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## ONCE AGAIN ABOUT THE MULTIFOLD SLAVONIC TRANSLATIONS AND THEIR CONTEXT: *ON PRAYER* BY EVAGRIUS OF PONTUS (CPG 2452)

**Abstract.** The article examines the history of the Slavic translations of the work *On Prayer* by Evagrius (Evagrius) of Pontus (CPG 2452). The witnesses are more than 35 – in manuscripts of Russian, Serbian, Bulgarian and Moldavian-Wallachian provenance, from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Two translations are analysed, which are distributed in monastic collections compiled in different ways. The first of these can be situated in the context of the early parenetic literature of the First Bulgarian Kingdom (10<sup>th</sup> c.), and the other is related to the literary tradition and ascetical practices of Hesychasm in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. A version of the first translation, which appeared in the 14<sup>th</sup> century in the Bulgarian milieu is also considered. The comparison of the language of the translations with their Greek original allows for extremely interesting observations on the translators' approaches. The reception of the text *On Prayer* is a key to understanding the processes that take place in the Slavic literature over a long period, characterized on the one hand by the continuity, and on the other by the introduction of new phenomena, both in the selection of vocabulary and in the compositions of the manuscripts as a whole. The history of the work *On Prayer* sheds light on the connections of the monastic centres on the Balkans, Russia, and Mount Athos.

**Keywords:** Slavic literature of the Middle Ages, multifold translations, paraenetic style, Hesychasm, the composition of anthologies

### Introduction

Evagrius Ponticos (Evagrius Ponticus) (345–399)<sup>1</sup> is chronologically the third patristic author to dedicate a work to the subject of prayer after Clement of Alexandria (150–215) and Origen (c. 184–c. 253). The work under the title of *Περὶ προσευχῆς* (*De oratione*) (CPG 2452; PG, vol. LXXIX, col. 1165–1200) is one of his most popular texts attested by the existence of translations into different languages. The tradition of the Greek text, known from about 150 copies in full

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is a part of the international project on the monastic heritage of Slavia Orthodoxa, and in the project the Greek forms of the names are preferred (ending -os, not -us), as is customary in the inventories.

text and excerpts, has been studied well and has been published in a critical edition<sup>2</sup>. The work is an anthology of wise sentences in paraenetic style, planned as a collection of 153 texts – similar to the number of fish in the miraculous catch of Simon Peter (John 21: 11). This reasoning for the composition's relation to the New Testament has been developed in the Prologue, with arguments supporting the intellectual communication with God. The objective of the author is not the liturgical application of prayer or the explanation of its content, but rather an intellectual, contemplative aspect, the rising to God and its achievement in solitude. Underscored by researchers, this peculiarity of the text also determines the context in which it is found in Slavic manuscripts, as we shall see from the descriptions of their characteristics. The language used by Evagrius belongs to *Haute literature*, with purposeful use of symbolism and rhetorical devices (anaphora, epiphora, parallel syntax, and others). Therefore the question about the technique of the Slavic translation and to what extent it follows complements or deviates from the Greek original is important. The present initial study aims to establish the translations and redactions, and their chronology, but a study on the style of the translation is forthcoming.

As has already been established, a large portion of the works of Evagrius was copied under the name of Neilos (Nilus) of Ancyra (of Sinai) (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. – 430), others are encountered with the name of Hesychios (Hesychius) of Jerusalem (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. – ca. 450/451). Pseudo-authorship was made necessary by the fact that Evagrius was declared heretical at the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553) on the charges that he was a follower of Origen (ca. 185 – ca. 254), with views close to Gnosticism, and was thus condemned with Origen himself. The sentence was confirmed by the Sixth Ecumenical Council. Because of the interpretations and the suggestions close to those of Origen, all his texts were anathematised at the Lateran Council of 649, and those who did not want to reject the works of Evagrius were also subject to anathema<sup>3</sup>.

However, the anathema on Evagrius and the confiscation of his works from the Greek Orthodox libraries after 553 did not diminish the popularity of his works. In addition to Greek, they are also known in translations into Syriac<sup>4</sup>, Coptic, Arabic, Armenian and Georgian<sup>5</sup>, but also in Slavic. I shall note that one of the earliest

<sup>2</sup> ÉVAGRE LE PONTIQUE, *Chapitres sur la prière*, ed. et trans. P. GÉHIN, Paris 2017 [= SC, 589].

<sup>3</sup> Г.И. БЕНЕВИЧ, *Евагрий Понтийский и палестинская философско-богословская традиция*, АЕГу 23, 2017, p. 21–26.

<sup>4</sup> J. MUYLDERMANS, *Evagriana Syriaca. Textes inédits du British Museum et de la Vaticane*, Louvain 1952, p. 39–46.

<sup>5</sup> K. SAMIR, *Evagre le Pontique dans la tradition arabo-copte*, [in:] *Actes du IV<sup>e</sup> Congrès Copte. Louvain-la-Neuve, 5–10 septembre 1988*, vol. II, ed. M. RASSART-DERBERGH, J. RIES, Louvain-la-Neuve 1992 [= PIOL, 41], p. 132–133. Evagrius' works have also been translated into Romanian: D. MUTALÂP, *The Structure and Composition of a Proto-Philokalic Romanian Manuscript from 1769*, [in:] *Translations of Patristic Literature in South-Eastern Literature*, ed. L. TASEVA, R. MARTI, Brăila 2020, p. 309;

translated works is a combination of wise sayings, known as *Capita paraenetica* (CPG 6583a and 6583b) under the title: Прѣбнаго вѣда нашего нила. в разоумыи оученіа дшѣпользнаа. Incip.: Стрѣ имѣи бжїи и ѣтомъ къ всеѣмъ свѣтѣльствомъ свѣсти своеѣ вѣсѣдоуи. The *sententiae* has three known translations: (1) in the so-called *Knjažeski Izbornik* (*Princely Collection*) (10<sup>th</sup> c.) which has reached us in the *Izbornik of 1076*<sup>6</sup>; (2) in manuscripts related to No. 382 of Hilandar monastery, end 13<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and its protograph<sup>7</sup>; (3) in the traditions of the Slavic *Pčela* (the *Bee*) miscellany<sup>8</sup>, and (4) a new translation of an excerpt of the wise sayings with a different composition compared with the Greek text, included in miscellanies of ascetic literature<sup>9</sup>. Despite the considerable academic interest in the work of Evagrius Ponticos and its distribution among the Slavs<sup>10</sup>, a number of translations remain unstudied, including their chronology and their transmission, and these works include *De oratione*. As I noted above, all copies bear the name of Neilos of Ancyra. The original authorship was already established in the 1930s by father Irénée Hausherr<sup>11</sup>. A recent comprehensive review of the works, publications and commentaries was made by Joel Kalvesmaki<sup>12</sup>.

The distribution of *De oratione* in Slavic translation presents both the interpretation of the subject in different periods of the development of medieval literature and the context of the concrete text.

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IDEM, *Redacția scurtă a unei scrieri ascetico-mistice atribuite lui Evagrie Ponticul în literatura română veche (I)*, LR 69, 2020, p. 31–48.

<sup>6</sup> У. ФЕДЕР, *Кънажици изборьникъ за възпитание на канартикина*, vol. II, Велико Търново 2008, p. 8–10, 35–48.

<sup>7</sup> This Bulgarian translation can be attributed to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The contents are duplicated in: No. 72, 14<sup>th</sup> century and No. 310, 16<sup>th</sup> century of the Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest. Cf. A. MILTENOVA, *Towards the Slavic Translations of Capita Paraenetica Ascribed to either Nilus of Ankyra or to Hesychius of Jerusalem*, [in:] *Σπαράγματα Βυζαντινοσλαβικής Κληρονομιάς. (Χαριστήριος Τόμος στον Καθηγητή Ιωάννη Χρ. Ταρνανίδη)*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2011, p. 125–154.

<sup>8</sup> MS Ф.п.І.44, parchment, 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> century, contains the sentences of Menandros and Barnabas, cf. В.М. СЕМЕНОВ, *Изречения Исихия и Варнавы по русским спискам*, ПДП 92, 1892, p. 1–9.

<sup>9</sup> Published after a Russian manuscript: М.Н. СПЕРАНСКИЙ, *Переводные сборники изречений в славянорусской письменности. Исследование и текст*, Москва 1904, p. 195–203. The Middle Bulgarian copies are known, but have not been studied, e.g. No. 80 (Ryapov miscellany), BAS Archive, second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>10</sup> К.В. ВЕРШИНИН, *Из истории славянских переводов Евагрия Понтийского*, [in:] *Письменность, литература, фольклор славянских народов. История славистики XVI Международной съезд славистов. Белград, 20–27 августа 2018 г. Доклады российской делегации*, Москва 2018, p. 52–61.

