archives Nationales de la Roumanie, pour le moment nous n'avons pas pu entreprendre des recherches pour savoir s'il y avait des dépôts de l'archive Mircea.

¹² Il a les colonnes suivantes : №; datations; pays; copiste; contenu; rédaction, I. R. Mircea, *Répertoire*, p. 229-241.

¹³ Avant la pandémie, j'avais commencé à identifier l'exactitude de la datation proposée par I. R. Mircea, et à quelques manuscrits dont j'avais identifié les filigranes et vérifié dans les catalogues, j'ai constaté que sa datation était précise. Mais, pour pouvoir fonder intégralement les redatations de I. R. Mircea sur des bases documentaires, il faudra refaire (en l'absence de ses fiches, que nous espérons tout de même pouvoir retrouver !) l'opération d'identification des filigranes et leur confrontation à des catalogues déjà publiés, ce qui constitue le thème d'un autre ouvrage.

¹⁴ I. R. Mircea, *Répertoire*, p. 12.

¹⁵ Pour l'évidence des manuscrits de la BAR, considérés par Mircea avoir été écrits au XIV^e siècle, nous énumérons les 24 cotes, différentes en tant que datation chez *Mss. sl. I, II, III* par rapport à I. R. Mircea. C'est ici que nous faisons la première référence aux nouvelles datations proposées par

Des textes de Saint Éphrem du XIV^e s., selon les datations d'I. R. Mircea, se trouvent dans les mss. 73, 160, 298, 302 et 315. Ce sont des codex contenant des écrits de plusieurs Pères. De ce siècle, il n'y a pas des codex qui contiennent seulement des textes d'Éphrem¹⁷. Les mss. 73 (f. 78v-88v et 207v-214), 298 (f. 1-6) et 302 (f. 209v-211) (datées par Mircea comme datant du XIV^e s.) contiennent des enseignements d'Éphrem qui ne portent pas un indicatif numérique. Par contre, dans le ms. 315, aux f. 222-248, datées tant par PPP que par I. R. Mircea comme datant du XIV^e s., le *Slovo 50* a été copié avec le chiffre 50 bien marqué. C'est uniquement dans le ms. 160, toujours du XIV^e s. selon la datation de I. R. Mircea, dans la suite d'enseignements ephrémiens (f. 196v-

Mircea. A. D. Paskal n'a pas consulté cet ouvrage historiographique roumain dans sa synthèse *supra*, note 5.

Le chiffre en caractères gras indique le numéro du manuscrit, entre parenthèses rondes j'ai indiqué les dénominations des filigranes formulées par P. P. Panaitescu, et entre crochets sont mes observations: BAR **68** PPP XV^e s. (amphore, emblème avec croix au centre) / Mircea a. 1340; BAR **73** PPP XV^e s. (ornement à trois trèfles) / Mircea XIV^e s. (1380–1390); BAR **97** PPP 1520–1535 (f. 378) et (fleur stylisée, fer à cheval avec fleur) / Mircea 1390–1400: BAR **99** PPP XV^e-XVI^e s., sans mention de filigrane / Mircea 1390–1400; BAR **127** PPP XVI^e s. (fleur stylisée et hache) / Mircea (fin XIV^e s.); BAR **130** PPP XV^e s. (ours) / Mircea (1350–1365); BAR **134** PPP XV^e et XVI^e s. (tour dans la première partie) / Mircea (fin XIV^e s. – début XV^e s.); BAR **139** PPP XV^e s., avec mention: « Jacimirski le date au XIV^e siècle, mais l'écriture provient du suivant » [ne sont pas mentionnés des filigranes] / Mircea XIV^e s. (1360?); BAR **148** PPP XV^e s. (croix avec socle) / Mircea fin XIV^e s.; BAR **150** PPP XV^e s. (cœur avec flèche) / Mircea fin XIV^e s.; BAR **153** PPP XV^e s. (ciseaux) / Mircea fin XIV^e s. – début XV^e s.); BAR **158** PPP XV^e s. (première moitié)[sans mention de filigrane] / Mircea 1350–1370; BAR **159** PPP XV^e s. [sans mention de filigrane] / Mircea fin XIV^e s. – début XV^e s.; BAR **160** PPP XV^e s. [sans mention de filigrane] / Mircea 1360–1370; BAR **296** PPP XV^e s. [sans mention de filigrane] / Mircea fin XIV^e s. – début XV^e s.; 1385–1405; BAR **298** PPP première moitié du XVI^e s. (trois cerises, cœur avec flèche) / Mircea 1369–1370; BAR **302** PPP XV^e s. (tour, fleur stylisée) / Mircea fin XIV^e s. (1375–1400); BAR **304** PPP XV^e s. (cloche, dans la première partie du vol. et aussi la lettre B) / Mircea fin XIV^e s. (1380–1390); BAR **315** PPP début du XV^e s. (trois cerises, croix grec, deux clés, cloche) et XIV^e s. (f. 222-248v, écrites à la fin du XIV^e s.) / Mircea II^e moitié du XIV^e s. (1350–1360); BAR **316** PPP XV^e s. (deux cercles, poire avec deux feuilles) / Mircea II^e moitié du XIV^e s. (1345-1360); BAR **320** PPP fin du XV^e s. (arc avec flèche) / Mircea II^e moitié du XIV^e s. (1375–1390); BAR **355** PPP début du XV^e s. (trident, arc, tête de bélier) / Mircea milieu XIV^e s. (1349–1375); BAR **419** PPP XV^e s. (deux cercles, deux clés, cruche, balance manuelle) / Mircea I^{ère} moitié XIV^e s.; BAR **421** PPP XVI^e s., XV^e s.[sans mention de filigrane] / Mircea II^e moitié XIV^e s. (1345–1380). Ont daté presque de la même manière BAR **72** (PPP, XIV^e s. début / Mircea XIV^e s.), **100** (PPP 1399–1420; cercle, trident, fourche avec deux cercles au bout / Mircea 1340–1350) et **205** (les deux, a. 1346, f. 410v).

¹⁶ Dans les études Z. Mihail, « Recherches sur le vieux slave à l'Institut des études sud-est européennes », *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 45, 2007, p. 451-460, et eadem, « Nouveaux défis de la recherche des textes slavons », in A. Timotin (éd.), *Un siècle d'études sud-est européennes en Roumanie. Bilan historiographique*, Brăila, 2019, p. 207-220, je n'ai pas signalé l'absence de ces indications dans la *Bibliographie* de l'ouvrage de Mircea.

¹⁷ *Apud* Mihail [sous presse]. J'ai proposé de classer les codex (*sbornic*) en catégories distinctes, s'ils contiennent les écrits d'un seul Père ou bien s'ils réunissent de manière aléatoire ou thématique les enseignements de plusieurs Pères.

261v), aux f. 215-246 que se trouve aussi ce même *Slovo 50*. Ici est marqué aussi l'enseignement nr. 23 (f. 207-210v).

Le numéro 50 est significatif dans la suite des enseignements de *Paranesis*, parce que avec lui commence « la différenciation » dans la numérotation, dans certains manuscrits¹⁸. Francis J. Thomson appelait cette homilie *Sermo asceticus* [sous n°. 54, pts. I-IV], en citant CPG¹⁹, N° 3909 et J. S. Assemani, *Sancti Patris nostri quae extant Ephraem Syri opera omnia...*, vol. I, 40-70 et concluant: « In all codices it is divided into two parts [...] in some codices, e. g. Academy, Frolov, Trinity Sergius, Macarius, the first part forming entry 54 is divided into four sections numbered separately. However, early Bulgarian and Serbian codices, e.g. Lesnovo, Mihanović, do not make this subdivision which is probably a later development »²⁰.

Parce que nous avons constaté que cette homilie se trouve dans les mss. 160 et 315, nous nous sommes proposée d'éditer ce *Slovo 50* pour avoir ainsi la possibilité, par l'intermédiaire de leurs textes, de présumer la provenance de ces deux exemplaires. Et de cette façon, on en viendrait à suivre la circulation des écrits de Saint Éphrem. Nous nous sommes guidée par les constatations de J. Fuchsbauer et V. Tomelleri, qui énoncent que « in Slavonic Studies preference is often given to manuscript-based editions, ideally with full documentation of the variant readings in the *apparatus criticus* »²¹. Mais, en ce qui concerne notre recherche, nous considérons que c'est important aussi d'avoir une « view of the orthographic and linguistic variety of Church Slavonic » parce que nous considérons que chaque manuscrit est une œuvre d'« auteur » (du copiste) et que les éditions intégrales des principaux textes de la littérature ancienne seraient en mesure de configurer un tableau synthétique des versions des écrits patristiques et de leur diffusion.

Le ms. sl. BAR 315 est un colligat de 22x14 cm, dans lequel étaient réunis des cahiers totalisant 257 pages (la numérotation a été faite dans BAR), écrits au début du XV^e s. (les f. 1-221, 249-257, d'après *Mss. sl. II*), et seulement f. 222r-248v à la fin du XIV^e s., d'après ce même *Mss. sl. II* (en réalité les f. 249-257 sont eux aussi du XIV^e s., voir ci-dessous notre analyse des filigranes).

¹⁸ Cf. O. Ф. Жолобов, « Древнерусские «книги, рекомья Ефремъ» », in *Лингвистическое источниковедение и история русского языка (2010–2011)*, Москва, 2011, p. 244.

¹⁹ M. Geerard, *Clavis patrum graecorum*, vol. II, Turnhout, 1974.

²⁰ Fr. J. Thomson, « The Old Bulgarian Translation of the Homilies of Ephraem Syrus », *Palaeobulgarica* 9, 1985, № 1, p. 128, avec renvoi à l'édition de G. Bojkovsky, *Paranesis. Die albulgarische Übersetzung von Werken Ephraims des Syrers*, Bd. I, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1984, p. 40-49.

²¹ J. Fuchsbauer, V. Tomelleri, « Introduction », in L. Sels, J. Fuchsbauer, V. Tomelleri, I. de Vos (eds.), *Editing Medieval Texts from a Different Angle. Slavonic and Multilingual Tradition, Together with Fr. J. Thomson's Bibliography and Checklist of Slavonic Translations*, Leuven-Paris-Bristol, 2018, p. 279.

Selon Mircea²², le ms. tout entier est de la II^e moitié du XIV^e s. (1350–1365). La concordance en ce qui concerne sa datation et les filigranes que nous avons identifiés aux f. 222-257 nous a déterminé de nous occuper d'abord de ce ms.

P. P. Panaitescu a indiqué « en bloc » tous les filigranes du ms. 315 : trois cerises, croix grecque, deux clés, cloche²³, caractérisant aussi le papier du XV^e s.. Mais nous avons identifié aux f. 222-248-257 : arbalète (f. 224-227) « les variantes du groupe 701 à 707 [arbalète] sont extrêmement nombreuses ; on n'a reproduit ici que les principales. Le papier qui les porte est abondant en Italie [...] ils se trouve entre 1320 et 1393 »²⁴, cloche (f. 247-248, au milieu d'un cahier)²⁵ et, aux f. 253-256 le filigrane pot à une anse²⁶. À la f. 249 c'est l'image d'une hache ? « Est-ce bien un fer de hache que les filigranes de cette famille représentent ? » se demande Briquet qui le dessine, mais le considère « moins certain »²⁷. Nous persévérons dans l'étude de filigranes.

Bien qu'il se trouve à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie depuis 1903, transféré du Musée des Antiquités, qui l'a reçu du monastère Bistrița, le manuscrit est entré dans le circuit scientifique en 2003²⁸. Nous estimons que ce *sbornic* dans sa forme actuelle est formé de deux parties : la première était écrite par un copiste, qui a transcrit les feuilles 1r-221v, avec des textes de Nil, quelques apophthèmes de saint Macaire et Zosima et quelques paroles d'Isaïe et où le texte s'arrête après un enseignement (incomplet) du grand Athanase, le patriarche d'Alexandrie. On observe là-bas facilement une lacune. Il semble qu'il en manque des feuilles, mais, n'ayant pas de témoin de contrôle, nous ne pouvons pas préciser combien de feuilles aient pu se trouver dans l'intervalle entre les f. 221v-222r du ms. 315. Par conséquent, nous ne savons pas pour le moment si le texte d'Athanase continuait et si les feuilles manquantes sont disparues ultérieurement ou bien, tel qu'il arrivait parfois, le texte s'est interrompu. La feuille 221 clôt un cahier de 8 feuilles. La deuxième partie commence après la feuille 221v jusqu'à la fin du manuscrit. Ici sont réunis des textes d'Éphrem, un enseignement court de Symeon de Mésopotamie et quelques fragments de *Patérikon*.

À la reliure du *sbornic*, le relieur a joint, après les feuilles écrites jusqu'à la f. 221v, sur du papier satiné bien conservé, des cahiers plus anciens avec du papier friable maintenant (sans avoir d'indication de cahier, les f. 222-257), avec

²² I. R. Mircea, *Répertoire*, p. 233.

²³ *Mss. sl. II*, p. 71.

²⁴ C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier* (= Briquet), Paris, 1907, t. I, p. 50 et n^{os} 701-707.

²⁵ C. M. Briquet, II, p. 248, n^o 3960 (Venise a.1354, Ferrara, a.1364), avec beaucoup de variantes.

²⁶ C. M. Briquet, IV, p. 624, n^o 12470 (Dijon a. 1343).

²⁷ C. M. Briquet, II, p. 409.

²⁸ Le manuscrit a été décrit au *Mss. sl. II*, p. 66-71. Voir aussi C. Николова, *Патеричните разкази в българската средновековна литература*, Sofia, 1980, p. 60.

le texte déjà lu fréquemment si l'on s'en tienne aux traces laissées aux bords des pages. La feuille 222r a le titre à la première ligne, à droite près du talon, par une initiale majuscule en rouge, un oméga maladroit tracé avec la plume d'oie, ποοϋϋεννή, ⲉⲧⲓⲛⲟ ⲉϫϫⲉⲙⲁ ⲥⲗⲟ: ⲛ̅ (Enseignement de Saint Éphrem. Slovo 50). L'écriture des feuilles 222r-248v, avec une demi-onciale minuscule très régulière, le dessin des lettres réalisé avec une plume bien épaisse et les mots plus serrés est visiblement différente de celle des feuilles de la première partie du ms. Le texte n'a aucun alinéa. Tous les majuscules sont en noir. À la f. 224r/6-7, le texte était écrit avec une encre à présent très délavée, d'un brun clair, qui aurait pu être rouge. Il y a aussi une numérotation au crayon (de 1899, selon la notice de la couverture IV), de la f. 1-256 (en fait ce sont 257 f., puisque le numéro 231 a été donné deux fois). Les cahiers (f. 222-257) ont subi des détériorations, car il y a certaines lacunes, avec manque de feuilles arrachées ou détruites au long du temps que nous allons signaler au moment donné.

On constate qu'à la rédaction des feuilles 222-257 ont peut-être collaboré deux copistes, bien que P. P. Panaitescu ait identifié l'écriture d'une seule main. Mais on observe une modification de graphie, la feuille 230r comporte des caractères bien plus petits et tassés, tandis que le duct des lettres est très ressemblant. Il est possible que l'écriture appartienne à la même personne qui aurait repris sa tâche après une interruption et dans cette nouvelle conjoncture aurait essayé d'entasser les lettres.

La reliure du manuscrit est à présent détériorée; le cuir grossier utilisé, sur support épais de hêtre, est rêche et il en manque des morceaux, en bas, près du talon. Nous supposons que l'actuelle reliure du ms., d'après la qualité du cuir, provient de la même période que celle de la rédaction des f. 222-257.

Si l'on prend en considération une telle datation de la couverture (même période que celle de la rédaction des f. 222-257), nous pouvons présumer que pour relier le volume, on a introduit les feuilles 1-221v dans les couvertures plus anciennes, pour compléter le bloc des feuilles 222r-257. Le codex dans sa forme actuelle s'arrête à la f. 257v et il lui manque des feuilles à la fin, dont on observe les traces au talon.

Les vrillettes qui ont attaqué les couvertures y ont laissé des traces visibles. Nous avons observé que de tout le manuscrit il n'y a que les feuilles 222-257 qui sont forées par les vrillettes et en gardent des traces nombreuses, ce qui nous fait supposer que les couvertures eussent contenu un *sbornic* (plus ancien) qui avait initialement dans sa composition aussi la deuxième partie de l'actuel exemplaire. Car il est évident que les feuilles 222-257 proviennent ou aient été détachées d'un recueil d'écrits, la preuve c'est qu'à la f. 248v, après la fin du texte d'Éphrem, il y a un espace blanc, laissé libre. C'est pour cela que nous supposons que les f. 222-257 se trouvaient entre les couvertures actuelles, qui ont été utilisées après pour relier toutes les feuilles de ce *sbornic*.

Eussent-elles été détachées d'un exemplaire détérioré pour être introduites parmi les feuilles en cours de transcription, à une place considérée convenable, après la f. 221v ? Nos commentaires antérieurs sur les couvertures qui semblent avoir la même ancienneté que les feuilles 222-248-257 pourraient en offrir une explication. Mais la question persiste toujours, afin de pouvoir connaître en quel contexte sont parvenues à être utilisées les feuilles avec *Slovo 50* du XIV^e siècle pour compléter la première partie du coligat écrite quelques décennies plus tard (d'après P. P. Panaitescu) et découvrir peut-être de cette manière où avait été copiée « la première moitié » du *sbornic* 315.

L'analyse de l'exemplaire montre aussi que *le manuscrit était employé dans l'église pour l'office* (nous soulignons cette assertion) et faisait partie de la bibliothèque permanente du côté du chœur, posé sur le lutrin, parce qu'il conserve encore les tranches de tête, de gouttière et de queue en rouge, maintenant décoloré.

Pour l'histoire d'un exemplaire de livre ayant traversé les siècles, il est important que les reliures (couvertures) soient originelles, dans la mesure où elles ne sont pas complètement abîmées. La procédure qui consiste à conserver les manuscrits sans changer les couvertures, restauration avec complètement des feuilles ou sans reliair à nouveau les exemplaires (mais en les gardant dans des conditions optimales de température et d'humidité) adoptée par les spécialistes en conservation de Bulgarie²⁹ c'est à notre avis le procédé qui contribue de manière décisive à la reconstitution de l'histoire de l'artefact comme tel.

L'autre *sbornic* qui contient Efrème, *Slovo 50*, le ms. 160, a attiré notre attention dès le commencement de nos recherches parce qu'en accordant crédit à l'opinion d'I. R. Mircea, qui établit qu'il était écrit entre 1360–1370³⁰, quoique daté différemment par P. P. Panaitescu, qui le situe au XV^e s.³¹, nous nous sommes proposée de vérifier sa nouvelle datation. Le ms. 160, 312 f., 21,5x14 cm., daté par Panaitescu au XV^e s. sans invoquer des filigranes, est considéré avoir été écrit en Moldavie³² (le ms. a appartenu au monastère Neamt), mais Mircea établit qu'il fut copié dans la période 1360–1370 et écrit en Bulgarie³³. Après l'indication du lieu de sa rédaction, la Bulgarie, Mircea a mis un point d'interrogation (?) ; nous supposons qu'il l'ait utilisé car le ms. aurait pu être

²⁹ Б. Христова, Е. Мусакова, Е. Узунова, *Опис на славянските ръкописи в Църковно-историческия и архивен институт на Българската Православна Църква*, т. I, *Библейски книги*, София, 2009, voir aussi le compte rendu in *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 49, 2011, № 1-4, p. 359-360.

³⁰ I. R. Mircea, *Répertoire*, p. 233.

³¹ *Mss. sl. I*, p. 238. Voir aussi Nikolova [supra, n. 29], p. 60 «du commencement du XV^e s.».

³² Voir le *Mss. sl. I*, p. 238-240. Nous signalons quelques omissions et inadvertances dans la description : le ms. n'est pas « écrit sur deux colonnes » parce qu'il n'y a pas de « colonnes » dans ce ms. et la graphie n'est pas « demi-onciale », mais demi-onciale italique.

³³ I. R. Mircea, *Répertoire*, p. 231.

écrit à Athos³⁴ aussi. C'est un *sbornic* avec 39 titres d'enseignements / homilies, avec début et fin, écrit d'une main, mais avec quelques feuilles manquantes à la place desquelles ont été introduites des feuilles avec une écriture du XVII^e s. La reliure en cuir avec des ornements stylisés, sur support de bois, est aussi du XVII^e s. Une suite d'enseignements d'Éphrem se trouve parmi d'autres discours de plusieurs autres Pères. *Slovo 50* commence à la f. 215r/16, le titre est écrit en onciales, l'écriture est en italiques et le texte s'achève à la f. 246r/26. Cet exemplaire conserve, lui aussi, les tranches en rouge, cette fois-ci en bon état et sur la tranche de tête est imprimé : εφρημъ словъ. Donc, tous les deux codex ont été destinés à l'office.

Le ms.160 conserve la numérotation originale dans des cahiers de 8 feuilles (f. 3-76v, c. 1-9; à f. 91v-63r, c. 11-21; à f. 178v, c. 23 et à f. 185v, c. 24). La notation des cahiers apparaît de nouveau à la f. 233r, c. 31; f. 240v, c. 31; f. 257r, c. 34. Chez quelques feuilles apparaît une notation d'un autre type, au milieu du sous-sol: ḡ ΛΗ(CT) Η ΠΘ(Λ) « 3 feuilles et demie » (f. 207r) ; Ḍ ΛΗ(CT) « 4 feuilles » (f. 125r) ; Ḕ ΛΗ(CT) « 5 feuilles » (f. 56v, 197r) ; Ḕ ΛΗ(CT) Η ΠΘ(Λ) « 5 feuilles et demie » (f. 77r et 82r) ; Ḗ ΛΗ(CT) « 6 feuilles » (f. 63v, 87r, 201r) ; Ḧ ΛΗ(CT) Η ΠΘ(Λ) « 8 feuilles et demie » (f. 94r et 101v) ; Ḙ ΛΗ(CT) « 9 feuilles » (f. 116r) ; Ḙ ΛΗ(CT) « 30 feuilles » (f. 215r). Nous n'avons pas encore pu établir si l'emploi de cette numérotation a été déterminée par un certain critère de sélection ou bien qu'il était aléatoire. Les notations du sous-sol avec rapport au nombre des feuilles ont été utilisées pour numéroter au sous-sol du titre la totalité des feuilles que l'enseignement ainsi marqué contenait. Les notations n'ont pas été inscrites lors de la transcription du *sbornic* ms. 160 mais probablement bien plus tard. Il est possible que ce fût le signe pour une nouvelle transcription seulement des textes aux feuilles ainsi comptées. Le signe Ḙ ΛΗ(CT) « 30 feuilles » à la f. 215r peut être une preuve en ce sens, parce que *Slovo 50* compte 30 feuilles. Est-ce que le ms. 160 a servi de prototype pour d'autres copies ? Nos recherches les suivront.

En ce qui concerne l'analyse des filigranes, ils ne nous aident pas trop cette fois-ci. Nos tentatives pendant longtemps de les identifier n'ont pas abouti à des résultats significatifs³⁵. Parce que les filigranes sont fragmentés, couverts dans le talon, impossible à reconstituer pour la plupart, c'est probablement pour cela que P. P. Panaitescu ne fait pas mention de filigranes dans sa description du ms. 160. Nous avons identifié des lignes parallèles au talon, voir f. 160, 216,

³⁴ Voir la discussion en détail dans Mihail [sous presse].

³⁵ Voir H. Атанасова, *Филиграноложки проблеми на българските ръкописи от XIV и XV век, запазени в България*, София, 1984 (unpublished PhD dissertation), apud M. Dimitrova, I. Petrov, « Literature cited », in L. Sels et al. (eds.), *Editing Medieval Text from a Different Angle : Slavonic and Multilingual Tradition...* [ci-dessus n. 22], p. 334.

227, 243. C'est probablement la hampe d'un étendard (f. 244-245), attesté à Pisa a.1365 « l'étendard est un filigrane exclusivement italien, [...] l'extrémité de la hampe est tréflée »³⁶ ; peut être l'arme d'hast, qui ressemble à deux clefs, mais « l'interprétation de cette marque est en effet douteuse »³⁷. Il y a aussi des lignes perpendiculaires sur le talon, au milieu de la page, voir f. 218, 220, 221, 223, 225, 229, 234. Enfin, à la f. 235/238 nous avons pu mettre en évidence un dessin qui ressemble à celui enregistré par Briquet à la catégorie d'indéterminée³⁸. Les filigranes cités pour la première fois correspondent tout à fait à la datation de Mircea et convergent à nous faire soutenir que les mss. 315 (f. 222-257) et 160 ont été écrits dans la deuxième partie / vers la fin du XIV^e s.

Ce sont les deux seuls mss. (du XIV^e s.) contenant cet enseignement ascétique (*Slovo 50*) d'Éphrem qui sont conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de Roumanie, d'après les investigations d'I. R. Mircea, trouvés dans les plus anciens codex avec des textes patristiques, selon les informations existantes en ce moment³⁹. Le texte du *Slovo 50* est identique dans les deux manuscrits.

Les deux mss. ont des indications auprès des titres de certains enseignements (qui n'ont pas été signalées dans le *Mss. sl. I et II*) qu'ils sont destinés à servir de lecture auxiliaire lors des offices divins. Et la structure du texte de *Slovo 50* le révèle avoir été destiné à être lu de vive voix, dans une communauté (par exemple, ms. 315, f. 248v/15-20 Desinit: « Ѡ БѢ НШЕГО НБНАГО; / прославнѣмъ. да Ѡ аггън ѣтнѣ ѡ нѢ възвесеаа/т' са. Ѡ двѡцѣн са намъ Ѡ слышѡцѣн ѡ нѢ, съннѡат' са Ѡ прославатъ бѢ. ꙗко томъ пѡбѡдѣтъ / въсѣка слава Ѡ ѣтъ Ѡ покланѣнїе. ѡцѣ Ѡ снѣ Ѡ сто/мъ дѡхъ. ннѣ Ѡ прїсно Ѡ въ вѣкы вѣкомъ. амннѣ. » (Nous glorifions notre Dieu aux cieux, afin que les saints anges se réjouissent de nous et [...] rendent gloire à Dieu, à qui appartiennent la gloire, l'honneur et l'adoration, au Père, au Fils et au Saint Esprit maintenant et toujours et dans les siècles des siècles. Amen). À la même f. 248v/21, le titre suivant, слѡво сѡмѡна месопо-фамїнскаго... s'achève par ѡ блвн « Bénissez, Père »⁴⁰.

Le ms. 160 était destiné *expressis verbis* à l'office divin (voir f. 285-286, Молнтва), faisant partie du *Prologue*⁴¹, et il comporte aussi la formule

³⁶ C. M. Briquet, II, p. 348, voir aussi et n^{os} 5982 et 5976.

³⁷ C. M. Briquet, II, p. 239, n^o 3774.

³⁸ C. M. Briquet, IV, p. 808, no 16044 attesté à Sienne, a.1373–1376, ou plutôt C. M. Briquet, II, p. 409, no 7481 (une hache du charpentier). Voir aussi la reproduction dans l'Annexe.

³⁹ Mircea signale aussi un ms. 351 (4882) à la Bibliothèque Nationale de la Roumanie, mais daté à la II^e moitié du XVI^e s. (I. R. Mircea, *Répertoire*, p. 57 et 237), avec le même *Slovo 50* à la f. 132v.

⁴⁰ Il n'a pas été transcrit dans le *Mss. sl. II*, p. 71.

⁴¹ A. A. Турилов, « Славянские переводы, рукописная и старопечатная традиция до XIX в. », in *Православная энциклопедия*, под редакцией Патриарха Московского и всея Руси Кирилла, т. 19 s.v. *Efrem* et en ligne <www.pravenc.ru/text/376984.html#part_33> (15.09.2020).

БЛАГОСЛОВИ « bénissez [père, que je lise] » f. 246v. À la même feuille, dans le titre ТОГОЖЕ ЕФРЕМА СИРІННА СЛОВО • ЕГДА ПРНДѢШѢ КЪ НЕМЪ БРАТІА • НЪ ВЪПРОСІШЪ НЪ Ѡ ДѢЛЕСЕ • НЪ МЫ, СЛѠ • КЪ • « Du même Ephrème le Syrien : Enseignement quand les frères sont venus à lui et l'ont questionné sur les œuvres, enseignements 22 » s'ensuivent deux termes essentiels Пролог « Prologue » et БЛАГОСЛОВИ « bénissez [père que je lise] », qui ont été omis. Également sont omis de la description de ce ms. les numéros des enseignements d'Ephrem: à la f. 201 *Slovo* [43], à la f. 210v *Slov(o)* [25], et ainsi la succession des discours ephrémiens est: 43, 23, 25, 26, 50 et deux autres encore sans numéro. Les 22 méditations de la f. 246v-261 ont, elles aussi, un titre chacune et portent les numéros 1-22. Les pages suivantes du *sbornic* contiennent de brefs enseignements (fragments?) d'Ephrem et à la f. 301v-306 (*Slovo* 47) et à la f. 306v-311 « *Discours sur la repentance* ».

Les indications explicatives qui apparaissent après les titres sont des repères précieux pour d'autres identifications aussi, tel que le constatait A. A. Turilov⁴², qui fait la différence entre deux rédactions à partir de ces suppléments de caractérisation textologique. Dans la première rédaction, l'explication est formulée ainsi: Книги святаго Ефрема, глаголемыя [une variante нареченныя] греческим [une variante сирским] языком Паренесис. Сказаетъ же ся Паренесис притча, утешенье, моление, поученье, наказанья потребная различно « Le livre de Saint Ephrem nommé *Parenesis*. Il s'appelle *parenesis* en grec – allégorie, consolation (réconfort), imploration (prière), conseil, correction (punition) nécessaire [de diverses manières] », tandis que l'annotation d'un texte ephrémien a une explication différente: Поучения душеполезная и повести умиления и утешения « Enseignements utiles à l'âme et récits de douceur et de réconfort » et est la preuve indéniable que l'écrit respectif fait partie de la deuxième rédaction de la traduction du *Parenesis*... Si l'on se guide d'après un titre du mss. 160 (à la f. 196v/25-28 et 265r/1): слово полезное... « Enseignements utiles à être lu chaque jour pour l'édification de l'âme », on peut supposer que le *sbornic* fait partie de la seconde rédaction.

La destination principale des enseignements ephrémiens était leur lecture lors de l'office divin, dans la période du *Triode* (notamment les discours portant sur *Le Second Avènement du Christ*) et lors des fêtes inscrites dans le *Ménologe*⁴³. Il est possible que ce soit une des raisons pour lesquelles, à partir du XIV^e siècle, bien peu d'exemplaires aient été copiés qui réunissent tous ses écrits dans un volume. On a préféré des recueils avec les divers enseignements que l'on lisait fréquemment, pour les avoir à portée de main parmi les livres usuelles des monastères. C'est une période où les écrits patristiques n'avaient pas encore commencé à être multipliés pour la lecture individuelle, à l'usage

⁴² A. A. Турилов, « Славянские переводы ».

⁴³ *Ibidem*.

d'un seul bénéficiaire. Les notices en slavon des copistes qui faisaient la transcription des textes pour leur propre usage sont plus tardives. Ni même les commanditaires de la multiplication de certains écrits ne faisaient cela pour un usage restreint, mais pour en faire don à des églises ou à des monastères, pour que les défunts de leur famille soient commémorés et les vivants bénéficient des prières de la communauté respective. Le fait que les écrits patristiques étaient destinés à l'usage des collectivités leur a assuré une large circulation sur de vastes territoires. Les exemplaires provenant de Bulgarie ou des monastères athonites sont dus à cette préoccupation d'enrichir les monastères des saints lieux des Pays Roumains (par exemple, la notice des copistes du ms. 315 consiste seulement en leur signature, avec la prière adressée à Dieu d'excuser leurs péchés (f. 254v). Mais, dans le ms. 160, après plus de 200 ans, en 1734, un moine nommé Lazăr note, déjà en roumain, l'impression après sa lecture en slavon: „O, de folos și sufletesc lucru este întru această carte, carele și eu smeritul și mult păcătosul o am cetit preste tot...” (« O, qu'il est utile et édificateur pour l'âme ce livre, que moi, l'humble pêcheur, j'ai lu d'un bout à l'autre... »), (f. 2v, la feuille a été ajoutée au XVII^e siècle).

En proposant l'édition intégrale du texte des deux mss. analysés, nous avons voulu mettre à la portée des chercheurs la transcription avec rigueur de tous les aspects graphiques de l'écriture. Les différences intervenues sous la plume du copiste ne pourraient être relevées que dans la situation où l'archétype d'après lequel était copié le texte est déterminé sans aucun doute possible. Dans le cas présent, comme l'incertitude visant la localisation de la transcription persiste, il convient que les différences de graphie ou de la manière de laquelle les copistes ont respecté les normes orthographiques soient observées à travers tout le texte et non seulement dans les exemples mis en évidence.

Le texte du *Slovo 50* s'avère identique dans les deux manuscrits. Les modifications constatées dans leurs textes nous déterminent à affirmer que les deux manuscrits ont été copiés indépendamment l'un de l'autre, même si les prototypes attestent la même rédaction (la deuxième) de la traduction⁴⁴.

Les arguments invoqués et la datation d'I. R. Mircea convergent à nous faire affirmer que les actuelles f. 222-257 du *sbornic* 315 ont été écrites, selon des informations que l'analyse des feuilles peut fournir, dans un scriptorium de Bulgarie.

L'ancienneté des deux mss. peut être confirmée aussi par l'argument que le *Slovo 50* n'a pas été séparé en fragments, tel qu'il apparaît dans le codex Lesnovo, Mihanovici⁴⁵. Les incipits cités par Thomson : БѠЛѢЗНЬ НѠДНТЪ МА НЪРЕЩН... [cf. 160/215r ; 315/222r] ; Понеже оубо мнрь <сего> втврелъ сѧ... [cf.

⁴⁴ Voir ci-dessus note 43.

⁴⁵ Voir ci-dessus note 21 : F. J. Thomson, « The Old Bulgarian Translation », p. 128, note 73.

ms. 160 f. 225v ; ms. 315 f. 231v] ; ВЪНЕМАН <ουβο> сѣбѣ еда въ оунынне... [cf. ms. 160 f. 231v ; dans le ms. 315 la feuille avec ce texte manque] ; Безъ лица нице естъ зѣрцало... [cf. ms. 160 f. 237v ; ms. 315 f. 239v] ne sont pas numérotés séparément et quelques-uns annoncent seulement le commencement d'un nouveau alinéa (ms. 160 f. 215r, 231v et 237v), tandis que dans le ms. 160, f. 225v, l'incipit ne commence pas un passage à l'alinéa. Le texte du ms. 315 n'a pas des paragraphes, ni des lettres initiales en rouge.

En reproduisant le texte ephrémien de la f. 222r-248v (ms. 315) nous avons observé qu'après la feuille 229v le texte n'a plus de continuité. Le manuscrit a subi des dégâts lors de la manipulation, des feuilles ont été déplacées. Dans l'observation de l'intégrité du texte du ms. 315, la comparaison avec le texte du ms. 160 était utile car cela nous a permis d'identifier la feuille manquante d'après la f. 229v. Nous avons pu identifier une feuille (volante), numérotée maintenant f. 243r-v qui contient la suite du texte après la f. 229v. La feuille 243 présente maintenant d'abord le texte du verso et puis la continuation sur le recto, elle fut attachée au talon inversement. Cela est advenu pendant la reliure du volume, qui a dû être réalisée tout juste après l'achèvement de la rédaction du *sbornic*, ou la feuille a été détachée peut-être de sa place dans une période plus proche de nos jours. Le manuscrit tout entier était numéroté comme tel au XX^e siècle.

Du point de vue de la graphie, on peut observer la différence entre les particularités graphiques du texte de la f. 222-248, ms. 315 et celle du ms.160. Les deux textes publiés reproduisent exactement la graphie. Leur ancienneté remontant à la même période se révèle par les graphèmes utilisés. La lettre o (avec des yeux) apparaît dans le ms. 315 depuis la f. 1, et dans le ms. 160, à diverses feuilles. On observe des préférences d'orthographe avec le *ier* [ѣ], tandis que dans le ms. 160 est utilisé plutôt le *ior* [ъ, еръ] et le *iéri* [ы, еры], et tous les autres doublets de lettres : *iāti* [ѣ, ѣтъ], *iāco* [ѣ], *ius* (petit) [ѣ] et *ius* (grand)[ѣ]. L'inventaire des signes employés est presque complet, mais on ne rencontre pas : ѣ ψ κ ѣ et ѣ. C'est seulement le copiste du ms. 160 qui a employé la lettre z : ms. 160 f. 227 γρѣтозѣ ; ms. 315 f. 233 γρѣτοгѣ // ms. 160 f. 233 ποδβηζαѣт / ms. 315 f. 236 ποδβηζαѣт. Celui qui a copié le ms. 315 a employé z ou l'a changé.

Des différences se trouvent aussi dans la manière d'orthographe : ms. 160 f. 218 м̄. н̄. лѣтъ ; ms. 315 f. 225 ѣтырѣдесѣ н̄ пѣдесѣтъ лѣт // ms. 160 f. 219 αν̄δ̄η̄χ̄ρισ̄το̄βα ; ms. 315 f. 227 αν̄τῑχ̄ρῑστο̄βα // ms. 160 f. 242v ѣ. тысѣць ѣ пѣтѣн̄ хлѣбѣ ; ms. 315/245v пѣтъ тысѣць ѣ. пѣтѣн̄ хлѣбѣ.

La majorité des différences est lexicale ; des synonymes et des variantes sont les témoins des habitudes du langage des copistes. Une autre explication prend en compte les prototypes de différentes rédactions, mais parfois les mots remplacés dans un endroit sont employés dans des phrases suivantes du même texte. L'intervention délibérée des copistes nous semble moins plausible.

Différences lexicales. Voici les exemples excerptés:

ms. 160	ms. 315
215r, passim ζεμλη	225r, passim ζεμη
215r Δοβρο	222r соυλε ⁴⁶
233r Δοβρѣн	236r соулѣ
217v Δοβροε	224v Δοβροε
216r ρ̂н	223r ρад'ма
217v можешн б̄вн оӯгоΔнтн	225r можешн б̄оӯ оӯгоΔнтн
218r в̄нemaн блнжнкы своeго	225r в̄нemaн блнжннка своeго
218r γнстoм̄ жнтнeм̄ пoжншe	225v γнстoм̄ жнтнeм̄ пoжншѣ
218r ѣр̄цстѣ н̄с̄х̄шн	225r ѣр̄цстѣ ѡс̄х̄'шн
219r Δнвна зѣв̄р̄а	227r Δ'внаго жнвoтa
219r ѡк̄р̄тѣ к̄oв̄чeгa стoп̄цe	227r ѡк̄р̄тѣ кнвoтa в̄д̄в̄р̄ѣм̄з̄и
219v рoж̄ствa	227r ρωδ̄ствa
220r Δoнтн ΔoшeΔшaгo, ρaΔн злaа	227v-228r Δoнтн нaшeΔшaгo ρaΔн злaа
220r в̄зл̄oбeлeннцн мoн	228r лoбeннцн мoн
220v тeк̄ж̄тѣ с̄ ρaΔoстнa	228v ж̄н̄ж̄тѣ с̄ ρaΔoстнѣ
221r ѡб̄р̄aцeм̄ сa нeгoтoвн; нeпpнoγгoтoвaнн н с̄в̄зaв̄шe	228r ѡб̄р̄aцeм̄ сa нeгoтoвлeнн· н̄ с̄в̄зaв̄шe
221r стaжaтн· н̄ с̄в̄тнaльннкы с̄в̄тeлы	229r с̄в̄щ̄ӣк̄ с̄в̄тaл̄з̄и
221r в̄ с̄с̄п̄д̄ѣх̄ь, нaшнх̄ в̄з̄aтн	229r в̄ с̄с̄п̄д̄ѣ вaшн̄ в̄з̄aтн
221v ѡ γ̄p̄тoгa ѡнoγω	229r н̄з̄ γ̄p̄тo/гa ѡнoγω
222r слoвa ρaΔн ѡ̄в̄р̄зeтѣ с̄р̄цe	229v слoвa Δ'б̄л̄мa, нoγp̄ѣтѣ с̄р̄цe
222r с̄ты пoр̄ж̄гaннo б̄д̄eтѣ	229v oγ̄ст̄з̄и пoр̄ж̄чeнo б̄д̄eт̄e

⁴⁶ Mais des fluctuations sont présentes : ms. 160 217v Δοβροε – ms. 315, f. 224 Δοβροε.

223г ДѢЛАТЕЛЬ ѿ	243г ДАТЕЛЬ ѿ
222v ПОЗНАЕМЪ БЫВАЕТЪ	243г ПОЗНАНЪ БЫВАЕТЪ
223г Н ЕСТВО ТА ПОГНАНА ЕСТА	243г Н ЕСТВО ТА ПОГНАНА ЕСТА
223v ОУЧЕНТЕЛЪ Н СВѢТНАНКА	230г ОУЧЕНТЕЛЪ Н СВѢТНАНКА
224v НЦѢЛЕНІЕ ЖЕ Н МЪЗДЫ· МОЖЕ/ТЬ 8ВѠ НЦѢЛЕНТИ ВЪСѢХЪ	230v Н ЦѢЛЕНІЕ ЖЕ Н МЪЗ'ДЫ, МОЖЕТЬ / оубо НЦѢЛЕНТИ ВЪСѢ
224v скó/рw	231г боурно
225v ТЕБЕ ПОЗНАВАЛЪ	231v ТЕБЕ ПОЗВАЛЪ
225v НА ЖѢЖѢ ПОЗОВАНЪ ЕСИ	231v НА ЖѢЖѢ ПОЗВАНЪ ЕСИ
227г НИЧТО СИХЪ ПРѢП'ОСЛЕШИ	232v НИЧТОЖЕ С'Н ПРѢП'ОСЛЕШИ
227г, 228v, 229г ѿ	233г ГОД'НА, 234v ГОДНИКЪ
227v ЯКО Ѡ ПРАЗНѢ Р'БУН ВЪЗДАСИ СЛОВО	233г ЯКО Ѡ ПРАЗНѢ СЛОВѢ ВЪЗДАСИ СЛОВО
227v БРАШНО МОЕ ГОТОВО	233v БРАШНО МОЕ ПОЖРЕНО
228г КТО ВЪВЕДЫН ВЪ	233v КТО ВЪВЕД'И ВАСЪ
228г ПРѢМЪ ЖЕ СЕГО	233v ПРѢЖЕДЕ СЕГО
228 НЖЕ ОТНДЕ СЪ ДРЪЗНОВЕННЕМЪ	234г НЖЕ ОТНДЕТЬ СЪ ДРЪЗНОВЕННЕМЪ
228г РАБЪ СВОИХЪ ТВОРАЩИХЪ	234г РАБЪ СВОИ ТВОРИШИИ
228г НЖЕ ПРИИШѢ	234г ЖЕ НЖЕ ПРИИШѢ
228г ЯКОВѢМЪ ЖЕ ѠБРАЗУМЪ СЬНОМЪ ТАЖЬКМЪ, ѠБРЪЖИМОМЪ	234г ЯЦѢМ' ЖЕ ѠБРАЗОМЪ СЬНОМЪ ТАШКОМЪ ѠБРЪЖИМО БЫВАЕТЪ
228v СТРАШЕНЪ ПОТЕЧЕТЪ	234г СТРАШНЫН ПОТЕЧЕТЪ
228v ЯКО МАНН ЛЮТАА	234г ЯКО МАНН ЛЮТА
229г ННОУБСКИН УННЪ	234v УРН'ЦН
233v ЕСТЬ Н НЕ КСНИТЬ	236г ЕСТЬ Н НЕ МДНТЬ
233v БЫШОУ ГЛАСЪ ТОМЪ	236v БЫШОУ ВЕПЮ ТОМЪ
235г ВЫШЕ МѢРЫ	238г ЛНШЕ МѢРЫ
236г УЗСТНО ХВН	238v СТНО ХВН
236г НА НСТВОСТВО ГРАДЕТЬ	238v НА НСТВОСТВО ГРАДЕТЬ
236г НЕ ѠСТАВЛѢТЬ ННОДЪШНО	238v НЕ ѠСТАВЛѢТЬ ЕДННОДЪШНО ⁴⁷
246г Н ННОДЪШНО ПОВѢЖДАЩЕ	248г Н ЕДННОДЪШНО ПОВѢЖДАЩЕ

⁴⁷ Mais supra, à la même f., dans les deux mss. елнкоже ннодъшно.

236v ѡковѣмъ же ѡбразомъ	239г ѡцѣм' же ѡбразомъ
236v оубо нн малѡ	239г лнбо н малы
237г прнѣмлетъ нхъ	239v прїнметъ н•
237г въ ѡуаанне прнведетъ	239v въ нечаанїе прнведетъ
237г 8годнтн бѣн	239v оѹгоднтъ гѣн
238v стѣтн радн	241г радн сластї
239г безъ добродѣтѣлен разлнчннхъ	241г доброты разлнчннѣ дѣтѣленї
239г добродѣтѣлнна	241v дѣтѣлн добротннѣ
239г добродѣтѣлн оукрашена	241v доброты оукрашена
240г тоже нн нзвѣдошѣ	242г нн въ ѹтоже вѣмѣнншѣ
240v вѣсѣкомъ дѣломъ	242v вѣсѣцѣмъ дѣломъ
240v повѣдѣ бѣн	242v повѣдѣ гѣн
241v вѣсѣхѡтѣ	244v похотѣ
242г подаваѣщомоу	245г подаваѣщомоу
243v нсплннтн са нмъ ѡ блгѣтн	246v нсплннтн са н оѹмъ ѡ блгѣтн
244 н цо рекѣ	246v н цто рекѣ
244 прнтѣрнна сѣтъ	246v прнтѣрнна сѣ
246 самъ бѡ немоцень	248г сам' же немоцень
246 ѡкоже прахъ гоннмъ бываетъ	248v ѡкоже прахъ женомъ бываетъ

Changement de l'ordre des mots:

ms. 160	ms. 315
218v вѣсѣ подробноу поунтаѣ	226г подробноу вѣсѣ поунтаѣ
218v смѣсно естъ нменн его	226v смѣсно нменн его естъ
221г ннктоже тамо не вѣхѡнтъ	229г ннк'тоже вѣходѣ тамо
222г дверн не нмаще	229v не нмаще дверн
223г прѣвое нспытно	243v нспытно прѣвоеѡ
226г ѡко братна сѣ намн	232г с намн ѡко братѣа
227v польза въ днѣ естъ	233г пол'за естъ въ днѣ
228г кто оубѡ ѡтндеть когда безъ брашна	233v Кто оѹбо когда ѡтндеть без' брашна
229v плакатн са к томѣ	235г к томоу плакатн са
233г ѡунн тебе естъ татъ	236г ѡне естъ тебе татъ

233г добрѣн тебе ѿ	236г соулѣ ѿ тебе
233г не бы никакоже	236г никакоже не бы
235г велин хвѣшнн	238г весма хвѣшнн
236в ѿ своёмъ спсєнн	239г ѿ спснн своёмъ
237г блгѣ бжнн прнзѣваѣ	239в блгѣтѣ прнзѣваѣ бжнн
237в члвкѣ же ѣстѣ подобатн н възыскатн, н прнзватн	240г члвкѣу же ѣстѣ подоба прнзватн н възыскатн
238г своего гѣ	240в гѣ своего
238в радостн н веселна	241г веселїа н радостн
245г стѣнн аплы его знаменалъ ѿ	247в стѣнн ѿго аплы знаменалъ ѣсть
245в печалъ наводнтѣ дѣлателю	248г наводнн печалъ дѣлателю

Différences grammaticales :

ms. 160	ms. 315
218г всєлн сѣ въ него	226г въселѣт сѣ въ него
218г всєлнтн сѣ въ та. таковн	226г всєлнтн въ себе, таковын
218в всєлнт сѣ въ ны	226г всєлнт сѣ въ нѣ
218г нарєченнаго въ нѣ	226г нарєчєновѣмѣу въ нѣ
219в подобает сѣ всємѣу свѣршнтн	227г пѣбаѣт сѣ всѣ свѣршнтн
223в ꙗко да прнсѣднтѣ	230г ꙗко да прнсѣдѣ
228в прѣсн своѣхъ	234г прѣсн своѣ
228в ѡбѣмлетѣ ѣ	234г ѡбѣнметѣ ѣ
237в кто нсправнтѣ сѣбе	240г, 248г нсправнѣ себе, нсправнѣ сѣбѣ
239г ѣсть црѣскѣ вѣнцоу	241в ѿ црѣкомѣ вѣнцѣ
243в несмыслєнѣ, н ѡумѣдрнх сѣ	246г несмыслєнѣ, ѡмѣдрєнѣ бы.
243в ѡврѣзе сѣ срѣцємѣ ѡуста раба	246г ѡврѣзе сѣ срѣце моѣ н ѡуста раба

Le pronom $\widehat{н}$ / $\widehat{н}$ (signifiant *ego*) est employé dans le ms. 160 f. 224, 227, 236, 237, à lui correspond dans le ms. 315 f. 230 et 239 – *ego*, des exemples: ms. 160 f. 224 прннметѣ $\widehat{н}$ н подѣ емѣ ; ms. 315 f. 230 прннметѣ $\widehat{егѡ}$ н подѣстѣ емѣ ; ms. 160 f. 236 нннзложнтѣ $\widehat{н}$; ms. 315 f. 239 н ннзложнтѣ $\widehat{егѡ}$; ms. 160 f. 237 прнвѣдетѣ $\widehat{н}$; ms. 315 f. 239 прнвѣдетѣ $\widehat{егѡ}$; mais à la même f., après quelques mots: ms. 160 f. 237 застѣпнтѣ $\widehat{н}$; ms. 315 f. 239 застѣпнтѣ $\widehat{н}$ dans les deux

mss., tout comme à la ms. 160 f. 227 $\text{СЛАВОСЛОВЪЦАДО} \hat{\text{Н}} \cdot \hat{\text{Н}} \text{УА}/\bar{\text{П}}$; ms. 315 f. 233 $\text{СЛАВОСЛОВЪЦА}/\text{ГО} \hat{\text{Н}} \cdot \hat{\text{Н}} \text{УА}\bar{\text{П}}$.

Nous supposons que les prototypes étaient de la même rédaction, mais ces manuscrits proviennent de deux scriptoria, probablement de la Bulgarie. C'est possible aussi qu'un monastère d'Athos aurait pu être le lieu d'origine. Parce que les textes étaient destinés aux offices, les interventions des copistes se sont avérées occasionnelles.

Les filigranes identifiés maintenant pour la première fois correspondent tout à fait à la datation de I. R. Mircea. Je suis convaincue que les codex 315 (f. 222-257) et 160 sont indubitablement du XIV^e siècle, et qu'ils ont été écrits, selon tous les renseignements que l'analyse des feuilles peut fournir (les filigranes étant dissemblables), dans deux scriptoria ou dans un scriptorium, mais à une distance temporelle.

ANNEXES

Par la sollicitude de M. Andrei Timotin, directeur de l'Institut des études sud-est européennes, j'ai reçu des fac-similés des mss. 160 et 315 de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine pour pouvoir achever l'analyse des codex ephrémiens ; je lui remercie pour l'attention pendant la pandémie. Dans la *note d'éditeur* je veux préciser que j'ai employé les abréviations habituelles. J'ai souligné les mots qui se trouvent seulement dans un manuscrit. J'ai marqué par italiques le lieu où se trouve la feuille disloquée dans le ms. 315.

Suivent les textes des mss. 160 et 315 de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine, ainsi que deux fac-similés et une planche de filigranes.

Le manuscrit 160 de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine

(f. 215) $\text{ПООУЧЕННЕ} \text{СТГО} \hat{\text{Е}}\text{ФРЕМ} \hat{\text{С}}\hat{\text{Н}}\hat{\text{Р}} : \text{СЛ} \hat{\text{О}} : \hat{\text{Н}} : \text{—}$

$\text{Б} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{З}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \text{Н} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Т}} \hat{\text{В}} \text{М} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{З}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Ц}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{Н}} \cdot \hat{\text{Н}} / \text{Н} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{Т}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Е}} \cdot \hat{\text{З}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Ц}} \hat{\text{А}} / \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{T}} \text{М} \hat{\text{Н}}$
 $\text{М} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{У}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{Н}} \cdot \text{Б} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{З}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{Ц}} \hat{\text{А}} / \text{М} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Г}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Ц}} \hat{\text{А}} / \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{Н}}, \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Г}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Н}} \text{В} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{Н}} /$
 $\text{М} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{У}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{Н}} \cdot \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Ж}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Е}} / \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Ж}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Б}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{Ь}}, \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{У}} \hat{\text{Е}} / \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Б}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Г}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{Н}} \cdot \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{А}}$
 $\hat{\text{У}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{Ц}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Г}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Ц}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Т}} \hat{\text{Н}} \cdot \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{Ш}} \hat{\text{А}} / \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{Ж}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \cdot \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{У}} \hat{\text{У}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Ж}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{Ь}} /$
 $\text{С} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{З}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \cdot \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{У}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Т}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Ь}} // \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Ц}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \cdot \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Т}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{Я}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{Ш}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{П}} \cdot \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{И}}$
 $\hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Ж}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{Ы}} \hat{\text{П}} \cdot \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Б}} \hat{\text{Ы}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Е}} / \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{Ы}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{В}} / \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Ш}} \hat{\text{А}} \cdot \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Ж}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Ь}} / \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{Я}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{Ь}}$
 $\text{С} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{Н}} \cdot \hat{\text{Г}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{Ы}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Н}} / \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{З}} \hat{\text{Ы}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{У}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Х}} \hat{\text{Ь}}, / \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{Б}} \hat{\text{Ы}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{А}}$
 $\hat{\text{Ц}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{А}} \cdot \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Ц}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{О}} / \hat{\text{Б}} \hat{\text{Ы}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Ш}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Ы}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Ц}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Ш}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Х}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \cdot / \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Ж}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Ш}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{К}} \hat{\text{О}}$
 $\text{С} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{З}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{Н}} \cdot \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Ж}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ш}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{Ь}} / \hat{\text{Т}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{У}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Ц}} \hat{\text{А}} \cdot \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{К}} \hat{\text{Ь}},$
 $\hat{\text{Г}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Н}} / \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{У}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ы}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Х}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \cdot \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Ш}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{К}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{У}} \hat{\text{Б}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Г}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Ц}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{Н}} \cdot \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Х}} \hat{\text{Ь}} / \hat{\text{Ж}} \hat{\text{Е}}$
 $\text{М} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Г}} \hat{\text{Ы}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{У}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{Ы}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{Н}}, \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{А}} / \hat{\text{Г}} \hat{\text{У}} \hat{\text{Ж}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{А}} \cdot \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{С}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{В}} \hat{\text{Ь}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{З}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{П}} \hat{\text{О}} \hat{\text{Д}} \hat{\text{Р}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{Ж}} \hat{\text{А}} \hat{\text{T}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Л}} \hat{\text{Е}} \hat{\text{Н}} \hat{\text{И}} \hat{\text{М}} \hat{\text{Ь}}$

бышѣ. кто бѣ ѿ / внда добрѣ смѣренне ѿ цѣломѣдрне, не покаа са. ѿли кротостъ нѣхъ / ѿ беззъмльвне не поудн са. кто / богатолюбець, когда вндаѣвь ѿ / ницетѣ. ненавстннкъ мнрѣ / бѣ. кто хыщннкъ ѿли грѣдыннкъ / вндаѣвь чнстое нѣхъ жнтне ѿ добрѣ, / не прѣложн сѣбе. которын же лии / блѣннкъ ѿли скверннкъ вндаѣвь / чнстое нѣхъ жнтне, ѿ на мѣтвѣ вндаѣвь нѣхъ стоѣща, цѣломѣдрѣа. / ѿвне ѿ чнстъ не бѣ. ѿли которын гнѣвлнвѣ ѿ напрасннвѣ бесѣдѣ съ нѣн; // (f. 216) на кротостъ не прѣложн сѣбе. зде нѣнѣ / подвнзѣащѣ са. ѿ тамѣ радѣт са. ѿко бѣ прослвн са ѿмн, ѿ бѣ / првслвн нѣхъ. ѿ члѣщн сззданн бышѣ. наше же ѿбѣщанне ѿставльше правыѣ пѣтн. ѿпаѣмн стѣнѣ/мѣ ѿ дебелымн пѣтмн хѣднтн. не / бо есть вѣ ннѣшнее врѣма бѣ рѣн / ѿходѣащаго во[га]тѣства своего. нѣже ѿ жнзнн вѣ[р]нынѣ дѣлама покарѣ/ѣщаго са.

Нѣстъ кротокъ ѿ смѣренѣ. нѣ беззъмльвнѣ ѿ блѣгостро/ннѣ. ннже ѿстъ досаѣаемъ ѿ трѣпа. / нн ѿклеветаваемъ, ѿ пожндаѣ. / нѣ всн прѣкословчн. ѿ всн гнѣвлнвн. вѣсн наглн, вѣсн ѿрн. вѣсн рнзамн ѿкрашенн. вѣсн тыще/славнн. вѣсн славѣлюбчн. прнхо/дѣн ѿбѣщавъ са. ѿбѣщаетъ / прѣжде ѿбѣщанѣа. ѿ прѣжде на/выкновенѣа, законодавецъ крѣ/покъ показѣет са. прѣжде прн/ѣтна, мѣдрѣстветъ. ѿ прѣже / покоренѣа, покарѣетъ. ѿ прѣже повелѣнна, повелѣваетъ. ѿ / прѣже наказанна, наказѣетъ. / ѿ аще стѣрѣншнна есть, съ грѣдыне/ѣ повелѣваетъ. аще же юнѣ ѿстъ; // ѿвне съпротнвѣѣѣщаетъ. аще бога/тъ есть. ѿвне чѣстъ вѣзыщеть. аще / ннщѣ ѿ покон вѣпрашаеть. ѿ аще дѣлаатель есть ѿвне прѣсты млада ѿтрѣ/бѣетъ.

Кто ѿбо любнмчн мон не / плаѣет са нашего ѿбѣщанна. ѿже бѣ / тѣкмо мнра ѿврѣгыше са, земны/мн печем са. земнн, нерадншѣ ѿ / землн. ѿ мнѣщѣ са вытн дѣховнн. / прнвѣзанн бышѣ на землн. не вѣ/мы ли братне камо позованн есмы. / не вѣмы ли камо прнходнмъ любнмчн. на вѣздрѣжанне позованн бы/хомъ, н добрѣлюбезнаа брѣшна / любнмъ. вѣ нагѣтѣ прѣндѣхомъ. / ѿ ѿ ѿдеѣахъ свѣрѣем са. вѣ покорѣ / званн есмы, н всн прѣрѣквемъ. / вѣ кротостъ ѿ смѣреномѣдрне прѣ/ндѣхомъ. ѿ всн грѣднм са. свѣ/дѣщен не съвѣмы. ѿ слышѣще вѣ / ѿшеса наша не вѣнмаемъ. аще / кто вѣнезапѣ вѣ развѣдѣннкы / вѣпадѣтъ. ѿзмѣнт са ѿмѣ лнще / ѿ сѣемъ ѿбонт са. мы же ѿвнѣнѣ / дѣлы, н каменемъ повнѣнѣн / прѣрѣкы чѣтѣще. не вѣнм са. ѿ что / гла ѿ дѣлѣхъ ѿ прѣщѣхъ. самого / бѣ ѿвѣшена на дѣвѣ. ѿ распѣта грѣ // (f. 217) радн нашн. слышѣще ѿ чѣтѣще. гламн/м са ѿ смѣем са.

Слнце оубо не тръ/па досажѣнїа влѣна. свѣтъ свон прѣлѣ/жн въ тѣмѣ.
мы же ѿ злѣ/бы нашеѣ, / прѣложити себѣ не хоцѣмъ. загона / црѣкенаа ннѣзсѣже
сзгрѣшнвшн сама / себѣ раздра. мы же грѣхъ ради / нашнхъ. / срѣца нашего не
можемъ сыкроушити на / покаанне. землѣ вынѣ бвѣщн са / ѿ лица гнѣ,
трепещеть ѿ колѣбнт са / пѣ намн. страхъ творачн. ѿ тако/жѣ не боѿм са.
градове / потопншѣ ѿ. / ѿ мѣста ѡпоустѣшѣ ѿ гнѣва бѣжна. / ѿ ннкакоже не
оустрашнхѣмъ себѣ. /

Слнце ѣднноѣ ѿ два крѣты помрачн / са на нѣ. нѣ тако себѣ не
вбоахѣмъ. / бранн перѣскыѣ ѿ варѣварѣскыѣ поѿ/дшѣ, ѿ поустѣ сзтворншѣ
странѣ / нашѣ. да мы са бѣ оубонмъ ѿ прїнде/мъ въ п[о]каанне. ѿ трѣвоуемъ
пока/анїа многа. не на днѣ просто ѿли на / мѣсаць. нѣ на лѣта многа. тако /
не прѣклоннхѣмъ са на покаанне. / покаѿмъ са ннѣ братне моа любн/маа. да бѣ
мнолостнѣ сзтворнмъ. / ѿ грѣсѣхъ нашнхъ. помѿнмъ ѿ, ѿко / прѣгнѣвахѣмъ ѿ.
смрѣмъ са смѣреннѣмъ, да ны възнесѣтъ. рыданїѣ // зде, да тамо възвесѣлнмъ са.
плачѣмъ са / зде, да тамо стѣшнмъ са. ѿвръзѣмъ ѿ / себѣ плѣтѣскѣ пѣчаль ѿ
злыи ѿвычан. / ѿ ѿблѣцѣмъ са дѣвѣрѣдѣтѣлаа, ѿко рн/зѣѣ. пѣ же мы
сподобнвшн са ѿггѣ/лѣскѣмоу жнтнѣ. ѣн любнмнцн мон. / възмѣмъ мѣрѣ
правнло доброѣ ѿно сѣ/врѣшеннхъ ѿцѣ бывшнхъ прѣжде нѣ. / да не днѣ оубо
вздрѣжав са, оутро не / сѣмнншн са. да не днѣ воды не пнѣ, ѿ/трѣ вна
вззыцѣшн. не днѣ сапозн. / ѿ оутро оушачн ѿ канга. не днѣ властѣ/ны рнзы. ѿ
оутро многоцѣнны рнзы. / не днѣ ѿзѣжданне, ѿ оутро зкращенїѣ. / не днѣ
кротокъ ѿ смѣрѣ, ѿ оутро велнчавѣ. не днѣ плачѣмъ ѿ рыданнѣмъ. / ѿ оутро
смѣхѣмъ бесѣнслѣннѣмъ. нѣ / днѣ на землн дѣлѣганне. ѿ оутро на / ѿдрѣ
лѣганне. нѣ правнло ѿмѣн себѣ / любнмнчѣ мон. ѿмѣже можешн бѣн /
оугоднтн. ѿ себѣ ѿ блнжнемоу сн по/трѣбенѣ бытн. ѿце же оубо себѣ ѿ/мрѣтѣнтн
хѣшѣшн, ѣдннѣ ѣсн слѣ/жѣ не ѿсѣждан дрѣжнны своѣѣ. ѿцѣ / лн же сѣ многоа
сн. послѣшан влѣкы рѣ/кша, ѿкоже хѣщете да творатѣ / вамъ ѿлѣцн. ѿ вы
творнте ѿмѣ тако/жѣ. ѿце лн нѣжѣ тн естѣ слѣжнтн. // (f. 218) ѿ оумрѣцѣнїа
ради тѣлеснааго. взне/ман блнжнкы своѣго оубѣ не ѿтыцѣтн. / сѣго бѣ ради
сѣврѣшенн ѿцн ѿснова/вшѣ себѣ въ ѣдннѣмъ правнлѣ. сѣврѣшенн ѿвѣтѣшѣ са.
ѿ наѣнѣше конѣ/чашѣ дѣ конѣнны своѣѣ безѣ прѣтѣ/кновенна. сѣврѣшнвшѣ
наѣатѣѣ ѿмн / .м. н ѿ. лѣтѣ ѿхѣже не ѿзмѣнншѣ пра/внла своѣгѣ. ѣже ѣстѣ
вздрѣжанне, / дѣвѣро ѿ ѣуднѣ. ѿ пѣзыкѣ ѿдрѣжавше. / на гѣлѣ землн
падѣннѣмъ же ѿ смѣрѣ/ноѣ мѣдрѣстнѣ. ѣрѣнѣѣствовавше. / кротѣстнѣ. вѣроа, ѿ

лювѡвна съврѣ/шенѡа, ѡ дѣховномъ създаннемъ. на/дѣ смнн же всѣмн ницетоа. ѡ ѡ вѣсѣ/го земнаа оудалнвшѣ са. тнхостна ѡ чн/стомъ жнтнемъ пожнвшѣ. вѣдѣнне/мъ же ѡ млтвоа частоа. съ покаянїе/мъ же многомъ ѡ съ слъзамн. смѣхъ / же ѡ до ѡскабленїа же ѡврѣгше са. / грѣдынн же ѡмн попрана бѣ. гнѣвъ ѡ / ѡрѡстѣ ѡсѣхшн ѡщеѣ ѡ ннхъ. злато ѡ / сребро оуѡннчнжено ѡмн бѣ. самн сѣ/вѣ ѡдноа ѡ сѣго ѡчнстншѣ са. сѣго / радн ѡ бѣ всѣлн са въ на. ѡ въ ннхъ / прославн са. ѡ ѡмѣтаѣщѣн са. слы/шавше ѡ ннхъ бѣ прославншѣ. ѡбо / ѡще кто не ѡчнстнт сѣбе ѡ всѣкоа злы // вѣщн, ѡ помыслъ скврѣнемъ, ѡ похотн / злы. ѡ ѡрѡстѣ ѡ гнѣвъ. грѣдына тѣ/цеславна. ненавнстн. прѣкословна. / клеветы, бѣдн. несъмнѣнїа. ѡ что / ѡнѣ всѣ подробноу поунтаѣ. ѡ вѣсѣ/го ѡже ненавнднтѣ бѣ. ѡще кто не ѡвратнт са. не ѡматѣ всѣлѣщаго са / хѣ. ѡгда бо далече вѣсѣ то ѡстѣпн / ѡ него. тогда всѣлн са въ него бѣ: — /

Рѣцн бѡ мн ты самъ. ѡще бн хотѣлъ / кто вѣрѣщн та въ ровъ. ѡко вынѣ / да бн тоу былъ. не бн лн помнналъ на нь / тогѡ. ѡще бѡ ты оубѡ ѡрѣнецъ сын. / не трѣпншн сѣго творнтн. како хо/щемъ мы бескврѣннааго ѡ прѣтаго; / ѡдноаго сѣта ѡ на сѣтынхъ поунваѣща/го всѣлнтн са въ та. таковн сѣще / скврѣннн ѡ злосмрадннн. ѡ сѣго го/рѣе. тѣмъже ѡчнстнмъ сѣбе любн/мнцн. да всѣлнт са въ ны н бѣ. ѡ пѣлвчнмъ ѡвѣтованне ѡго. не доса/днмъ ѡмннн ѡго сѣтомуу нарече/ннааго въ на. ѡ на радн похочено / бѣдетѣ ѡма бѣ нашего. пощѣдн/мъ сѣбе ѡ разоумѣннмъ, ѡко ѡма / наше смѣсно естѣ ѡмннн ѡго. по/неже оубѡ бѣ сън нарнчет са мы / же чнстннане бѣжнн, дѣхъ ѡсмы ѡ дѣхо/(f. 219)внн быхѡмъ. ѡдеже бо дѣхъ гнѣ тѣ свобѡа. / потѣщнмъ са ѡнѣ да полвчнмъ свобѡа / сна. поразоумѣннмъ котормъ жнтню спѡбленн быхомъ. оувѣднмъ ѡко на бра/къ свон зваль ны ѡ естѣ. вѣжделѣннмъ / егѡ, да ѡ прославнт нын. вѣнемлѣ/те сѣвѣ, да не свѣбѣ бѣды вѣдѣ / намъ въ дѣнъ сѣдѣннн. ѡшѣдше ѡбѡ / мнра. мнрѡмъ же пакы пекѣще ѡ. / ѡ пѣлѣтѣскынхъ бѣжавше. таже гонѣ/ще. тѣмъже боа са ѡда напрасно на/ѡдетѣ на нын дѣнъ ѡнѣ. ѡ ѡбращемъ ѡ / назн ѡ стѣтнн. ѡ непрнготованн по/славше сѣбе. снцѣва бѡ любѣахѣ / ѡ въ дѣнн ноены. ѡдѣхѣ. пннхъ. же/нѣахѣ са ѡ посагаахѣ. ѡ коупла тво/рѣаахѣ. дондеже прнде потопъ н по/гоубн вса. днвно бо бѣ въ ѡстннѣ / тогда вндѣтн вещь тѣ страшнѣа, / братне. зраще днвна звѣра сѣбнраѣмы въ ѡдно мѣсто. слоны ѡ енѣ/днѣ (!) н перѣсндѣ градѣщѣа. лвы же / ѡ рысы съ ѡвѣцамн ѡ козамн смѣше/нын. ѡ кѣжѡ дрѣга дрѣга не врѣжа/ѣ. гадн ѡ птнца перѣнаты ннкомъже / гонѣщѣ градѣщѣ. ѡ вкѣртѣ кѡ/вѣега стоѣще. ѡ сѣ по дѣнехъ довольтѣ / самомъ ноенн

ПОТЪЦАВШЬ СѦ ѸГООВАТИ // КНѢВТЪ. НІ КЪ ННМЪ ЗѢВѢЩА ПОКАИТЕ $\hat{\text{Ѧ}}$. / НІ НЕ
ВЪННМААХѢ. ЗРАЩЕ ЖЕ СЪБѢРА БЕ/СЛОВЕСНААГО ЖНѢВТА. НЕ ПОКААШѢ СѦ / ДА ВНШѢ
СПІСЕНН БЫЛН.

ОУБѢННМ СѦ / ННѢ ЛЮБНМНЦН МОН. ДА НЕ НІ МЫ ВЪ СН/ЦЕВѢ ВЪПАДЕМЪ.
ПНСАННА БѢ ВЪСѢ / СКОНЫА. НІ РЕУЕНАА ЗНАМЕНІА СЪВРЪ/ШН. НІ НѢ ННО ННУТОЖЕ ТЪКМО
СЪПЕРЬ/ННКА НАШЕГО НІЖЕ ЁСТЪ АНЬДНХРІСТО/ВА СЛАВА. НА КОНЕЦЪ БѢ МНРЪСКА, /
ЦРѢВА ПОДОБАЕТ СѦ ВСЕМОУ СЪВРЪ/ШНТН. ТѢМЪЖЕ ХОТА СПІСТН СѦ НННѢ, НІ ВЪ /
ЦРѢВО НЕБНОЕ ХѢТА ВЪННТН. ДА НЕ / ЛѢННМ СѦ ННѢ. НІ ХѢТА^н РОЖЪСТВА /
ѠГНЬНААГО НІЗБАВНТН СѦ ТОГДА. / ЗАКОННО ДА ПОСТРАЖДЕТЪ. ХОТАН ЧРЪ/ВНѢ
НЕОУСЫПАѢЩОМЪ ПРѢДАНЪ НЕ / БЫТН. ДА ТРѢЗВНТ СѦ ННѢ. ХѢТАН / ОУТѢШЕНЬ
БЫТН, ДА ПЛАУЕТ СѦ ННѢ. / ХѢТАН ТОГДА РАДОВАТИ СѦ НІ ЧАЖН / ТОГДА ВЕСѢЛНТН
СѦ. ДА ПОДВНЖЕ/Т СѦ ННѢ. ЛЮБА^н БѢ ВЪ ЧРЪТОГЪ / ВЪННТН ГНЪ. СВѢЩѢ СВѢТЛАѢ /
НІ МАСЛО ДА ВЪЗМЕТЪ. ЧА^н НІЗБАВЕ/НЬ БЫТН НІ ВЪННТН ВЪ БРАКЪ. ѠДЕЖѢ / СВѢТЛАѢ ДА
СТАЖНТЬ. ГРА^н БѢ ЦРѢВЪ / НСПАЛНЬ ВЕСѢЛІА НІ РАѠСТН. НСПАЛНЬ. / СВѢТА НІ БЛГОСТН. НІ
СЛАѠСТН ЖНѢНЫ. // (f. 220) ТОУНТЪ ЖНѢЩНМЪ ВЪ НЕМЪ. ДА НІЖЕ / ЛЮБНТЪ
СЪГРАЖѢНННЬ БЫТН ВЕЛНКАА/ГѢ ЦРѢ. СКОРО ОУБѢНН СѦ, ДНЬ ПРѢКЛО/ННАѢ СѦ $\hat{\text{Ѧ}}$. НІ
НННКОЖЕ ВѢСТЪ КТО СРА/ЩЕТЪ НІ НА ПѢТН. ІАКОЖЕ КТО ПѢТННКЪ СЪВѢ/ДЫ ДАЛЕЧЕ
ПѢТНОЕ ШѢТВЕНЕ. ВЪЗЛЕГЪ / ПОУНѢТЪ ДО ВЕЧЕРА. ПОТОМЪ ВЪЗЕВНѢВЪ. / ВНДНТЬ ДНЬ
ПРѢКЛО^нВШН СѦ. НІ НАЧЕ/НЬШѢ ЁМОУ ПѢТЬШЕСТВОВАТИ. ВЪНЕ/ЗААПѢ ѠБААКЪ ГРАДЕНЬ
БѢЖЕТЪ. ГРО/МЪ ЖЕ НІ МАЛННА НІ СКРЪБН ВЪСѢДАѢ НІ СМА/ТЕННА. НН ВЪ ПОКОНЦН ЕМЪ
ѠБЕНТАТИ. / НН МѢСТА СВѢГО ДОНТН ДОШЕДАШАГО, / РАДН ЗЛАА. ТАКО НІ МЫ АЩЕ
ѠБЛѢННМ СѦ, / ВЪ ВРѢМЕНН СѢМЪ. ПОКАА^нНЕМЪ НА / СѢДѢ ПРѢСТА^нЕМЪ. ПРѢСЕЛНЦН
БО Е/СМЫ ЗДЕ НІ ПРНШЛЫЦН. ПОТЬЦНМ СѦ / ОУБО ННѢ ВЪЗЛЮБЛЕННЦН МОН СЪ
БОГА/ТЪСТВѢМЪ ВЪННТН ВЪ ГРА^н НАШѢ НІ ѠВѢ/СТВО. КОУПЦН БѢ ЁСМЫ ДѢХОВЫН. НІ БѢ
НІЩЕМЪ МНОГОЦѢННАГѢ ВНСРА. НІЖЕ $\hat{\text{Ѧ}}$ / ХС СПІСЪ НАШѢ. РАДѠСТЬ НАША. ПОХВАЛА /
НАША. НІ СКРѢВНЦЕ НАШЕ НЕКРАДОМОЕ. / ПОТЬЦНМ СѦ ОУБО (un mot annulé) /
СТАЖАТНН. БЛѢЖЕНЪ БѢ, НІ ТРЪБАА/ЖЕНЬ НІЖЕ ПОТЬЦА СѦ СТАЖАТНН. НІ / СТАЖАВЪ,
ПРОСЛАВН СѦ Ѡ НЕМЪ. СТРА/СТЕНЬ ЖЕ НІ ѠКААНЪ. ѠБЛѢННВЫН СѦ; // СТАЖАТИ ЕГО
СѢВѢ. НІСТАЖЕНЪ БЫТИ НІМЪ. НЕ ВѢСТЕ ЛН ЛЮБНМНЦН МОН, / ІАКО ЛОЗА ЁСМЫ Ѡ
ВННОГРА^н НІСТНННААГѢ. / ЕЖЕ $\hat{\text{Ѧ}}$ ХС. БЛЮДѢТЕ СѦ ОУБѢ^н ДА НН/КТОЖЕ ѠВРАЩЕТ СѦ
ВЕСПЛОДЕНЬ. Ѡ / ѠЦН НІСТННѢМЪ НІЖЕ ЕСТЪ ДѢЛАТЕЛЪ. / САМ БѢ ДѢЛАЕТЪ ВННОГРА^н СЪ.
НІ ПРН/НОСАЩНХЪ ПЛОДЪ ѠРѢВЛѢТЬ, ДА / МНОЖАН ПЛОДЪ ПРННЕСЕТЪ. НІ ВЪ НЪ НІЗЪ /
ВННОГРАДА НІЗМѢТАЕТЪ НЕ ТВОРА/ЩНХЪ ПЛОДА. ДА ѠГНЕМЪ ЖЕГОМН / БѢДАѢТЪ ВЪ

вѣкы вѣкомъ. тѣм/же внемлѣте сѣбѣ да са бесплѣднн не ѡбращете. њ посѣченн ѡ/гну прѣдани бѣдете.

СѢМА ѣ/смы доброе еже вѣсѣаа вѣка / дѡмому х̄с̄. нѣ оуже землн творець / гѣ. жѣтва оубѡ прнспѣлаа естѣ / њ жѣтеле готовн, њмать сръпы. / посланїа же єго тѣкмо ждѣтѣ. блю/дѣте са оубѡ єда кто ѡ вась ѡбращет са плѣвель. њ свазань бивь небрѣгомь бѣдетѣ въ вѣкы вѣкомъ. / не разымѣте лн братна ѡко страшно / њмамы прѣнтн пѣчуннѣ. сьврѣше/нн сѣще н прѣмѣдрн коупцн готовѣ / њмать своа кѣпла. њ текѣтъ сѣ ра/дѡстна коѣа дѣхнеть њмь вѣтрѣ. дѣ // (f. 221) прѣшедше снѣ пѣчуннѣ постнгнижтѣ ва/рнтн въ сп̄сноє / прнстаннще. ѡзѣ же њ пѣ/вннн мьнѣ. лѣнннн њ несъмнѣще са / глѣмнн са. нн дѡ коньца ѡма прне/млемь. ѡко њмамы прѣнтн сѣ страшно/є прнстаннще. тѣмьже бѡѣ са єда / вьнезаапѣ дѣхнеть вѣтрѣ њ ѡбращем са неготовн; непруоуготованн. / њ свазавше вьврѣжт нын въ кора/ба, њ тамо шедше плауем са оуны/нна нашего. њ разлнчно вндаще дрѡ/гыѣ радѣще са њ весѣлаще. самн/же сѣбе въ скрѣбн њ бѡлѣзнн мнозѣ. / прнстаннще бѡ ѡно коупѣщнхѣ ѣтъ. / къждѡ ѡ вѣхѡдѣщнхѣ въ то прнста/ннще вѣ свѡемь богатствѣ њ своє/њ коупан. хвалнт са њ рѡдуєт са њ весѣлнт са.

Не вѣсте лн любнмнцн мон / ѡко на бракъ с̄на своєго звааь нын ѣ. / црѣ црѣтвѣщнмь њ гѣ гѣствѣщнѣ. / что ѡвѡ лѣннн са њ не потыщнн са, / ѡдѣжѣч ынстыѣ стажатн. њ свѣтна/нннкы свѣтелеы; њ масло въ сьсѣдѣхѣ, / нашнхѣ вѣзатн не помышлѣете. / ѡко нагѣ ннктоже тамо не вѣхѡнтѣ. / аще же безѣубстветѣ кто; њ вьнндѣ / не њмы ѡдѣжѣч брауннѣ. сьвѣсте что / стражѣть таковыѣ. повелѣвш̄ цр̄ю // сважѣтъ ємѣ рѣцѣ њ нозѣ њ вьврѣжтѣ њ въ тѣмѣ крѡмѣшнѣ. њдеже / ѣ плауѣ н скрежетѣ зѣбѡмь. тѣ/мьже вьспрѣнѣамь любнмнцн. ѡзѣ / же бѡѣ са єда стрѣтѣ плѣтѣскаа њзѣ/рннет нын ѡ ырѣтога ѡного. не о/бразоуѣмь вьнѣждѣ тѣкмо говѣ/ннемь. вьнатрѣ нмаще страстн / плѣтѣскыннѣ. не бѡ, нѣ вѣнѣшнн / ѡун вндантѣ гдѣ єстѣ помыслѣ нашѣ. / њ показѣтъ гдѣ єстѣ срѣце наше. сѣ / красѡта рнзѣ нашнхѣ знаме/ноуєтъ. / ѡко назн єсмы ѡ славы ѡноѣ. њ добро/любне ѡдѣжѣч нашѣ кажетѣ. ѡко / ннчтоже ѡбще њмамы къ црѣтвѣ не/бномоу. њ славолюбне наше кле/плеть. такожде ѡко тыщославнн єсмы. сладѡстѣ браше/ѣа сьвѣ/ст нын, ѡко ырѣво ѡбѣастннцн є/смын. њ оунынне наше кажетѣ. / ѡко лѣнннн єсмы. многѡстѣжанїє / клеплеть, ѡко х̄а не любнмь. њ за/внстѣ наша кажетѣ, ѡко любовѣ не / њмамы. њ еже ѡмыватн лнца њ ногѣ. / клеплеть ѡко рабн страстнн єсмын. / жѣзыкомь женьскомь

проповѣдаѣт са кого любнтъ сѣце наше. тако/же вѣ любнтъ сѣце наше, тако
 п8/(f. 222)ѣает са ꙗзыкъ. вѣѣстъ же оустнама / таѣны сѣчыннѣ. понеже оуста
 на/ша ѡвръзаетъ сѣтъ дверн не ѣмаще / ни страха. ѣ слово бесчнслно нехо/днтъ.
 ѣ слова радн ѡвръзаетъ сѣце / наше, оуста во наша не хранаца. / ѣ ни крадѣтъ
 сѣчннѣа мысль. ѣ мѣ/на са вѣнатрѣ сѣще быти сѣце. в/сты порѣганно бѣдетъ.
 нещнѣ / невндно сѣще, словесѣмъ явлѣ/ет са. ннктоже сѣбе не льстн.
 говѣ/дннемъ ѣзвѣноуѣдѣ быти что. / ѣще вѣ кто ѣаетъ брата прѣлѣстн/тн
 вѣнѣшннмъ дѣланнемъ говѣ/ннн. тако сѣбе прѣлѣцадетъ. сѣ бо / жнтнемъ свонмъ
 говѣаннѣа своегѣ, / лѣжѣ показоуѣтъ.⁴⁸ *ѣще лн хѡщнѣ/шн помыслы оуѣвѣдѣтн
 сѣчнннѣа. / прнстѣпн къ вѣстомъ ѣ навнкнн ѡ нн / прѣвое ѣспнтно. ѡ неѣны ѣлн
 поѣмышлѣеть, ѣлн ѣ земннхъ. ѡ / дѣховннхъ лн, ѣлн ѡ плѣтвскѣ поѣтѣхъ. ѡ
 вѣздранн лн, ѣлн ѡ мнѣгостажанн. ѣлн ѡ ннцетѣ ѣ ѡ смѣренѣн мѣдрѡстн.
 ѣлн ѡ вѣсѣкѣмѣдрн, ѣлн ѣ любвн. ѣлн ѡ неѣнавнстн. ѡ скрѡвнца вѣ земнѣго
 вѣста прѣлѣожѣтъ брашна сѣщнмъ. // повченне ꙗзыкѣ. ѣ жнтне ѣлѣче поѣказѣеть
 кого любнтъ сѣце прѣ/вое, хѣ лн; ѣлн вѣка сѣго. ѣ невѣмаа дѣша. дѣлесы своегѣ
 тѣлесѣ / внднома естѣ како естѣствѣ. прѣ/лагаемъ же са злобѣа самовлѣстннѣа
 вола радн. нѣ равно сѣмоу рѣтѣ некто. тако стѣтн ѣстѣствѣны / сѣтъ. ѣ
 неоуклонннн сѣтъ рабѣ/тащнѣ нмъ. вннманѣ оуѣбо сѣбѣ / ѡкаанне. добраго
 сѣдѣанна бѣлѣгааго вѣкы вѣ сѣлазнь не вѣвѣн. / сѣтворн ѣ бѣ вѣсѣ добраа зѣлѣ.
 / ѣ ѣстѣство оуѣкраснѣ ѣстѣ бѣгымн / дѣлы. такоже сѣ что гѣа. по естѣствѣ /
 альѣба не нарнѣет са вѣ мѣрѣ ядѣлѣще. ѣще безъ мѣры ѣастѣ. знаемъ / естѣ. тако
 рецн безъѣствень ѣ; / ѣще безъ мѣры ѣастѣ. жѣжѣ пакы / не нарнѣет са. ѣще кто
 вѣ мѣрѣ пнѣеть. ѣще лн безъ мѣры, познанъ бѣлѣаетъ. понеже ѣстѣствн жѣжѣ
 ѣ. безъ естѣства же, безъ мѣры ѣцѣ / кто пнѣтѣ, то пакы по естѣствѣ / не нарнѣет
 са. ѣще вѣ мѣрѣ поунѣлѣеть. ѣще лн лнше мѣры, познаѣ/мъ бѣлѣаетъ. нмъже
 раслабнѣ сѣбе прѣѣстѣ са сѣнѣ. прѣдѣавъ ѣствѣ // (f. 223) на побѣжденне ѣ
 ѡбѣѣаемъ сннннмъ. / ѣще ѣствѣ ѣ ѡбѣѣан прѣповѣдѣтелѣ ѣта. / ѡбѣма (un
 mot annulé) ѣастма ѣ естѣство показѣ/етъ порѣвнщеннѣ. ѡбѣѣан же клѣпетѣ
 вола. ѡ ѣвоегѣ сѣстонѣ са ѣлѣкѣ. / вола же самовлѣстна сѣщн, тако дѣлатѣль ѣ.
 вѣкореннтѣ бо вѣ естѣствѣ ѣбѣѣаемъ злы дѣлн ѣлн бѣгы такоже хѣщнѣеть.
 вѣкорѣтѣ же злын ѡбѣѣан ткѣ. / вѣ альѣн, ѣрѣвоѡбѣѣаденне. вѣ жѣжѣн*

⁴⁸ Nous avons marqué en italique le texte qui est identique à celui de la feuille disloquée 243v-243r du ms. 315.

многопитне • въ сынѣ, слабостъ • / њ сынъ њскореннть дѣтѣлн бл҃гына • / въ пнцн,
въздръжанне • въ жѣжн / трьпѣнне • въ сынѣ, бдѣнне • въ льжн / нстннѣ • въ
възорѣ цѣломѣдрне • волѣ бѣ нашѣ ѡбразъ дѣтѣлн нарнчѣ • / њскореннть бѣ
злыѣ ѡбычѣ въ мьгноу венн ѡка • н прнсаднтъ дѣтѣлн бл҃гы, / ѡкоже хощетъ •
понеже њ ество та погнана еста • землѣ же оубо дѣланаа / наш-е-ство ѣ •
дѣлатель же ѣтъ / сѣмоу, волѣ • бжтвныѣ кннгы свѣтннцн сѣтъ намъ њ
оучнтеле • ѡчатъ бѣ нашего дѣлателѣ • кыл / ѡбычѣ злы њскореннть • њ кыл
дѣтѣлн бл҃гы насаднтъ • ѡще бо чнстъ / њ тыцлнвъ нашъ дѣлатель ѣ • њ бжѣтъ
кромѣ бжтвныѣ кннгъ • безъ строеннѣ, // њ грѣбъ ѣ • ѡще лн бжѣтвнынхъ кннгъ
дѣ са емѣ разоумъ • њ дѣтѣлн бла/гы подастъ емоу свонхъ вѣтвнн • / ѡко да
прнсаднтъ ѡ дрѣва своего ѣства • ѡкоже что гла • дѣ емоу вѣрѣ, / благѣ
прнсаднтн въ невѣрствн / его • њ оупованне, въ неоупованн / его • њ любвѣ, въ
ненавнстн его • / њ развѣ въ неразоумн его • тѣща/нне, въ лѣностн его • њ слава, њ
похвала • въ беславлн его:

Пакы же / прнсаднтъ • бесъмрѣтне, въ бесъмрѣтн его • њ бжество, въ
члѣвѣ/ствѣ его • ѡще хощетъ нашъ дѣла/тель ѡбластвомъ ѡставнтн оучнтелѣ
своего • њ нашего оучнтелѣ н свѣтлнннка • еже ѣ, бжтвн/нынхъ кннгъ оуенне •
ѡбращѣ/т са такоу льстець њ въ помы/слы въпадаѣ непрнзнннынн • / њ свнрѣѣ
ѡбычѣ злы н прнса/жаѣ ествствѣ своемъ ѡ своего / ества • ѡже невѣрствне •
/ ненауаанне, ненавнствъ • за/внствъ • тѣщеславлне • грѣдынн • сла/волюбне •
чрѣвоѡбѣдѣннѣ • / многопитне • прѣкословне • / свары • њ многа дрѣгаа такоуаже
// (f. 224) пѣобнаа снмъ • ѡставленн бо законода/вца • њ тѣн ѡставленъ бѣдетъ
нмъ • / ѡще же раскавъ са поразвѣтетъ сѣбе • / њ прнпадаетъ къ законодавецѣ њ
рѣтъ • / сыгрѣшнхъ ѡко ѡставнхъ та • ѡбне / законодавецъ свонмъ члѣколюбн/емъ
прннметъ њ • н подѣ емѣ разоумъ њ снлѣ бл҃го дѣлатн • пакын / вторнцѣѣ земла
ества своего • / њскореннвъ бо ѡ него злыѣ ѡбычѣ • / подѣ емѣ дѣтѣлн доврнн
њ бл҃гы • / ѡще пакы страстемъ прѣвынмъ сѣпрѣ/тнвнт са • повѣждаѣщѣѣ радн
сн/лы въ немъ њ помощь сѣщѣѣ • њ не / лѣннт са на словословне њ њсповѣ/данне •
вѣнчѣанъ бѣдетъ њ похва/лѣ ѡ сѣднѣ праведнааго • ѡкоже / дѣлаѣ еств
ество • похва/лѣ емъ же бѣдетъ • ѡко стажа дѣлнн / бл҃гын: —

Слава ннѣ члѣколюбн/ю его • њсповѣданне бл҃гостынн / его • њ поклонѣнне
мл҃рїю егѡ • / кто снце щедрѣ • которын же лн ѡцѣ / снце млостнвъ • кын ѡцѣ
снце любнтъ ѡкоже нашъ вѣка любнтъ / своѣ рабы • всѣ намъ подаваѣтъ

вѣлнкын дарѡвнѣецъ. ѿ всѣхъ хѡщѣтъ ѿсѣлантн. вѣлнѣ ѿ хѡщѣтъ. да
 бнхѡмъ былн црѣтнню наслѣдннцн. хѡщѣтъ бѡ ѿ волн нашнѣн хва/лнмѣ бытн
 нмъ. ѿ всѣхъ не дѣлѣтъ на/шь злѡбныи же, ѿ двоцѣланмыи са/мъ цѣлантѣ. да
 ѡвѣрѣзѣтъ ѡста ѡ/моу на славословнѣ своѣго бѣже/ства. ѡставлѣтъ же грѣшннкѣ /
 грѣхы его ꙗко да възвнѣнѣтъ / его печалѣ. ѿ бѡлащнхъ послѡ/шаѣтъ скорѡ, да не
 малодѣшныи / ѡпечалнтѣ. длѣготрѣпащнмъ / ѿ трѣпѣланвынмъ ѿ тлѣкѣщнмъ / въ
 двѣрн его. подаѣтъ ѡбоѣ вѣкѣ/пѣ. ѿсѣланнѣ же ѿ мѣзды. може/тъ ѡбѡ ѿсѣлантн
 всѣхъ стрѣпы / дѣшъ нашнхъ. ѿ прѣвестн нын сѡдѡрѡ въ блѡгостннѣ его. не
 хѡщѣ/тъ да волѣ наша лншенѡ бѣдѣтъ / ѡ него. ѿ мы ннѣ что лѣннм са /
 възыскатн лѡбнмнцн мон. мы / лѣннм са прнзвѡтн его. самъ / възлѡбнлѣ нын ѣ,
 самъ ѡщѣдѣ/лѣ. самъ ны ѿзбавнлѣ ны ѣстѣ; / самъ прѡсвѣтнлѣ нын ѣстѣ ѡн /
 мыслѣнѣн нашн. самъ бѡ далѣ ны / ѣстѣ рѡзѣмъ ѣже къ немѡу. ѿ вѣкѣснѣлѣ ѣстѣ
 нашѣлѣ лѡбѣе своѣѡ / лѡбѡвнѣѡ. ꙗко да вѣкѣснѣшѣ // (f. 225) славостѣ его,
 възыщѣмъ его всѣгѡ:—

Блѡженъ възкоушвын лѡбѣе ѣго. прн/готовавын же сѣбе. ꙗко да насытн/т
 са лѡбѣе его. ѿ ннѡѡ лѡбѣе не / трѣбуѣтъ въ сѣбѣ. лѡбнмнцн ѿн. / кто не
 лѡбнтѣ снцѣваго вѣкѣ. кто / не поклоннт са ѣговѣ блѡгостннѣн. / кын нмѣтн
 нмѡмы ѡвѣтѣ въ днѣ / сѡдѣнын ѡщѣ ѡблѣннм са. ѿ что рѣмъ / емѡу. ꙗко не
 слышѡхомъ, ꙗко не / вндѣхѡмъ. ꙗко ѿ рѡзѡумѣхомъ. / что бѡ сѣтворнтн емѡу
 бѣ намъ, ѿ / не сѣтворн ѡ бесѡнслѣныѣ лѡбѣе. / ѡ блѡвеннѡѡѡ ѡдрѡ ѡчѡѡ не
 сѣнндѣ / лн къ намъ. невнднмъ сѡн. невндн/м лн бѣ намн. ѡгнѣ бесѣмрѣтѣнѣ /
 сѡн. не възпльтн лн са нѡ рѡдн. не бѣ лн за ланнтѣ ѡдарѣнѣ да свобѡды
 сѣтворнт нын. ѡнѡ ѿспльнѣ трѣ/пѣтѡ ѿ стѣрахѡ. ꙗко рѣка брѣнѣнѡ / сѣздѡнѡ
 вывшн ѡ прѣстн зѣмьныѣ. / за ланнтѣ ѡдѡрн творѣца. не бѣсн / н зѣмлн. мы же
 стѣртнн ѿ ѡкааннн; / прѣстнн ѿ сѣмрѣтннн н пѣпѣлѣ сѡщѣ. / до слова ѣдннѡѡ самн
 сѣбе не може/мъ понѣстн. ѡ вѣка нашѣ ѿ гѣ. бесѣмрѣтѣнѣ сѡн нѡ рѡдн не ѡмрѣ лн
 да ны / ѡжнѣнтѣ. нѡ рѡдн не бѣ лн погрѣбѣ; // да ны възставнтѣ сѣ сѡбѡѡ. ѡ ꙗзѣ
 вѣрѡжннхъ не ѡрѣшн лн нѡ, ѡнѡѡ же / сѡзѡвѣ прѣдѡстѣ намъ настѣпатн /
 вѣрѡхѡу его. прнзвѡхомъ же лн когдѡ / ѿ не послѡшѡ насъ. нѣ ѿ тлѣкѣщѡм лн / въ
 двѣрн его ѿ не ѡвѣрѣзѣ намъ. ѡщѣ лн / ѿ покѣснѣтѣ послѡушѡтн тебѣ. на ѡумно/женнѣ
 мѣзды твоѣѣ. ѡставлѣтъ тн въ / покѣснѣннѡ мѣсто. понеже ѡубѡ мнѣрѡ ѡвѣрѣглѣ
 са ѣсн лѡбнмнцѣ. пошто / к томѡу покѡѡ нщѣшн мнѣрѣскаѡѡ. вѣ / скрѣзѣнѣ лн ѡбѡ
 тебѣ познѡвалѣ, н ты ѡ/слабы ѿщѣшн. на наготѣ позвѡлѣ тѡ / ѣстѣ, ѿ ты рнзѣ
 добры ѿщѣшн, ѿ лѡбн/шн. на жѣжѣ позѡванѣ ѣсн, н ты вннѡ / ѿщѣшн. на брѡнѣ

позованъ еси, ѿ ты / безъ ѡрѣжна хощешъ вѣнчати. нѣ ѿ / на вѣдѣнне званъ еси,
 ѿ ты сына не / можешъ трѣпѣти. на плачь звалъ / та естъ ѿ на рыданне, ѿ ты
 грѣхощешъ са ѿ смѣешъ са. на любовь / позованъ еси, ѿ ты брата своего /
 ненавидѣши. на покоренне звалъ та естъ, ѿ ты прѣкословешъ емоу.
 наслѣдника црѣтва своѣго нарекль та естъ ѿ ты плътськаа помышлѣши. на
 кротость ѿ смѣреннѣ/мѣрне позовалъ та е, ѿ ты нгрѣ//**(f. 226)**ши и сверѣпѣши.
 ѿ что рѣши еси въ днѣ / ѡнѣ спднѣи. ꙗко смѣрихъ са тебе рѣн. / ѿ алкахъ ѿ
 жѣдахъ. ѿ възлюбихъ та ѡ / всѣмъ дшѣмъ моимъ. ѿ ближнимъ моимъ / ꙗко себѣ. еда
 не вѣси ѡкаанне, ꙗко / слова твоя ѿ помысли твои нѣсѣ / таниа писаниа тамо.
 ѿ мысли твоя ѿ дѣла твоя. не ѡблнчат ли тебе аще слыжешъ. не вѣси ли ꙗко
 всѣ твара страхѡмъ ѿ трепетомъ прѣстоитѣ сѣншѣ, / его страшномуу. тысѣщѣ
 тысѣщамъ. / ѿ тымъ тьмамъ аггелъ ѿ архаггелъ. / ѡкрѣтъ его. ѿ ты
 помышлѣши слыгати емоу. рекъ, ꙗко тебе радн си / всѣ прѣтрѣпѣхъ.
 ницѣсѡже прѣ/трѣпѣвъ. блудн са да не соугрѣвы / въздаси прѣзлаго оубо твоего
 дѣла/ниа дѣлѣ ѿ лѣжѣ. нѣ възпрѣни ѡ сына твоего. помысли твоя развѣрѣни. /
 прииди въ себе ѿ вѣжѣ ꙗко прѣклонн / са естъ днѣ. вѣждѣ же ѿ сѣ любн/мнѣ.
 ꙗко вѣра съ нами същен, ѿ / главши ꙗко братна съ нами. днѣ / не спше с нами.
 възванн бышѣ къ / гоу же ѿхъ ѿ нашему. да покаже/тъ къждо ѿхъ своа
 коупла. се ннѣ / разоумѣн оубо днѣшнѣа како вѣ/хѣ вѣра. днѣ еже ꙗко цвѣтъ
 стрѣнн // прѣндѣтъ. ꙗко къ вечерннѣ стѣннн. / посѣти же ѿ своа къпла аще
 прѣспѣши / по бжню. ꙗкоже вѡ скоротеченне днѣнне наши прѣхѡдѣать.

Блженъ еси / ѿцѣн днѣ днѣ коупла своа. ѿ сьвнра/пн въ жнзнѣ
 вѣчнѣа. что лѣнши са / любнмнѣ. что же ѡнывѣши. по что ѡпнѣ са еси
 прѣнемаганнемъ ꙗко вѣномъ. по что не повѣщрѣши себѣ. вѣ/рѣнѣмъ ѡвнтѣлѣ
 ѿмаши сѣтворити / въ вѣцѣ сѣмъ. ꙗкоже пѣтннка нѣкѣ, / бесѣдоуѣща къ сѣвѣ. ѿ
 градн къждо / въ свнѣ домъ. вечерѣ же бѣ постншѣ/пѣ. ѡвнтаста въ нѣкоен
 ѡвнтѣлѣ. / стрѣ же бывшоу. разлѣчнста са дрѣ / ѡ дрѣга. свѣдын къждо ею
 что ѿма/тъ въ домоу своемъ. богатство, / ѿли нищѣтѣ. покоѿ же ѿли скрѣвь. /
 тако есмы ѿ мы въ вѣцѣ сѣмъ. вѣчѣрннн во ѡвнтѣлѣн оуподобнѣ са е / жнвѣтъ
 нашѣ. ѿ ѡ него разлѣчѣ/емъ са къждо насъ въ свое мѣсто. / свѣдаще что ѿмамы
 прѣд нами къждо насъ. ѿдеже не невѣсть къждо / на что прѣпослалъ е на неѣ.
 ꙗкоже / сѣ что глѣ. млѣвѣ ли съ слызамн. ѿ/ли вѣдѣнне ѡнѣсто. ѿли пѣнн съ
 покаяннѣмъ. ѿли въздыханне съ смѣрѣ//**(f. 227)**ноѣ мѣростна. ѿли ѡвѣрѣзенне
 земнннѣ вѣщен. ѿли любѣвь нелицемѣрнѣ. ѿ желѣши хѣ. ты еси послалъ /

УТО• ДРЪЗАН ІАКО ВЪ ПОКОН ГРАДЕШН• АЩЕ / АН ЖЕ ННУТО СНХЪ ПРѢПОСЛЕШН• УТО
 СЪ/ТВОРИШН• АЩЕ АН ЖЕ ПРОГНѢВАЕШН / БЛЖНѢАГО СН• ХОТА ПРѢЖДЕ РАЗЛАПУН/ТИ СѦ
 Ѡ НЕГО• ТО УТО ГРЪДНШН СѦ Н ВЕАНУА/ЕШН СѦ• УТО ЖЕ ПРНСКРЪБЕНЬ ЕСН• УТО ЖЕ /
 РАЗЛАПУАЕШН СѦ Ѡ НЕГО• НЕ ХОТА СЕѢ Ѡ/БНТѢАН НОСНТИ СЪ СОБОА• ПЕЧЕШН СѦ О
 РН/ЗАХЪ Н Ѡ ОДЕЖН• Н МЛВНШН Ѡ ПНЦН• / ДАЖН ПНЦѢ СКОТОМЪ• САМЪ ТѢ НЕ
 НАПН/ТАЕТ АН ТЕБЕ СЛАВОСЛОВАЩАГО Н• Н УА/Ѣ НАСЛѢДННКЪ БЫТИ ТОГО ЦРЬСТВІА• Н
 Ѡ / ОДЕЖДН ПЕЧЕШН СѦ• Н ВРАУА ПРОГНѢ/ВАЕШН НЕ ХОТА ЦѢЛЬ БЫТИ• ВЪ ВРѢМА /
 ЦѢЛЕНІА СТРѢПЫ СВОА КРЫЕШН• Н ВРАУА ПРНЗЫВАЕШН Н ГЛѢШН НЕ НСЦѢАН / МЕНЕ•
 ВРѢМА ПОКААНІА ДАНО ТН ЕТЬ / Н ТЫ ЛѢННШН СѦ• УТО 8ВѠ ПРНЗЫВАЕ/ШН
 ЗАКОНДАВЦА• ІАКО НАВЕЛЪ ТН ЕТЬ / СЪМРЬТЬ НЕРАДАЩІ8 ТН• НЕ РЪЦН СЪМРЬ/ТИ
 ѠСТАВН МА ДА СѦ ПОКАА• ВЪСПРЪНН / ЛЮБНМНУЕ ВЪСПРЪННН ПОНѢ МАЛЫН• / ІАКО
 СѢТЬ БО НАНДЕТЪ ѠА ѠНЬ• Н ТОГѦ / Ѡ СТАЖАННА ПРННМЕТЪ ТВОА МЫСЛЬ / Н РѢШН
 ГЛА• / Ѡ ЛЮТѢ МНѢ Ѡ ЛЮТѢ МН; // КАКО ГЛВМАЩІ8 МН СѦ ПРѢНДѠШѢ ДННЕ / МОН•
 Н КАКО СВЕСЛОВНЕМЪ РАСТОУНХЪ ЖНЕ / МОЕ•

Ѡ ЛЮТѢ МНѢ ГРѢШНОМЪ ПОГРѢВН/ВЪШОМОУ ВРѢМА ПОКААННА МОЕГО• Н КАА /
 ПОЛЪЗА ВЪ ДНѢ ЕСТЬ СЪМРЬТИ СНІА ПОМЫ/ШЛѢТИ• НЕ ѠПОУЩАЕМЪ К ТОМЪ ВЪЗВРА/ТИТИ
 СѦ• Н ПОЛОЖН, ННѢ ОУМЪ ТВОН Ѡ / ГЛЕМЫНХЪ• Н ДА ВЪННДѢТЬ ВЪ СЛ8/ХА ТВОА ГМЪ
 РЕЧЕННАА• АЩЕ ОУБО ВѢ/РВЕШН ЕМЪ• РѢ БѠ• ІАКО Ѡ ПРАЗНѢ РѢ/УН ВЪЗДАСН СЛОВО ВЪ
 ДНѢ ѠНЬ СТРАШЬ/НЫН• СТРАХЪ ЖЕ СѢ СОУН ЕСТЬ НАМЪ• Н / ТЪКМО СЛОВО ТЪЩЕ АЩЕ НЕ
 ВЪДНТЪ / МЫСЛЬ НАША• АЩЕ АН МЕЩЕТЪ 8МЪ / НАШЪ САМО Н ѠНАМО• ТО НН ПНСАНЫИ
 / РАЗОУМѢТЕЪ• НН ГЛЕМЫНХЪ СЛЫШНЬ• / НѢ ОУПѠВНАЪ СѦ ЕСТЬ ЛЪЖН ПРНЕМЛА/ЦНН• Н
 НЕ ВѢДАЩЕН ІАКО КОГДА ПРНХОДНТЪ• /

КТО 8ВѠ НЕ ПЛАЧЕТ СѦ• КТО / ЖЕ АН НЕ СКРЪВНТЪ• КТО АН НЕ УЮДНТ СѦ• /
 ІАКО ВЛКА ВСЕЛЕНЫНѢ• СОБОѢ ЖЕ / Н РАВЫ СВОИМН• ПРРКЫ Н АПЛЫ• ПРО/ПОВѢДАЕТЪ Н
 ВЪПНЕТЪ Н НѢ ПОСЛА/ШАЩАГѠ• УТО ЖЕ СЪТЬ ПРОПОВѢ/ДАЕМА НМЪ• БРАКЪ ГОТОВЪ
 ЕСТЬ РѢ; / Н ВРАШНО МОЕ ГОТОВО• Н ЖЕННХЪ СЪ / СЛАВѠА Н ВЕЛ'ЛѢПНЕМЪ СѢДНТЬ ВЪ /
 УРѢТОЗѢ• Н ПРНЕМЛЕ ВЪХѠДАЩІѢА СЪ // (f. 228) РАДОСТНА• ДВЕРЬ ѠВРѢСТА Е• СЛАГЫ
 ТЫЩѢ/Т СѦ• ПРОПОВѢДНЦН ЗОВѢТЬ• СКОРО / 8ВОН СѦ• ПРѢЖДЕ ДАЖЕ НЕ ЗАТВОРНТ СѦ
 / ДВЕРЬ• ЕДА КОГДА ВЪНѢ ѠВРАЩЕТЕ СѦ• / Н НЕ БѢТЕТЬ КТО ВЪВЕДЫН ВѠ• Ѡ ННХЪ /
 НѢСТЬ РАЗОУМѢВАЩАГО• НѢ ПОТЬ/ЩАННА ПОЛОЖЬШААГО• НѢ ОУНЫННЕ / Н ПЕЧАЛЬ
 ВѢКА СЕГО• ІАКО ВЕРНГАМН ПРН/ВАЗАЛА ЕСТЬ ОУМЪ НАШЪ• Н ЕЖЕ БЖЕТЪ/ВЪНЫНѢ КННГЫ
 ПРѢМЪ ПНШЕМЪ Н ПРѢ/МЪ УТЕМЪ• ПРѢМЪ ЖЕ СЕГО НЕ ХОЩЕМЪ / ПОСЛОУШАТИ,
 СВЪРЪШАЕМЫНХЪ НМН• / КТО 8ВѠ ОТНДЕТЬ КОГДА БЕЗ БРА/ШНА НА ПѢТЪ ДАЛЕЧЕ•

ѡкоже мы хо/щемь творити ѡставивше бѡ брашѡ / зде ннѡсѡже на ѡшествне
вѡно/снмь • блаженъ ѡже ѡтнде съ дрь/зновеннемь къ бѣ носѡ брашно / сѣбѣ на
оумѣ • сѣн рабн кѡпла тво/ратъ • ѡаще црѣ своего бѡ • пора/зоумѣвше ѡко прѣпль
естъ црѣ/ствне • ѡ прндетъ съ снлоѡ ѡ славоѡ / многоѡ • вѣнѡуати рабъ своѡхъ /
творащнхъ кѡпла добрыѡ • серебрь/ннкомь ѡже прнпшѡ ѡ него • ѡ погѡ/внтн же
врагъ своѡхъ не хѡтѣвшнѣ / црѣтовати ѡго надъ ннмн • ѡ ѡковѣ/мь же ѡбразѡмь
сѡномъ тажѡкмъ, // ѡбѡдрѡжнмомъ бываетъ ѡлѣѡе ѣство • / тако въ полѡнощн
взнезапѡ бѣе/тъ велѡнн глѡ • ѡ грѡмн страшнн / ѡ мльннѡ трепетннн • ѡ
оѡстраша/пѡт сѡ взнезапѡ поѡнвѡпѡцен • ѡ по/мѣнетъ къждо дѣла своѡ • ѡлн
блѡ/гаа ѡлн злаѡ • бнпѡтъ прѣсн своѡхъ / лежѡще на ложнхъ своѡхъ • ѡко нѣ / камо
бѣжатн • нн скрѡтн сѡ ннгдае/же • ѡлн покаатн сѡ ѡ тѣхъ ѡже сътво/рншѡ •
тогда бѡ землѣ колеблет сѡ • / грѡмн боѡт сѡ, мльннѡ ѡѡат ѡ • / ѡ тьма
глѡвѡка ѡбѣемлетъ ѡ • / тако ѡ ѡѡ ѡнѡ ѡко млнн лютаѡ бѡ/детъ взнезапѡ • ѡ
ѡжаснтъ всѡ / всѣленѡѡ • вѡстрѡбнтъ бо съ стра/хомъ трѡба съ небѣсе • ѡ
вззвн/гнетъ поѡнвѡпѡпѡ • небѣса же съ / снлаамн ѡго по/двнжѡт сѡ • ѡ земѣ / ѡко
вода мѡрѣскаѡ потрѡсет сѡ, / ѡ лнца славын ѡго • ѡгнь бо страше/нѣ потечетъ
прѣ ннмь • потрѣ/блѡт землѡ ѡ поѡдаѡ беззаконныѡ; / ѡскврѡннвшѡѡ землѡ •
тоѡ / адѣ ѡврьзетъ вѣѡзѡна врата сѡѡ; / ѡ смрѣтъ оѡпразнт сѡ • прѣсть / же
ѡлѣѡѡ ѣстѣства ѡко сѡгннвѡ/шн слышавшн глѡ трѡбннѡ ѡжнвѣ; — //

(f. 229) Днвно бѡ вндѣтн ѣстъ въ нстннѡ лю/бнмнщн мон въ ѡѡ ѡнѡ •
како въ мѡ/гновеннн ѡѡеснѣмъ • въ адѣ ѡко / мнѡжество рыбъ пнтѡемъ • тако
бѣ/сѡѡнѡ мнѡжество костѣн ѡлѣѡѡ / ѣстѣства • къждо нхъ течетъ нщѡ / ѡлѣѡвѡ
своѡхъ • ѡ вѡставше въ/сн вькѡпѣ • паѡѡ ѡ вѡзѡпнѡтъ глѡ/ще • слава
сѡбравѡшомоѡ нзнн, ѡ / вѡзвнгшѡ нзнн своѡмь ѡлѣѡколю/бнемь • тогда праведнн
рѡѡѡт сѡ • / ѡ прѣпѡвннн вѡсѣлат сѡ • ѡкоже / сѡ что глѡ • сѡщен сѡврѡшеннн,
ѡ/ноѡьскын ѡннѡ оѡтѣшаемн сѡтѣ • / ѡ поѡнвѡпѡтѣ ѡ трѡда ѡрѣнеѡѡства / своѡго •
ѡ ѡ злаго страданнѡ еже / пострадашѡ хѡ радн • ѡ мннщн вѣ/нѡѡѡт сѡ • ѡпѡлн ѡ
прѡрѡцн прослаѡѡт сѡ • блаженъ ѡже спѡдобнт сѡ вндѣтн ѡѡ тѣ съ радѡстѡѡ •
како съ сла/воѡ многоѡ всѡхѡщѡѡт сѡ на ѡблѡцѣхъ въ срѣтенне гнѡе •
бѡсѡ/мрѡтнаѡго женннѡѡ • ѡ всн сѡтнн / ѡго • всн вѡзлюбнвшѡен ѡго • ѡ /
потѡщавѡшѡен сѡ сѡврѡшнтн вола / ѡго • ѡ ѡкоже къждо зде вѡзвелн/ѡнѡѡ ѣстъ своѡ
перѡ • тако касѡе/т сѡ высѡкынѡ • ѡ ѡкоже къждѡ зѡе ѡѡнн/стѡнѡ ѣстъ своѡ дѡшѡ • тако
ѡ внднтъ / слаѡѡ ѡго • ѡ ѡкоже пожелѡ ѡго къждо нхъ • тако ѡ насытнт сѡ люѡвѡе
ѡѡ • / днвнтъ же сѡ прѡвозданнын ѡдамъ въ / днѡѡ ѡнѡ • вндѡ велнкаѡ ѡ

днвѣнаа. / како ѿ самого ѣдннѣго ѡ сѣпрѣжнн/цѣ его. страны велнкына н
множы/ство родѡвъ ѡзвѣдено быѣ. пауче же / прославнѣвъ. днвнт сѣ съдѣтелю бѣ. /
како ѿ едннѣго естѣства н ѿ едннѣго зданна бывше. ѡвн въ цѣрѣ/ствн ѡ въ рѣн.
дрѣзн же въ адѣ наслѣ/ствѡвашѣ.

Слава ѣдннѡмѣ прѣ/мѣдрѣ бѡу. любнмнцн поманѣхѣ / ѡдѣ ѡнѣ. ѡ
въстрѣпетаахѣ. рѣзѣ/мѣхѣ веселнѣ сѣщѣе въ рѣн. ѡ сѣдѣ / страшннѣ, ѡ оубѡах сѣ.
ѡ въздѣ/хнѣвъ плакѣ сѣ. дондеже не бы/стѣ мнѣ мѡщн плакати сѣ к томѣ. /
ѡко въ знынн, ѡ въ глѡумленнн / провѡднхѣ дѣнн мѡа. ѡ въ помыслѣ/хѣ
сквѣрнннхѣ сконьѡахѣ лѣта / мѡа. ѡ лѡтѣ мнѣ како ѡзгыбошѣ / дѣннѣ мон, ѡ
лѣта мѡа. ѡ не рѣзѣ/мѣхѣ како прѣндошѣ. не сѣвѣмѣ, / ѡ лѡтѣ мѣнѣ. дѣннѣ
мѡн, ѡзбѣ/знѣшѣ. ѡ безаконна мѡа змнѡ/жншѣ ѣ. ѡ лѡтѣ мѣнѣ любнмнцн
мон: // (f. 230) что сѣтворѣ стѣдѣ ѡдѣ ѡнѡго. ѣгда ста/нѣтѣ ѡкрѣстѣ знаемн мон
вндѣвѣше / ма въ ѡбрѣзѣ сѣмѣ говѣннѣмѣ. ѡ блѣ/жахѣ ма. внѣатрѣ же бѣхѣ
ѡспльнѣ/нѣ безаконна ѡ нечнстѡты. забыхѣ / ѡспытаѣщаго сѣрѣца ѡоудѣ тѣмѣже /
тамѡ ѣст ма стѣдѣ. ѡкѡдѣн же ѣтѣ / ѡже тамѡ посрамленѣ вѣтѣ. ѡлѣвѣ/колѡбѡе
блѣгн. щѣдрѡтамн твоѡмѣ / закнннаѣ та. не поставн менѣ ѿ шѣ/ѣ тебе с
козлнцн прогнѣвавшн/мн та. ѡ не рѣцнмн гѣ не вѣда тебѣ. / нѣ даѣ мн
многаго радн мнлѡсрѣдѣа / твоего. вынѣ плачѣ ѡ покааннѣ. ѡ / смѣрн сѣрѣце мое ѡ
ѡчнстн. да вѣтѣ хрѣ/мѣ стѣ блѣтн твоѣѣ. ѡще ѡ грѣше/нѣ ѡ нечнстѣ ѣсмѣ. нѣ
вынѣ въ двѣрн твоѣ тѣлѣѣ. ѡ ѡще знылѣ ѣсмѣ / ѡ лѣннѣвъ. нѣ по пѣтемѣ твоѡмѣ
хѡ/ѣѣ. братнѣ мѡа любнмаа. мѣла ѣдннѣннѣ вашѣ. потѣщнтѣ сѣ згоднтн / бѣн
дондеже вѣрѣма ѡматѣ. плачн/тѣ сѣ прѣ ннмѣ дѣнѣ ѡ ноцѣ въ мѣтѣвѣ / вашнхѣ. ѡ
въ блѣгодѣанн вашнмѣ. / да ѡзбавнт нын ѿ плача ѡнѡго бѣ/сконѣчнмааго. ѡ
скрежетѣ зѣвнаго / ѡ ѡгнѣнаго рѡжѣства. ѡ чрѣвн не/оубыпаѣщаго. ѡ рѣвѣстѣ
сѣтворнтѣ // намѣ въ цѣрѣвн своѣмѣ. въ жнвѡтѣ вѣчнѣамѣ. ѡдеже нѣ бѣды нн
печѡалн нн / въздыханѣа. ѡдеже не трѣвѣтѣ / ннктоже слѣзѣ нн покаанна. ѡдеже
/ нѣ страха нн трѣпѣта. ѡдеже нѣ / смѣртн нн тѣла. ѡдеже нѣ лежѣ/щааго нн
борѣщааго. ѡдеже нѣ пѡ/ѡщренѣа на гнѣвѣ. ѡдеже нѣ нена/внстн нн вражѣы. нѣ
вынѣ радѡстѣ /⁴⁹ ѡ весѣланѣ ѡ радѡваннѣ. ѡ трапѣза / ѡспльнѣ брѣшенѣ дѣховннхѣ.
ѣ/же зготовалѣ ѣстѣ любѣщнмѣ ѣгѣ;

Блаженѣ ѡже спѡдѡвнт сѣ трапѣзѣ / тоѡ. ѡкѡанѣнѣ же лншнвын сѣ / ѣѣ.
мѣла вы любнмнцн. пролѣнтѣ / прѣд ннмѣ слѣзы вашѣ. ѡ мѣнтѣ за / ма

⁴⁹ Le texte souligné n'existe pas dans le ms. 315, parce qu'après la f. 235^v il y a là une lacune.

прнпадаѡще. бл҃гаго чл҃вко/любца, єдиночл҃даго с҃на б҃жїа. / да сѣтворитѣ съ
 мноа мл҃тѣ своа. / н̄ нзбавит нын ѿ беззаконн нашн̄. / н̄ всѣант нын ѡкрѣтѣ
 сѣанщѣ въ / о҃плотѣ небнааго р҃ад̄а. ꙗко да бѣ/демь ж҃нны наслѣдникомь его. /
 понеже вы есте чл҃да его любнма̄. / азъ же ꙗко песь оу҃ннчужень. да / врѣжете мн
 кр҃впнщѣ ѿ трапезы ва/шеѡ. да н̄ на мнѣ сѣвршнт сѣ пн̄/санноє. ꙗко н̄ псн
 ѡдѣхѡ ѿ трапе/(f. 231)зы г҃нн свонхъ. єн любнмнщн мон моаа вы. / прѡлѣнте
 за ма мл҃твы вашѡ. н̄ прн/дѣте потыщнм сѣ ѡ с҃сєннн нашємь. / всѣ бѡ
 мнмохѡдѣть ꙗко сѣнѣ. въ/зненавнднмь мнра н̄ ꙗже въ мнрѣ. н̄ / пєчѣалъ
 плѣтѣскѣа ѡврѣзѣмь. н̄ноа / не нмѣнмь пєчѣалн, тѣкмо ѡ с҃сєнн на/шемь.
 ꙗкоже н̄ г҃ъ нашъ р҃є. каа поль/за єсть чл҃вкѡ аще весь мнрѣ прнѡврѡ/щєтѣ. дѣшѡ
 же своа ѡтыщєтнтѣ. н̄/лн каковѡ дѣ чл҃вкѡ нзмѣнѡ на дѣшн / своєн. коупщн бо
 єсмы сѣще дѣхѡ/внн. ѡ любнмнщн. оу҃подобнхом сѣ / жнтєнскынмь кѣпцємь.
 разѡмѣнѣ/те что г҃ла любнмнщн. жнтєнскын / бѡ кѣпєць, по всѣа дѣнн чѣтєть, /
 прнбытѣкѣ н тыщєтѣ. н̄ аще ѡтѡ/щєтнт сѣ. пєчєт сѣ како с҃сєтѣ сѣ/бє. тако н̄
 ты любнмнчє. вѣрѣ н̄ ѡ/трѡ нєспытно разѡмѣн како хѡдн/шн. н̄ каковѡ кѣпѣа
 творшн своємоу с҃сєнню по всѣа вєчєры. въ/шєдѣ въ с҃щє своє н̄ помыслн въ сѣбѣ
 / н̄ рыщн. єда зѡ вѡ коємь прѡгнѣва/хѣ г҃а днѣ. єда г҃лаахѣ слово прѡзнѡ/є да не
 сѣмнѣх сѣ. єда прѡгнѣвахѣ / брата своєго. єда оубѡ оуста моа / подѡхѡ н̄
 помыслѣ мон прнвнѣннє творѣше; // въ мнрѣ. єда оубѡ прнндєм н похотѣ, /
 плѣтѣскаа н̄ въ сладѣ прнѡхѣ а. єда повѣжєнѣ быхѣ земнынмн пєчѣд/мн. н̄ аще
 ѡтыщєтнѣа сѣ єсн въ снхѣ. / потыщн сѣ прнѡврѣстн с҃на. въдыха/н̄ н̄ плачн сѣ,
 да не пакы въ снхѣ ѡтѣ/щєтншн сѣ. н̄ оу҃трѡ бывшоу пакы сн/мь пооучаѣ сѣ н̄
 рыщн. како зѡ вѡ прѣ/дє ношѣ с҃на. бѣдѣ лн сн что вѣнѣтрѣ / прнѡврѣбѣ кѣпѣн
 моєн. н̄лн змѣ мн / бѣдѣ лн сн бѣдєтѣ оубѡ сѣ тѣломь / монмь. н̄лн плакастѣ
 сѣ ѡчн мон. / н̄лн нннзложено бѣ колѣнома монма / кланѣннє. єда нандѡшѡ
 мн помы/слн скврьннн. н̄ въ сладѣ повунѣ а / въ ннхѣ. н̄ аще повѣжєнѣ бж҃єшн /
 снмн. потыщн сѣ да н̄сѣлѣбєшн. по/ставн стражѣ въ с҃щн своємь. да / не пакы
 снѣ постражєшн. н̄ аще / снщє пєчєшн сѣ с҃сєшн своа кѣпѣа. н̄ гоу бж҃єшн
 оу҃годєнѣ. н̄ сѣ/бѣ потрѣбєнѣ.

Вѣнеман оубѡ / сѣбѣ єда когда въ оу҃ныннє прѣдѣ/сн сѣбє. нау҃ало
 оу҃нынню. подо/бєнѣ бѣдн пѣлѣ любнмнчє мн; / н̄ внждѣ таннѡ днєзнѣа єн.
 ка/ко ѡ разлнчнынхѣ цѣвѣтєцѣ зє/мнынхѣ н̄ пѣстры сѣвнрѣетѣ свѡє // (f. 232)
 дѣло. н̄ сѣѡ оубѡ мошѣ разѡмѣн. аще / бо сѣверѣт сѣ мѣдрыщн земннн. н̄ /
 фнлѡсофн снндѣт сѣ всѣєленнѣа. / не можѣт постнгрѣтн прѣмѣдрѡстн / єѡ.

ѿ цвѣтець же създаеть грѣбы. погрѣбаеть же въ ннхъ ѱада / своа. ѿ
 ѿжннвншна. по сѣмъ въздвннеть нмъ глѣ свон ѱако вое/вода. ѿнодѣшно
 послашаѣтъ глѣ / еѣ ѿ ѿлетать. ѿ ѿгдаже ѿлетатъ дѣлаѣтъ пакы. ѿ
 сконьѣава/ѣтъ снмн грѣбмн. ѿдн сладькы / сладостн своен. ѿко вѣсѣкомѣ /
 разоумѣ вндѣвшн сѣ. прославн/тъ сѣдѣтелѣ бѣ. ѿѿдѣшн сѣ како/воа немощнѣ
 многа прѣмѣро/стѣ прнходнтѣ. оупѣбн сѣ оубо ^{н ты} сѣ/мъ любнмнѣ мон. ѿ бѣдн
 ѿко / пѣлаа. ѿ ѿ бѣжтвннхъ кннгѣ / сѣбѣрн сн богатство. ѿ скровн/ще
 некрѣднмо прѣдѣпослн на / небѣ. ѿ кнѣзн бо земьстнн. ѿга кто / хоцетѣ штнн
 въ странѣ дадеѣ. / прѣднпослетѣ рѣбы сѣ богатствомъ / свонмъ. да въ такѣ
 поунетѣ. / ѿ прншедѣ ѿбнтаеть. тако н ты любнмнѣ мон. потѣшн сѣ
 прѣпосла/тн богатство на небѣ. да прнѣ бѣѣ/шн въ ѿбнтѣан сѣтн. не лѣнн сѣ
 оубѣ въ малѣ сѣмъ врѣмнн. да не / каатн сѣ ѿмашѣ на вѣкы беско/неунынѣ.
 га нашего не слышншн / лн глѣща. ѿко въ мнрѣ скрѣбнн / бѣете. н пакы реѣ.
 въ трѣпѣнн ва/шемъ стажнтѣ дѣшѣ вашѣ. ѿще лн / ты слабостна рѣдн свѣа. ѿ
 оунннѣа / дѣлаа скрѣбѣ вѣка сѣго възнена/вндѣвѣ. бѣжншн трѣпѣнна. по/хотн
 же плѣтѣстѣн възделѣвѣ. / ѿ ѿреѣмъ га своего добры ѿ блѣгнн. сѣ/ѣѣ слабѣстнѣ
 злословншн. ѿко / жестокѣ н тажѣкъ ѣстѣ. ѿ не мо/гы понестн его. лѣтѣ тебѣ
 ѿкаа/ннѣ. ѿто сътворишн въ погыбѣ/лѣ сѣбе ѿдавѣ. кто помѣлетѣ / та сѣбе
 самого ѿ погоубѣвѣша. / прнѣмѣ бо ѿрѣжнѣ хѣво ѿмѣже бѣ / врага оуѣзвнтн. въ
 свое сѣще мѣ / въдрѣзлѣ ѣсн. въспрѣнн любнмнѣ мон, въспрѣннн, не лѣнн сѣ
 зде. / ѿбѣ каешн сѣ тамо ѿдеже не пользѣ/еть покааннѣ. ѿше въ жнзнн сѣн /
 хвѣаншн сѣ. многосѣетно ѿпова/ннѣ твое. ѿ тѣщѣѣаннѣ твое. ѿгоже просѣтѣ
 оуста твѣа. да / мѣт сѣ бѣн. ѿ ѿто ѣ ѿгоже просѣ // (f. 233) ѿгоже просѣтѣ (sic!)
 ѣста твѣа ѿ него. вѣка / лн сѣго покоаа. ѿлн бесмрѣтѣннѣ жнзнн. / ѿ ѿще снхъ
 врѣмннннхъ ѿ несѣщнхъ про/сѣтѣ. ѿунн тебе естѣ тѣтѣ. ѿ добрѣн те/бе ѣ
 разбоиннѣ ѿ блѣдннѣ. мѣлатѣ бѣ / сѣ да сѣсѣнн вѣдѣтѣ. ѿ тебе влажѣ/тѣ
 ѿлѣщн сѣ льжеѣ жнѣѣща. въ добрѣ/мъ сѣмъ жнтн. свѣтѣ възненавндѣвѣ. / тѣмѣ
 възлюбнѣ ѣсн. ѿ небѣное цѣрѣтво / ѿставнѣ ѣсн. врѣмннѣа же възлюбнѣ ѣсн. ѿще
 оѣсѣмнѣлѣ сѣ ѣсн ѿкаанѣ. / ѣда ѿѣ блѣгнн бѣ ѿ ѿлѣвѣколюбецѣ ѿврѣ/жет сѣ трѣда
 твоего. снлѣ тн подѣтѣ / блѣтнѣ ѿго. сѣще же твое самѣ прѣкло/ннтѣ на
 покааннѣ. ѿ како трѣдѣ твоѣмѣ мѣзды не вѣдѣ. вѣсѣ ѿ тебе сѣѣ, / ѿ ты
 грѣдншн сѣ. мѣзды мѣздннѣа възысѣаетѣ ѿ лншнвншнхъ ѿго. ѿ тво/нхъ слѣзѣ
 ѿврѣжет сѣ. да не бѣѣте. / реѣкы ѿбѣ ѿщѣте ѿ вѣрѣщете. тѣлѣ/цѣте ѿ ѿврѣзѣт сѣ
 вамѣ. лѣжѣ не / бѣ ннѣакоже. разѣмѣн ѿкааннѣ / кто ненавнднтѣ тебе. кто

завидн/ть тн• съперникъ н добра ненавидѣ/нъ нашемъ спсѣнію• съвѣтникъ злын / н оубнѣца• то бо естъ тыщанне его• да / никтоже ѿ христїанъ спсѣетъ са• прндн / оубѣннѣ въ са• н не възненавнѣ живота // своего• ѿвѣрьзи ѿнъ ѡмнѣнѣ• н внѣъ с то/бѡѡ сѡщѣа како прѣтекѡтъ н подвн/заѡт са съ тѣщаннемъ многомъ• н / свѣщѡ своа въ рѣкахъ нмаще• оуста / же нхъ поѡтъ н славословѡтъ бесъмрѣ/тнааго женнха• ѡуеса бѡ нхъ пора/зъмѣшѡ добротѡ егѡ• н дѣша нхъ весѣ/лнтъ са н радуетъ• поразоумѣн н внѣъ / іако прнблнжнл са естъ н не къснтъ• / градеть бо възвелнчнтн ѡѡщнхъ ѣго• / въззаапѡ бо естъ глѡ глѡ• сѣ женн / градеть• н сѡщн с тобѡа нсходѡ/тъ съ радостна въ срѣтенне• нмаще / своа свѣща свѣтлы• н оуслышѡтъ / глѡ его глѡщѣ нмъ• прндѣте блѣвнн ѡѡца моего наслѣднште ѡготова/нное вамъ црѣвне ѡ сложенна мнрѡ• / всѣѡ же бвшоу гласѡ томѡ• ре/чешн нмъ братне дарнште мн ма/ло масла• сѣ бѡ ѡгасѣ свѣща моа• / н оуслышншн ѡ ннхъ• еда како не / достанеть намъ н тебѣ• ндн къ / продаѡщнмъ н къпн сѣбѣ• н тогда / ндешн каѡ са н печалѡѡ• н ннкаѡ/же ѡбрѣтъ къпла• възсѣ бѡ земѣ / тогда трепещеть іако вода морѣ/скаа ѡ лица славын ѣго• н тогда / плача са н рыдаѡ рѣшн въ смѣреннн // (f. 234) своѣмъ глѡ• ндѡ тлкънѡтн• н кто вѣ / ѡще ѡврьзетъ мн• прншедѣ же тлкънѡшн• н нѣ ннкаѡ/же ѡвѣщаѡщаго• н па/кы тлкънѡшн• н ѡвѣщаеть тн вьна/трннн глѡ• ндн ѡ мене не вѣдѣ тебе / дѣлателю не правдѣ• стоѡщоѡ же тн / тоу• н вьндетъ въ слѡха твоа глѡ радостн н весѣлна• н познаешн ѣднного / коѡждѡ дрѡужнны своѣѡ глѡ• н възъ/хнѡвѣ горьцѣ рѣшн•

ѡ лютѣ мнѣ, ѡ / лютѣ мнѣ ѡкаанномѡу н грѣшномѡ• / како лншнхъ са ѡ славы сѣѡ• н ѡлѡуѣ/нь быхъ ѡ дрѡжннынъ моѡѡ• възсѣ лѣѡа / живота моего съ ннмн бѣхъ• н ннѣ ѡлѡуѣнь быхъ ѡ ннхъ• праведно вьпа/дохъ въ стрѣть снѡ• ѡнн въздрѣжаа/хѡ са ѡзъ же скотѣскынъ ѡдѣхъ н пнта/ахъ са• ѡнн поѡхѡ съ покааннемъ, ѡзъ / же мльчаахъ• ѡнн въ црѣковѣ ндѣхѡ / колѣномъ на поклоненне• ѡзъ же сьнѡ/мъ дрѣмаахъ н спаахъ• ѡнн млѣахѡ, / ѡзъ же глоумлѣахъ са• ѡнн смѣрѣахѡ / себѣ, ѡзъ же велнчаахъ са• ѡнн нзъ/мьждаваахѡ, ѡзъ же краѣхъ са• / сѣго радн ѡннн радѡѡт са• ѡзъ же рыдаѡѡ / ѡнн весѣлатъ са, ѡзъ же плача са• / ѡнн оутѣшаемн сѡтъ, ѡзъ же крнча• /

Въспрннн ннѣ ѡкаанне, въспрннн // понѣ мало• поразумѣн нензрѣнное его / ѡлѡколюбне• н не лѣнн са ѡ своѣмъ / спсѣенн• възыщн его н бѡдетъ тн скорѣ въ спсѣенне• прнзовн н защнтнтъ тѡ• / даѡъ емоу да възмешн сторнцѣѡ

св/гоубо̄. ѿце бездѣшна харьтна въздаеть дѣлгы въ сѣбѣ. колѣмн пауче / бл҃гын
бѣ въздасть бл҃гть възыска/щнмь ёго. харьтнн во боуквамн / нѣтазветь
дѣлжнѣа лнхвѣ на лн/хвѣ. скровнице же бл҃гтн бж҃на. ѿмножнтъ мьздаѣ
молебнѣа ѿ молн/твенѣа. не оуныван любнмнче. да / не побѣжденъ бѣдѣшн
земннмн. / нн въ нечаданне вьложн себе. бѣ бѣ / мѣрѣа радн своего. прннметъ та
/ ѿ заштнтъ та. ѿ вьсѣкого ѿже / ѿ вьсѣго сѣца ѿщщнхъ ёго. прнстѣпн оубо
къ немуу бе-смынѣнѣа. / прнпадн, въздѣхнн. ѿ плучн са. ѿ рь/цн емоу. г҃н мон
спсе мон. вьскѣа / ѿставнл ма ёсн. оуцедрн ма ѿко / ты едннѣ есн
ѿколюбець. ѿ спсн / ма ѿко ты едннѣ есн без грѣха. ѿ / ѿзмн ма ѿ скврѣннаго
безаконѣа / моего. да не ѿвазнѣ вь сѣтн непрн/хазнннѣ на вѣкыѣ вѣкомь. ѿзбавн
/ ма ѿ вьсѣ врага моего. сѣ бо ѿко // (f. 235) лѣвъ рыкаеть хотѣ ма поглзтнтн.
въздвннн г҃н снлѣ твоа ѿ прндн да ма / спсешн. бльснн мьннн твоа ѿ
раженн. / да ѿбѣт са ѿ да нзвѣзнетъ ѿ лнца тво/его. немощень бо есть ѿ не
ѿматъ крѣ/постн статн прѣ товоа. нн прѣд лнце/мь любащнмь та. внднтъ бо
знаменѣ / бл҃гтн твоѣѣ, ѿ посрамленъ ѿходнтъ / ѿ него. ѿ ннѣ вѣко г҃н спсн ма
ѿко к те/бѣ прнвѣгохъ. ѿ ѿце тако прнстѣпншн / къ немуу вьсѣмь сѣцемь
своимь. ѿвѣ / ѿко ѿцѣ мѣрѣ ѿ благъ послеть бл҃гть / своа. вь помощь твоа. ѿ
вьса вола / твоа ѿспльннтъ. еѿ любнмнче мон, / прнстѣпн ѿ не лѣнн са.
прнзовн ѿ не ѿныван, нн вьнеманн же вь мене ѿнылѣг. / мнѣ бѣ доветъ стоудъ
лнца моего. / г҃лащюу ѿ не творашюу. наказавѣщнѣ / ѿ не разоумѣващюу. нѣ
бѣдн подра/жатель сврѣшеннхъ ѿ дѣховьныхъ / ѿцѣ. ѿ правнлоу нхъ
послѣдствѣн. / не выше мѣры. да не науынешн не ко/ньюатн. нн пакы же веамн
хѣжѣшнн. / да ѿмножнт са мьзда твоа. ѿ не / прнтан тѣла твоего да не
сѣпостатъ / тн бѣеть. нн же наоучн ёго ѿбычѣ/мь плѣтѣскымь. да не тажко
бѣеть / дѣшн твоѣн. ѿ нннзвѣтъ та вь прѣнспѣнѣа // земан.

ѿце бо хоцешн сврѣшатн по/хѣтн тѣлеснына. ѿ ѿставнтн пѣтн
пра/выѣ. ѿ по стѣгнамъ ходнтн. ѿ помыслы / скврѣनावыѣ оубоѣз прнѣматн. ѿ
не цѣ/ломѣдренъ. ѿ пакы ѿце выше мѣры / стѣжншн емоу. то ѿ тако бѣдетъ /
тагостъ дѣшн тввен. ѿ побѣжденъ / бывшоу оуныннемь. ѿ ѿнеможенемь. /
бѣдетъ гнѣвлнѣѣ ѿ лѣннѣѣ на сладво/сладвнѣ ѿ пѣнословнѣ же ѿ мѣтвѣ. ѿ / на
вьсѣко послашанне бл҃гъ. мѣроа / оубоу доброа ѿ правнломъ оустрон сѣ/ве. да
сврѣшенъ бѣдѣшн вь вьсѣмь. / позоратан рьцн мн, нѣсн лн былъ нн/колнже

запоущенню коньскомъ • / ѿ дще кто безъ мѣры конѣ женетъ • / то оуслацаетъ •
дще ли же пакы безъ / мѣры попоуститъ емоу • всадни/ка разбнвшѣ влауитъ •

Пакыи же, / кораблѣ въ пчуннѣ нѣси ли видѣ/ль такоже • дще бѣдетъ
на годѣ ѡбрѣ/мѣнѣ • оудобѣ влзнамн носимъ бѣ/детъ • тыць же безъ брѣмене
дще пла/ваетъ, влзнамнн скором проврѣ/жѣ бѣдетъ • такожде же дша ѿ тѣло • /
сѣго радн добро естъ, еже науьнешн / тоже ѿ съврѣшнтн • ѿ бѣ оугоднтн • сѣ/вѣ же
потрѣбѣ быти, ѿ блнжнемъ сн • // (f. 236) еже ѿ блвенно ѿ ѣзтно хвн •

Взы ѿ свѣтн/лици вселенынъ • вы есте солъ земан • / ѿ стлзпн
поднѣбннн • вы сѣщен съврѣ/шенн ѿ ѣзныци • ѿже бысте аггелн на земан • /
възлюбнвшѣн жнтн аггелское • тѣ/ломъ бѣ ѣлѣци сѣще дѣло же аггелское, /
съврѣшаєте любнмци мон • подвнзъ / нашъ врѣменень ѿ • въздааннѣ ѿго ѿ
по/хвала въ вѣкы прѣбываетъ • трдѣ ѣр/неуьства нашего малъ • въздааннѣ же /
наше, бесконечьно • ѿ ѣнкоже ѿнодѣ/шно ѣрнеуьствоуете • ѿ дѣтѣль съ лю/бвна
съврѣшаєте • толко пауе съ/перьннкъ нашъ дѣавѣль на прогнѣва/нне ѿ на
ѿстовьство градетъ • ѿ разн/унын свѣтн крѣетъ на нын • ѿко да ѣло/внт нын ѿ
спонъ сътворнтъ намъ • въ/немаѣте сѣвѣ любнмци мон ѡ свѣтнн / ѣгѡ • безъ
подвнга бѡ ннктоже сѣе/т са нн вѣнъуаемъ бываетъ • нн блго/дѣтъ же бжнѣ, не
ѡстаѣетъ ѿнодѣ/шно, вѡрацаго са ѿ подвнзѣцаго / са • ѿ дще кто сѣе
раслабнвъ ѡблѣннѣ / оуста своа (un mot applé) ѡврѣстн / блгтн на прнзванне
да прнѣдетъ на по/мощь емоу • ѿкоже бо кто немощень / сы рѣкама ѿ ногама ѿ
ѿмы брашна мнѣ/га лежѣца • ѿ прнносн не могу рѣкы к ѣ/стомъ • да прнемъ ѡ
брашенъ ѿ насытн/тъ своа дшѣ • дще ли ѡблѣннт са прѣ/нестн рѣкы къ оустомъ •
(un mot applé) прѣдлежѣцихъ не полъ/унтъ брашенъ • тако ѿ мнхъ ѿмѣнѣ
блгѣа брашна блгтнаа прѣдложе/нна • ѿ лѣна са прнзвѣтн ѿ • не можѣ /
насытнтн са блгостн ѣѣ • кто бѣ / застѣпнтъ ѡного ѿмацаго рѣ/цѣ • коснѣтн са
рѣкѣ его на възѣ/тнѣ прѣдлежѣцихъ брашенъ • / нан како бѣдетъ помѣуванъ
мнѣ; / ѿ ѿмѣнн печаль ѡ земныныхъ веще/н • ѿ не радѣ ѡ своємъ сѣсенн • ѿко/вѣмъ
же ѡбразомъ воннъ въхода / въ бранъ цнтнтъ тѣло свое ѡ въ/сѣдоу до побѣды
браннына • блю/дын крѣпнт са ѿ подвнзѣетъ • / еда како вънезапѣ, поврѣже/тъ
ѿ рѣтннкъ ѿ ннѣзложнтъ ѿ • / дще ли не цнтнт са оубо нн малѣ • / то таковын
въскорѣ ннѣзлаага/емъ бываетъ • тѣмъже ѡбразо/мъ ѿ мнхъ, аще дастъ сѣе
въ / слабостъ оунынна • оудобѣ ннѣзлаагаемъ бываетъ съпротнвѣ/нынмъ
дनावоломъ • вложнтъ / бѣ емѣ въ сѣце помыслы сѣрнын; // (f. 237) ѿ злы • ѿ ѣбне
въ сладтѣ прнемлетъ ѿхъ • / ѿ положнтъ на оумѣ сн, прѣзорѣство / же ѿ

высо̀комѣдрїе̄. ѿ тѣшеславне, за/внстѣ же ѿ клеветѣ. ѿрѣво̀вѣзѣденїе̄. / ѿ сынѣ
 безѣ сыгостн. надѣ смнн вѣсѣ/мн вѣ ѿчаанне прнвѣдетѣ ѿ; аще лн / бѣднтѣ ѿ
 трѣзвнт сѧ вынѣ. блѣтъ / бѣжнѣ прнзываѣ вѣ помощѣ. застѣ/пнтѣ ѿ вынѣ. ѿ
 тоѣ оуѣнмѣ бывае/тъ како ѿгоднтн бѣн. ѿ бѣдетѣ бл҃го/дѣтъ похвалена ѿ
 похвалѣѣннѣ. / ѿкоже кто взнемла вѣ зрѣцалло самѣ / естѣ сѣбѣвндецѣ зра вѣ
 не. тако / ѿ блѣтъ ѿдеже ѿбращетѣ покон. / вселнт сѧ ѿ вѣдворнт сѧ тоу. ѿ
 бѣе/тъ ѿкоже рѣхѣ похвалена ѿ похва/лѣѣннѣ. кромѣ вѣ помощн еѣ. не /
 можетѣ сѣце доволно бытн сѣбѣ. / напонтѣ же его ѿ внна своего. ѿкоже сѣ что
 гла. ѿ покаанна еѣ. подѣ / емоу слѣзы. ѿ ѿ сладостн еѣ мѣрова/вшн. прннесѣтъ
 емоу своѧ смѣре/ннѣ мѣдростѣ. ѿ ѿ слы еѣ вѣзѣ/моу поетѣ славѣ бѣн:— /

Безѣ лнца нншо естѣ зрѣцалло. а по/неже прнмлетѣ можетѣ ѿ вѣзѣ/тн. ѿ
 аще оуѣрашенѣ бѣетѣ, мо/жетѣ ѿ оуѣраснтн. тако ѿ вѣсѣкѣ ѿл/вѣкѣ безѣ блѣтн.
 нншѣ ѿ ѿ прснтелѣ. / аще же сподобнт сѧ блѣтн ѿнон. / проуеѣ ѿ помощн еѣ
 ѿсправнт сѧ вѣсѣ. аще же пакы ѿблѣннѣ сѧ, про/женетѣ а ѿ поустѣ ѿбращет
 сѧ ѿ ѿкаанѣ ѿ вѣсѣлат сѧ вѣ нѣ помыслн, / сквѣрѣнавн ѿ злн. ѿко ноцннн
 вра/нѣ на нырннн. ѿлѣкѣ же естѣ по/добатн н вѣзыскатн, ѿ прнзватн, / еѣ сѣ
 болѣзннѣ. ѿ блѣтн естѣ прн/нтн вѣ застѣпленне его. безѣ / блѣтн не можетѣ
 помыслѣ прсвѣ/тнтн сѧ. вндѣсте лн братне моѧ / (un mot applé) многопѣстрое
 бл҃го̀вѣра/зне бѣдѣѣщаго вѣка. ѿ аще не ѿ ѿнстнт сѧ сѣце наше, блѣтъ дѣхо/внаѧ
 не прнндетѣ вѣ ѿлѣка. аще / лн же прнндетѣ блѣтъ вѣ нь. вѣсѣкѣ дѣтѣль
 ѿсправнтѣ. ѿ аще / ѿсправнтѣ вѣсѣ. помышлѣетѣ / то ѿ ѿсправленїн. таковыѣ сѣбѣ
 / прѣльщаетѣ. не вѣды своѧ немощѣ. завнстѣ во сѣтворнтѣ тако/вын сѣбѣ. ѿ
 ѿгна ѿ сѣбе блѣтъ. / нѣ аще кто ѿсправнтѣ сѣбе. по/знаѧ застѣпленне блѣтное. /
 ѿко ѿ слы еѣ оуѣрѣпнѣ сѧ. ѿспрѣ/внлѣ ѿ дѣтѣлн. да прославнтѣ бѣ. // (f. 238) ѿ
 да рѣтѣ.

Слава твоемоу ѿлѣколюбнѣ. / ѿко недѣннѧ ѿ грѣшна спѣбнлѣ есн дѣто/ннѧ
 бытн твоеѣ блѣтн. ѿ ѿко вѣсѣхотѣ / ѿсправнѣ мнѣ своѧ оуѣгоднаѧ вѣко. та/ковыѣ
 разоумѣвѣ своѧ немощѣ. потѣ/щалѣ сѧ ѿ храма ѿнстаѧ бл҃го/дѣтн, / сѣтворнтн. ѿ
 бѣ вѣ немѣ блѣтъ сѣлѣ / ѿ прнношенне. ѿ сѣтна непоколѣбнмаѧ. / ѿ ресѣлащн сѧ
 весѣлнтѣ. ѿ радѣоуѣщн / сѧ вѣ немѣ радѣостѣ творнтѣ. ѿ хранн/тѣ ѿ ѿ вѣсѣкого
 зла. дондеже прѣста/внтѣ ѿ вѣ вѣнѣжннѣ жнзнѣ. ѿ сѣго вѣ/ка вѣ бѣѣщннѣ вѣкѣ.

Прнклонн ннѣ ѿхо / твое любнмнѣ мон. ѿ бѣ тн сѣвѣтѣ/ннѣ. аще
 хѣщешн ѿдоу своѣмѣ да вѣнндетѣ вѣ вѣнѣжннѣ жнзнѣ. ѿ желашн / бл҃женства

своего Г̄А. р̄ЩЦН МН ПОУТО / ОУМЫВАЕШН ЛНЦЕ СВОЕ В̄ДОА. ВСЬКО / ТОГО РАДН ДА
 БЛНЖНКАМЪ СВѠНМЪ ГО/ДѢ БЖ̄ЕШН. А́ НЕ УПЛАВЛАЕ ЕСН ПЛѢТЬСКИ / ТН СТР̄ТН. НѢ ВЪ
 ННХЪ ПОРАВѠЩЕНЪ / ЕСН. АЩЕ ЛН ХЩЕШН ЯМЫТН ЛНЦЕ / СВОЕ. ОУМЫЕ СЛЪЗАМН. Н̄
 УМЫЕ ПЛА/ЧЕМЪ. ДА ПРОСВѢТН СА СЪ СЛОВОА ПР̄Б / БГОМЪ Н̄ СТѢМН ЕГО АГГЕЛЫ. ЛНЦЕ
 БО / УМЫВАЕМОЕ СЛЪЗАМН. ДОБРОТА Е̄ / НЕВВАДАЕМАА. НѢ ПРОТНВѢ СЕМЪ / Р̄ЕШН.
 СТЫЖ̄Ж̄ СА СКВРЬНЫ Р̄АН ЛНЦА М̄ЕГ; // СКВРЬНА ЛНЦА ТВОЕГО Н̄ НОГОУ ТВОЕО СЪ УН/СТОМЪ
 СР̄ЦЕМЪ. ПАЧЕ СЛНЦА СНАЕТЪ ПО/СР̄Б̄ АГГЕЛЪ БЖННХЪ. ЧТО СМѢШН СА / ВСЕМНѢННА.
 ПЛАКАТН СА Н РЫДАТН / НѢ ЛН ТН РЕКАЕ Г̄Б. ТЫ ЖЕ УСТАВЛЪ ЗА/ПОВѢДН Г̄А СВОЕО.
 Н̄ НЕ БОИШН ЛН СА МѢ/КЪ ЕГО. СНЦЕ Н̄СКОУШЕННЕ ННѢ МОЖЕ/ТЪ НАКАЗАТН
 НЕН̄СКОУСНЫНА. Н̄ ВЪ / РЖКЫ РАЗВѠННУА ВЪПАДЫН. МОЖЕТЪ / ПЖТННКЫ
 ПОТВРЪДНТН. Н̄ ПОНЕЖЕ В̄/ЧАСТН Н̄СКВШЕННЕ Г̄ЛА СЛАБОСТН МОЕА / РАДН Г̄А. ВЪ Ч̄А
 ЯТВРЪДНХ СА. ОУНЫ/ННѢ ЖЕ Н̄ ЛѢНОСТЪ МОА НА ТОЖЕ ВЛѢУЕ/Т МА ПАКЫН. СЕГО РАДН
 ОУБО Н̄ АЗЪ ЛЮ/БНМНУЕ МОН ХЩЦЖ̄ СВѢТННКЪ ВЫ/ТН ТН. СТАДО НЗБРАННОЕ СП̄СВО
 МЛВЫ. / НАСЛѢДНЦН БЖНН. БЛЮДѢТЕ СА ДА НЕ / ПЛѢТЬСКИНА СТР̄ТН РАДН Н̄
 ЖНТЕН/СЫК (!) ПОХОТН. ЛНШНТЕ СА СЛАВЫ УНОА / Н̄ РАДОСТН. Н̄ НЗРННОВЕННН
 БЖДЕТЕ / ЧРЪТОГА УНОГО. Н̄ЖЕ Н̄СПАЛНЕНЪ Е̄ / РАДОСТН Н̄ ВЕСЕЛНА. ЛЮБНМНЦН МОУ. /
 ТРЪДЪ ЧРЪНЕУЗЪСТА НАШЕГО ЯКО СЪ/НЪ ЕСТЬ. ТРЪДОУ ЖЕ НАШЕМОУ ПОКО. /
 НЕН̄СПОВѢДНМЪ ЕСТЬ.