<sup>11</sup> I. HAUSHERR, *Le traité de l'oraison d'Évagre le Pontique (Pseudo-Nil)*, RAM 15, 1934, p. 34–93, 113–170; IDEM, *Le 'De oratione' d'Évagre le Pontique en syriaque et en arabe*, OCP 5, 1939, p. 7–71; IDEM, *Les leçons d'un contemplatif. Le Traité de l'oraison d'Évagre le Pontique*, Paris 1960. The author notes the presence of the work in the *Bibliotheca* of Patriarch Photios (Photius: *Bibliotheca*, cod. 201).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. <http://evagriusponticus.net/corpus.htm#cpg2452> [28 XII 2020]. J. KALVESMAKI, *Evagrius and his Legacy*, Notre Dame, Ind. 2016.

## Sources

The copies in Slavic manuscripts of Serbian, Bulgarian, Russian and Slavonic Romanian provenance number over 35, and the most typical examples of the translations and redactions can be given as follows<sup>13</sup>:

1. MS 93, Dečani monastery collection, 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century, parchment, 192 folia, 4°. Of Russian provenance. F. 179v.–186r: Прп(д)бнго оца нашего нила о млтвѣ. Incip.: Иже хощеть благовоны тьманъ творити. то чистыи ливанъ и касиа поноухъ и стактикъ тзъно сложить по законуу. си жи (!) соуть четърство добро-правьемь. аще во испзаль и равна боудоуть. то непреданъ боудеть оумъ<sup>14</sup>.

Explic.: Мо(л)твѣ похвала. не просто колитѣство. нъ каквоѣство. и се авлаеть. възсходивъши въ цркви. и вы молаць са не блгословите (sic!) и прочее и прочее. Елма же въ помыслѣ еси тѣлеснѣмь. и оумъ ти стѣннына обзходить красоты. нѣси не оу млтвѣ видѣлъ мѣста. нъ и еше далече блжены еа. пжтъ есть. егда прѣстоа въ млтвѣ. паце всако арости онаа бывааше. тзгда въ истиную обрѣте молитвоу.

2. MS 10d (253), Hludov Collection, State Historical Museum, together with fragment No 323, N.K. Nikolsky Collection, Russian Academy Library, parchment, 13<sup>th</sup> century. Of Russian provenance. F. 125r–151 Прп(д)бнаго оца нила о млтвѣ. главизнъ. рѣг. Incip.: Иже хощеть блговоны тьманъ творити. то чистыи ливанъ, и касию.<sup>15</sup>

3. MS 644, Synodal Collection, State Historical Museum, end-14<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, parchment, 135 folia. Of Russian provenance. F. 96v–114v: Прп(д)бна(г) оца нашего нила о молитвѣ главизнъ р. и ѿ. и г. Incip.: Иже хощеть блговонын тьманъ творити<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Acknowledgments: I am very grateful to the monks of the Hilandar Monastery and the Hilandar Research Library for the opportunity to work with manuscripts.

<sup>14</sup> Д. БОГДАНОВИЪ, Н.Р. СИНДИК, *Описъ кирилскихъ рукописныхъ кнѣга манастира Високи Дечани*, vol. I, Београд 2011, p. 376–380; W. VEDER, *Евагрий Понтийскій О Молитве. К вопросу о глаголице на Руси*, [in:] *Forma formans. Studi in onore di Boris Uspenskij*, ed. S. VERTOLISSI et al., Napoli 2010, p. 243–266; Т.И. АФАНАСЬЕВА, Д.М. БУЛАНИН, У. ФЕДЕР, *Письменные памятники истории и культуры России в собраниях зарубежных архивов и библиотек*, vol. VII, Берлинский Кормчий. Древнерусский учительный сборник XIV века, ed. Д.М. Буланин, Санкт Петербург 2018.

<sup>15</sup> А. ПОПОВ, *Первое прибавление к описанию рукописей и каталогу книг церковной печати библиотеки А.И. Хлудова*, Москва 1875, p. 8–9; *Сводный каталог славяно-русскихъ рукописныхъ книгъ, хранящихся в СССР. XI–XIII вв.*, Москва 1984, № 229 (Sobolevsky, following A.N. Popov, incorrectly dated the manuscript to the 15<sup>th</sup> century); a fragment from it – Russian Academic Library, St. Petersburg, Nikolsky Collection, No. 323 (СК XI–XIII, No 308); identification of the parts: Д.М. Буланин, *Реконструкция древнерусского сборника XIII в.*, [in:] *Исследования по древней и новой литературе*, Ленинград 1987, p. 342–345; *Каталог памятников древнерусской письменности XI–XIV вв. (Рукописные книги)*, ed. Д.М. Буланин, А.А. Романова et al., Санкт Петербург 2014 [= SSO, 7], p. 250. The manuscript is not accessible *de visu* to me.

<sup>16</sup> А. ГОРСКИЙ, К. НЕВОСТРУЕВ, *Описание славянскихъ рукописей Московской Синодальной библиотеки*, vol. II, *Писания святыхъ отцовъ*, pars 3, *Разные богословские сочинения*, Москва 1857,

4. MS Hamilton 381, State Library in Berlin, second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Of Russian provenance. F. 100v-c-d-110r-a-b: Прп(д)бнаго оца нила о млтѣвѣ главизнѣ. ѿ. и ѿ. Incip.: Иже хоцетъ бл҃говонными темианѣ творити то ч(с)твыи ливанѣ и касио и онухѣ и стакти тоуено. положить по законуу си же сѣтъ чѣтыре добронравнемь. аще во исполнѣ нравна будуть. то не преданѣ будетъ оумѣ<sup>17</sup>.

Explic.: О млтѣвѣ похвала. не просто количѣство. но каковѣство. и се являють възходи-  
вшеи въ црѣвѣ и вы молаще са не бладословите. и прочее. рѣд. елма же в помыслѣ  
еси телеснѣмь. и оумѣ ти стѣннына овьходитъ красоты. не си оуне млтѣвѣ видѣлѣ  
мѣст(а) но и еце далече бл҃жныи ема пѣтъ есть. рѣд. егда престоа въ молитвѣвѣ  
паче всакоа радости иноа бываше. тогда во истиную обрѣте молитву.

5. MS 1036, National library in Sofia, paper, 297 folia, second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Of Bulgarian provenance, Middle Bulgarian orthography. F. 196v-203r: Прѣп(д)бнаго оца нашего нила ѡ м(л)тѣвѣ главѣ ѿ и ѿ. Incip.: Їже хоцетъ бл҃говонныа, димѣаны творити. тѡ чиствыи ливанѣ, и касѣа, и смирна, и стакти, тѣчно възложитъ по законѣ. си же сѣтъ чѣтыре двѣрини нрави. аще бѡ испльнѣ и равна бѣдетъ оумѣ<sup>18</sup>.

Explic.: Млтѣва похвала е(с) не просто количѣство. нѣ ко(ли)чѣ (sic!) вство и се являѣтъ  
въходящии въ црѣвѣ. и вы не бладословите молаще се, и прочее. Елма же еси въ  
помыслѣ тѣлеснѣмь. и оумѣ ти вѣхидитъ стѣнныѣ красоты. не оуеси оувѣдѣлѣ  
мѣста млтѣвныа красоты. нѣ и еце далече е(с) пѣтъ еѣ блаженныи. егда прѣ(д)  
стоиши въ млтѣвѣ. паче инѡѣ възсѣкыа радости бываеши, тѡгда въ истинѣ  
те млтѣвѣ. славаце оца и сѣа и стѣо дѣа. нинѣ и присно и въ вѣкы вѣкомѣ а(м).

6. MS 2 (old 13 /29/), State Archive of the Republic of Moldova, Chişinău, paper, 328 folia, the third quarter of 14<sup>th</sup> c.; semiuncial; without juses, two jers (inconsistent) orthography with traces of Middle Bulgarian; Moldavian provenance, New Neamţ monastery<sup>19</sup>. F. 23v-30r: Прѣовна(г) ѡца ѿшего нила

vol. II, pars 2, № 154, p. 283-287; *Предварительный список славяно-русских рукописных книг XV в., хранящихся в СССР*, ed. А.А. Турилов, Москва 1986, № 458; СК-2, № 89; *Каталог памятников древнерусской письменности XI-XIV вв...*, p. 250.

<sup>17</sup> Д.М. Буланин, *Древнерусский учительный сборник XIV в. Berlin, Hamilton 381 и его бывший владелец Александр, 10-й герцог Гамильтон*, pars 1, RAnt 1 (14), 2017, p. 23-75; pars 2, RAnt 2 (15), 2017, p. 79-98; *Берлинский Кормчий. Древнерусский учительный сборник XIV века...*

<sup>18</sup> М. Стоянов, Х. Кодов, *Опис на славянските ръкописи в Софийската народна библиотека*, vol. III, София 1964, p. 231-239. Contains redaction γ f of the *Aprophthegmata Patrum* – the classification of the manuscripts of the *Svodny Paterik* follows the distribution of И. Еремин, “Сводный” *Патерик у південно-слов’янських, українському та московському письменствах*, ЗІФВУАН 12, 1927, p. 46-77; 15, 1927, p. 50-77; cf. С. Николова, *Патеричните разкази в историята на старата българска литература*, СЛ 1, 1971, p. 167-191; С. Николова, *Патеричните разкази в българската средновековна литература*, София 1980, p. 36-37.