ВЗНЕМАН / ОУБО СЕВѢ. ЕДА КОГДА УБРАЩЕШН СА / УПАДЪ В̄ ОБОУ ЧАСТЮ Н̄
 В̄ ОБОУ / ПНРЪ. КАКОЖЕ УТВѢТЪ ВЪЗАСН. НѢ П̄/(f. 239)ТЪЩН СА П̄А СВРЪШЕНЖА
 ДОБРОДѢТѢ/ЛЪ СТАЖАТН. Н̄ ОУКРАШЕНЖ ВЪСЪУѢКЫН. / ЯКОЖЕ ЛЮБИТЪ БѢ. Н̄ СНП
 АЩЕ СТАЖНШН. / ННКОЛНЖЕ ПРОГНѢВАЕШН Б̄А. НН БЛН/ЖНѢГО СВОЕГО УЗЛОБИШН. СН
 ЖЕ ЕДННО/ВЕЩНА ДѢТѢЛЪ НАРНУЕТ СА. НМАЩН / ВЪ СЕВѢ ДОБРОТЖ̄ РАЗЛНЧНАМН
 ДѢТѢ/ЛЫМН. ЯКОЖЕ Б̄В ВѢНЕЦЪ ЦР̄КЫН, ВЕЗЪ / КАМЕНІА ЧЪСТНААГО Н̄ ВЕЗЪ ДРАГОГО
 ВН/СРА Н̄СПЛЕТЕНЪ НЕ МОЖЕТЪ БЫТН. ТА/КО Н̄ СН ЕДННОВЕЩНА ДѢТѢЛЪ ВЕЗЪ
 ДО/БРОДѢТѢЛЕН РАЗЛНЧНЫНХЪ. НЕ СЪСТО/НТ СА. НБО ОУПОДОБИЛА СА ЕСТЬ ЦР̄В/СКЪ
 ВѢНЦОУ. ЯКОЖЕ БО ВѢНЕЦЪ АЩЕ / НЕДОСТАТЬКЪ ЕДННОГО КАМЕНЕ НЛН ВН/СРА НА ГЛАВѢ
 ЦР̄ЕВѢ СНАТН НЕ МОЖЕ. / ТАКО Н̄ СНЕ ЕДННОВЕЩНѢН ДѢТѢЛН / АЩЕ НЕДОСТАТЬКЪ
 БЖДЕТЪ ЕДННОА / ДѢТѢЛН ДОБРОДѢТѢЛНЫНА. СВРЪШЕНА ДѢТѢЛЪ НЕ НМЕНУЕТ
 СА. ОУПѠ/БН ЖЕ СА ПАКЫН, МНОГОЦѢННОМЪ БРА/ШНОМЪ СЛАСТНЫНМЪ. ВЪСЪХЪ
 НЗЪ/БРАННЫНХЪ СЛАСТЕН. Н̄ ЛНШЕНОМЪ / БЫВШЕМЪ СВЛН. ЯКОЖЕ МНОГОЦѢ/ННАА
 БРАШНА ВЕЗЪ СОЛН ЧАСТН СА НЕ / МОЖТЪ. ТАКО Н̄ ЕДННОВЕЩНАА ДѢЛЪ / ВЪСЪКОЖ
 ДОБРОДѢТѢЛН ОУКРАШЕНА. / МНОГОПЪСТРЬМН ДѢТѢЛ'МН. ТН АЩЕ ЛН//ШНТ СА В̄ ЛЮВЕ
 БЖНА. Н̄ БЛНЖНѢГО СН. / ВЪСЕМОУ МРЪЗЪКЪ ЕСТЬ. ПѠБНО ЖЕ / ПАКЫ. КРѢПКОУ Н̄

велкоу ѡрѣлоу • / касачоу са висотахъ небныхъ • / ѡже видѣвъ брашно въ сѣти • двѣ / крѣпостна крѣлоу своеѡ шедъ оустрѣ/мнт са на не • и възстрѣгнѣти хотѣ/шоу брашноу • оудръжанъ бы за ко/нецъ ноктен въ сѣти • и малымъ си/мъ възсѣ крѣпостъ его смѣри са • / все бо тѣло его възнѣ естъ сѣти • крѣ/постъ же его възсѣ възата въ не • / такожде и ѣднновецнаа дѣтѣль • / ѡце прнвазана бѣдетъ земный / вещь • възсѣ въ не и вахнтъ ѡнѣдъ • / все бо тѣло сѣврѣшенна еѣ кромѣ / кѣзъ естъ • крѣпостъ же възсѣ еѣ на зе/млн смѣрѣет са • и ѡкоже не може/тъ възлетѣти ѡрелъ на высотѣ, / ѡерѣскѣа ноктнаго ꙗтна дѣлѣ • / тако и ѣднновецнаа дѣтѣль ѡце не / своеѡднт са ѡ земныхъ вещь; / не мѡжетъ быти сѣврѣшенна дѣтѣль: /

Кто естъ не ѡмы слъзъ да прнѣдетъ / и плачет са • и не ѡмы покаанѣа пѡ/разоумѣвъ да въздѣхнетъ • и да / навикнетъ ѡзвѣсто ѡсправлѣн/цнхъ дѣтѣль сиѣ • ѣда бѡ небѣа дѡ/(f. 240)нде ѡсправленне его • дошедъ до дверѣи / тѣ възбранено бы ѣмоу вынѣти • дѡ/ндеже црѣвна не доѡдѣ дѣтѣль • ѡспра/вленне не можетъ вынѣти въ неѣ • ѡкоже сѣ что гла • любнмнѣе мон • ѡспра/вншѣ нѣци прѣѣрѣнѣа сна дѣтѣль • оѡкрасншѣ ѡсплетъше ѡко црѣкы / вѣнецъ • и вещь радн ѡзмѣдалы • то/лнкѣ дѣтѣль ни въ тоже ни ѡзведошѣ • / прнвазана бо нхъ бы помыслы печѣл/мн земныхъ вещь • сѣго радн не мѡ/гошѣ на небѡ възыти • блюдн са оѡбѡ / любнмнѣе мон • да не прнвазавъ сѣ/бе прѣдасн са врагоу своегоу • ни ра/здѣрѣши днвныи дѣтѣлн ꙗже съ мн/гомъ трѣдомъ стажа • и не възбранѣи си въ небѣа врата вынѣти • и / не поставн еѣ посрамленѣи прѣ же/ннхѡмъ ѡнѣмъ • и не прнважн еѣ ве/щми ѡзмѣдаламн • ни же прнго/здн еѣ землн • нѣ даждъ ѣн дръзно/венне и гла высѡкъ • да веселѣци ѡ / съ радостнѣ въ ѡрѣтогъ вынѣдетъ • / и гласѡмъ высѡкомъ ѡстажетъ мѣ/здѣ своѡ •

Ѡ днвное ѡѡ, ѡко ѡ сѣ / лѣвъ прѣвелен зѣло и крѣпокъ • / стрѣноѣ прнвазаны смѣри са • та/ко и дѣтѣль земный печалѣ прнва//зана • львовн ѡпѡбн са дѣтѣль сиѣ • оѡкрѣ/шена възсѣкомъ дѣломъ блѡгомъ и смѣ/реномъ • земныхнмн печалѣмн • / ѡко строуноѣ ѣднноѣ прнвазана ѣ • / тѣмже молѣ та любнмнѣе мон въз/спрѣнн подвнгни рѣцѣ твоѣ • хотѣ / прѣрѣзати ѡзмѣдѣлѣа сиѣ стрѣнѣ • / да не смѣхоу бѣдѣши ѡко сапсонѣ / крѣпкын • ѡже своимъ подвнгомъ, / ѡкоже въ ѣдннѣ ѡѡ тысѣщѣ ѡзбн • / и двѣн добротѣ ѡко ѣдннѣ стрѣнѣ / прѣрѣзавъ • и сѣбе ѡ ꙗзъ свобѡдн • / и врагы побнвъ, побѣдѣ бѣн прн/несѣ • и мѣтва подвнга его въ ѡсто/ѡннкѣ прѣложн са • снѣ, снѣева ѡсправленна сътворнвѣ • сѣбе сва/за врагомъ

прѣдаст са • ꙗтнѣ/мь бѣ строуѣнѣмъ смѣри са • ꙗ / страшиѣа ѡнѣ ꙗ днвнѣа
крѣпѣ / свѣа

ВЪНЕМАН ОУБѢ НѢ ЛЮБНУЕ (!) МОИ ТЫ СѢБѢ • ЕДА КАКО ДНВНѢА ДѢТѢЛЪ •
МАЛЫХЪ РАДИ ПЕЧАЛИ / СВѢЖЕШИ ꙗ СМѢРИШИ • НѢ БЛЮДИ Ѡ / ВСѢХЪ ВРѢЖАЩИХЪ
ВЕЩЕИ • ꙗ / ОУКРАСНѢ ПРѢПОСАН А НА НЕБО • / СИЦЕ ЖЕ СВОБОДИ А • ЯЦѢМЪЖЕ
ѡБЪ/ЗОМЪ ПРѢЖЕ СХОДАЩЕН ВЪ ГЛѢБНИИ • / ЯКО ДА ОБРАЩЕТЪ МНОГОЦѢНИИ // (f.
241) БНСЕРЪ • ЕГОЖЕ ѡБРѢТЪ, АБНЕ СЪ МНОГОМЪ ТРОУДОМЪ НА ВЫСОТѢ ВЪСХОДНТЪ •
ВЪ[СЕ]/ЖЕ ТѢЛО ЕГО ОБНАЖАЕТ СА Ѡ ВОДЪ • ꙗ ВОА / ЖЕ ПРѢВЫВАЕТЪ НА МѢСТѢ • СЪ ЖЕ
СЪ БОГА/ТЪСТВОМЪ МНОГѡМЪ ОУСТРѢМНѢ СА НА / СОУХО НЪЛЪЗЕ • СНИМЪ ЖЕ ѡБРАЗОМЪ ꙗ
ТЫ / ПОТЪЩИ СА СВОБОДНИ ДѢТѢЛЪ Ѡ ВСѢ / ЗЕМНИХЪ ВЕЩЕН • ꙗ ОУКРАСНѢ СА
СЪВРЪ/ШЕНОѢ ДѢТѢЛНѢ • ѡБЛѢЩИ СА ЯКО РИ/ЗОА • ꙗ ТРѢЗВИ СА ЛЮБНИМУЕ ДНЪ ꙗ
НОЩЬ • / ДА СА ЕѢ НЕ СВѢЛѢЧЕШИ • СѢѢ ЕДННОВЕЦЬ/НИИ ДѢТѢЛН НИКТОЖЕ НЕ МОЖЕТЪ
ВРѢДѢ, / НА ЗЕМЛИ • СКРЪБЪ Бѡ ТРѢПѢННЕ СЪДѢ/ВАЕТЪ • НИЩЕТА ЖЕ ꙗ НЕСТАЖАННЕ,
ЗѢ/МАЛЪ ЕСТЬ ДѢЛОУ ЕѢ • Ѡ СЕГО Бѡ ПЛѢВН/ТА БЫВАЕТЪ • ПЛОДЫ ДОБРОПРАВЕДНИИ /
ПРИНОСАЩИ • НИ НЕДѢГ ЖЕ ЕѢ МОЖЕТЪ / ВРѢДНИ • Ѡ НЕГО Бѡ СНОѢ ѡДѢЕТ СА, /
ПОХВАЛАМИ КЪ БОУ • ПОДОВНО ЖЕ НЕ МОГѢТЪ И НИЗЛОЖИТИ ЕѢ • ЯКО Ѡ ТОѢ СТА/ЖИТЪ
ПОХВАЛѢ ꙗ СЛАВѢ ꙗ ЖИЗНЪ ВѢУНѢА • / ГВНЕННЕ НЕ МОЖЕТЪ ОУСТРАШИТИ ЕѢ • / Ѡ ТОГО
Бѡ ПЛЕТЕТЪ ВѢНЕЦЬ СЪВРЪШЕ/ННА СВОЕГО • ꙗ БОУ СЛАВѢ ПРИНОСИТЪ • НѢ / ꙗ НАГОТА ЕИ
ОУНИИНА НЕ МОЖЕТЪ НАЛО/ЖИТИ • ПОНЕЖЕ Ѡ НЕѢ СЪПРАДЕ ѡДЕЖѢ / СЛАВЫ • ГЛАДЬ
ТАКОЖДЕ НЕ МОЖЕТЪ / ЕѢ ВЪ ПРѢНЕМАГАННЕ ОУСТРОИТИ, Ѡ // ТОГО Бѡ ТРАПЕЗѢ
ГОТОВИТЪ СИ ВЪ ЦРѢ/СТВИ НЕБѢВАМЪ • НѢ НИ ЖѢЖА НЕ МОЖЕ / ПЕЧАЛЪ ЕИ НАНЕСТИ • Ѡ
ТОѢ БО ГОТОВИ/Т СИ ВЕСЕЛЕНЕ РАНСКОЕ • НИЩЕТА НЕ МОЖЕ / ОУЖАСИТИ ЕѢ НА БОГАТЪСТВО •
ТОѢ Бѡ / НАСЛѢСТВОУЕТЪ БЛАЖЕНСТВО ГНЕ • / БДѢННЕ ЖЕ ꙗ ПЛАЧЪ • ВѢНИЦИ ЕИ СѢТЪ
ГѢ/ВН ꙗ СЪВРЪШЕНН • ИСТОУНИКЪ СЛЪЗЪ • ѡ/УНИЩЕННЕ ЕИ ЕСТЬ • ѡСНОВАННА СЪЗДАНИЕ/МЪ
ЕѢ СѢ • СМРЪТЪ НЕ МОЖЕТЪ ЕѢ ОУМѢ/ТИТИ • НИ ГРѢБЪ РАЗДРОУШИТИ ЕѢ МОЖЕТЪ • НИ
ДРЪЖАТИ ЕѢ АЕРЪ • НИ НЕБѢСА / МОЖЕТЪ ВРАТА ЗАТВОРИТИ ПРѢ ДѢТѢ/ЛНОѢ ДѢШЕѢ • НѢ
ВНДАЩЕ ЕѢ СЪ РАДОСТИ/А ѠВРЪЗѢТЪ • ТЪМЫ ТЪМАМИ ꙗ ТЫ/СѢЩА ТЫСѢЩАМИ • АГГЛЪ
АХГГЕЛЬ • / ПРѢСТОЛН ГДѢСТВА • НАУАЛА ЖЕ ꙗ ВЛА/СТИ • НЕ МѡГѢТЪ ЗАПРѢТИТИ ЕИ •
НѢ / СЪ РАДОСТНА ПРИНИМАТЪ А • ꙗ НА РѢКА / СВОИХЪ ВЪЗЕМШЕ • ПРИНОСАТЪ А
ПРѢ/СТОЛОУ СЛАВЫ • РАЧЕТ СА ѡ НЕИ ѠЦѢ / ꙗ СНЪ СЪ СЪТИМЪ ДЪХОМЪ • РАЧЕТ СА ѡ
НЕ/И ДЪХЪ СЪТИИ ЯКО БЫ ЕМЪ ЦРКОВЬ СЪАА / ꙗ ВСЕЛН СА ВЪ НА • РАЧЕТЪ ЖЕ СА ѡ НЕИ ꙗ
ЕДННОРѢДНИИ СЪНЪ • ЯКО ТОМОУ ВЪСЪ/ХУТЪ ꙗ ПАЧЕ ЕГО ИНОГО НЕ СТАЖАА • / ꙗ РАЧЕТ
СА ѡ НЕИ ѠЦѢ ЯКО ТОГО ВЪЗЪ/ЛЮБИЛА ЕСТЬ, ꙗ ПАЧЕ ЕГО ИНОГО НЕ ВЪ// (f. 242) ЗЛЮБИ •
РАЧЕТЪ ЖЕ СА ѡ НЕИ НЕБСА СЪ СЛА/МИ СВОИМИ • ИНОДѢШНО СЛАВАТЪ ѡЦА ꙗ СНА / ꙗ

СТГО ДХА. ВНАЩЕ ДѢТѢЛЪ АГГЕЛЬ/СКѢА ОУКРАШЕНѢ ВЪСѢКОА ДОБРѢТОА / Н
ПРАВДѢѢ. РАУЕТ СА Ѡ НЕН РАН, ІАКО ЖРѢ/ВНЕМЪ ПАДЕ ЕМОУ ВЪ ДѢСТОАННЕ. /

СЛАВА Н ВЕЛѢЛѢПНЕ ЕДННОМОУ БЛГОМОУ, / БОУ Н ЧЛВКОЛЮБЦОУ. ПОДАЩОМОУ
/ НАМЪ СВОЕ ЦРѢВІЕ. БЛГТНА СН НЦѢЛН / МА ГН НЦѢЛѢѢ. ЕДННЫН ПРѢМѢДРЫН /
МАСРЪДЫН ВРАЮ. МЛѢ ТВОА БЛГО/СТЫНА НЦѢЛН СТРОУПЫ ДШѢ МОЕѢ. Н / ПРОСВѢТН
ѠУН МОН ОУМНѢН. ДА РА/ЗОУМѢѢ ТВОЕ СЪМОТРЕННЕ ВЫВАЕМОЕ / НА МЫНѢ ВЫНѢ. Н
ПОНЕЖЕ ОУВАЛА ЕТЬ / МЫСЛЬ МОА. БЛГТЪ ЖЕ ТВОА СНЛОѢ Н/СТННОѢ ДА РАСТВОРИТ СА.
Н ЧТО РЕКѢ / ПРѢВѢДУЕ СВѢДЫ СРЦА Н ОУДЫ. САМЪ БО / ЕДННЪ ВѢСН, ІАКО ЗЕМЛѢ
БЕЗВОДНАА, / ЖЖДЕТЪ ТЕБЕ ДША МОА. Н ЖЕЛАЕ/ТЪ СРЦЕ. ЛЮБАЩАГО ЖЕ ГН БЖЕ
МОН. / БЛГТЪ ТВОА ВЫНѢ ДА НАСЫТИТЪ. Н / ІАКОЖЕ ВЫНѢ ПОСЛАШАЛЪ ЕСН МЕНЕ ВЛКО.
/ Н ННѢ НЕ ПРѢЗРИ МЛЕННА МОЕГО. СЕ БО / ІАКО ПЛѢННИЦА ЕСТЬ МЫСЛЬ МОА. ТЕБЕ /
ЕДННОГО СПСА Н НСТНННАГО НЩЩЩ. ПѢ/СН ОУБО ННѢ БЛГТЪ СВОА ВЪСКОРѢ / ДА
ПРНДЕТЪ ВЪ ПОМОЩЬ МОА. ІАКО ДА НА//СЫТИТЪ МОЕ АЛКАННЕ. Н НАПОИТЪ МОѢ /
ЖЖѢѢ. ТЕБЕ БО ЖЕЛАѢ МОЕГО ВЛКЫ НЕ/НАСЫТИМААГО. КТО МОЖЕТЪ НАСЫ/ТИТИ СА ВЪ
НСТННѢ ЛЮБАЩИНѢ ТА. Н / ТЕБЕ ЖДѢЩА СВѢТА НСТНННААГО Н ПѢ/ДАТЕЛѢ СВѢТОУ.
ДАЖД МН ПРОШЕ/ННА МОА. Н ДАРѢН МН МЛТВѢѢ Н ВЪСКА/ПЛН ВЪ СРЦЕ МОЕ. ЕДННѢ
КАПЛА ЛЮБѢ/ВЕ ТВОЕѢ. ДА РАЗГОРИТ СА ВЪ СРЦН МО/ЕМЪ ПЛАМЫ ЛЮБѢВЕ ТВОЕѢ ІАКО ВЪ
ЛЪ/ЗѢ. Н ДА ПОИСТЪ ТРЪННЕ ЛЪКАВЫѢ ПО/МЫСЛЫ. ДАЖД МН НЗОБНЛЬНО Н БЕЗЪ /
МѢРЫ ІАКО БѢ ЧЛВКОМЪ. Н ДАРѢН МН / ІАКО ЦРѢ ЦРѢТВОУЩИНМЪ. Н ОУМНОЖН / ІАКО
БЛГЪ НЪЗЪ БЛГА ѠЦѢ. Н НСПЛЫН / ВЪ ВОДНОСТН МѢСТО, Ѡ БЛВЕНІА СН. / ДА СА
НСПЛЫННТЬ ЖЖѢ МОА, Ѡ БЛГО/ДѢТН ТВОЕѢ. НАСЫТИ ВЫНѢ .Е. ТЫСѢ/ЩЪ Ѡ ПАТІН
ЧЛѢБЪ. НАСЫТИ АЛЪУБѢ / МОА Ѡ БЕСУНСЛЪНААГО БОГАТѢСТВА, / СВОЕѢ БЛГОСТЫНА.
ЧЛВКОЛЮБЕ / БЛГЫН. АЩЕ НА ЧЛѢБЫ Н НА ТРѢВѢ. / ВЪСѢМОУ НАРОДА ТВОА НЕѠСКѢНѢ /
БЛГТЪ НЪЛНА СА ВЪ ВРѢМА СЕ. КѢ/ЛМН ПАЧЕ ДАРѢШН ПРОШЕННА РА/БОУ ТВОЕМОУ
МЛѢЩИМОУ ТН СА. СЕ / БО Н ДѢРЪ СВѢТНТ СА. Н ПТНЦА НЪЗЪ/МѢНѢѢТЪ ГЛАСЪ СВОА.
Ѡ МНОГЫѢ // (f. 243) СЛАВЫ Н ПРѢМѢДРОСТН ТВОЕѢ. СЕ БО СЖЕ / Н ЗЕМЛѢ ВЪСѢ
ѠБЛАУИТ СА ѠДЕЖДЕѢ РА/ЗАНУНОѢ Н ПЪСТРЫНМЪ ЦВѢТОМЪ. НЖЕ / ПРАДЕТ СА НЕ
РѢКАМА ЧЛВЧЪСКИНМАА. / РАУЕТЪ ЖЕ СА Н ПРАЗДНОУЕТЪ ѠБѢМА / ПРАЗДННКОМАА.
ЕДННѢМЪ ЖЕ ЗА СНѢ СВО/Н ПРЪВОЗДАННЫН АДАМЪ ІАКО ѠЖИТЪ. / ДРЪГЫМЪ ЖЕ ЗА ВЛКѢ
СВОЕГО ІАКО СЫШѢ, / ПОХѠДН ПО НЕН. СЕ Н МОРЕ ОУМНОЖАЕ/Т СА Ѡ БЛГТН ТВОЕѢ. Н
ѠБОГАТѢЕ/ТЬ ПЛАВАЩЩА ПО НЕМОУ. ГН МОН ГН. / Н МНѢ ВЛАГТЪ ТВОА ДРЪЗНОВЕННЕ
ДА / ДА ГЛАТН К ТЕБѢ. Н ЖЕЛАНІЕ ЖЕ Н/МАМЪ К ТЕБѢ НѢДНТ МА. АЩЕ БО Н НСКО/НН
ЧЛВКОУВІИЦА ЗЪМНН ВЪ ВРѢМА / СЕ ПРНХОДА ѠВРЪЗАЕТЪ ОУСТА СВОА. / КОЛМН ПАЧЕ
ПОДОБАЕТЪ ѠВРѢСТН С/СТА РѢС. ТВОЕМОУ ЖЕЛАЩОМОУ ТЕБЕ. / ВЪ СЛАВѢ Н ПОХВАЛѢ

БЛГТН ТВОЕЖ. / ПРИЕМЫ́ ДВА ПЪНАЗА ВДОВЫН ЎНОА, / Н ПОХВАЛНВЪ А. ПРИНМН
 МЛЕННЕ РАБА / ТВОЕГО Н ВЪЗРАСТН МЛТВЖ МОА СНА. / Н ДАРВН МН ПРОШЕННА МОА. ДА
 БЖ ХРА/МЪ СТЪ БЛГТН ТВОЕЖ. Н ДА ВЪСЄЛН/Т СА ВЪ МА Н ДА МА НАВУНТЪ КАКО
 8/ГОДНТН ТН. Н ДА ВЪ ГЛСАИ МОА БРАКНЕ/ТВ ГЛАСОМЪ НСПЛЫНЪ ПОКААНІА Н ВЕСЄ/ЛНА.
 ЎБВЪДЪЕТЪ ЖЕ МЫСЛЬ МЪ ЯКО КЖ//ПНОМЪ. ДА НЕ ПРЪЛЪЩЕНЪ БЫВЪ, СЪГРЪ/ШЖ ТН. Н
 ѠРННОВЕНЪ БЖ ПРОСВЪЩЕННА / ЎНОГО.

Послоушанè мене ГН послас/шанè. н дажд мн да възлагж вь црѣствн /
 твоємь. азъ прѣлѣщенъ бывъ. събранъ бы. нечнстъ же, н ѡчнстнх ѡ. /
 несмысленъ, н оумѡдрнх са. н не/потрѣбенъ. потрѣбенъ быхъ ГН / мон ГН.
 стадо нзбранное твое урѣ/нець. н възсѣхъ стыхъ твоихъ оуго/жѣшнхъ тн. въ ран
 рѣуѣще са. тн мо/лнтвж творатъ за ны. н млѣть тѣ, / єднного бл҃гаго
 улѣколюбца. са/мъ же ГН мон ГН. оуслышн млтвы / н. н мленнемъ нхъ спсн ма
 грѣшн/нааго. азъ же оубѡ тѣмн тебѣ / слава прнношж яко тѣхъ млтвы /
 послоушавъ оущєдрнл ма єсн. / н нѣсн прѣзрѣлв млтвы нхъ. бывъ/шнхъ за мое
 смѣренне н спсєнне. / ты же ГН мон н прѣркомъ своимъ ре/кль єсн. ѡврѣзн оуста
 своа нсплн/наа. сє оуже ннѣ ѡврѣзе са сѣце/мъ оуста раба твоего ГН мон.
 н/сплннт са нмъ ѡ блгтн твоеж, / да вынѣ блва тѣ ГН спсе мон. на/пон
 помысль мо́н улѣколюбче бла/гын рѡсѡа блвеніа твоего. яко зе//**(f. 244)**млѣ
 ѡсѣана не можетъ вьспнтатн ѡ / сѣвѣ плѡѣ безъ посѣщенна твоеж бл҃а/гостына.
 тако н сѣце мое не можетъ бе/зъ блгтн твоеж провѣщатн оуго/дна/го. нн плѡента
 плѡа прннестн правѣна. / сє оуже дѣжѣ пнтаетъ плоды. н дрѣве/са вѣнѣважат са
 пѣстрымъ цвѣтн/емъ. н роса блгтн твоеж да просвѣ/тнтъ мн помысль. да
 оуѣраснтъ н цвѣ/томъ покааніа н смѣренна. любо/внѣ же н трѣпѣннемъ. н цю
 рекж н є/ще ГН мон ГН. сє вѡ млтва моа не/моцнаа. н безаконна моа велна. / н
 прнѣтранна сѣть. ѡ лютѣ мнѣ / грѣсн мон стѣжатъ мн. н немоць / моа нѣднт
 ма. да побѣднтъ ѣ бла/годѣтѣ твоа. ѡврѣзы ѡчн слѣпцѣ. / ѡврѣзн мн ѡчн
 оумнѣн. да вынѣ ра/зоумѣваж въ добротѣ твоа. н ѡврѣзы оуста нѣмомоу.
 ѡврѣзн оу/ста моа въ слава н похвалл блгтн / твоеж. положнвы прѣдѣлы морю
 сло/вомъ повелѣніа твоего. положн / прѣдѣль сѣцѣ моемоу блгтна сн. / яко да не
 оуклоннт са на десно нн на/шве ѡ доброты твоеа. давы лѡемъ / водѣ въ
 поустынн. лѡемъ непокорн/вынѣмъ н протнвѣщнм ѡ. даж мн пѣкаа/нне вынѣ. н
 ѡчнма мо́нма слъзы да плач/ѣ са днѣ н ноцѣ. смѣреннож мѣдѣ/стна н
 любовна н сѣцемъ чнстомъ. / да прнванжнтъ же са молнтва моа / ГН к тебѣ. н
 дарвн мн ѡ сѣмене ст҃го / твоего. да прннесж тн драхмж нсплн/нь покааніа, н

ИСПОВѢДАНІА Н РЕКѢ • / СЛАВА ДАВШОМОУ МН СЛАВѢ • ДА ЕМѢ / ПРИНЕСѢ Н ПРѢЛОЖѢ •
ОУСЛЫШИ ГН МО/ЛНТВѢ МОѦ РАБА ТВОЕГО • МЛТВАМЪ / СТЪИHXЪ ТВОИHXЪ • СЫН НАДЪ
ВЪСТЪМН / БѢ БЛВЕНЪ ВЪ ВѢКЫ

АМННЪ: — /

ПРНДѢТЕ ЛЮБИМНИЦИ МОИ • ПРНДѢТЕ / ОЦИ, Н БРАТНА • СТАДО ИЗБРАННОЕ /
СПСВО • ПРНДѢТЕ КОУПЛА ДѢИМЪ, / ДОНДЕЖЕ ТРЪЖЬСТВО СТОИТЪ • НСЬ/ПЛЫНИТЕ ОУН
СЛЪЗЪ ВАШИHXЪ • Н АБІЕ / ОУН СРѢУНѢИ ВАШИ ОВРЪЗЕТЪ СѦ • / ГЛАНТЕ СЛОВО О ВЪУНѢИ
ЖИЗНИИ • / Н О СѢДѢ ВЪУНѢИМЪ Н АБНЕ ПОКАЕ/Т СѦ СРЦЕ ВАШЕ • ПРИИМѢТЕ ДОБРЫІ /
ПОМЫСЛЬ О ЦРЪВСТВИ НБНѢМЪ Н РА/Н; Н АБНЕ НЕРАДНТИ НАУЧЬНЕТЕ О / ЗЕМНИHXЪ
ВЕЩЕИ • Н ДА НИКТОЖЕ / РАСЛАВѢВЪ О ВАСЪ ОУНЫНЕТЪ • НИ / ЖЕ ПРѢНЕМАГАѢ
ОУСТРАШИТ СѦ • / НИ ЖЕ ДА ОУБОИТ СѦ НИКТОЖЕ НИ ОУСНЕТЪ • НѢ ВЕЗЪ СЪМНѢИА ДА
ПРНЗѢ// (f. 245) ВЕМЪ ГѦ НАШЕГО • Н ПРИЛЕЖНО ДА РАБОТА/ЕМЪ СПСОУ НАШЕМОУ •
ПОТЪЦНИИ СѦ Н / ОУЧУСТНИИ СРЦА НАША СТЪИИИ ЕГО ДѢХО/МЪ • СЪДРЪЖИИ СѦ САМИ СЕБЕ
Н МЛНМЪ / Н ОУТВРѢДИИ • ОПОУСТНИИ ЖЕ ГРѢ/ХЫ САМИ СЕБѢ О ВЪСЕГО СРЦА РАБИ БО
Е/СМЫ НЕЛЬЖНАДО БѦ РЕКШАГО ТАКО / Н ОЦѢ МОИ НЕБНИИ НЕ ОСТАВИТЪ, АЦЕ / НЕ
ОСТАВИТЪ КЪЖДО БРАТОУ СВОЕМОУ • / О СРЦЪ ВАШИHXЪ ПРѢГРѢШЕННЕ • Н ПА/КИИ
СТЪИИИ АПЛА ЕГО ЗНАМЕНАЛЪ Е • / ЕЖЕ КОЛНКО КРАТЪ ОПОУСТИИИ ЕТЪ / ГРѢХЫ БРАТОУ •
РЕКШОУ ОУ ПЕТРОУ • / ГН КОЛЬ КРАТЫ СЪГРѢШИТЪ ВЪ МА / БРАТЪ МОИ • Н ОПОУЩѢ
ЕМОУ • ДО / СЕДМИИЦИ • НѢ ДО СЕДМЪДЕСАТЪ / КРАТЪ СЕДМИЦЕѦ • МЫ ЖЕ ОУБО
НИКО/ЛНЖЕ ТРИИЦИ ДНЕМЪ ОУТПѢТИИ СЕБѢ • / МЛА ВЪ ОУБО БРАТНЕ МОѦ Н ПРИПАДА/Ѣ
ВАМЪ • О ДРОЗН, ВЪСПРНѢТЕ ВЪ / МАЛОЕ СЕ ВРѢМА • Н ПОДВНЗАИТЕ / СѦ ВЪ ЕДНИИИ
НА ДЕСАТЕ ОУ • ВЕЧЕРЪ / ОУ ПРИВЛАНЖИИ СѦ ЕСТЪ • Н МЪЗДО/ДАВЕЦЪ ХС, ГРАДЕТЪ СЪ
СЛОВОѢ ВЪЗДАТИ КОМОУЖДО ПРОТНѢ ДѢЛО/МЪ ЕГО •

ВЪНЕМАЛѢТЕ ОУБО СЕБѢ • / ЕДА КТО ИСПРАВИИ СЕБЕ • ВЪЗРАУЕТ СѦ • / Н
ОУБЛѢНИИ СѦ ПОГРѢИ ВЕЗУНСЛЪ//НОЕ МЪЗДОВЪЗДААИИЕ • ОУПОБНИИ БО / СѦ Е ОУРЪНЕЦЪ
ОУСТАНѢ НИИѢ • ІАЖЕ ВЪЗРАСТИИ ПЛОДЪ СЪ ВОДѢѢ Н РОСОѢ • / Н ПЛОТИИ ПЛО
ПРИИЕСЕТЪ ВЕСЕЛІИ • / Н ЕГДАЖЕ ПОСТИИИЕТЪ ПЛОДЪ НА НЕИ, / ТОГДА МОЖАИШѢѦ
ПЕЧАЛЪ НАВО/ДИИТЪ ДѢЛАТЕЛЮ • ПЕКИИ БО СѦ, ВЪДИИТЪ Н БОИТ СѦ • ЕДА ВЪНЕЗААПѢ
ГРѢ / НИИ ЗВѢРЪ ДНИИ РАСТАИИТЪ НИИѢ / ЕГО • ТАКО Н МИИХЪ ДОНДЕЖЕ ЖИИѢ/ТЪ ВЪ
ВѢЦѢ СЕМЪ • ДНЪ Н НОЦЪ / ПЕЧЕТ СѦ Н МЛВНИТЪ БОЛЪЗЪНИО / О ВЕСЬМРЪТИИѢИ
ЖИЗНИ • Н О СЪ/ЕТЪ ОУРЪНЕУСТВА СВОЕГО • ДА НЕ ОУБЛѢНИИ СЕБЕ ОУВРАЩЕТ СѦ ВЪ СЪ/ЕТЕ
КИ • ВЪСѢ РАДОСТЪ Н ВЕСЕЛІЕ / ДѢЛАТЕЛЮ ЕСТЪ ЕГДА ЖѢТВѢ СЪБЕ/РЕТЪ ВЪ ЖИТИИЦѢ •
Н ПОЛОУЧИИТЪ ВЪЗДА/НИЕ • ТѢМЪЖЕ ОУБРАЗОМЪ Н МИИ ЕСТЪ • / РАУЖѢТЪ БО СѦ Н ВЕСЕЛАИ
СѦ АГГЕЛН / БЖИИ НА НЕБСЕХЪ • ЕГДА БОИТ СѦ БѦ Н СЪ/ВРЪШИИТЪ ТЕЧЕННЕ СВОЕ •

дѣлатель / бѣ егда житннцѣ исплвннтъ, тогѣ / вес печалн естъ. ѿ проуеѣ пнта/ет
 са ѿ весѣлнтъ. н мнхъ егда / положенъ бѣдетъ въ житннцн. / еже естъ въ
 гробѣ. дѣне богатъ/ство бѣ его възыдетъ на небса; // (f. 246) възпрънѣмъ оубѣ
 любннцн възпрънѣмъ, / въ бранн сѣн съперннка нашего. бранъ бѣ / его готова
 естъ. самъ бѣ немощенъ ѿ бс/с печалн е. вѣка же нашъ ѿ подвнгодаве/цъ. црѣ
 црѣтвоуѣщнмъ. прнлежно борѣ/цнмъ са. снлѣ подаетъ. ѿ вѣнецъ невва/дащн. ѿ
 ѿкоже прахъ гоннмъ биваетъ, / вѣтромъ велнемъ зѣло. тако ѿ съперннкъ нашъ
 гоннмъ биваетъ гласомъ / славословащнхъ бѣ.

Никтоже рбо / да не знываетъ ни да оубоитъ са. нѣ крѣ/пкын
 немощнаго да подѣмлетъ. / прнлежныи, прѣнемагащаго да стѣ/шнтъ.
 бдѣн, ѿбдрѣжнмаго зномъ, / да въздвнгнетъ. стрѣны, нестроена/го да
 накажетъ. въздрѣжнѣ са, бс/зънн'номоу ѿ несъмнѣн'номоу са да за/прѣщаеѣтъ.
 тако бѣ себе съдрѣжнѣ. / ѿ ннѣшно побѣждащѣ. съпрѣтнвннка / нашего
 посрамн. ѿ бѣ нашего невнаго / прославнмъ. да ѿ аггѣлн стн н ѿ нѣ възвѣсѣлатъ
 са. ѿ двѣщн са намъ ѿ слы/шѣнѣ ѿ нѣ. съннѣтъ са ѿ прославатъ / бѣ. ѿко
 томоу пѣдетъ всѣкаа слава. / ѿ ѣстъ ѿ покланѣнне. ѿцѣ ѿ снѣ ѿ стѣомъ /
 дѣхѣ. ѿ ннѣ ѿ прнсно ѿ въ вѣкы вѣкомъ:—

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(f. 222) проуѣченнѣ, стго ефрема слѣ: ѿ /

болѣзнъ нѣднт мѣ нзрѣцн. н недо/стоннство моѣ, запрѣщаеѣтъ мн /
 мльуатн. болѣзнн сѣца моѣго нѣда/т' ма провѣшатн, ѿ грѣсн моѣ велѣ/т' мн
 мльуаннѣ ѿмѣтн. ѿ понеже есь/мъ ѿбдрѣжнмъ ѿбонмъ. паѣе соуле / мн естъ
 глѣтн. да ѿслабѣ прннмѣ / сѣца моѣго болѣзнн. дѣша мн тѣжн/тъ. ѿ ѿчн мон
 желаетъ слызъ. ѿ пла/ча са непрѣстан'но днѣ ѿ ноцъ ѿ стрѣ/пѣхъ дѣшѣ моѣѣ. ѿ
 слабостн дѣлѣ / ѿбдрѣжнмѣѣ. ѿ бѣваемѣѣ въ / лѣта нѣша. ѿже ѿсплвнъ естъ
 стрѣ/пѣ ѿ сѣдѣаннѣ. грѣдѣнн бо ен не да/стѣ разоумѣтн стрѣупѣ своѣ да бн /
 бѣла цѣла. ѿвѣщаннѣ ѿно бѣ/в'шеѣ въ днѣ ѿныѣ ѿцѣ нѣшн. ѿже пр/снѣшѣ ѿко
 свѣтнаа въ всен земн. / пожнвшѣ на неѣ посрѣдѣ трѣнна / ѿ влѣ/ца. ѿретнкъ
 глѣн нечѣстн/вѣ. ѿ вѣшѣ ѿко каменнѣ ѣст'нѣ / ѿ многоцѣн'ннѣ бнсрѣ. ѿже
 мно/гѣѣ ѣнстотѣ радн, н добрагѣ // житнѣ, н тѣ самн ѿбразн подра/жателе
 ѿмъ бѣшѣ. Кто бо ѿхъ / вндѣ доброѣ смѣреннѣ ѿ цѣлѣ/мѣдрѣе, не покадъ са.
 ѿнн крѣто/стѣ нхъ н без'мльвнѣ, не поѣю/дн са. Кто бѣгатѣлювецъ ко/гда
 вндѣвъ ѿ ннцѣтѣ, нена/внстннкъ мнроу бѣ. Кто хѣ/щннкъ ѿнн грѣдѣн'ннкъ

са ѿ лица гнѣ, трепещеть. ѿ колѣблет' са под намн намь стрѣ творѣшнѣ, и такоже не воім са. градове / потопошѣ. ѿ мѣста ѡпоустѣшѣ / ѿ гнѣва бѣна, ѿ никакоже не оустрашнхѣмъ себе. Слнце ѣднноѣ ѿ два/кратѣ помрачн са на нѣ, нѣ ѿ тако се/бе не оубоахѣмъ. бранн пѣркѣѣ ѿ / вар'вар'скѣѣ пондѣ ѿ поустѣ сътво/ршѣ странѣ нѣшѣ, да мѣ са бѣ ѡвоімъ ѿ прїидемъ въ покааннѣ. // ѿ трѣвоуемъ покаанїа многа. не на днѣ / ѣдннѣ просто ѿн на мѣцѣ. нѣ на лѣта / многа. тако не прѣклоннхѣмъ са на / покааннѣ. Покаанъ са ннѣ братїе мѣ любнмаѣ. да бѣ мѣтнѣ сътвориѣмъ. / ѿ грѣсѣхѣ нѣшнхѣ. помолнмъ ѣго ѿ/ко прогнѣвахѣмъ ѿ. смѣрнмъ са смѣреннѣмъ, да нѣ възнесеть. рѣда/нмъ з'дѣ, да тамо възвеселїмъ са. плачнмъ з'дѣ, да тамо оутѣшнмъ са. ѡврѣзѣмъ ѿ себе плѣтѣскѣѣ печаль ѿ злѣ/ѿ ѡбѣчѣн. ѿ ѡблѣцѣмъ са добродѣтѣ/лнѣ, ѿко рнзѣѣ. паче мѣ спѣнше/ѿ са аглѣкомѣ жнтноѣ. ѿн любнмнцї / моѿ възмѣмъ мѣрѣ ѿ правнло добро/ѣ ѡно съврѣшенѣ ѡцѣ във'шннхѣ прѣ/ждѣ нѣ. да не днѣ възрѣжав' са, оутро / не съмнншн са. не днѣ водѣ не пнѣ, / оутро вна възышешн. не днѣ сапо/зн, ѿ оутро оушат'цн ѿ калнга. не днѣ / власѣннѣ рнзѣѣ, ѿ оутро многоцѣ/ннн. не днѣ ѿзмѣжданнѣ, ѿ оутро / оукрашеннѣ. не днѣ кротокѣ ѿ смѣренѣ, ѿ оутро велнчавѣ. не днѣ пла/(f. 225)чѣмъ ѿ рѣданїемъ, ѿ оутро смѣхѣмъ / беснслзнїмъ. не днѣ на земн долѣ лѣ/ганнѣ, ѿ оутро на ѡдрѣ лѣганнѣ. Нѣ / правнло ѿмѣн себѣ любнмнчѣ. ѿ/мѣже можешн бѣ оугоднтн. ѿ себѣ, / ѿ блжннѣмѣ сн потрѣбенѣ бѣтн. аще же оубо себе оумрѣтвнтн хѣ/шешн. ѣдннѣ есн слоужа нѣ ѡспѣжан дроужннн своѣ. аще лн / же съ многоѣ есн. послѡшан владѣ/кы рѣкша. ѿкоже хѣщете да тво/ратѣ вамъ ѡлѣцн, ѿ вѣ творнтѣ ѿ/мъ такожде. аще лї нѣжда тн ѣсть / слошнтн, ѿ оумрѣченнѣ радн тѣ/леснаго, вънемлн блжнннка свое/го оубѣ не ѡтѣштнтн. Сего бѣ / радї съврѣшенїн ѡцн ѡсновашѣ / себе въ ѣдннѣмъ правнлѣ, ѿ съврѣшенн ѡбрѣтѣшѣ са. ѿ наченше, ско/н'чашѣ до кон'чннн своѣѣ без' прѣтѣ/кнѣннѣ. съврѣшеннѣ на чѣтоѣ / ѿнн, чѣтїрїдесѣ ѿ пѣдесѣтѣ лѣ / ѿ не ѿзмѣнншѣ правнла своѣгѣ. ѣже ѣсть въздѣрѣжаннѣ добрѣ ѿ // чюднѣ. н ѡзѣкѣ оудрѣжав'ше. на го/лѣ землн. паданїемъ же ѿ смѣреноѣ / мѣдростнѣ. чрѣнечѣствовавше. / кротостнѣ. вѣроѣ. ѿ любовнѣ съврѣшенѣ, ѿ дѣховнѣмъ създанїемъ. / надѣ сннн же въсѣмн, ннщетоѣ. ѿ / ѿ въсего земна оудалнше са, тн/хѣстїѣ ѿ чнстомъ жнтноѣмъ пожн/шѣ. въдѣннѣмъ же ѿ мѣтѣѣ чѣсто/ѣ. съ поканїемъ же многоѣ, ѿ съ / слзѣамн. смѣха же ѿ до ѡсѣблѣнїа ѡврѣгше са. грѣдѣннн же ѿнн, / попрана бѣ. гнѣвѣ ѿ ѿрѣстѣ ѡсѣ/чншн, ѿщеже ѿ нн. златѣ ѿ сребрѣ, / оуннчнжѣно ѿнн бѣ. ѿ самн

себе / ѓдноко̄ ѿ сего ѡчнстншѣ са. се/го радї́ ѡ бѣ́ възселн са въ нн̄, ѡ въ нн/хъ прослави са. н ѡмѣтаѣщен са, / слѣшав'ше ѡ ннхъ бѣ́ прославишѣ. / **Н**ѣѡ аще кто не ѡчнстнтъ себе / ѡ възсѣкоѣ злѣӣи вещи, ѡ помѣи/слѣ сквернень, ѡ похотн злѣӣ. ѡ / і́ѡвстѣ. н гнѣвъ. грѣдїна, тѣ/щеславнѣ. ненавнсть. прѣкосло/(f. 226)внѣ. клеветї, блади, несѣмнѣнна / н что нннѣ подробноу възсѣ поунтаѣ. / ѡ възсего ѓже ненавнднтѣ бѣ́. аще кто / не ѡвратнт са, не ѡматъ възселѣща/го са хѣ. егда бѡ далее възсе тѣ́ ѡстѣ/пнтѣ ѡ него. тогда възселѣет са / въ него гѣ. **Р**ѣчн бо мн ты са/мѣ аще бн хотѣль ктѣ́ въврѣ/щн тѣ́ въ ровѣ і́ако вынѣ да / бн тоу́ внль не бн лн помнѣль / на нь того. аще бо тѣ́ оубѡ ѡрѣ/нець сын не трѣпншї сѣго творннт како хощемъ мѣ́ бескверн/нѣаго. н прѣчнстаго ѓдноаго / стѣа. ѡ на стѣх поунваѣцаго / възселнтн въ себе, таковын / стѣще сквернѣны ѡ злѣсмраднї. / ѡ сѣго горе. тѣ́м'же ѡчнстнмъ / себе любнмнцн. да възселнт са / въ нѣ́ бѣ́. ѡ полоучнмъ ѡвѣтова/нїе, ѓго. не досаднмъ нменн ѓго стѣ/моу нареченѡмоу въ нѣ́. ѡ нѣ́ радн / похочулено бѣдетъ нма бѣ́ нашего. / пощѣднмъ себе, ѡ разоумѣнмъ // і́ако нма нше, смѣсно нменн ѓго / ѓсть. понеже оубѣ́ бѣ́ сїн нарѣт са: / мѣ́ же хрїстїане бѣжїн дѣхъ есмы / ѡ дѣховнын выхомъ. ѡдеже бо дѣхъ / гнѣ, тоу ѡ свобода. **П**отѣщнм' са ннѣ́ / да полоучнмъ свобѡдѣ снѣ́. порадоумѣнмъ которому жнтїю спѣвнль / нѣ́ ѓсть. оубѣднмъ і́ако на бракъ свої́ / звал нѣ́ ѓсть. ѡ възлюбнмъ себе, і́ако/же възлюбнл нѣ́ ѓсть. възделаннмъ / ѓго, да прослави нѣ́. взнелѣте се/бѣ́, да не соугоубї́ бѣдї́ въздастѣ / намъ въ днѣ́ стѣднїн. ѡшедше оубѡ / мнра, мнром' же пактї пекѣще са. / ѡ плѣтѣскѣи бѣжавше, таѣжде го/наще. **Т**ѣ́м'же боѣ́ са ѓда напрасно / нандеть на нѣ́ днѣ́ ѡнѣ́. ѡ ѡбращем' са назн ѡ страстннї. ѡ непрнго/тованн пославше себе. **С**нцевѣа́ бо / любѣхѣ ѡ въ днн нѡвѣвї і́адѣхѣ. ѡ / пнѣхѣ. женѣхѣ са ѡ посагадѣхѣ, ѡ / коупла творѣхѣ. дондеже прнїде / потопъ ѡ погоубн възса. днвно бо бѣ́ / въ нстннѣ́ тогда вндѣтн. вещь тѣ́ // (f. 227) страшнѣа братне. зраще дївнаго / жнвота сѣвнраема въ ѓдно мѣсто. / слонї ѡ ннднѣ́ ѡ персѣдї́ градѣщѣ. / лѣвї́ же ѡ рїсы съ ѡвцанн ѡ коза/мн смѣшенї. ѡ кѣждо дрѣгъ дрѣга / не врѣждаѣ. гадн н птнца пернатї́ / ннкомоу же гонащѣ градѣщѣ, ѡ / ѡкрѣть жнвота въдварѣемї. ѡ се / по днѣ́ доволнѣхъ самомоу ноѣвн по/тѣщав'шоу са, ѡготоватн жнвотѣ́. / ѡ кѣ ннмъ зѡвѣща, покайте са. ѡ / не взннмадѣхѣ. зраще же сѣбора / бесловеснаго жнвота, не покад/шѣ са да вѣшѣ́ спѣнн вѣян. ѡбоім' са / ннѣ́ любнмнцн мої́. да не ѡ мѣ́ въ снцево въз/падемъ. пнсанї́а бо възсѣ́, ско'нѣа.

һ рече/наа знаменна съвршн. н нѣ́ нно ннү'то/же тѣкмо съпер'ника ншего. һже
 естѣ / а́нтихрїстова слава. на конецѣ бѣ мнрѣ/ска цѣрѣва, пѣбаѣт' са вьсѣ
 съвршнтн. / Тѣмже хотані стннтн са ннѣ́ һ въ цѣрѣво / нѣноѣ хотані вьннтн, да
 не лѣннт са / ннѣ́. һ хотані рѣдѣства ѡгн'наго нзба/внтн са то҃да, законо да
 пострададетъ. // хотані ҃рзвн несзїпаѣщомоу прѣданѣ не / вѣтн, да трѣзвнт'
 са ннѣ́. хотані оу'тѣ/шенѣ вѣтн, да плачет' са ннѣ́. хотані то/гда радоватн
 са һ ѡаѣн то҃гда веселнтн са, / да подвнжет' са ннѣ́. любані въ ҃рзто҃гѣ вьннтн
 гнѣ́, свѣшѣ свѣтлѣ һ масло да вьзѣм'тѣ. ѡаѣн званѣ вѣтн һ вьннтн въ бра/кѣ,
 ѡдеждаѣ свѣтлѣ да стажнтѣ. гра/дѣ бѣ цѣрѣ, һсплзнь веселна́ һ радостн. /
 һсплзнь свѣта һ бл҃гостн. н сладостн жн/вотны. тоу'нтѣ жнвѣщнмѣ въ немѣ. /
 да һже любнтѣ сыгражданннѣ вѣтн[тн] велн/каа҃гѣ цѣрѣ, скорѣѣ ѡбоі са днѣ́
 прѣкл'ннал са естѣ, һ ннктоже вѣстѣ ҃то сра/щеть һ на пѣтн. һакоже кто
 пѣтнн/кѣ съвѣдѣі далече пѣтноѣ шествїѣ, вьзлегѣ поу'нетѣ до вечерѣ. пот'мѣ
 вьзвѣнѣвѣ, внднтѣ днѣ́ прѣкло/ннвшїн са. һ науен'шоу емоу пѣтѣ/шествоватн,
 вьнезааѣпѣ ѡбала/кѣ граденѣ бѣдетѣ. громн же. һ / мльннѣ н скрѣбї вьсѣдѣ һ
 смате/нна. нн въ поконцн еѣ ѡбнта/тн, нн мѣста своѣго доітн наше/(f.
228)д'шаго радн зла. тако һ мѣі аще ѡблѣннм са / въ врѣменн семь.
 покааннѣмѣ ншнмѣ на сѣ/дѣ прѣстанемѣ. прѣсел'ннцн во есмѣі зде, һ /
 прншеацн. потѣщнм са оу'бѣ ннѣ́ любнмн/цн моі съ бѣгатыствомѣ вьннтн въ
 градѣ / ншѣ н ѡцѣство. коупцн во есмѣі дѣховнн. / һѣѣ нцѣмѣ многоцѣн'наа҃гѣ
 внсра, һже / естѣ хс̄ сп̄ ншѣ. радѣ нша. похвала нша. / һ скорѣнцѣ нше
 некрадомѣ. потѣщнм' са / ѡбѣ стажатн һ. блажен' бѣ, һ трѣблаженѣ / һже
 потѣща са стажатн һ. һ стажавѣ, про/славн са ѡ немѣ. стѣтен' же һ ѡкаанѣ
 ѡблѣ/ннвїн са стажатн его себѣ. н стажанѣ бѣ/тн нмѣ. **Не** вѣсте лн любнмнцн
 моі һако / лоза есмѣі ѡ внограда нстнн'наа҃гѣ, е/же естѣ хс̄. блѣдѣте са оу'бѣ
 да ннктоже / ѡбращет са вьсплоденѣ о ѡцї нстнннѣм, / һже естѣ дѣлателѣ.
 сам' бѣ дѣлаѣтѣ вно/грѣ сѣ. н прнносащннхѣ плодѣ, ѡтѣблѣѣтѣ / да множаѣ
 плодѣ прїнесетѣ. һ въ нь вно/грѣ нзмѣтаѣтѣ не творащннхѣ плода. / да ѡгнемѣ
 жегомн бѣдѣтѣ въ вѣкѣ вѣ/комѣ. тѣм'же вьнемаѣте себѣ да са вьсплоднн не
 ѡбращете һ постѣченн. ѡ/гнѣю прѣданн бѣдѣ. **Сѣма** есмѣі добрѣѣ, е/же / вьсѣа
 вѣка домоу хс̄. нѣ оу'же земн творацѣ гѣ. жѣтва оу'же прнспѣла естѣ, һ жѣтеле /
 готовн нмаѣтѣ сѣпѣї. посланна́ же єго / тѣкмо ждѣтѣ. блѣдѣте са оу'бо еда кто
 ѡ вѣ / ѡбращет са плѣвелѣ. һ свазанѣ вѣїѣ, / неврѣгомѣ бѣдѣ въ вѣкѣі
 вѣкомѣ. **Не** / разоумѣѣте лн братїѣ һако страшно н/мамї прѣнѣтн пѣчнннѣ.

свършенн съще / њ прѣмѣдрїи коупци, готова њмаѣ коу/пюу. н жвнѣть съ радостнѣ. когда дѣхнеть њмь вѣтрѣ. да прѣшедше снѣ пѣ/чннѣ, постннѣтъ варїтн въ сѣноѣ / прїстаннще. **Аз'** же њ подобннн мнѣ, / лѣннвн. не сѣмнѣе глвмнм' са. нн до / конца оума прїемлемь. њко нмамѣ / прѣнтн снѣ страшноѣ прїстаннще. / тѣм'же боѣ са ѣда вѣнезаѣпѣ дѣхнеть вѣтрѣ њ ѡбращем са невготовле/нн. њ свазавше, вѣврѣгѣт нѣи въ ко/раба. н тамо шѣдше плауем са знѣ/ннѣ њшего. њ разлнчно вндѣше дрѣгѣ/гѣпѣ (!) рѣчѣе са њ веселѣе, самн же се/бе въ скрѣбн н болѣзнн мнозѣ. прнстанн/ще бѡ // (f. 229) ѡно коуплюѣщн ѣсть. кѣнїждо ѡ вѣходѣщн / въ тѣ прнстаннще. въ своемѣ бѣгѣтѣ њ своѣн кѣпан, хвалнт са н рѣчѣет са њ веселнтѣ. **Не** / вѣсте лн лѡбнмнцн моѡ њко на брактѣ снѣ своѣго з'вал нѣи ѣсть цѣрь цѣртѣѣщнмѣ њ гѣ гѣ/стѡуѣщнмѣ, ч'то оуѣв лѣннм са њ не по/тѣщнм' са ѡдежѣ ѣтѣ стажатн. њ свѣщѣ свѣ/тлѣи. њ масло въ сѣсѣдѣ вашн вѣзѣтн не помѣи/шлѣете. њко нагѣ, ннч'тоже вѣходѣ тамо. ѡще же безѣѡчѣствѡуѣтъ кто, њ вѣннѣ не њмѣ / ѡдеж'дѣ брѣчѣ, свѣвсте ч'то страждѣтъ тѣ/ковѣнн. **Повелѣвшѡ** цѣрю, свѣжѣтъ ѣмѣ рѣцѣ, / ногѣ, њ вѣврѣгѣтъ его въ тѣмѣ кромѣшнѣ. / нѣеже ѣсть плауѣ њ скрежетѣ зѣвѡмѣ. тѣ/мже вѣспрѣнѣмѣ лѡбнмнцн, **Аз'** же боѣ са / ѣда стѣтъ плѣтѣскаѣ ѡзрннет нѣи ѡз ч'рѣто/га ѡногѡ. не ѡбразѡчѣмѣ вѣнѣѣдѣ тѣкмо / говѣннѣмѣ, вѣнатрѣ нмѣше стѣртн плѣтѣ/скѣпѣ. не бѡ, нѣ вѣнѣшннн ѡчн внднтѣ, / гдѣ ѣсть помѣислѣ ѡше. њ показѣте гдѣ ѣсть сѣще ѡше. се красѡта рнзѣ ѡшн знаме/ноуѣте, њко назї ѣсмѣи ѡ славѣи ѡноѣ. / њ добрѡлюбнѣ ѡдежѣѣ ѡшѣ, кажетѣ њко / ннч'тоже ѡвѣще њмамѣ кѣ цѣртѡу ѡбнѡмѣ. // н слаѡлюбнѣ ѡше клеѣтъ такожде, њко / тѣщеславнн ѣсмѣи. сладо вращен'наѣ св/вѣст нѣи, њко ч'рѣво ѡвѣнѣстннцн ѣсмѣи. / њ знѣннѣ ѡше кажетѣ, њко лѣннвн ѣсмѣи. / многѡстѣжанїѣ клеѣтѣ, њко хѣ не лѡбнѣ. / њ зѣвнстѣ ѡша кажѣ њко лѡбовѣ не њмамѣ. / њ ѣже оумѣватн лїца њ ногоу, клеѣтѣ њкѣ / рабн стѣран'нн ѣсмѣи. ꙗзыкомѣ жен'ско/мѣ проповѣдѣѣт са кого лѡбн сѣще ѡше, / тѣкоже бо лѡбн сѣще ѡше, тако пооуѣчѣет са ѡзѣкѣ. оуѣвѣст' же вѣстнама тѣн/нѣи сѣчѣнѣпѣ. понеже оуѣста ѡша ѡврѣста / сѣтъ не њмѣше дѣврн нн стѣраха. њ сло/во бесѡнслѣно ѡсѡднтѣ. њ слоѡа дѣлѣ/ма, ноуѣѣте сѣще ѡше. оуѣста бо ѡша / не хрѣнаща, нн крадѣ сѣчѣнѣпѣ мѣислѣ. / њ мнѣ са вѣнѣтрѣ вѣїтн сѣще сѣще, оуѣстѣи / порѣчѣно вѣдѣ. непѣчѡуѣѣ невнѣднмѡ / сѣще, словесемѣ ѡвлѣѣт са. **Ннктож** / себе не лѣстн. говѣннѣмѣ ѡзѣвѣноуѣѣдѣ вѣїтн ч'то. ѡще бо к'то чѣетѣ брѣта / прѣлѣстнтн вѣнѣшннмѣ дѣѣннѣмѣ го/вѣннн, њко себе прѣлѣѣѣтѣ.

се бѡ жн/тїемъ своімъ говѣаннѡ своего лѣжѣ показзѣтъ. //⁵⁰ (f. 230) ѡ бѣдѣтъ кромѣ бѣствнѣ кннгѣ, безъ строа н грѣ/бѣ іѣ. аще лн бѣствнѣ кннгѣ дасть са эмѡ разоумъ, / ѡ снла н дѣтѣлн блгы. подѣ эмѡ своѣ вѣтвнн. іако / да прнсады сътворнтъ ѡ дрѣва своѣго ѣствта. іакоже что гла. дасть эмоу вѣрѣ блгѣ прнсаднтн въ невѣрѣствн эго. ѡ оупованїе, въ неоупованї эго. ѡ любовъ, / въ ненавнстн эго. ѡ разоумъ, въ неразоумн эго. тыща/нїѣ, въ лѣностн эго. н слава н похвала, въ беславн эго. / Пакы же прнсаднтъ, бесмртнѣ въ смртн эго. ѡ бже/ство, въ члѣствѣ эго. аще хощетъ ншѣ дѣлатель ѡбл/ствтвомъ ѡставнтн оупнтелѣ своѣго. н ншего оупнтелѣ н свѣтннка ѣже ѣсть, бѣствнѣ кннгѣ оупннѣ. ѡбращет са таково лѣстѣцъ ѡ въ помыслы въпа/даѣ непрнзнїны. ѡ събраѣ ѡбычаѣ злы ѡ прнса/жаѣ ѣствтвѣ своѣмъ ѡ своѣго ѣствта. іаже, не/вѣрствїѣ. неначаанїѣ. ненавнствѣ. завнствѣ. тыще/славнѣ. грѣдынн. славолюбнѣ. урѣвоѡбыаденїѣ. / многопнтїѣ. прѣкословнѣ. свары. н многа дрѣва / таковаже подобна снмъ. ѡставлен бѡ законода/вѣца. н тѣ ѡставлен бѣдетъ нмъ. аще же расказѣ са / поразоумѣтъ себе. ѡ прнпадаѣтъ къ законода/вѣцоу ѡ речетъ, съгрѣшн іако ѡставнхѣ тѣ. аѣне зако/нодавецъ своімъ члѣколюбїемъ прїнметъ эгѡ. / ѡ подасть эмѡ разоумъ н снлѣ блго дѣлатн. пакы // вторнцѣ зема ѣствта своѣго. ѡскореннѣ ѡ не/го злыѣ ѡбычаѣ. подастъ эмоу дѣтѣлн добры ѡ бла/гы. аще же пакы стѣтемъ прѣвымы съпротнвнт са. / повѣжаѣщеѣ радн снлы въ немъ ѡ помощь спшѣѣ. / ѡ не лѣннт са на словословнѣ ѡ исповѣданїѣ. вѣнчана бѣдетъ ѡ похваленъ ѡ спдїѣ праведнаго, іакоже дѣлаѣ ѣсть ѣствтво. похвалѣмъ же бѣдетъ, / іако стажа дѣтѣлн блгы. Слава нннѣ члѣколюбнѣ эго. ѡсповѣданнѣ блгостынн эго. ѡ покланѣнїѣ / млрднѣ эго. кто снцѣ щедрѣ. которынже лн ѡцѣ снцѣ млтнѣ. кын ѡцѣ снцѣ любнтъ, іакоже ншѣ вѣка / любнтъ своѣ рабы. всѣ намъ подаваѣтъ велнкы/н даровнтѣцѣ. ѡ всѣ хощетъ ѡцѣлнтн. велнтъ бѡ / н хощетъ, да внхѡмъ былн цѣтвнѣ наслѣднннн. / хощетъ бѡ ѡ волн ншен хвалнмѣ бытн нмъ. ѡ всѣкъ недѣгъ ншѣ злобннн же, н двоцѣлнмѣн самъ / цѣлнтъ. ѡ лѣннѣадо же строупы цѣлнтъ. да ѡврѣ/зетъ оупста эмѡ на словословнѣ своѣго бѣтѣва. ѡста/влѣтъ же грѣшннкоу грѣхы эгѡ, іако да възвнгне/тъ эго печаль. ѡ болацїнхѣ послоушаѣтъ скоро да не малодшнѣ ѡпечаантѣ. дальготрѣпашнмъ н трѣ/пѣлнвнмъ ѡ тлѣкшнмъ въ

⁵⁰ On constate une lacune entre 229v–230r; la feuille d’ici se trouve maintenant numéroté 243v–243r (attachée inversement); voir le texte continuatif dans le ms. 160, à la f. 222r /17, jusqu’à la f. 223r /27.

дверн ёго, подаётъ / ѡбоѣ възкоупѣ. н цѣленіе же н мьз'ды. можетъ / оубо
 ѡцѣлнѣти въсѣ строупы дѣшь нѣшн. н прѣвестн // (f. 231) ны боурно въ бл҃гостына
 ёго. не хощеть да волѣ нѣша / лншена бѣдетъ ѡ него. н мѣ ннѣ что лѣннм' са
 възы/скатнѣ любнмнцн мон. мѣ лѣннм са прнзватн ёго. / Самъ възлюбнл' ны
 ёсть. самъ оубодрнл. самъ ны н/збавнл ёсть. **самъ нын застѣпнл ёсть.** самъ
 просвѣтнл ёсть ѡчн мыслнѣн нѣшн. сам' бѡ дал ны ёсть разоум' нже къ
 немоу. н възвснл ёсть нѣшеѣ люб'ве своеѣ лю/боннѣ. іако да възкоушнше сладо
 ёго, възыщемоу ёго / възсеѣа. **Блаженъ възкоушнвын любве ёго.** прнготова/вын же себе
 іако да насытнт са люб'ве ёго. н нноѣ любве не тревоуётъ въ себѣ. **Любнмнцн**
 мон. кто не / любнтъ снцеваго вѣкы. кто не поклоннт са ёго бл҃го/стынн. кѣн
 нмѣтн нмамы ѡвѣтъ въ днѣ сѣдннн / аще ѡблѣннм са. н что рѣмь ёмоу. іако
 не слышахѡ; / іако не вндѣхѡмъ; іако не разоумѣхѡмъ; что бѡ съ/творнтн ёмоу
 вѣ намъ, н не сътворн ѡ бесчнслнны/ѣ любве. ѡ бл҃веннаго іадра ѡра не сннде лн
 къ намъ; / невнднмъ сын; невнднм лн бѣ намн; ѡг'нъ бесѣмр'тень сын, не
 възпалтн лн са нѣ радн; не бы лн за ланн/тѣ оубодрень да свободы сътворнт ны.
 Чюдѡ н/спльнъ трепета н страха. іако рѣка брен'на съ/зана бывшн ѡ прѣстн
 земныѣ, за ланнтѣ оубодрн твор'ца нѣн н земн. мѣ же страстннн, н ѡка/лнннн
 прѣстннн н сѣмр'тннн н пепель сѣще. до // слова ёднного самн себе не можемъ
 понестн. а вѣка / нѣшь н гѣ. бесѣмр'тень сын нѣ радн не оумрѣ лн да ны /
 ѡжнвнтъ; нѣ радн не бѣ лн погревень да ны въз/ставнтъ съ собѡѣ; ѡ пѣзъ вражнн
 не ѡрѣшн лн нѣ; / ѡного же свазавъ прѣдѣ намъ настѣпатн врь/хоу ёго.
 прнзвяхѡм' же лн ёго кога н не послоуша / нѣ; нѣ н тлѣкнѣхѡм лн въ дверн ёго н
 не ѡврьзе / намъ; аще лн н по къснѣ послоушатн тебе, на оубо/множеннѣ мьзды
 твоѣѣ, ѡставлѣт' тн въ по/къснѣннѣ мѣсто. понеже оубѡ мнра ѡврьглъ / са ёсн
 любнмнче. тѣ поутѡ к томоу покоа нще/шн мнр'скааго. въ скрѣбнѣ лн оубѡ тебе
 позва/ль; н тѣ ѡслабы нщешн; на наготѣ позва/ль тѣ / ёсть, н тѣ рнзы добры
 любншн; на жѣжѣ позва/нь ёсн н тѣ внна нщешн; на бранъ позванъ ёсн н тѣ /
 безъ ѡрѣжна хощешн вннтн; нѣ н на бдѣннѣ / званъ ёсн н тѣ сьна не можешн
 трѣпѣтн; на / плачь звалъ тѣ ёсть н на рыданнѣ н тѣ грохоще/шн н смѣѣшн са;
 на любовь позванъ ёсн н тѣ бра/та своѣго ненавндншн; на покореннѣ звалъ тѣ /
 ёсть н тѣ прѣкословоуѣшн ёмоу; наслѣдннѣка / цр'тва своѣго нарека/ль тѣ ѣ н тѣ
 плѣтѣскаа по/мышлѣшн; на кротость н смѣреномѣдрнѣ / позвалъ тѣ іѣ. н тѣ
 нгрѣѣшн н сверѣпѣѣшн. н что // (f. 232) рѣшн ёмоу въ днѣ ѡнн сѣдннн. іако
 смѣрнх' са тебе рѣ. / н алка н жѣдѣ. н възлюбнхъ тѣ ѡ възсеѣ дѣшѣ моѣѣ. н

блї/жнаѣ моѣ іакы себе. едѣ не вѣсн ѡкаѣнне, іако словеса / твоа і помыслн твоі
 нѣсѣ тана пнса на тамо. н мы/слн твоѣ н дѣла твоа; і не ѡблнчат' лн тебе.
 аще слѣже/шн; не вѣсн лн іако вѣсѣ тварь страхомъ і трепетомъ / прѣстоитѣ
 сѣдншоу єго страшномоу; тысѣща тысѣщамн. і тмы тмаамн н аггль і
 архггль ѡкрѣть єго. і / тѣ помышлѣешн слѣгатн ємоу; рекъ іако тебе ра/дн сн' в'сѣ
 прѣтрѣпѣ; ннѣсоже прѣтрѣпѣвѣ. блю/дн са да не соугоубы въздасн прѣзлаго
 оубѣ твоєго / дѣаніа дѣлѣ і льжѣ. **Н**ѣ възспрнн ѡ сына твоєго, / помыслы твоѣ
 разв'рѣзѣ. прндн вѣ са н внѣ іако прѣ/клонілъ са єсть днѣ. **В**нѣ же і сѣ
 любнмнѣ. іако / вѣра с намн сѣщен. і глѣшен с намн іако братіа. / днѣ не
 сѣще с намн. възвані же бышѣ къ бѣу же н / н ншемоу. да покажетѣ къждо н
 своѣ коупла. / **С**ѣ ннѣ разоумѣн днешнаа како вѣхѣ вѣра. днѣ / же іако цѣть
 оутрннн прѣндѣ. іакы къ вѣе/рннн стѣны. посѣтн же і своѣ коупла аще
 прѣспѣ/ешн по бню. іакоже бѣ скорѡе теченіе днѣ ншн / прѣходатѣ. **Б**лѣжень
 оубѣ нцѣн днѣ днѣ коупла / своѣ. і сѣбрѣлн вѣ жнзнь вѣунѣѣ. **У**то лѣншн /
 са любнмнѣ. что же оубнвѣешн, пошто оубнл // са єсн прѣнемаганіемъ іако
 внномъ. пошто не поѡ/щрѣешн себе. вѣернѣѣ ѡбнтѣл імашн сѣтво/рнтн вѣ
 вѣцѣ семь; іакоже се пѣтннка нѣкаа / вѣсѣдоуѣща къ себѣ. і градн къждо вѣ
 свон дом. / вѣероу же вѣ постншоу іа. ѡбнтаста вѣ нѣк'єн ѡбнтѣлн. оутрѣ же
 бѣвшоу; разлѣчнста са / дрѣгѣ ѡ дрѣга. свѣдѣн къждо єю что нматѣ вѣ /
 домоу своємъ. бѣтѣство і ннцѣтѣ. покон же; / нлн скрѣбѣ. тако єсмы н мѣ вѣ
 вѣцѣ семъ. вѣернн бѣ ѡбнтѣлн оубѣнл' са єсть жнвотѣ / ншѣ. і ѡ него
 разлѣчѣем са къждо нѣ вѣ своѣ / мѣсто. свѣдаще что нмамы прѣд намн къждо /
 нѣ. н зѣ не не вѣстѣ къждо нѣ что прѣпослал є/стѣ на нѣо. іакожесе что глѣ.
 млѣѣ лн сѣ слѣ/замн нлн бѣдннє чнсто. нлн пѣснн сѣ покаа/ннємъ. нлн
 въздыханнє сѣ смѣреноѣ мѣдрѣ/стнѣ. нлн ѡвѣрженнє земнѣ вѣщен. нлн лю/бовѣ
 нелицѣмѣрнѣ. н желѣешн хѣ. тн єсн по/слал что, дрѣзан іако вѣ покон
 градешн. аще / лн же ннѣтоже сн прѣпослешн; что сѣтворншн. / аще лн же
 прѣогнѣвѣешн блнжнѣлго сн. хѣ/та прѣѣ разлѣчнтн са ѡ него; то, что грѣ/дншн
 і велнчѣешн са. что же прнскрѣбенѣ / єсн. что же разлѣчѣешн са ѡ него не хѣта
 // (f. 233) сѣѣ ѡбнтѣлн носнтн сѣ совоѣ. пѣешн са ѡ рнзѣхѣ / і еѣ ѡдѣждѣ. н
 млѣвшн ѡ пнцн. даѣн пнцѣ ското/мѣ; самѣ тѣ не напнтѣт лн тебе,
 славословаща/го і; н ѣлѣ наслѣдннкѣ бытн того цѣтѣна. н ѡ ѡдѣждн пѣешн
 са; н враѣа прѣогнѣвѣешн не хотѣ / цѣлѣ бытн. вѣ вѣрма цѣленнѣа строупы своѣ
 крыѣ/шн. н враѣа прнзѣвѣешн і глѣешн не нцѣлн мене. / вѣрма покааннѣа дано

ёсть ꙗ тѣ лѣнїшн са; что / оубо прнзывѣшн законодавца ꙗко навел' тн іе /
 сьмрѣть нерадащюу тн. не рьцн сьмрѣтн ѡставн ма / да сѣ покаѣ. **В**спрѣнн
 любнмнче вспрѣнн понѣ / мало. ꙗко сѣтъ бв нандет годїна ѡнѣ. ꙗ то/га ѡ
 стѣженїа прїнметь твоѣ мысль ꙗ рѣшн гла. / ѡ лютѣ мнѣ ѡ лютѣ мнѣ. како
 глаумашюу мн / са прѣндошѣ дннѣ моѣ. ꙗ како соуѣсловнѣмъ ра/стоуѣн жнтнѣ
 моѣ. ѡ лютѣ мнѣ грѣшномуу / погубнвшомоу врѣма покаанїа моѣго. н каа /
 пол'га ёсть въ днѣ сьмрѣтн сн помѣшлѣтн. не ѡпоуцаѣть ёмоу к томоу
 възвратнн са. ꙗ положн нннѣ оумъ твоѣ ѡ глѣмын. ꙗ да взнндѣ / въ слоуха
 твоѣ гмъ рѣнаа. аще оубо вѣрвѣшн ёмоу; рѣ бѡ ꙗко ѡ празнѣ словѣ въздасн /
 слово въ днѣ ѡнѣ страшнн. стрѣ же сѣ, сѣн іе / намъ. ꙗ тѣкмо слово тѣще, аще
 не бднтъ мы//сль нша. аще лн мещет' са оумъ ншѣ само ꙗ ѡна/мо, тѣ нн пнсанѣ
 разоумѣеть, нн глѣмын слы/шнтъ. нѣ спѣвнл са ёсть льжн прнѣмлащнхъ / водѣ.
 ꙗ не вѣдащѣн ꙗко когда прнходнтъ. / **К**то оубо не плачет са, кто же лн не
 скрѣвнтъ. / кто лн не ѡднт са, ꙗко вѣка вселеннѣ. собо/ѣ же, ꙗ рабѣ своѣмн.
 прѣкы ꙗ аплы проповѣдаѣть ꙗ взпнѣть. ꙗ нѣ послушаѣщааго. что же / сѣтъ
 проповѣдаемаа нмъ. **Б**ракъ готовъ ёсть рѣ. н брашно моѣ пожрено. н женн сѣ
 славоѣ ꙗ / велѣнїемъ сѣдн въ ырѣтоѣ. ꙗ прнѣмле възх/дащѣѣ сѣ радостнѣ.
 дверь ѡврѣста ёсть. слоу/гы тѣщѣт' са. проповѣдннцн зовѣтъ. скоро оубо са.
 прѣжде даже не затворнт' са дверь. едѣ / когда вѣнѣ ѡбращѣете са, н не бѣдетъ
 кто възвѣды васъ. ѡ ннхъ нѣ разоумѣваѣщааго. нѣ по/тѣщанїа положѣщааго. нѣ
 оунынїе н печаль вѣка сего, ꙗко вернгамн прнвазала ёсть оумъ / ншѣ. ꙗ ёже
 бѣствннѣ кннгы прѣмо пншемъ / н прѣмо ытемъ. прѣжде сего не хоцѣмъ
 послушати. сѣврѣшѣмын нмн. **К**то оубо когда / ѡтндеть без' брашна на пѣтъ
 далече. ꙗко/же мы хѡцѣмъ творнтн. ѡставшѣе бв брашно зде, нн'соже на
 ѡшествнѣ вьноснмъ. // (f. 234) **Б**лаженъ нже ѡтндеть сѣ дръзновннѣмъ къ бѣу
 но/са брашно сѣвѣ на оумѣ. сѣн рабн коупла творѣтъ / ыѣще црѣ своѣго бѣ.
 поразоумѣвшѣ ꙗко прѣѣль ёсть / црѣтвнѣ. н прндеть сѣ сллоѣ н славоѣ многоѣ,
 вѣн'чатн / рабѣ своѣн творнвшїн коупла добрыѣ. сребрннкомъ / же ꙗже прнѣшѣ ѡ
 него. ꙗ погубнтн же врагъ своѣхъ / не хѡтѣвшн црѣтоватн ёго над ннмн. **Н**
 ꙗцѣм' же / ѡбразомъ сѣномъ ташкомъ ѡб'дрѣжнмо бывѣеть / ылѣчѣе ёствство.
 тако въ полоуноцн бѣдетъ шоумъ / велїн ꙗ гла. ꙗ громн страшнн н мльннѣ
 трепетны. / ꙗ оустрашѣт' са вьнезаѣпѣ поунваѣщїн. ꙗ помѣне/тъ кѣждо дѣла
 своѣ, нлн блга нлн зла. **С**зтворнѣше/н же здаа. бнѣтъ прѣсн своѣ лежѣще на ложн

своѣ̄ / ꙗко нѣ̄ камо бѣжати. ни скрыти са нигдеже. ни / покаати са ѡ тѣ̄ ꙗже
сътворишѣ̄. тогда бѡ зѣ/мѣѣ коблет' са. громн боѣт са. ꙗ мльнѣ̄ ѡдѣат' са. /
ꙗ тьма глѣбокаа ѡбѣнметъ ѣ̄. Тако ꙗ годѣна ѡна. ꙗко мльнѣ̄ люта бѣдетъ
взнезаѣпѣ̄. ꙗ оѡжа/снть вса вселенѣ̄. вѣстрѣбнтъ бѡ съ страхѡ/мѣ̄ трѣба съ
нѣ̄е. вѣзѣвнѣтъ поунваѣцѣ̄. нѣ̄а / же съ снамн ѣго подвнжѣт са. ꙗ земѣ̄ ꙗко
вода мо/р'скаа потрѣсет са ѡ лица славы ѣго. ѡгнь бѡ стра/шнын потечетъ прѣд
ннмѣ̄. потрѣбѣѣ̄ земля ꙗ по/ѣдѣѣ безакон'ныѣ̄ ѡскрѣпннвшѣ̄ земля. // Тогда
ады ѡвръзетъ вѣунаѣ̄ врата своѣ̄. ꙗ смръ/тъ оѡпразннт' са. прѣсть же ѡлѣѣ̄
ѣстѣства ꙗко / сѣгннвшн слышавшн глѣ̄ трѣбныѣ̄ ѡжнветъ. / днвно бѡ вндѣтн
ѣсть въ ѣстннѣ̄ лѡбннцѣ̄ / мон въ годннѣ̄ ѡнѣ̄. како въ мѣгновенн ѡуѣ/снѣмѣ̄,
въ ѣдѣ̄ ꙗко мноѣтво рѣбѣ̄ въ морн пн/таѣмѣ̄. тако бесчнслно мноѣтво костей /
ѡлѣѣ̄ ѣстѣства. кѣждо ѣ̄ теуетъ ꙗцѣ̄ ѡлѣно/въ своѣ̄. ꙗ вѣставше всн въкоупѣ̄,
паѣ̄ възпн/ѣтъ глѣще. слава сѣбравшомѡу ны. н вѣзѣвнѣш'омѡу свонмѣ̄
ѡлѣколюбнѣмѣ̄. тогда праведнѣ̄ ꙗ рѣѡѣт са. ꙗ прѣдѣннѣ̄ веселат' са. ꙗкоже се /
ѡто глѣ̄, сѣщен сѣврѣшеннѣ̄ ѡрѣн'цн оѡтѣшаѣ̄/мн сѣтъ. ꙗ поунваѣтъ ѡ трѣда
ѡрѣнечѣства / своѣго. н ѡ злааго страданѣ̄а ѣже пострѣашѣ̄ / хѣ̄ радѣ̄. ꙗ мнцн
вѣнѡѡѣт са. ѡплн ꙗ прѣрцн / прославаѣѣт са. Блаженъ ꙗже спѣбнт са вндѣтн ѡѣ̄
тѣ̄ съ радостнѣ̄. како съ славоѣ̄ мно/гоѣ̄ вѣсчѡцѣ̄ѣт' са на ѡблацѣ̄ въ сѣвтенѣ̄е /
гнѣ̄ бесмрѣтнаѣ̄го женнха. всн ѣтннѣ̄ ѣго. / всн вѣзлюбнвшнѣ̄ ѣго. ꙗ потѣцавшн
са сѣ/врѣшнтн вѣса вола ѣго. ꙗ ꙗкоже зде кѣждо вѣзвѣанѡна ѣсть своѣ̄ перѡ,
тако касаѣт' са вы/сокынѣ̄. ꙗ ꙗкоже кѣждо зде ѡчнстна ѣсть сво// (f. 235)ѣ̄ ѡшѣ̄,
тако н внднтъ славоѣ̄ ѣго. ꙗ ꙗкоже пожела / ѣго кѣждо ѣ̄, тако н насытнт са
лѡбве ѣго. Днвнтъ / же са прѣвозданннѣ̄ ады въ днѣ̄ ѡнѣ̄. внда̄ велнкаа / н
днвнаа. како ѡ̄ самого ѣднного н сѣпрѣжннцѣ̄ ѣго, / страны велнкыѣ̄ н мноѣтво
родовъ нзвѣдено бѣ̄. / паѣ̄ же прославнвѣ̄, днвнт' са сѣдѣтелю бѡу. како / ѡ̄
ѣднного ѣстѣства н ѡ̄ ѣднного зданѣ̄а выв'ше, ѡ̄/вн въ црѣтвн ꙗ въ рѣн. дрѡуѣ̄н же
въ ѣдѣ̄ наслѣдѣ̄/ствовашѣ̄. слава ѣдѣ̄номѡ̄ прѣмѣ̄дрѡу бѡу. Лѡбн/мнцн
пѡманѣ̄хъ ѡѣ̄ ѡнѣ̄, н вѣстрѣпѣтѣ̄. рѣзѡумѣ̄ / веселнѣ̄ сѣщеѣ̄ въ рѣн. н сѣдѣ̄
страшнын, н оѡбоѡх са. / н вѣз'дѣхнѣ̄въ плаках са, дон'деже не бѣ̄ мнѣ̄ мо/цн к
томѡу плакатн са. ꙗко въ оѡнынн н въ глѡу/мленн прѡводѣ̄ днн моѣ̄, ꙗ в
пѡмыслѣ̄ скврѣннѣ̄ / сконѡѣ̄ лѣта моѣ̄. ѡ̄ лѡтѣ̄ мнѣ̄ како нзгѣвошѣ̄ / дннѣ̄ мон н
лѣта моѣ̄, ꙗ не рѣзѡумѣ̄. како бо прѣ/ндѡшѣ̄ не сѣвѣмѣ̄. ѡ̄ лѡтѣ̄ мнѣ̄ дннѣ̄ мон

нсчезнѣ/шѣ, н беззаконїа моа оумножншѣ са. **Ѡ** лютеѣ / мнѣ любнмнцн мон. что
 сътвориа стодудуѣ часа ѡ/ного. егда станѣть ѡкрѣть знаемїн мон вндѣ/вшен ма въ
 ѡбразѣ семь говѣнїемь, н блажахѣ / ма. вынѣтрѣ же бѣ испльнь беззаконїа н
 нечн/стоты. забѣ нспытаѣщааго срѣца нвды. тѣ/мже тамо ест' мн стодудѣ.
 ѡкаан' же ест' нже // тамо посрамленъ бѣдѣ. **Ѡ** лѣколюбѣе блгын. / щедротамн
 твоимн заканныѣ та. не поставн / мене ѡшоуѣаѣ тебе съ козлнцы,
 прогнѣвавшї/нмн тѣ. н не рьцн мн гн не вѣдѣ тебе. нѣ дажѣ / мн многоаго радн
 млрдїа твоєго, вынѣ плауѣ / н покаанїе. н смѣрн срѣце моє, н ѡчнстн. да бѣ/детъ
 храмъ стѣ блгтн твоєѣ. аще н грѣшенъ / н нечнстѣ есмь, нѣ вынѣ въ двєрн твоѣ
 тлѣ/кѣ. н аще оумнль есмь н лѣнївъ, нѣ по пѣте/мь твоимъ хвждѣ. **Б**ратїе моа
 любнмаа. / мѣа едїненїе ваше, потѣпнтє са оумгоднтї / гвн, дондеже врѣма
 нмате. плаунтє са прѣ/д нмь днѣ н ноцѣ въ мѣтвѣ вашн. н въ блго/дѣанї
 вашемъ. да нзбавнт ны ѡ плауа ѡ/ного без'конеунаго. н скрежета зѣбнаго. / н
 ѡг'ннаго родьства. н чрѣвн не оумсипаѣша/го. н радѣ сътворнтн намъ въ црѣтвн
 своємъ. / въ жнвотѣ вѣчнѣмъ. ндеже нѣ вѣды н пє/чальн нн въздыханнѣ. ндеже
 не трѣвоуѣтѣ / ннктоже слѣзѣ нн покаанїа. ндеже нѣ / страха нн трепета. ндеже
 нѣ смртн нн / тла. ндеже нѣ лежѣщаго нн борѣщаго. / ндеже нѣ повѣщєнїа на
 гнѣвъ. ндеже нѣ ненавнстн, нн вражды. нѣ вынѣ радѣнї//⁵¹(f. 236)ѣ жнзнн. н
 аще сн врѣменнѣ н не сѣпн прѣсѣ, 8не ест' / тебе татѣ. н соулѣ тѣ тебе
 разбоннїкѣ н блѣдннкѣ. мо/лат' бѣ са да спсєнн бѣдѣ. а тебе блажѣтѣ ѡлѣцн
 съ / лѣжѣ жнвѣща, въ добрѣмь семь жнтн. свѣтъ въз/ненавндѣвъ, н тѣмъ
 възлюбнлѣ есн. н нѣное црѣтвѣ / ѡставнлѣ есн, врѣмен'наа же възлюбнлѣ есн. **А**ще
 / 8смынѣлѣ са есн ѡкаан'не, еда 8бѣ блгын бѣ н ѡлѣко/лебець (!) ѡврьжет' са
 трѣда твоєго. снаѣ тн подастѣ / блгтнѣ єго. срѣце же твоє, сама прѣклонїтѣ на
 по/каанїе. н како трѣдѣ твоємъ мѣзѣ не въздастѣ. / всѣ ѡ тебе сѣтѣ н тѣ
 грѣдншн са; мѣзѣды мѣзднн/ка възыскаѣтѣ ѡ лншнвшїнхѣ єго. н твоиѣх' лн /
 слѣзѣ ѡврьжет' са; да не бѣдетѣ. рєкын бѣ нцѣ/те н ѡбращєтє. тлѣцѣте н
 ѡврьзєт' са вамъ; / лѣжѣ ннкакоже не бѣ. развѣнѣ ѡкаан'не кто не/навндїтѣ
 тебе. кто завнднтѣ тн. съперннкѣ. / н добра ненавндан нашемъ спєнїю.
 свѣтннкѣ / злїн н оумннцѣ. то бѣ естѣ тѣщанїе єго, да ннкто/же ѡ хрїстїанъ
 спїет' са. **П**рндн оубѣ нннѣ всѣа. / н не възненавндн жнвѣта своєго. ѡврьзн сн

⁵¹ Ici il y a une lacune de deux feuilles détachées de la tige; dans le ms. 160, le texte se trouve aux f. 230v/9 – 233r/2.

Ѡ/ѡН ОУМНѢН. Н ВНЖѢ С ТОВѠКЪ СѠЩИКЪ, КАКО ПОДВН/ЗДѠТ' СА СЪ ТЫЦАНІЕМЪ
 МНОГОМЪ. Н СВѢЩИКЪ СВОѠ / ВЪ РѠКѠ ѢМАЩЕ, ВСТА ЖЕ НХЪ ПОПѢТЬ Н СЛОВОСЛОВАТЬ
 ВЕСМРЪТНААГѠ ЖЕННХА. ѠЧЕСА БѠ НХЪ ПО//РАЗВМѢШКЪ ДОБРОТѠ ЁГѠ. Н ДѢША ВЕСЕЛНТ'
 СА Н РАДВЕ/ТЬ. ПОРАЗОУМѢН Н ВНЖДЪ ІАКО ПРНВЛНЖНАЪ СА ЁСТЬ Н / НЕ МВДНТЬ.
 ГРАДЕТЬ БѠ ВЪЗВЕАНУНТН ГАЩН ѢГО. / ВЪНЕЗААПЪ БѠ ЁСТЬ ГЛА ГЛА. СЕ ЖЕННХЪ
 ГРАДЕТЬ. / Н СѠЩІН С ТОВѠКЪ ТСХОДАТЬ СЪ РАДОСТНЪ ВЪ СРѢТЕ/ННѢ. ТМѠЩЕ СВОѠ
 СВѢЩИКЪ СВѢТЛЫ. Н ОУСЛЫШѢТЬ / ГЛА ЕГО ГЛАЩЕ ТМЪ. ПРННДѢТЕ БЛГОСЛОВЕННІ ѠЦѠ
 МОЕГО НАСЛѢДАНТЕ, ОУГОТОВАНО ЁСТЬ ВАМЪ / ЦРѢВІЕ Ѡ СЛОЖЕНІА МНРА. ВЪСѢКО ЖЕ
 БЫВШОУ ВЕ/ПЛЮ ТОМЪ, РЕШН ТМЪ. БРАТНѢ ДАРѢНТЕ МН МАЛО / МАСЛА, СЕ БѠ ВЪГАСЕ
 СВѢЩА МОА. Н ОУСЛЫШНШН Ѡ ННХЪ. / ЁДА КОГДА НЕ ДОСТАНЕТЬ НАМЪ Н ТЕБѢ. ТДН
 КЪ ПРО/ДАЩІНМЪ Н КВН СЕБѢ. Н ТОГѠ НДЕШН КАКЪ СА Н ПЕ/ЧАЛѠ. Н НККАКОЖЕ
 ѠБРЕТЬ КВПЛА. ВЪСѢ БѠ ЗЕМЛѢ / ТОГДА ТРЕПЕЩЕТЪ ІАКО ВОДА МОР'СКАА Ѡ АНЦА
 СЛА/ВЫ ЁГО. Н ТОГДА ПЛАЧА СА Н РЫДАѠ РЕЧЕШН ВЪ СМѢ/РЕНН СВОЕМЪ ГЛА. ТДѠ
 ТЛЫКНѢТН, Н КТО ВѢСТЬ / АЩЕ ѠВРЪЗЕТ' МН. ПРНШЕД ЖЕ ТЛЫКНЕШН. Н НѢ / НККОГОЖЕ
 ѠВѢЩАЩАГО. Н ПАКЫ ТЛЫКНЕШН. / Н ѠВѢЩАѢТ' ТН ВЪНАТРЪНІН ГЛА. ТДН Ѡ МЕНЕ.
 / НЕ ВѢДА ТЕБЕ ДѢЛАТЕЛЮ НЕПРАВДѢ. СТОЩОУ / ЖЕ ТН ТѢ, ВЪННДЕТЬ ВЪ СЛѢХА ТВОА
 ГЛА РАДОСТН / Н ВЕСЕЛНА. Н ПОЗНАЕШН ЁДННОГО КОГОЖДО ДРѢЖН/НЫ СВОЕѠ ГЛА, Н
 ВЪЗДѢХНѠВЪ ГОР'ЦѢ РЕЧЕШН: //(f. 237) Ѡ ЛЮТѢ МНѢ Ѡ ЛЮТѢ МНѢ ѠКААН'НОМЪ Н
 ГРѢШНОМЪ. / КАКО АНШНХ' СА Ѡ СЛАВЫ СЕѠ. Н ѠЛѠЧЕНЪ БЫ Ѡ ДРѢЖННЫ / МОЕѠ. ВЪСѢ
 ЛѢТА ЖНВОТА МОЕГО, СЪ ННМН БѢХЪ. Н НН/НѢ ѠЛѠЧЕНЪ БЫ Ѡ НН. ПРАВЕДНО ВЪПАДѠ
 ВЪ СТРАСТЪ / СНѠ. ѠНН ВЪЗДРѢЖААХЪ СА, АЗЪ ЖЕ СКОТЪСКИ ІАДѢ / Н ПНТААХ' СА.
 ѠНН ПОАХЪ СЪ ПОКААНІЕМЪ, АЗЪ ЖЕ / МАВѠ. ѠНН ВЪ ЦРКВѢ НДѢХЪ КОЛѢНОМЪ НА
 ПОКЛО/НЕННѢ, АЗЪ ЖЕ СЪНОМЪ ДРѢМЛѢХЪ Н СПААХЪ. ѠНН / МОЛѢХЪ СА, АЗЪ ЖЕ
 ГЛОУМАЛѢАХЪ СА. ѠНН СМѢРѢАХЪ СЕБЕ, АЗЪ ЖЕ ВЕАНУААХЪ СА. ѠНН НЗМЪЖДАВААХЪ,
 АЗЪ ЖЕ КРАШАХЪ СА. СЕГО РАДН ѠНН РАУѠТ СА, / АЗЪ ЖЕ РЫДАѠ. ѠНН ВЕСЕЛѠТ СА, АЗЪ
 ЖЕ ПЛАЧЪ СА. / ѠНН ОУТѢШАЕМН СѢТЬ, АЗЪ ЖЕ КРНУѠ. ВЪСПРЪ/НН ННѢ ѠКААН'НЕ,
 ВЪСПРЪНН ПОНѢ МАЛЫ. ПОРАЗВ/МѢН НЕЗРѢН'НОЕ ЕГО УЛѢКОЛЮБНѢ. Н НЕ ЛѢНН / СА Ѡ
 СВОЕМЪ СПНН. ВЪЗЫЩН ЕГО Н БѠДЕТ' ТН СКОРЪ ВЪ СПННЕ. ПРНЗОВН ЕГО, Н ЗАЩНТНТЬ
 ТА. ДА/ЖДЪ ЁМЪ, ДА ВЪЗМЕШН СТОРНЦЕѠ СВГѢБО. АЩЕ / БЕЗДОУШНАА ХАР'ТН
 ВЪЗДАѢТЬ ДЛЫГЫ ВЪ СЕБѢ, / КОЛ'МН ПАЧЕ БЛГЫН БѢ ВЪЗДАСТЬ БЛГТЬ ВЪЗЫСКАѠ/ЦІНМЪ
 ЕГО. ХАР'ТНА БѠ БОУК'ВАМН НСТАЗѢТЬ / ДЛЪЖНѠА АНХѠ НА АНХѠ. СКРОВНЦЕ ЖЕ
 БЛГТН БЖІѠ. ВМНОЖНТЬ МЪЗДѠ МОЛЕБНѠКЪ Н МОЛНТВ/НѠКЪ. НЕ ВЪНІВАН ЛЮБНМНЧЕ.
 ДА НЕ ПОВѢЖДЕНЪ // БѠДЕШН ЗЕМНЫМН. НН ВЪ НЕЧААНІЕ ВЪЛОЖН СЕБЕ. БѢ / БѠ
 МЛРДІА РАДН СВОЕГО, ПРНІМЕТЪ ТА Н ЗАЩНТНТЬ ТА. / ВЪСѢКОГО НЖЕ Ѡ ВЪСЕГО СѢЦА

нщѣщѣ ѿ ѿго. прѣстѣпнѣ оубоу къ немъ ве-сѣмнѣнѣа, прѣпаднѣ. въздѣхнѣ. н плачу са. н рыцн ѿмоу. Гн мон спѣ мон вскѣѣѣ воста/внѣ ма ѿсн. оубедрн ма ѿко тѣ ѿдннѣ ѿсн ѿлѣколю/бецѣ. н спн ма ѿко тѣ ѿдннѣ ѿсн безѣ грѣха. нзмн / ма ѿ скврѣнѣадогѣ безаконѣа моѿго. да не оуба/знѣ въ сѣтн непрѣзнннѣнѣ, на вѣкы вѣкомѣ. / нзбавн ма ѿ оубѣтѣ врага моѿго. се бѣ ѿко лѣвъ / рыкаѣтъ хотѣ ма поглѣтнѣтн. въздвнгни сн/лѣ твоѣ гн н прѣдн да ма спѣшн. бльснн мль/ннѣ твоѣ н раждѣнѣ нхѣ. да оубоѣтѣ сѣ н да ѿсѣ/знѣтъ ѿ лнца твоѿго. немощѣн бѣ ѿсѣтъ н не ѿмѣтъ / крѣпостн статн прѣ твоѣ. нн прѣ лн/цѣмѣ любѣщѣнхѣ тѣ. внднтѣ бѣ знаменѣе / блѣтѣ твоѣѣ, н посрамлѣнѣ ѿходнтѣ ѿ него. / н ннѣ влѣкѣ гн сп ма ѿко кѣ тѣбѣ прѣбѣгѣ. / н аще такѣ прѣстѣпншн къ немѣ, възсѣмѣ / сѣцѣмѣ свонмѣ; авнѣ ѿко ѿцѣ мѣрдѣ н блягѣ, / послѣтъ блѣтъ своѣ въ помощь твоѣ. н всѣа / вола твоѣ ѿспльннтѣ. **ѿ**н любнмнѣе моѣ, / прѣстѣпнѣ н не лѣнѣ са. прѣзвн ѿго н не оубн/вѣанѣ. нн вѣнемлн же въ ма оубн/вѣаагѣ // (f. 238) мнѣ бѣ довлѣтъ стѣдѣ лнца моѿго. глѣщѣ н не / творѣщѣоу. наказаѣщѣоу н не развѣмѣваѣщѣоу. нѣ / бѣдн подражѣтѣль сѣврѣшенѣѣ н дѣховнѣѣ ѿцѣ. / н прѣвнлоу нхѣ послѣдѣ/стѣвоу. не вышѣ мѣры. да не / наубншн не конѣатн. нн пакы же всѣма хѣждѣ/шнѣ. да змножнтѣ са мѣзда твоѣ. н не пнтѣн тѣла / твоѿго да не сѣпостѣтѣ тѣ бѣдѣтъ. нн же наубн / ѿго ѿбѣуѣѣмѣ плѣтѣскыѣмѣ, да не тѣшѣко бѣдѣ/тъ дѣшн твоѣнѣ. н ннзвѣдѣтъ ѣ въ прѣнсподнѣ зѣ/млн. **А**ще бѣ хѣщѣшн сѣврѣшатн похотн тѣле/снѣѣѣ н ѿставнтн пѣтн прѣвѣѣѣ. н по стѣгна/мѣ ходнтн. н помыслы скврѣнавѣѣѣ оубѣдѣ прѣнѣмлѣшн. н не цѣломѣдрѣнѣ. н пакы аще лнше мѣры / стѣжншн ѿмоу, тѣ н такѣ бѣдѣтъ тѣгѣстѣ дѣшн / твоѣнѣ. н побѣѣженѣоу бѣвшѣоу оубннѣѣмѣ н нзѣ/нѣможенѣѣмѣ, бѣдѣтъ гнѣванѣѣ н лѣннѣѣ на / прѣснословнѣѣ жѣ н мѣтѣѣѣ. н на всѣѣко послѣшѣннѣѣ, не блягѣ. мѣроѣ ѣвѣ доброѣ н прѣвнломѣ, / оубѣстроѣ себѣ. да сѣврѣшенѣ бѣдѣшн въ всѣмѣ. / **П**озорѣтѣнѣ рыцн мнѣсн лн бѣлѣ ннколнже; / запѣщѣнѣю конѣскомѣ. н аще кто безѣ мѣры / конѣ женѣтъ, тѣ оубѣслаѣцѣѣтъ. аще лѣ же пѣ/кы безѣ мѣры попоубѣстнѣтѣ нмѣ; всѣднннѣа развѣнѣше влѣуѣатѣ. **П**акы же корабѣѣ въ пѣ/убнѣѣ нѣсн лн вндѣѣлъ такѣжде; аще бѣдѣ на годѣѣ / ѿбрѣменѣнѣ, оубѣдѣ влѣнамн носнмѣ бѣдѣтъ. / тѣщѣ же безѣ вѣрѣменѣ аще плаѣдѣтъ, влѣнамн / скорѣу прѣврѣженѣ бѣдѣтъ. такѣжде же дѣша н / тѣлаѣ. сѣго радн добро ѿѣ ѿже наубнѣше то же н сѣ/врѣшнтн. н бѣоу оубѣгоднтн. себѣ же потѣрѣбноу / бѣтн н блнжнѣмоу сн. ѿже ѿсѣтъ блѣвѣно н ѣтно хѣн. / **В**ы ѿсѣте свѣтнѣннѣцн вѣселѣнѣѣѣ. вы ѿсѣте соль зѣ/млн. н стѣлпн пѣнѣннѣнѣ. вы ѿсѣте

съврѣшенїи ѱрѣ/нїи. њже бїсте агг҃лн на землн. възлюбнѣшеи / жнѣне агг҃льскѡ.
 тѣлѡмъ бѡ ѱлѣщн сѡще. дѣло / же агг҃льскѡ съврѣшаѣте. любнмнщн мои. /
 подвнѣгъ нѣшь врѣменень іе̄. възданїе же єго њ / похвала, въ вѣкы прѣбываѣте.
 трѡѣ ѱрѣнеуе/ства нѣшего малъ. възданїе же нѣше, бесконе/ѱнѡ. њ єлнкоже
 єдннѡдѣшно ѱрѣнеуе/своуѣ/те, њ дѣтѣль съ любовнїѣ съврѣшаѣте, толн/ко пауе
 сѡперннкѣ нѣшь дїаволь на прогнѣва/нїе њ на ненствоѡство градѣ. н разлнѱны
 сѣ/тн крїеѣте на нѣ, њко да ѡловнт нѣ њ спѡнѡ / сѣтворнтъ намѣ. ѡнѣмѣте
 оуѣѡ сѣвѣ любї/мнщн мои ѡ сѣтн єго. без' подвнѣга бѡ ннктѡ/же сѣет сѡ нн
 вѣнѱаємъ бїваѣте. нн блгѣтѣ / же бжїа не ѡстаѡѣте єдннѡдѣшно борѡ/(f.
239)цаго сѡ њ подвнѣзѡщцаго сѡ. њ аще кто себе / рѡслабнѣ ѡблѣннѣ оуѣста
 своѡ ѡврѣстн / блгѡтн на прнзѡвннє да прндетѣ на помо/щѣ ємоу. **И**коже бѡ кто
 клоснень сїи рѡ/кама њ ногама, њ мы брѡшна м'нога лежѡщѡ. њ прнноснтн не
 могѣи рѡкы къ оуѣстомѣ. / да прнємъ ѡ брѡшенъ насытнтѣ своѡ дѣшѡ. аще лн /
 ѡблѣннт' сѡ прннеснт рѡкы къ оуѣстомѣ, прѣдле/жѡщнн не полоуѱнтѣ брѡшенъ.
 тако њ мннхѡ / њмѣѡн блгѡа брѡшна. блгѡнаа прѣдложеннѡ, / њ лѣнѡ сѡ
 прнзѡвнѣтѣ ѡ. не можѣтѣ насытнтѣ сѡ / сладѡстн єа. **К**то бѡ застѡпнтѣ ѡного
 њма/цаго рѡцѣ коснѡтн сѡ рѡкоу єго на възѡтн/є прѣдлежѡщнн брѡшенъ. њлн
 како бѡдетѣ помлѡванъ мннхѡ њмѣѡн пѣчѡль ѡ земнѣи вѣщѣ. / њ неѡрада ѡ сїнн
 своємѣ. **И**цѣмѣ же ѡбѡзѡ/мѣ воїнѣ възѡда въ бранѣ щнтѣтѣ тѣло своє ѡ
 въсѡдоу до побѣды бран'нѣѡ. блѡдын крѣ/пнт' сѡ њ подвнѣзѡетѣ. єдѡ како
 внѣзѡдѡпѡ по/врѣжетѣ њ рѡтннкѣ њ ннзложнтѣ єго. аще лн / не щнтѣт сѡ лнѡ њ
 малы, тѡ такѡвнн оуѡдо/бѣ ннзѡгаємъ бываѣте. **Т**ѣмж'де ѡбѡзѡ/мѣ њ мннхѡ.
 аще дѡ себе въ сладѡ њ оуѣнннє, / оуѡдѡвѣ ннзѡгаємъ бываѣте сѡпрѡтнѡннѣ
 дїавѡлѡ. // вѡложнт бѡ ємоу въ сѣце помыслы скѡрѣнннѣ / њ злѣ. њ абнѣ въ сластѣ
 прїїметѣ њ. њ положнтѣ на / оуѡмѣ сн. прѣзѡрство же њ высокомѡдрнє. њ
 тѡщеславнє. завнстѣ же њ клеѡетѡ. ѱрѣвоѡбѡраде/ннє. њ сѡнъ безѣ сытѡстн.
 надѣ снмн вѡсѣмн, въ / неѡаїннє прнѡѡдетѣ єго. аще лн бѡднтѣ њ трѣ/звнт сѡ
 вѣнѡ. блгѡтѣ прнзѡѡѡѡ бжїнѡ въ по/моуцѣ застѡпнтѣ њ вѣнѡ. њ тоѡ оуѡнмѡ
 бѣ/ѡаѣте како оуѡгоднтѣ гѡн. њ бѡдетѣ блгѡтѣ / похѡалѣна њ похѡалѣщнн.
Икоже кто вѡне/мѡла въ зрѣцѡло самѣ єстѣ сѣвѣвнѡецѣ зрѡ въ не. / тако њ блгѡтѣ
 њдеже ѡбѡрацѣтѣ покон, вѡсе/лнт сѡ њ вѡдѡрнт сѡ тоу. њ бѡдетѣ њкоже рѣ /
 похѡал'на, њ похѡалѣщнн. кромѣ во помоуцн / єѡ, не можѣтѣ сѣце доѡлно бѡтн

себѣ. напоитъ же его ѿ вина своего. ꙗкоже се что глаголюще. ѿ / покаанїа еѣ, поддано
 емоу слъзы. и ѿ сладости / еѣ мѣрдоваши. прїнесетъ емоу свои смѣренїа
 мѣрдо. и ѿ слъзы еѣ възмогъ, поетъ / славѣ бнѣ. **Безъ** лица нище естъ зрѣцалю. /
 а понеже прїемлетъ, можетъ и въздати. / и аще оукрашенъ бѣдетъ, можетъ и
 оукрашити. тако и всѣкъ члвкъ безъ блгодн, нищъ / и проситель. **Аще** же
 сподѣтъ са блгодн ѿ/(f. 240)нон, проуче ѿ помощи еѣ исправитъ все. аще же
 пакы ѿблвнн са прїоженетъ к и поустъ ѿбращетъ са / и ѿкаанъ. и вселат са
 въ нь помысли скврьнави / и злї. ꙗко ноцныи врань на нырци. **Члвкоу** же /
 естъ подоба прїзвати и възыскати еѣ съ болѣзньнн. и блгодн естъ прїти въ
 застѣпление его. / безъ блгодн бж, не можетъ помысли просвѣтити / са. видѣсте
 ли братне моа многопство блго/ѿбразне бѣдѣцѣго вѣка. и аще не ѿчиститъ са /
 срце нше. блгодъ дхвнаа не прїдетъ въ члвк; / аще ли же прїдетъ блгодъ въ
 нь, всѣкъ дѣтѣ/лъ исправитъ. и аще исправнъ все, помышлѣетъ то
 исправленне. таковыи себе прѣльщаетъ. / не свѣды свои немощь. завнстъ въ
 себѣ створи / таковыи. и ѿгна ѿ себе блгодъ. и аще к то исправнъ себе. позна
 застѣпление блгодное. ꙗко ѿ / слъзы еѣ оукрашитъ са, исправнъ и дѣтѣли. да /
 прославитъ ба. и да рѣтъ, слава твоемоу члвколю/бнїю. ꙗко недостойна и грѣшна
 сподѣна еси досто/нна быти твоѣ блгодн. и ꙗко възсхотѣ, исправнъ мнѣ свои
 оуднаа влко. таковыи разумѣ/въ свои немощь, потыщаль са естъ храма чнста
 блгодн сътворити. и бѣ въ немъ блгодъ стѣль / и прїношенне. и стѣна
 непоколебима. и весел/лащнхъ са веселитъ. и радѣщнхъ са въ немъ радѣ творн. / и
 хранитъ его ѿ всѣкого зла. дондеже прѣста/внтъ его въ вѣнннн жнзнь. ѿ сего
 вѣка въ бѣдѣщнн вѣкѣ. **Прїклонн** оубо ннѣ оучо твоѣ / любнннче мои, и бѣдѣ
 ти свѣтннкъ. аще хоцешн оудоу своему да възидетъ въ вѣнннн жнзнь. и
 желашн блаженства га своего. рци / ми пошто оумывашн лице свое водою.
 всѣ/ко того ради. да ближнкамъ своимъ годѣ бѣдѣши. а не ѿплывал еси
 пальтескыи ти страсти. н въ нн поравощен еси. аще ли хоцешн ѿмыти лице
 свое, оумыве слъзамн. и ѿмые плачемъ. да просвѣтит са съ слово прѣ / бм и
 стымн его аглы. лице въ ѿмывае/мо слъзамн, доброта ие неоуднаа. н
 про/тннн семоу рѣши. стыждѣ са скврьны ради / лица моего. скврьна лица
 твоего и ногу / твоею съ чнстомъ срцемъ, пауче слнца сна/етъ посрѣ аглы бнн.
 что смѣши са вѣ/смыннїа. плакати са и рыдати нѣст ли / ти рекль бж, ты же
 ѿставль заповѣдн га своего. не вонши ли са мжкъ его; сице искоушенне ннѣ

можетъ наказати не́скоу/сны́ѣ. ѿ въ рѣкы раз'бонннѹа въпады, // (f. 241)
 можетъ пѣтннкѣ потврьдн. ѿ понеже ѿ/частн ѿскоушеніе глѣа; слабостн моеѣ
 радн глѣа. / въ ѹа оу́тврьднх са оу́нзынне же ѿ лѣность моа, / на тожде влѣует
 ма пакы. сего радн оу́бв ѿ а/зѣ любнмнѹе моѿ хѹщѣ съвѣтннкѣ бытн тн. /
Стадо ѿзбрѣн'ноѣ сѣво. мола вы. наслѣдннцн / бѣжнн. влюдѣте са да не
 пльт'скыѣ радн сладтн. / н жнтен'скыѣ похѹтн, лнштн са славы ѹноѣ / ѿ
 радостн. ѿ ѿзрнновенн бѣдете ѹртога ѹногѹ. / ѿ же ѿспльненѣ ѣсть веселіа ѿ
 радостн. любн/мнцн моѿ трѹдѣ ѹрнечества нѣшего іако сѣнь / ѣсть. трѹдоу же
 нѣшему покоѿ несповѣднѣ / іе. **Взнемлн** оу́бѹ себѣ. ѣда когда
 ѹбрацешн / са ѿпадѣ ѿ ѹбоѹ ѹаствнѹ ѿ ѿ ѹбоѹ пнроу. ка/ко же ѿтѣѣ
 въздасѣ. нѣ потѣцн са паѹе сѣ/врьшенѣ дѣтѣль стажатн. ѿ оу́крашенѣ
 вѣсѣ/ческыѣ, іакоже любнтѣ бѣ. ѿ снѣ аще стажншн, / ннколнже прогнѣвдешн бѣ.
 нн блнжнѣго сво/ѣго ѹзлюбншн. сн же ѣднновецннаа дѣтѣль / нарнует' са.
 нмацн въ себѣ добротѣ разлнчн/мн дѣтѣл'мн. іакоже бѹ вѣнецѣ цѣрѣскы, бѣ/з
 каменіа ѹтнаго ѿ бездрагаго бнсра ѿспле/тень не можетъ бытн. тако ѿ сн
 ѣднновецннаа / дѣтѣль. без' доброты разлнчнѣ дѣтѣлен не // сѣстонт са. нѣѹ
 оу́подовнла са іе цѣркомѣ вѣн'цѣ. / іакоже бѹ вѣнецѣ аще ѣсть недостатькѣ
 ѣднн/го камене, нн бнсра, на главѣ цѣрѣ снѣтн не / можетъ. тако ѿ снѣ
 ѣднновецннѣн дѣтѣлн, аще недостатькѣ бѣдетѣ ѣдннѣ дѣтѣлн / добротнѣѣ.
 сѣврьшена дѣтѣль не ѿменуѣ/т' са. **Оу́пѣбн** са пакыѣ многоцѣн'номѣ брѣ/шномѣ
 спастнѣмѣ. всѣѣ ѿзбрѣн'ныѣ сладен. / ѿ лншенѣмѣ бывшемѣ солн. іакоже
 многоцѣн'наа брѣшна без' солн іастн са не могѣтѣ. / тако ѿ ѣднновецннаа
 дѣтѣль, всѣѣкоѣ добро/ты оу́крашена. многопѣстрымн дѣтѣл'мн. / тн аще
 лнштн са ѿ люб'ве бѣнѣ, ѿ блнжнѣаго / сн. всѣмоу мрѣзѣ іе. **Пѣбно** же пакыѣ
 крѣпкѣ / н велнкоу ѹрлѣ, каслѣщѣоу са высотѣ нѣнѣ. / ѿ же вндѣвѣ брѣшно въ
 сѣтн. ѣбнѣ крѣпостн/ѣ крнлоу своѣю шѣдѣ оу́стрѣмнт' са на неѣ. / ѿ вѣстрѣгнѣтн
 хотѣщѣоу брѣшно, ѣдрѣжа/нѣ бѣ за конецѣ ноктн въ сѣтн. ѿ малымѣ / снмѣ всѣѣ
 крѣпость ѣго смѣрн са. всѣ бѹ / тѣлѹ ѣго вѣнѣ ѣсть сѣтн. крѣпѣ же ѣго / всѣѣ
 вазнтѣ въ неѣ. такоже ѿ ѣдннове/цннаа дѣтѣль. аще прнвѣзана бѣдетѣ / земнѣ
 вѣценѣ, всѣѣ въ неѣ вазнтѣ ѿнѣдѣ. // (f. 242) вѣсе бѹ дѣло сѣврьшенн еѣ кромѣ
 аѣзѣ ѣсть. / крѣпѣ же вѣсѣ ѣѣ, на землн смѣрѣет са. ѿ іако/же не можетѣ
 възлетѣтн ѹрелѣ на вы́сотѣ аѣ/р'скѣѣ нокѣтнааго аѣтна дѣлѣ, тако ѿ
 ѣднн/вѣцннаа дѣтѣль аще не свѣбоднт са ѿ земнѣ / вѣценѣ, не можетъ бытн

свършена дѣтѣль. / Кто ѣсть не нмынъ слызь покѣднѣа, поразоумѣвь / да
 въздѣхнеть. н да навѣкнеть нзвѣсто нспра/влѣщнхъ дѣтѣль снѣ. ѣда вѣ нѣа
 донде нспра/влениѣ его. н дошедь до дверѣи тѣѣ, възбранено / бѣ емоу вьнннѣ.
 дондеже цѣтвѣа не дондетъ дѣтѣль, нсправленѣе не можетъ вьнннѣ въ не.
 ꙗкоже се что гла. любнмннѣи моѣ. нсправншѣ нѣщн/н прѣждереченѣа снѣ
 дѣтѣль. оукрашншѣ съплетѣше ꙗкы цѣркыи вѣнець. н вѣщн радн нзмѣ/ждалы,
 толнкѣ дѣтѣль нн въ чтоже взмѣнн/шѣ. прнвѣзан' вѣ нхъ бѣ помысль
 печалмн земны вѣщн. сего радн не могошѣ на нѣвн възытн. / Блюдн са оубѣ
 любнмннѣи моѣ. да не прнвѣзавъ / себе, прѣдасн са врагоу своѣмоу. не рѣшн
 дѣтѣль дѣтѣль ꙗже многомъ трѣдомъ стажѣ. / н не възбранѣн сн въ небесаа
 врата вьнннѣ. / н не поставн еѣ посрамлены прѣ женнхомъ ѡнѣмъ. н не прнвѣжн
 еѣ вѣщн нзмѣждалымн. // нн же прнговоздн еѣ землн. нѣ даждь еѣ
 дрѣзновеннѣ н гла възсѣкъ. да веселашн са съ / радостнѣ възрьтогъ вьнннѣ.
 н гласомъ. / възсѣкомъ, нстажетъ мьздѣ своѣ. ѡ дн/вноѣ ѡудѣ. ꙗко сѣ львь
 прѣвѣлѣн еѣлѣ н крѣ/покъ. строуноѣ прнвѣзанъ, смѣрн са. та/ко н дѣтѣль
 земны печалехъ прнвѣзана. / львовн оуподобн са дѣтѣль сн. оукраше/на
 вѣщнѣмъ дѣлѣмъ блгомъ н смѣрено/мъ. земнымн печалмн. ꙗко строуноѣ
 ѣдннѣ прнвѣзана ѣсть. Тѣмже мола / та любнмннѣи моѣ възспрьнѣ. н подвннѣ
 / рѣцѣ твоѣ. хвѣта прѣрѣзатн нзмѣжа/лѣа снѣ строуноѣ. да не смѣхоу бѣдешн
 / ꙗко самѣонъ крѣпкыи. нже своѣмъ по/двнгомъ, ꙗкоже въ ѣдннѣ ѣа тысащѣ
 н/з'бн. н дѣтѣн доворотѣ ꙗко ѣдннѣ строуноѣ прѣрѣза. н себе ѡ азь свободн. н
 вра/гы побнвъ, повѣдѣ гвн прннесе. н молн/тва подвнга его, въ нстоуннѣ
 прѣло/жн са. снѣ снцѣваа нсправленѣа сътво/рнвъ, себе свѣзавъ врагомъ прѣдѣ са.
 / А нѣм' вѣ строуныи смѣрн са. н / страшнѣа ѡнѣ н днвнѣа крѣпѣ
 свѣза. //⁵² (f. 243) т са. аще въ мѣрѣ поунваѣтъ, аще лн лнше мѣры, / познанъ
 вѣваѣтъ. нмже раслабнвъ себе. прѣдасъ / са. съноу. прѣдавъ ѣстьство на
 побѣжденнѣ н / ѡбычѣемъ сънныи. аще ѣстьство н ѡбычѣ про/повѣдѣтелѣ ѣста.
 ѡбѣма ѡстѣма ѣстьство / показоуѣтъ порабощеннѣ. ѡбычѣн же клепе/тъ волѣ, ѡ
 ѡвоѣго во състонт са ѡлѣкъ. волѣ ж / самовластна сѣщн, ꙗко датѣль ѣ.
 вькореннтъ / вѣ въз ѣстьствѣ, ѡбычѣемъ злы дѣтѣль нлн / блггы ꙗкоже хоцетъ.
 вькореннт' же злы ѡбычѣа. тык'мо въз алу нрѣвоѡбычѣенѣ. въз жѣ/ждн

⁵² La feuille volante suivante, disloquée à l'avant de la f. 230, a été attachée par hasard ici, inversement (il faut lire 243v / 243r).

многопнтнѣ. въ сынѣ слабостъ, н сынъ ѡско/реннть дѣтѣлн бѣгыѣ. Въ пнцн,
 въ зѣрѣжаннѣ. / въ жѣжѣн трѣпѣннѣ. въ сынѣ, въ дѣннѣ. въ лѣ/жн ѡстннѣ. въ
 въ зорѣ, цѣломѣдрнѣ. вола бо / ѡшѣ ѡбразъ дѣтѣлн нарнѣатъ. ѡско/реннть / бѣ
 злыѣ ѡбычаѣ въ мгновени ѡка. н прнса/днтъ дѣлы бѣгы ѡкоже хѣщеть.
 понеже н ѡ/стѣство тѣ погнана ѣста. землѣ же оуто дѣла/наѣ ѡше ѣстѣство ѣсть.
 дѣла/телъ же ѣсть семоу, / волѣ. бѣствнѣ кннгы, сѣвѣстннцн сѣтъ на/мѣ н
 оуѣнтеле. оуѣат бо ѡшего дѣла/теле, кыѣ / ѡбычаѣ злыѣ ѡско/реннть. н кыѣ
 дѣтѣлн бѣгы / наса/днтъ. ѡще бѣ ѣстѣ н тыщнѣ ѡшѣ дѣла/теле ѣѣ. // ѡще лн
 хѣщешн помыслы оуѣдѣтн сѣѣныѣ, прн/стѣпн къ оуѣстоѣ н навыкнн ѡ нн
 нспытно прѣво/ѣ. ѡ нѣных лн помышлѣть, на н ѡ земныѣ. ѡ дѣхо/внх лн, на н ѡ
 пальтѣскыѣ похотѣхъ. ѡ въ зѣрѣжанн / лн, на н ѡ многостѣжанн. на н ѡ ннцетѣ ѡ
 ѡ смѣре/нѣн мѣдростн. на н ѡ высокомѣдрн на н ѡ любѣвн. / на н ѡ ненавнстн. ѡ
 скровнща бѣ земнаго оуѣстѣ прѣ/дложѣтъ брѣшна сѣщннѣ. по оуѣенѣ ѡзыкоу. н
 / жнтнѣ ѣлѣе показоѣтъ кого любнтъ сѣѣ. прѣвоѣ, / хѣ лн ѡлн въка сего. н
 невн/днмаѣ дѣша, дѣлесе своѣго / тѣлесе вн/днма ѣсть како ѣѣ ѣстѣствѣ. прѣла/гаемъ
 же / са злобоѣ, самовластнѣ вола радн. нѣ равно семѣ рѣтъ нѣкто, ѡко стѣтн
 ѣстѣствнѣ сѣтъ. н неоу/кло/ннн сѣтъ рѣботаѣщен нѣ. вннмаѣ оуѣбо сеѣѣ
 ѡка/ннѣ. добраѣго сѣдѣаннѣ благаго вѣкы, въ сѣблазнн / не въводн. сѣтвори бѣ
 бѣ въсѣ добра зѣлн, ѡ ѣстѣство / оуѣраснѣ ѣсть благаѣмн дѣлы. ѡкоже сѣ ѣто
 гѣла. / по ѣстѣствоу ѡлѣѣ не нарнѣет са въ мѣрѣ ѡдѣще. / ѡще лн же без мѣры
 ѡстѣ, знѣемъ ѣсть. ѡко рѣщн бе/зѣстѣствнѣнѣ ѣѣ ѡще без мѣры ѡстѣ. жѣжда
 па/кы не нарнѣет са ѡще кто въ мѣрѣ пнѣтъ. ѡще лн / без мѣры познанѣ
 выѣѣтъ. понеже ѣстѣствнѣ/ѣ жѣжда ѣѣ. безъ ѣстѣства же; безъ мѣры ѡще кто /
 поуѣѣтъ, то па/кы по ѣстѣствоу не нарнѣет. // (f. 244) Вънмаѣ оуѣбѣ нннѣ
 любнннѣ моѣ тѣ сеѣѣ. ѣдѣ ка/ко днвнѣа дѣтѣлѣ, малѣ радн пѣлѣнѣ сѣжешн
 ѡ / смѣрншн. нѣ блѣдн ѡ ѡ въсѣѣ врѣжѣщнѣ вѣщн. н оуѣ/раснѣвъ. прѣпослн жѣ на
 нѣо. ннѣ же свѣоднѣ жѣ. ѡцѣ/мже ѡбразѣмъ прѣжде сѣодѣщнѣ въ гѣбннѣ. ѡко
 / да вѣрѣщнѣ многоцѣннѣннѣ внсерѣ. ѣгоже ѡбрѣтъ, / ѡбнѣ сѣ многомъ трѣудѣмъ на
 высѣтѣ въсѣоднѣ. / въсе же тѣло ѣго, ѡбнажѣетъ са ѡ вода. ѡ вода же
 прѣ/бывѣѣтъ на мѣстѣ. сѣ же сѣ богатѣствомъ многомъ оуѣстрѣмнѣ са, на соуѣхѣ
 нѣлѣѣ. ннѣ же ѡбразѣ/мѣ н тѣ потѣщн са свѣоднѣтн дѣтѣлѣ ѡ въсѣхѣ / земныѣ
 вѣщнѣ. ѡ оуѣраснѣ са сѣврѣшенѣ дѣтѣлнѣ. / ѡблѣщн са ѡко рнзоѣ. н трѣзвн
 са любнннѣ дѣнѣ / н ноцѣ. да са не сѣлѣѣшн ѣѣ. сѣѣ ѣдннѣвѣщнѣнѣ / дѣтѣлн
 нннѣкоже не можѣтъ врѣднѣтн на землн. / скрѣбѣ бѣ трѣпѣннѣ сѣдѣлѣѣтъ. ннцѣта

же и не/стажанне, землѣ есть дѣлоу еѣ. ѿ сего бо плодo/внта бываѣтъ. плоды бо праведны приносашн. / ни недѣлѣ же еѣ можетъ вѣдѣти. ѿ него бо сн/лоѣ ѡдѣт' са похвалами къ боу. пѣбно же не мо/гѣтъ ни зложити еѣ. ꙗко ѿ тоѣ стажитъ по/хвалѣ и славѣ. и жнзнь вѣчнѣѣ. гоненіе не можетъ оустрашити еѣ. ѿ того вѣ плететъ вѣнець съвршенія своѣго. и боу славѣ приносятъ. // нѣ и нагота еѣ оуныніа не можетъ наложити. / понеже ѿ неѣ съпраде ѡдеждѣ славы. гладъ та/кожде не можетъ еѣ въ прѣнемаганнѣ оустрон/ти. ѿ того бо трапезѣ готовятъ сн въ црѣтвн не/беснѣмѣ. нѣ и жѣжда не можетъ еѣ печалн на/местн. ѿ тоѣ бѣ готовят' са еѣ веселнѣ раіскоѣ. / нищета не можетъ оужасити еѣ на богатѣство. тоѣ бѣ наслѣдствоуѣтъ блаженѣство / гнѣ. бѣдѣннѣ же и плачу. вѣнѣцн еѣ сѣтъ готовн / и съвршенн. и источникъ слъзъ, ѡчнщеніе еѣ еѣ. ѡснованнѣ създаннѣмѣ еѣ сѣтъ. съмрѣтъ / не можетъ еѣ оумрѣтити. нѣ ни гробъ разрѣшн еѣ можетъ. ни оудрѣжатн еѣ аѣрѣ. ни / нѣа могѣтъ вратъ затворити прѣѣ дѣтѣл'ноѣ дѣшеѣ. нѣ вндаше ѣ съ радостнѣ ѡвѣрѣжѣтъ. / тѣмѣ тѣмамн и тѣснѣща тѣснѣшамн. аггѣлѣ. / архггѣлѣ. прѣстоли госпѣствнѣ. наѣла же и / властн, не могѣтъ запрѣтити еѣ. нѣ съ радостнѣ приѣмѣ ѣ. и на рѣкѣ своѣ вѣзем'ше, / принесѣтъ ѣ прѣстолау славы. Рѣчет са ѡ не/нѣ ѡцѣ и снѣ съ сѣтѣмѣ дѣхомѣ. рѣчет' же са ѡ не/нѣ / дѣхъ сѣтнѣ, ꙗко бѣ емоу црѣкѣ сѣтѣ. и всела са / въ нѣ. рѣчет' же са ѡ не/нѣ едннороднѣннѣ снѣ, ꙗко томоу похотѣ. и паѣ еѣго иного не стажа. // (f. 245) и рѣчет са ѡ не/нѣ ѡцѣ, ꙗко того вѣлюбнѣа еѣтъ. и / паѣ еѣго иного не вѣлюбн. рѣчѣтъ же са ѡ не/нѣ и нѣа / съ снлами своими. едннѣдѣшно слава ѡцѣ и снѣ и / сѣтѣго дѣха. вндаше дѣтѣлѣ аггѣлѣкѣ оукрашенѣ / всѣкоѣ доврѣтоѣ и правдѣѣ. рѣчет са ѡ не/нѣ / раі. ꙗко жрѣбенѣмѣ паде емоу въ достоаннѣ. / Слѣа и велѣлѣпнѣ едннѣмоу блгомоу боу и ѣлѣко/любѣцоу. подаваѣцѣомоу намѣ своѣ црѣтвнѣ. блгѣтнѣ сн ицѣлн ма гн ицѣлѣѣ. едннѣннѣ прѣмѣдѣры / и мѣрѣднѣ врачу. мѣлѣ твоѣ блгѣстнѣна, ицѣлн / строупы дѣшѣ моѣа. и просѣвѣтн ѡчн моѣ оумнѣннѣ. / да разоумѣѣ твоѣ съмотреннѣ бѣвѣаемоѣ на / мнѣ вынѣ. и понеже оувѣла еѣтъ мѣсль моѣа. бла/дѣт' же твоѣ снлоѣ истннѣноѣ да растворнт' са. / **И** что рекѣ провѣдѣѣ вѣднѣ сѣца и оудѣ. самѣ / бѣ едннѣ вѣсн, ꙗко землѣ безводна жѣждетъ / тебе дѣша моѣ, и желѣетъ сѣце. любѣщааго же / гн бѣ моѣ, блгѣтъ твоѣ да насытнтѣ. и ꙗкоже / вынѣ послушала еѣ менѣ вѣко, и ннѣ не прѣ/зрн моленнѣ моѣго. се вѣ ꙗко плѣннѣннѣа еѣтъ / мѣсль моѣа. тебе едннѣго спѣ ицѣшн. послн оу/бѣ ннѣ блгѣтъ своѣ вѣскорѣ да придеѣтъ въ

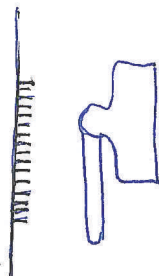
послв/шавъ, оуѣдрнлв ма ёсн. њ нѣсн прѣзрѣль млтвы њ. / бывшнѡ за моё смѣреніе њ спніе. ты же гѡ мон / прѣкомъ своимъ рекль ёсн. ѡврьзн оуста своа њ њ/спльна њ. се оуѣже нѣѣ ѡврьзе са срце моё њ оуста / раба твоёго гѡ моѡ. њсплзньтн са њ оумъ ѡ блгѡ/тн твоёѡ. да вынѡ блва та гѡ спе моѡ. напоѡ по/мыслъ моѡ ѡлѣколюб'ѣ блгын'. њ роснѡ блвеніа / твоёго. њко землѣ ѡсѣана не можетъ вспнтв/тн ѡ себѣ плодѡв без' посѣщеніа твоёѡ блгосты/на. тако њ срце моё, не можетъ без блгѡтн твоёѡ / провѣшатн оуѣгоднаго. нн плодѡвнта плода прї/несн праведна. се оуѣже дъждъ пнтаетъ плоды, / њ дрѣвеса вѣн'ѡваѡт са пстрымъ цвѣтомъ. / њ роса блгѡтн твоёѡ, да просвѣтнт' мн помы/слъ. да оуѣкраснт' ёго цвѣтомъ покааніа њ смѣ/реніа. любовїѡ же, њ трѣпѣннїемъ. **њ** что рекѡ / ёще гѡ моѡ гѡ. се вѡ млтва моа немощна. њ ве/законїа моа велїа њ прнтран'на сѡ. ѡ лѡтѣ // (f. 247) мнѣ грѣсн мон стажаѡт' мн. њ немощь моа нѡднт ма. / да побѣднт' ѡ блгѡтѣ твоа. ѡврьзын ѡчн слѣп'цоу, / ѡврьзн мн ѡчн оумнѣн'. да вынѡ разоумѣваѡ добро/тѡ твоѡ. ѡврьзын оуста нѣмомоу, ѡврьзн оуста / моа въ славѡ њ похвалѡ блгѡтн твоёѡ. положнвын / прѣдѣлы морю словомъ повелѣнїа твоёго. положн / прѣдѣль срцоу моёмоу блгѡтнѡ сн. њко да не оуѣкло/ннт' са на десно нн на шѣ ѡ добрѡты твоёѡ. да/вын людѣмъ водѡ въ поустынн, лѡмъ ннпокорнвы/мъ њ протнвашнм' са, даѡ мн покаанїе вынѡ. њ ѡчнма моѡма слъзы да плача са днѡ њ ношь смѣреноѡ / мѡдростнѡ њ любовнѡ њ срцемъ ѡнстомъ. да прн/блнжнт' же са млтва моа гѡ к тебѣ. њ дароуѡ мн ѡ / сѣмене стго твоёго, да прннесѡ тн драх'мѡ. њ/спльна покаанїа њ њсповѣданїа. њ рекѡ, слава / дав'шомѡ мн славѡ. да ёмѡ прннесѡ њ прѣдложѡ. / оуѣслышн гѡ млѡтѣѡ моѡ раба твоёгѡ. млтвамн / стхъ твоѡ. сын надъ всѣмн бѣ блвенъ въ вѣкы. / амнь:

Прндѣте любнмцн моѡ. прндѣте ѡ/цн њ братїа моа. стадо њз'браїнїе спво. прндѣ/те коупла дѣнмъ дон'деже трѣжество стоїтѣ. / њсплннтѣ ѡчн слъзы вашн. њ абне ѡчн срьдеуѡнѣн / вашн ѡврьзетѣ са. глнтѣ словѡ ѡ вѣчнѣн жнзнн. / њ ѡ сѡдѣ вѣчнѣмъ. њ абне поклет са срце ваше. // прїнмѣте добрын помыслъ. ѡ црѣтн нѣнѣмъ њ / раѡ. њ абне нераднтн наунете ѡ земнѡ вѣшен'. / њ да ннктоже раславѣвъ ѡ вѡ оуѣныетѣ. нн же / прѣнемагаѡ оуѣстрашнт са. нн же да оуѣбонт' са. / ннктоже нн оуѣснетѣ. нѡ безъ сьмнѣнїа да прї/зовемъ гѡ ншего. њ прнлежно да работаемъ / спсоу ншемоу. потыщнм' са њ ѡчнстнмъ срца / нша стмъ ёго дхмъ. сьдрѣжнм' са самн себе н / млнмъ њ оуѣтверднмъ. ѡпоустнм' же

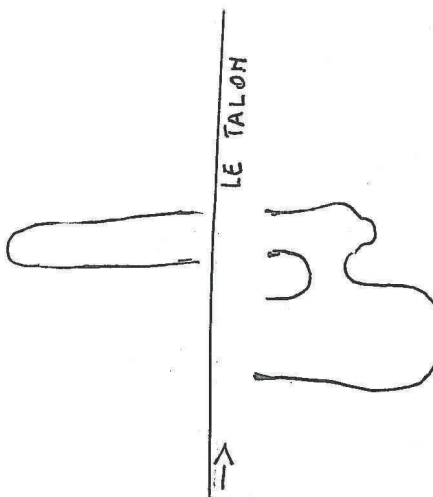
грѣхы са/мн себѣ ѿ всего срѣца. равн бо есмы нельжнаагѡ / бѣ рек'шааго тако. н ѿцѣ моѣ нѣнзын не ѡста/внть. аще не ѡставнть кѣждѡ братѡ свое/мѡ ѿ срѣцѣ вашн прѣгрѣшеннѣ. н пакы стмн е/го аплы знаменаль естѣ. еже, коль краты ѿ/поустнн естѣ грѣхѣ братоу. рек'шѡ бѡ петрѡ / гн, коль краты сѣгрѣшнть въ ма братѣ моѣ / н ѿпоущнѣ емоу. до седмнщн; рѣ емѡ гѣ. не гла / тн до сед'мнщн. нѣ до сед'мьдесать кратѣ се/дмнщнѣ. мы же оубѡ ннколнже трнщн днѣ/мѣ ѿпоустнмъ себѣ. **Млѣ** вы оубѡ братіе / моѣ н прнпадѣѣ вамъ ѿ дрѡузн. въспрнѣте / въ малое сѣ врѣмѣ. н подвнзѣнте са въ едннзын на десате ѡдѣ. вечерѣ бѡ прнблнжнль са естѣ / н мьз'додавецѣ хѣ, градѣ сѣ славоѣ възатн хо/(f. 248) **Гдѣ** комоуждо протнвѣ дѣлѡмъ гѡ: / **В**знемѣте оубѡ себѣ. еда к'то нсправнѣ сѣвѣ, / възрѣѣтѣ са. н ѡблѣннѣ са, погоубнть бесчнслѡ/ноѣ мьз'дѡвъдѣннѣ. оупѡбнль бо са естѣ ѡрнець / ѡсѣанѣ ннѣѣ іаже възрѣстнть плоды свобѡдоѣ / н рѡсѡѣ. н плодѡвнть плѡ прннесетѣ веселіѣ. н егѡ/же постнгнетѣ плѡ на неѣ, тогда множаѣшѣ на/водн печаль дѣлателю. пекы нѣѡ са б'днть. н бо/нтѣ са. еда вънезааплѣ градѣ нлн звѣрѣ днвнн рѡ/станть ннѣѣ его. тако н мннхѣ дон'деже жнветѣ / въ вѣцѣ семь. днѣ н ноцѣ пѣѣт са н мльвнть болѣ/знно ѡ бесмртнѣн жнзнн. н ѡ свѣтѣ ѡрнець/ства своѣго. да не ѡблѣннѣ себѣ, ѡбращетѣ са / въ соѡѣте кы. въсѣ радѡ н веселнѣ дѣлателю іѣ. / егѡ жѡтѣѣ сѣберетѣ въ жнтнщнѣ. н полѡчнтѣ / въздѣннѣ. тѣмже ѡбразѡмъ н мннхѣ естѣ. / рѣѡѣтѣ бѡ са н веселѡтѣ са агглн бнн на нѣѣхѣ, / егѡ бо/нтѣ са бѣ н сѣврѣшн теченіѣ своѣ. дѣла/тель бо егѡ жнтнщнѣ нспльннть, тогда ве/с печалн естѣ. н проѡѣ пнтѣтѣ са н веселнть. / н мннхѣ егѡ положенѣ бѣдѣ въ жнтнщнѣ. еже / іѣ въ грѡвѣ. аѣне бѣгѣтѣво его възыдѣтѣ на / нѣѣ. **В**ъспрнѣтѣмъ оубѡ любнмнщн въспрнѣ/мѣ. въ бранн сѣн сѣпер'ннкѣ ншего. бранѣ бѡ // его готова естѣ. самѣ же немощенѣ. н бес пѣчалан / естѣ. вѣка же ншѣ н подвнгодавецѣ, црѣ црѣтѡѡѣщнмѣ, прнлежно борѡщнмѣ са, снаѣ подѣѣтѣ. / н вѣнець неѡѡвадѣѣщннѣ. н іакоже прахѣ женомъ / бѣѡетѣ вѣтромѣ велнѣмъ зѣло. тако н сѣпер'ннкѣ ншѣ женомъ выѡѣтѣ гласѡмъ славосла/ващн бѣ. **Н**нктоже оубѡ да не оубнѡѣетѣ нн / да оубѡнт са. нѣ крѣпкын, немощнаго да пѡѣ/млетѣ. прнлежнын, прѣнемагаѣщаго да оубѣтѣшнть. бѣдѣн, ѡбдѣрѣжнмаго сѣномъ да въздѣвнгнетѣ. стрѡнннѣн, нестрѡннаго да нака/жетѣ. въздѣрѣжѣн са, вѣщнн'номѡу н несъмнѡ/щомѡу са да запрѣтнть. тако бо себѣ сѣдрѣжѣ/ще. н едннѡдѣшно повѣждаѣще. сѣпрѡтнвнн/ка нашего посрамнмъ. / н бѣ ншего нѣнаго; / прославнмъ. да н агглн стнн ѡ нѣ възвеселѡ/тѣ са. н днѡѡщн са намъ н

СЛЫШѦЩЕИ Ѡ НА, СЪ/ННДАТ' СѦ Н ПРОСЛАВАТЬ БѦ. ЯКО ТОМЪ ПѢДЕТЬ / ВСѢКА СЛАВА
НЪ ѠТЬ Н ПОКЛАНѢНІЕ. ѠЦѢ Н СНѢ Н СТО/МЪ ДѢХЪ. ННѢ Н ПРІСНО Н ВЪ ВѢКЫ ВѢКОМЪ.
АМННЬ:•

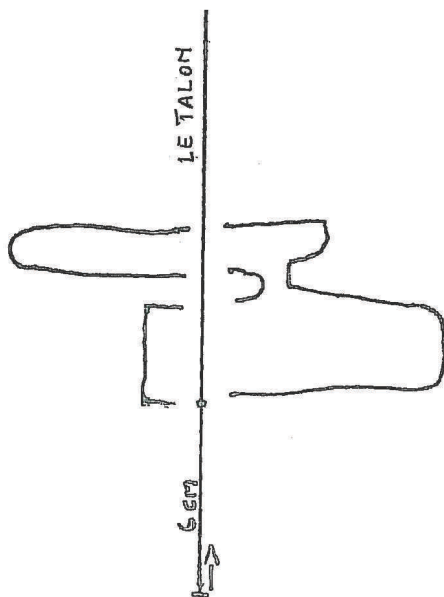
Zamfira Mihail
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Romanian Academy, Bucharest
zmihail2006@yahoo.com



C.M.BRIQUET II, n° 7481
Bologne 1316. Var.ident. : Lubeck 1331/59
«Le type le plus ancien de la hache (7481)
représente celle du charpentier», p.409



BAR ms.sl. 160 f. 241 / 248



BAR ms.sl. 160 f. 235 / 238

стна бестъво адш ж. таисон вна нтъ
 Слав жего никак оже пожелает гоисъ
 ждонхъ. таисон маситъ салюб вееъ.
 Анвтъ жесапревозданна адмзвъ
 Анвѡнъ. вна авелника анввна
 како ѡсамого единого испржжн
 чжего. странн великнн амножъ
 сборо до внз ваденъ бы. патеже
 прогавквъ. Анвнтъ сасъ ѡ телюбъ.
 како ѡ единого естество акъ еди
 ного зданна быше. ѡ вквзъ ръ
 ськи вран. Аръзжже вадъна слъ
 ствовашъ. **С**лава единомъ пръ
 мъ аръбоу. любкннчн помънжъ
 та ѡнъ. н вхъ стрепетъ ахъ. разъ
 мѡхъ в есел несъщее вран. не жъ
 страшнннъ коубо ахъ. н вазъ
 хн жъ в плакаса. ромъ же не вь
 стъ мнѡмъ шн плакати не астола.
 нковъ бннннн, н вглоумленн
 проворнхъ аннлоа. н в помислѣ
 хъ се вранннхъ тсконъ ахъ аьтѡ
 моа. ѡлюте блнѡ како нзгнвошъ
 аннемонъ нлѣтлоа. н не разъ
 мѡхъ како прѣнвошъ. не съ вблѣ,
 ѡлюте блнѡ. аннемѡнъ нзвѣ
 знжшъ. н безаисоннмо аумно
 жншъ. ѡлюте блнѡ любкннчн
 монъ!

**ON EPISTLES FROM CHURCH AUTHORITIES
IN THE ANTI-LATIN POLEMICS IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL
SLAVIC MANUSCRIPT TRADITION
(ON THE EXAMPLE OF BAR MS. SL. 330)***

Małgorzata Skowronek

1. In Late Medieval (15th-16th c.) South Slavic manuscripts, so-called codices of mixed content (also described as ‘monastic codices’), one can find texts which serve as testimony of the turbulent times in which they were written; the times when Balkan countries lost their independence, but also when religious, ideological, and confessional tensions arose, and inspired the authors of the books to express their resistance against the new reality. The reason for renewing, republishing and bringing back to mind the polemics of Christianity with Islam was not only the triumphant march of the armies of the Ottoman Empire across the Balkans, but also the ineffective attempt at co-operation between two great Christian Churches, the Eastern and Western one, aiming to stop the Islamic invasion and the subsequent short-term attempt at Church unity after the Council of Florence (1439–1484) provided the impulse to criticise the “Latins”.

The lecture of such codices and the attempt to organize the contents of a polemical character against Catholicism bring about interesting observations. Both the task and the conclusions are not new. The contents of some codices are organized around the following topics, which seem to be of paramount importance: the religious polemics, the voice against the dissenters, and, above all after the Council of Florence, against the Latins described as heretics (on a par with believers in Christian heresies of the first centuries or even Muslims). The most interesting phenomenon is creating groups of texts, literary convoys of the following leitmotifs: the history of the Church with particular consideration of the seven Oecumenical Councils; indicating the differences between Eastern

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and Western Christianity with special attention to Orthodoxy; condemnation of the “Latin heresy”, the institution of the Bishop of Rome and his Catholic followers; the index of heresies being a threat to Orthodoxy from early Christianity until the times contemporary to the authors of the codices; and the exposure of and polemics with selected dogmatic positions.

Polemical texts on the “Roman (Latin) heresy” have been attracting the attention of researchers for a long time. Thus, we possess both the editions of the works as well as the comments of a philological and historical character (almost twenty works of this kind, and that is just part of the whole collection, according to Angel Nikolov¹). What is worth mentioning is that although they deal with the political, religious and cultural situation of the 15th c. (and later), most of them were written much earlier, sometimes a few centuries ago in a Byzantine environment, sometimes even in the first half of the first millennium after Christ. Among the most important works of that kind there are: *Panarion (The Medicine Chest)* by Epiphanius of Salamis, whose popularity is proven by Slavic translations even from the 17th c., as well as *A Useful Tale about the Latins*;² both works served as the beginning of various choices, summaries and rewritings. Those convoys or cycles of polemical texts are genealogically differentiated. There are narrations, short historical papers, conclusions of Church councils, treaties, polemics, collections of quotations (mostly from the Bible or Church Fathers), often as questions and answers (*erotapokriseis*), and, finally, epistolography, which is only apparently private. The writings of the hierarchs moved by the difficult situation of the Orthodox Church in the Byzantine-Slavic environment were used as a compendium of knowledge on interesting topics, they showed – like dogmas – opinions and comments on them.

In the 15th and 16th c. South-Slavic codices of (mostly) theological contents, the above-mentioned texts are clearly organized in cycles of various size, often of (at least partly) fixed form of a few to a dozen components.³ That

¹ Extensive overview and comment of sources in: А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол. Из антикатолическата литература в България и славянския православен свят (XI–XVII в.)*, София, 2016, p. 128-129. Among the older works there should be mentioned: А. Попов, *Историко-литературный обзор древнерусских полемических сочинений против латинян XI–XV веков*, Москва, 1875; М. Чельцов, *Полемика между греками и латинянами по вопросу об опресноках*, Санкт-Петербург, 1880.

² See edition: А. Николов, *Повест полезна за латините: паметник на средновековната славянска полемика срещу католицизма*, София, 2011.

³ On the cycles of texts organized thematically, a.o. Orthodox apologies and polemical texts, in South Slavic books since the 14th c. (including those from the collection of the Romanian Academy Library) see: Ив. Билярски, М. Цибранска-Костова, “Славянски ръкопис VAR Ms. Sl. 636, XVI в., от Библиотеката на Румънската академия в Букурещ”, *Археологически прилози* 37, 2015, p. 107-155. The example of such a collection or “cycle” may also be found in the codex № 75 from the collection of the Visoki Dečani monastery, dated to the second half of the 14th c.

is the result of an already formed, or yet forming, tradition of creating thematic compendia and of their functioning in monastic communities where the level of education, erudition and knowledge of contemporary problems was relatively high.