<sup>19</sup> No analytical description has been published. Inventory (typewriting): Фонд 2119. Опись № 2 славяно-русских рукописных книг, XIV-XIX вв. Кишинев, 1983. The manuscript has been used *de visu*.

w млтѣвѣ, главѣ ѿ и ѿв. Incip.: Їже хощеть бл҃говонныи фѣмианы творити. то чистыи ливань, и касїю, и смирна и стакти. тѣчно вьложитъ по законуу.

Explic.: Млтѣва похвала ꙗс(с) не просто количѣство. нѣ ко (sic!) вѣство и се являють вьзодещен вь цр҃кѣвѣ. и вы не бледословите мѣще се, и прочѣи. Елма же неси вь помыслѣ тѣлеснѣмь. и оумь ти вьбьходитъ стѣнныи красоты. не оуеси оувѣдѣль мѣста млтѣвныи красоты. нѣ и еще далече ꙗс(с) пѣть ꙗе блаженныи. Егда прѣв(д) стоиши вь млтѣвѣ. паче иноче вьзаское радости бываеши, тог(д)а вь истинуу вьрѣте млтѣвѣ. славецѣ вѣда и сѣа и ст҃го дх҃а. нина и пр(с)но и вь вѣкы.

7. MS 151 п, coll. 301, Church Archaeological Museum at the Kyiv Theological Academy – now in Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv, paper, 631 folia, 80–90 years of 14<sup>th</sup> century, Serbian orthography. From the collection of Archimandrite Antonin Kapustin, monastery St Paul (Mount Athos). 410v–417v: Ніла постника главизны w млтѣвѣ. Incip.: Иже хощеть бл҃говонїни дїмїа(м) оустроити<sup>20</sup>.

8. MS 47, Hilferding Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, paper, 510 folia, third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Of Bulgarian provenance. 120r–131v: Ніла постника. главизны w м(л)тѣвѣ. Incip.: Иже хощеть бл҃говонныи димїанѣ оустроити. ч(с)тнѣо ливано. и касїѣ. и ониѣа и стакти, равнѣ да сьложитъ по законуу. сїа же сѣть, чѣтворица добродѣтѣлемь<sup>21</sup>.

Explic.: Млтѣвѣ похвала, не простw количѣство, нѣ качѣство. и се являеть вьзыше(д) шеи вь ст҃илицѣ. нѣ и еже и вы молаще са не лихогл҃ите и прочаа бѣу же нашему слава вь вѣкы вѣкw(м), аминь:–

9. MS 80, Archive of Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (Ryapov miscellany), paper, 394 folia, second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Of Bulgarian provenance, Middle Bulgarian orthography. F. 188r–194v: Прп(д)бнаго вѣда нашего ніла w млтѣвѣ, главѣ, рѣв. Incip. Иже хощеть благовонныѣ дїмїаны творити. то чистыи ливань. и касїа, и смїрна, и стакти тѣчно вьложитъ по законуу. си же сѣть чѣтыре добри прави. аще бо испльнь и равна воудеть, не прѣда(н) вѣде оу(м). The text stops after chapter чѣ – torn folia, no explicit<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Л.А. Гнатенко, О.С. Онищенко, В.В. Нимчук, С.Г. Даневич, Л.А. Дубровина, Н.М. Зубкова, *Слов'янська кирилична рукописна книга XIV ст. З фондів Інституту рукопису Національної бібліотеки України імені в. І. Вернадського. Каталог. Кодиколого-орфографічне дослідження. Палеографічний альбом*, Київ 2007, р. 119–127. The manuscript is not accessible *de visu* to me.

<sup>21</sup> В. Мошин, *К датировке рукописей из собрания А.Ф. Гильфердинга Государственной Публичной библиотеки*, ТОДЛ 15, 1958, р. 409–417, 414, № 47; Б. Христова, В.М. Загребин, Г.П. Енин, Е.М. Шварц, *Славянские рукописи болгарского происхождения в Российской национальной библиотеке*, Санкт Петербург 2009, р. 121–126.

<sup>22</sup> Х. Кодов, *Опис на славянските ръкописи в библиотеката на Българската академия на науките*, София 1969, р. 174–188.



10. MS 456, Hilandar monastery, paper, 314 folia, end 14<sup>th</sup> century. Of Serbian provenance, Raška orthography<sup>23</sup>. F. 144v–154v: Нила по(с)ника главизни в млѣвѣ. Incip.: Иже хоцетъ блѣговонныи дѣмѣанъ оустроити. ч(с)тное ливано и касѣе и ониѣа и стакти, равнѣ да съложитъ по законуу. сѣа же соу(т), четворица добр(д)тѣлѣ(м). аще во испльнѣныи и равныи боу(д)тѣ, непрѣданъ боудетъ оумь.

Explic.: Млѣтвѣ похвала, не просто количѣство. нь каѣѣство. и се явлѣаютъ вышь(д)шеи въ сѣтилище. нь и еже и вы млѣще се не лихо(о)глѣте и проѣаа.

11. MS 468, Hilandar monastery, paper, 278 folia, end 14<sup>th</sup> – beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century. Serbian orthography<sup>24</sup>. F. 98r–107v: П(р)ѣпо(д)но(г) вѣда н(а) шго нила по(с)тника главызнѣи. в млѣвѣ. глава ѡ. Incip.: Иже хоцетъ блѣговонныи дѣмѣамъ оустроити. чѣсное ливана касѣе, и ониѣа, и стакти. равнѣ да сложитъ по законѣ. сѣа же соу(т) четвор(и)ца доб(д)талмь. аще во испльнѣнѣи и равны(и) боудѣ(т) непрѣданъ боудетъ оумь.

Explic.: Млѣтвѣ похвала не просто количѣство нь каѣѣство. и се явлѣаютъ вышьдышии въ свѣтилище. нь и еже и вѣи молеще се, не лихоглѣте и проѣаа. Directly following the text and added in another hand (?) another work with incip.: Велика врѣжѣа мльѣщом(ѣ) съ трыпѣнѣемь. въз(д)рѣжанѣе. и любовь. и млѣва. и прочитанѣе, with the right margin containing the note: да(л)сѣев(о), and after that: нилово.

12. MS 28, Austrian National Library, Vienna, paper, 544 folia, mid-15<sup>th</sup> century. Originates from Hilandar monastery, Raška orthography. F. 219r–239v: Нила постника главизныи в млѣвѣ. сто. и петъдесе(ть). Incip.: Иже хоцетъ блѣговоннѣи дѣмѣа(м) оустроити. ч(с)тное ливано и касѣе и ониѣа и стакти, равнѣ да съложитъ по законуу. сѣа же соу(т), четворица добродѣтелѣ(м). аще оубо испльнѣнѣни и равныи боу(д)тѣ, непрѣданъ боудетъ оумь<sup>25</sup>.

Explic.: Млѣтвѣ похвала, не просто количѣство, нь каѣѣство. и се явлѣанѣ(т) вышь(д)шеи въ сѣтилище. нь и еже и вы млѣще се не лихоглѣте и проѣаа.

<sup>23</sup> P. МАТЕЈИЋ, Н. ТНОМАС, *Manuscripts on Microform of the Hilandar Research Library (The Ohio State University)*. Catalog, vol. I–II, Columbus 1992, p. 548; Д. БОГДАНОВИЋ, *Каталог ћирилских рукописа манастира Хиландара*, vol. I, Београд 1978, p. 175: Нила Посника о молитви у 150 глав. The description wrongly registers a copy in MS 475 Hilandar, ca. 1320–1330, Raška orthography. 42b–50: Нила Постника 150. In fact, this is a *Stoslovets (Centuria de fide)* ascribed to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Genadios.

<sup>24</sup> P. МАТЕЈИЋ, Н. ТНОМАС, *Manuscripts on Microform of the Hilandar Research Library...*, p. 558; Д. БОГДАНОВИЋ, *Каталог ћирилских...*, p. 179: Нила Посника о молитви глави 150. W. VEDER, *Евагрий Понтийский О Молитве...* allows reconstruction of the protograph of the copy in Dečani 93 of manuscripts 456 and 468 from Hilandar, but they constitute another translation of the work.

<sup>25</sup> G. BIRKFEHLNER, *Glagolitische und kyrillische Handschriften in Oesterreich*, Wien 1975 [= SB.LA, 23], p. 132–137.