In the above-mentioned context, I would like to bring your attention to three writings – an excerpt from the correspondence between hierarchs of the East and West from the mid-11th c. Their reaction to the division of the Church in 1054 was recalled four centuries later. The three letters are interrelated by the fact that the addressee of two of them and the author of one of them is the same person: the Melkite patriarch Peter III of Antioch.⁴ The studies on the person of patriarch Peter prove that he was a hierarch mediating in dogmatic arguments between the East and the West, not joining the juridical-theological argument (which is proven by the contents of the letters): *his discussion of Latin irregularities [...] is notable for its moderation and conciliary tone.*⁵ In one of the opinions, he was quite concerned with the unity of the Churches and ready to concede everything that was not a matter of the argument between Constantinople and Rome for the sake of agreement. He did not support Michael Keroularios and served as the mediator between the parties.⁶ Patriarch Peter directed the following words at Constantinople:

I beg you, I implore you, I urge you, and with that thought I cast myself at your sacred knees; may your divine Beatitude give way to this blow and bend before the circumstances. I tremble (to think) that in your desire to heal this wound, you may go further and wind up in schism.⁷

On ff. 294v-341r there are eleven polemical works against Western Christianity, see: Д. Богдановић, Љ. Штављанин-Ђорђевић, Б. Јовановић-Стипчевић, Љ. Васиљев, Ј. Цернић, М. Гроздановић-Пајић, *Опис ћирилских рукописних књига манастира Високи Дечани*. Књига прва, Београд 2011, p. 283-294.

⁴ V. Grumel, "Pierre III", in: *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. E. Vacant et al., t. XII, p. 1089 (with bibliography). See an extensive sketch of Peter's role during schism: Вл. Пузовић, Б. Николић, "Антиохијски патријарх Петар III (1052–1054) и црквена криза 1054. године", *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 51, 2014, p. 71-90. In footnote 1, there is extensive literature on the schism of 1054.

⁵ After: A. Papadakis, "Peter III", in A. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. III, New York - Oxford, 1991, p. 1637.

⁶ See: K. Kościelniak, *Grecy i Arabowie. Historia kościoła melkickiego na ziemiach zdobytych przez muzułmanów (634–1516)*, Kraków, 2004, p. 215.

⁷ Quoted from:

<<https://thearabchristians.wordpress.com/2013/02/24/a-slap-or-a-sack-peter-iii-of-antioch-1052-1056/>> (15.09.2019).

From that letter it appears that Peter considered *filioque* as the main reason of disintegration, see. Вл. Пузовић, Б. Николић, "Антиохијски патријарх Петар III...", p. 87. See the original text: *Petri antiocheni epistula ad Michaellem Cerularium*, in C. Will, *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis Ecclesiae Graecae et Latinae*, Paris, 1861, p. 189-204.

The choice of epistles by the hierarchs of local Churches in the “anti-Latin cycle”.

The order of the writings presented here reflects their sequence in a manuscript from the Romanian Academy Library [*Biblioteca Academiei Române*, hereinafter: BAR] in Bucharest, BAR Ms. Sl. 330.⁸

1. Michael I Keroularios, patriarch⁹ of Constantinople (1043–1058) to Peter III, patriarch of Antioch;
2. Dom[i]nic, archbishop of Aquileia (ca. 1050), patriarch of Grado¹⁰ to Peter;
3. Peter (1052–1056 or 1052–1058)¹¹ to Dominic (answer).

Those letters are not unknown; since the second half of the 19th c., they have been published and commented upon. At present, we possess the edition of the three epistles in their original language,¹² editions of Slavic variants of Michael’s and Peter’s letters as well as a series of works on the variants and history of translations of patriarch Peter’s letters into Slavic.¹³

The contents of the letters

In short, the contents of the three letters are as follows.

Michael Keroularios, patriarch of Constantinople to Peter. The letter of patriarch Michael – his first letter to patriarch Peter – possesses primarily informative functions: it is a concise characterisation of Catholicism called „Latin belief” and it presents dogmas and traditions different from the Eastern ones as well as the customs of its believers. Michael Keroularios refers to the

⁸ On the bibliographic description see footnote 18.

⁹ After 1054, using a title of ‘ecumenical patriarch’ on his seal, after: A. Kazhdan, “Michael I Keroularios”, in A. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2, New York - Oxford 1991, p. 1361.

¹⁰ In literature as ‘Dominicus Gradensis’, also ‘Aquiliensis’; see: C. Fabian (Hrsg.), *Personennamen des Mittelalters. Nomina scriptorum Medii Aevi (Namensformen für 13000 Personen gemäß den Regeln für die Alphabetische Katalogisierung)*, München, 2003, p. 156. The nickname ‘Venetian’ stems from the fact that in 1451 Grado was incorporated into the patriarchy of Venice – Slavic versions of the letter mirror the present, i.e. 15th c. status quo.

¹¹ K. Kościelniak, *Grecy i Arabowie...*, p. 209, 213.

¹² Editions of the Greek texts: “Michaelis Cerularii epistola 1. ad Petrum patriarcham antiochenum” – in C. Will, *Acta et scripta...*, p. 172-184; “Michaelis sanctissimi archiepiscopi Constantinopolis novae Romae, et oecumenici patriarchae, Cerularii, ad Petrum sanctissimum patriarcham Theopolis magnae Antiochiae”, in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca* [hereinafter: *PG*], t. 120, Parisiis 1880, col. 781-794; “Dominici patriarchae Veneti epistola ad Petrum antiochenensem” – in: C. Will, *Acta et scripta...*, p. 205-208; “Epistola Dominici patriarchae Venetiarum ad Antiochiae patriarcham”, in *PG*, t. 120, col. 751-756; “Petri patriarchae antiocheni epistola ad Dominicum gradensem” – in: C. Will, *Acta et scripta...*, p. 208-228; “Venerando coangelico domino et spiritualii nostre fratri, sanctissimo archiepiscopo Gradensi, seu Aquileiae, Petrus Misericordia Dei patriarcha Theopolis magnae Antiochiae”, in: *PG*, t. 120, col. 755-782.

¹³ See below (footnote 38 sqq.).

beginning of arguments between the East and West, reminding the reader of events which took place hundreds of years before, when Pope Vigilius refused (initially) to attend the oecumenical council of the Church, which was a proof of a lack of respect and the beginning of the distinctiveness of Rome from other centres of the pentarchy. It also presents personal experiences with the envoys who arrived from Rome with the Pope's writing, whose contents are presented to his correspondent. The letter concludes with the request, directed at the patriarch, for a prayer against the Western heresy.¹⁴

The first accusation deals with the liturgical bread (azyme), which is made by the "Latins the way it is made by Jews: with no sourdough and salt symbolizing soul and reason". After that it deals with an index of deviations from the Orthodox fasts (regarding their quality and quantity), accusations of a lack of sufficient respect for the icons and the sign of the cross, widely understood "false education" and abandoning the lecture of the Church Fathers. Michael Keroularios also points out the celibacy practiced by the Latin clergymen and the participation of bishops in the missions of war. However, the most important accusation refers to the blasphemy of Latins against the Holy Ghost: Michael cites the Symbol of Faith and the origin of the Ghost from "the Father and the Son" attributed by the Latins.

The letter of Michael Keroularios to Peter, treated as a source of knowledge about the threat to the unity of the Christian Church, naturally finds its place in the cycle of anti-Latin writings. Moreover, Michael Keroularios sets Western Christianity in the wide context of a heresy of the first centuries – by comparing their practices to other non-Orthodox practices¹⁵. Thus, the Latins consume unleavened bread during the liturgy, which they prepare the way the Jews do it; just like the believers of the "Armenian heresy", they let their children consume "eggs, cheese and milk" on Lent Sunday, and what is even worse – sometimes they pray with them (literally "sing") and they collectively receive the Communion. On the other hand, the Latins are similar to Nestorians and Jacobites, since just like them they "do not call the Mother of God by that name, but simply 'Holy Mary'". The similarity between the Latins and monothelism is proved in "making the sign of the cross with one finger". By recalling the authority of one of the best known leaders of the Eastern Church (i.e. Michael), the authors / editors / copyists polarize the Christian world, proving at the same time their erudition.

¹⁴ More details, along with bibliography on the text research, see in: А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол...*, p. 26-34.

¹⁵ For a detailed description of the Latins' customs. i.e. shaving by the clergymen and consuming impure meals see: А. Николов, К. Станев, "Обрядовые уклонения и дурные привычки латинских еретиков в византийско-славянской полемической литературе Средневековья", *Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe* 4, 2014, p. 125-139.

Dominic, the bishop of Venice to Peter, patriarch of Antioch. The letter of archbishop Dominic is short and precise. He turns to Peter with a request to recognize the distinctiveness of the liturgical bread used during the liturgy in the West. “Simple dough” of prosthara, with no flour and sourdough should symbolize “the pureness of the human body of Christ”. The other issue in the letter deals with the hierarchy – the recognition of the Church in Aquileia as equal to Rome and other centres of the pentarchy, by reminding that the tradition is as old as the times of the apostle Mark.

Peter to Dominic. The letter of patriarch Peter is the most comprehensive among those three because it refers to issues raised in the remaining writings but also because of its wealth of details. There is a great number of quotations from the Bible and examples aimed at supporting its commentary. The letter allows to characterize the author as a person truly devoted to his faith and the Church and fully concerned about the orthodoxy of his fellow believers, and the letter itself – through Dominic – should, according to the sender’s intention, reach the Pope. Peter comments on the principle of pentarchy and the impossibility to recognize another patriarch¹⁶. By recalling the excerpts from the Bible, he thoroughly explains the circumstances of the making of prosthara, the history of the Last Supper (and Christ’s Resurrection), which is the most important theme in the writing. It also refers to issues about traditions custom raised by Dominic (celibacy).¹⁷

2. About the three epistles in the South Slavic tradition. The case of BAR Ms. Sl. 330.

The source material used for the present work stems from the collection of the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Editions of the Romanian Academy Library. Codex BAR Ms. Sl. 330 stems from the last decade of the 15th c. and is written in Serbian (Resavian) orthography in Wallachia.¹⁸ It comprises dogmatic

¹⁶ Through the metaphor of the human body parts: “Pay attention to what I say. The human body is governed by one head. In it, there are many parts and all are regulated by only five senses. These are: sight, smell, hearing, taste, and touch. Likewise the body of Christ, that of the faithful, the Church, is fitted together from different members and is regulated by five senses, which are called the great sees, and is governed by one head, which is Christ. Just as there is no sense above the five senses, there is no patriarch admitted above the five patriarchs. Thus by these five sees, which are like the senses in the body of Christ, all the parts, that is all the countries of the peoples and the local episcopates, are regulated and guided in a Godly manner. Just as in one head, Christ our true God, they are likewise fitted together and governed by one Orthodox faith”, after: <<http://araborthodoxy.blogspot.com/2014/01/patriarch-peter-iii-on-primacy-in-church.html>> (26.03.2020).

¹⁷ For a detailed description of Peter’s comments on theology see Вл. Пузовић, Б. Николић, “Антиохијски патријарх Петар III...”, p. 83-87.

¹⁸ Description of the manuscript: P. P. Panaitescu, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române și slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, ediție îngrijită de D.-L. Aramă și revizuită de G. Mihăilă cu o prefață de G. Ștrempel, vol. 2, București, 2003, p. 99-103; I.R. Mircea, *Répertoire des manuscrits*

and ascetic writings – typical for monastic codices – and among them there are several polemical works reflecting the tension between West and East representative for the times when the book was written. I would like to note the remarks to the correspondence between Michael Keroularios, patriarch Peter and bishop Dominic in the copies written at about the same time as BAR Ms. Sl. 330.¹⁹ These are: 1. a codex from the collection of the library in Visoki Dečani monastery: № 75 from the second half of the 14th c. (1360–1370);²⁰ 2. codex BAR Ms. Sl. 155 from the third quarter of the 15th c., copied in Moldavia in Raška orthography;²¹ 3. codex BAR Ms. Sl. 291,²² convolute from the 15th and 16th c. in Middle-Bulgarian orthography.

The order in which I propose to have a look at those three letters is not random. The order known from the codex BAR Ms. Sl. 330 (Michael to Peter – Dominic to Peter – Peter to Dominic) is not constant and it does not correspond to all cases where the letters appear in close relation. In the above-mentioned “cycles” of polemical texts in Slavic books one may find at least 33three different layouts. One of the first polemic cycles from that time appears in the codices by Vladislav the Grammarian (flourished 1456–1479), one of the greatest authors of his time, the compiler of mainly hagiographic, panegyric and polemic codices.²³ In two of them²⁴ Vladislav brings together more than ten works; in both codices, the choice remains the same and in the same order. The letters by bishops Dominic, Peter and Michael – in this order – can be found directly after *The Useful Tale about the Latins*, before the selected writings by

slaves en Roumanie. Auteurs byzantins et slaves, révision du texte slave P. Bojčeva, révision du texte français S. Todorova, Sofia, 2005, p. 234.

¹⁹ Only in Romanian libraries may we find some more copies of elements of the correspondence (besides those already mentioned here): 1. epistle by Dominic, in a codex from the collection of the National History Museum of Romania (MNH) C397 (1560–1578, written in Moldavia, inc. on f. 68v); 2. epistle by Peter, in: BAR Ms. Sl. 461 (1651–1652, written in Wallachia, f. 291r) – *non vidi*. After: I.R. Mircea, *Répertoire des manuscrits...*, passim.

²⁰ See the description in: Д. Богдановић, Љ. Штавланин-Ђорђевић, Б. Јовановић-Стипчевић, Љ. Васиљев, Л. Цернић, М. Гроздановић- Пајић, *Опис ћирилских рукописних књига...*, p. 283-294.

²¹ Descriptions of the manuscript: P. P. Panaitescu, *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei R. P. R.*, vol. 1, București, 1959, p. 219-225, and: I.R. Mircea, *Répertoire des manuscrits slaves...*, p. 231.

²² Descriptions of the manuscript: P. P. Panaitescu, *Manuscrisele slave...*, vol. 1, p. 390-391; I.R. Mircea, *Répertoire des manuscrits slaves...*, p. 232. Nikolov recalls as well the previous descriptions and catalogues with the datation corrected at present, see А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол...*, p. 35-36.

²³ On Vladislav see: Г. Данчев, *Владислав Граматик – книжовник и писател*, София, 1969.

²⁴ Ms. 1/110 from the National Scientific Library in Odessa (1457) and ms. III а 47 from the Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb (HAZU; 1469); see the description in: Б. Христова, *Опис на ръкописите на Владислав Граматик*, Велико Търново, 1996, p. 11-24 (19) and 25-48 (37).

patriarch Nikon, Michael the Synkellos, the confession of the Roman Pope, and ‘other Latin chapters’. In BAR Ms. Sl. 155, too, the letter by Michael Keroularios follows the letters by Dominic and Peter.²⁵ The same sequence is found in Dečani 75, but here, additionally, after an explanation of the Orthodox faith by Michael the Synkellos.²⁶ At times, only one or two letters were copied independently, e.g., patriarch Michael’s epistle in BAR Ms. Sl. 291.²⁷ Thus, it is difficult to talk about a convoy established by those three letters, and the order in BAR Ms. Sl. 330 seems to be unique (at least in this group).

Michael to Peter. The most recent edition of the Slavic translation of Michael’s letter to patriarch Peter is accompanied by historical and textological commentaries. Angel Nikolov publishes the so-called first Slavic translation (*първоначален превод*), known from BAR Ms. Sl. 330, of the first letter from Michael to patriarch Peter from its oldest copy from the codex Dečani 75, dated to the second half of the 14th c. (1360–1370), according to which the lessons (readings) will be cited here. The discussion referring to the circumstances of the appearance of the translation has began in the second half of the 19th c., as did the first editions of related Slavic copies. According to the latest findings, the Slavic translations were made based on different Greek variants of the epistle, called conventionally “the letter” and “index of Latin sins”, re-edited and contaminated with other works of a similar subject (among others, with excerpts from the text *On Franks and other Latins*).²⁸ The Slavonic variant analysed here might have originated in the 14th c. among the Southern Slavs, from where it spread into the Slavic East.

Having gathered 12 copies of the letter, Nikolov divides them into two groups. The criterion is the presence of an excerpt from the initial part of the work; in line with the Greek original letter, Nikolov mentions that pope Vigilius (537–555) refused to condemn the teaching of the Nestorian bishop Ibas of Edessa (435–457). In the available copies, this excerpt appears in codices Dečani 75 and BAR Ms. Sl. 291 (in ms. Dečani 75, f. 300v: такоже н хвалоу посланије лѣкавадго нва не въсхотѣ ѿрещи се); it does not appear, however, in BAR Ms. Sl. 330 and BAR Ms. Sl. 155. Nikolov emphasizes that the same gap is also characteristic for the East Slavic copies of this work – probably since it arose *at a quite early stage of the dissemination of the text*.²⁹

²⁵ See: P. P. Panaitescu, *Manuscrisele slave...*, vol. 1, p. 224.

²⁶ See: Д. Богдановић, Љ. Штавланин-Ђорђевић, Б. Јовановић-Стипчевић, Љ. Васиљев, Л. Цернић, М. Гроздановић- Пајић, *Опис ћирилских рукописних књига манастира Високи Дечани...*, p. 289.

²⁷ See also footnote 19.

²⁸ On the history of research regarding the Slavic variants of the epistle see А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол...*, p. 29-34.

²⁹ А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол...*, p. 38.

Indeed, there are more common characteristics for the copies of the letter by Michael Keroularios from BAR Ms. Sl. 330 and BAR Ms. Sl. 155 – in opposition to other common features of Dečani 75 and BAR Ms. Sl. 29. What kinds of facts are these?³⁰ The slightest of them, of the smallest significance for the final form of the text, are variants of conjunctions and pronouns – e.g. ѥ, и for всѣ, съ – or their omittance. Sometimes there are different forms of nouns, numerals, participles or pronouns – e.g.: ТРИЦЬ, ЧЕТВЪТО vs. ТРИЦИ, ЧЕТВЪТОЕ; КРЪВН ПРОЛНВАЮЩЕ vs. КРЪВЬ ПРОЛНВАЮЩЕ ОГ ОУУНТЕА... ЗЛОБѢ vs. ОУУНТЕА... ЗЛОБЫ. Similar variance exists regarding semantic additions, e.g.: ЦРѢВЮЩІИ ВЕЛНКИИ ГРАДЪ vs. ЦРѢВЮЩІИ ГРАДЪ or a synonym, e.g.: ГОР'ШЕЕ ѥ БЕЗЪМІЕ vs. БОЛ'ШЕЕ БЕЗОУМІЕ НХЪ, also adding the circumstances of certain events: КЪ ВАШЕМЪ СМѢРЕНІЮ (type Dečani 75). There is also a variance resulting probably from correcting a mistake from the protograph: ДШЬ ДШЬ (!) СВОѢ vs. ДШЕ СВОЕ. In one of the cases, the grammatical construction is changed: ГЪ же да съхранитъ блаженство твоє vs. ГЪ же съхранитъ бжєнство твоє. None of these or similar changes altered the meaning of the statement.

However, the comparison of the copy type BAR Ms. Sl. 330 with the type Dečani 75 presents a several dozen differences between them – of a lexical, textological, syntactic character, as well as grammatical forms – which may put in doubt the aforementioned classification. Moreover, the comparison of the copy BAR Ms. Sl. 330 with two other copies from the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Bucharest and the copy Dečani 75 presents some features which are characteristic for the former one, which allows for questioning again the relation between the copies in the group/groups proposed by Nikolov.

What language facts may be recognized as characteristic for the copy of the letter by Michael Keroularios in BAR Ms. Sl. 330?³¹ Most readings seem to be of minor, rather stylistic, importance, like the variants of conjunctions and pronouns, e.g.: и что vs. что ли; поне vs. или поне; така vs. тако; јако vs. јаже,

³⁰ All mentioned in the following order: type Dečani 75 – type BAR Ms. Sl. 330. In this part of the elaboration, I assume the definitions 'type Dečani 75' for the copies Dečani 75 and BAR Ms. Sl. 291 and 'type BAR Ms. Sl. 330' for the copies BAR Ms. Sl. 330 and BAR Ms. Sl. 155. The quotations from manuscripts are taken from the codices BAR Ms. Sl. 330 and Dečani 75 (according to the edition of A. Nikolov).

³¹ All mentioned in the following order: BAR Ms. Sl. 330 – type BAR Ms. Sl. 155. In this part of the elaboration, I assume the definitions 'BAR Ms. Sl. 330' and the type BAR Ms. Sl. 155' – for the copies BAR Ms. Sl. 155, Dečani 75 and BAR Ms. Sl. 291. The quotations from manuscripts are as in the codices BAR Ms. Sl. 330 and BAR Ms. Sl. 155.

several additions or the omittance of the conjunction ‘и’ or the eponymous pronoun, e.g.: *ВЪШЪШНМЪ* VS. *ВЪШЪШЕМЪ НМЪ*.

It happens sometimes that the same content is expressed in a different wording, e.g.: *ѢДННЪ ПО ѢДННОМЪ* VS. *ѢДННЪ ПО ДРОУГОМОУ* or in a different grammatical construction of the phrase, e.g.: *ВЪ ДѢТОИ ГЛАВНЪНЪ* VS. *ДЕСЕТАА, ГЛАВНЪНА*. The order within the phrase is differentiated, e.g.: *ТРОЕИ СЪИИИ* VS. *СЪИИИ ТИ*; *ПРІИДОШЕ Ѡ ЛАТННЪ* VS. *Ѡ ЛАТННЪ ПРІИДОШЕ*; one uses the synonyms: *ДО ДНЪЩИНА ДНЪ* VS. *ДО ПНАШНАГО ДНЪ*, *ПНСАНИЕ* VS. *ПОСАНИЕ* or *ВЕАНКЪ* VS. *ВЕЛІЕМЪ*.

There are differences in grammatical forms, e.g. singular vs. plural form, e.g.: *ТАКОВИМЪ* VS. *ТАКОВИМЪ*, *ЛКАВСТВІЕ* VS. *ЛКАВСТВІА*, *ЛЖИ* VS. *ЛЖОУ*; differences in the shape of the same grammatical cases, e.g.: *СЪБРАВИИ* VS. *СЪБРАВИЕМЪ*, *ОПРЪСНЫКЪ* VS. *ОПРЪСНАЦЪ*; *ДѢТЕМЪ* VS. *ДѢТЦА*; *НАУРЪТАВАЮ* VS. *НАУРЪТАЮТЪ*. Only in BAR Ms. Sl. 330 was the preview of the contents of the letter added to the heading specifying its sender and addressee: about the Latin heresies (*Ѡ ересѣ латинскѣ*). The adjective *ОПРЪСНЫИИ* takes the form *ОПРЪСНЫИИ*. None of the above-mentioned types of variances have caused the change in the sense of the sentence.

In Michael’s epistle, two excerpts of a momentous character are pushed into the foreground. The first of them is the *Symbol of faith* characteristic for Eastern Christianity. Michael Keroularios reminds the reader of it before indexing the deviations of Latins from the “real faith”. In four copies, it looks as follows:

BAR Ms. Sl. 330, f. 134v	BAR Ms. Sl. 155, f. 601r	BAR Ms. Sl. 291, f. 259v	Dečani 75, f. 301v
ВѢРЮ ВЪ ѢДННОГО БѢ ОЦА ВСЕДРЪЖИТЕЛѢ. ТВОРЦА НБѢ И ЗЕМАН, ВНДННЫМЪ ЖЕ ВСѢ И НЕВНДННЫМЪ. И ВЪ ѢДННОГО ГѢ ІУ ХѢ СНА БЖІА ѢДННОРОДНА . И ВЪ ДХѢ СТО ГѢ ЖИВОТВОРЕЦАГО , И Ѡ	ВѢРЮ ВЪ ІЕДННОГО БѢ ѠЦА ВСЕДРЪЖИТЕЛѢ ТВОРЦА НБѢ И ЗЕМАН ВНДННЫМЪ ЖЕ ВСѢМЪ И НЕВНДННЫМЪ, И ВЪ ІЕДННОГО ГѢ, ІУ ХѢ СНА БЖІА ѢДННОРОДНАГО . И ВЪ ДХѢ СТЫ	ВѢРЮ ВЪ ѢДІНОГО БѢ ѠЦА ВЪСЕДРЪЖИТЕЛѢ ТВОРЦА НБѢ И ЗЕМАН. ВНДННЫМЪ ЖЕ ВСѢМЪ И НЕВНДННЫМЪ, И ВЪ ѢДІНОГО ГѢ ІУ ХѢ СНА БѢА (!) ѢДІНОУДАДО , И ВЪ ДХѢ СТЫ ГОСПѢСТВЪЩЪ И	ВѢРЮЮ ВЪ ѢДННОГО БѢ ѠЦА ВСЕДРЪЖИТЕЛѢ ТВОРЦА НБѢ И ЗЕМАН. ВНДННЫМЪ ЖЕ ВСѢ И НЕВНДННЫМЪ. И ВЪ ІЕДННОГО ГѢ ІС ХѢ СНА БЖІА ІЕДННОУДАДО , И ВЪ

ОЦА НСХОДѢЩА. НЖЕ СЪ ОЦЕМЪ Н СЪ СНОМЪ СЪПОКЛАНЯЕМА Н СЪСЛАВНА.	ГОСПОДСТВЮЩЬ ЖИВОТВОРЕЩЬ НЖЕ НЗЪ ѠЦА НСХОДНТЬ Н СЪ ѠЦЕМЪ Н СНОМЪ НСПРАВЛЯЕМЪ.	ЖИВОТВОРАЦЪ. НЖЕ Ѡ ОЦА НСХОДНТЬ СЪ ѠЦЕМЪ Н СЪ СНОМЪ СЪПРОСЛАВЯЕМЪ.	ДХЪ СТЫ ГЪСТВЮЩЬ Н ЖИВОТВОРЕЩЬ. НЖЕ Ѡ ОЦА НСХОДН СЪ ѠЦЕМЪ Н СЪ СНО СЪПРОСЛАВЯЕ.
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The changes of variants seem to be slight; the multiplicity of forms (the existence of variant readings) may be the consequence of the attachment to protographs, reflecting the appearance – in different periods and environments – of two Slavic counterparts to the Greek term *μονογενής* (Lat. *unigenitus*). This phenomenon has a wider range; the term *εδνηοροδνααγο* (in opposition to *ιεδνηουεδαγο* in Dečani 75) was found by A. Nikolov in two copies of the *Short story on Latin heresy / The index of Latin sins*.³² *The short story...* should be the edited excerpt from the letter of patriarch Michael in his first translation, which results in the closeness of both texts. The above-mentioned variants are also one of many proofs for the lack of one constant, “canonical” version of the crucial text of Christianity between the end of the 14th c. and the beginning of the 16th c.: two symbols of faith, i.e. the Nicene Creed and the Constantinopolitan Creed, were probably translated into Slavonic language even before the disciples of Saints Cyril and Methodius arrived in Bulgaria.³³ The question of variants of the *Symbol of faith* was already raised in relation to the Slavic manuscript tradition, in which along with the contamination of fragments from letters of, among others, Saint Gregory the Theologian and Michael the Synkellos, there also appeared the author’s texts of anonymous copists who thus way trying to voice their opposition to the deviations of heresies.³⁴ But here we observe the existence of three variants of the *Symbol of faith* in only one work: the epistle of Michael Keroularios to the patriarch of Antioch, in copies stemming from the same time and the same cultural (also partly linguistic) environment.

The second excerpt characteristic for the letter by patriarch Michael is an index of the Latins’ deviations from the true faith and as such close to the part of the *Treatise on the Azymes* (*О прѣснокахъ*) by John of Claudiopolis

³² Copies in codices from the monastery Plevlja, № 12, second half of the 14th c., and from the collection of the Serbian National Library in Belgrade, № 11, 1390/1400, see: A. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол...*, p. 39.

³³ А. Милтенова, “Катехитична литература”, in А. Милтенова (съст.), *История на българската средновековна литература*, София, 2009, p. 179.

³⁴ Ив. Билярски, М. Цибранска-Костова, “Славянски ръкопис VAR Ms. Sl. 636...”, p. 137-138.

(about 1166), an opponent of the Council of Ferrara-Florence.³⁵ The index comprises almost thirty questions (both dogmatic and moral), regarding Latin deviations that were unacceptable from the point of view of Eastern Christianity. Leaving aside the details here, one should acknowledge the difference in the segmentation of two parts of the material.

Tab. 1: The difference in segmentation of the fragment of the letter by Michael Keroularios to patriarch Peter. The star (*) denotes the segments of the text which were introduced illogically, without presenting allegations to the Latins.

	BAR Ms. Sl. 330	BAR Ms. Sl. 155	Dečani 75 and BAR Ms. Sl. 291
Latin deviation	Record number		
Consuming impure meals	3	3	4
Shearing beards by the Latin clergy	4	4	3
Manner of performing funeral rites	22	22	22
Against the Holy Ghost	23	23 24*	
Form of the Trisagion	24	25*	
Celibacy of the clergy	25	26	23
Marriage between brothers and sisters	26	27	24
Performing the liturgy by many celebrants and the behaviour behind the altar	27	28	25

³⁵ It surely proves the Slavic character of the compilation. See. А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол...*, p. 38.

Manifesting the possession of luxury items by bishops	28	29	26
Bloodshed by bishops			27
False teaching about the Host	29		28
Lack of the cult of relics and holy icons		30*	29

Regardless of the order and the character of the allegations, it is interesting that the copyist of BAR Ms. Sl. 155 introduced some “arguments” without reflection, dividing the units from BAR Ms. Sl. 330, sometimes changing the logic of the sentence, and sometimes utterly defying logic. And so, e.g. “allegation 25” reads as follows: *They [the Latins – MS] say: one saint, one Jesus Christ, in the glory of God is the Holy Ghost* – which, without the connection with the former phrase reflecting the “correct” quotation from the liturgy of the Eastern Church, makes no sense.

On the basis of those four copies of the letter by Michael Keroularios to patriarch Peter from the end of the 14th c. to the beginning of the 16th c., one may state that the copy BAR Ms. Sl. 330 may be considered as a variant of the three remaining copies but also, apart from BAR Ms. Sl. 155 – as a variant of the copies Dečani 75 and BAR Ms. Sl. 291; the quantitative analysis of the similarities and differences should not be decisive.³⁶ It may be carefully suggested that BAR Ms. Sl. 330 consists of characteristics of at least two different protographs – or the earlier contamination of the variants of (the same?) translation of the letter, which makes it unique in the South-Slavic tradition of this letter. In addition, the grouping of the copies of the letter by Michael Keroularios proposed by Angel Nikolov may not be accepted

³⁶ It may be added that each of the copies of Michael’s epistle preserves some individual, exceptional features. *Exempli gratia*, only in the copy BAR Ms. Sl. 155 before the comment about the prosphora the headline *зѣ ѿвѣстн нспнсахоми ереси латиньскыи* (f. 599v) was added, which strictly corresponds to *ѣ ѿвѣстн нспнсахѡ ереси латиньскыи* from a copy of another variant of the *Short tale on the Latin heresy/ Register of the Latin sins*, originating in a ms. from the Hilandar monastery 455 from the last decades of the 14th c., and, particularly, to *ѣ ѿвѣстн нспнсахѡ ереси латиньскыи* from ms. 43 from the Serbian National Library, 1540 (f. 361v) [after: А. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол...*, p. 39, 41]. The phrase is evidence of the first Slavic translation of the epistle. The copy BAR Ms. Sl. 291 is the only one to preserve – as an equivalent of the phrase ‘*съ злрѣщеніемъ*’ (BAR Ms. Sl. 330, the same in Dečani 75 and BAR Ms. Sl. 155) – a noun derived from Greek: ‘*съ афоресомъ*’.

unconditionally without the profound textological studies based on the broad source material.

Dominic to Peter. The juxtaposition of two copies of the letter by bishop Dominic, coming from BAR Ms. Sl. 330 and BAR Ms. Sl. 155, does not present significant differences. Both manuscripts were written at about the same time (towards the end of the 15th c.) and were copied from Serbian protographs in Wallachia/Moldavia. Among roughly forty differences³⁷ the significant majority is of an orthographic character, deriving mostly from phonetic features, but it also shows variance in declension, e.g.: ЗАПАДНѢН vs. ЗАПАДНОН; СЪВЪКЪПАЮЕНН vs. СЪВАКЪПАЮЕНЪНН (!); СЪБВУРѢ vs. ЗБОРѢ; ЗЕМАН vs. ЗЕМАНЕ; КРЪВН vs. КРЪВЕ. There is also a change of word order within the phrase: НѢ ТѢЛО ХВО vs. ТѢЛО ХВО НѢСТЬ. Only once the copyist/editor of BAR Ms. Sl. 155 changed the plural form of the verb used by the sender to the singular form (ПОТЬЦАХѢ vs. ПОТЬЦАХ). These and similar changes do not influence the content of the letter.

The first of two bigger differences among the copies is located in the letter's address, which may not be proof of a profound editing process: the title of the addressee from BAR Ms. Sl. 330 (КѢ ПЕТРѢ) is replaced by indicating the content or aim of the letter sent by Dominic: ХОТЕ ЕГО ПРѢПРѢТН ПСАНИЕ, ѡ ЮРЕСН СВОЕН, Н ѡ ОПРѢСНАКОУ (BAR Ms. Sl. 155). The other big difference is probably the effect of the copyist's initiative or maybe a mistake: in BAR Ms. Sl. 155 there is a lack of a six-word phrase about the tradition transferred to Eastern Churches by the Holy Fathers (ВЪСТОУНЫ ЦРКВАМЪ ПРѢДАНО ІЕ Н ОУВѢРѢНО).

Peter to Dominic. Recently the results of research on the Slavic tradition of the letter by the Antiochian patriarch Peter to bishop Dominic were published by Aleksandr Sizikov.³⁸ His research on the Slavic variants and transcripts of Peter's epistle (and Dominic's, treated as one piece) shows that at least the excerpt was created in Russia in the times before the Mongol invasion and it was known from the Kormchaya Book.³⁹ Another excerpt – the second

³⁷ All mentioned in the following order: BAR Ms. Sl. 330 – BAR Ms. Sl. 155.

³⁸ А. В. Сизиков, "Послание Петра III Антиохийского Доминику архиепископу Градо в славянской письменности", in К.А. Битнер, Н.С. Смелова (отв. ред.), *Источниковедение культурных традиций Востока: гебраистика – эллинистика – синология – славистика. Сборник научных статей* (Труды по иудаике, серия Филология и культурология 4), Санкт-Петербург, 2016, p. 303-313; А.В. Сизиков, "Послание Петра Антиохийского в древнерусской письменности", *Вестник Санкт-Петербургского университета* (серия 2) 18/3, 2000, p. 107-113; [abstract] А. В. Сизиков, "Послание Петра III Антиохийского в славянской письменности", in S. Monakhov, I. Vasilyeva, M. Khokhlova (eds.), *Proceedings of the 45th International Philological Conference (IPC 2016)* (Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research 122), Atlantis Press, 2016, p. 504-507.

³⁹ А.В. Сизиков, "Послание Петра III Антиохийского Доминику ...", p. 307.

part of the letter, referring to *prosphora* – is known from copies dated to the 14th and 15th c.⁴⁰ The translation represented by the copies BAR Ms. Sl. 330 and BAR Ms. Sl. 155 could not have been written before the 14th c. since it is directly motivated by the attempts to bring both Churches closer to each other during the Councils in 1439, 1443 and 1489.⁴¹ Just as in the letter of patriarch Michael, we deal here with the rich tradition confirmed by three Slavic variants based on two translations from Greek, sometimes very different from the original.

Here – as with the differences indicated by Nikolov for ms. Dečani 75 and BAR Ms. Sl. 330 – the distinctiveness of the protographs of the group of three copies quoted by Aleksander Sizikov and the transcripts BAR Ms. Sl. 330 and BAR Ms. Sl. 155 is proved by a little detail. Patriarch Peter calls for an agreement: „let us be lovers of our brethren, not lovers of rank/ н бꙋдемъ братолюбци, а не самолюбци“⁴² – in the edition of the East Slavic monuments from the 15th c., which does not correspond to the original phrase (καὶ γενώμεθα φιλάδελφοι μᾶλλον ἢ φίλαυτοί⁴³). Meanwhile, in the two copies from the Romanian Academy Library, we can read a proper translation: „we shall love our brothers, and not ourselves“ (сꙋбꙋзѣкꙋемъ се вѣси дꙋховно. н есадемъ братолюбци, а не самолюбци, BAR Ms. Sl. 330, f. 139v, the same in BAR Ms. Sl. 155). Although the warning against the excessive fancy of benefits coming from ranks would have made sense, the original Greek phrase unambiguously points at the mistake probably made by the (East?)Slavic author of the protograph of three copies quoted by Sizikov. At the same time, the copies BAR Ms. Sl. 330 and BAR Ms. Sl. 155 differ in the details of the title given to the letter⁴⁴. Thus, this is proof of a more exact or more neutral gathering of both letters into bigger meaning segments.

There are more than 250 variant readings between the letter by patriarch Peter in BAR Ms. Sl. 330 and BAR Ms. Sl. 155. There is evidence of phonetic variants, e.g.: празника vs. праꙗныка, самого vs. сьмого. Least important among

⁴⁰ The oldest known transcript is preserved in the so-called Riazan Kormchaya of 1284, see A. В. Сизиков, “Послание Петра III Антиохийского Доминику ...”, p. 307.

⁴¹ А.В. Сизиков, “Послание Петра III Антиохийского Доминику ...”, p. 309.

⁴² Quoted from: А. В. Сизиков, “Послание Петра III Антиохийского Доминику ...”, p. 309.

⁴³ Quoted from: А. В. Сизиков, “Послание Петра III Антиохийского Доминику ...”, p. 309.

⁴⁴ BAR Ms. Sl. 330, f. 135v: пѡпсаніе (!) стѣншаго патрїарха петра. къ домннкѣ архїеѣкꙋ венетїнскомъ, протнѣ посланїю:– ѡтнѡмъ н равнодѣлнѡмъ вѣцѣ. н дꙋховномъ братѣ нашемъ, архїеѣкꙋ грандѣнскомъ, еже іе акнѣа, домннкѣ. петрь мѣтїю бжїею патрїархѣ бжїаго градѣ велнкыи антїнохїе; BAR Ms. Sl. 155, f. 588r: ѡпсанїе соꙋпротнѣ посланїю семѡу. ѡтнѡмѡу н равнѡдѣлнѡмъ вѣцѣ, н дꙋховномъ братѣ нашемъ архїеѣкꙋ грандѣнскомъ еже іе акнѣа, домннкѣ. петрь мѣтїю бжїею патрїархѣ бжїа града антїнохїе.

them are the variants of conjunctions and pronouns, e.g.: юже vs. еже, же vs. еже, ѿже vs. ѿеже, еюже vs. юже, па҃че vs. кромѣ.

Sometimes the same content is reflected in a different wording, e.g.: поставлѧемн vs. поставлѧемн or прѣвѣдоуѣт vs. прѣвѣвають. An interesting case is defining one concept by two expressions: прѣвосѣдланнкы and прѣвосѣдателе as well as възкѣсь and вокѣшеніе. Also, synonyms and near-equivalent words are used, e.g.: възвѣщаете vs. проповѣдаете, жнваго vs. жнвотнаго, велнка vs. велѧ. A change of word order within the phrase is attested several times, e.g.: сътвори съ нмнн vs. съ нмнн сътвори; въз моѣ възпомннаніе vs. на възпомннаніе моѣ; въз ноць тоу хотѣше vs. хотѣше въз ноць тоу. The entries are sometimes differentiated by grammatical forms, mainly verbs and participles, e.g.: бы̄ vs. бывь, прѣдѧ vs. прѣдѧде, нмахъ vs. нмѣахъ, хотѣше vs. хотѣше.

However, the most important difference in both copies is the omission of several phrases of different size in BAR Ms. Sl. 155. This gives the impression that either a deficient protograph was used or that the copyist was exceptionally careless.

What, in my opinion, is particularly worth our attention as a characteristic differentiating the copy of the letter by patriarch Peter in BAR Ms. Sl. 330 from all other transcripts that I know from the publications and my work *de visu* with manuscripts, is an added paragraph after the original ending of the text. It is only marked by a rubricated initial letter; the text is accompanied by a comment 'мнѣааа сн҃ггѧа' ([from the writings of] Michael the Synkellos) in its left (external) margin. That paragraph reads as follows:

Вѣдомо бѣдн. ꙗко ѿ шестаѣ събора, до цр҃твѧа мономаха. обанѣемн бѣхъ помааѣ рнмляне, ѿ тогдѧшнѣ цѣты ѿ ты н патрїархъ, ѿ ересѣ ѿеже ѿчестн нмѣахъ тогдѧ. н о ѿпрѣсныцѣ. потом' же ꙗвлѧено бы̄ ꙗко хвалѣ на дѧхъ цѣтын. н ѿсѣкоше до конца помѣнованіе папннн. н в'сѣхъ ѿрннѧше н ѿвѣргоше нхъ. не оубо, нь н проклетїемъ коньчным' проклѣше ѧ. надѣюще се ꙗко обанѣемн оуспамет се, н обратѣт се нѣкогда на православною вѣрѣ. н съвзкѣпет се пакы цѣтѣн съборнѣн възсеіенцѣн цр҃квн православыне вѣры. ѿтолн оубо даже до ннѧ обанѣемн. не тѣю не прїндоше въз разоуѣ, еже зазрѣтн своемѣ прѣльщенїю, нь па҃че сверѣпѣюще тѣшет се възсѣгда, да н православынѣ прѣльстетѣ. н прнведоуѣ кз своимъ ересемъ н хоуліенїю. праведно оубо іѣ прочее ѿлоу҃чнтн нхъ до конца проклетїемъ. н ѿсѣщн ѿ тѣла цѣтыне н възсеіенскыне цр҃кве, енже глава іѣ хс. ꙗко соу҃щн мрѣтѣв оудѣ н сѣгннль. ꙗко да н з'дравыне оуды не поврѣднтѣ:~ [BAR Ms. Sl. 330, f. 140v]

Since the epistle by patriarch Peter does not have an ending of a rhetorical character, it may be tentatively assumed that the above excerpt was written afterwards as a kind of ending to the epistle. The choice of the “new ending” is worth appreciating. The text *De fide orthodoxa* by Michael the Synkellos (761–846) was known in 10th c. Bulgaria from several translations (it is to be found in the *Izbornik* from 1073).⁴⁵ The selection of his writings, e.g. *Confession of Faith [De fide orthodoxa]*, *The comment on the Great Schism*, *The word on the East-West Schism*, was were placed in codices used for catechesis, and later in apologies of the Orthodox Church conserved in Late Medieval manuscripts (included, among others, in BAR Ms. Sl. 291).

We deal here with the “continuator” of Michael the Synkellos, who refers to the times that were to come two centuries after him. The author of the comment makes a real recapitulation of the history of the division of the Church, and, from his point of view, he blames only Rome for the disintegration. As the point in time at which – after the sixth oecumenical council of the Church in the years 680–681 – the “Latins” were “exposed”, the reign of the Emperor Constantine Monomach (1042–1055) was chosen. The issues of *filioque* and of the liturgical bread are primary among other “Latin heresies”. The author of the remark seems to note with satisfaction that the reprimands were of a reparative character, and this should encourage the Latins to reflect and revert to Orthodoxy. That was, however, inefficient and thus the proper thing should be the “final detachment” of “the body which is dead and rotten and should not poison the healthy one” from the holy (Eastern) Church. This metaphor perfectly mirrors the mood of the monastic environments of the East in the times of the failed Council of Florence.⁴⁶

Conclusion

The letter by patriarch Michael gives the “Roman deviations” some wider historical and cultural context, and as such it perfectly fits into a multidimensional anti-Latin “cycle”. The correspondence between bishops Peter and Dominic, recycled in the 15th c., presents some reversals of former attitudes: in times of schism, Peter III was a mediator, an intermediary between the Eastern and Western Church – he tried to defuse an argument, explain attitudes. Research has emphasized that Peter only anticipated the schism and

⁴⁵ On Slavonic translations of *De fide orthodoxa* see: F. J. Thomson, “Les cinq traductions slavonnes du Libellus de fide orthodoxa de Michel le Syncelle et les mythes de l’arianisme de saint Méthode, apôtre des Slaves, ou d’Hilarion, métropolitaine de Russie, et de l’existence d’une Église arienne à Kiev”, *Revue des études slaves* 63, 1991, p. 19-54; D. Hajduk-Veljković, “Zum Libellus de fide orthodoxa des Michael Synkellos in der kirchenslavischen Überlieferung”, *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* 57, 1998, № 1, p. 28-49.

⁴⁶ At this moment, I am not in a position to identify the source; maybe a query in legal and theological books would bring an answer.

did not consider it to exist already, this being quite contrary to the general opinion. The full version of that letter in the Slavic translation functions in South-Slavic manuscripts dated from the mid-15th c. at a time when, at least formally, the decisions of the Council of Florence were still in force.⁴⁷ The letters by Peter III could once again warn against the growing alienation of the two Churches, and their argumentative and calm tone could defuse an argument. However, they were used as a condemnation of Christians faithful to Rome, and this was not in line with the intention of the patriarch of Antioch. In a different situation the texts might have been treated as informative or as warnings, but in the context of the 15th and 16th c. – a time of fatigue and disappointment with the inability to find compromise (as well as perhaps an aversion to it) between East and West – it was decided that the texts should serve as an accusation. How did it happen that the correspondence between bishops Peter, Dominic and Michael was revived revised in the 15th c.? The direct reason to create a new translation was the Council of Florence.⁴⁸ It is worth looking for an answer to the question of who created a convoy from these letters (a modest “cycle”) and when this was done. Was it some educated Slav who, facing the threat of Catholic invasion and possible Christian indifference in the Balkans, reached for the writings of the classic polemics with the Latins?⁴⁹

The letters of Peter, Dominic and Michael seem to have a universal meaning. They were the answer to the internal problems of the disintegrating Church in the 11th c. and allowed for the recognition of the doctrinal and customary threats coming from the West four and five hundred years later as a natural component of the polemics with the same threat which the Council of Florence tried to reduce, though ineffectively and only a short-term success. However, it was too late for that. The cycle of three letters – as well as the other letters mentioned above which were created in Greek thanks to the inspiration of the clergy not only in Constantinople – became a weapon used in the whole Byzantine-Slavic commonwealth. It is worth mentioning that copies of the letters were being created from at least the 15th c. until the mid-17th c.,⁵⁰ in the

⁴⁷ This is known thanks to dating Vladislav the Grammarian’s manuscripts to the years 1456 and 1469.

⁴⁸ See. A. В. Сизиков, “Послание Петра III Антиохийского Доминику ...”, p. 309.

⁴⁹ It is tempting to look to Vladislav the Grammarian and his codices from the beginning of the second half of the 15th c. As an author of codices comprising over 260 translated and original Slavic texts but also as an expert in the Greek language, he would be an ideal candidate to be the author of the new translations of polemical writings. It would be great if Vladislav were the author of the translations, but it seems he lived too late for that. Anyway, without detailed research on the language it is not possible to propose this hypothesis. An important necessary step would be the investigation the convoys from other codices where this correspondence was also included.

⁵⁰ On the polemics of the Orthodox Church with the Roman Catholic Church in the lands of the Republic of Poland, see the works by Jan Stradomski, among others: J. Stradomski, *Spory o*

orbit of *Slavia Orthodoxa* (to the East and the South) as well as in the lands where Slavic was used as the official language: i.e. in the Balkans (codices by Vladislav the Grammarian), in Moldavia and in Wallachia.

The remarks formulated above are at times of a preliminary or fragmentary character. Based on few copies of certain texts (two to four), they present just a small fragment of the South Slavic manuscript tradition of those three letters. Nonetheless, they allow us to discover some new peculiarities of the texts analyzed here and raise new questions for potential future research. The main questions are: Are the differences, mainly the most important, textological ones, between the copies related to the choice of polemical texts, in which the letters were copied and to the place of their convoy? May we, besides the main editions/variants of the letters (mainly by Michael, but also by Peter) mentioned in the previous research, distinguish contaminated variants as well, such as those that are suggested by the letter by Michael Keroularios from BAR Ms. Sl. 330? Is it possible to determine the time and place of the writing of the protographs, which, while preserving the character of Serbian (Resavian) and Middle-Bulgarian orthography, transcended those regions and appeared in Wallachia and Moldavia in the 15th and 16th c.

Appendix. Edition of the Slavonic texts of the three epistles on the basis of BAR Ms. Sl. 330.

Principles of the edition. The edition does not render the lines of the *codex electus* diplomatically. Abbreviations are not expanded. Square brackets [] are applied in case of inserting text units from the margins into their place in the main text. Curly brackets { } are used in the main text to refer to variants that are longer than one word. For technical reasons ligatures are expanded (except for ‘8’). The edition retains the original use of capital letters and the original punctuation of the copy BAR Ms. Sl. 330; I have used bold fonts to indicate rubrication of the titles and the initials.

The *apparatus criticus* includes textological, syntactic, and lexical differences of the copies, as well as the differences in proper names. I do not indicate differences of punctuation and rubrication.

“*wiarę grecką*” w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, Kraków, 2003; J. Stradomski, “Spór o historię i wartości w świetle katolicko-unicko-prawosławnej polemiki religijnej w Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej (koniec XVI – początek XVIII wieku)”, in: M. Kuczyńska (ed.), *Kultura Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej w dialogu z Europą. Hermeneutyka wartości*, vol. 11, Warszawa, 2017, p. 238-276.

1. Epistle of Michael Keroularios to Peter III, patriarch of Antioch. BAR Ms. Sl. 330 [hereinafter: BAR 330], f. 133v-135r.

Variant readings: Dečani 75 [hereinafter: Deč 75], f. 300v-302 [after: A. Николов, *Между Рим и Константинопол...*, p. 201-204]; BAR Ms. Sl. 155 [hereinafter: BAR 155], f. 598v-602r; BAR Ms. Sl. 291 [hereinafter: BAR 291], f. 255v-261.

/f. 133v/ Писаніе мнѣхана патрїарха кѡстантіна⁵¹ гра̑. еже посла {патрїарх⁵² (!) антїохїнском⁵³}⁵⁴ (!) петрѡ {ѡ ересѣ лѣнскїх⁵⁵}:~

Прѣбѣженом⁵⁶ н дѣховном⁵⁶ братѡ. н {сѡслажѣеннѡ нашѡм⁵⁷. прѣбосѣенном⁵⁶ патрїархѡ бѣжїаго града велнкыѡ антїохїе, кѡ петрѡ. мнѣханѡ мѣтїю бѣжїю архїепїкпѡ константїна⁵⁸ гра̑ новаго іерлѡма⁵⁹. н вѡселенскыи патрїархѡ.

вѣсть оубо сѣенствїе твоѡ. ѡко ѡ {сѣн н⁶⁰}⁶¹ вѡселенскыи сѡборѡ вѡ сѣн танннѡ⁶² жрѣтѡ црѣквїн⁶³ нашн, вѣпомннанїе рнмскѡ папы ѡсѣуено⁶⁴ бѣ. не тѣкмо опрѣснѣнаго⁶⁵ рѡ прїношенїа, нѡ н дрѡгѡ рѡ многѡ ересїн⁶⁶, еже {многыѡ вѣдомѡ}⁶⁷ соутѡ. К томѡ же тогда на сѡборѡ семь злобѡ н ѡвлѣенѡ⁶⁸ бывшн. бѣше бѡ тогда папа вїгѡлїе⁶⁹ вѡ рнмѡ н не вѡсхотѡ на сѡборѡ сн прїнтн. нже вѡсхотѡ хѡлїенїе фѡеодорнтова еже на православною вѡрѡ хѡлѡашѡ⁷⁰ проклѣтн. н главнзны еже злѡ писанныѡ⁷¹ на сѣго кѡрїла, не вѡсхотѡ проклѣтн.⁷² н ѡтолн до

⁵¹ BAR 155: кѡстантїна; BAR 291: кѡстантїна

⁵² Согг. патрїархѡ

⁵³ Согг. антїохїнском

⁵⁴ BAR 155: кѡ патрїархѡ антїохїнскомѡ; BAR 291: патрїархѡ антїохїнскомѡ

⁵⁵ Deč 75, BAR 155, BAR 291: ѡт.

⁵⁶ BAR 155: прѣбѣженномѡ

⁵⁷ BAR 155: ѡт.

⁵⁸ BAR 155: кѡстантїна; BAR 291: кѡстантїна

⁵⁹ BAR 291: рнма

⁶⁰ Deč 75, BAR 291: ѡт.

⁶¹ BAR 155: сѣн

⁶² Deč 75: таиннѡ

⁶³ Deč 75, BAR 155: црѣкѡ; BAR 291: црѣкѡвѡ

⁶⁴ BAR 291: ѡсѣуеннѡ

⁶⁵ Deč 75: опрѣснѣнаго; BAR 155: ѡпрѣснѣнаго; BAR 291: ѡпрѣснѣнаго

⁶⁶ BAR 155: ересн; BAR 291: ересн

⁶⁷ Deč 75: многѡ невѣдомѡ; BAR 155: многымѡ невѣдомн

⁶⁸ BAR 155: ѡвлѣеннѡ; BAR 291: ѡвлѣеннѡ

⁶⁹ BAR 155: внглнѡ

⁷⁰ BAR 291: хѡлѡашѡ

⁷¹ Deč 75: пннннн; BAR 291: писанныѡ

⁷² Deč 75 add.: такоже н хѡлѡноѡ посланїе лѡкавадо нѡ не вѡсхотѡ ѡрѣцн се; BAR 291: такоже н хѡлѡноѡ посланїе лѡкавадо нѡ, не вѡсхотѡ ѡрѣцн сѡ

дѣньшиѣ⁷³ дѣне, ѿ сѣтыѣ нашеѣ цѣркве ѿсѣченѣ⁷⁴ бывшѣ папѣ. ⁷⁵нѣа же нѣцѣн {прѣндоше ѿ латннѣ}⁷⁶ въ цѣрѣвѣющѣн⁷⁷ градѣ, пнсанїа⁷⁸ носеще. н вѣшѣшнмѣ⁷⁹ дрѣжавномѣ н сѣтмѣ цѣроу нашемѣ явнше се, мѣутанїемѣ велнкѣ⁸⁰ н грѣдынїею, ⁸¹прѣвѣзгношенїемѣ свѣрѣпымѣ. н стѣпанїемѣ яко прѣмоу⁸²дрн мнече се, безвмїемѣ вѣсакѣ нспльнѣ сѣще. тѣ н кѣ моемѣ смѣренїю прншѣше. {н что}⁸² да⁸³ рекѣ, нлн како повѣмѣ⁸⁴, о грѣдостн н безсрамїю⁸⁵ н. како вѣнндоше кѣ мнѣ. {ннкаково слово прнрекше мнѣ.}⁸⁶ ⁸⁷понѣ мало⁸⁸ прѣклоннтн главь своѣ, н сѣвѣчнѣ⁸⁹ поклоненїе прннестн мнѣ ѿ своего ѣпѣпа не вѣсхотѣше. ннже вѣсхотѣше на сѣвѣрѣ сѣбравшнмѣ⁹⁰ се намѣ⁹¹ сѣззадн⁹² мнѣрополнтѣ сѣвстн, по прѣданномѣ ѿ наѣела сѣвѣчнѣ⁹³, {{безвѣстїе свое мнече бытн⁹⁴ се.}⁹⁵ что лн не глѣо болшеѣ⁹⁶ {безвѣчїе нхѣ}⁹⁷}⁹⁸. яко нн цѣркон дрѣжавѣ н велнчїю смѣрнше се. {падѣ себе велнмн прѣвѣзгносеще н еже падѣ всѣ⁹⁹ вышше мнѣхѣ се нмѣтн. сѣ¹⁰⁰}¹⁰¹

⁷³ Деѣ 75: нѣнѣшнѣаго; BAR 155: нѣнѣшнѣаго; BAR 291: нѣнѣшнѣаго

⁷⁴ BAR 155: ѿсѣченѣнѣ

⁷⁵ Деѣ 75, BAR 155, BAR 291 add.: н

⁷⁶ Деѣ 75: ѿ латннѣ. прѣндоше; BAR 155: ѿ латннѣ прѣндоше; BAR 291: ѿ латннѣ, прѣндоша

⁷⁷ Деѣ 75, BAR 291 add.: велнкѣн

⁷⁸ BAR 291: пнсанїе

⁷⁹ Деѣ 75: вѣшѣшѣ нмѣ; BAR 155: вѣшѣшемѣ нмѣ; BAR 291: вѣшѣдшнмѣ нмѣ

⁸⁰ Деѣ 75: велнѣ; BAR 155: велїемѣ; BAR 291: велїемѣ

⁸¹ Деѣ 75, BAR 155, BAR 291 add.: н

⁸² Деѣ 75, BAR 155, BAR 291: что лн

⁸³ BAR 291: om.

⁸⁴ Деѣ 75: повѣмн; BAR 155: повѣмѣ тн; BAR 291: повѣмы

⁸⁵ BAR 155, BAR 291: бесрамїю

⁸⁶ BAR 155: om.

⁸⁷ Деѣ 75, BAR 155, BAR 291 add.: нлн

⁸⁸ BAR 155: малн

⁸⁹ BAR 155: ѿвѣчнѣ

⁹⁰ Деѣ 75: сѣбравшѣ; BAR 155: сѣбравшѣм; BAR 291: сѣбравшѣм

⁹¹ BAR 291: на

⁹² Деѣ 75, BAR 155: ннжаѣ; BAR 291: сѣннжаѣ

⁹³ Деѣ 75 add.: нн всѣма не вѣсхотѣше

⁹⁴ Деѣ 75: om.

⁹⁵ BAR 291: нн всѣма не вѣсхотѣшѣ бесвѣстїе свое мнѣще се

⁹⁶ Деѣ 75: горшѣе; BAR 291: горшѣе

⁹⁷ Деѣ 75: н безвѣчїе бытн; BAR 291: нхѣ безвѣчїе бытн

⁹⁸ BAR 155: что лн глѣо болшеѣ нхѣ безвѣчїе бытн

⁹⁹ Деѣ 75: н; BAR 291: нхѣ

¹⁰⁰ Деѣ 75, BAR 291: н

¹⁰¹ BAR 155: om.

¹³³[А] опрѣсныкѣ ¹³⁴творѣ ꙗко юуденн лѹгѣгнсаю¹³⁵. нѣво опрѣсныкъ, ни кваса ни соли нмать. ꙗже възмѣсто дѣше н оума сѣть. еже ѿ сѣтыне црѣкве възселенскыне прннашаемо¹³⁶ ѿе.

[Б] постет се въ сѣботѣ¹³⁷, н снмѣ пѣвет се юудеѣм. н прѣстѣпаютъ законъ¹³⁸, нже сѣ запрѣщеніемъ¹³⁹ {прѣдано ѿе¹⁴⁰, не постити се {в нѣлю нли в сѣтѣ¹⁴¹}¹⁴² (!) рдзвѣ {велнкыне сѣботы}¹⁴³.

{Г ѡдѣтъ оудавленіа¹⁴⁴ н мрѣцныи.

[Д] ¹⁴⁵острѣзаетъ си брады.}¹⁴⁶

ѣ. ¹⁴⁷попове ѿ на бранѣ {сѣходет се}¹⁴⁸ сѣ ¹⁴⁹вонскамн. н крѣвь¹⁵⁰ пролнвающе¹⁵¹, възвращаютъ се н антѣгнсаю¹⁵², ѣ {не дѣнтѣ ни еднномѣ}¹⁵³ сѣщенникѣ¹⁵⁴.

[Е] постет се на гпѣдскыне прѣдѣнныи. нли в' пѣ вѣдѣ нли в сѣ, {еже¹⁵⁵ не пѣбаѣ}¹⁵⁶.

[Ж] в' нѣлю прѣвѣ сѣтѣ {пѣ велнкы}¹⁵⁷, в' сѣвѣдѣ коупно месо¹⁵⁸ н сырѣ ѿпоушайѣ.

[И] в' сѣтынн ¹⁵⁹велнкынн ѣтвѣрькѣ, ѡнца н сырѣ н млѣко ѡдѣтъ¹⁶⁰.

¹³³ BAR 155 add.: здѣ ѿчестн нспнсахомъ ереси латннѣскыне:~

¹³⁴ Deç 75 add.: оубо; BAR 291: оубо

¹³⁵ BAR 155: антѣгнсаюють

¹³⁶ BAR 155: прннашаемо

¹³⁷ BAR 155: сѣботы

¹³⁸ BAR 155: законн

¹³⁹ BAR 155: афоресомѣ

¹⁴⁰ BAR 155: прѣдани сѣть

¹⁴¹ Согг. сѣботѣ.

¹⁴² BAR 155: въ сѣботѣу нли въ нѣлю

¹⁴³ Deç 75: велнкою сѣботѣ; BAR 155: въ велнкоюу сѣботѣу

¹⁴⁴ BAR 155: оудавленіаѡ

¹⁴⁵ BAR 155 add.: н

¹⁴⁶ Deç 75: Г. Острѣзаетъ брады:~ .Д. ѡдѣтъ оудавленіа н мрѣцныи:~; BAR 291: Г острѣзаетъ

брады: Д ѡдѣтъ оудавленіа, н мрѣцныи:~

¹⁴⁷ BAR 155 add.: н

¹⁴⁸ BAR 155 add.: нсходетъ

¹⁴⁹ BAR 155 add.: соннн

¹⁵⁰ Deç 75, BAR 155: крѣвн

¹⁵¹ BAR 155 add.: крѣвы (!)

¹⁵² BAR 155: антѣгнсаюють

¹⁵³ BAR 155: нѣдостонно ѿе всакомѣ

¹⁵⁴ BAR 155 add.: се творити

¹⁵⁵ BAR 291: нже

¹⁵⁶ BAR 155: от.

¹⁵⁷ BAR 155: велнкыѣ постѣ

¹⁵⁸ BAR 155: месо

¹⁵⁹ Deç 75, BAR 155, BAR 291: от.

[ѿ] {¹⁸³крѣщеніе ѿтоє}¹⁸⁴ твореще. крѣщающнм се соль въ оуста вѣлагають¹⁸⁵. н¹⁸⁶ въ во/ф. 134v/дѣ тѣкмо крѣщаю̄т̄ едннѣмь погрѣженіѣ, нме ѿца н сѣна тѣкм̄ нарнующе¹⁸⁷. н плюннѣше на дла̄ лѣвнѣ рѣкы. тѣ десноу іем'ше¹⁸⁸, вѣмѣсто мѣра помазають крѣтецаго¹⁸⁹ се.

[ѿ] Вѣмѣсто ѿго мѣра, масло кѣжо нхъ въ сѣсѣдѣ¹⁹⁰ носнтъ. н прѣгрѣшеніемь вѣсакымь wskрѣннѣшаго¹⁹¹ се помазють¹⁹², {елнка¹⁹³ ѣко¹⁹⁴ ѿл'к' сѣгрѣшнл ѿ. }¹⁹⁵

[ѿ] н¹⁹⁶ крѣщающнм се дѣтемь¹⁹⁷, нме {нѣкоего сѣго}¹⁹⁸ не нарнцаю̄т̄¹⁹⁹. нѣ нѣкоа²⁰⁰ непѣна н ѿднл.

[н] н ѿтнн крѣтъ на вѣрѣзѣ своѣ, едннѣмь прѣстомь наѿрѣтаѣю̄т̄²⁰¹, ѣко моно-ѿелнтѣне.

[ѿ] двѣци нлн трнцн, нлн мнжнцєю дѣнемь, въ едннѣн ѿрѣкн нлн въ домѣ нѣкоемь²⁰², пѣве нхъ лѣтѣрѣгнсаю̄т̄ едннѣ по едннѣмь²⁰³.

[к] скрѣннл же ѣденіа²⁰⁴ {н нже ѣдѣт̄}²⁰⁵, ежеѣ, ²⁰⁶желкы²⁰⁷, меч'кн²⁰⁸. н дрѣгал ннл скрѣннл²⁰⁹ бѣз' зазора ѣдѣтъ.

¹⁸³ Деѣ 75, BAR 291 add.: Н

¹⁸⁴ BAR 155: Н ѿтоє крѣщеніе

¹⁸⁵ BAR 155: нхъ вѣлагающе

¹⁸⁶ BAR 155: om.

¹⁸⁷ BAR 155: нарнующе

¹⁸⁸ Деѣ 75: пріемѣше; BAR 155: пріем'ше; BAR 291: пріемше

¹⁸⁹ BAR 291: крѣщацаго

¹⁹⁰ BAR 155: сѣсѣдоу

¹⁹¹ BAR 155: wskрѣннѣшаго

¹⁹² BAR 291: помазѣнѣтъ~

¹⁹³ Деѣ 75: елнко; BAR 155: елнко

¹⁹⁴ BAR 155 add.: въ мнрѣ

¹⁹⁵ BAR 291: om.

¹⁹⁶ BAR 155: om.

¹⁹⁷ BAR 155: ѿ нѣ

¹⁹⁸ Деѣ 75, BAR 155: сѣго нѣкоего

¹⁹⁹ BAR 155: полагають іемѣ

²⁰⁰ BAR 155: нѣкоа

²⁰¹ Деѣ 75: наѿрѣтаю̄т̄; BAR 155: наѿрѣтають; BAR 291: наѿрѣтаѣтъ

²⁰² BAR 155: нѣкоѣ

²⁰³ Деѣ 75: дрѣго; BAR 155: дрѣгоугомѣ; BAR 291: дрѣгоугомѣ

²⁰⁴ BAR 291: ѣдѣтъ

²⁰⁵ Деѣ 75: нхъже ѣдѣтъ; BAR 155: нхъже ѣдѣтъ, кто да испѣѣтъ; BAR 291: om.

²⁰⁶ BAR 155 add.: н

²⁰⁷ BAR 291: желѣы

[кѧ] н ѱрѣн'цн нхъ месо ѣдѣть²¹⁰. н свннїю мазь ѣко масло нмоу^т, н ѣдѣть²¹¹ не прѣмѣнно •

[кѡ] ²¹²оумнрающн^м213 рѣцѣ ннз' бѣдры прѣстнрають. н ѱювства н^н214 воскн^м залѣплатю^т215, н^н216 такъ погрнбавю^т217. ѡкѡдѣ се прнѣше. нлн ѡ коего еѡлнста. {нлн ѡ}218 апѣлска прѣданїа. ннкто^ж вѣсть се, тькмо едннъ {тьмѣ ѡцѣ}219 дїаволь, ²²⁰оуцнтель в'сакнѣ ерєсн н злобы²²¹ •

[кг²²²] концѣ всѣ злымь. ѣже²²³ прѣва н велнкаа²²⁴ главнзна²²⁵, хоуле^т оубо на дхъ стын. глѡт' бо снцѣ вѣ стѣмь²²⁶ знаменїн. еже іе^т. Вѣрѣю вѣ едннго бѧ оца вседрѣжнтелѧ. творца нбѡ н землн, внднмым' же всѣ н невнднмымь. н вѣ едннго гѧ іу хѧ снѧ бжїа едннорѡднѧ²²⁷. н вѣ {дхѧ стго гѧ жнвотворецѧго}228, н ѡ²²⁹ оца нсходѣща²³⁰. нже²³¹ сѣ оцѣмь н сѣ²³² сномь {сѣпокланѧема н сѣславнма}233. ²³⁴ѡнн же глѡуть. н вѣ дхъ стын госпѣствѡющь²³⁵ н²³⁶ жнвотворець

²⁰⁸ Деѣ 75, BAR 291: мауку; BAR 155: н мауку

²⁰⁹ BAR 155 add.: н неустѧа

²¹⁰ Деѣ 75: ѣдѣ; BAR 155: ѣдѣть; BAR 291: ѣдѣтъ

²¹¹ Деѣ 75: ѣдѣ; BAR 155: ѣдѣть такоже вьсегдѧ

²¹² Деѣ 75, BAR 155, BAR 291 add.: н

²¹³ Деѣ 75: н оумнрающн

²¹⁴ BAR 155 add.: всѧ

²¹⁵ BAR 155: залпннѣше

²¹⁶ BAR 155: от.

²¹⁷ Деѣ 75: погрѣваю іе; BAR 155: погрѣвають

²¹⁸ BAR 155: н

²¹⁹ BAR 155: ѡцѣ тмн

²²⁰ BAR 155 add.: н

²²¹ Деѣ 75, BAR 291: злобѣ

²²² Деѣ 75, BAR 291: от.

²²³ BAR 155: еже

²²⁴ BAR 155: велїа

²²⁵ BAR 155 add.: іе

²²⁶ Деѣ 75: стѣ

²²⁷ Деѣ 75: іедннорѡдѧго; BAR 291: едннорѡдѧго

²²⁸ Деѣ 75: дхъ сты гствѡющь н жнвотворець; BAR 155: дхъ сты госпѣствѡющь жнвотворець; BAR

291: н вѣ дхъ сты госпѣствѡющь н жнвотворець

²²⁹ BAR 155: нзѣ

²³⁰ Деѣ 75: нсходѣ; BAR 155, BAR 291: нсходнтѣ

²³¹ Деѣ 75, BAR 291: от.; BAR 155: н

²³² BAR 155, BAR 291: от.

²³³ Деѣ 75: сѣпрославлѧіе; BAR 155: нсправлѧіемь; BAR 291: сѣпрославлѧемь

²³⁴ BAR 155 add.: кѧ

²³⁵ BAR 155: госпѣствѡющь

²³⁶ BAR 155: от.

нже ѿ²³⁷ ѿца н ѿ сѣна нсходѣца²³⁸. ²³⁹Дѣѣ на҃челѣ проповѣдають²⁴⁰, ꙗко н²⁴¹ ѿ²⁴² сѣна {Дѣѣ сѣтин нсходѣтъ}²⁴³.

[к²⁴⁴] н въ сѣтон лѣтѣргѣн бѣтвныѣ таннѣ. ндѣ глѣмы²⁴⁵. едннѣ сѣтъ едннѣ²⁴⁶ гѣ ꙗс хс въ слава {бѣ оцѣ} ²⁴⁷амнѣ. ²⁴⁸внн же глѣють, едннѣ сѣтъ едннѣ гѣ ꙗс хс, въ слава {бѣ оцѣ} ²⁴⁹дѣѣмь сѣтымь.

[кѣ²⁵⁰] кѣ семѣ н поповѣ възбранаю не възнматн жены. снрѣ нмоушнѣ жены да не творет се попове. нъ безѣ женѣ прѣбыватн хотеце н бытн попове.

[кѣ²⁵¹] два брата дѣѣ сестрѣ възымаю въ²⁵² жены.

[кѣ²⁵³] ²⁵⁴егда мнози попове заедно лѣтѣргѣсаю²⁵⁵. н²⁵⁶ въ врѣ прѣвещенѣ²⁵⁷, едннѣ ѿ лѣтѣргѣсаюшнѣ поповѣ, нзѣдаѣ опрѣсннкѣ. н проуѣнхѣ цѣлнваѣ.

[кн²⁵⁸] ²⁵⁹ѣпкпн н прѣстѣ носѣ. н²⁶⁰ крѣвѣю роуки своѣ²⁶¹ помазю²⁶². н се ꙗвлѣю²⁶³. ꙗкѣ прѣѣе своѣго оубѣнства {дѣше своѣ}²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵оубѣнвають.

²³⁷ BAR 155: нзѣ

²³⁸ BAR 155: нсходѣтъ

²³⁹ BAR 155 add.: н

²⁴⁰ BAR 155 add.: глѣюце

²⁴¹ BAR 155: ом.

²⁴² BAR 155: нзѣ ѿца н

²⁴³ BAR 155: нсходѣтъ дѣѣ сѣты

²⁴⁴ Деѣ 75, BAR 155, BAR 291: ом.

²⁴⁵ Деѣ 75: глѣ мы; BAR 155: глѣемь мы; BAR 291: глѣмъ мы

²⁴⁶ Деѣ 75: ѣдн (!)

²⁴⁷ BAR 155: бѣ оцѣ

²⁴⁸ BAR 155: кѣ

²⁴⁹ Деѣ 75: бѣ оцѣ; BAR 291: бѣн ѿцѣн

²⁵⁰ Деѣ 75: .кѣ. Кѣ; BAR 155: кѣ

²⁵¹ Деѣ 75, BAR 291: .кѣ.; BAR 155: кѣ

²⁵² Деѣ 75, BAR 291: ом.

²⁵³ Деѣ 75, BAR 291: .кѣ.; BAR 155: кн

²⁵⁴ BAR 155 add: Н

²⁵⁵ BAR 155: лнтоуѣргѣсаюють

²⁵⁶ BAR 155: ом.

²⁵⁷ Деѣ 75: прѣвещеннѣ

²⁵⁸ Деѣ 75: .кѣ.; BAR 155: кѣ; BAR 291: кѣ

²⁵⁹ BAR 155 add.: Н

²⁶⁰ Деѣ 75, BAR 291: .кѣ. Н; BAR 155: ом.

²⁶¹ BAR 155: своѣ

²⁶² Деѣ 75: помазю

²⁶³ BAR 155: ꙗвлѣетѣ

²⁶⁴ Деѣ 75: дѣшь дѣшь (!) своѣ; BAR 291: дѣшь дѣшь (!) своѣхѣ; BAR 155: дѣшь своѣ

²⁶⁵ BAR 155 add.: оубѣвѣюще

[²⁶⁶к̂] ²⁶⁷а̂пльское сло̂вѣ, злѣ р̂азѡмѣю̂, н лѡкаво проповѣдають. н дѣ̂ гл̂ѣть²⁶⁸, ѡко малъ квасъ вѣсе мѣшеніе²⁶⁹ квасн̂. ²⁷⁰ѡнн же гл̂ю̂, ѡко малъ квасъ вѣ/f. 135г/се тѣсто нскажаѣ. покъшающѣ̂ н вѣ оправданіе себе прнводеще²⁷¹ словѡ се. ²⁷² ²⁷³ннже мощемъ стѣ²⁷⁴ покланѡтн²⁷⁵ се хотеть. нѣцн̂ же ѡ̂ ннхъ нн²⁷⁶ стѣмъ нконамъ {покланѡт²⁷⁷ се}²⁷⁸. ннже стѣн̂ н велнкын̂ ѡ̂цъ нашн̂ н оуцнтель²⁷⁹. б̂гослова гр̂гори̂а. н велнк̂го васнл̂а. н іѡанна²⁸⁰ златоустаго, {сѣ проуцнмн̂ стѣнмн̂ прнунтаю̂²⁸¹}²⁸². тако оубо жнвщн̂ нмь. н {таковымъ вбываѣ̂²⁸³ вѣзрастьшемъ²⁸⁴ нмь²⁸⁵. ѡвлюена²⁸⁶ толнка ²⁸⁷злаа н неп̂обнаа²⁸⁸. ²⁸⁹н не нмщн̂ прѡв̂ р̂азѡмъ вѣ прѡславны̂ н б̂гор̂азѡмны̂ нмѣтн̂ ѡестъ.²⁹⁰ с̂а вѣкр̂ат̂цѣ нспнсах̂ѡ. ѡко да нматъ вѣтн̂ ст̂на²⁹¹ тѡа лѡкавствіе²⁹² нхъ²⁹³. н²⁹⁴ да не мнѣтн̂ нмашн̂, ѡко вѣ єднн̂ѡ опрѣснѣкѡ²⁹⁵ сѣгрѣшаю̂, ѡкоже н мы вѣсн̂ д̂о

²⁶⁶ Deč 75, BAR 291: к̂н.; BAR 155: om.