13. MS 426 (31) National Library of Serbia, Belgrade (destroyed in World War II). Convolute. *Scala Paradisi* by John Sinaites, 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century. The main part dates from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. F. 407v–414r: СѢаго нила постника главизны в м(л)твѣ. Incip.: Иже хоцет благовоанны диміан оустроити ѹстное ливано и касіа и ониѡа и стакти равнѣ да сложитъ по законуу сѣа же соуѡ ѹтворица добродѣтель<sup>26</sup>.
14. MS 159, Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest, paper, 322 folia, end 14<sup>th</sup> – beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century. Brought from Mount Athos by Paisios Velichkovsky (copyist Davud and others), Middle Bulgarian orthography. F. 115v–128v: Нила постника. главизны в м(л)твѣ рѣ. Incip.: Иже хоце(т) бл҃гованны думіан оустроити. ѹстное ливано. и касіѡ. и вниѡа и стакти, равнѣ да съложи(т) по законѡ сѣа же сѡ(т) ѹтворица добродѣтелем...<sup>27</sup>.
15. MS 315, Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest, paper, 257 folia, the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> century, of Bulgarian provenance. Middle Bulgarian orthography. Convolute. F. 1r–140r: (without title or incipit) Нила постника. главизны в м(л)твѣ рѣ. Contains chapters 1–7, 12, 14, 17, 24–29, 33, 35–36, 43, 48–49, 53, 60–61, 80–88<sup>28</sup>.
16. MS 165 (1720) Homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza with additions, 1414, Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. Two-*jus*, two-*jer* orthography. F. 236r–251r: Нила постника. главизны о м(л)твѣ. Incip.: Иже хоце(т) бл҃гованны диміанѡ оустроити. ѹ(с)тное ливано и касіа и вниѡа и стакти, равнѣ да сложи(т) по законуу, сѣа же сѡ(т), ѹтворица добродѣтеле(м). аце во исполнены и равны бѡдоу(т). непреданѡ вѡде(т) оумѡ.
- Explic.: Млѣтѣв похвала. не просто количѣство, но качѣство. и се явлають възше(д)шен въз стѣлице. но и еже и вы малце са не лихоглѣте и прѡ(ѹ)д.
17. MS 116 (91) Interpretative apostolos with added articles, 15<sup>th</sup> century, Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. Two-*jus*, two-*jer* orthography. F. 321v–330v: Нила по[стника] главизны о м(л)твѣ. Incip.: Иже хоце(т) бл҃гованны диміанѡ оусторити, ѹ(с)тное ливано и касіа и ониѡа и стакти. равнѣ да съложитъ по законѡ. сѣа же сѡтъ, ѹтворица добродѣтеле, а(це) во исплзнены и равны бѡдѣтъ. непреданѡ бѡдетъ оумѡ.
- No explic.: [П]ѣніе оубо, стр(с)ти оуталѣс(т). и раствореніе тѣлесное без'млѡв'ствовати съдѣловажть. млѣва же дѣ... (incomplete).

<sup>26</sup> Љ. Стојановиѡ, *Каталог Народне библиотеке у Београду*, Београд 1982, p. 174–179.

<sup>27</sup> I.-R. MİRCEA, P. VOİCNEVA, S. TODOROVA, *Répertoire des manuscrits slaves en Roumanie. Auteurs byzantines et slaves*, Sofia 2005, p. 141; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei R.P.R.*, vol. I, Bucuresști 1959, p. 236–237.

<sup>28</sup> I.-R. MİRCEA, P. VOİCNEVA, S. TODOROVA, *Répertoire des manuscrits slaves en Roumanie...*, p. 141; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române și slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. II, ed. D.-L. ARAMĂ, G. MİNĂILĂ, G. ȘTREMPEL, Bucuresști 2003, p. 66–71.



18. MS 167 (1673) *Scala Paradisi* by John Sinaites and homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza with additions, 1423, Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. F. 515r–527v: Нила постника главизны в м(л)твѣ. гл(в) ѿ. Incip.: Иже хощеть бл҃говннѣны диміанъ оустроити. ч(с)тноє ливано и касїа и вниха и стакти, равнѣ да сложить по законуу, сїа же соутъ, четворица добродѣтеле(м). аще бо исполнены и равны боудоуть.

Explic. (written partly in the right margin): Млѣтвѣ похвала. не просто коли(ч)ство. но и се явлѣю(т) възше(д)шеи въ сѣтилице. но и еже и вы млаще (с) не лихоголите и прочаа.

19. MS 183 (1675) *Scala Paradisi* by John Sinaites and homilies of Symeon the New Theologian with additions, 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> century. Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. F. 332v–343r: Сѣго нила постника. главизны в мо(л). Incip.: Иже хоще(т) бл҃говонныи диміанъ оустроити, ч(с)тноє ливано и касїа и вниха и стактї равнѣ да сложи(т) по законуу. сїа же соу(т) четворица добродѣтеле(м). аще бо исполнены боудоу(т), непереданъ боуде(т) оумъ.

Explic.: Млѣтвѣ похвала. не просто количѣство, но качѣство. и се явлѣють възше(д)шеи въ сѣтилице. но и еже и вы млаще са не лихоголите и прочаа.

20. MS 756 (1637) Miscellany, 15<sup>th</sup> century. Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. F. 89r–103r: Нила постника. главизны в м(л)твѣ. Incip.: Иже хощеть бл҃говонныи фиміанъ оустроити. ч(с)тноє ливано и касїа и вниха и стакти. равнѣ да сложить по законуу, сїа же соутъ, четворица добродѣтелемъ. аще бо исполнены(и) и равны боудоуть. непрѣданъ боудеть оумъ.

Explic.: Млѣтвѣ похвала. не прѣстѣво кваличѣство. нѣ качѣство. и се явлѣють възше(д)шеи въ сѣтилице. но и еже и вы млаще са не лихоголите и прочаа.

21. MS 1054, Pogodin Collection, Russian National Library, St. Peterburg. *Scala Paradisi* by John Sinaites and homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza, mid-14<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Tărnovo two-*jus*, two-*jer* orthography<sup>29</sup>. Of Bulgarian provenance up to f. 327, from there on the text is written by a Russian scribe who used a Middle Bulgarian source. F. 343r–344v: missing incipit and folia until chapter ѿе ѿс – Любаи бѣ тѣмъ ѿко ѿцѣ пр(с)но събесѣде(т). ѿвраа(ц) вѣсѣко помышленїе кр(с)тно.

Explic.: рї. М(л)твѣ похвала, не прѣстѣво коли(ч)ство, нѣ качѣство. и се явлѣе(т) възше(д)ше и въ сѣтилице. нѣ и еже и вы млаще са не лихоголите и прочаа:~

22. MS 49, Homilies of Symeon the New Theologian, Moscow Theological Academy, Russian State Library, Moscow, end-14<sup>th</sup> – beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century,

<sup>29</sup> К. Иванова, *Български, сръбски и молдо-влахийски кирилски ръкописи в сбирката на М.П. Погодин*, София 1981, p. 308–325.

parchment, 245 folia. Of Russian provenance with traces of Middle Bulgarian protograph. F. 126r–138v. Нила поетника главизны о молитвъѣ. Incip.: Иже хоцетъ блговонныи диміанъ оустроитъ ч(с)тноє ливано и касіа и вниха и стакти, равнѣ да сложитъ по законуу, сіа же соутъ, четворица добродѣтѣлемъ. аще бо испльненыи равны боудутъ– непрѣданъ боудеть оумъ<sup>30</sup>.

Explic.: Млѣвъ похвала. не просто количѣство, но качѣство, и се явлѣють въз'ше(д)ше и въ сѣлицѣ. но и еже и вы молаще са не лихоглѣте и проучаа:~

23. MS 1044, Pogodin Collection, Russian National Library, Moscow. From the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. One-*jer* Serbian orthography. F. 149r–165v: Нила поетника гла[в]зни в молитвъѣ. Иже хоцетъ, блговонныи дѣміанъ оустроити, чѣстное ливани касіе, и вниха и стакти, равнѣ да съложитъ по законѣ, сіа же соутъ четворица добродѣтѣлемъ, аще испльненыи равны бѣдѣтъ, непрѣданъ бѣдѣтъ оумъ<sup>31</sup>.

24. MS 323, Mazurin (196), Russian State Archive, Moscow, first quarter of 15<sup>th</sup> century. F. 429v–443, f. 429v–443: Главизны в млѣвъѣ. Иже хоце(т) блговонныи дѣміанъ оустроити<sup>32</sup>.

25. MS 269 (1134/1244), Solovetsky Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>33</sup>. Catechetical sermons of Theodore the Studite<sup>34</sup>. F. 110–120v: Прп(д)на(г) оца наше(г) нила в млѣвъѣ главизна рѣг. Incip.: Иже хоце(т) блг(о)влныи (!) темъанъ творити. то ч(с)тныи ливанъ и касіо и онѣхъ. и стактіи. ч(с)тно сложитъ по законѣ си(ж) сѣтъ чѣтырѣство добронравіемъ. аще бо исполнь и равно бѣдѣ(т). да непрѣданъ бѣде(т) оумъ.

Explic.: Млѣвъ похвала не просто количѣство. но каковѣство и се явлѣють. възсходивши въз црѣкви и вы молаще(с) б(с)лвте и проучаа. Елма же в' помыслѣ еси тѣлесне(м). и оумъ ти стѣв'ныа обходити красоты. нѣ си(не) (sic!) въз млѣвъѣ видѣлъ мѣста. но и еше далече блжнъ ея пѣтъ естъ. Егда престоа въз млѣвъѣ. па(ч) всакоа рад(о)сти сна бываши. тог(д)а въз истинѣ вѣрѣте млѣвъѣ. The final formula is missing, what follows is a text from another text about the spiritual vices.

<sup>30</sup> Леонид архим (Л.А. Кавелин), *Сведение о славянских рукописях, поступивших из книгохранилища св. Троицкой Сергиевой лавры в библиотеку Троицкой Духовной семинарии в 1747 году. Ныне находящихся в библиотеке Московской Духовной Академии*, Москва 1887, р. 5–7 (№ 3).

<sup>31</sup> К. Иванова, *Български, сръбски и молдо-влахийски...*, р. 374–381.

<sup>32</sup> И.Л. Жучкова, Л.В. Мошкова, А.А. Турилов, *Каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг XV века хранящихся в РГАДА*, Москва 2000, р. 214–218. I had no access to the manuscript.

<sup>33</sup> [И.Я. Порфирьев, А.В. Вадковский, Н.Ф. Красносельцев], *Описание рукописей Соловецкого монастыря, находящихся в библиотеке Казанской Духовной Академии*, Казань 1881, р. 409–419.

<sup>34</sup> Д.С. Ищенко, *Огласительные поучения Феодора Студита в Византии и у славян*, ВВ 40, 1979, р. 164.

26. MS 1320, Sofia Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg. Russian. Great Reading Menaion, February, 16<sup>th</sup> century. F. 234r–238r: *Нила постника. глав(з)ны в млтѣвѣ. Incip.: Иже хощеть бл҃говонныи дѣмїанъ оустроити. ч҃естное ливано и касїа и вниха и стакти. равнѣ да сложить по законѣ, сїа же сѣть. четво-рица добродѣтелемъ. аще бо исполнены правны бѣдѣть. непреданъ бѣдетъ оумъ.*
27. MS 189 (1613) Theological miscellany, end-16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century. Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. F. 270r–278r: *Нила постника. главизны в м(л)тѣвѣ. Incip.: Иже хощеть бл҃говонныи фимїанъ оустроити. ч҃(с)тное ливана и касїа и вниха и стакти. равнѣ да сложить по законуу, сїа же сѣть, четверїца добродѣтелемъ. аще бо исполнены и равны бѣдѣть. непреданъ боудетъ оумъ.*
- On f. 614r–617v: the same redaction, without title. Incip.: *Иже хощеть бл҃говонныи фимїанъ оустроити. ч҃(с)тное ливана и касїа и вниха и стакти. равнѣ да сложить по законуу, сїа же сѣть, четверїца добродѣтелемъ. аще бо исполнены и равны бѣдѣть. непреданъ боудетъ оумъ.*
28. MS 297 (597), Solovetsky Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>35</sup>. Homilies of Nil Sorsky with added works. Among these: f. 367–373: *Глава дв. Нила постника главизны. о млтѣвѣ.* The same anthology in MS 298 (598), 17<sup>th</sup> century and 299(599), end-18<sup>th</sup> century.
29. MS 398 (85), Solovetsky Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>36</sup>. Collection named ‘Glavnik’ (ascetic miscellany composed of chapters). F. 149–163v: *Нила постника главизны о млтѣвѣ.* The description notes that the copy is the same as in No. 276.
30. MS 276 (797), Solovetsky Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>37</sup>. Gregory of Sinai et al., ascetic works. F. 227–252: *Нила постника главизны о молитвѣ. Incip.: Иже хощетъ благовоныи фимїанъ оустроити.*
31. MS 406 (471), Solovetsky Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>38</sup>. Collection named ‘Koinobion’ (ascetic miscellany). Cursive. F. 250б–265: *Преп. отца нашего Нила постника главы о молитвѣ.* The description notes that the copy is the same as the one in No. 276.

In this listing, I do not include a copy in a 15<sup>th</sup> century manuscript from the State Humanitarian and Pedagogical University “K.D. Ushinskiy” in Perm

<sup>35</sup> [И.Я. Порфирьев, А.В. Вадковский, Н.Ф. Красносельцев], *Описание рукописей Соловецкого монастыря...*, p. 461–463.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 463.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 463–464.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 743–745.

(Russia), of Bulgarian provenance<sup>39</sup>, regrettably lost today<sup>40</sup>. The manuscript is a quarto, 442 folia, written in schooled semi-uncial, incipit missing, Middle Bulgarian orthography – two-*jer*, two-*jus* (with typical mixing of nasals); contains the homilies of Isaac of Nineveh (f. 2–396) and other articles, among which a copy of *On Prayer* by Neilos of Ancyra (414r–428v), the work of Patriarch Germanos I (634–733) *The kindest poems to the tearful guilt* (Стиси добрейши къ вине слъзней) (f. 428v–430), as well as Evagrius' *Of the eight spirits of wickedness* (430v–433r) again with the name of Neilos of Ancyra. Then come excerpts from chapters of Abba Isaiah and Abba Mark (f. 433–442v) probably from the *Aprophthegmata Patrum*. The copies of *On Prayer* and *Of the eight spirits of wickedness* deserve special attention in respect to the chronology of the translation of the text, as they are among the earliest as regards the overall content. *The kindest poems* are known in Slavic copies from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the language and style of the translation indicating ascetic literature related to Hesychasm. Parchment miscellany No. 49 from the Moscow Theological Academy Collection, Russian State Library (here No. 21) is close in content with this manuscript book. A subsequent publication of N.S. Demkova and I.P. Medvedev<sup>41</sup> follows the Slavic tradition of the work of Patriarch Germanos I in detail, the commentary remarking on the value of the Perm manuscript. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it belonged to an educated family and later fell into the hands of Ural peasants. Interestingly, 19<sup>th</sup>-century marginal notes call the book an 'adviser': *Светникъ книга. Хорошо. Сия книга Съветник, деревни Неверова*<sup>42</sup>.

### Slavic translations and versions

The copies listed above can be grouped into two translations – there are differences both in the title of the work and in its content. The title in the earliest recorded sample in MS Dečani 93 and the copies of the first translation (hereinafter A) is the following: Прр(д)бнаго оца нашего нила о млтвѣ, or in more detail: Прр(д)бнаго оца нила о млтвѣ. главизнѣ. рѣг. A version with editorial changes is observed in MS 80 (Руаров miscellany), Archive of Bulgarian Academy in Sofia, MS 1036, National Library in Sofia: Прр(д)бнаго ѿца нашего нѣла ѡ млтвѣ, главаь, рѣв; Прѣпн(д)бнаго ѿца нашего нила ѡ м(л)твѣ главъ ѣ и нѣв, and in the MS 2 from State Archive

<sup>39</sup> Н.С. ДЕМКОВА, С.А. СЕМЯЧКО, "Стиси добрейши" патриарха Германа в южнославянской рукописи середины XV в. из собрания Пермского педагогического института, [in:] Грузинская и русская средневековые литературы, Тбилиси 1992, p. 93–99.

<sup>40</sup> The researchers worked with the manuscript in 1984, they dated it according to watermarks and underscored its great value. It disappeared after 1986. I am exceedingly grateful to Svetlana Semyachko for the information about this manuscript, as well as for providing access to the publication.

<sup>41</sup> Н.С. ДЕМКОВА, И.П. МЕДВЕДЕВ, «Стиси добрейши къ винѣ слъзнѣи» византийского патриарха Германа (VIII в.) в славянских и древнерусских рукописях, Psl 10.1, 2002, p. 36–53.