²⁶⁷ BAR 155 add.: н

²⁶⁸ Deč 75: гл̂ю̂

²⁶⁹ Deč 75: вѣмѣшеніе; BAR 155: тѣсто; BAR 291: вѣмешеніе

²⁷⁰ BAR 155 add.: л̂

²⁷¹ BAR 155: прѣлагающе

²⁷² BAR 155 add.: ѡко да малнмъ словомъ сымъ вбыва̂тн̂ н ѡвращатн̂ квасъ. нже квасенн̂ хлѣбъ п̂двнзаетъ

²⁷³ Deč 75, BAR 291: .к̂ѡ.

²⁷⁴ Deč 75: стѣ̂

²⁷⁵ BAR 155: кланѡтн̂

²⁷⁶ BAR 155: om.

²⁷⁷ Deč 75: кланѡю̂

²⁷⁸ BAR 155: кланѡтн̂ се хотет

²⁷⁹ BAR 155 add.: н др̂х̂ѣрен

²⁸⁰ Deč 75: іѡна

²⁸¹ Deč 75: поунтаю̂

²⁸² BAR 155: н проуымъ стѣмъ не прнунтаю̂

²⁸³ Deč 75: таковымн̂ вбыва̂н; BAR 155: таковымы вбнв̂а̂н; BAR 291: таковымн̂ вбыва̂н

²⁸⁴ BAR 155: вѣзрастшнмъ

²⁸⁵ BAR 155: om.

²⁸⁶ BAR 155: ѡвлюена

²⁸⁷ Deč 75 add.: н

²⁸⁸ BAR 291: нна под̂обна

²⁸⁹ BAR 155 add.: н непрнѣтнаа

²⁹⁰ BAR 155 add.: сѣ ннмн̂ мнѣт се ѡкланнны̂

²⁹¹ Deč 75: ст̂на; BAR 155: ст̂нна; BAR 291: ст̂ынѣ

²⁹² Deč 75: лѡкав'ствн̂а; BAR 155: лѡкав'ствіа; BAR 291: л̂жкав'ствіа

²⁹³ BAR 155: снхъ

²⁹⁴ Deč 75, BAR 155: om.

²⁹⁵ Deč 75: ѡпрѣснѣцѣ; BAR 155: ѡпрѣснѣцѣ; BAR 291: ѡпрѣснѣцѣ

нѣна²⁹⁶ мнѣхѡ. нъ познав'ше {ѡ нѣна}²⁹⁷ про҃ѡа ѥ стрѣп'тнѡа дѣла, съблюден²⁹⁸
се. прнѣтенн²⁹⁹ ѡнн³⁰⁰ да боудѣ, съ ннмн сѣтъ дѡннн³⁰¹. Гѣ же³⁰² сѣхранн^т
бжен'ство³⁰³ твое въ обходѣ лѣтѣ многы снхъ, молещс³⁰⁴ се ѡ на:~

2. Epistle of Dominic, archbishop of Aquileia, to Peter III. BAR 330, f. 135r-135v.

Variant readings: BAR 155, f. 586r-587v.

/f. 135r/ Пнсаниѣ доминна архієпкпа венетінскаго³⁰⁵. еже посла къ сѣтѣншем³⁰⁶
{патрїархѣ антїохїнскомѣ петрѣ}³⁰⁷:~

Прѣвысокаго прѣстола еже³⁰⁸ въ антїохїнскн³⁰⁹ цркви. прѣвопрѣстолаомъ {велномѣ
патрїархѣ, н апломъ вѣразномѣ}³¹⁰ моѣ, {къ петрѣ}³¹¹. доминнкъ млтїю³¹² бжїю
грандѣнскын³¹³ н акїлїнскынѣ црквѣ архієпкпѣ. вѣсакою любовїю н говѣнїемъ. н
сѣбразѡмъ вѣрнынѣ жрѣтвы, твою сѣтню срамлѣтн се н поунтатн. н млтвы проснтн ѡ
црквѣ вашєѣ, блгоговѣнїю н любѣн поу҃раем се. ѣже нашеѣ мѣтере рнмскынѣ црквѣ
сестра іѣ, н познаѡает се. основателємъ єѣ вѣрховнмъ апломъ петрѣмъ. по тон же, втораа
сїа проповѣдаѣт се. по семъ бѡ велномѣ аплѣ слѣ {жрѣтвы твоеѣ}³¹⁴, вѣрою н дѣлѡмъ
нсплнн' се вѣздѣ о҃крѣплѣет се. поноу҃жаѣтъ н на смѣрено блгоговѣнїѣ вѣздаѡатн
тебѣ. н по поу҃тн гѣ своего ходещс тн, вѣслѣ тебе нтн подвнзѣт на. мы нже въ
западнѣн³¹⁵ странѣ. н далєѣнѣн землн³¹⁶. н мора о҃далєнїемъ раздѣлѣємн,

²⁹⁶ BAR 155 add.: тако

²⁹⁷ BAR 155: ѡселѣ

²⁹⁸ Deç 75: блюдѣм'; BAR 155: блюдѣм'; BAR 291: блюдѣм

²⁹⁹ BAR 155: прнѣтєннн

³⁰⁰ BAR 155: ом.

³⁰¹ BAR 155 add.: нмъ

³⁰² BAR 155: да; Deç 75, BAR 291 add.: да

³⁰³ BAR 291: блжен'ствїѣ

³⁰⁴ Deç 75: млѣщїѣ; BAR 155: млѣщїѣ; BAR 291: млѣщїѣ

³⁰⁵ BAR 155: вєтїнскааго (!)

³⁰⁶ BAR 155: сѣтомѣ

³⁰⁷ BAR 155: петрѣ патрїархѣ

³⁰⁸ BAR 155: нже

³⁰⁹ BAR 155: антнѡхнскон

³¹⁰ BAR 155: н апломъ вѣраз'зномѣ

³¹¹ BAR 155: хоѣтє єго прѣпрѣтн пнсаниѣ, ѡ єрєсн своєн, н ѡ опрѣснакоу

³¹² BAR 155: блгодѣтїю

³¹³ BAR 155: грандѣнскынѣ

³¹⁴ BAR 155: жрѣтвѣ твоєн

³¹⁵ BAR 155: западнон

³¹⁶ BAR 155: землїѣ

СБАУѢ ЛЮБОВІЮ СЪВЪКЪПЛІЕНН³¹⁷ Н СЪПРЕЖЕ³¹⁸, ВАШЕЕ СТНІЕ РАЗУМЪ ПРИЛѢПНТИ СЕ
 ХОЩЕМЪ. ТѢМЪЖЕ ОУБО ВЪЗВѢЩАЕЪ³¹⁹ О НАШЕН ЦРКВН. ІАЖЕ Ѡ БЖТВНАГО³²⁰ МАР'КА
 ЕУЛАНСТА, ПРОПОВѢДАНІА СѢМЕ ПРИЕМ'ШН НСПРѢВА. Н БЛЖЕНОМЪ АПЛЪ ПЕТРЪ
 ПОСТАВЪШОМЪ³²¹ УБСТЪ ПАТРІАРШЬСКАГО УННА. Н МЕНЕ ВЪНОУТРЪ ВЪ НТАЛІН ЕДННОГО
 БЫТН. Н НА РИМСКѠ СЪВОРѢ³²² ПАПЫ, ДЕСНОЕ Е СѢДАНІЕ ПРИЕМШЪ. СЕЈЕ БѠ РА³²³ УБСТН
 ПОКАЗАТИ ВАМЪ НМАМЫ. ДА ПНСАНІЕМЪ ДРѢ ДРЪГА ОБЛУЧНМЪ О ВѢРѢ. ПРѢДН ЖЕ МЫ
 ВАШЕ БЛГОУТРОБИЕ ЖЕЛАЮЩЕ, КЪ ВАШЕМЪ РАЗУМЪ ПРИТН³²³ ПОТЫЩАХѠ³²⁴ СЕ. ДА ЛЮБОВЬ
 СЪВРЪШЕННЮ МЕЖѠУ СОБОЮ ОСНОВЕМЪ. {СБАУЕ О СЕМЪ}³²⁵ ТВОЕМЪ ѠУБСТВІЮ ОУМАЛКНѢТН.
 Н НЕ МОЖЕМЪ /f. 135v/ ПРѢЗРѢТИ ІАКО ДА НЕ ВЪЗВѢСТНМЪ ВАМЪ ЕЖЕ Ѡ СЪВОРА ЦРКВЕ
 КОНСТАНТИНА³²⁶ ГРАДА, РИМСКЫЕ ЦРКВЕ ПОНАШАЮ ОУБО СЛЫШАХѠ. Н ГАДЕТ
 ПРѢОСЦЕННЫН ОПРѢСНЬКЪ. ЕГОЖЕ МЫ ВЪМѢСТО ТѢЛА ХВА ОСЦАЕМЪ, Н ПРИУЕЦАЕМЪ СЕ
 ЕМЪ³²⁷. Н СЕГО РА³²⁸ НА СЕЗВРЪШЕНѢ Н НЕПРАВИЕНѢ О ТѢЛѢСН ХВѢМЪ³²⁸ ТВОРЕТЬ. Н Ѡ
 СЪВЪКОУПЛІЕНІА СТЫ ЦРКВІН³²⁹ ѠЛВУЕНѢХ НА НМѢ. ЕЖЕ БО КРОМѢ СМѢШЕНІА³³⁰ КВАСА
 ОПРѢСНЬКЪ ТВОРНМЪ. Н БЛГОДАРЕНІА ЖРЪТВЪ ПРИНАШАЕ НМЪ. ПОНІЕЖЕ БѠ ОПРѢСНЬНОЕ
 ОБЫУЕНІЕ, НЕ ТЪКМО АПЛЪСКИМЪ, НЪ Н ХВѢМЪ ПРѢДАНІЕМЪ ДРЪЖНМЪ. СБАУЕ КВАСНАГѢ
 ХЛѢБА СЦЕННОЕ РАЗМѢШЕНІЕ, Ѡ СТЫХЪ Н ПРАВОСЛАВНЫ ѠЦЪ, {ВЪСТОУНЫ ЦРКВАМЪ
 ПРѢДАНО ІЕ Н ОУВѢРѢНО}³³¹. Н ЗАКОННО СЪДРЪЖНТ СЕ. СБАУЕ³³² СБАУА ВѢРНА
 РАЗУМѢВАЕ³³³. Н РАЗУМОМЪ ДХОВ'НѢ ЗРАВО ОУКРѢПЛАЕ. НБО КВАСНОЕ Н БРАШНЬНОЕ
 РАЗ'МѢШЕНІЕ. ЕЖЕ ВЪСТОУНЫЕ СЪДРЪЖЕ ЦРКВН, ВЪПЛЬЩЕННАГО СЛОВА ІАВЛЯЮ
 СВЦШСТВО³³⁴. ПРОСТОЕ ЖЕ ТѢСТО ОПРѢСНЬНОЕ, ЕЖЕ МЫ ТВОРНМЪ ВЪ ЦРКВН РИМСКОН.

³¹⁷ BAR 155: съвакѣпліен'нын

³¹⁸ BAR 155: съпреженіи

³¹⁹ BAR 155: вѣз'вѣщаамъ

³²⁰ BAR 155: блжен'наго

³²¹ BAR 155: поставльшъ

³²² BAR 155: зворѣ

³²³ BAR 155: прити

³²⁴ BAR 155: потыщах

³²⁵ BAR 155: сбауѣ

³²⁶ BAR 155: константинна

³²⁷ BAR 155: его

³²⁸ BAR 155: хвѣ

³²⁹ BAR 155: црквн

³³⁰ BAR 155: размѣшеніа

³³¹ BAR 155: от.

³³² BAR 155: сба

³³³ BAR 155: разумѣемъ

³³⁴ BAR 155: свцсвцшство (!)

УНСТОТЪ УЛ҃҃҃҃СКИЕ ПЛѢТИ, ЕЮЖЕ БЖІТВО САМОЕ РАЗМѢСНТИ НЗВОЛН, БЕЗЪ ѠВѢТА ІАВЛІАѢ. СЕГО РА^а ДА ЗАПРѢТНТЬ³³⁵ ТВОЕ ѠУ҃СТВІЕ, ІАЖЕ ТАКО {БЕЗЪ СТРА^а}³³⁶ СЦЕННА Н АПЛЬСКАА ОУСТАВІЕНІА НЕ ПРИЕМЛЮТЬ. ЕЖЕ БО ПАЧЕ ОУКРѢПНТИ ПѠБАѢ, ТО ВАМИ ОУКРѢПЛЕНАА³³⁷ РАСНПЮТ СЕ. Н САМОЕ ТО ОСНОВАНІЕ РАСКОПАВАЮ. Н ТОУ НІЕ АН ОУБО ПЕТРЬ Н ПАВЛЬ ВЪ НТАЛІН ПРОПОВѢДАШЕ; ДА АЩЕ ВЪСЕ ЗАПАДНЫЕ ЦРКВИ, Ѡ ПРАВЫЕ³³⁸ Н БЛЖЕННЫЕ ЖИЗНИ АНШЕНЫ³³⁹ СОУТЬ; КЪ СІЕН³⁴⁰ ЖЕ ВЪРѢ ННКОЖЕ³⁴¹ ПРИХОДН, АЩЕ НЕ ПРИУЕСТННКЪ БѢДѢ ТѢЛЪ Н КРЬВИ ХВѢ. ІАКОЖЕ САМЪ РѢ. АЩЕ НЕ ІАСТЕ ПЛѢ³⁴² СНА УЛ҃҃҃҃СКАГО. Н КРЬВИ³⁴³ ЕГО НЕ ПІЕТЕ, НЕ НМАТЕ ЖИВОТА ЕГО ВЪ СЕБЕ. Н АЩЕ ОУБО ОПРѢСННАГО ХЛѢБА ПРИНОШЕНІЕ {НѢ ТѢЛО ХВО}³⁴⁴, МЫ ВЪСН ТОУЖН ЕСМЫ ЖИВОТА. СІА ЯВО Ѡ ВАШЕГО СЦЕНСТВА СКОРО ПОЗНАВАЕМА ВЪ НА, СЪПОВѢДАХУМ. Н Ѡ ВАШЕЕ ЛЮБВЕ, ЗНАМЕНІА ПРОСНМЪ ОУВѢТН. Н ВАШЕГО НЗВОЛІЕНІА ХОТѢНІЕ НАМЪ ѠПНСАТИ:~

3. Epistle of Peter III to Dominic. BAR 330, f. 135v-140v.

Variant readings: BAR 155, f. 588r-598v.

/f. 135v/ {ѠѠПНСАНІЕ СТВѢШАГО ПАТРІАРХА ПЕТРА. КЪ ДОМНИКЪ АРХІЕПІКПА ВЕНЕТИНСКОМЪ, ПРОТНВЪ ПОСЛАНІЮ:~}³⁴⁵

УТНОМЪ Н РАВНОАГГЛЬНОМЪ ВЛЦѢ. Н ДХОВНОМЪ БРАТЪ НАШЕМО, АРХІЕПІКПА ГРАНДѢНСКОМЪ, ЕЖЕ ІЕ АК҃ЛІА, ДОМНИКЪ. ПЕТРЬ МЛТІЮ БЖІЕЮ ПАТРІАРХЪ БЖІАГО ГРА ВЕЛНКИЕ³⁴⁶ АНТИОХІЕ. МНОГО ВЕСЕЛІЕ, Н ДХОВНЮ РАДО ПРНЕСОШЕ НАМЪ {ТВОА СЦЕННАА}³⁴⁷ СЛОВЕСА. ПРѢПОВНЕ Н БГОМЪ ВЪЗАЛЮБІЕНЕ³⁴⁸ Н ДХОВНЫН БРАТЕ, Н³⁴⁹ УТНЫН ВЛКО. ВЕСЕЛНХУ БО СЕ НЕМАЛО, ІАВѢ Ѡ ННХЪ ПОЗНАВШЕ ЮЖЕ³⁵⁰ О ХѢ ЛЮБОВЬ ТВОЮ. Н ПРАВОСЛАВНЮ МОУДРОСТЬ БГОВЪЗЛЮБІЕНІА ТВОЕГО. Н ПОНІЕ ПНШЕШН {МН ЕЖЕ}³⁵¹ О³⁵²

³³⁵ BAR 155 add.: нмь

³³⁶ BAR 155: бестраха

³³⁷ BAR 155: оукрѣплен'наа

³³⁸ BAR 155 add.: вѣри

³³⁹ BAR 155: аншен'ни

³⁴⁰ BAR 155: сен

³⁴¹ BAR 155: никто

³⁴² BAR 155: плѣти

³⁴³ BAR 155: крѣве

³⁴⁴ BAR 155: тѣло хво нѣсть

³⁴⁵ BAR 155: Ѡпнсаніе соупротнвно посланію семоу:~

³⁴⁶ BAR 155: от.

³⁴⁷ BAR 155: BAR 155: сценнаа твоя

³⁴⁸ BAR 155: възлюбіенне

³⁴⁹ BAR 155: от.

³⁵⁰ BAR 155: еже

³⁵¹ BAR 155: мнѣ же; BAR 155: мне же

ѡпрѣснѣнѣмъ слово, много нмѣ раздѣленіе. не прнчестно оубо ꙗже прѣданіе /f.
 136r/ ѡ нашеѣ стыѣ съборныѣ възсеіенскыѣ цркви. о нѣмъже пауче ѡбѣ
 напослѣдѣкъ бѣ съпоспѣшьствующѣ съповѣмн, твоимн стымн млтвamn
 оукрѣпленн. обауче срамлѣти се³⁵³ намъ сътворнл еси ѡлѣ³⁵⁴ бжїи, велїа
 нсправленїа нашемѣ смѣренїю нспнсавъ, ѡ ннхъже нн едннѣ³⁵⁵ нмамн. н срамлѣю
 се вѣрнн. ннчѣже³⁵⁶ бѣ дрѣго не вѣмъ. нѣ тѣмо ꙗко хрїтїанннѣ есмь православнѣ.
 малъ оубо вѣ архїерей бжїи, н хвдѣншн пауче всѣ. н рабѣ рабѣмъ гдѣ³⁵⁷ нашего їѡ
 хдѣ. обауче же такоѣн да боудемъ, ꙗковыхъ же нѣ твоѣ пнсанїе свѣтелствезеть. аще
 ѡ нѣ къ бѣ оумножншн млтвы своѣ. ꙗже³⁵⁸ же³⁵⁹ пнсано вѣ ѡтнѣмъ пнсанїи бгѡлюбїа
 твоѣго, о твоѣн стѣн црквн. ꙗко врьховннн аплъ петръ съставнл ю ꙗже. н прѣдалъ
 стѣмъ аплѣ і еѡлнстѣ марїкѣ. ѡ ннѣго тоіе цркве прѣстатель, научннѣ н ѡсть
 патрїаршьскѣ възведенъ бѣ. ꙗко да съдръжнтъ ю н научествезеть оученїемъ. н вѣ
 рннскыѣ съборѣ одесннѣ блженнаго³⁶⁰ папы сѣдѣтн. н о семь {оудобѣ нмашн}³⁶¹
 показати ѡ ветхыхъ дѣанїи. ꙗко ѡ стѣго апла петра особно нмѣ патрїаршьскыи
 твои прѣстоль наслѣднл ꙗже, н пѣбѣ ꙗко патрїархова твоѣ словеса н пнсанїе
 прнѣтн. н о вѣрѣ пнсанїемъ вѣсѣдовати тебѣ. азъ же малыи. ѡ прѣбѣстнннн н
 дѣховннн брате, не тѣѡю ꙗкѣ патрїарховѣ, нѣ ꙗко равна агглѣ н велнка архїереѣ
 бжїа, пнсанїе твоѣ ѡстїю пѣбною прїехъ н цѣловахъ. понїѣ бо нзъ маада н до
 старостн цѣнннннн пнсанїи възспнѣхъ се. н сїе проунѣаѣ прїно оупражнѣю се. н ѡ³⁶²
 ѡдо, ꙗко ннколнже нн до маада обрѣтѣ нѣкыи нмѣ напнсано ннн слышѣ, тѣѡю до
 нннн. прѣстолиннѣ акїлїнскаго. еже ꙗже венетїа, патрїархъ нарнцати се. петъ бо
 патрїархъ вѣ вѣсемъ мнрѣ блгтїю бжїею оустроено ꙗже бытн. прѣвнн, вѣ рннѣ.
 вторнн, вѣ константїнѣ³⁶³ (!) градѣ. третнн вѣ александрїи. четвѣртнн, вѣ
 антїохїи. петнн, вѣ іерлѣмѣ. нѣ то нн сн къжо нхъ патрїархъ нарнцает се. ꙗже же

³⁵² BAR 155: om.

³⁵³ BAR 155: om.

³⁵⁴ BAR 155: ѡлѣуче

³⁵⁵ BAR 155: ꙗедн (!)

³⁵⁶ BAR 155: ннчѣ

³⁵⁷ BAR 155: бѣ

³⁵⁸ BAR 155: om.

³⁵⁹ BAR 155: еже

³⁶⁰ BAR 155: блженнаго

³⁶¹ BAR 155: нмашн оудобѣ

³⁶² BAR 155: om.

³⁶³ BAR 155: константїнѣ

оубо снце. рнм'скын³⁶⁴ архіерен, папа нарицает се. константіна³⁶⁵ же града, архієпкпъ нарицает се алеѣанѣринскын же папа нарицает се. єднн' же тъкмо антїохїнскын, нариень бы³⁶⁶ патрїархъ слышатн н зватн се. н ієрлнм'скын такоже. н сєбрѣстн нмать се любовь твоа въ всѣ пнсаны, ѡвѣ {ѡпасно аще}³⁶⁷ понцешн. н възн'мн се еже {глѡ тн}³⁶⁸. тѣло ѡлѣеє, єднною главою воднмо іє. въ нєм'же оудн мнозн соу, н в'сн петымн ѡюв'ствы оустраают се. ѡюв'ства сѣ сїа³⁶⁹. зрѣнїе. обонанїе. слухъ. възвсь³⁷⁰. осезанїе.³⁷¹ /f. 136v/ тѣло же паки хѣо. еже іє върннх црковъ, разлнчнмн еззыкы ѡко оуды съставляема іє. н ѡко петымн ѡюв'ствы прѣрѣннмн прѣстола оустрааема³⁷² н направляема. єднною главою носнма іє, самѣмъ³⁷³ глѡ хѣомъ. н ѡкоже паує³⁷⁴ петн ѡюв'ствъ дрѡугое ѡюв'ство нѣ, такоже³⁷⁵ паує³⁷⁶ петы патрїархъ дрѡгын патрїархъ, не може бытн нктоже³⁷⁷ петымн же снмн прѣстола. нмнже ѡко ѡюв'ствѣ сѡщїнмъ въ тѣлєсн хѣвѣ, всн оудн. снрѣ вса ѡѡѣствїа еззыкъ, еже по всѣхъ мѣстѣхъ єпкпн³⁷⁸ сѣтъ. ѡко єднною главою хѣомъ нстнннмнмъ бгомъ нашнмъ оустрааємн. н бголѣпноводнмн, правою славою, н єднною вѣрою, съставляємн н направляємн ѡ нїєє.

а еже по сѣданїю. ѡко сѣдаєшн³⁷⁹ одєсню блженаго³⁸⁰ папы, оправдаєшн себе, н пнцешн да патрїарха нменєм' те. прнємлїє н се, нъ слышн о сємъ. како єпкпы н архієрєє³⁸¹, ѡцє нарицатн словѡ вѣрно навьчє. прѣвѣствѡщнх³⁸² же на всакѡмъ сѣборѣ, навєл'ннкы н прѣвосѣдалннкы³⁸³ навьчє нменоватн. по сємъ же словѣ

³⁶⁴ BAR 155 add.: оубо

³⁶⁵ BAR 155: Константина

³⁶⁶ BAR 155: іє

³⁶⁷ BAR 155: аще ѡпасно

³⁶⁸ BAR 155: тн глѡ

³⁶⁹ BAR 155: сы

³⁷⁰ BAR 155: ѡкоушенїе

³⁷¹ BAR 155 add.: н

³⁷² BAR 155: оуставляемаа

³⁷³ BAR 155: самнмъ

³⁷⁴ BAR 155: кромѣ

³⁷⁵ BAR 155 add.: н

³⁷⁶ BAR 155: кромѣ

³⁷⁷ BAR 155: нкто

³⁷⁸ BAR 155: єпископїе

³⁷⁹ BAR 155: сѣдашн

³⁸⁰ BAR 155: блженнаго

³⁸¹ BAR 155: архієпископн

³⁸² BAR 155: прѣвѣствѡщнх'

³⁸³ BAR 155: прѣвосѣдатєлє

пѡбаеть н тебѣ патрїархѡ нарицати се. пониѣ прьвын въ съборѣ рнм'сцѣмь
 обрѣтаешн се. ѡко н въ нѡ. прьвын въ дїаконѣ, архїдїакѡ нарицает се. пониже бо
 како ннако възмоно іе намь шестаго вѣвстн патрїарха, не соущн шестомь юв'ствѣ
 въ тѣлестн ѡкоже рѣхѡ. к томь же н дрьжавы многы н велнкы въ мнрѣ соутъ пауче
 твоее дрьжавы. нже мнтрополиты н архїеѣпкпы воднмы н направлѣемы сѣ на
 бл҃гоуѣстїе. възпомѣнн н се. колнка н велнка³⁸⁴ іе пауче твоее дрьжавы бл҃гарскаа
 страна. колнка же пакы вавїлонїа велнкаа. н ромѡгїрь, еже іе хорѡсань. н проуе
 възстоуныне страны, въ ннх же архїеѣпкпы намн поставлѣемн³⁸⁵ соутъ. н мнтрополиты,
 нмѣюще пѡ собою еѣпкпы, нь ннедннь ѡ ннхъ патрїархъ нарицает се. н о семь оубо
 до зде доволно іе.

нмат' же н о семь писанїе сѣщенстватн. о сѣтѣмь н бл҃женѣмь³⁸⁶ патрїарсѣ
 кон'стан'тїна³⁸⁷ града. ѡко бл҃гоуѣстнню рнм'скю црковь похвалѣт н понашѣт н
 обавлѣт, опрѣсньнаго радн прнношенїа. н сего радн пауче ѡлсѣаѣт вѡ ѡ правыне н
 непорѡчыне вѣры. еже възмѣсто тѣла гнѡ прїемлѣете обычно. н ѡ самого³⁸⁸ ѡтннаго
 тѣла вл҃чннаго ѡсѣкаѣт, снрѣ ѡ сѣтыне съборныне цркве. енже правнло съдрьжнтѣ съ
 в'сѣмн западнымн црквамн, ѡко главѣ тѣло съ всакы послѣшанїемь послѣдѣеть.
 пишешн же н о семь. ѡко ѡ ветхаго оученїа сѣты аплѣ тоуѣнхъ творнмь, нже
 опрѣсньнаго радн прѣданїа. н не тѣчїю ѡ самѣ³⁸⁹ аплѣ, нь н ѡ самого³⁹⁰ вл҃кы
 нашего³⁹¹ хѡ прїехѡмь глѣете. н не ѡко невѣдѣще, нь вѣдѣще. ѡко всн нже по
 възстоуѣн /f. 137r/ странѣ бл҃женїн³⁹² ѡцн, квасннмь хлѣбѡ без'крѣвнню жрѣтѣѣ
 творнтн велѣхъ. нже жнтїемь н словомь н пооученїемь, в'сѣ възселѣнню наоучнше. н
 ѡко сїю кваснню жрѣтѣѣ еоже³⁹³ мы творнмь, сѣтѣ нматѣ ѡко н опрѣсньнню. кваснн
 бо хлѣбѣ глѣете, по бывшомь нѡ радн съвршннномь ѡлѣѣ, ѡкоже соущн емь н боу
 съвршнн. а еже опрѣсньна³⁹⁴ жрѣтѣѣ, чнстотѣ н вестрастїа³⁹⁴ бжїа слова възл҃ченїе
 авлѣѣт.

³⁸⁴ BAR 155: велїа

³⁸⁵ BAR 155: послѣемїн

³⁸⁶ BAR 155: бл҃жен'нѣмь

³⁸⁷ BAR 155: констан'тнна

³⁸⁸ BAR 155: сьмого (!)

³⁸⁹ BAR 155: сьмѣ (!)

³⁹⁰ BAR 155: сьмого

³⁹¹ BAR 155 add.: їѣ

³⁹² BAR 155: бл҃жен'ны

³⁹³ BAR 155: юже

³⁹⁴ BAR 155: вестрастыне

сѣа въ писанїи твоѣмъ обрѣтохѣмъ написано {къ намъ гл҃юще} ³⁹⁵. ѡ ннхже ѡвѣщаѣмъ бл҃гоудѣльно твою любви. ꙗко не тако прѣосщениин патрїархъ константїна ³⁹⁶ грѣ просто на вѣ дѣнзает се. и не православнѣ нарнцаѣ вѣ. и ѡсѣцаѣ ѡ ст҃ыи и възселенскыи цркви, ꙗко писал ми еси. нь православнѣ и единомудрнѣ намъ нма, о свршеннѣмъ ³⁹⁷ бгословїи животвореще и единосщныи ³⁹⁸ тронце. и о възпльщенн ³⁹⁹ гѣ нашего їв хѣ. се же ѡлычаѣ вѣ ѡпрѣсньное раздѣленїе. о семь оубо стражеть и боанть. и скрбнть и ѡврацает се вѣ, како о бжтвнх ст҃х танн по прѣданїю ст҃ыи цркве не единомудрствете съ нами, послѣдоваи четьрехъ патрїархѣмъ. и свршеннѣмъ ⁴⁰⁰ хлѣбомъ безкрвнню жртвѣ творити. ꙗкоже испрѣва самовдци и слугы слова ст҃и аплн прѣдаше намъ. понїеже оубо нже опрѣсньномъ прнѣщает се, ветхон жртвѣ прнѣстникъ їе, а не новомъ завѣтоу. понїе ⁴⁰¹ бо не опрѣснькъ прїемъ гѣ и блгодарнв прѣломн и дѣ. нь хлѣбъ свршенъ, снрѣ кваснъ, ꙗкоже четьре ⁴⁰¹ евлнстн единоголасно проповѣдаше и прѣдаше. и павль свѣтелствуетъ гл҃е. азъ прѣхъ ѡ гѣ, еже и прѣдѣ вамъ. ꙗко гѣ їс въ ноць възнюже прѣданъ бы. прнїемъ хлѣбъ, и ⁴⁰² блгодарнв прѣломн, и рѣ. прїнмѣте ѣднте се їе тѣло мое вѣ радн разраблѣемо. се творите {въ мое възпомннанїе} ⁴⁰³ и проуа. нбо опрѣснькъ, юудеѣмъ законъ ⁴⁰⁴ прѣданъ бы ⁴⁰⁵. на възпомннанїе нсхода, егда нзъ егїпта нзвѣгоше. ꙗко да твореть жртвѣ опрѣсньнню. да възпомннатъ чюдеса еже {сътвори съ нми} ⁴⁰⁶ бѣ. и прѣбвдот ⁴⁰⁷ въ заповѣдѣхъ его, и к томъ не забодѣ дѣль его.

кваснынъ свршеннѣмъ ⁴⁰⁸ хлѣбъ. нже осщениемъ прѣтвараемъ въ прѣчѣтое и ст҃ое тѣло, гѣ нашего їв хѣ, на възпомннанїе данъ бы пльскѣ сзмотренїа ⁴⁰⁹ его. гл҃етъ бо.

³⁹⁵ BAR 155: гл҃юще к' намъ

³⁹⁶ BAR 155: константїна

³⁹⁷ BAR 155: свршеннѣмъ шїимъ

³⁹⁸ BAR 155 add.: ст҃ыи

³⁹⁹ BAR 155: възпльщенн

⁴⁰⁰ BAR 155: свршеннѣмъ

⁴⁰¹ BAR 155: четьри

⁴⁰² BAR 155: от.

⁴⁰³ BAR 155: на възпомннанїе мое

⁴⁰⁴ BAR 155: законно

⁴⁰⁵ BAR 155: бывъ

⁴⁰⁶ BAR 155: съ нми сътвори

⁴⁰⁷ BAR 155: прѣбвдаютъ

⁴⁰⁸ BAR 155: свршенны

⁴⁰⁹ BAR 155: оустроенїа

елнѣн⁴¹⁰ ѣсте хлѣбъ съ, н ѡшѡ сѣю пѣте⁴¹¹, сѡмрѣ гнѣю възвѣщае⁴¹² дондѣ
 прѣндѣ. н павѣль апѣль глѣеть. ѡша блѣвѣнѣа юже блѣвѣнѣе не прнѣценѣе лн крѣве хѣвы
 ѣе; н хлѣбъ егоже рѡз'дрѡблѣнѣе, не прнѣценѣе лн ѣе тѣла хѣа, ѣко едннѡ тѣло есмы
 мнѡзн. н ѡ едннѡго тѣла прнѣцаем се в'сн. н рѡзѡмѣн прѣбѡсценннн н дѣховннн
 нашѣ брѡте. ѣко въздѣ хлѣб/ѣ. 137v/бѣ нарнцает се тѣло гѣ нашего ѣв хѣа. понѣе
 нспѣльнѣ квѡса сѡврѣшенѣ хлѣбъ ѣе, а не опрѣснѣкъ. нбо опрѣснѣкъ, ѣко мрѣтѣв н
 без'дѡшнѣ ѣе, н несѡврѣшенѣ до концѡ. квѡс' же вѣ тѣсто брѡшнѣно възлѡгѣе, н
 бѡвѣе емѡ ѣко дѣша н ожнѡленѣе. н како не рѣцн ѣе. ѣко непѡбно ѣе лншенѡе⁴¹³ н
 мрѣтѡе н без'дѡшнѡе, възмѣсто жнѡѡго⁴¹⁴ н жнѡтѡрѣцаго тѣла гѣ н сѣса нашего
 ѣв хѣа прѣемѡтн вѣрѡнѣннѣ възнѣ. ѣвѣ оубѡ ѣе ѣко непѡбно тѡрнѣте.
 тѣм'же {оубѡ молю}⁴¹⁵ вѣ брѡтѣе, не прѣльщѡнѣте се тѡко. ннже велнко дѣло се
 прѣвгрѣшенѡ⁴¹⁶ сѡдрѣжнѣте. ннже нцнѣте свою волю сѡврѣшнѣтн н сѡстѡвнѣтн. н
 повѣднѣтн се семѡ злѣ хоцѣте. нѣ правдѡ пѡѣе възлѡбнѣте. н повѣженѡмѣ⁴¹⁷ {ѡамѣ
 бѡтн}⁴¹⁸ добрѡмѣ. ѣко⁴¹⁹ прѣкослѡвѣе нѣ прѣдѡно⁴²⁰ намѣ ѡ зѡѡѡшѡго нѣ хѣа. ѡцѣ
 бѡ н⁴²¹ ецѣ опрѣснѣкъ⁴²² прнѣцаем се, ѣвѣ оубѡ ѣе ѣко пѡ сѣнѣю мѡнѣсенскѡ⁴²³
 зѡконѡ есмы ецѣ. н трѡпѣзѡ юѡденскѡ, ѣамѣ, а не бѣжѣю слѡѡеснѡю н жнѡѡю пѣль хѣѡ.
 н намѣ насѡценѡ⁴²⁴ н едннѡсѡцнѡ. ѡцѣ бѡ вѣрѡемѣ ѣко пѣль хѣѡ жнѡѡ прѣемѡнѣ н
 прнѣцаем се ѣе. сѡврѣшеннѡго вѣ бѣжѣтѣвѣ н ѡлѣѣстѣвѣ. ⁴²⁵каковѡ ѡѡцннѡ ѣе
 ѡдѣшеѡленѡн н жнѡн пѣлѣтн бѣжѣн, сѡ опрѣснѣннѣ⁴²⁶ н без'дѡшннѣмѣ н мрѣтѡвнѣмѣ.
 нбо опрѣснѣкъ, не хлѣбъ нарнцает се. понѣе несѡврѣшенѣ ѣе, нѣ нспѡль ѣе, н

⁴¹⁰ BAR 155: елнкы

⁴¹¹ BAR 155: нспнѡѡетѣ

⁴¹² BAR 155: прѡповѣдѡетѣ

⁴¹³ BAR 155: лншеннѡе

⁴¹⁴ BAR 155: жнѡтнѡго

⁴¹⁵ BAR 155: молю оубѡ

⁴¹⁶ BAR 155: прѣвгрѣшеннѡе

⁴¹⁷ BAR 155: повѣженнѡмѣ

⁴¹⁸ BAR 155: бѡтн ѡамѣ

⁴¹⁹ BAR 155 add.: бѡ

⁴²⁰ BAR 155: прѣдѡннѡ

⁴²¹ BAR 155: om.

⁴²² BAR 155: ѡпрѣснѡкѡу

⁴²³ BAR 155: мѡнѣсенскѡ

⁴²⁴ BAR 155: насѡценнѡ

⁴²⁵ BAR 155 add.: н

⁴²⁶ BAR 155: ѡпрѣсннѣмѣ

трьбоуеѣтъ нспльнїенїа⁴²⁷ кваса. хлѣбъ же съвр'шенъ нспльнь кваса, сы іе̄ хлѣбъ съвр'шенъ. н разѣмѣн раздѣленїе слова аще хоцешн правдѣ познати, н възмнн разѣмно. въ опрѣсныцѣ ннеднна снаа жнвотна нѣ, мрѣтъв'⁴²⁸ бо іе̄ іакоже прѣѣ рѣхѣ. въ хлѣбѣ же кваснѣмь снрѣ̄ въ тѣлесн хѣвѣ, трнжнвотнаа н жнвотъ дающаа. снрѣ̄, дѣхъ, н вода, н кръвь. іакѣ н ть самого хѣ оученнкъ іѡаннь⁴²⁹. нже на прѣсн его възлеци спѣбн се, свѣтелствуеть о словесн семъ глїеть⁴³⁰ снце въ ѡкрѣвенїн. дѣхъ, н вода, н кръвь. трн сіе⁴³¹ въ еднномъ соу, снрѣ̄, въ тѣлесн хѣвѣ. н⁴³² въ врѣ̄ распетїа гнѣ іавленїо⁴³³ бы, егда кръвь н вода ѡ прѣуѣтъ его ребрь нстекоше, копїемъ про⁴³⁴ денѣ бывшѣ. стын дѣхъ прѣбы въ обѣженѣн пльтн его. еи⁴³⁵ іадѣше вѣрнїн въ прнѣщенн хлѣба. дѣхомъ сты̄ възмѣсто тѣлаа гѣ нашего іѡ хѣ жнвемъ въ нїемъ, іако жнвѣ н обѣженю пль̄ прїемлїе̄. н нѣсмы оубо к томъ пѣ законѣ мѡѡсенскымъ, да опрѣсннню жрѣтѣв прннашаемъ. нь пѣ блѣгтїю есмы, н новаа тварь о хѣ. понїе̄ дрѣвнѣаа мнмондоше, іакѣ павль възпїеть. н выше в'са нова. да н̄ хоцѣ̄ опрѣсннѣ⁴³⁶ прнѣщати се, поуто понѣ н не обрѣзакѣ се. понїе̄ н хѣ обрѣзанїе прнїе̄ по вет'хомъ прѣданїю. н свѣотѣ такоѣ⁴³⁷ по ветхомъ законѣ поуто не съхранїаю̄. н слышн что павль кѣ галатѣ възпїеть. се азъ павль глїю вамъ. іако аще ѡ/ф. 138г/врѣзаете се, ннкѣюже ползѣ ѡ хѣ нмате. свѣтел'ствю же пакы възсакомъ ѡлѣкѣ обрѣзающомъ се, іако дѣлн̄ іе̄ въ законѣ хранити. н ѡлѣуает се оубо⁴³⁸ хѣ, нже законѣ ѡправдает се. н⁴³⁹ блѣгтн ѡпадѣсте. мы бо дѣхомъ н⁴⁴⁰ вѣрою надеѣѣ правды прнемлїе̄. сіа оубо павль глїе̄⁴⁴¹. азъ же мало слово нзмѣннѣ, рекѣ пѣбное. аще опрѣсннѣе прнѣщаете се, хѣ вѣ ннѣтоже позлѣеть⁴⁴². понїе̄ бо на

⁴²⁷ BAR 155: нспльнїенїе

⁴²⁸ BAR 155: мрѣтво

⁴²⁹ BAR 155: іѡань

⁴³⁰ BAR 155: глїе

⁴³¹ BAR 155: сы

⁴³² BAR 155: еже

⁴³³ BAR 155: іавленїно

⁴³⁴ BAR 155: пробо денѣ

⁴³⁵ BAR 155: іеіеже

⁴³⁶ BAR 155: ѡпрѣсннѣ

⁴³⁷ BAR 155: тѣкожде

⁴³⁸ BAR 155 add.: ѡ

⁴³⁹ BAR 155 add.: ѡ

⁴⁴⁰ BAR 155: ѡм.

⁴⁴¹ BAR 155: глїеть

⁴⁴² BAR 155: пѣзѣветь

вспомнаниѣ егѣптскаго нз'вѣжанїа евреѣмъ прѣдано бы се, а не о спснѣи страстн хвѣ⁴⁴³. нь еже аще рекъ, вѣрѣн яко слъзы плаканїа прнхѣдет мн. егда въспомѣнъ яко въ всѣхъ въ ннхже бѣ оугодно ꙗко, крѣпко повѣаете се. н хвѣ нме дѣлы тѣмн прославляет се. н хѣднѣ⁴⁴⁴ по пѣтѣ далннѣ трѣжающе се ѿ краѣ земли, прнхѣдѣще въ іерлѣмъ на поклонѣнїе жнвотворещаго грѣба. въ сем' же едннѣмъ раздѣленїе н съблзнь бжтвнмъ црквѣмъ бываете⁴⁴⁵. понїе прѣстатель⁴⁴⁶ едннѣе цркве рнмскыѣ блженнн⁴⁴⁷ папа, не хѣцѣтъ съ проуїннн патрїархы о бжтвнн таннѣ едннѣмъ дръствовати н съвѣкѣ платн се. нь едннѣ тѣ ѿ проуїнхъ ѿлѣует се. н свою волю съврѣшнтн тыцнт се. нь даже в'сако прѣкословїе ннѣ оставлю еже ѿ вашемъ обанѣнїн. възможно бо {н намъ}⁴⁴⁸ хвѣю помощїю⁴⁴⁹, аще вн блговолно хотѣан слышатн. яко егда гѣ съ оученннкы своннн вѣра въ велнкын ѣтврѣ вѣрѣ, не бѣше н⁴⁵⁰ еше опрѣснѣкы ѣготовань. въ велнкын бо петѣ. въ ньже ѣтврн⁴⁵¹ на дѣтїн днѣ⁴⁵² лннѣ бѣше. н тогда евреѣне хотѣхъ⁴⁵³ пасхѣ ѣстн. н вѣннн⁴⁵⁴ зде въсако прѣкословїе оставнѣ. н повѣднтн въсе тыцатн се. мы же⁴⁵⁵ не повѣднтн нщѣмъ оубо⁴⁵⁶, нь правдѣ нзѣбрѣстн н ѣвнтн. н братїю прїѣтн, ѿ ннхже разлѣченїн срѣцемъ зѣлаѿ оуѣзвѣаем се.

глѣет' бо іѿваннѣ⁴⁵⁷ еѿланствѣ н бгословѣ. нже на вѣрн на прѣсн гѣ нашего іѿ хѣ възлеже. егѣмъ паѣе кто ꙗко дръгын ѿ оученннкы паѣе сеѣо вѣрнѣншїн. прѣже оубо рече прѣзнннн⁴⁵⁸ пасхы. вѣдын іс яко прїнде ѣго, да прѣнде ѿ мнра сеѣо къ оцѣ. н възлюбѣл своѣн сн еже въ мнрѣ, до конца оубо възлюбѣн ꙗко. н вѣрн бывшн. дѣволѣ оубо⁴⁵⁹ възлѣжнѣшн⁴⁶⁰ въ срѣце іѿудѣ сїмѣѿѿнѣ нскарїѿѿѣ, яко да прѣдѣ его.

⁴⁴³ BAR 155: хвѣ

⁴⁴⁴ BAR 155 add.: бо

⁴⁴⁵ BAR 155: бываетъ

⁴⁴⁶ BAR 155: прѣдатель (!)

⁴⁴⁷ BAR 155: блженїны

⁴⁴⁸ BAR 155: нмамъ

⁴⁴⁹ BAR 155 add.: показати

⁴⁵⁰ BAR 155: от.

⁴⁵¹ BAR 155: ѣтврѣтїн

⁴⁵² BAR 155: от.

⁴⁵³ BAR 155: хотѣахъ

⁴⁵⁴ BAR 155 add.: мн

⁴⁵⁵ BAR 155: бо

⁴⁵⁶ BAR 155: от.

⁴⁵⁷ BAR 155: іѿванъ

⁴⁵⁸ BAR 155: прѣзннннн

⁴⁵⁹ BAR 155: от.

вѣдын ꙗко вѣса прѣдѣ емѣ ѡцѣ въ роуцѣ. и ꙗко ѡ него нзыде и къ немѣ грѣть. вѣстаетъ съ вѣре. и проучаа ꙗко пншѣ. и еже глїеть {възлюбленныи оученникъ хвѣ иуаннь,} ⁴⁶¹ ꙗко прѣже празника ⁴⁶² пасхы вѣрн бывши. на вѣ глїеть, ꙗко не въ ѹе сзавун се пасха быти, нь сзмотренїе ⁴⁶³ нѣкое бжтвно бѣ. ꙗко еѡ {въ ноцѣ тоу хотѣше} ⁴⁶⁴ прѣданъ быти, прѣдѣ оученникѡмъ бжтвныи жрѣтвы велнкю таннѣ. и сего радн рѣ. /f. 138v/ желанїемъ въжелѣ ⁴⁶⁵ сїю пасхѣ частн съ вамн. ѡсвдѣ бо явлїено ꙗко, ꙗко н ⁴⁶⁶ еще нѣ былѣ оуготованъ ѡпрѣснькъ тогда ꙗко рѣхѡмъ. нь хлѣвъ ꙗко кваснѣ прѣложенъ ⁴⁶⁷ хѣ съ оученникы еѡ ⁴⁶⁸. прѣже бо прѣзника пасхы вѣра бѣ. вѣнегдаже разломн дѣ оученникѡмъ своимъ и рѣ. прїимѣте ⁴⁶⁹ яднте се ꙗко тѣло мое. и свѣтелствоуѣ пакы о семь възлюбленнн тѣ оученникъ, ндѣ глїе ⁴⁷⁰. вѣдоше ꙗко ѡ каифн въ преторѣ. и тн не вѣндоше {въ преторѣ} ⁴⁷¹, да не осквернет се нь да ядетъ пасхѣ.

И пакы тѣже въ дрѣн главнзнѣ глїе. нѣѡ юуден ꙗко да не останѡт {на крѣтѣ тѣлеса} ⁴⁷² в соуѣ. понїе петѣ бѣ ⁴⁷³. {бѣше бо велїн днѣ тое субботы. въпроснше пнлатѣ. и проучаа ꙗже о снхѣ.} ⁴⁷⁴ и ꙗко ⁴⁷⁵ не ⁴⁷⁶ едннѡю рѣ тѣѣю хлѣвъ, {нь и множнцѣю.} ⁴⁷⁷ и не тѣкмо съ глїе се, нь и проѣн еѡланстн. нѣѡ и мафѣн глїе. ядѣщїимъ нмѣ, прїемъ ꙗко хлѣвъ. вѣднте лн ꙗко и съ хлѣвъ глїеть; такоже и марко глїе. {и бл҃годарнѣ разломн, и дѣ оученникѡмъ и рѣ, прїимѣте яднте.} ⁴⁷⁸ опрѣснька же, ннкон ѡ ннхѣ вѣспомннаетъ. понїе бо ⁴⁷⁹ хотѣше ⁴⁸⁰ пострѣтн хсѣ въ

⁴⁶⁰ BAR 155: вѣшѣшѣ

⁴⁶¹ BAR 155: om.

⁴⁶² BAR 155: прѣзника

⁴⁶³ BAR 155: вѣроенїе

⁴⁶⁴ BAR 155: хотѣше въ ноцѣ тоу

⁴⁶⁵ BAR 155: въжелѣхѣ

⁴⁶⁶ BAR 155: om.

⁴⁶⁷ BAR 155 add.: тогда

⁴⁶⁸ BAR 155: om.

⁴⁶⁹ BAR 155 add.: и

⁴⁷⁰ BAR 155: глїе

⁴⁷¹ BAR 155: om.

⁴⁷² BAR 155: тѣлеса на крѣтѣ

⁴⁷³ BAR 155: бѣше

⁴⁷⁴ BAR 155: om.

⁴⁷⁵ BAR 155: ннко

⁴⁷⁶ BAR 155: нн

⁴⁷⁷ BAR 155: om.

⁴⁷⁸ BAR 155: om.

⁴⁷⁹ BAR 155: om.

ТЪН ДНЬ ЗАКОННЫЕ ПАСХЫ, ЕГДА ХОТЪШЕ⁴⁸¹ ПАСХА БЫТИ БГОУБИИЦА. ВЪ НЪЖЕ И АГНЬЦЬ ЮУДЕН ЗАКАЛАЕМЪ БЫВААШЕ⁴⁸², ВЪ ДНЬ ПЕТЬУНЫ". ВЪ Н'ЖЕ⁴⁸³ ,ДІ, ЛОУНЫ БЪШЕ. ВЪ ЛѢ, ѿФЛАГ⁴⁸⁴. КРѢ [СВО ВЪ] СЛНЦА⁴⁸⁵ ,НІ. АСНЫ ЖЕ ,Е. СІЕ⁴⁸⁶ СЪТВОРИ ІС, ІАКО ДА НЕ ПРѢДАНЪ БЫВЪ И НЕ ПОСТИГНЕІ ТАИИ СВОЮ ОУЧЕНИКѢ ПРѢДАТИ, ВЪЗЛЕГЪ НА ВѢРН В ѿ⁴⁸⁷.

И по вѣрн пріе хлѣбъ прѣломн, и прѣдѣ апломъ таинъ новаго завѣта, въ ношь ѿтврѣтъка. въ нюже и прѣданъ бы ѿ юуден іакѡ писано⁴⁸⁸ іе. нь что {оубо л"}⁴⁸⁹ {лска гліе⁴⁹⁰; прнемъ хлѣбъ іс⁴⁹¹, и блгодарнвъ прѣломн. се оубо⁴⁹² и лска свѣствуеть⁴⁹³ (!). іакѡ хлѣбъ прнелъ⁴⁹⁴ іе хс, а не опрѣсныкъ. ѿтврѣтък' бо бѣше, и⁴⁹⁵ не бѣше тогда законнаа пасха. третн на дѣте⁴⁹⁶ лснѣ бѣше тогда⁴⁹⁷, и не бѣше опрѣсныка еше. нбо опрѣсныкъ, въ еі, лсны оузаконнен' бѣ творити се. тѣм'же оубо ,дї днѣ прѣваго мца лсны, пасхѣ нарицаѣ закѡ. пет'надѣтын же днѣ, прѣвын опрѣсныка, ⁴⁹⁸своотѣ нарицаѣ. и въ тѣ днѣ оузаконнено⁴⁹⁹ бѣ опрѣсныкъ творити се. іакѡ и агньцѣ, въ дї, заклати се. въ н'же закланъ бы⁵⁰⁰ агньцѣ бжїи въземлен грѣхы мнра. понїе хс распетъ и закланъ бы ,дї, лсны въ днѣ петка. а в сѣ бѣше праѣнникъ опрѣсныка, когда оубо опрѣсныкъ іаль іе. и когда аплѡмъ новын завѣ прѣдѣ творити.

⁴⁸⁰ BAR 155: хотѣаше

⁴⁸¹ BAR 155: хотѣаше

⁴⁸² BAR 155: бываше

⁴⁸³ BAR 155 add.: и

⁴⁸⁴ BAR 155: ѿфла

⁴⁸⁵ BAR 155: слнца

⁴⁸⁶ BAR 155: и сію

⁴⁸⁷ BAR 155 add.: вѣрѣ

⁴⁸⁸ BAR 155: писанно

⁴⁸⁹ BAR 155: om.

⁴⁹⁰ BAR 155: гліет, и лска

⁴⁹¹ BAR 155: om.

⁴⁹² BAR 155: бо

⁴⁹³ BAR 155: гліе

⁴⁹⁴ BAR 155: прнемъ

⁴⁹⁵ BAR 155: а

⁴⁹⁶ BAR 155: дѣсетїи

⁴⁹⁷ BAR 155 add.: оубо

⁴⁹⁸ BAR 155 add.: и

⁴⁹⁹ BAR 155: оузаконнен'но

⁵⁰⁰ BAR 155 add.: хс

н поніе̑ глієтє. ꙗко ѿ стѣхъ апль прїєхѡмъ опрѣснькѣ творити. еда по възкрѣсенн его ѿ мрѣтвѣхъ гліє⁵⁰¹; виднѣте ли како дѣлаи ѡблѣченн есте; снмъ оубо тако рѣннѣмъ, что нма̑ кѣжѡ кѣ снмъ ѡвѣщати. се оубо показахѡ ѡвѣ, ꙗко прѣже̑ пражннѣ пасхы вѣра бѣ. опрѣснькѣ же ѡстн прѣже̑ пасхы, не бѣше законно ꙗкоже рѣхѡмъ. приложѣ же ти /f. 139r/ кѣ неѡвѣстнѣ оувѣренїю прѣже̑пнсанномъ⁵⁰² слову семѣ, н дрѣю главннѣ тогоже̑ еѡланста іѡанна. ꙗкѡ н ты самъ нсповѣдати нмаши, ꙗко тако іє. неѡ ꙗже⁵⁰³ оу нѡ еѡліа нстннна сѣ, такоже̑ н ваща ннзмѣнна соѣ, н тоже̑ глїють. сїа оубо рекѣ іс, смѣти се дѣхомъ. н свѣтѣлствова н рѣ. амннѣ амннѣ глїю вамъ, ꙗко едннѣ ѿ вѣ прѣдѡ̑ ме. възыраахѡ⁵⁰⁴ же оуѣннцн дрѣ дрѣга, не вѣдѣще о коемъ глієтѣ. бѣше⁵⁰⁵ възлеже едннѣ ѿ оуѣннцн его на лонѣ ісовѣ, егѡ люблѣше іс. поманѣ же емѣ сїмѡнъ петръ възпраша ти еѣ кто іє о нїемъ же глієтѣ. припад же онъ⁵⁰⁶ на прѣсн его глѡ {кѣ ісоѣ}⁵⁰⁷, гн̄ кто іє. ѡвѣща іс. тѣ іє емѣ азъ омоѣнѣ хлѣбѣ подамъ. н омоѣнѣ хлѣбѣ дастъ іудѣ сїмоновѣ нскарїотѣ. н по хлѣбѣ тогда възннѣ възн сатана. глѡ емѣ іс, еже творнши сѣтвори възскорѣ. сего же ннѣдннѣ ѿ възлѣщїихъ не оувѣдѣ что рѣ емѣ. нѣцїн же мнѣхѣ. поніе̑ възлагалнцѣ дрѣжааше⁵⁰⁸ іудѡ. ꙗко глієтѣ емѣ іс. кѣпн ꙗже въз потрѣбѣ нмамы на пражннѣ⁵⁰⁹. еѡланстѣ оубѣ тако о снхъ ѡблѣченнѣ, како не бн слѣпѣ видннѣ ꙗко прѣже̑ законннѣ пасхы вѣра бѣ. по семѣ оубо⁵¹⁰ еже рѣ. ꙗко нѣцїн мнѣхѣ глієтѣ іудѣ кѣпн ꙗже на потрѣбѣ нмамы на пражннѣ⁵¹¹, ѡвѣ показалъ іє вѣ вѣ нїеже вѣра хс̄ сѣ оуѣннцн своннн. тѣмже да не помышлїенїе нѣкое прѣкословїа бѣдѣ теѣѣ ѡ вѣмннѣ въз нїе̑ вѣра бѣ, ⁵¹²по проѣн̄ еѡланстѣ гліємаа. снрѣ поніе̑ мѡфен глієтѣ. въз прѣвын же опрѣснька. приствпнше кѣ іс̄ оуѣннцн его глїюще. гн̄ гдѣ хоцешн оуготоваемъ ти пасхѣ ѡстн. лѡка же глієтѣ. прїндѣ̑ днѣ ѡпрѣснька, въз нже̑ пѡбѣше̑ жрѣтн се пасцѣ. н посла петра н⁵¹³ іѡанна рекѣ,

⁵⁰¹ BAR 155: глієтє

⁵⁰² BAR 155: прѣже̑пнсанномѣ

⁵⁰³ BAR 155: ꙗже

⁵⁰⁴ BAR 155: възнраахѡмъ

⁵⁰⁵ BAR 155: бѣше

⁵⁰⁶ BAR 155: тѣ тако

⁵⁰⁷ BAR 155: ісовн

⁵⁰⁸ BAR 155: носаше

⁵⁰⁹ BAR 155: пражннѣ

⁵¹⁰ BAR 155: от.

⁵¹¹ BAR 155: пражннѣ

⁵¹² BAR 155 add.: н

⁵¹³ BAR 155: от.

шѢД'ША ОУГОТОВАНАТА НАМЪ ІАСТН ПАСХОУ. СЛОВЕСА ЖЕ СІА ТРѢ ЕВЛНСТЪ, НЕ НМАЮ⁵¹⁴ СЪПРОТНВЛІЕНІЕ НѢКОЕ НАН РАЗДѢЛІЕНІЕ, Ѡ ГЛІЕМЫ ІВАННОМЪ⁵¹⁵ ЕВЛНСТОМЪ ІАКО ПНШЕТЬ. ПРѢЖЕ ПРАЗННКА⁵¹⁶ ПАСХЫ. ВѢДЫН ІС ІАКО ПРІНДЕ УА ЕГО ДА ПРѢВНДѢ Ѡ МНРА СЕГО КЪ СЦЪ. Н ПРОУАА. ПРѢВЫН ОУБО С ПРѢСНЬКА, ІАВЛІАЮ⁵¹⁷ НАМЪ БЖТВНАА ЕВЛІА. ДѢТЫН ДНЬ ПРѢВАГО МЦА БѢШЕ ТОГДА, ПРѢОУГОТОВАНІЕ НѢКОЕ ПАСЦѢ СЪ ПРОУІНМН ТРЪМН ДНМН. СРѢ, СЪ ПРѢВО НА ДѢТЫН. Н В'ТОРО, Н ТРЕТНМЪ⁵¹⁸ НА ДѢТН ДНЕМЪ. ІАКОЖЕ ВЪ КННЗѢ НСХОДА ПНСАНО ІЕ. РЕ ГѢ КЪ МВНСЕО. МЦЪ СЪ, МЦЕМЪ ВАМЪ НАУЕАУ. ПРѢВЫН БОУДѢ ВАМЪ ВЪ МЦЕХЪ ЛѢТЪ. РЦН КЪ ВЪСЕМЪ СЪН'МЪ {СНОВЪ ІНЛІЕВѢ}⁵¹⁹ ГЛІЕ. ВЪ ,І ДНЬ МЦА СЕГО, ДА ВЪЗМЕТЬ ВЪСАКЪ ОВ'УЕ НА ДОМЪ ѠУѢСТВІА. ОВУЕ НА В'САКЪ ДМ. Н ВЪДѢ СЪБЛЮДЕНО ДО УЕТЫРН НА ДѢТАГО ДНЕ⁵²⁰ МЦА СЕГО. ІАКО⁵²¹ Н НАМЪ ІЕ ОУГОТОВАНІЕ Н ПРѢПРАЗНЬСТВО СЪТЪ СТРАСТЕМЪ ГА НАШЕГО ІУ ХА ВЕЛНКАА НѢАА. ТАКО ЕВРЕМЪ УЕТЫРЕ⁵²² УНН ДНН; Н⁵²³ ПРѢОУГОТОВАНІЕ НѢКОЕ {ПАСЦѢ БѢШЕ}⁵²⁴ ЗАКОННО Н ОУЗАКОНІЕНО⁵²⁵.

НБО ДРЪЗІН ЕВЛНСТН ПРѢЖЕ ПРѢ/І. 139v/СТАВЛЪШЕ, НЕ ПОСТНГОШЕ ВНДѢТН ЕВЛСКОЕ ПРОПОВѢДАНІЕ ІВАННА БГОСЛОВА. СЪ ДАБГОЛѢТНЪ БЫВЪ, ѠВРѢТЕ СЪ⁵²⁶ СЪСТАВЛІЕНІЕ ЕВЛІН УНѢ. Н НА КОНЦЪ ЖНТІА СВОЕГО ВЪ ОСТРОВѢ ПАТ'МЪ⁵²⁷ СЦЪ, БГОПОДВНЖНЪ БЫВ'ШЪ. ПРН ДОМЕТІАНѢ⁵²⁸ ЦРН, СВОЕ ЕВЛІЕ НСПНСА. ІАКО УНѢМН МНОГА ПО КРЪВЕ НАРѢНА. ДРЪГАА ЖЕ Н ОСТАВЛІЕНА. СРѢ ІАКОЖЕ УЮДО О ЛАЗАРН. Н ВРѢМЕ ВѢРН. Н ДРЪГАА ННАА ІАВѢ НСПНСАВЪ, Н ВЕЛЕГЛАСНО ПРОПОВѢДАВЪ. ТѢМ'ЖЕ МЛЮ ВА. ОСТАНѢТЕ СЕ ГА РАДН О СНЦЕОН Н ІАВЛІЕНѢН⁵²⁹ НСТННѢ ПРѢКОСЛОВНТН Н ѠМѢТАТН СЕ. Н ЕЖЕ⁵³⁰

⁵¹⁴ BAR 155: нмоуъ

⁵¹⁵ BAR 155: іванномъ

⁵¹⁶ BAR 155: прѣзнька

⁵¹⁷ BAR 155: іавліаетъ

⁵¹⁸ BAR 155: третін

⁵¹⁹ BAR 155: нсрліевъ

⁵²⁰ BAR 155: днь

⁵²¹ BAR 155 add.: оубо

⁵²² BAR 155: уетнрін

⁵²³ BAR 155: от.

⁵²⁴ BAR 155: бѣше пасцѣ

⁵²⁵ BAR 155: оузакоуен'но

⁵²⁶ BAR 155: от.

⁵²⁷ BAR 155: пат'мѣ

⁵²⁸ BAR 155: домен'тннанѣ

⁵²⁹ BAR 155: іавліенон

⁵³⁰ BAR 155: нже

{твореть црковнн проуѣн}⁵³¹ крѣмнтелѣ, се н вы творите. ѹетыремь цѣннымь патрїархѣмь послѣдѹюще. понїѣ множаншн сѣдѣ вѣрнѣ іѣ н прнетнѣ. єдннѣ же ннкто прнетѣ іѣ. блга оубо два паѹе єднного, пнсано⁵³² іѣ. ндѣ бо єднномоудрѣствоуѣѣ ѹетыре н сѣдрѣжеть, кто да ѡрѣт се глає іако нѣ бѣ посрѣ нхѣ. іакоже⁵³³ хс глаеть, ндѣ соутѣ два нлн трне сѣбранн о нменн моемь, тоу єсмь посрѣ нхѣ.

н сего радн мою се, сѣвѣкѣпнм се в'сн дховно. н бѣдѣмь братолоубцн, а не самолюбцн. понїѣ бо нн хс самь вѣ врѣ стрѣтн его іакоже рѣхѣмь. нѣ постнглѣ іастн опрѣснѣкѣ. єще ѡ іуден не оуготованѣ⁵³⁴ соуцнѣ, {іакоже рѣхѣмь.}⁵³⁵ ннже пакы аплн прѣдаше єже не прнеше. по вѣрн бо іакѣ {глатѣ євѣлнстн}⁵³⁶, прѣдаде⁵³⁷ таннѣ новаго завѣта. рѣкѣ желанїемь вѣжелѣ сїю пасхѣ іастн сѣ вамн. іавѣ оубо іѣ іако тогда прїнде ѹд стрѣнїа его. сего радн нже опрѣснѣкѣ⁵³⁸ прнѹещают се, вѣ аполїнарїевѣ єрєсѣ вѣпадають не вѣдеще. іако онѣ оубо глѣше. іако тѣло оубо⁵³⁹ без'дѣшно н {крѣмѣ оума}⁵⁴⁰ прнелѣ іѣ снѣ н слово бжїе ѡ стѣїє {дѣвѣ н}⁵⁴¹ бцѣ. {глає іако доволно іѣ вѣмѣсто оума н дше, бжтѣво.}⁵⁴² снцє н опрѣснѣкѣ прннѣшаю, мрѣтѣвѣ пѣ а не жнѣвѣ прннѣшаю. нбо квасѣ вѣмѣ дше тѣстѣ выѣаетѣ. н соль вѣмѣсто оума. сїа же не нмѣцнѣ опрѣснѣкѣ, како не без'дѣшнѣ⁵⁴³ н мрѣвѣ⁵⁴⁴ (!) іѣ⁵⁴⁵. вѣ нстннѣ мрѣтѣтворцѣ всѣ нже прнѹещают⁵⁴⁶ се емѣ. {нѣѡ}⁵⁴⁷ гѣ нашѣ іс хс сѣврѣшенѣ сын бѣ, н сѣврѣшенѣ ѹлѣкѣ. соу҃гѣбѣ іѣстѣвомь а не сѣставѣмь. тѣло о дшеѣлієно⁵⁴⁸ н оумно ѡ прнодѣѣїє н⁵⁴⁹ бцѣ прнѣ. н сѣврѣшеннѣмь хлѣбомь пѣбно

⁵³¹ BAR 155: творити прїєхоѡмь. цѣнннѣ

⁵³² BAR 155 add.: бо

⁵³³ BAR 155 add.: н

⁵³⁴ BAR 155: оу҃готованноу

⁵³⁵ BAR 155: от.

⁵³⁶ BAR 155: глаеть євѣлнсты

⁵³⁷ BAR 155: прѣдавѣ хлѣбомь

⁵³⁸ BAR 155: ѡпрѣснѣннѣмоу

⁵³⁹ BAR 155: тѣкѡ

⁵⁴⁰ BAR 155: без'оумно

⁵⁴¹ BAR 155: от.

⁵⁴² BAR 155: от.

⁵⁴³ BAR 155: іѣ

⁵⁴⁴ Согг. мрѣтѣѣ

⁵⁴⁵ BAR 155: от.

⁵⁴⁶ BAR 155: прнѹещаютнм

⁵⁴⁷ BAR 155: н бѣ

⁵⁴⁸ BAR 155: ѡдшеѣлієн'но

⁵⁴⁹ BAR 155: от.

прѣдд⁵⁵⁰ новаго завѣта танинѣ. н бѣвнѣ н рекѣ, прїимѣте⁵⁵¹ ѣднѣ. нже іе⁵⁵² нѣнын
хлѣбѣ жнвотнѣ. н жнвѣ⁵⁵² даѣть ѣднѣнѣмь его. ѣкоже хс⁵⁵³ завѣща намь глѣе.
ѣдын плѣ мою н пїен крѣвь мою, вѣ мнѣ прѣбываѣ н азѣ вѣ нїе. аще лн⁵⁵⁴ н словесѣ
снхѣ слѣ не прїемлѣте. н сѣ прѣкословіемь сѣпротнвнѣ⁵⁵⁵ се глѣуце. ѣко ѿ стѣх⁵⁵⁶
апѣлѣ петра н павла опрѣснѣное прѣданїе прнхѣмь. послѣша⁵⁵⁴ 555^o семь ваше
брѣтолѣбїе. н⁵⁵⁶ показати вамь сѣ бѣгомь, нѣкаа нже апѣлн прѣдаше нспрѣва
творнѣнн. н пакы внѣмн самѣмн напослѣдѣкѣ нсправлѣна⁵⁵⁷ н прѣ/ѣ. 140г/творена
на блѣговѣрїе наше. елнко еже о хѣ вѣрѣ⁵⁵⁸ оукрѣплаюце. н бѣжїн црѣквн блѣтїю его
оукрѣждаемь н прѣстнраемь.

н свѣотѣ оубо тогда [равно]⁵⁵⁹ сѣ стѣю нѣлїю повелѣннѣо бѣ намь сѣблѣудати н
ннчѣтѣ дѣлати, ⁵⁶⁰ннѣа же се оубо нѣ. н петрѣ⁵⁶¹ прнхѣдѣщїнѣ ѿ⁵⁶² езыкѣ кѣ⁵⁶³
непорѣчнѣнѣ вѣрѣ хрнстїанскѣн, прѣжѣ обрѣзаше⁵⁶⁴ нхѣ, н тако крѣцааше⁵⁶⁵. н
павлѣ тїмофеѣ обрѣза. к томѣ н вглашаемїн. снрѣ⁵⁶⁶ нарнцаемн н обѣцаемн
крѣтнѣнн се, трндѣтелѣтннѣ⁵⁶⁶ крѣцаахоу⁵⁶⁷ се. н дрѣгаа нѣкаа законнаа прѣданїа
вѣрѣющнѣ⁵⁶⁸ сѣблѣудаахѣ⁵⁶⁹. н⁵⁷⁰ архїереѣе жены нмѣахѣ⁵⁷¹, ннѣа же ѿ снхѣ нн едннѣ
їе. бѣжїн стѣн црѣквн оукрѣплаемь н оукрѣвающн на сѣврѣшенѣншаа⁵⁷² н
нстнннаа. да кое стрѣннѣо н днвнѣо ѣкѣдо аще тогда оукрѣннннѣннѣ вѣ наѣелѣ

⁵⁵⁰ BAR 155: прѣддѣе

⁵⁵¹ BAR 155 add.: н

⁵⁵² BAR 155: даїе

⁵⁵³ BAR 155: прѣтнвнѣ

⁵⁵⁴ BAR 155: послѣшаннѣ

⁵⁵⁵ BAR 155 add.: н

⁵⁵⁶ BAR 155: om.

⁵⁵⁷ BAR 155: нсправлѣнѣна

⁵⁵⁸ BAR 155: вѣрѣ

⁵⁵⁹ BAR 155: om.

⁵⁶⁰ BAR 155 add.: н

⁵⁶¹ BAR 155: прнхѣдѣщїнѣ

⁵⁶² BAR 155: om.

⁵⁶³ BAR 155: om.

⁵⁶⁴ BAR 155: обрѣзаше

⁵⁶⁵ BAR 155: крѣцааше ѣе

⁵⁶⁶ BAR 155: трндѣсетѣлѣтннѣ

⁵⁶⁷ BAR 155: крѣцаахоу

⁵⁶⁸ BAR 155: вѣрѣющїнѣ

⁵⁶⁹ BAR 155: сѣблѣудаахоу

⁵⁷⁰ BAR 155: om.

⁵⁷¹ BAR 155: нмѣахоу

⁵⁷² BAR 155: сѣврѣшенѣнѣншаа

проповѣданїа ѿ немощи многихъ нсходеще⁵⁷³, нѣкаа вбывааа нмь простнше творити. нже мало по малл ѿсѣцающе ѿ, н прѣмоудро нзмѣнающе, ⁵⁷⁴прнвѣдоше ѿ на еѿл'ское прѣданїе. прѣже поученѣмь⁵⁷⁵ быв'шнмь⁵⁷⁶ на послышанїе, оудобь прнвѣденн быше на истинное. ннже бо іеѿ възможно дрѣво стрѣп'тнво навестн скорымь навѣденїемь. н слою рѣкы нсправити, іакѣже нѣкын ѿ нашн бгословць рѣ. оудобь оубо⁵⁷⁷ нмать прѣломити се, нежелн нсправити се. н сего радн іакѣ рѣхѿ въз мало врѣме оставленъ нмь бы опрѣснькь, понїеже велн съборъ {тогда вѣше}⁵⁷⁸ еврен въз рнмѣ. іакѣ кннга стѣх апль дѣанїн казветь. потом' же егда врѣме бы, расыпашен се. іакѣ н прн мнѣсен бы по оустроенїю бжїю. вставн бо евремь жрѣтвы творити, дондеже нмь⁵⁷⁹ га іавѣ покаже. такоже егда нсправлено⁵⁸⁰ бы, расыпа жрѣтвы вны напослѣдькь.

н доволна мн сѣ пнсати сїа, кѣ моужь соущнх нспльнь дѣхомь стѣмь н разоумомь дѣховны. дан бо рѣ прѣмоудрѣ прнтю, н прѣмудрѣ боудеть.

н прѣже⁵⁸¹ врѣмене сего въз нацелѣ архїеренства моѣ съставлено се пнсанїе, послѣ кѣ блженномъ папѣ рнм'скомоу. послѣ оубо⁵⁸² нѣкы⁵⁸³ грѣдѣщїихъ на поклоненїе въз іерлмь. кѣ магїстрѣ блгоплементомъ. н доуцѣ⁵⁸⁴ соущнх въз нталїн аргірѣ, іакѣ да послѣтъ⁵⁸⁵ сїе кѣ блженномъ папѣ. {ѿтолѣ же}⁵⁸⁶ дѣѣ лѣтѣ мнмондоше. н не възмогѣ оувѣтн. н се оубо пакы прѣпнсавь, онѣ послѣ кѣ бгѣвзлюбленїю⁵⁸⁷ твоемъ. іакѣ да любве рѣ моеѣ пацѣ бѣ радн, егоже радн н⁵⁸⁸ о нїем'же радн⁵⁸⁹ пнсано іеѿ. о хѣ бо молнм се глїеть бжѣтвнын апль. да послѣшн⁵⁹⁰ сїе кѣ

⁵⁷³ BAR 155: не нсходеще

⁵⁷⁴ BAR 155 add.: н

⁵⁷⁵ BAR 155: поученомь

⁵⁷⁶ BAR 155: быв'шемь

⁵⁷⁷ BAR 155: om.

⁵⁷⁸ BAR 155: вѣше тогда

⁵⁷⁹ BAR 155: om.

⁵⁸⁰ BAR 155: нсправленно

⁵⁸¹ BAR 155 add.: же

⁵⁸² BAR 155 add.: се

⁵⁸³ BAR 155 add.: ѿ

⁵⁸⁴ BAR 155: дѣксоу

⁵⁸⁵ BAR 155: ѿпошлѣтъ

⁵⁸⁶ BAR 155: ѿтолѣ

⁵⁸⁷ BAR 155: бгѣлюбїю

⁵⁸⁸ BAR 155: om.

⁵⁸⁹ BAR 155: om.

⁵⁹⁰ BAR 155: пошлѣшн

многочѣтнѣмъ блженствѣю⁵⁹¹ {стго папы}⁵⁹². и испросиши ѿписаніе, и послаеши⁵⁹³ къ намъ. аще ли же писаніе сіе проуть цѣнствіе⁵⁹⁴ твое. и ѿпсестнши ю къ немъ, блгооудно⁵⁹⁵ іе дѣло бѣ и члкъмъ. /f. 140v/ еда како призрѣвшѣ⁵⁹⁶ мѣтвами стѣи и врѣховны дѣлѣ, прїиме ѣже испсѣхъ. и свѣзкѣпите се съ лювецїимн стню его, чѣтнми братїамн⁵⁹⁷ и ѿцн. и обьщно вѣсн коупно въсѣ мнротвор'цѣи и⁵⁹⁸ истинномъ бѣ нашемъ ів хѣ, блгодареніе и жрѣтвоу кѣпно прннесемъ. едннмъдрѣствѣюще. и едннпрнношеніе оцѣающе и прнносеще. и ѣко ѿ нѣ лоб'зан цѣенныи и прѣпѣвныи свѣврѣ цркве твоее. цѣловает' же и нашъ свѣврѣ стѣи цѣлованіемъ стню твою, призывающе съ мною стѣи твои мѣтвѣ. и рѣчн се жрѣвїемъ и веселїемъ⁵⁹⁹ о гн вѣсегда. и ѿ нѣ чѣды въ цѣенныи си мѣтвахѣ вѣспомннанъ~

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⁵⁹¹ BAR 155: блженствѣ

⁵⁹² BAR 155: от.

⁵⁹³ BAR 155: послаеши

⁵⁹⁴ BAR 155: цѣнство

⁵⁹⁵ BAR 155: блго бо оудно

⁵⁹⁶ BAR 155: бѣ призрѣшомъ

⁵⁹⁷ BAR 155: братїи

⁵⁹⁸ BAR 155: от.

⁵⁹⁹ BAR 155: веселн се

THE FIRST ROMANIAN TRANSLATIONS OF PATRISTIC WRITINGS

Alexandru Mareş

1. In the history of Romanian culture, the 16th century is synonymous with the promotion of writing in Romanian. The majority of literary texts from this period is formed by canonical church writings, alongside several religious apocrypha and secular texts. Canonical church writings are of various profiles: for (religious) reading, for religious ceremonies, on religious doctrine, on ecclesiastic law and for moral edification.¹ Some of these writings belong to the Church Fathers and were shown great respect at the time.

We owe one attempt to present the 16th-century Romanian translations of patristic literature to the former metropolitan of Oltenia, Nestor Vornicescu.² He examined several Romanian translations of the works of John Chrysostom, Athanasius the Great, John Damascene and John Nesteutes, thus shedding light on the interest shown in these writings in the past, with some of them benefitting from a greater dissemination thanks to their manuscript copies. Showing more interest in examining the translations from a theological point of view and less from a philological point of view, the former metropolitan's research was not without some erroneous interpretations, such as, for example, including the *Apocalypse of Paul*, an eminently apocryphal text that had been rejected by the Church,³ among the writings of the Church Fathers. From 1984, when Nestor Vornicescu's exegesis dates from, and to this day, the number of 16th-century Romanian translations from patristic literature has increased by several more writings.

We started the present research in order to have a more comprehensive and, at the same time, a more exact image of the patristic translations of the 16th century. In this study, we intend to describe those translations from a philological point of view, following, first of all, matters of localisation, dating, filiation, and establishing their source and of the religious currents that

¹ See I. Gheţie, Al. Mareş, *Originile scrisului în limba română*, Bucharest, 1985.

² N. Vornicescu, *Primele traduceri patristice în literatura noastră, sec. IV-XVI*, Craiova, 1984, p. 267-533.

³ N. Cartoian, *Cărțile populare în literatura românească*, vol. I, *Epoca influenței sud-slave*, Bucharest, 1929, p. 62-65 and p. 267.

determined their appearance. We will also attempt to examine some references to the Church Fathers in the prefaces of 16th-century printed books. It should be noted that the writings discussed here will be presented according to their authors, in the chronological order of their translations.

2. The first of the patristic authors we will be referring to is John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople (347-407). A few of his writings were translated in the 16th century.

The first text to be translated into Romanian was the *Paschal Homily* (short redaction), which was attributed to him, but his authorship is debatable.⁴ This homily is conserved in three Slavo-Romanian versions (Slavonic text with an interlinear Romanian translation). The *Bratul Codex*, conserved at the Museum of Literature of Moldavia in Iași, inventory number 2005, contains the oldest version of the writing. Alongside other texts from the manuscript, this homily (p. 454-458) was copied by the priest Bratul from a town from south-eastern Transylvania in 1559-1560.⁵ Two further versions were found in the *Codex Sturdzanus*:⁶ the first (f. 63r-67v), the watermark of which dates to 1590-1602,⁷ was copied in a town in northern Hunedoara based on a source from south-eastern Transylvania;⁸ the second (f. 79r-v), similar on a textual level to the first and conserving only the title and several lines from the final part of the homily, was written by scribe C (according to Gh. Chivu's classification) from the Măhaci area,⁹ between 1580-1591.¹⁰ All three versions are reproductions of the same translation, which was probably made in Moldova in an Orthodox environment.¹¹

It should be noted that, unlike Nestor Vornicescu,¹² we did not include the *Paschal Homily* from the *Iorga Fragments*,¹³ which is a reproduction of a

⁴ J. P. Migne includes this text among the uncertain ones (*spuria*), see *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. LIX, Paris, 1862, columns 721-724. The first Romanian scholar to have doubted the authenticity of this writing was B. P. Hasdeu, *Cuvente den bătrâni*, vol. II, Bucharest, 1879, p. 75. Nestor Vornicescu, however, advocated for John Chrysostom's authorship, *op. cit.*, p. 358-388.

⁵ The text was first published by G. Mihăilă, "Observații asupra manuscrisului slavo-român al popii Bratul", in *Studii de limbă literară și filologie*, vol. II, Bucharest, 1972, p. 334-340.

⁶ See *Codex Sturdzanus*. Studiu filologic, studiu lingvistic, ediție de text și indice de cuvinte de Gh. Chivu, Bucharest, 1993, p. 274-276 and 279.

⁷ Al. Mareș, "Datarea unor texte din *Codicele Sturdzan*", *Limba română* 34, 1985, n° 1, p. 50.

⁸ Gh. Chivu, "Copiștii *Codicele Sturdzan*", *Limba română* 27, 1978, n° 1, p. 68-69.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 68-69, 71.

¹⁰ Al. Mareș, "Datarea unor texte din *Codicele Sturdzan*", p. 51-52.

¹¹ I. Gheție, "Considerații filologice asupra *Omiliei la Paști* (versiunea „scurtă”)", *Limba română* 33, 1983, n° 3, p. 216-221.

¹² N. Vornicescu, *Primele traduceri patristice*, p. 309-320.

¹³ Published by N. Iorga, *Câteva documente de cea mai veche limbă românească (sec. al XV-lea și al XVI-lea)*, excerpt from *Analele Academiei Române*. Mem. Secț. lit., ser. II, vol. 28, 1905-1906, p. 8-14 (105-116).

commentary based on the aforementioned version, most likely written in the 17th century.¹⁴

The long redaction of this homily, entitled *Teaching on Easter Sunday*, can be found in the *Second Homiliary*, printed by Coresi in Braşov in 1581. At the base of the translation, made by the typographer-deacon and the two priests, Mihai and Iane, from the St. Nicholas Church in Şcheii Braşovului, was the *Homiliary (Yevangeliye učitelnoye)* printed by Ivan Fyodorov in Zabłudów in 1569.¹⁵ The editor of the book, Lukas Hirscher, judge of Braşov, took care of the translation and the printing of this book in order to fulfil one of the central aims of the Reformation: the distribution of religious texts in the national languages.

Teaching on Easter Sunday, attributed in the printed text to John Chrysostom, belongs, according to Vasile Grecu, to John Kalekas, Patriarch of Constantinople.¹⁶ This opinion was not shared by Nestor Vornicescu, who believed this homily to be one of Chrysostom's creations.¹⁷

The Braşov translation of this homily benefited from some degree of distribution in the 17th century: Coresi's *Second Homiliary* was copied in 1626 by the priest Pârvu from Sebeş (Sibiu)¹⁸ and reprinted in Bălgrad in 1641 by the priest Dobre, whereas the Paschal Homily was copied in the *Ieud Manuscript* (1621-1633) and in the *Teodorescu Codex* (17th century).¹⁹

Also belonging to Coresi are the three homilies in ms. rom. 5023 (BAR), which had remained unknown to Nestor Vornicescu and whose titles, unlike the remainder of the text, are rendered in Slavonic:

СЛОВО СЪТГО ЮАННА ЗЛАТОУСТАГО О ТЕРПѢНІИ. И БЛГО ПОХВАЛНІИ И ДА НЕ ТАКО СЪЛО ПЛАЧѢ СЯ О ОУМЕРШІИ. ВЪ СЕБОТѢ 7, ПО ПЛЦѢ, ПРНАННО ЖЕ И НА ПОГРЕБЕНІЕ КОГОЖДО ОУСОПШІИ ЧИТАТИ СЯ “Saint John Chrysostom's homily on patience and <on> the praise of the good and that we should not cry too <much> for the dead. On the 7<th> Saturday after Easter. Fit for reading at the funeral of the dead” (f. 261r-279r);

¹⁴ Al. Mareş, “Câteva precizări în legătură cu *Omilia la Paşti*, din *Fragmentele Iorga*”, *Limba română* 35, 1986, n° 6, p. 508-512.

¹⁵ P. Olteanu, *Originalul slav al „Evangheliei cu învăţătură” a diaconului Coresi*, Bucharest, 1958, p. 7-60.

¹⁶ V. Grecu, *Izvorul principal bizantin pentru Cartea cu învăţătură a diaconului Coresi din 1581. Omiliile patriarhului Ioan IV Caleca (1334-1347)*, Bucharest, 1939, p. 4-25.

¹⁷ N. Vornicescu, *op. cit.*, p. 380-397.

¹⁸ Al. Mareş, “O copie din 1625 a *Cazaniei a II-a coresiene*”, *Limba română* 46, 1997, n° 4-6, p. 287-297.

¹⁹ I. Gheţie, “Texte coresiene copiate în *Codicele Todorescu*”, *Limba română* 25, 1976, n° 1, p. 7-8; *Manuscrisul de la Ieud*. Text stabilit, studiu filologic, studiu de limbă şi indice de M. Teodorescu şi I. Gheţie, Bucharest, 1977, p. 36-39.

Нже въ сѣтъ ѿца ншего Іоѡна златоустаго. архієпѣска кѡтѡтѣнна града. слѡ
 ѡ лжепрѡркѡѡ, н лѡжнѣ оуѡнтелѣ. н ѡ безбожннхъ скврѣннхъ ерѣннкѡ. н ѡ
 знаменїахъ сконѡанїа вѣка сего. еже напнса блжнїн на сконѡанїю въ вѣрма
 прѣставленїа своего, егда разлѡдѡше са ѡ телесн показѡеще доброе въ нстїннѡ
 нхоженїе “Of the one among saints, of our father John Chrysostom, archbishop of
 Constantinople: word on the false prophets and <on> the false teachers and the
 foul, godless heretics and the signs of the end of time, that the blessed wrote at
 the end, near his death, when he left his body, looking well in the true exit” (f.
 279v-305v).

Нже въ сѣтъ ѿца ншего Іоанна златоустѡ. слово ѡ покаанїн і оумнленїн...
 въ великѡю сѣѣ ѡнѡтѡн “Of the one among saints, of our father Saint John
 Chrysostom: word on repentance and humility... Fit to be read on Holy
 Wednesday” (306r-332v)

The three homilies were copied, alongside the other texts of the manuscript, in Șcheii Brașovului, probably by a priest from the Saint Nicholas church in that town. As indicated by the titles, the translation of these homilies was based on a Slavonic text. Scribe A (in our classification), to whom most of the texts in this manuscript belong, among them also the aforementioned homilies, transcribed the texts, as shown by the watermark examination, between 1595 and 1606.²⁰ The remaining texts in ms. rom. 5023 were copied by three scribes (B, C, and D in our classification), who were also recruited from the priests of the Saint Nicholas Church in Șcheii Brașovului. In fact, scribe C was the priest Neagoslav, who, between 1591 and 1606, led the eparchy of Șcheii Brașovului, alongside the priest Mihai and, following the latter’s death (1605), alongside the priest Constantin. Scribe A, who might have been the priest Mihai or maybe his son, the priest Constantin, collected the texts in the current sequence reflected in the manuscript in order to make a corpus of homilies that could be read on Sundays and on the various feasts throughout the year.²¹

Finally, the translation of the first *Missal*, printed by the deacon Coresi in Brașov in 1570, is connected to John Chrysostom’s name. This book contains *Saint John Chrysostom’s Liturgy*, first attested in 8th- and 9th-century manuscripts, although it is of an older date.²² The Romanian print was published under the patronage of the Calvinist bishop Pavel Tordași. The linguistic analysis highlighted the presence of two dialectal layers in the *Missal* text: a Wallachian and South-East Transylvanian layer, which can be attributed to the typographer, and another one that can be localised in Banat-Hunedoara or

²⁰ Al. Mareș, *Un manuscris românesc necunoscut din secolul al XVI-lea*, Bucharest, 2003, p. 11-13, 17-21.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 17-21.

²² E. Braniște, *Liturgica specială pentru institutele teologice*, Bucharest, 1980, p. 205-206.

central Transylvania, stemming from the original translation. The text was translated from Slavonic based on a different missal than the one printed by Macarie in 1508. The texts of some prayers, Psalm 50 and several psalm fragments were taken from previous Romanian versions. Although the contents of the book are purely Orthodox, the translation must be considered the action of the Calvinist movement in Banat-Hunedoara. By printing the *Missal*, the supporters of Calvinism aimed to nationalise the religious cult in the Orthodox Church, a first step in their attempts to convert Romanians to the official religion of the Transylvanian Principality.²³

3. In the 16th century, an ecclesiastical *Code of Laws* containing canons attributed to Saint Basil the Great (330-379) and Saint John Nesteutes, Patriarch of Constantinople (582-595), was printed in Romanian.

This *Code of Laws*, known only in one incomplete copy, contains, in addition to the *Teachings of the 318 Holy Fathers of Nicaea* and of the *Interpretation <of the> Gospel of Judgment*, the *Holy Fathers' Code of Laws Following the Teachings of Basil the Great* (p. 13-21). The latter writing combines canons from the *Nomocanon* or *Canon* of John Nesteutes with canons belonging to the *Code of Laws* of Basil the Great. Usually, John Nesteutes reduces the penances given by Basil the Great: "For him who kills a man, Basil gives 15 *lěti*; we give 5 *lěti*, prayers 150 a day"... "For him who sins with cattle, Basil gives 15 *lěti*²⁴; we give 2 *lě(t)*, prayers 150 a day, that he may receive communion after a year"²⁵.

The printing of this *Code of Laws* was carried out between 1560-1562²⁶ by a master typographer who might have been someone other than deacon Coresi.²⁷ Concerning the original used for the translation of the *Holy Fathers' Code of Laws Following the Teachings of Basil the Great*, Radu Constantinescu believes that it was a 9th-century Byzantine compilation, translated into Slavonic, which contains pseudo-apostolic canons, canons from the letters of Basil the Great and several canons of Patriarch Nicephorus I of Constantinople. In the language of the text, alongside particularities that are characteristic of the southern idioms, which can be attributed to the typographer, some particularities

²³ For all these, see *Liturghierul lui Coresi*. Text stabilit, studiu introductiv și indice de Al. Mareș, Bucharest, 1969, p. 7-46.

²⁴ The Slavonic word *lěto* [= year] in its different grammatical forms is retained in the Romanian translation.

²⁵ Gh. Chivu, *Pravila lui Coresi*. Text stabilit, studiu filologic, studiu lingvistic și indice de ..., in *Texte românești din secolul al XVI-lea*, coord. I. Gheție, Bucharest, 1982, p. 225.

²⁶ Al. Mareș, "Prima Pravilă bisericească tipărită în limba română și raporturile ei cu cele mai vechi versiuni ale *Nomocanonului* prescurtat", in *Studii de limbă literară și filologie*, [I], Bucharest, 1969, p. 271-276.

²⁷ R. Constantinescu, "O variantă necunoscută a *Pravilei* lui Coresi", *Limba română* 35, 1986, n° 6, p. 500.

belonging to the northern idioms can be found: *-ia* > *-ie* (*ię*) in *liturghie* (art.), the hardening of *b* in *potribască*, phonetisms like *zua* and *simbetele*, the invariable character of the possessive article *a* etc. The closing of final *e* to *i* in *faci* (3 sg.) and *priimești* (3 sg.) appears in that period in Moldavia and, more rarely, in Banat-Hunedoara. The assimilation of atonic medial *e* to *ă* in *dănăoară* is characteristic only of the idioms in northern Moldavia, which is the region where the translation of the texts that constitute the *Code of Laws* was made.²⁸ If the translation can be considered to be the initiative of an Orthodox clergyman from Moldavia, its printing in Brașov seems to have been the initiative of Iohannes Benkner. The judge of Brașov had the local monopoly over printing Cyrillic books at the time and did not miss the occasion to print a book that was so necessary for the Orthodox clergy. The 9 unsold copies of the *Code of Laws* that were still kept in 1585 in Brașov among the assets of the son-in-law of Benkner's daughter seem to point towards that interpretation.²⁹

The portion of text from the Brașov edition that corresponds to the *Holy Fathers' Code of Laws Following the Teachings of Basil the Great* was copied on several occasions. We find it first in the *Code of Laws* transcribed at Putna Monastery in 1581 by the rhetor Lucaci.³⁰ Other copies from that time can be found in the *Code of Laws to Rectify Men of All Sins and Errors* (early 17th century),³¹ in the *Code of Laws* of the priest of Râpa de Jos (1610),³² and in the *Codex Neagoianus* (1620).³³ The latter copy is an adaptation of the printed version or of the original used in making it.³⁴

4. We will now turn to a work attributed to Saint Athanasius the Great, Patriarch of Alexandria (295-373), namely to the *Athanasian Creed* or *Quicumque*, as this creed is also known. An exposition of several fundamental dogmas of Christian religion with an emphasis on the equality of the three persons of the Holy Trinity, this writing was attributed late, during the reign of Charles the Great, to the Saint from Alexandria. He is, however, not the author of the *Quicumque Creed*.³⁵ The expression *et Filio*, connected to the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Son as well, which this creed contains, was introduced in order to underline that the Son is not inferior to the Father. The *Athanasian*

²⁸ Gh. Chivu, "Copiștii Codicelui Sturdzan", p. 142-144.

²⁹ For which see I. Gheție, Al. Mareș, *Originile scrisului în limba română*, p. 278-279.

³⁰ *Pravila ritorului Lucaci*. Text stabilit, studiu introductiv și indice de I. Rizescu, Bucharest, 1971, p. 162-165 (cf. f. 204v-210v).

³¹ Gh. Ghibănescu, "O filă de pravilă (secl. XVI)", *Teodor Codrescu* 1, 1915, p. 43-44.

³² Al. Rosetti, "O pravilă românească necunoscută", *Grai și suflet* 1, 1924, fasc. 2, p. 332.

³³ C. A. Spulber, *Cea mai veche pravilă românească, Text-Transcriere-Studiu*, Cernăuți, 1930, p. 33-69.

³⁴ Al. Mareș, "Prima Pravilă," p. 284-285; Gh. Chivu, *Pravila lui Coresi*, p. 151-152.

³⁵ Hr. Andrușoș, *Simbolica. Traducere din limba greacă de Justin Moisescu profesor universitar*, Craiova, 1955, p. 33.

Creed is used in the Catholic Church and is recited during the Prime, after Psalm 118, and in some Protestant Churches during the morning mass.³⁶ The Russian Orthodox Church of the latter half of the 17th century sought to appropriate this creed, which it considered to be an authentic expression of Christian doctrine. Starting with the edition of the Symeon of Polotsk's *Psalter* in 1680, the *Athanasian Creed* was included in Russian psalters, only eliminating the mention of *filioque*.³⁷ The creed was also introduced in some Moscow *Alphabet Books*, as proven by the respective editions of 1704 and 1708.³⁸

The first Romanian translation of the *Athanasian Creed* can be found in the *Psalter of Schei* (1573-1578),³⁹ copied probably in Moldavia.⁴⁰ Placed in this manuscript after the Biblical Canticles, this writing conserves an acephalous text, whose topic was gravely perturbed. As a result of reproducing a defective model, excerpts belonging to the two constitutive parts of the *Athanasian Creed* referring to the dogma of the Holy Trinity and the dogma pertaining to Christ were mixed without any logic. The reproduction we owe to I.-A. Candrea errs in its attempt to re-establish the archetype of the translation, which led to the replacement of newer phonetisms with older ones, such as rhotacism.⁴¹ Nestor Vornicescu's reproduction⁴² is not without transcription errors, omissions, and wrongly numbered verses either.⁴³ I published a reproduction of this text in an interpretative phonetic transcription that respects the initial order of the verses ten years ago.⁴⁴

The text of the *Athanasian Creed* was copied by scribe C (one of the three scribes of the *Șchei Psalter*), probably a Saxon, according to most

³⁶ I. Gheție, "Simbolul atanasian din *Psaltirea Scheiană*", *Limba română* 22, 1973, n° 3, p. 245.

³⁷ A. Palmieri, *Theologia dogmatica orthodoxa (ecclesiae graeco-russicae) ad lumen chatolicae doctrinae examina et discussa*, T. I. *Prolegomena*, Florence, 1911, p. 373; V. Laurent, "Le Symbole „Quicumque“ et l'Église bizantine. Notes et documents", *Échos d'Orient* (39^e année), 84, 1936, p. 386.

³⁸ Al. Mareș, "Note despre prezența *Simbolului atanasian* în vechile texte românești", in *In honorem Gheorghe Mihăilă*. Volum îngrijit de M. Măngiulea, Bucharest, 2010, p. 179.

³⁹ Al. Mareș, "Datarea *Psaltirilor Scheiană* și *Voronețeană*", *Limba română* 33, 1984, n° 3, p. 191-198.

⁴⁰ I. Gheție, "Contribuții la localizarea psaltirilor românești din secolul al XVI-lea", in *Cele mai vechi texte românești. Contribuții filologice și lingvistice*. Coord. I. Gheție, Bucharest, 1982, p. 152-172.

⁴¹ Al. Mareș, "Note despre prezența *Simbolului atanasian* în vechile texte românești", p. 179.

⁴² N. Vornicescu, *Primele traduceri patristice*, p. 438-443.

⁴³ See, for example, *ca* (v. 7) reproduced as *ce* (7), *Dzeu* (11) reproduced as *Dumnezeu* (11), *fapți* (12) reproduced as *fapti* (12), *în trei* (12) reproduced as *între ei* (12), *ce n[un] 3 dzei* (13) reproduced as *cei trei Dumnezei* (15), *ce unu Domnu* (18) reproduced as *Ce în Domnu* (16), *sireși* (scris сирешн) (24) reproduced as «susure», *Tot ce amu ainte dzis* (25) reproduced as *că întru toate, precum s-a zis se cinstește* (25), *de-adevara* (27) reproduced as *dea de vara* (27).

⁴⁴ Al. Mareș, "Note despre prezența *Simbolului atanasian* în vechile texte românești," p. 170-171.

researchers.⁴⁵ The translation was made based on a Latin text, as seen from illustrative linguistic calques like *totsilnicul* – lat. *omnipotens* ‘almighty’ and, most importantly, *unul cuiși* – lat. *unamquamque* ‘everyone’. It is not impossible that the translators may have used the Hungarian version of the creed in the translation of several excerpts. The phrase *fides catholica* ‘Catholic faith’ from the Latin version was transposed in Romanian as *dereapta credință creștirilor*, an equivalent that mirrors the solution from the Hungarian version: *igaz Keresztyeny hut* ‘the true Christian faith’.⁴⁶

Some authors have maintained that the Romanian translation of the *Athanasian Creed* accompanied the primitive translation of the *Psalter* from the earliest times.⁴⁷ Such a hypothesis is hard to accept, seeing how, except for the *Șchei Psalter*, all other manuscript and printed versions of the *Psalter* from the 16th century did not attach the *Athanasian Creed* to the psalms. Based on the presence of rhotacism in the text, Al. Rosetti considered that the “original translation of the creed was made in the rhotacizing region, in the first half of the 16th century” (thus, according to the author, in the same period and place as the first Romanian religious texts).⁴⁸ The fact that a text contains rhotacism does not allow us to place it in the period of the first Romanian translations, since the transformation of *-n-* to *-r-* in words of Latin origin has been noted in texts as late as the mid-17th century (sporadically even later).⁴⁹ Seeing how rhotacism did not characterise the language of scribe C, it would mean that the forms with intervocalic *n* turning into *r* came from the model he had used. The copying of the text and the psalms in this manuscript took place in Moldavia.⁵⁰ Words like *părăta* ‘to suffer’, *nesleitu* ‘unmixed’ and *poniu* ‘following’ approach this text to the old translations of the *Apostle* and the *Psalter*, which were made according to recent research in Banat-Hunedoara. We should keep in mind that the presence of the word *pănăta*, which is nowadays registered only in Hunedoaran idioms, points toward the same conclusion. It is possible that the translation of the *Athanasian Creed* also came from Banat-Hunedoara.⁵¹ The presence of

⁴⁵ N. Drăganu, “Manuscrisul Liceului Grăniceresc „G. Coșbuc“ din Năsăud și săsismele celor mai vechi manuscrise românești”, *Dacoromania* 3, 1922-1923, p. 497-499; cf. also p. 914-915, 921; C. Lacea, “Copiștii *Psalterii Scheiene*,” *Studii și cercetări științifice. Filologie* (Iași), 1959, n° 1-2, p. 131-135; I. Gheție, “Considerații filologice și lingvistice asupra *Evangeliei din Petersburg*”, *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* 16, 1966, n° 1, p. 61-62.

⁴⁶ Al. Mareș, “Note despre prezența *Simbolului atanasian* în vechile texte românești”, p. 173.

⁴⁷ Al. Rosetti, “Filioque din *Psaltirea Scheiană*”, *Grai și suflet* 2, 1925, fasc. 1, p. 156; P. P. Panaitescu, *Începuturile și biruința scrisului în limba română*, Bucharest, 1965, p. 94; D. Moldovan, “Finalitatea textelor slavo-române intercalate din Evul Mediu românesc”, *Text și discurs religios* 1, 2009, p. 109.

⁴⁸ Al. Rosetti, “Filioque din *Psaltirea Scheiană*”, p. 156.

⁴⁹ I. Gheție, “Simbolul atanasian din *Psaltirea Scheiană*”, p. 245.

⁵⁰ I. Gheție, “Contribuții la localizarea *Psalterilor* românești din secolul al XVI-lea”, p. 168-169.

⁵¹ Al. Mareș, “Note despre prezența *Simbolului atanasian* în vechile texte românești”, p. 175-176.

filioque proves that the translation of this text, used exclusively in Western churches, could not have been made outside of a Catholic or Protestant cultural and religious environment. Since Catholics did not accept translating a liturgical text into the “vulgar” language in order to use it in church service, Ion Gheție attributes the translation of the creed to a Romanian priest that had converted to the Reformation. The translation would have to be placed between 1519, the year in which the ideas of the Reformation started entering Transylvania, and the years 1573-1578, which is the date of the *Șchei Psalter*. This creed was attached to a Romanian psalter so that it might be read during morning mass.⁵²

5. Saint John Damascene (675 - circa 749), one of the most representative Eastern theologians from the third patristic period, is present in the 16th century with two writings.

The first writing, *An Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* or *Dogmatic*, appears in two short excerpts of the manuscript copied by the rhetor Lucaci in the Putna Monastery in 1581:⁵³ the first excerpt, titled in Slavonic $\text{ЛѦАНА ДАМАСКЕННА О БЖТѦС СЛОВО}$ “John Damascene’s Word on Divinity”, contains an exegesis on the three hypostases of divinity (f. 190r-192v), while the second one, titled $\text{ЛѦАНА ДАМАСКЕННА ИЗЛОЖЕННЕ ВѢРЪИ ВЪ КРАТЦѦ}$ “Of John Damascene, Short Exposition of Faith” (f. 192v/1–193r/12) is a testimony of faith. Both excerpts are bilingual, Slavo-Romanian.⁵⁴

In some cases the Romanian translation is more developed than the Slavonic version: *Bă edinogo imenue(m)* “we name a single God” is rendered by *pre unul Dumnezdău chemăm și-i gicem, vŭ edi(n)stvi* “in one unity” is translated *într-una și într-o împreunare, po sŭstavě(ch)* “through its elements” is translated *pre încheieturile tocmealeei-și* etc. The attempt to make the Slavonic text more explicit than the Slavonic text and especially the lack of Romanian equivalents for abstract notions (*element, unity* etc.) explain some small amplifications that the Romanian text receives compared to the corresponding Slavonic text.⁵⁵

The majority of the linguistic particularities of the two examined excerpts is generally characteristic of the northern idioms and can also be found in the text of the *Code of Law* copied by Lucaci. One may assume that the source used by the scribe (perhaps the original translation) was also of Moldavian origin.⁵⁶ Since this is an Orthodox dogmatic text, it is not impossible that the initiative to translate the two fragments of the *Exact Exposition of the Orthodox*

⁵² I. Gheție, “Simbolul atanasian din *Psaltirea Scheiană*”, p. 245-246; id., “Din nou despre *Simbolul atanasian din Psaltirea Scheiană*”, *Limba română* 23, 1974, n° 3, p. 243-244.

⁵³ *Pravila ritorului Lucaci*, ed. I. Rizescu, p. 161.162.

⁵⁴ I. Gheție, Al. Mareș, *Originile scrisului în limba română*, p. 251-252.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 152.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 152-153.

Faith came from Eustatie, the former bishop of Roman, who urged the rhetor Lucaci to copy the texts of the *Code of Law* from the same manuscript. Their use of a bilingual version was probably due to didactic reasons.⁵⁷

John Damascene's second writing that benefited from a Romanian translation is the *Octoechos*. As is known, the contents of this 6th century text were systematised and enriched with songs by the Saint from Damascus.⁵⁸

At the Library of the Saint Nicholas Church in Brașov there is an old manuscript (call number 2872) which conserves the material of the *Small Octoechos*, i.e. the matins and vespers songs, ordered successively in eight tones for Saturdays and Sundays; the *Photagogica* with the *evangelical stichera* were added to the final part. The songs and the *Photagogica* are written in Romanian, while the canons are written in Slavonic.⁵⁹

N. Sulică, to whom we owe the first report on this manuscript, affirmed in 1937 that, at that date, it contained a long epilogue written in Brașov by the deacon Oprea in the year 1570. Upon reading the epilogue, published in its entirety by N. Sulică, we find a series of details referring to the source of the *Octoechos*, the identity of the scribe, the visit made in Brașov by the Calvinist bishop Pavel Tordași, the granting of printed books to the school in Șchei by the members of the city council, etc.⁶⁰ This epilogue, currently conserved only in photographic reproduction (6 photographic plates) was proven to be a fake, thanks to the efforts of N. Sulică.⁶¹

The *Small Octoechos* from Brașov was dated by watermark to 1595-1610⁶². The base of the translation was a Slavonic version of Middle Bulgarian redaction of the kind conserved in the Brașov editions of the *Octoechos* from 1557 and 1567, with the untranslated part (the canons) having particularities such as the conservation of the *yus* (̅, ̂), of the consonant groups *št* and *žd*, and of the epenthetic *l*.⁶³ Vasile Oltean's opinion that the Romanian translation was based on the text of the Slavonic *Octoechos* in ms. nr. 42 from the archive of the

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 153.

⁵⁸ I. G. Coman, *Patrologie*, Bucharest, 1994, p. 191.

⁵⁹ I. Roman, "Un manuscris din secolul al XVI-lea: Micul Octoieh brașovean", in *Studii de slavistică*, vol. II, Bucharest, 1971, p. 101; I. Roman, *Micul octoieh brașovean din secolul al XVI-lea în raport cu celelalte octoiehuri slavo-române din sec. XV-XVII* (rezumatul tezei de doctorat), Bucharest, 1977, p. 3.

⁶⁰ N. Sulică, "Cea mai veche școală românească din cuprinsul României întregite", offprint from *Omagiu lui Constantin Kirilțescu*, Bucharest, 1937, p. 14-15.

⁶¹ Al. Mareș, "Un Octoieh românesc din secolul al XVI-lea?", *Limba română* 18, 1969, n° 3, p. 239-251.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 242-244.

⁶³ I. Roman, *Micul octoieh brașovean*, p. 13-15.

Museum in Șcheii Brașovului⁶⁴ lacks conclusive proof; additionally, it is countered by the results obtained in trying to localise the translation. The linguistic examination highlighted the presence of two dialectal layers in the Brașov *Small Octoechos*: a southern one belonging to the scribe, characterised by the use of the fricative *j* in *se vor judeca*, soft labials in *avem, mergând* and a northern one that can be attributed to the copied source (maybe to the translator), containing particularities such as atonal *e > i* in *veri vini, viniți*, the affricates *dz* and *ğ* in *dzi, dzise* and in *giudecii, să giudece, dz > ģ* (through accommodation) in *gice*, the palatalization of *f* in *hi, hier*, hard *s* in *sara*, hard *t* in *blăstămând*, hard *m* in *mărgând*, the adverbs *acmu, mainte*. The Hungarianism *lepedeu* ‘cearșaf’, the *-șig* form of the suffix *-șug* in *eftinșigurile* and especially *n'* in *supuniu* turn our attention towards the Banat-Hunedoara zone, wherefrom the translation probably stemmed.⁶⁵

In the second half of the 16th century, the translation of a ritual book being used in the Orthodox Church could not have taken place due to an Orthodox impulse, since in the Eastern Rite Church in the Romanian Principalities the sacred language of the time was Slavonic. Under such circumstances, the initiative to translate the *Small Octoechos* can only be attributed to the patronage of the Reformation.⁶⁶

The translation conserved in the Brașov manuscript is also found in four manuscript copies made by the same scribe, the priest Mihai from the Hunedoara region.⁶⁷ His copies prove that the old translation was still in use in churches from south-western Transylvania at the very time that Calvinism underwent a new recrudescence under Prince George I Rákóczi I.⁶⁸

6. The last of the patristic writers we will be focusing on is Patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem (c. 550-637). Attributed to him is the *Life of Saint Mary of Egypt*, the famous lewd woman of Alexandria who repented in Jerusalem, spending the rest of her life in severe asceticism in the Jordanian desert of Palestine. This writing, whose authorship has been contested,⁶⁹ can be found in ms. rom. 5023 (BAR, f. 202r-226v), which we discussed earlier (see above, no. 2-3).

The Romanian translation of the *Life of Saint Mary of Egypt* was analysed and published by Gabriel Mihăilescu. He noted that the writing was

⁶⁴ V. Oltean, “Izvoarele octoihurilor coresiene din Șcheii Brașovului”, *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 97, 1979, n° 3-4, p. 529-530.

⁶⁵ I. Gheție, Al. Mareș, *Originile scrisului în limba română*, p. 271.

⁶⁶ Al. Mareș, “Precizări în legătură cu prima traducere românească a *Octoihului*”, *Limba română* 22, 1973, n° 3, p. 253; I. Gheție, “Activitatea de traducere și tipărire a cărții românești la Brașov la sfârșitul secolului al XVI-lea”, *Limba română* 24, 1975, n° 6, p. 614.

⁶⁷ Al. Mareș, “Precizări în legătură cu prima traducere românească a *Octoihului*”, p. 249-252.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 252.

⁶⁹ For the hypotheses on this subject, see G. Mihăilescu, *Viața Sfintei Maria Egipteanca. Cele mai vechi traduceri, manuscrise și versiuni. Studii și texte*, Bucharest, 2008, p. 17-25.

read “during the Great Canon service, on the Matins of the fifth Thursday of the Great Lent”.⁷⁰ The text, whose ending is missing, was transcribed, alongside other texts in ms. rom. 5023, in Șcheii Brașovului by scribe A between 1595-1606.⁷¹ The Slavonic version that is the basis for the Romanian translation (an incomplete variant is conserved in ms. sl. 357 BAR from the second half of the 16th century) explains, albeit not completely, the great number of Slavonisms used by the translator: *blaznă* ‘trickery’ (202r), *bură* ‘storm’ (219r), *gadină* ‘wild animal’ (220v), *ispovedi* ‘to confess, to confide’ (218r), *isprăvi* ‘to fulfil’ (224v), *iuboste* ‘love’ (218v), *molitvă* ‘prayer’ (226r), *nădăi* ‘to hope; to trust’ (215v), *năpastă* ‘misfortune’ (218r), *nărav* ‘habit’ (203r), *năstăvi* ‘to lead, to guide’ (215v), *ocaianică* ‘deplorable person’ (225r), *ogoadă* ‘pleasure’ (215r), *omrăzi* ‘to loathe (someone), to hate’ (216v), *preapodobnă* ‘devout, pious’ (226v), *săblăzni* ‘to (be) wrong’ (209r), *spăsenie* ‘salvation’ (216v) etc.

Some explanations are required concerning a few words from this translation. *Arămioară* ‘copper coin’ (217r) is attested in DA⁷² (apud HEM⁷³ 1451) only once, namely in our version, which is proof that B. P. Hasdeu himself had read Rom. ms. 5023 (BAR). *Posmăgi* ‘(about food) to dry up’ (218r) should be remembered as the oldest attestation of the verb. Considering the rarity of the texts in which it appears (*The Hurmuzaki Psalter*, *The Interpretation of the Gospels*, *Tâlcul evangheliilor*, *The Palaea of Orăștie* and *The Legend of Sunday*, copied by the priest Grigorie of Măhaci),⁷⁴ the conjunctive locution *prin ce* ‘what for’ (203r: *prin ce ai venit către sărăcia noastră?*) deserves to be kept in mind. We mention also the presence of this conjunctive locution in another text copied in Șcheii Brașovului, the Paroimiarion transcribed in 1612 by the priest Văsăi, son of the priest Mihai.⁷⁵ *Linie* “quiet” (219r/3), wrongly considered by the editor to be a lacunary spelling,⁷⁶ is actually evidence in favour of localising the translation Șcheii Brașovului, since the word has, until now, only been attested in the *Gospel with Teaching*,⁷⁷ translated by Coresi alongside the priests Mihai and Iane from the town’s Saint Nicholas church.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 102.

⁷¹ Al. Mareș, *Un manuscris românesc necunoscut din secolul al XVI-lea*, p. 13, 17-18.

⁷² *Dicționarul limbii române*, t. I-II, București, 1913-1949.

⁷³ B. P. Hasdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae. Dicționarul limbei istorice și poporane a românilor*, t. I-III, București, 1887-1893.

⁷⁴ Ov. Densusianu, *Histoire de la langue roumaine*, vol. II, Paris, 1938, p. 272; *Palaea de la Orăștie 1581-1582. Text-facsimile-indice*. Ediție îngrijită de V. Pamfil, Bucharest, 1968, p. 146, s.v. *prin ce*; *Tâlcul evangheliilor și Molitvenic românesc*. Ediție critică de Vl. Drimba, studiu introductiv de I. Gheție, Bucharest, 1998, p. 143.

⁷⁵ V. Oltean, *Primul Parimiar românesc*, vol. I, Iași, 2005, p. 186.

⁷⁶ G. Mihăilescu, *Viața Sfintei Maria Egipteanca*, p. 239: *lini<șt>e*.

⁷⁷ *Dicționarul limbii române (DLR)*, Serie nouă, t. V, Litera L, *Li – Luzulă*, 2008, s.v. *linie*².

7. The writings examined above belong to authors from the second (Athanasius the Great, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom) and the third period of patristic literature (John Nesteutes, John Damascene, and Sophronius of Jerusalem). With the exception of the last of them, who can be classified as one of the church authors, the other five belong to the most significant category of patristic authors, namely the Church Fathers. They are, as is known, the most authoritative representatives of the doctrine and practice of the Christian Church of the first eight centuries.

It is natural to ask oneself what was known in the 16th-century Romanian Principalities about the Church Fathers. In ecclesiastical milieus, most notably in monasteries, the writings of some of them were known through the intermediary of manuscript copies in Slavonic. Some Church Fathers were also known through mural paintings in churches⁷⁸ or engravings in some Serbian religious prints that circulated in Romanian lands.⁷⁹ It was doubtlessly known that these Church Fathers were the keepers of the Church's teachings and practice, in all its purity, as founded by Jesus Christ and organised by the apostles. Nothing was known about the biographies of the Church Fathers, since the works containing useful information on them, such as the *Myrionbiblion* or the *Bibliotheca* of Patriarch Photius (†891) or the *Lexicon* of Suidas (10th century), had not yet reached Romanian lands.

In the prefaces of several Romanian prints of the 16th century there is some information on the Church Fathers that we will concentrate upon now.

We find the first mention on the *Catechism* printed in Braşov in 1560.⁸⁰ When referring to the translation of the four gospels in Slavonic, the author of the preface affirms that: "And four Jewish evangelists were chosen, who put the gospel in Greek. From there, the Church Fathers, Basil, Gregory, John Chrysostom, Athanasius, and Cyril the Philosopher, they too reckoned and made a Serbian book from the Greek".⁸¹ Leaving aside N. Drăganu's observation

⁷⁸ See, for example, in the Saint Nicholas Church Curtea de Argeş, the reproductions of Saints John Chrysostom, Athanasius the Great, Gregory the Theologian, Basil the Great, Cyril of Alexandria (D. Barbu, *Pictura murală din Țara Românească în secolul al XIV-lea*, Bucharest, 1986, fig. 18-21 and V. Vătămanu, *Istoria artei feudale în țările române*, vol. I, *Arta în perioada de dezvoltare a feudalismului*, Bucharest, 1959, fig. 296).

⁷⁹ See, for example, the engraving of the three melodists (Saint Joseph, Saint John Damascene, and Saint Theophanes) from the *Octoechos* printed in Cetinje in 1494 (?) and the engraving of Saint John Chrysostom from the *Menaion* printed in Venice in 1548 in Božidar Vuković's typography (D. Medaković, *Графика српских штампаних књига XV-XVII века*, Београд, 1958, fig. XVIII/1 and fig. XLIV/2, respectively).

⁸⁰ For the date of the edition, see I. Gheție, "Câteva precizări în legătură cu datarea Catehismului lui Coresi", *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* 48, 1964, n° 5, p. 551-552; A. Moraru, "Catehismul lui Coresi", in *Texte românești din secolul al XVI-lea*. Coord. Ion Gheție, Bucharest, 1982, p. 33.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 101.

(Saint Athanasius is erroneously written instead of Saint Anastasius),⁸² which cannot be accepted, we may note that the names of the Church Fathers from the preface of *Catechism* are taken, even respecting the order of their citation, from the text of *Saint John Chrysostom's Liturgy*.⁸³ The last of them, *Cyril*, who is Cyril of Jerusalem (315-386), is mentioned in the preface with the qualificative *the Philosopher*, which made Dan Simonescu affirm that the deacon Coresi had confused the bishop of Jerusalem with Constantine the Philosopher, named Cyril, the apostle of the Slavs (827-869).⁸⁴ His interpretation is correct, since we know from Θ $\Pi\text{HCMEH}\epsilon\text{X}\text{B}$ "On the Letters" by the monk Hrabar (10th century), a text that had circulated in the Romanian Principalities,⁸⁵ that Cyril, Methodius's brother, was also called the Philosopher: $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{O}}$ $\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{F}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{F}}\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{O}}$ $\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}$, $\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{J}}\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{V}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{D}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{H}}$ $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{H}}$ $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{H}}$ $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{Z}}$ $\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{H}}$ $\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{B}}$ "Saint Constantine the Philosopher, also named Cyril, a righteous and truth-loving man and he made (for the Slavs; n.n. Al. Mareș) 38 letters".⁸⁶

The author of the preface, as we shall see, was in a state of total confusion: firstly, because he attributes the translation of the four gospels in Slavonic to Church Fathers of the 4th and 5th centuries, despite the event taking place in the 9th century at the earliest, and secondly, because he includes Cyril, teacher of the Slavs († 869) among these venerable Fathers.

In a second excerpt of this preface, the Church Fathers are invoked once again: "After that, we pray all you Church Fathers, that, be you prelates, be you bishops, be you priests, in whose hands these Christian books will fall, before reading them, you should not judge without reading, nor should you decide, as there is nothing in these books aside from what was preached by the Holy Apostles and the Church Fathers".⁸⁷

This appeal to the Church Fathers in the two previously quoted excerpts from the preface to the *Catechism* was made out of religious opportunism. As is

⁸² See N. Drăganu, "Andrei Bârseanu, Catehismul luteran românesc, București, 1923; A. Rosetti, Les catéchismes roumains du XVIIe siècle, Romania, no. 191, iulie 1922, p. 321-334; Dr. Borbély István, Erdély irodalmi szemle, LVI, anexa no. 1, ian. 1924, p. 54-59, dare de seamă asupra comunicării lui A. Bârseanu", in *Dacoromania* 3, 1922-1923, p. 931-932.

⁸³ *Litughierul lui Macarie*. Cu un studiu de P. P. Panaitescu și un indice de A. și Al. Dușu, Bucharest, 1961, p. 19: $\text{B}\overline{\text{Z}}$ $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{Y}}$ $\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{H}}$ $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{X}}$ $\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{H}}$ $\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{S}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{O}}$ $\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{H}}$ $\overline{\text{E}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{S}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{B}}\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{W}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{Z}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{O}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{O}}$ $\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{F}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{N}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{S}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{A}}$ $\overline{\text{H}}$ $\overline{\text{K}}\overline{\text{Y}}\overline{\text{R}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{L}}\overline{\text{A}}$ *întru sfinții părinții noștri preoților începători Vasile cel Mare, Grigore Teologul, Ioan Gură de Aur, Atanasie și Chiril*.

⁸⁴ D. Simonescu, *Diaconul Coresi (Note pe marginea unei cărți a lui Lucian Predescu, Diaconul Coresi, Bucharest, 1933)*, Bucharest, 1933 (excerpt from *Raze de lumină. Revista studenților în teologie din București* 5, 1933, p. 86-101).

⁸⁵ See I. Bogdan, *Vechile cronice moldovenești până la Ureche*, Bucharest, 1891, p. 8.

⁸⁶ V. Jagić, "Рассуждения южнославянской и русской старины о церковнославянском языке", in *Исследования по русскому языку*, т. I, Санкт-Петербург, 1885-1895, p. 297.

⁸⁷ A. Moraru, "Catehismul lui Coresi", p. 101.

known, the Braşov edition followed a model that was close to Luther's *Small Catechism* of 1529. The structure of the work (dividing the matter in five parts), conserving only the baptism and the eucharist among the sacraments, reference to imploring and giving grace represented proof of the Reformation model.⁸⁸ On the other hand, the Braşovian editors of the *Catechism* certainly remembered that some of the Orthodox priests had rejected the Sibiu edition of the text in 1544.⁸⁹ In order to hide the Protestant influences and to prevent the Orthodox clergy's mistrust, the author of the preface relied on the authority of the Church Fathers. They became, thus, a sort of guarantee of the purity and the unaltered character of the Orthodox faith by supporting the translation from Greek to Slavonic of the four gospels, which, for some representatives of the Reformation, was the main foundation of faith.⁹⁰ At the same time, the preface underlines that the catechetical writing did not contain any teachings that went against those of the apostles and the Church Fathers.

Finally, we would like to point out that the phrase *sfinţii părinţi*, 'Church Fathers', alongside its original meaning ("sanctified Christian authors of the first eight centuries"), gains a new meaning both in this preface and in the epilogue of the 1561 *Tetraevangelion*: "the prelates, bishops, and priests of that time": "we pray all you Church Fathers, that, be you prelates, be you bishops, be you priests [...]".⁹¹

Coresi shows the same sort of religious opportunism in the epilogue of the *Interpretation of the Gospels* (1567-1568), when he mentions that "these interpretations of the gospels for the Sundays of the year, written from the Scripture of the prophets and the apostles and the Church Fathers".⁹² The text expounds on the fundamental principles of Protestantism: salvation through faith (*sola fide*), ignoring the Holy Tradition, rejecting the cross as an object of worship, criticizing ecclesiastical law etc. The cult of the saints, which include the Church Fathers, is abolished as well: "As Jesus Christ is the only one to pray for us to the Father; those who do not believe pray to the dead saints, to Saint Peter and Saint Paul, or to Saint Nicholas or to Saint Mary; since Jesus Christ is the only one who walks and prays for us, and none other, neither in heaven, nor on earth; for the saints do not hear our prayers";⁹³ cf. "Jesus Christ is our only

⁸⁸ See also N. Şerbănescu, "La 400 de ani de la apariţia *Întrebării creştineşti*", *Biserica ortodoxă română* 77, 1959, n° 11-12, p. 1047-1051.

⁸⁹ I. Bianu, N. Hodoş, *Bibliografia românească veche*, vol. I (1508-1716), Bucharest, 1903, p. 22.

⁹⁰ In fact, it is affirmed in the *Christian Question* that the "true faith" is to be found in the *Gospels*, thus tacitly rejecting the Holy Tradition (A. Moraru, *Catehismul lui Coresi*, p. 103).

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 101, *Tetraevangelhelul tipărit de Coresi. Braşov 1560-1561 comparat cu Evangheliarul lui Radu de la Mănăceşti*. Ediţie alcătuită de Fl. Dimitrescu, Bucharest, 1963, p. 167.

⁹² *Tâlcul evangheliilor şi Molitvenic rumânesc*, p. 186-187.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 63.

teacher (in Matthew 93) – that is something that those who still believe in laws and what the Fathers wrote following the apostles do not believe anymore”⁹⁴ and “As the Holy Scripture tells us, that God’s saints all erred and sinned”.⁹⁵ It should also be noticed that in this writing, whenever one of the Church Fathers is mentioned, he is never qualified as a *saint*: “Thus wrote John Chrysostom”,⁹⁶ “Some, like John Chrysostom and others, say that the devils feared they would be sent to eternal labour”,⁹⁷ “Search the churches and the empires where Saint Paul the apostle – in almost all of Asia and Phrygia – and the pious fathers Basil, Gregory, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril and many others preached”.⁹⁸

Going back to the epilogue of the *Interpretation of the Gospels*, we would like to underline that invoking the prophets and the apostles refers to their writings, which, according to the Protestants, contain the true faith.⁹⁹ In fact, they are also mentioned as depositaries of the true faith in the same homiliary: “the Holy Scripture that the prophets and the apostles wrote”¹⁰⁰ and “the right word of God was sent to the prophets and the apostles”.¹⁰¹ It becomes clear that in the epilogue, the phrase “and of the Church Fathers” was added by Coresi in order to guarantee the unaltered character of the Orthodox faith, which is patently untrue. First of all, because the writing refers critically to several Christian dogmas and practices shared by the Orthodox, and secondly, because the same text gravely undermines the authority of the Church Fathers.

8. At the end of this exposition, some conclusions are in order. The promotion of Romanian writing that took place in the 16th century included writings belonging to patristic literature, the most important names being those of John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, John Nesteutes, Athanasius the Great, John Damascene and Sophronius of Jerusalem. The translations we have knowledge of are, in their quasi-majority, based on the Slavonic text, with the *Athanasian Creed* being the only one to have had a Latin model, partially confronted with a Hungarian one.

Three regions lay claim to the primacy concerning the translation of these texts: Banat-Hunedoara (the *Athanasian Creed* of 1573-1578, the *Small Octoechos* of 1595-1610, and perhaps the Missal of 1570), Moldavia (the *Paschal Homily* of 1559 or 1560, the *Code of Laws* of 1560-1562, the *Exposition of the Faith* of 1581) and Șcheii Brașovului (the *Paschal Homily* – its developed

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 64.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 116.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 75.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 143.

⁹⁹ Al. Moraru, “Catehismul lui Coresi”, p. 44.

¹⁰⁰ *Tâlcul evangheliilor și Molitvenic rumânesc*, p. 143.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, p. 179.

version – from the *Second Homiliary* of 1581, the *Life of Saint Mary of Egypt* and the three homilies of John Chrysostom from 1595-1606).

The *Missal*, the *Octoechos*, and the *Athanasian Creed* were translated under the impulse of the Reformation, whereas the other texts were translated in an Orthodox environment. Of these, the *Code of Laws*, and the *Second Homiliary* were printed following the initiative of Reformed editors from Braşov, Iohannes Benkner and Lucas Hirscher.

Let us also keep in mind that, in the prefaces to the *Catechism* (1560) and the *Interpretation of the Gospels* (1567-1568) the Church Fathers are mentioned in order to win the trust of the Romanian faithful that those writings, albeit with clear Reformed infiltrations, nevertheless did not go against the Orthodox faith¹⁰².

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¹⁰² Translated from Romanian by Mihail-George Hâncu.

THE STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF A PROTO-PHILOKALIC ROMANIAN MANUSCRIPT FROM 1769

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If the 19th and the 20th centuries were focused on the study of the *Philokalia* and its different versions,¹ the past few decades have witnessed a growing interest in the analysis of the “pre-existing Philokalic Tradition”, namely the so-called “proto-Philokalias”.² The aim of the present article is to provide a thorough illustration of the content of the Romanian Academy Library Ro. Ms. No. 2597 in the context of this “pre-existing Tradition”.

The *Philokalia* or the “Love of Beauty” represents a collection of Christian ascetic and mystical texts ranging from the 4th to the 15th century. Besides “stillness” (ἡσυχία) or “watchfulness” (νήψις), the theme around which these texts are organized is the “Jesus Prayer” or the “Prayer of the Heart and Mind”.³ When it comes to the purpose of this collection, primarily confined to monastic readership and then available as “a book for all Christians”, one may recognize the prevailing idea of “the Deification of Man” (θέωσις). In spite of being used since the 4th century, the term “Philokalia” gains ground once Nicodemus the Hagiorite and Macarius of Corinth print *The Philokalia of the Neptic Fathers* in Venice in 1782.⁴ However, the genre of the ascetic and mystical codices had been settled in Mount Athos since the 12th century and got reinforced by the Hesychast Movement during the 14th and 15th century as a means to convey the method of the Jesus Prayer.⁵

¹ V. Kontouma, E. Citterio, “La Philocalie et ses versions”, *La Théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, II, Turnhout, 2002, p. 999–1021.

² A.-E. Tachiaos, “De la Philokalia au Dobrotoljubie. La création d’un ‘sbornik’”, *Cyrrillomethodianum* 5, 1981, p. 208-213, A. Rigo, “I capitoli sulla purezza dell'anima del patriarca Callisto I”, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 100, 2007, p. 779-784, P. V. Deun, “Encore une *philocalie* avant la lettre: le *Skiathos Movnē toū Eύαγγελισμοῦ* 10”, in A. Rogo (ed.), *Da Teognosto alla Filocalia (XIII-XVIII secolo). Testi e autori*, Bari, 2016, p. 163-198.

³ K. Ware, “St. Nikodimos and the *Philokalia*”, in B. Bingaman and B. Nassif (eds.), *The Philokalia: a Classic Text of Orthodox Spirituality*, New York, 2012, p. 9-35.

⁴ V. Kontouma, “The Philokalia”, in A. Casiday (ed.) *The Orthodox Christian World*, London, 2012, p. 451-464.

⁵ A.-E. Tachiaos, “De la Philokalia...”, p. 209-210.

From this point of view, through the lens of this pre-existing tradition, the scope of the analysis ought to be centred on the particular sborniks that foreshadow the thematic and structural features of the Greek *Philokalia*, nevertheless, without diminishing or ignoring the importance of a “local canon”.

The Romanian manuscript 2597, conserved in the Romanian Academy Library and known as *The Philokalia of Dragomirna (Monastery)*, represents a sbornik of this kind. In spite of being widely discussed with reference to the philological activity of Paisius Velichkovsky’s monastic community or being acknowledged as “the first Romanian *Philokalia*”,⁶ the above-mentioned manuscript has never benefited from a thorough description.⁷ Subsequently, we will endeavour to offer a detailed representation of the content of this codex, identify its texts and, when possible, trace its sources and highlight its circulation.

The manuscript 2597 was copied by the prodigious scribe and Slavonic and Greek translator monk Raphael of Hurezi Monastery (its prior from 1782 to 1791),⁸ most probably, during his stay at Dragomirna Monastery. According to the colophon from fol. 305, the codex was finished on the 4th of May 1769. Thus, it represents the widest proto-Philokalic collection from that time (313 fols.), putting together 18 authors and 182 texts (5 anonymous).⁹

Before describing its content, we ought to mention the principles according to which we proceeded in our analysis. Written in Cyrillic script (as most of the Romanian texts ranging from the 16th to the mid-19th century), the present texts were transcribed respecting the phonetic principle (according to which the *phonemes* and not the *graphemes* of the source must be represented), following the norms established by the Philology and Literary Language Department of the “Iorgu Iordan – Al. Rosetti” Institute of Linguistics.¹⁰ While reproducing the structure and the composition of the manuscript, we briefly present each text (its *incipit* and *explicit*), identify its author and discern each source. Thus, worthy of attention is the *Abridged Life of Saints* (the so-called

⁶ V. Căndea, “Locul spiritualității românești în reinnoirea isihastă”, in V. Căndea (ed.), *Românii în reinnoirea isihastă*, Iași, 1997, p. 25; V. Pelin, *Paisianismul în contextul cultural și spiritual sud-est și est european (secolele XVIII-XIX)*, Iași, 2017, p. 39.

⁷ G. Ștrempel, *Catalogul manuscriselor românești*, vol. 2, București, 1978, p. 329; Ciprian Zaharia, “Biserica ortodoxă română și traducerea patristică și filocalice în limbile moderne” in Dan Zamfirescu, *Paisianismul. Un moment românesc în istoria spiritualității europene*, București, 1996, p. 50-55.

⁸ I. Ionașcu, “Istoricul mănăstirii Horez-Vâlcea”, *Arhivele Olteniei* 14, 1935, p. 295-359; Gabriel Ștrempel, *Copiști de manuscrise românești până la 1800*, vol. 1, București, 1959, p. 196-201.

⁹ This sum consists of the overall chapters of the mystical and ascetical texts copied in the codex. We can consider a total of 19 authors if we bear in mind that Dimitry of Rostov’s *Apology* is treated as an anonymous text in this case (See footnote no. 52).

¹⁰ For instance, see Al. Mareș (coord.), *Crestomația limbii române vechi*, vol. 1 (1521-1639), 2nd edition, București, 2016, p. 42-52.

Prologue in the Slavic world), a hagiographical collection of short narratives, displayed according to the liturgical year, translated and compiled in the 12th-13th century and going back to the Byzantine *Synaxaria*. This particular collection had two different editions (printed in the 17th century): the first one, which consisted only of short hagiographical stories, and the second edition (one of the sources of the present Romanian manuscript), which drew material from manifold types of *Paterika*, *Vitae* and patristic literature, blending each narrative with different “Edifying discourses”.¹¹ However, when one of these aspects could not be clarified (authorship and textual identification, source tracking etc.) we have chosen to offer a more detailed image of that specific writing, enlarging the transcribed *incipit* and *explicit*, conveying more information with regard to Slavonic versions and sometimes translating relevant parts of it.

The Romanian manuscript collection no. 2597 contains these texts in this particular order:¹²

1. St. Symeon the New Theologian (6 *Catecheses*,¹³ 16 *Hymns*,¹⁴ 60 + 2 *Practical Chapters*,¹⁵ Pseudo-Symeon’s *Method*)

1.1. *Discourse I* (4r-10v) [*Catechesis 26*, SC 113, p. 69-97]

Inc.: “Fraților și părinților, tot omul cel ce să va lepăda de lume și de toate câte sânt în lume și va veni cătră viața călugărească și de toate să va lepăda pentru Dumnezeu...”

Expl.: “...slăveaște pre Dumnezeu cu viețuirea și cu cuvântul pre Cel ce țe-au dat ție darul Sfântului și Făcătorului de viață Duh, Căruia să cade toată mărirea, cinstea și închinăciunea, acum și pururea și în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

¹¹ C. Velculescu, “Slavonic and Romanian Versions of the Collection of Texts Entitled «Prologue»”, *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 18, 1981, p. 369-378. See also Д. С. Лихачев (ed.), *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси (вторая половина XIV-XVI в.)*, ч. 2, Москва, 1989, s.v. *Пролог*, p. 376-381.

¹² We have endeavoured to display the exact sequence of the authors and their texts. Therefore, the first number is assigned to refer to one of the 18 authors, whereas the second number indicates the text/chapter. The anonymous writings are marked with asterisks (*) in increasing number.

¹³ B. Krivochéine (ed.), *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien: Catéchèses, I, Catéchèses 1-5*, (S[ources] C[h]rétiennes] 96), Paris, 1963, B. Krivochéine (ed.), *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien: Catéchèses, II, Catéchèses 6-22*, Sources Chrétiennes 104, Paris, 1964, B. Krivochéine (ed.), *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien: Catéchèses, III, Catéchèses 23-34. Actions des grâces 1-2*, (SC 113), Paris, 1965.

¹⁴ J. Koder (ed.), *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien: Hymnes I-XV*, vol. I, (SC 156), Paris, 1969, J. Koder (ed.), *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien: Hymnes XVI-XL*, vol. II, (SC 174), Paris, 1971, J. Koder (ed.), *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien: Hymnes XLI-LVIII*, vol. III, (SC 196), Paris, 1973.

¹⁵ J. Darrouzès (ed.), *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien: Chapitres théologiques gnostiques et pratiques*, (SC 51), Paris, 1958.

1.2. *On how a monk ought to live and obey to his brothers and those who are in stillness* [hesychasts]. *Discourse 2* (11r-20v) [contains a part of *Catechesis 5*, SC 96, p. 420-469]

Inc.: “Fraților și părinților, voiesc iarăși a aduce aminte voao pentru ceale de folos; de vreme ce totdeauna treacem viața Sfinților Părinților noștri și cu cuvântul cetim...”

Expl.: “...cu darul și cu iubirea de oameni a Domnului nostru Iisus Hristos, căruia să cade toată mărirea, cinstea și închinăciunea, în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

1.3. *Discourse 3* (20v-26v) [*Catechesis 6*, SC 104, p. 13-47]

Inc.: “Fraților și părinților, voiesc a zice voao că să socotesc oarecarii pre sine a fi mari, asemănându-se întru lucrarea și cunoștiința și săvârșirea Sfinților Părinți”

Expl.: “...pre carea să fie noao tuturor a o dobândi cu darul Domnului nostru Iisus Hristos, căruia să cade toată mărirea în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

1.4. *Discourse 4* (26v-30r) [*Catechesis 8*, SC 104, p. 86-103]

Inc.: “Fraților și părinților, de călătorește cineva faptele ceale bune cu // înșălăciune cătră înșălăciunea și pierzarea multora”

Expl.: “...cu darul și cu iubirea de oameni a Domnului nostru Iisus Hristos, căruia să cade mărirea în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

1.5. *Discourse 5* (30v-43r) [*Catechesis 2*, SC 96, p. 241-279]

Inc.: “Fraților și părinților, tot cela ce va vrea a afla pre Dumnezeu, să se leapede de sine și de sufletul său să nu-i fie milă”

Expl.: “...și a ne închina singure Troiței ceii nedespărțite, întru singur Hristos Dumnezeului nostru, căruia să cuvine toată mărirea, cinstea și închinăciunea, în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

1.6. *Discourse 6* (43v-55v) [*Catechesis 4*, SC 96, p. 313-373]

Inc.: “Fraților și părinților, de vreme ce ale preacuviosului sfântului părintelui nostru Simeon Studitul să citesc scripturile ceale însuflate de Dumnezeu.”

Expl.: “...și după aceasta facem pocăința noastră curată și întru dulceață adăogăm lacrimile ceale amară și să naște întru inimile noastre bucurie neîmpuținată. Amin.”

1.7. *Hymns on Divine Love. Discourse 7* (55v-57r) [*Invocation to the Holy Spirit*, PG 120, 507-510]

Inc.: “Vino, lumina cea adevărată! Vino, viața cea veacinică! Vino, taina cea ascunsă! Vino, vistieria cea negândită!”

Expl.: “...și Ție să cade toată mărirea, Sfintei ceii de-o ființă și făcătoarei de viață Troiță, în Tatăl și Fiiul și Sfântul Duh, crezut și cunoscut, și închinat, și slujit de toți credincioșii, acum și pururea și în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

1.8. *Discourse 8* (57r) [*Hymn 4*, PG 120, 516]

Inc.: “Acesta iaste călugăr care iaste curat de lume și pururea vorbitoriu cu singur Dumnezeu.”

Expl.: “...cela ce are urechi de auzit, să auză, înțelegând adevărate cuvintele ale celui necărturariu.”

1.9. *Discourse 9 (57r-58v) [Hymn 5, PG 120, 516-518]*

Inc.: “Lasă lumea de tot și ceale din lume și primeaște pre singură fericita plângere.”

Expl.: “...care ai gătit celor ce doresc de Tine și te iubesc cu sânguință în veacii veacilor. Amin”

1.10. *Discourse 10 (59r-59v) [Hymn 6, PG 120, 518]*

Inc.: “Fă început întru Hristos cu călduroasă credință și așa ieși din lume.”

Expl.: “nimic să nu te înșale de această asemănătoare lui Dumnezeu dragoste a lui, iar plinirea aceștiiia va afla și lucrurile ceale lesne aflate.”

1.11. *Discourse 11 (59v-60r) [Hymn 7, PG 120, 518-519]*

Inc.: “Cum și foc ești curgătoriu, cum și apă răurești, cum arzi și îndulcești.”

Expl.: “...și răbdarea robilor tăi ca să nu-i acopere scârba.”

1.12. *Discourse 12 (60r-60v) [Hymn 43 - D. Zagoraios]*

Inc.: “Cum mă voiu închina Ție, fiind înlăuntrul mieu?”

Expl.: “...ceale răsipite preaslăvit le-ai împreunat ca un Dumnezeu.”

1.13. *Discourse 13 (60v-62r) [Hymn 13, PG 120, 525-527]*

Inc.: “Plâng și mă cuceresc când îmi răsare lumina.”

Expl.: “...ca Împăratului și Stăpânului și Dumnezeului tuturor, acum și pururea și în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

1.14. *For he who loves God wholeheartedly, hates the world (62r-v) [Hymn 39, PG 120, 595]*

Inc.: “Cu umbra sânt ținut și adevărul văz, care nu iaste alt nimica fără numai nădejdea.”

Expl.: “...și uraște lumea aceasta, că lumea aceasta moarte iaste, nimic nu are întru sine.”

1.15. *Discourse 14 (62v-65r) [Hymn 30, PG 120, 575-578]*

Inc.: “Spune-m mie, Hristoase, robului Tău, spune-m mie, spune-m cela ce ești înțeleagerea tuturor.”

Expl.: “...ca să Te slăvesc pre Tine pururea și să cânt stăpânirea Ta neîncetat în glasuri de laudă în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

1.16. [Expressing] *Gratitude towards God for sending His gifts and how the virtue of priesthood and priorship is dreadful even to angels. Discourse 15 (65r-68r) [It has the title of Hymn 14 – PG 120, 527-529, yet it mixes up parts from Hymn 38 – D. Zagoraios¹⁶]*

¹⁶ Διονύσιος ο Ζαγοραίος, *Του οσίου και Θεοφόρου πατρός ημών Συμεών του Νέου Θεολόγου Τα ευρισκόμενα διηρημένα εις δύο. / Ων το πρώτον περιέχει λόγους του Οσίου λίαν ψυχοφελείς,*

Inc.: “Eu măcar deși voiesc a zice, Stăpâne, ci nu îndrăznesc, că cum voiu îndrăzi fiind spurcat și cu gândurile?”

Expl.: “...a să atinge de ceale neatınse și înfricoșate, cărora să cade toată mărirea, cinstea și închinăciunea, acum și pururea și în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

1.17. *Discourse 16* (68r-71r) [*Hymn 19*, PG 120, 545-549]

Inc.: “Lăsați-mă singur în chilie închis, lăsați-mă a fi cu singur iubitoriul de oameni Dumnezeu.”

Expl.: “...și Te voi cânta pre tine, Fiiul, dimpreună cu Tatăl și cu Duhul Sfânt, pre Dumnezeu cu adevărat, în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

1.18. *Discourse 17* (71r-72r) [*Hymn 23*, PG 120, 559-560]

Inc.: “Mulțămescu-ți, Doamne, mulțămescu-ți, Împărate, unule știutoriule de inimi.”

Expl.: “...cu dumnezeiescul și dimpreună închinatul Duhul Tău îndurate, acum și pururea și în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

1.19. *Discourse 18* (72v-73v) [*Hymn 24*, PG 120, 560-561]

Inc.: “Stăpâne Hristoase Dumnezeule, mântuitoriul sufletelor și făcătoriule al tuturor puterilor celor văzute și celor nevăzute.”

Expl.: “...neosândit și nespurcat prin mijlocul robilor Tăi cântând și laudându-te, în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

1.20. *Discourse 19* (73v-74v) [*Hymn 33*, PG 120, 584-585]

Inc.: “Depărtatu-m-am de la Tine, iubitoriule de oameni și m-am sălășluit în pustie.”

Expl.: “...și mă scoate la frumseătea cea dintâiu și mă îndulcește de lumina Ta, acum și pururea și în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

1.21. *Discourse 20* (74v-75v) [*Hymn 34*, PG 120, 585-586]

Inc.: “Bine ești cuvântat, Doamne, bine ești cuvântat, unule!”

Expl.: “că Ție să cade mărirea, Fiiului celui Unul născut, dimpreună cu Tatăl și cu dumnezeiescul Duh, în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

1.22. *Discourse 21* (75v-76v) [*Hymn 38*, PG 120, 594-595]

Inc.: “Doamne, dă-mi priceapere! Doamne, dă-mi înțeleagere! Doamne, învață-mă să fac voia Ta!”

Expl.: “...dimpreună cu cei de un gând cu dânsa, orbi iubitori de lume.”

1.23. *On rejecting the world. Discourse 22* (76v-79v) [*Practical Chapters* put up together in the following order: **48** (SC 51, p. 53), **55**, **56**, **58** (SC 51, p. 55), **66** (SC 51, p. 58), **68**, **70** (SC 51, p. 59), **74** (SC 51, p. 61), **83** (SC 51, p. 65), **36**, **37** (SC 51, p. 90), **39** (SC 51, p. 91), **18** (SC 51, p. 45), **20** (SC 51, p. 45), **26** (SC 51, p. 47), **28** (SC 51, p. 47-48), **29**, **30** (SC 51, p. 48), **32** (SC 51, p. 49), **23** (SC 51, p. 86-87)]

Inc.: “De voiești a te lepăda de lume și a te învăța vieții îngerești, să nu te dai pre tine la învățătoriu neiscusit.”

Expl.: “... nu poate a fi întru vederea cea dumnezeiască și întru cunoașterea lui Dumnezeu, nici iaste vreadnic a să învăța patimelor faptelor celor bune ale smereniei.”

1.24. *On the compunction of the heart. Discourse 23 (79v-86v)* [*Practical Chapters* put up together in the following order: **63, 64** (SC 51, p. 57-58), **12** (SC 51, p. 83), **20** (SC 51, p. 85-86), **21, 22** (SC 51, p. 86), **29** (SC 51, p. 88-89), **30, 32** (SC 51, p. 89), **33** (SC 51, p. 89-90), **35** (SC 51, p. 90), **38** (SC 51, p. 90-91), **43** (SC 51, p. 92), **88** (SC 51, p. 67), **2, 3** (SC 51, p. 40), **7, 8** (SC 51, p. 42), **35** (SC 51, p. 49-50), **36, 37** (SC 51, p. 50), **38** (SC 51, p. 50-51), **51, 53, 54** (SC 51, p. 54), **6** (SC 51, p. 81), **56** (SC 51, p. 96-97), **57, 58** (SC 51, p. 97), **64** (SC 51, p. 99-100), **65, 66** (SC 51, p. 100), **71** (SC 51, p. 102), **72** (SC 51, p. 102-103), **88** (SC 51, p. 108-109), **10, 11, 12, 13** (SC 51, p. 74), **14** (SC 51, p. 74-75) + 2 unknown *chapters*]

Inc.: “Cea multă și fără de vreamă sfărâmare a inimii întunecă și turbură priceaperea inimii și piarde de tot din suflet rugăciunea cea curată.”

Expl.: “...ci numai aceasta știe că iaste cu totul întru adâncul mării, așa însemnează a fi și celor ce sânt întru sporirea cea duhovnicească și carii vin întru înțelegera și vederea cea desăvârșit.” (86r)

Unknown chapter 1:

Inc.: “Cel ce cântă mult nu poate a ști ce zice unul ca acela, iar cel ce cântă puțin, unul ca acela poate a ști ce zice. Iară a cânta mult aceasta au fost poruncit de Sfinții Părinți celor ce nu știu ceale ce zic, iar cel ce au deprins ceale zise nu poate a cânta mult, ca să nu să răsească mintea lui.” (86r)

Expl.: “Că cel ce să nădăjduiaște fără de Duhul Sfânt a / să ruga sau a cânta, acela nu laudă pre Dumnezeu, ci-L hulește, spurcat dar, că întru necurăție iaste și nu s-au împăcat cu Dumnezeu.” (86v)

Unknown chapter 2:

Inc.: “Că precum cel ce să uită la soarele cel simțitoriu pătimește schimbarea vederii și mai mult nu poate unul ca acela să se uite altundeva în ceale văzute.” (86v)

Expl.: “...că mai mult nu poate unul ca acela a să uita într-alte oarecare din ceale pământeste numai la unul Dumnezeu, soarele cel înțelegătoriu.” (86v)

1.25. *On prayer. Discourse 24 (86v-87r)* [from Nikephoros the Monk, the extract *From Symeon the New Theologian*, PG 147, 959-960B, *Expl.*: “...ἄρχις οὗ μορφωθῆν Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν.”]

Inc.: “Întrare au aflat vrăjmașul diavolul cu dracii săi de când ne-au izgonit pre noi din raiu și de la Dumnezeu pentru neascultarea.”

Expl.: "...precum zice Apostolul: 'Fiilor miei pentru carii doresc până ce să va închipui întru voi Hristos'"¹⁷

1.26. *Question*: "What's watchfulness and how can one attain it? Pray, teach us, for we are unaware of it" (87r-88v) [from Nikephoros the Monk, PG 147, 961-966]

Inc.: "Întru numele Domnului nostru Iisus Hristos carele au zis 'Fără de Mine nu puteți să faceți nimic',¹⁸ pre acesta ajutoriu și îndreptătoriu chiemându-l."

Expl.: "...întru Hristos Iisus Domnul nostru, căruia să cade toată mărirea și stăpânirea dimpreună cu Tatăl și cu Sfântul Duh, în veacii veacilor. Amin."