<sup>42</sup> Н.С. ДЕМКОВА, С.А. СЕМЯЧКО, "Стиси добрейши" патриарха Германа..., p. 95.

of Republic Moldova. In the copies of the second translation (hereinafter B) the title almost everywhere includes the definition “hermit” – see, for example, the record in MS Vienna 28: *Нила пвстника главижны в млтвѣ. сто. и петъдесе(тъ),* with variant: *Нила постника. глави(з)ны в млтвѣ.*

The incipit is distinguished with differences that indicate a different Greek source for the two translations:

	Dečani 93	Hamilton	ABAS 80	NL 1036	Hilferding 47	Vienna 28
	ПРГѢНГО ОЦА НАШЕГО НИЛА О МЛТВѢ	Прг(д)внаго оца нила. О млтвѣ гла- визнѣ.р. и н.	Прг(д) внаго оца нашего нила. в млтвѣ, главь, рнѣ.	Прѣпн(д)вна- го оца нашего нила. в м(л) твѣ главь.р. и нѣ.	Нила постника. главижны в м(л)твѣ.	НИЛА ПВСТНИКА ГЛАВИЖНЫ в млтвѣ. сто. и петъдесе(тъ)
Α. Εἰ τις βούλοιο εὐώ- δες θυμίαμα σκεύασαι, τὸν διαφανῆ λίβα- νον, καὶ τὴν κασσίαν καὶ τὸν ὄνυχα, καὶ τὴν στάκτιν ἐξίσου συνθή- σει κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ταῦτα δέ ἐστιν ἡ τε- τρας τῶν ἀρε- τῶν· ἐὰν γὰρ πληρέσταιαι, καὶ ἴσαι τυ- χάνωσιν, οὐ προδοθήσεται ὁ νοῦς.	Иже хощеть благовонны тьмянъ творити. то уистыи ли- ванъ и каси и оноухъ и стактиж тзъно сложитъ по закону. си жи (sic!) соуть четырство добронравьемъ. аще бо испл- нь и равна воудуоть. то непреданъ воудеть оумъ.	Иже хощеть блговонныи темыанъ тво- рити то <u>ч(с)</u> <u>тзыи ливанъ.</u> и касию и ону- хъ и стакти точено. по- ложитъ по закону си же соуть четьре добронрав- ннмъ. аще бо исполнь и рав- на воудуоть. то непреданъ воудеть оумъ.	Иже хощеть блговонныж дѣмианы творити. то уистыи ли- ванъ, и касіа, и смѣрна, и стакти, и стакти. тзъ- но въложитъ по закону. си же сжтъ, четьре добрн правн. аще бв исп- льнь и равна вждтъ, непрѣ- да(н) вжде(т) оум(м).	Иже хощеть блговонна диміаны творити. тѣм уистыи ли- ванъ, и касіа, и смѣрна, и стакти, и стакти. тзъ- но въло- житъ по законѣ. си же сжтъ, четьре дѣври правн. аще бв исп- льнь и равна вждтъ оумъ.	Иже хощеть блговонныи диміанъ оустроити. <u>ч(с)</u> <u>тное ливано.</u> и касіж. и они- ха. и стакти, равнѣ да съложитъ по закону. сіа же сжтъ, чет- ворца до- вродѣтвлемъ. аще бо испл- нь и равна вжджтъ, непрѣданъ воудеть оумъ.	Иже хощеть блговонни дѣмѣ(м) оустроити. <u>ч(с)</u> <u>тное ливано</u> и касіе и ониха и стакти, равнѣ да съложитъ по закону. снѣ же соуть, четворца до- вродѣтелие(м). аще оубо испльнен- ни и равны воуд(д)тъ, непрѣданъ воудеть оумъ.

The volume of the chapters is different: in the first translation, they are 153 (sometimes the last chapter is presented in the form of a conclusion), while in the second translation the chapters number 150 and there is no conclusion.

The differences between the two groups of witnesses can be described as follows:

Translation A was made in the earliest period of Old Bulgarian literature, probably at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. In the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, the translation was attested in Russian manuscripts, with the following witnesses: Dečani 93, Khludov 10d (253), Synod 644, Hamilton 381 and Solov 269 (1134/1244). The text, published after a Russian copy in MS Dečani 93 by W. Veder, preserves, according to his research, traces of a Glagolitic prototype. The language is characterized by several ancient features, about which even A.V. Gorsky and K.I. Nevostruev, describing Synod. 644 (ascetic works of Maximos the Confessor,

Theodore of Edessa and Neilos of Ancyra, as well as *Enchiridion* by Epiktetos<sup>43</sup>), they underscored the following: *рассматриваемая рукопись сохранила даже некоторые выражения в древнейшем виде, нежели Изборник [the manuscript in question even preserved some expressions in the oldest form, as if coming from the Izbornik]* (p. 284). The authors dwell on the following peculiarities of the archaic translation: ἀρετή is translated by добронравие; ἐνάρετος – добронравный (ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ τετραὰς τῶν ἀρετῶν – сина же соуть, четворица добродѣтели(м.); θυσιαστήριον – трѣбникъ; ἐγκαλεῖν – поимы творити; πάντως, παντελῶς – вѣхма, вѣшиж and others.

In translation A, after analysis, a branch is found with additional editorial changes in two Middle Bulgarian manuscripts: NL 1036, ABAS 80 (Ryapov miscellany) and one Slavic-Romanian MS 2 (old 13 /29/), State Archive of the Republic of Moldova. Examples will be discussed below. Solov from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. 269 (1134/1244) is an interesting case, as it retains archaic features characteristic only of Dečani 93; but at the end there is another text in the form of questions and answers, contaminated without a separate title<sup>44</sup>.

Translation B was made at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Bulgaria or a Bulgarian environment on Mount Athos. It includes the following manuscripts: Hilandar 456, Kiv 151, Gilferding 47, Moscow Theological Academy 49, MS from the State Humanitarian and Pedagogical University in Perm (today lost), Hilandar 468, Vienna 28, Belgrade 426 (31), Bucharest 159, Bucharest 315, Trinity-Sergius Lavra 116 (91), Trinity-Sergius Lavra 165 (1720), Trinity-Sergius Lavra 167 (1673), Trinity-Sergius Lavra 183 (1675), Trinity-Sergius Lavra 189 (1613) (two copies), Trinity-Sergius Lavra 756 (1637), Pogodin 1054, Pogodin 1044, Mazurin 323, Solov. 276 (797), Solov. 297 (597), Solov. 298 (598), Solov. 299 (599), Solov. 398 (85), Solov. 406 (471), Sof. 1320 (Great Reading Menaion). The language of translation B follows all distinctive features of the Middle Bulgarian period. There are differences in comparison with translation A regarding specifics of grammar and lexis, while changes in respect to composition are minimal.

Some typical differences in the tradition of the text can be illustrated with the following examples<sup>45</sup>:

<sup>43</sup> Д.М. Буланин, *Античные традиции в древнерусской литературе XI–XVI вв.*, München 1991 [= SBe, 278], p. 96–137 (research), 301–327 (publication).

<sup>44</sup> I am very grateful to Zhana Levshina for her help with access to this manuscript.

<sup>45</sup> I use the Greek text according to *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, vol. LXXIX, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1865, col. 1165–1200. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® (TLG®)*, <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/Cite?4110:024:42799> [25 II 2021]. The numbering of the wise saying differs in the translations, as well as in the individual copies, for this reason I quote it according to the Greek text. In the parallels translation A follows the text of Dečani 93, redaction of A – NL 1036, and translation B – Vienna 28.



Η'. Μὴ οὖν εἰς πάθος τρέψῃς τὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀλέξιμα, ἵνα μὴ πλέον παροργίσης τὸν δεδωκότα τὴν χάριν·

Translation A: не взвратиоу—боу на стрѣсть страстзноюю лѣтѣбоу да не паѣе прог(н)ладеши да—  
вшаго бл҃гдѣть.

Redaction: не взврати са оубо на страстныа вратѣбы да не прогнѣдаеши паѣе давшааго.

Translation B: да не оубо на страсть вебратише страстемь вратевание. ѡако да не множае прог—  
нѣваеши давѣшаго ти бл(д)ть.

ΙΒ'. Ἦνίκα ἄν ἀπαντήσῃ σοι πειρασμός, ἢ ἀντιλογία, ἢ διερεθίσῃ πρὸς τὴν δι' ἐναντίας ἄμυ—  
να κινήσαι θυμὸν, ἢ τινὰ ἄσημον ῥήξαι φωνήν, μνήσθητι τῆς προσευχῆς καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν  
κρίματος· καὶ εὐθέως ἢ ἔν σοι ἄτακτος κίνησις ἡρεμήσει.

Translation A: ѡгда срѣцетѣ та напастъ ли ѿвѣщаніе. или дражи или кѣз противникоу брань.  
двигноути аротъ или нѣкъзи изврѣци гл҃сѣ. помани млтѣбоу. и еже неосожжение. и

двие соущее в тебе. вещинное движение оумлазкнетъ.

Redaction: ѡгда срѣцетѣ та напастъ или ѿвѣщаніе, или раздраженіе, или кѣз противникоу брань  
двигнѣти ѡдротъ, или нѣкъзи, изврѣци гл҃с(с). помѣни млтѣж. и еже ѡ неи ѡспж(д)еніе. и двіе  
спѣе въ тебѣ вещинное движение, оумлазкнетъ.

Translation B: Вьнегда аще прїидетѣ ти искушение или прѣврѣкание. или раздражане(т) къ  
спротивномуу ѿмьщяющюу подвигоути ѡроо(с). или нѣкоие вещин'но реци словѡ. помени  
млтѣбоу и юже ѡ неи соудбоу. и двіе же вътебе вещин'ное подвижение оутиши(т) се.

ΙΓ'. Ὅσα ἄν ποιήσῃς πρὸς ἄμυναν ἀδελφοῦ ἡδίκηκότος (42) σε, ἅπαντα εἰς σκάνδαλόν σοι  
γενήσεται ἐν καιρῷ προσευχῆς

Translation A: ѡлико же аще твориши на соупривное (!) братоу по обидѣвшомоу та. все то на  
блазнь ти боудетъ въ (в)рема млтѣв.

Redaction: ѡлико аще сѣтвориши на сзпротивие братѣ прѣвобидѣвшоу та. вѣсе тѡ на сѣблазнь  
ти вѣдетъ. въ врѣма млтѣв.

Translation B: ѡлика аще сѣтвориши къ ѿмьщению братоу вбидѣвщомоу те, все не на добру  
тебѣ боудотъ въ врѣме млтѣв.

ΙΕ'. Προσευχή ἐστὶ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐχαριστίας πρόβλημα.

Ις'. Προσευχή ἐστὶ λύπης καὶ ἀθυμίας ἀλέξιμα.

Translation A: Млтѣва естъ печали и оуныиниа л(ѣ)тѣва. Млтѣва естъ радости и бл(л)гдти податель.

Redaction: Млтѣва е(с), радости, и бл҃годѣти поданіе. Млтѣва е(с), оуныиніоу, и печали лѣтѣва.

Translation B: Млтѣва естъ радости бл҃годарениа ганание. Млтѣва естъ печали и скръби  
прѣмѣненіе

ΙΗ'. Εἰ βούλει ἐπαινετῶς προσεύχεσθαι, ἄρνησαι ἑαυτὸν καθ' ὥραν, καὶ πάμπολα δεῖνὰ πά—  
μπολα ὑπὲρ προσευχῆς φιλοσόφει.

Translation A: Аще хоцѣши похвалнѣ молити са. ѿвѣрзи са себе на все часъи (Лк 9:23) и много  
зло стража въ млтѣвѣ прѣвзиван.

Redaction: Аще хоцѣши беспечѣланѣ молити са. ѿвѣрзи са себе на вѣса часы. и много бѡ  
зло страж(д)ж, трзпи прѣвзиваж въ млтѣвѣ.

Translation B: Лице хоцеши похвал'нѣ помл'ити се, ѿвѣрзи се себе на кьждо час. и прѣвмннwgаа лютаа стражде w млтѣвѣ любовоmудрѣствоуи.

KΔ'...πάση μηχανῇ χρῆσαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ῥῆξαι θυμόν

Превод A: ꙗꙑдъ вѣсѣмъ оубо. злпгвн(ѣ)немъ държи са не испoустити гнѣва

Redaction: ꙗꙑдъ вѣсѣмъ оубо ~~злпгвн(ѣ)немъ~~ (!) държи са не испoустити гнѣвъ

Превод B: ѿи всакъ оубо кьзнь сътвори неже (не)изнести гарнетъ

Λζ'. Εἰ προσεύξασθαι ποθεῖς, ἀπόταξι τοῖς σύμπτασιν, ἵνα τὸ πᾶν κληρονομῆσῃς

Translation A: Лице молити са хоцеши отъвѣрзи са всакъхъ: да все причаститиши.

Redaction: Лице молити са хоцеши. ѿвѣрзи са вѣсего, да вѣсе наслѣдиши.

Translation B: Лице мл'ити се желдеши, ѿрци се всагъскын(х) ꙗко да все наслѣди(ш).

MZ'. Ὅταν πολλὰ ποιήσας ὁ πονηρότατος δαίμων

Translation A: ѿгда много сътворивъ: пронзиривзи бѣсѣ

Redaction: ѿгда много сътворитъ пронърливын бѣсѣ.

Translation B: ѿгда многоа сътворивъ лoукавнѣиши бѣсѣ

MΘ'. ἢ περὶ πνευματικῆς προσευχῆς· λίαν γὰρ πολέμιος αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ

Translation A: нъ о дх'овнѣи млтѣвѣ. зѣло бо съпостатъ имъ естъ. и на таготoу

Redaction: нѣ w дх'овнѣи млтѣвѣ. зѣлаw бо съпостатъ намъ естъ на таготѣ.

Translation B: развѣ w дх'овнѣи млтѣвѣ. зѣло бw ратникъ тѣмъ естъ и ненавист'на.

NA'. Τὰς ἀρετὰς μετερχόμεθα διὰ τοὺς λόγους τῶν γεγονότων, καὶ τούτους διὰ τὸν οὐσιώσαντα Κύριον, οὗτος δὲ ἐν τῇ καταστάσει τῆς προσευχῆς ἀναφαίνεσθαι εἴθε.

Translation A: Доброуравна прохoдимъ словесъ ради взиwвшихъ и соучѣствовавшаго дѣла бѣ съ же вѣ съвршнѣи молитвѣ авлати са овзиган имат

Redaction: Доброуравѣа прохoдимъ, словесъ дѣла бѣвши(х). несчцзѣствовавшаго дѣла бѣ. съи же wбъган съвршнѣи мн(ли)тѣвѣ, гавити са иматъ.

Translation B: Добродѣтѣли прохoди(м), ра(ди) словесе бѣвши(х), и си(х), ради соучѣствѣ'наго словесе. Сие же въ оустрoении млтѣвнѣмъ wбъгавлати се wбъгѣ.

PAV'. Ὁμηρετέωσάν σοι αἰ σωματικαὶ ἀρεταὶ πρὸς τὰς ψυχικάς, καὶ αἰ ψυχικαὶ πρὸς τὰς πνευματικὰς. Καὶ αὗται πρὸς τὴν αὔλον γινῶσιν.

Translation A: Да тазаютъ. телеснаа блгoуравна: къ дшѣвннмъ и сиа къ чистомoу. и соучѣствнномoу разумoу.

Redaction: Да та задаватъ тѣлеснаа доброуравѣа, къ дшѣвннмъ. и сиа къ чистомъ, и счцзѣствнномoу разумoу.

Translation B: Да не парет'ти тѣлесные добродѣтѣли, къ дшѣвннмъ. и дшѣв'ные къ дх'овннмъ. и дх'ов'ные пакы къ невеществнномъ разумoу.

PM'. Μὴ παραιτοῦ τοὺς κναφεῖς· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τύπτουσι πατοῦντες, καὶ τείνοντες ξαίνουσι, ἀλλὰ γὰρ διὰ τούτων λαμπρὰ ἢ αἴσθησίς σου γίνεται.

Translation A: Не взъзми са отъ вѣлильникъ· аще бо виють пероуцѣ· и протажожуцѣ гревоуцѣ· нъ си(хъ) ДЛА свѣтъла риза твоа· бѣваетъ.

Redaction: Не взъимаи са ѿ вѣлильникъ· аще бо виють пероуцѣ· и протажожуцѣ бѣють· нъ си(хъ) ДАЛЕ (sic!) свѣтъла риза твоа бѣваетъ.

Translation B: Не ѿрицаи се пероуци(хъ)· аще бо и виють пероуцѣ, и протажожуцѣ строужеть, нъ оубо си(хъ) ради свѣтъла одежда твоа бѣваетъ.

PMZ'. Εἰ τὸν μετὰ δώρου προσελθόντα ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ὁ ἀνενδεῆς, καὶ ἀδέκαστος ἕως τοῦριον οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ὁ ἀνενδεῆς, καὶ ἀδέκαστος ἕως τοῦ διαλλαγήναι τῷ πλησίον λυπομένῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν, σκόπει πόσης φυλακῆς καὶ διακρίσεως χρεια, ἵνα εὐπρόσδεκτον δώμεν τῷ Θεῷ θυμίαμα ἐν τῷ νοητῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ.

Translation A: Аще съ даромъ приходацааго къ тревъникоу не приа· обиазани (sic!) и безъмъздънии· дондеже съмирить са· съ ближнимиъ· опечальнымиъ· смотри колика храненияи и расуждениа· потреба есть· да блгоприатънъ дамъ боу тьманъ· на разоумънзи тревькъ· (sic!)

Redaction: Аще съ даромъ при(хъ)дацааго къ жрътвникоу не приициалъ· и безъмъздни· дондеже съмиритъ са съ ближнимиъ· опечаленымиъ· съмотри колико храненияи, и расуждениа· потреба е(с)· да блгоприатенъ дамы бѣви на разоумъныи ватаръ.

Translation B: Аще иже съ даромъ пришь(д)шаго къ жрътв'никоу не прие(т) не трѣвоуѣи ни(хъ)–тоже и не мьздо приемни, дондеже съмирити се искры'ннемоу печалуютоу на нь· съмотри коликоу храненияоу потреба и разоуж(д)енію, яко да блгоприет'ни воуде(м) бѣи кадило приносеѣе на мыслъни жрътвникъ.