1.27. *On many kinds of watchfulness and prayer* (89r-94v) [pseudo-Symeon's *Method*, PG 120, 701-710]

Inc.: "Treî chipuri sânt ale luorii aminte și ale rugăciunii prin care să rădică sufletul sau să pogoară."

Expl.: "...căruia să cade toată mărirea dimpreună cu Tatăl și cu Duhul Sfânt, acum și pururea și în veacii veacilor. Amin."

2.1. St. Barsanuphius – *Discourse* (95r) [selected fragments from Letter 119, SC 427, p. 451-455],¹⁹ via *The Abridged Life of Saints* [the *Prologue*].

Inc.: "De nu va ajuta omului lucrarea cea din lăuntru cu Dumnezeu, în deșert să ostenească cu cea din afară."

Expl.: "...și varsă rugăciuni înaintea Domnului său, căruia să cade mărirea, acum și pururea și în veacii veacilor. Amin."

3.1. St. Basil the Great – *On restraining our passions and on prayer* (95r-97v)

Inc.: "Neîncetat vă rugați, fără de mânie și fără de gânduri reale, că orice gând desparte pre om de la Dumnezeu al diavolului iaste."

Expl.: "...va moșteni pre cea de-a pururea luminată și nesfârșită viață pre carea să o câștigăm noi toți întru Hristos Iisus, Domnul nostru, căruia să cade mărirea și putearea întru veacii nesfârșiți. Amin."

4. St. Dorotheos of Gaza – *On parrhesia* (97v-98r) [the second part of the *Instruction* 52, SC 92, p. 233]²⁰

Inc.: "Ce dar așa gonească frica lui Dumnezeu din suflet precum îndrăznirea?" Pentru aceasta au fost întrebat avva Agaton pentru îndrăznire și au zis."

Expl.: "...având noi îndrăznire unul cătră altul și zicând unul altuia rău și vătămând unul pre altul."

¹⁷ Gal 4:19.

¹⁸ John 15:5.

¹⁹ F. Neyt, P. de Angelis-Noah (ed.), *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza: Correspondance*, vol. I, t. II, (SC 427), Paris, 1998.

²⁰ Lucien Regnault, Jacques de Préville (ed.), *Dorothee de Gaza: Oeuvres Spirituelles*, (SC 92), Paris, 1963.

5. Evagrius Ponticus – *Discourse on the mortification of the soul* (98r-100v) [The edifying *Discourse* on the 27th of October – *The Abridged Life of Saints* (the *Prologue*)]²¹

Inc.: “Zis-au bătrânul: ‘Amar sufletului celui ce greșaste după sfântul botez și i să cade lui a nu fi fără de grijă până la sfârșitul cel mai de pre urmă.’”

Expl.: “...că ești milostiv și nu voiu înceta a striga cătră Tine până ce mă vei albi ca zăpada și mă vei curăți ca oglinda și voiu da sufletul meu nevinovat în mâinile Tale, că bine ești cuvântat și preamărit, în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

6.1. Basil of Poiana Mărului (101r-108v) – *Preface to St. Gregory of Sinai, dedicated to those who want to read his book and understand its meaning without error.*

Inc.: “Mulți cetind această sfântă carte a Sfântului Grigorie Sinaitul și neștiind cercarea lucrării ceii cu mintea, grășasc înțeleagerea cea dreaptă, socotind că acest lucru au fost al singuri bărbaților celor sfinți și fără de patimă.”

Expl.: “Deci aceasta auzind, nu să cade a ne depărta de la lucrarea minții, ci a ne sili la aceasta cu toată sârguința, rugând pre Domnul nostru Iisus Hristos ca să ne fie ajutătoriu și învățătoriu la aceasta, căruia să cade mărirea în veaci. Amin.”

7. Gregory of Sinai (17, 14 and 7+2 chapters)

7.1.1. *Gregory of Sinai’s abridged Discourse on the ways of prayer. Seventeen chapters* [PG 150, 1312-1329]. *Chapter 1* (109r-109v)

Inc.: “Doao chipuri sânt ale unirii, iar mai vârtos a zice, întrării de amândoao părțile ale rugăciunii ceii de minte care să lucrează în inimă cu Duhul...”

Expl.: “...gătit-ai înaintea mea masă împotriva dracilor și a patimilor celor ce mă supără.”

7.1.2. *On how one ought to pray. Chapter 2* (109v-110r)

Inc.: “‘Dimineață seamănă sămânța ta’, zice Solomon, care au arătat rugăciunea.”

Expl.: “...precum zice Scărașul: ‘Cu numele lui Iisus răneaște pre luptători, că nici o armă mai tare nu vei afla nici în ceriu, nici pre pământ’.”

7.1.3. *On breath. Chapter 3* (110r-110v)

Inc.: “Precum ți să cade a ținea suflarea iaste martur Isaiia Sihastru zicând și alții mulți.”

Expl.: “Așijderea și cel ce are ceale împotriva, fiind stăpânit de la acela, ceale împotriva face și grăiaște.”

7.1.4. *On how one ought to psalmodize. Chapter 4* (110v-111r)

Inc.: “‘Ostenind strejariul, sculându-se să roagă’, zice Scărașul.”

²¹ *Prologue – the first part* (September - February), Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius, Moscow, 1642. <<https://slovo.sobornik.ru/text/prolog.htm>> (accessed 15.08.2019).

Expl.: "...și cea de a treia iaste lucrarea inimii fără furare carea iaste starea rugăciunii, adecă a tăcerii."

7.1.5. *The difference between those who psalmodize. Chapter 5* (111r-111v)

Inc.: "Care fealiu sânt? că unii învață a cânta mult, alții puțin, nicidecum nimic, ci singură rugăciunea."

Expl.: "...întru oarecarii cu usebită închipuire nu le primesc dintru necredință și înălțarea gândului."

7.1.6. *[St. Gregory's] oppositions. Chapter 6* (111v)

Inc.: "Spune-mi, cela ce ești întru acest fealiu, de posteaste cineva..."

Expl.: "...înainte numai cântarea nu să poate a ținea rugăciunea."

7.1.7. *The solution. Chapter 7* (111v-112r)

Inc.: "De să roagă cineva cu buzele iară mintea umblă, ce s-au folosit?"

Expl.: "iară oarecarii nici voiesc a auzi de iaste dar în vremea ceastă de acum, fiind întru nesaț și puțin credincioș dintru multa nesimțire și neînțeleagere."

7.1.8. *Chapter 8* (112r)

Inc.: "Și cei ce cântă puțin cu măsură bună citesc (că toată măsura cea aleasă iaste după așăzământul celor înțelepți)."

Expl.: "...dintru strămtorea tăcerii acest chip ales și învățatură iaste al bărbaților celor preaînțelepți."

7.1.9. *Chapter 9* (112r-112v)

Inc.: "Iară cei ce nu cântă nimic bine fac de vor fi întru sporire, că acestora nu le trebuie a ceti psalmi."

Expl.: "...de să va sili, să va înșăla și va rămânea fără vindecare, iar de nu va griji fără de sporire va petrece toată viața sa."

7.1.10. *Chapter 10* (112v-113v)

Inc.: "Să zic și eu ca cel ce am înțeles dintru cercare puținel când vei / șădea la tăcere zioa sau noaptea."

Expl.: "...că tăcerea iaste lăsarea gândurilor celor dumnezeiești până la o vreme, care nu sânt de la Duhul, ca nu luând aminte acestora vei piarde cea mai mare."

7.1.11. *On delusion. Chapter 11* (113v-114r)

Inc.: "Ia aminte adevărat întru înțeleagere, râvnitoriule al lui Dumnezeu, când vei lucra și vei vedea lumină sau foc din afară."

Expl.: "...adecă gustarea cea duhovnicească luminat arată toate fără de înșălăciune ce fealiu sânt."

7.1.12. *On reading. Chapter 12* (114r-114v)

Inc.: "Să fie ție ceale ce citești lucrătoare", zice Scărașul."

Expl.: "...acestora să face întunecime și slăbiciune și întindere cât oboseaste mintea în lăuntru și slăbeaste întru rugăciune."

7.1.13. *Chapter 13* (114v-115r)

Inc.: “Ia aminte și așăzământul în toate ceasurile cu cercare cu denadinsul încotro să pleacă de să așază după Dumnezeu.”

Expl.: “...celuia ce au început de curând zic și celui de mijloc și celui desăvârșit.”

7.1.14. *Chapter 14* (115r)

Inc.: “Și aceasta deprinzându-o o zic, că fără de aceste fapte bune nu sporește înainte călugărul niciodată.”

Expl.: “... nu iaste lucrare mai mare în faptele ceale bune decât a naște una pre alta, iar ceale împotrivă acestora tuturor sânt arătate.”

7.1.15. *Chapter 15* (115r-116r)

Inc.: “Și să cade a așaza aici și osteneale și durerile lucrării și a tocmi arătat cum să cade a trece fieștecare lucrarea ca nu cumva petrecând cineva această lucrare fără de dureare numai din auz nu va nemeri rodul.”

Expl.: “...și cu slăbită tăcere li să pare oarecărora a fi orșice lăudându-se, iar în vremea ieșirii neîndoit vom cunoaște toți toată roada.”

7.1.16. *Chapter 16* (116r-116v)

Inc.: “Nu iaste cu puțință cuiua singur de sine a deprinde meșteșugirea faptelor bune.”

Expl.: “...și rodul cu Dumnezeu va secera în vremea acestora.”

7.2. *On stillness and prayer, on the signs of graces and delusions, the discernment between heats and on how one gets easily deluded without a guide. 14 chapters.* [PG 150, 1303-1312] *Chapter 1* (116v-117r)

Inc.: “Să cade noao, după cum zice Învățătorul cel mare, nicidecum a ne trebui ajutorul cel din Scriptură sau de alți Părinți.”

Expl.: “...sau să mântuiască cu doftorii mai tari au adus dosădiri și robii și au înmulțit junghierile.”

7.2.1. *Chapter 2* (117r-117v)

Inc.: “Mai întâiu dar a zice (dând Dumnezeu graiu celor ce binevestesc cu puteare multă acest fealiu de bunățăți) cum va afla cineva.”

Expl.: “...și a celor de mijloc și a celor desăvârșit iaste; unora lucrarea, altora, luminaarea, iar altora, curățirea cea sufletească și înviiarea.”

7.2.2. *On how to discover the spiritual activity. Chapter 3* (117v-118r)

Inc.: “În doao chipuri să află lucrarea cea duhovnicească care am luat mai nainte în taină prin botez.”

Expl.: “...deci dintru început ca focul să dă veselii din inimă, iar la sfârșit ca o floare mirosind celor ce lucrează.”

7.2.3. *Chapter 4* (118r-118v)

Inc.: “Și sânt seamnele începutului întru acest fealiu: celor ce caută aceasta adevărat, iar nu ca cum ar ispiti după aceaș înțelepciune.”

Expl.: “Iar Domnul o au numit izvor de apă care curge în viața veacinică, apa, adecă Duhului l-au numit, carele sare în inimă și saltă foarte tare.”

7.2.4. *Chapter 5* (118v-119r)

Inc.: “Să cade a ști că săltarea are doao usebiri, adecă foarte bucurie, chipul cel liniștit, care și scuturare, și oftare, și vestirea Duhului să chiamă și săltarea cea mare și baterea inimii, adecă sărire.”

Expl.: “...că pentru munții cei simțitori și pentru dealuri pentru carii aduce aminte nu-i trebuia lui a gări, că joacă nefiind vii.”

7.2.5. *Chapter 6* (119r)

Inc.: “Trebuiaște a ști că frica cea dumnezeiască nu are tremurare, iar tremurarea, zic nu cea din bucurie, ci cea din mânie.”

Expl.: “...pre care să cade cu adevărat a o numi tremurare, adecă scuturare, clătire și sfărâmare.”

7.2.6. *Chapter 7* (119r-119v)

Inc.: “Iară tremurarea are usebire în multe chipuri: una din mânie, alta cea din bucurie, alta cea din urgie, când să va înfierbânta trupul.”

Expl.: “...și făcându-l cătră amestecarea trupească și cătră dorirea cu năluciri din lăuntru întru voirea facerii de rușine.”

7.2.7. *On the spiritual activity. Chapter 8* (119v)

Inc.: “Îndoită lucrare știm a fi la fieștecare ce înceape de curând și îndoit lucrându-se în inimă și neamestecat.”

Expl.: “...și să cuvine a o îmblânzi și a o smeri cu înfrânarea cu măsură.”

7.2.8. *Chapter 9* (119v)

Inc.: “Lucrarea darului iaste putearea focului duhovnicesc care să mișcă întru bucuriia și veseliia inimii.”

Expl.: “...și câte sânt ca aceastea prin care ne înștiințăm fără îndoire.”

7.2.9. *On delusion. Chapter 10* (119v-120r)

Inc.: “Lucrarea înșălăciunii iaste înfierbântarea cea spre păcat.”

Expl.: “...și părtaș mișcarea poftirii ceii firești a rădica pre om cătră a sa lucrare de înșălăciune.”

7.2.10. *Chapter 11* (120r-120v) [non-existent in PG, so-called “Slavonic chapter”]²²

Inc.: “Să cade a ști că înșălăciunea iaste înfierbântare de păcat, iar lucrarea de păcat, duhul cel iubitoriu de îndulciri, încăpând cătră îndulcirea trupului pentru îndulcirea de bucate.”

Expl.: “...lucrând ceale ce fac primire îndulcirii după urmarea căldurii carea o au pierdut, agonisindu-ș îndulcire totdeauna lucrarea cea de rușine.”

7.2.11. *Chapter 12* (120v-121r) [non-existent in PG, “Slavonic chapter”]²³

Inc.: “În doao fealiuri să face războiul în vreamea lucrării al înșălăciunii și al darului și nu împărtașite, ci precum soarele strălucind în locurile ceale

²² See A. Delikari, “Григорий Синаит” in S. Kravets (ed.), *Православная энциклопедия*, vol. 13, Москва, 2006, p. 50-68.

²³ *Ibid.*

spurcate nu să amească sau să se catăme, ci mai vârtos le usucă și putoarea o goneaște, așa și darul iaste neamestecat cu dânsa.”

Expl.: “Deci dintru seamnele ceale zise mai nainte iaste a înțeleage și a afla pre fieștecare.”

7.2.12. *Chapter 13* (121r-122r) [non-existent in PG, “Slavonic chapter”]²⁴

Inc.: “Căldura darului iaste focul Duhului pre carele au venit Domnul să-l arunce în pământ, adecă în inima omenească și caută să se aprinză degrab întru toți.”

Expl.: “Și iară zice: ‘Îndulcirea ceaea ce vine ca nu cumva de la doftorii cei amar, iar mai vârtos a zice, de la protivnici să fie amestecată’.”

7.2.13. *Chapter 14* (122r) [non-existent in PG, “Slavonic chapter”]²⁵

Inc.: “Aceastea s-au zis după cât au fost cu puțință pentru seamnele darului și ale înșălăciunii, iar pentru lucrarea cea de mijloc și cea desăvârșit nu trebuie cuvinte multe.”

Expl.: “... precum zice marele Maxim: ‘Am scris aceastea pentru aducerea aminte mie și altora, nu singur de sine, ci pentru ascultarea și pentru mulți carii sârguiesc a osteni întru această preafrumoasă lucrare.’”

7.3.1. *On stillness and how to “sit still”*. [PG 150, 1329-1346] *Chapter 1* (122r-122v)

Inc.: “Uneori pre scaun pentru mai multa osteneală, alteori și pre puținel așternut până la câtăva vreamă de ușurință, iar să fie șădearea ta întru răbdare.”

Expl.: “...iaste născătoare durerilor și celor trupești și celor sufletești.”

7.3.2. *On how to say the prayer. Chapter 2* (122v-123r)

Inc.: “Au zis Părinții întru acest fealiu. Unii au zis: ‘Doamne Iisuse Hristoase, Fiiul lui Dumnezeu, miluiaște-mă!’ toată rugăciunea, alții, jumătate: ‘Doamne Iisuse Hristoase, miluiaște-mă!’, apoi ‘Fiiul lui Dumnezeu, miluiaște-mă!’.”

Expl.: “...îndestulându-se numai cu mintea a face desăvârșit lucrare.”

7.3.3. *On how to master the intellect in prayer. Chapter 3* (123r-123v)

Inc.: “Înțeleage că nimenea nu poate să ție mintea de nu va fi ținută de la Duhul.”

Expl.: “...celor săvârșit întru Duhul Sfânt carii au sporit întru Hristos Iisus, Domnul nostru.”

7.3.4. *On how to expel thoughts. Chapter 4* (123v-124r)

Inc.: “Nu goneaște nimenea gândurile din cei ce au început de curând de nu le va goni Dumnezeu.”

Expl.: “...acesta iaste înființat celor curați și desăvârșit a să păzi fără vătămare.”

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

7.3.5. *On how to psalmodize. Chapter 5* (124r-125v)

Inc.: “Unii zic puțin, alții mult, iar alții nicidecum, iar tu nu cânta mult, că aceasta iaste tulburare.”

Expl.: “...toate le pot / întru Hristos cel ce-i întărește pre ei.”

7.3.6. *On how to nurture oneself. Chapter 6* (125v-126v)

Inc.: “Iară pentru pântece ce voiu zice: împăratul patimilor de vei putea să-l omori și să-l faci de-abia viu, nu slăbi.”

Expl.: “... adecă și a flămânzi, și a să satura, și a fi putincios întru toate.”

7.3.7. *On delusion and its manifold kinds. Chapter 7* (126v-131r)

Inc.: “Vezi dar că voiesc ca să știi pentru înșălăciune cu denadinsul, ca să te păzești de ea.”

Expl.: “...cunoaște darurile Sfântului Duh și nălucirile dievolești din simțirea minții.”

7.3.8. *The providence of God* (130r-v) [the “Slavonic chapter”]²⁶

Inc.: “Toate sânt de la Dumnezeu, și ceale scârbite, și ceale împotrivă, ci unele să fac prin bunavoință, altele, prin orânduială, iar altele, prin slobozire.”

Expl.: “...și învârtoșând au învârtoșat inima lui Faraon, adecă au lăsat învârtoșat pentru nesupunerea lui.”

7.3.9. *On our free will* (130v-131r) [the “Slavonic chapter”]²⁷

Inc.: “Dumnezeu au zidit pre om singur volnic și l-au cinstit cu cuvântare și cu înțelepciune, înaintea ochilor lui au pus viața și moartea, ca de va vrea cu singură volnicia să meargă pre calea vieții, va fi viu în veaci, iar de va vrea cu voința rea să meargă pre calea morții, va fi muncit în veaci.”

Expl.: “...că întru amândoa plecările, adecă cătră faptele ceale bune și cătră răotate am luat volnicia noastră.”

8. Nil Sorski (*Preface*, the complete *Ustav* and the *Predanie*)²⁸8.1. *Preface to Nil Sorski's book in which is revealed the activity of thoughts and how one might acquire it* (132r-133v)

Inc.: “Pentru că mulți din Sfinții Părinți au zis pentru lucrarea inimii și pentru ferirea cea gânditoare și a minții păzire cu fealiuri de vorbe, precum fieștecare dintr-înșii învățat fu de darul lui Dumnezeu...”

Expl.: “...ca câinile din fărâmiturile ce cad din masa stăpânilor săi, a fericiților Părinți, ca măcar întru puțin să fim următori acelora.”

8.2. *On firmly fighting against passions. Chapter 1* (134r-136r) [*Ustav 1*, p. 94-98]

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Г. М. Прохоров (ed.), *Нил Сорский, Устав и послания*, Москва, 2011. Our choice not to translate *Ustav* (= ‘charter’, ‘set of rules’) or *Predanie* (= ‘fable’, ‘legend’, ‘tradition’) relies on the option of the English edition to keep them unaltered: see D. M. Goldfrank (trans.), *Nil Sorsky: the authentic writings*, Michigan, 2008.

Inc.: “Un fealiu adecă de luptare, de biruință și biruire e asupra noastră, a războiului celui gânditoriu, au zis Părinții.”

Expl.: “Că întru toate acestea de nu să va păzi cinevaș, acesta împlinește patima și preacurvie face prin gânduri în inima sa, au zis Părinții, însuș cupториul patimilor aprinde, ca pre niște hiară aducând pre gândurile ceale vicleane.”

8.3. *On our fight against them with the remembrance of God, the guarding of the heart, namely the prayer and the quietness of mind; on graces. Chapter 2 (136r-143v) [Ustav 2, p. 98-115]*

Inc.: “Luptarea împotriva cestor mai nainte zise patimi rânduiesc părinții pre putearea cea deopotrivă cu putearea celui ce împotriva să luptă.”

Expl.: “...toate acestea trezvie iaste, adecă lucrarea cea gânditoare să grăiesc. Acestea toate socotind fieștecăre din noi, cu ceaa ce să cuvine luiș rânduială să se nevoiască.”

8.4. *How to strengthen ourselves during this mortification, when wars beset upon us. Chapter 3 (143v-145r) [Ustav 3, p. 115-118]*

Inc.: “Aceasta, adecă, iaste întărire întru luptarea nevoinții noastre zisă întru toate scripturile, ca să nu ne împuținăm cu sufletul, nici să trândăvim...”

Expl.: “...cel ce va avea grijă de dragostea lui Dumnezeu și întru adevăr a să mântui și fără de lenevire și cu băgare de seamă totdeauna lucrul Domnului a lucra.”

8.5. *On encompassing the whole spiritual activity in our lives. Chapter 4 (145r-146v) [Ustav 4, p. 118-122]*

Inc.: “Iară cuprinderea aceasta iaste în viața noastră totdeauna și întru toate întru toată înceaperea cu sufletul și cu trupul, cu cuvântul și cu lucrul...”

Expl.: “...adecă a fără-de-grijii minții și adevăratei rugăciuni, apoi după acestea Dumnezeu înțelepțindu-ne, și de cealelalte chipuri a fealiurilor de luptări a le biruinții vom zice.”

8.6. *Fighting against the eight deadly thoughts. Chapter 5 (146v-158r) [Ustav 5, p. 122-149]*

Inc.: “Fealiuri de chipuri ale luptării prin care biruință punem noi spre ceale vicleane gânduri, au zis Părinții. Împotriva măsurii a fieștecăruia din cei ce să nevoiesc a să ruga spre gânduri și împotriva a cuvânta lor și a huli și a goni pre iale. Și a huli și a goni a celor desăvrășit iaste, iară a împotriva grăi și aceasta a celor ce înainte au sporit iaste.”

Expl.: “Drept aceaa și noi mai nainte grăim ca pre acelor înțelepți rânduială noi, neînțelepții, să nu o treacem, ci urmând cuvintelor Sfinților Părinți așa facem.”

8.6.1. *The first deadly thought – Gluttony (147r)*

Inc.: “De te supără gândul lăcomiei de pânțece, aducându-ți aminte de fealiuri și mai dulci și cinstite mâncări...”

Expl.: “Și în vremea cecea ce să cade împărtășindu-te mâncării, să biruiești pre patimă.”

8.6.1.1. *On the quantity of food* (147v)

Inc.: “Iară măsura mâncării așa e, au zis Părinții, de cineva va rânduie pre sine cât a primi în zi și de va înțelege că mult iaste...”

Expl.: “Iar deaca cândva prea să va sătura puțin să ocărăscă pre sine și așa pentru cădeare biruință pune.”

8.6.1.2. *On mealtime* (147v)

Inc.: “Pentru vremea zăbovirii mâncării, au zis Părinții, până la al noalea ceas a să posti.”

Expl.: “Iar în zi fără de post a scurta ni să cade ceasul mâncării și de iaste cu treabă în amiază zi puțin a gusta.”

8.6.1.3. *On the [different] nature of food* (148r)

Inc.: “Iară pentru fealiul mâncării din toate ceale ce să află mâncări dulci a primi câte puțin.”

Expl.: “Aceasta cu nestrămutare iaste și în mâncare, și în băutură, și întru toată odihna, pentru că cu socoteală după putearea sa au făcut.”

8.6.2. *The second thought – Fornication* (148v)

Inc.: “Oare nevoiță iaste noao asupra duhului curviei și cumplit foarte îndoită având luptare în suflet și în trup?”

Expl.: “Și să nu voiești a auzi de la cineva necuvioase vorbe ceale ce rădică pre patimi.”

8.6.3. *The third thought – Avarice* (150v)

Inc.: “Iară boala iubirii de argint din afară de fire, din puțină creadere și neînțeleagere să face.”

Expl.: “...nu numai a nu avea avere, ci nici a pofti pre aceea a / agonisi, aceasta pre noi cătră cea sufletească curățenie ne îndreptează.”

8.6.4. *The fourth thought – Wrath* (151v)

Inc.: “Deaca al mâniei duh ne chinuiaște, rea aducere aminte îndemnându-ne a ținea...”

Expl.: “...când întru simțirea realelor sale veniia și cu dragoste și cu milă pre aceia învăța.”

8.6.5. *The fifth thought – Sadness* (152r)

Inc.: “Nu puțină iaste noao nevoiță spre duhul scârbei, pentru că aruncă / pre suflet în pierzare...”

Expl.: “...îndată îmbrăcându-ne cu deznădăjduirea, pustiu pre suflet și trândav îl face, și netare și nerăbdătoriu și cătră citanie, și cătră rugăciune leaneși.”

8.6.6. *The sixth thought – Despondency* (153r)

Inc.: “Iară când trândăvirea întru mult să va întări spre noi în mare nevoiță sufletul să rădică...”

Expl.: “Iar a răbda atunci întru fără-de-grijă neieșit mai bine iaste, grăiesc Părinții, însuș din cercare cunoscând.”

8.6.7. *The seventh thought – Vainglory* (155r)

Inc.: “Multă, adecă, trezvire ne trebuie noao asupra duhului îndeșartei măririi...”

Expl.: “...îndată întărindu-se, treacere cu vederea nasc și mândrie ceaea ce iaste tuturor realelor începătură și sfârșit.”

8.6.8. *The eighth thought – Pride* (156r)

Inc.: “Iară pentru treacerea cu vederea și mândria ce a grăi, că de să și desparte cu numele, ci spre o înțeleagere să împreună...”

Expl.: “Și, mai vârtos, de cuvântul și lucrul au închipuit patima, așa și pentru îndeșarta mărire și pentru fieștecare patimă să grăiaște de la Părinți.”

8.7. *On all of the deadly thoughts. Chapter 6* (158r-158v) [*Ustav 6*, p. 149-151]

Inc.: “Și asupra tuturor gândurilor celor reale să cade pre Dumnezeu a chiema spre ajutoriu, pentru că nu totdeauna avem putere a ne împrotivi celor viclane gânduri.”

Expl.: “Iar el au zis: ‘Pre ceale reale gânduri goniiam și pre ceale bune chieamam’. Și, deși cu dureare iaste noao, să grăim aceastea și asemenea acestora.”

8.8. *On recalling death and The Last Judgement; how to cultivate it in our heart. Chapter 7* (159r-163v) [*Ustav 7*, p. 151-161]

Inc.: “Grăiesc, adecă Părinții, că întru lucrarea noastră foarte iaste cu treabă și de folos pomenirea morții a avea și a Judecării ceii înfricoșate.”

Expl.: “...Părintele al milostivirii, și Fiiule Unul născut, și Duhule Sfinte, miluiaște-mă și mă izbăvește atuncea de focul cel nestins și mă învrednicește a sta de-a dreapta Ta, Judecătoriule preadreapte.”

8.9. *On tears. How one ought to act when he receives them. Chapter 8* (163v-167r) [*Ustav 8*, p. 162-170]

Inc.: “Aceastea grăind și gândind și acestora aseamenea, de cu bun darul lui Dumnezeu, vom afla întru aceastea lacrimi ni să cade a plânge precât putere și tărie avem. Pentru că, au zis Părinții, că plângerea a ne izgoni de focul cel veacinic și de cealelalte munci ce vor să fie.”

St. Andrew of Crete (165r)

St. Germanus of Constantinople (165r)

St. Ephrem’s chapter 81 (165r-165v)

Simeon the New Theologian (165v)

Hymns (165v)

Expl.: “Întru bucurie să face omul atunci, în cea neafată în veacul acesta și nimenea știe pre aceastea fără cel ce au dat pre sine din tot sufletul spre lucrul acesta.”

8.10. *On defending ourselves against these things. Chapter 9 (167r-167v) [Ustav 9, p. 170-173]*

Inc.: “Iară când ne va învreadnici pre noi Domnul cu bun darul său a afla lacrimi și a plânge au curat a ne ruga, atunci cu adevărat să cade a ne păzi de dracul mâniei și de alte necuvioase gânduri.”

Expl.: “Ci după lacrimi și rugăciue întru aceeaș înțeleagere pre sine ne păzim.”

8.11. *On surrendering one’s will and on the true watchfulness which is the utmost detachment. Chapter 10 (168r-170r) [Ustav 10, p. 173-179]*

Inc.: “Iară aceste minunate lucrări ceale ce am zis de tot le trebuie tăierea grijilor ceale ce iaste omorârea despre toate și a avea grija de îndeletnicire și luare aminte de singur lucrul lui Dumnezeu, precum au zis Părinții cei mari, cei ce întru luare aminte de înțelepciune l-au cunoscut.”

Expl.: “Și multe încă acestora aseamenea scrie sfântul acesta și alți sfinți. Și așa să creade adevărul neschimbat.”

8.12. *On how this spiritual activity should not be done before the proper time and without the proper measures. Chapter 11 (170r-173r)²⁹ [Ustav 11, p. 179-187]*

Inc.: “Deși însă aceste bune și bine cuvioase lucruri cu socoteală să cade a face și întru bună vreamă și cu ceale ce să cade măsurii, că precum grăiaște marele Vasilie...”

Expl.: “Iar de cineva dintru acestea folos va afla și pentru mine, cel păcătos, să se roage, ca să aflu milă înaintea Domnului.”

8.13. *Nil’s observances to his apprentices and to everybody else regarding the need to attain it [the detachment] (173v-177r) [Predanie, p. 74-85]*

Inc.: “Cu cea atotlucrare a Domnului Dumnezeului și Mântuitoriului nostru Iisus Hristos și cu a Preacuratei Maicii sale sporire, am scris scriptură de folos de suflet noao și întru Domnul fraților miei, celor de-a pururea carii sânt ai năravului meu.”

Expl.: “Și a ne păzi cu adevărat de ceale neatede cu chip de fămeaie feațe.”

9. *Symeon of Thessalonica – 4 chapters from the Treatise On The Holy and Divine Prayer*

9.1. *On the salvational name and invocation of our Lord Jesus Christ, The Son of God, namely on the true and divine prayer. Chapter 294 (178r) [PG 155, 541C]*

Inc.: “Sânt multe rugăciuni pentru care și pre amăruntul vom zice cât vom putea, iar mai ales decât toate iaste cea dată noao de la Mântuitoriul în Evanghelie, cuprinzând pre scurt toată cunoștința și putearea Evangheliei și

²⁹ The verb “vezi” (= ‘look’ / ‘check’) is written in the *marginalia* of the folio 170r. This fact might indicate that the source of this copy did not contain this very last chapter of the *Ustav*. Consequently, monk Raphael copied it from another source without putting down “Chapter 11”.

încă și chemarea cea mântuitoare a Domnului nostru Iisus Hristos, Fiiul lui Dumnezeu.”

Expl.: “Că zice: ‘Tot Duhul carele mărtuirsește pre Domnul nostru Iisus Hristos că au venit în trup, de la Dumnezeu iaste’.”

9.2. *On our blessed fathers Callistus, the patriarch, and Ignatius. Chapter 295 (178r-179r) [PG 155, 544]*

Inc.: “Iar mai ales în zilele noastre aceastea pentru această rugăciune au scris cu Duhul Sfânt ca unii ce și ei era de la Dumnezeu porniți, grăitori de Dumnezeu și purtători de Dumnezeu, și purtători de Hristos, și dumnezeiești cu adevărat, cel dintru Sfinți părintele nostru Calist...”

Expl.: “...și pentru dumnezeiasca lumină a fireștii lucrări și dar al lui Dumnezeu și mărutirii aduc pre sfinți, precum și pentru sfânta rugăciune.”

9.3. *The content of this divine prayer. Chapter 296 (179r-180r) [PG 155, 544-547]*

Inc.: “Deci această dumnezeiască rugăciune, chemare a Mântuitoriului, adecă: ‘Doamne Iisuse Hristoase, Fiiul lui Dumnezeu, miluiaște-mă!’ și rugăciune iaste, și făgăduință.”

Expl.: “Ci și dumnezeiescul evanghelist zice: ‘Iară aceastea s-au scris ca să creadeți că Iisus Hristos iaste Fiiul lui Dumnezeu’,³⁰ iată credința! Pentru ca crezând, viață să aveți întru numele Lui, iată și mântuirea și viața!”

9.4. *On how all Christians, priests, monks or lay persons, must pray in the name of Jesus Christ as much as they could, at least during the established prayer time. Chapter 297 (180r-181v) [PG 155, 548-549]*

Inc.: “Deci această numire ca o rugăciune tot pravoslavnicul să o zică și cu mintea lui și cu limba, și stând, și umblând, și șazănd, și sculându-se.”

Expl.: “...au rânduit Besearica vremi orânduite și datoriu iaste tot credinciosul într-aceaste vremi a să ruga.”

* Anonymous – *The delineation of the words which are part of the godly prayer, namely “Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me!” (182r-185r) [Mark of Ephesus; cf. Irinej Bulović]³¹*

Inc.: “Câtă adecă iaste putearea rugăciunii și ce fealiu de daruri dăruiaște celor ce să deprind cu dânsa și înce chip îi așază pre dânsii nu noao iaste a zice.”

Expl.: “Ci aceastea, adecă noi pentru graiuri, ca cum am fi zmult din florile oarecăriua copaci mare și frumos, precum ne-au fost cu puțință am lățit înainte, iară roada ce să află întru aceastea adune-o alții, căroro cugetarea cea prin / vreamă și nevoința le-au dat aceasta, pentru căci s-au făcut trecători și căci s-au apropiat de Dumnezeu.”

³⁰ 1 John 5:13.

³¹ I. Bulović, “Περὶ τῶν ἐμφερομένων τῆ θεῖα εὐχῆ ῥημάτων ἢ τοῦ Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, Υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐλέησόν με”, *Κληρονομία* 7, 1975, p. 345-352.

10. Nikephoros the Monk – *Very useful Discourse on* [watchfulness and] *the guarding of the heart* (185r-188r) [Does not contain the first part – the extracts from other saints. PG 147, 945-948; 961-966]

I. PG 147, 945-948 (*Expl.*: ...θεωρίας γὰρ ἐπιβασίς πρακτικῆ.)

II. PG 147, 961-966 (*Expl.*: ...ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.)

Inc.: “Câți aveți dragoste a dobândi dumnezeiasca arătare de lumină, cea de mare cuviință a mântuitoriului nostru Iisus Hristos; câți voiți a primi cu inima întru simțire focul cel mai pre sus de ceriuri; câți vă sânguiți a dobândi cu cercare și cu simțire împăcarea cea cătră Dumnezeu...”

Expl.: “Și aceasta câtăva vreamă fiindu-o, ți să va deșchide ție printr-aceasta și întrarea inimii precum am scris ție, afară de toată îndoirea, precum și noi prin cercare am cunoscut. Și-ți va veni ție dimpreună cu mult dorita și veselitoarea luarea aminte și toată ceata faptelor bune, dragostea, bucuriia, pacea și cealelalte prin care toate cearerile tale vei lua întru Hristos Iisus Domnul nostru.”

6.2. Basil of Poiana Mărului – *Preface to Blessed Philotheos of Sinai’s Chapters* (188v-195v)

Inc.: “Nu iaste războiul nostru spre sânge și spre trup, ci spre începătorii și țitorii de lume ai întunecului veacului acestuia, duhurilor răotății celor de supt ceriu’.³² Ostașii dar ai împăratului pământesc poartă sabie, gata fiind spre războiul împrotivnicilor și poartă sabie ca aceasta și cei ce nu sânt ostaș, numai pentru singur obiceaiul, dar nu spre gățirea de războiu...”

Expl.: “Ci a trei mai cumpliți uriași toată pricina aceasta scriind, necredința, grăiesc, și lenevirea, și nebagarea de seamă, a înceta de minciună și apucându-se de / adevăr, a să apropiia neîndoit cătră deprinderea lucrării minții, depărtând de la sine încă și pre cei mai de frunte împrotivitori: iubirea de dulceți, grăiesc, iubirea de argint și deșarta slavă, cu carele și pre altele putem din sufletele noastre a le ppiarde.”³³

** Anonymous – *On rejecting the world according to different kind of writings* (196r-198v)

Inc.: “Câți lumea și ceale ce sânt în lume ați urât pentru dragostea lui Dumnezeu, aceasta să faceți. Deci, câți gânditori de împărăția lui

³² Eph 6:12.

³³ The Slavonic original contains an additional paragraph: “Первѣ же всѣхъ научнають въ тѣлешн... ѿмоужѣ слава во вѣкн, аминь.” (*Житие и писания молдавскаго старца Паисия Величковскаго. С присовокуплением предисловий на книги Св. Григория Синаита, Филофея Синайскаго, Исихия Пресвитера и Нила Сорскаго, сочиненных другом его и сподвижником, старцем Василием Поляномерульским, о умном трезвении и молитве*, Москва, 1847, p. 95-97). However, the rest of the folio 195v is left blank, which might suggest that monk Raphael had had the intention to complete the text from his source, in the same way that he had dealt with the addition to Nil Sorski’s chapters (See footnote no. 29).

Dumnezeu sânteti, sârguiți-vă cu bărbăție, iubiți pre Dumnezeu cu veselie, răbdați pentru sfânt numele lui toate cu bucurie, apropiați-vă cătră Dânsul și vă luminați și fețele voastre nu să vor rușina.”

Expl.: “...și toate poruncile lui cu dreptate să le păziți și, așa de-acii, împreună cu Hristos să moșteniți, că aceluia iaste mărirea și ținearea, acum și pururea și în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

*** Anonymous – *Questions and answers of the Holy Fathers* (199r-200v) [thematic resemblance – SC 450, p. 173-177, 225-228]³⁴

- a. *Q[uestion]*: “Cum iaste cu datorie a tăcea în chilie?”
A[nswer]: “Pururea a avea în minte ceasul întru carele sufletul din trup să desparte...”
- b. *Q*: “Ce voiui face ca să nu mă turbur în chilie șazănd?”
A: “Pre nimenea să clevețești, nici să hulești, să te rogi și să cânti...”
- c. *Q*: “Ce iaste ceaea ce ajută călugărului întru toată ispita și scârba ce-l cuprinde?”
A: “A creade tare din suflet că aproape iaste Dumnezeu și veade pre om totdeauna”
- d. *Q*: “Deaca adecă nu are neștine cugetul acesta nu poate a să mântui?”
A: “Fără de acesta cuget netare iaste toată lucrarea și osteneala”
- e. *Q*: “Ce dar citaniia și osteneala oare nimic folosesc?”
A: “Folosul, adecă fără de cugetul acesta, nici unul iaste, căci carele multe cărți...”
- f. *Q*: “Oare poate a avea cineva cugetul acesta totdeauna?”
A: “Cugetul acesta din a foarte iubi pre Dumnezeu să face...”
- g. *Q*: “Ce dar va face cineva ca să câștigue pre acest cuget?”
A: “A să ruga lui Dumnezeu zioa și noaptea datoriu iaste...”
- h. *Q*: “De unde va cunoaște că au câștigat neștine cugetul acesta?”
A: “Pre cugetul acesta cel ce au câștigat smerit iaste cu inima și împăcat cu sufletul...”

2.2. St. Barsanuphius – *Questions and answers of St. Barsanuphius* (200v-201r) [thematic resemblance – SC 451, p. 687-689; SC 450, p. 173-177, 225-229]³⁵

Q: “Pentru ce așa curviia luptă pre om?”

A: “Căci că știe diavolul că curviia streini pre noi ne face de Sfântul Duh”

Q: “Cum grăiesc oarecarii că nu avem războaie de curvie?”

A: “Aceasta cei ce grăiesc au pre patimi suptiri reale mai mult decât curviia...”

³⁴ François Neyt, Paula de Angelis-Noah (ed.), *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza: Correspondance*, vol. II, t. I, (SC 450), Paris, 2000.

³⁵ F. Neyt, P. de Angelis-Noah (ed.), *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza: Correspondance*, vol. II, t. II, (SC 451), Paris, 2001.

Q: “Cum să cade a tăcea în chilie?”

A: “Ca pururea și totdeauna în minte a avea ceasul întru carele sufletul din trup...”

Q: “Care lucrare dar iaste datoare inima a avea ca întru aceea să se îndeletnicească și să se învețe?”

A: “Acesta iaste cel desăvârșit lucru al călugărului a avea pre Dumnezeu totdeauna...”

Q: “Cum adecă să cade a goni pre gândurile ceale vicleane?”

A: “Nu poate omul nicidecum întru sine aceasta a face, nici una ca aceasta are tărie...”

Q: “Oare poate clevetirea și osândirea a spurca pre om?”

A: “Nu numai a spurca, ci și din singure aceale cruguri cerești a doborî pre întărirea...”

11. Nilus of Sinai – *On the eight deadly thoughts* (201r-203v) [The edifying Discourse on the 14th of July – *The Abridged Life of Saints* (the Prologue)]
Inc.: “Să știi, fiule, că opt gânduri sânt ceale ce lucrează toate ceale reale: îndrăcirea pântecelui, curviia, iubirea de argint, iuțimea, scârba cea fără vreamă, trândăvirea, mărirea deșartă și mândriia.”
Expl.: “Și totdeauna datoriu pre sine a gândi și pre sine a ocări înaintea lui Dumnezeu și a oamenilor, și des cu lacrimi a te ruga, și te vei schimba din patimă.”
12. Abba Philemon – *The life of our hermit father Philemon. Discourse on stillness* [of mind] (203v-204v) [short version]³⁶
Inc.: “Un frate oarecarele, cu numele Ioan, din locul ce să grăiaște Paraliot, pornindu-se, au venit cătră sfântul acesta și marele Părinte Filimon și, apucându-se de picioarele lui, au zis cătră dânsul: ‘Ce voiu face, părinte, și mă voiu mântui?...’”
Expl.: “...adecă să se învețe în psalmi, și, alteor, să se roage: ‘Doamne, Iisuse Hristoase, Fiiul lui Dumnezeu, miluiaște-mă!’. Și iară când cânti cu limba, ia aminte nu unele a grăi cu gura și spre altele a zbură cu mintea”.
13. Isaac the Syrian (4 chapters from *The Ascetic sermons*)
 13.1. *On manual labor and avarice. Chapter 37* (204v-205r) [*Mystic Treatises, chapter 53*, p. 258]³⁷

³⁶ The text contains only the dialogue between Abba Philemon and brother John (point E; cf. S. Kh. Samir, “Un testo della Filocalia sulla preghiera di Gesù in un manoscritto arabo-copto medievale”, in T. Spidlík, K. Ware and E. Lanne (eds.), *Amore del bello. Studi sulla Filocalia*, Bose, 1990, p. 220). We are currently working on an article which deals with the manuscript circulation of the different versions of this text in Old Romanian Culture.

³⁷ It represents the 15th paragraph of chapter 53 (*On prayer and the other things which are necessarily to be sought in constant recollection and which it is very profitable for a man to recite with discrimination and to retain*): *Inc.:* “When thou turnest towards...”, *expl.:* “and who preserve

Inc.: “Când te vei întoarce spre lucrul mâinilor întru petrecerea liniștii tale, să nu pui porunca Părinților acoperământ iubirii tale de argint. Lucru puțin să fie ție pentru trândăvirea, care nu smintește pre minte.”

Expl.: “Că acea viață a mireanilor iaste și mai vârtos acelora să cuvine, că iaste bine, dar nu pustnicilor și celor slobozi de grijile cestor // văzute și celor ce păzesc mintea sa întru rugăciune.”

13.2. *Isaac the Syrian, bishop of Nineveh, ascetic [who fasts] and hermit - On how beginners ought to be settled. Chapter 9 (205r-207r) [Λόγοι Ασκητικοί, chapter 4, p. 820-824]*³⁸

Inc.: “Aceasta iaste rânduială întregă înțeleaptă și lui Dumnezeu iubită: a nu împrejur căuta cu ochii încoace și încolo, ci totdeauna celor ce sânt înainte a să tinde și nu în deșărt a cuvânta, ci ceale de nevoie numai a grăi...”

Expl.: “Pre aceastea porunci de vei păzi, o, omule, și te vei îndeletnici singur pre sineți totdeauna întru învățătura lui Dumnezeu întru adevăr și fără de fățarnicie va vedea sufletul tău în sine lumina lui Hristos carea în veaci nu să va întuneca aceluia mărirea și ținearea în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

13.3. *On guarding against and avoiding the weak and lazy ones, for their acquaintance gets one conquered by sloth and weakness, filling him with foul passions; how one must keep young acquaintances away in order to preserve his mind unblemished by lust. Chapter 8 (207r-212r) [Λόγοι, chapter 1, p. 803-812]*

Inc.: “Cel ce opreaște gura sa de clevetire, păzește pre inima sa de patimi / și cel ce curățește inima sa de patimi, în tot ceasul vede pre Domnul, a căruia învățatură totdeauna iaste de Dumnezeu, goneaște pre draci de la dânsul și dăzrădăcinează sămânța răotăților.”

Expl.: “Fericit cel ce // pentru Dumnezeu rabdă în fără-de-grijă și mănâncă unul pâinea sa, pentru că totdeauna cu Dumnezeu vorbeaște. Aceluia e mărirea, în veaci. Amin.”

13.4. *Questions and answers. Chapter 21 (212r-218v) [Λόγοι, chapter 27, p. 438-457; lines 1-370]*

Inc. Q.: “Cu carea legătură să ține inima a nu alerga la ceale reale?”

A.: “A urma pururea înțelepciunii și a prisosi întru învățătura vieții...”

Expl. Q.: “Care sânt ceale adevărate seamne și însemnările ceale ce să apropie celui ce au început a vedea roada cea ascunsă în sufletul său?”

A.: “Când să va învrednici cineva de bun darul al lacrimilor celor multe, celor ce fără de nevoie să fac...și acest semn iaste, că iaste omul îngropat întru patimi.”

their mind by prayer”. See A. J. Wensinck (trans.), *Isaac of Nineveh, Mystic Treatises*, Amsterdam, 1923, p. 258.

³⁸ M. Pirár (ed.), *Λόγοι Ασκητικοί*, Athos, 2012.

13.5. *From the same chapter. On different kinds of tears* (218-227v) [Λόγοι, chapter 27, p. 457-477; lines 370-817]

Inc.: “Sânt, adecă, oarecarele din lacrimi arzând și sânt lacrimi îngrășind. Toate lacrimile, adecă ceale din inimă, să pogoară pentru păcate, aceastea usucă pre trup și-l ard...”

Q.: “Ce iaste înviierea sufletului ceaea ce au zis Apostolul de împreună ați înviat cu Hristos?”

A.: “Ceaea ce au zis Apostolul: ‘Dumnezeu cel ce au zis: ‘Dintru întunecarec luminii a străluci’, Acela au strălucit în inimile noastre’,³⁹ înviierea în veciciunii ieșire au arătat bună...”

Expl. Q.: “Deaca după multă osteneală și rea pătimire și nevoiță ceaea ce au agonisit omul să va nesfii gândului mândriei a să adăoga lui, căci că pricină au priimit din frumseața bunătăților sale, și gândește de multa osteneală ceaea ce au răbdat, în ce va ținea gândul său și întărire sufletului său va agonisi a nu să pleca lui?”

A.: “Când va cunoaște cineva că așa cade de la Dumnezeu, precum frunza uscată cade din lemn, atunci cunoaște putearea sufletului său...”

13.5.1. *Poveaste de a lui Dumnezeu rânduială* [Story about God's providence] (226v-227v)

Inc.: “Tinerel oarecarele, cu numele Teodor, muncit fiind pre tot trupul său și întrebat fiind de oarecarele cum simți muncile...”

Expl.: “...întru carii era oarecare puteare ceaea ce urma lor ajutând lor întru toată îndestularea și întru toate a păzi pre dâșii.⁴⁰ Iară că au uitat pre această puteare...”⁴¹

14. *Isaiah the Solitary (of Gaza) – On [self] watchfulness. Chapter 27* (228r-230r) [PG 40, 1194-1197, does not contain the last sentence]⁴²

Inc.: “Ia aminte de sineți cu de-amăruntul, îndrăznind și crezând că Domnul nostru Iisus Hristos, Dumnezeu fiind și nepovestită având slava și mărirea, chip noao s-au făcut, ca să urmărm urmelor Lui...”

Expl.: “Iar spre muiare sau spre bărbat nicidecum să iai aminte fără nevoie. Iar auzirile nu le ierta a asculta asupra cuivaș, nici vorbe nefolositoare și gura ta tacă și cu totul nu grăiască nefiind nevoie.”

³⁹ 2 Cor 4:6.

⁴⁰ The verb “a păzi” has been written twice and crossed out with a line written in red ink.

⁴¹ The end of the story has not been copied. The rest of the folio has been left blank.

⁴² The present text (no.14) illustrates a different translation and a distinct version from Abba Ammon's *Teaching* (no. 15), which is, in fact, Isaiah of Gaza's *Homily 27*. The main difference lies in the lack of some paragraphs anaphorically introduced by the structe “Watch yourself!”, in addition to the content related distinctions (such as the presence of the Jesus Prayer text in the latter and the absence in the former text). Only the first two paragraphs of version no. 14 and no. 15 completely overlap.

15. Abba Ammon – *Teaching* (230r-234v) [The second *Exhortation* according to PO 11, p. 458-471. *Spuria*; cf. CPG 2390 – Isaiah of Gaza, *Homily 27*]

Inc.: “Caută pre tine cu de-adinsul, nădăjduindu-te și crezând că Domnul nostru Iisus Hrisos Dumnezeu fiind, nespună având putere și mărire, chip noao / s-au făcut, ca să urmăim uremelor Lui...”

Expl.: “...așa totdeauna îndreptând viața ta, rugându-te Domnului, mulțămind lui, ca să dobândești împărăția ceriului. Aceluia e slava în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

**** Anonymous – *From the Paterikon. Chapter 4* (234v-236v) [via the *Paterikon*, but also part of the edifying *Discourse* entitled *Discourse from The Paterikon. On crying – The Abridged Life of Saints* (the *Prologue*), 10th of February]⁴³

Inc.: “Într-una de zile au văzut starețul pre ucenicul său preasăturându-se din mâncare (că au fost venit oarecarii cătră dânsul cercetând pre stareț) și au grăit lui deosebi: ‘Frate, au nu știi că plângerea iaste ca o lumină luminând, de nu vei păzi pre dânsa bine să va stinge și întunecoasă va fi? Așa și plângerea cu multe mâncări să stinge...’.”

Expl.: “De vei da cuiva cinste prin dragoste, iar pre urmă te vei scârbi cu cugetul tău, grăind întru tine că ‘mult i-am dat lui’, să nu ascuți pre cugetul acesta, pentru că al vrăjmașului iaste. Însă, cât poți, în sărăcie și în lipsă viețuiaște, ca tu mai vârtos să ajuți altora ce le trebuie și nu au.”

16. John Cassian (*The eight deadly thoughts*) [CPG 2266]

16.1. *On the eight deadly thoughts and, firstly, on Gluttony* (236v-238r)

Inc.: “Mai nainte pentru închipuirea vieților celor de obște alcătuiind cuvânt, acum iarăși întru această de acum cu ale voastre rugăciuni îndrăznind am început a scrie...”

Expl.: “...prin osteneală și prin cetire și a aduna întru (sine) frica gheenii și dorirea împărăției ceriurilor.”

16.2. *On Lust* (238r-240r)

Inc.: “A doao noao ne iaste nevoința spre duhul curviei și pofirii ceii trupești...”

Expl.: “...pentru aceasta datori sântem a ne nevoi pentru toate, ca să dobândim veacinicile bunătăți întru Hristos Iisus. Amin.”

16.3. *On Greed* (240r-243v)

Inc.: “A treia nevoință iaste noao spre duhul iubirii de argint. Strein acest războiu și din afară de fire cunoscut, din necredință pricina întru călugări află.”

⁴³ The structure of the second edition of *The Abridged Life of Saints* (the *Prologue*) is greatly indebted to the *Paterikon* (see footnote no. 11).

Expl.: “Nebunule, întru această noapte sufletul tău vor să-l ia de la tine îngerii, iar ceale ce ai gătit cui vor fi?”⁴⁴

16.4. *On Wrath* (243v-247r)

Inc.: “A patra noao ne iaste nevoița asupra duhului mâniei. Ca cu Dumnezeu pre al aceștiia venin purtătoriu de moarte din adâncul sufletului nostru să-l scoatem și de tot să-l tăiem.”

Expl.: “...nici lepădarea de tot lucrul și urâciunea țiind, vinovați ne vom afla la judecată.”

16.5. *On Envy* (247r-248r)

Inc.: “Al cincilea noao ne iaste nevoița asupra duhului necazului, carele întunecă pre suflet de toată vederea cea duhovnicească și opreaște pre el de toată lucrarea cea bună.”

Expl.: “...și prin învățatura dumnezeieștilor cuvinte și cu oameni buni cucearnici petreacearea și împreună viețuirea.”

16.6. *On Sloth* (248r-250r)

Inc.: “Al șaselea iaste noao nevoița asupra duhului trândăvirii, cel înjugat și lucrătoriu cu duhul scârbei.”

Expl.: “Să știi, dar, că mai greu pre tine te va lupta, ca pre cel ce te-ai supus, deaca nu de-aciia, prin răbdare și prin rugăciune și lucrul mâinilor, pre aceasta a o birui te vei sârgui.”

16.7. *On Vain Glory* (250r-251r)

Inc.: “A șaptelea iaste noao nevoița asupra duhului îndeșartei slave. În multe chipuri iaste aceasta și mai suptire patimă și nu degrab, nici de la cel ce să ispiteaște ajunsă.”

Expl.: “Că așa va putea cu Dumnezeu a să slobozi de duhul îndeșartei slave.”

16.8. *On Pride* (251r-252r)

Inc.: “Al optulea iaste noao nevoița asupra duhului mândriei. Mai cumplit acesta și decât toate ceale mai denainte mai sireap.”

Expl.: “...prin care și cea desăvârșit dragoste să îndreptează cu darul lui Dumnezeu. Amin.”

3.2. St. Basil the Great (*chapters from The Asketikon and various sources*)

3.2.1. *Discourse on hermitage. Chapter 1. Bless (me), father!* (252r-254v) [PG 31, 620-625]

Inc.: “Mari sânt și adânci pravilele și lucrurile unui împărat cătră cei supuș ai săi, iar mai mari și mai împărătești sânt poruncile ceale ce face cătră ostașii lui...”

Expl.: “Îmbărbătați-vă, dar ca niște viteji, alergați pre cale cu vitejie, la cununile ceale veacnice, în Hristos Iisus, Domnul nostru, a căruia mărirea în veaci. Amin.”

⁴⁴ Luke 12:20.

3.2.2. *Second Discourse on hermitage. Bless (me), father! (254v-264v) [PG 31, 625-648]*

Inc.: “Glasul lui Hristos zice: ‘Veniți cătră Mine toți voi carii sânteți osteniți și însârcinați, și eu să vă odihnesc?’...”⁴⁵

Expl.: “Întru acea puțină viețuire a sihăstriei tale vei intra cu darul lui Dumnezeu în raiu cu luminarea făcliei sufletului tău și te vei bucura pururea cu Hristos. Amin.”

3.2.3. *Third homily. Bless (me), father! (264v-269v) [the ending contains an additional fragment, PG 31, 869-881]*

Inc.: “Omul s-au făcut după chipul și asemănarea lui Dumnezeu, iar păcatul au stricat frumsețea chipului, trăgând pre suflet spre poftetele ceale reale.”

Expl. 1 (same as PG): “...din toate greșalele aceastea să nu să ascunză niciunele, ci să se spuie obștii înaintea tuturor, ca să se tămăduiască rana lui, a celui ce au venit întru acea răotate cu rugăciunea tuturor, că mult poate rugăciunea dreptului carea să face.”

Expl. 2 (additional fragment): “Cine voiaste a fi călugăr adevărat și să nu să amăgească trebuie să se facă câte zice marele Vasilie, adevăratul sihastru, adevăratul dascăl al sihăstriei, ale căruia cuvintele aceastea am scos din limba cea cu anevoie de talmăcit, ca să le aveți ca o probă voi carii veți să fiți igumeni și monaș și căutați de alergați cu îndreptarea aceasta, de vreamă că nu vă trebuie altă învățătură. Că aceste cuvinte, măcar de sânt puține, dar sânt îndestul ca să vă povățuiască la socoteala care veți să umblați în viața călugărească și nu vă trebuiaște altă povață afară de aceasta. Că cuvintele lui Vasilie sânt cuvinte duhovnicești și vreadnice împărăției ceriului. Amin.”⁴⁶

3.2.4. *Fourth Discourse on the reason why monks are called angels, on the [meaning of] monastic vows and the punishment rendered by breaking them. Bless (me), father! (270r-275r)*⁴⁷

Inc.: “Întâiu chipul îngeresc să chiamoă cinul călugărilor, nu numai că îngerul l-au arătat acelui Părinte, ci pentru că călugării să făgăduiesc să petreacă și să ție petreacere și viață îngerească. De vreamă ce îngerii au cu

⁴⁵ Matt 11:28.

⁴⁶ “The one who is willing to become a true monk and keep away from delusion must respect Saint Basil’s teachings (the true hermit and desert teacher) which we have translated from that challenging language so that you, who are willing to become priors and monks, might use them as proof and treat them as your sole rectifying teachings. For, scarce as they might be, these teachings suffice for your monastic guidance. Saint Basil’s teachings are spiritual lessons worthy of The Kingdom of Heaven. Amen” (Personal translation - ms. rom. BAR 2597, f. 269v).

⁴⁷ The verb “vezi” (= ‘look’/ ‘check’) is written in the *marginalia* of the folio 274v. This fact might suggest that the source of this copy did not contain this chapter. More probably, acquainted with the text, monk Raphael put down this note so as to compare the fragment with a copy he possessed prior to the process of transcribing this particular codex.

sineși precurata feciorie, aceasta să făgăduiesc și călugării înaintea lui Hristos ca să păzească când să călugăresc.”

Expl.: “Vai de noi! Iar de le vom păzi, veselie și bucurie va fi noao! Putearea Domnului nostru Iisus Hristos, să ne ajute, ca să păzim cu toții chipul îngeresc curat și să ne învrednicim împărăției ceriurilor, măririi ceii îngerești, întru Hristos Iisus, Domnul nostru, a căruia iaste slava în veaci. Amin.”

3.2.5. *Our father, saint Basil, the archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia. Very useful Discourse on monastic life. Bless (me), father! (275r-282r)*⁴⁸

Inc.: “Auziți, frații miei blagosloviți, pre Domnul grăind: ‘Cine au lăsat tată și mamă, frați și surori, nevasta și copiii și va veni după Mine, acesta va lua însutită blagoslovenie și plata cerească va moșteni’.”⁴⁹

Expl.: “...carele zice: ‘Veniți, blagosloviții Părintelui meu, să moșteniți pre ceacea ce iaste de voi gătită împărăția ceriurilor de la începutul lumii’,⁵⁰ prin carele glas să ne învrednicim și noi a câștiga această împărăție veacinică, acum și pururea și în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

3.2.6. *Saint Basil’s homily on hermitage [solitary life] (282r-284r) [PG 31, 643-652, via The Abridged Life of Saints (the Prologue), the edifying Discourse on the 8th of December]*

Inc.: “Să cade călugărul înainte decât cealelalte toate să aibă viețuire fără de aveare și lipsită, și să fie întru loc petrecând cu ticnire, să fie chipul lui cu blândețe și cu istețime, să fie vorba lui cu măsură și cuvintele lui cu bună orânduială...”

Expl.: “...cu darul Domnului nostru Iisus Hristos, căruia să cade slava și putearea, acum și pururea și în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

3.2.7. *On coenobitic monasticism (284r-285r)*

Inc.: “Cei ce poartă sfântul chip călugăresc nu numai nu să cade a avea vreun lucru usebit fieștecarele, ci nici să se numească că aceasta iaste ‘a ta’ au ‘a mea’, au ‘a aceluia’ să cade. Adecă ‘a mea’ poate să zică așa pentru toate: haina, cuculiia, brăul și cealelalte lucruri.”

Expl.: “Ci mai vârtoș să urmăim dumnezeieștilor Scripturi și învățăturilor Sfinților Părinți, ca⁵¹ viața veacinică să moștenim întru Hristos Iisus Domnul nostru, căruia să cade slava și putearea, în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

⁴⁸ The Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius Ms. No. 784, f. 212r-224r: “Наказание святого отца нашего Василия, архиепископа Кесария Капподакийска, како есть лепо быти чрънцем”. <<http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=1&manuscript=784&pagefile=784-0213>> (accessed 28.01.2020).

⁴⁹ Matt 19:29.

⁵⁰ Matt 25:34.

⁵¹ The word “prin” (= ‘through’) has been crossed out with red ink.

17. Damaskinos Stoudites– *Subdeacon and future bishop of Lete and Rendina, abridged advice for those who want to become monks. Bless (me), father!* (285r-291r)

Inc.: “Fraților și părinților, de vreme ce am părăsit lumea și am poftit viața cea îngerească, cu cuvîntă iaste după orânduiala ceii îngerești vieții (adecă a călugăriei) să umblăm. Căci de vom avea numai numele călugăriei, de ne numim călugări, zicând că avem atâția ani la călugărie, apoi faptele călugăriei nu le facem, ce folos avem?”

Expl.: “De vom petrece viața noastră întru acest chip, fraților și părinți, ne va învrednici Dumnezeu și de cea veacinică a lui împărăție, pre carea să o câștigăm noi toți întru Hristos Iisus, Domnul nostru, căruia să cade slava, în veacii veacilor. Amin.”

***** Anonymous – *Apology meant to cast down the miseries of the one who is at loss, misfortuned and beset by troubles; summarized according to Saint Paul’s model: “Be perfect, be of good comfort!”* (2 Cor 13:11) (291r-305r) [St. Dimitry of Rostov – *Apologia*]⁵²

Inc.: “Un duhovnic oarecarele bătrân, carele viețuia pe plăcere dumnezeiască, usebit de lume, auzind pentru un mirean slăvit, iubitoriu de Hristos și temătoriu de Dumnezeu, carele căzuse în multă scârbă. Deci, i-au părut rău acelu duhovnic pentru dânsul și rugându-se lui Dumnezeu, zise:...”

Expl.: “...așa să te mângâie cu mângâierea Duhului Sfânt și să-ți dăruiască bucuriia cea nesfârșită și nedespărțită întru această viață și în cea viitoare. Amin. Așa au mângâiat părintele cel sufletesc pre cel scârbit și s-au dus laudând pre Dumnezeu.”

18. John Chrysostom⁵³

18.1. *Edifying Discourse* (307r-308v) [*On drunkenness – The edifying Discourse on the 15th of June – The Abridged Life of Saints (the Prologue)*]

Inc.: “Iată eu, iubiților, ades făcând învățatură, nădăjduindu-mă a opri deprinderea cea rea a beției, ci și acum împotrivă văz, pentru aceea mă scârbesc, că în zadar să face învățatura.”

Expl.: “Iară băutura cea întru măsură sănătate face, iară fără de măsură, pagubă sufletului face. Dintru aceasta să ne izbăvească pre noi Domnul cu darul său și cu iubirea de oameni.”

⁵² M. A. Fedotova, “‘Апология во утолнение печали человека, сущаго в беде, гонении и озлоблении...’: к вопросу об авторе текста”, *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы* 64, 2016, p. 121-139.

⁵³ John Chrysostom’s two *Discourses* are not present in the *Table of Contents* of the manuscript (1r-3v). However, these chapters do not represent a later addition, in fact they circulated along with the rest of the codex.

18.2. *Edifying Discourse on the habits which the faithful must attain so as to have a clean and righteous life (309r-310v)*

Inc.: “Deci dar atâtea daruri luând noi, să ne nevoim a face toate bunătățile ca să nu fim necinstitori de atâtea daruri bune, că de vream ce și mai nainte de plată aceastea să făcea vreadnice de munci, cu cât mai vârtos după acest daru negrăit.”

Expl.: “Că așa și aicea te vei putea proslăvi și vei moșteni bunătățile ceale ce vor să fie cu darul și cu iubirea de oameni a Domnului nostru Iisus Hristos, căruia e slava și stăpâniia, în veacii nesfârșiți. Amin.”

By the above description, it is easy to see that there are several common texts between the Romanian manuscript and the Greek *Philokalia*:

- Symeon the New Theologian – 32 *Practical chapters* (18/9, 20/11, 26/17, 28/19, 29/20, 37/21, 38/22, 48/32, 51/35, 53/37, 54/38, 55/39, 56/40, 58/42, 63/47, 64/48, 66/50, 68/52, 83/53, 88/58, 20/67, 21/68, 23/69, 29/73, 56/83, 57/84, 58/85, 65/88, 66/89, 71/94, 72/95, 88/108) [SC 51/ Φιλοκαλία 1782, p. 755-783]
 - Pseudo-Symeon’s *Method* (Λόγος περι πίστεως και διδασκαλία εις εκείνους..) [Φιλοκαλία 1782, p. 1171-1177]
- Gregory of Sinai – 15 chapters from *On stillness* (Περι ήσυχίας και περι τών δύο τρόπων τής προσευχής. εν κεφαλαίοις, ιε΄) [Φιλοκαλία 1782, p. 911-917]
 - the 7 chapters from *How the hesychast should sit for prayer and not rise again too quickly* (περι τοῦ πῶς δεῖ καθέζεσθαι τὸν ήσυχάζοντα εις τὴν εὐχὴν και μὴ ταχέως ἀνίστασθαι) [Φιλοκαλία 1782, p. 918-925]
 - the 10 chapters from *On the Signs of Grace and Delusion* (Περι ήσυχίας και προσευχής ἔτι δὲ και περι τών τεκμηρίων τής χάριτος και τής πλάνης, και τίς ή διαφορὰ τής θέρμης και τής ἐνεργείας και ὅτι χωρις ὀδηγοῦ εὐχερῶς συνεισέρχεται ή πλάνη, κεφάλαια ι΄) [Φιλοκαλία 1782, p. 907-910]
- Symeon of Thessalonica – 4 chapters from *On The Holy and Divine Prayer* (Τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Θεσσαλονίκης Συμεὼν περι τής ιερᾶς και θεοποιοῦ προσευχής, ὅσα εστι δηλαδὴ αὐτη και προσευχή, κεφάλαιον 296 ἐν σελίδι τής βίβλου ταύτης 210) [Φιλοκαλία 1782, p. 1160-1161, 1162]
- Anonymous – *Interpretation of “Kyrie Eleison”* (Ἀνώνυμὸν τινος αἴτιον λόγος θαυμάσιος περι τὸν λόγον τής θείας προσευχής. ἤγουν τοῦ Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ Υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐλέησόν με, μεταγλωττιθεῖς εις τὸ ἀπλοῦν διὰ νὰ καταλαμβάνεται ἀπὸ κάθε χριστιανόν) [Φιλοκαλία 1782, p. 1163-1167]

- Nikephoros the Monk – *On Watchfulness and The Guarding of The Heart* (Νικηφόρον μονάζοντος λόγος περι νήψεως καὶ φυλακῆς καρδιᾶς μεστὸς οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ὠφελείας) [Φιλοκαλία 1782, p. 869-878]
- *A discourse on Abba Philemon* (Περὶ τὸν ἄββᾶ Φιλήμονος λόγος πάνυ ὠφέλιμος) [Φιλοκαλία 1782, p. 485-495]
- John Cassian – *On The Eight Deadly Thoughts* (Ἅγιος Κασσιανὸς ὁ Ῥωμαῖος – Πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Κάστορα, περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ λογισμῶν τῆς κακίας) [Φιλοκαλία 1782, p. 61-76]

However, unlike the Greek *Philokalia*, the structure of the *Philokalia of Dragomirna* follows a thematic and not a chronological principle. It begins with St. Symeon the New Theologian's discourse dedicated to those who aspire to become monks and ends with the practical text *Apology to cast down misfortunes* and John Chrysostom's *Edifying discourses*, the latter mentioned amongst the first Church Fathers whom, according to Paisius Velichkovsky's Monastic Rule, a monk should read in his cell in order to be instructed on the Jesus Prayer.⁵⁴ Consequently, as monk Raphael jots down on folio 181r, "For that [the Jesus Prayer] is what these holy texts are all about". When it comes to the selection of the authors, ms. 2597 includes names like Barsanuphius and John, Dorotheos of Gaza, Isaac the Syrian or Abba Ammon, 15th and 16th century figures like Nil Sorski and Damaskinos Stoudites patristic authorities such as Basil of Caesarea and John Chrysostom, and even "local" and contemporary personalities like starets Basil of Poiana Mărului.

All of these writings respect the three major themes specific to Philokalic literature,⁵⁵ combining the practical and ascetic *vita* with contemplative teachings. Thus, it is worthy of notice that, on one hand, the collection is made up of *chapters* written by/ attributed to St. Symeon the New Theologian (No. 1.26), Basil the Great (No. 3.1), starets Basil of Poiana Mărului (No. 6.1, 6.2), Gregory of Sinai (No. 7.1.1, 7.3.1), Nil Sorski (No. 8.2), Symeon of Thessalonica (No. 9.3), Nikephoros the Monk (No. 10), Abba Philemon (No. 12), Abba Ammon (No. 15), Damaskinos Stouditis (No. 17, *Chapter 4 from the Paterikon* and the Anonymous *Delineation* which contain the actual text of the Jesus Prayer ("Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, [a sinner]"), invariably written in red ink, and, on the other hand, by teachings focused on ascetic and mystical motifs such as the war against the Eight Deadly Sins (and the strife to reach ἀπάθεια), *gratia lacrimarum* / πένθος, *compunctio cordis* / κατάνυξις or *spiritual obedience*. It goes without saying that the majority of the

⁵⁴ I. Ică jr. (ed.), *Autobiografia și Viețile unui stareț urmate de Așezăminte și alte texte*, Sibiu, 2015, p. 473.

⁵⁵ See footnote no. 3.

selected texts convey the mystical practice and method of the Jesus Prayer, while the rest, sustaining the former, are generally destined to edify monastic life.

In any case, what we are witnessing is the result of an assiduous process of translation from Old Slavonic. The present manuscript represents a copy of an earlier prototype, most probably produced in the well-known *scriptorium* of the Skete of Poiana Mărului, presided by starets Basil,⁵⁶ a prototype brought to Dragomirna Monastery where, since his arrival in 1763,⁵⁷ Paisius Velichkovsky (Basil's spiritual apprentice) started an extensive philological movement of translating Philokalic literature, using – as a support to understand the Greek sources – both Slavonic models and Romanian translations⁵⁸ gathered from all corners of Wallachia and Moldavia.

As far as we were able to discern the circulation of these texts in other Romanian and Slavonic codices, it is certain that among the ascetico-mystical manuscript collections, two of the main sources involved in creating the prototype for the Ro. Ms. 2597 was the *Abridged Life of Saints* (the *Prologue*)⁵⁹ and a thematic *Paterikon* which included *Questions and Answers* written by the Holy Fathers / Barsanuphius and John.⁶⁰ The structure of the present codex is mostly embedded in the Slavonic tradition of ascetic miscellanea. For instance, the selection of St. Symeon the New Theologian's chapters followed by those written by Gregory of Sinai is exactly the same as the one found in the 14th century sbornik formerly preserved at the Library of The Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius of Radonezh (Moscow),⁶¹ today in the Russian State Library, call number РГБ ф. 173 No. 49, f. 1r-122r,⁶² a tendency still present in 18th century Slavonic miscellanea.⁶³ Another structural pattern might be the coexistence of

⁵⁶ See D. Racanello, *Rugăciunea lui Iisus în scrierile starețului Vasile de la Poiana Mărului*, Sibiu, 1996, p. 56-60.

⁵⁷ I. Ică jr. (ed.), *Autobiografia...*, p. 245.

⁵⁸ See Paisius' "Letter to father Theodosius, archimandrite of Sofroniev Monastery" in Paisie de la Neamț, *Cuvinte și scrisori duhovnicești*, vol. 1, Chișinău, 1998, p. 35-64. See also Z. Mihail, "Les principes de traduction du Vénérable Païssy", *Text și discurs religios*, vol. 6, ed. by Al. Gafton, Sorin Guia, Ioan Milică, Iași, 2014, p. 41-50.

⁵⁹ See footnote no. 11.

⁶⁰ One of the earliest types of this *Paterikon* we could consult is the Library of the Holy Synod (Bucharest) Ms. No. 24 (D. Fecioru, "Catalogul manuscriselor românești din Biblioteca Patriarhiei Române (VII)", *Studii teologice* 7-8, 1960, p. 572-579).

⁶¹ It represents the oldest Slavonic ascetic manuscript collection to extensively put together St. Symeon the New Theologian's *chapters* with Gregory of Sinai's writings (See Г. М. Прохоров, "Келейная исихастская литература (Иоанн Лествичник, Авва Дорофей, Исаак Сирин, Симеон Новый Богослов, Григорий Синаит) в библиотеке Троице-Сергиевой лавры с XIV по XVII в.", *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы* 28, 1974, p. 317-324).

⁶² <<http://old.stsl.ru/manuscripts/medium.php?col=5&manuscript=049&pagefile=049-0001>> (accessed 25.01.2020).

⁶³ Hilandar Sl. Ms. no. 673, 215, 506; Zographou Sl. Ms. no. 119 and 129. See I. Evangelou, "The Ascetical-Mystical Literature in the Slavic Miscellanies of Mount Athos in the 14th-18th century",

ascetical *Questions and Answers* with different texts by Abba Isaiah, Abba Dorotheus, Abba Philemon and Abba Ammon.⁶⁴ On top of that, the Romanian codex also includes Russian spiritual figures, such as Nil Sorski (1433-1508), Dimitry of Rostov (1651-1709), and starets Basil of Poiana Mărului (1692-1767).

In addition to being of interest due to its intrinsically Slavonic pattern and in comparison to the Greek *Philokalia*, the ms. 2597 is an important collection in itself, due to its specific composition. The value of the content is put into light by the fact that this manuscript gathers one of the earliest and “most complete” Romanian copies of texts written by St. Symeon the New Theologian and Gregory of Sinai.

Bearing in mind its textual selection and thematic coherence, ms. 2597 or the (proto-) *Philokalia of Dragomirna* rallies to the wide “pre-existing Philokalic Tradition”. As an epitome of an ascetic and mystical codex, it also mirrors the preferences of the monastic Romanian compilers from the 18th century, namely a “canon” which is partly indebted to the Slavonic tradition, yet equally foreshadowing The Greek *Philokalia* and bringing together acknowledged authorities and local contemporary hesychasts.

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in K. Νιχορίτις, Κ. Ευαγγέλου, Α. Αθανασίος (eds.), *Σπαράγματα Βυζαντινοσλαβικής Κληρονομιάς*, Thessalonica, 2011, p. 236-239.

⁶⁴ Hilandar Sl. Ms. no. 459 (1360-1375), See *ibid.*, p. 236-239.

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