The end of the work in both translations reads in the following way:

PNA'. Προσευχῆς ἔπαινος, οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἢ ποσότης, ἀλλ' ἢ ποιότης, καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦσιν οἱ ἀναβάντες εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ τὸ, «Υμεῖς προσευχόμενοι, μὴ βαττολογήσητε» καὶ τὰ ἐξήχ.

PNB'. Εφ' ὅσον τῇ ἀναλογία προσέχεις τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ὁ νοῦς σου τὰ τῆς σκηνῆς περιέπει терпнв, οὐδέπω τῆς προσευχῆς ἑώρακας τόπον· ἀλλὰ μα- κρὰν ἀπὸ σοῦ ἢ μακαρία ταύτης ὁδὸς τυγχάνει.

PNΓ'. Οταν παριστάμενος εἰς προσευχὴν ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἄλλην χαρὰν γένη, τότε ἀληθῶς εὔρη- κας προσευχῆν.

Translation A

Мо(л)твѣ похвала· не просто количество· нъ каквоество· и се авлаеть· възходивъшии въ цркви· и вы молащѣ са не блгословите (sic!) и прочее· и прочее· елма же въ помыслѣ еси тѣлесныиъ· и оумъ ти стѣньныа възходитъ красоты· нѣси не оу млтвѣ видѣлъ мѣста· нъ и еше далече бл- жени еа· пѣтъ есть· егда прѣстоа въ млтвѣ· паѣ всако ярости онаа бѣвааше· тгда въ истиноу оевѣте молитвоу· (Dečani 93)

рѣв· О млтвѣ похвала· не просто количество· но каквоество· и се авлають възходившии въ цркѣ· и вы молащѣ са не блаословите· и прочее· рѣ· елма же въ помыслѣ еси телесныиъ· и оумъ ти стѣньныа възходитъ красоты· не си оуне млтвѣ видѣлъ мѣст(а) но и еше далече блжныи еа· путь есть· рѣд· егда престоа въ молитвѣ паѣ всакоа радости иноа бѣвааше· тогда во истиноу оевѣте молитву· (Hamilton 381)

## Redaction of translation A

рн. МЛТВА ПОХВАЛА ЕС(С) НЕ ПРОСТО КОЛИЧЬСТВО. НЖ КО(ЛИЧЬ СИ)ВСТВО<sup>46</sup> И СЕ ЯВЛѢЖТЪ ВЪЗХОДАЩЕИ ВЪ ЦРКВЪ. И ВЫ НЕ БЛАДОСЛОВИТЕ МОЛАЩЕ СЕ, И ПРОЧЕЕ.

рпа. ЕЛМА ЖЕ ЕСИ ВЪ ПОМЫСЛѢ ТЪБЛЕСНѢМЪ. И ОУМЪ ТИ ВЕРХУДИТЪ СТѢННЫѢ КРАСОТЫ. НЕ ОУЕСИ ОУЧѢДѢЛЪЗ МѢСТА МЛТВНЫѢ КРАСОТЫ. НЖ И ЕЩЕ ДАЛЕЧЕ ЕС(С) ПЖТЪ ЕЖ БЛАЖЕНЫИ.

рпв. ЕГДА ПРѢ(Д)СТОИШИ ВЪ МЛТВѢ. ПАЧЕ ИННЖ ВЪСѢКЫѢ РАДОСТИ БЫВАЕШИ, ТУГДА ВЪ ИСТИНЖ ВЕРѢТЕ МЛТВЖ. СЛАВАЩЕ УЦА И СНА И СТГО ДХА. НИНѢ И ПРИСНО И ВЪ ВѢКЫ ВѢКОМЪ А(М). (NL 1036)

## Translation B

рпа. МЛТВѢ ПОХВАЛА, НЕ ПРОСТО КОЛИЧЬСТВО, НЪ КАЧЬСТВО. И СЕ ЯВЛѢ(Т) ВЫШЕ(Д)ШЕИ ВЪ СТѢЛИЩЕ. НЪ И ЕЖЕ И ВЫ МЛ'ЕЩЕ СЕ НЕ ЛИХОГЛѢТЕ И ПРОУДА. (Vienna 28)

МЛТВѢ ПОХВАЛА, НЕ ПРОСТУ КОЛИЧЬСТВО, НЪ КАЧЬСТВО. И СЕ ЯВЛѢЕТЪ ВЪЗЫШЕ(Д)ШЕИ ВЪ СТѢЛИЩЕ. НЪ И ЕЖЕ И ВЫ МОЛАЩЕ СА НЕ ЛИХОГЛѢТЕ И ПРОУДА БЮЖЕ НАШЕМОУ СЛАВА ВЪ ВѢКЫ ВѢКОМ(М), АМИНЪ:– (Hilferding 47)

рпв. М(Л)ТВѢ ПОХВАЛА, НЕ ПРОСТУ КОЛИ(Ч)СТВО, НЖ КАЧЬСТВО. И СЕ ЯВЛѢ(Т) ВЪЗ'ШЕ(Д)ШЕ И ВЪ СТѢЛИЩЕ. НЖ И ЕЖЕ И ВЫ МОЛАЩЕ СА НЕ ЛИХОГЛѢТЕ И ПРЮУДА. (Pogodin 1054)

The copies of the early translation A are not numerous and, as I have shown, have reached us mainly in Russian manuscripts whose contents are connected with either the *Scete Paterikon* (Dečani 93) or with the so-called *Menaion Izbornik*, introduced to science by D.M. Bulanin who studied it in depth (Hludov 10d, State Historical Museum, Moscow and the fragment Nikolskiy 323, Library of Russian Academy, St. Petersburg, 13<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>47</sup>. Without any doubt, the translation of *On Prayer* corresponds to the tradition of 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century Old Church Slavonic texts. Compared with the tradition of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, it underwent development only in the two Middle Bulgarian manuscripts NL 1036 and ABAS 80 (Ryapov miscellany), and in one Slavonic Romanian MS 2, State Archive of the Republic of Moldova, so far not introduced in academic circulation. In most cases, they preserve the archaic readings, but along with that (as seen from the examples above) some new translations of Greek lexemes are introduced, as well as corrections of the archaic text, for example:

- ονουχъ in translation A, the Gk. ὄνυξ, ὄ<sup>48</sup> in the 14<sup>th</sup>-century redaction is substituted for смѣрна, and the entire phrase from the Old Testament quotation (Sir 24: 17–18, Exod 30: 34) sounds in the following manner: то чистыи ливань, и касѣа, и смѣрна, и стакти.

<sup>46</sup> The syllable личъ is superscribed above the word between the row, in an attempt to correct the word *какосьство* which the scribe could not understand.

<sup>47</sup> Д.М. Буланин, *Реконструкция древнерусского сборника...*, p. 342–345; ИДЕМ, *Античные традиции...*, p. 132.

<sup>48</sup> One of the components of holy frankincense burnt only in the sanctuary.

- **ЧЕТЫРСТВО ДОБРОПРАВЪЕМЪ** in translation A, the Gk. ἡ τετρας τῶν ἀρετῶν is substituted for the combination **ЧЕТЫРЕ ДОБРИ ПРАВИ**, while everywhere in translation B ἀρετή, ἡ it is translated with **ДОБРОДѢТЕЛЬ** and the derivatives of this lexeme (see above).
- At places, the 14<sup>th</sup>-century redaction has restored early forms in comparison with the early Russian copies. For example, instead of **РАДИ** it introduces **ДѢЛА**, but elsewhere the text has not been understood;
- In separate cases, in the South Slavic copies of translation B (also at places in the redaction of translation A) lexemes from the early Russian copies are substituted for older lexemes, as for example: **Молаццю ти са въз лѣпотоу. сица ти са сзрѣацють вѣщи да мниши праведно соуцѣ все сз гнѣвзъмь дадати. а нѣсть правѣдно гнѣвз на ближнаго отиноудь** (translation A); **Молеццю же ти се по(д)внѣ, такоѣи приидоу(т) тебѣ вѣщи, тако да мниши праведно быти всако разъарити се. нѣ(с) же праведна гаростъ на искрънаго ѿноудь** (translation B).
- The example with the adverbs **вѣшиѣ /вѣшиа** and **вѣхма** is indicative:

	Dečani 93	Hamilton	ABAS 80	NL 1036	Hilferding 47	Vienna 28
<p>ΛΑ'. Μῆ προσεύχου τὰ σα θελήματα γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντως συμωνούσι τῷ βουλήματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ μάλλον καθὼς ἐδιδάχθης, προσεύχου λέγων· &lt;Γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου&gt; ἐν ἐμοί. Καὶ ἐπὶ παντὶ δὲ πράγματι οὕτως αὐτὸν αἶτε, ἵνα τὸ αὐτοῦ γένηται θέλημα· θέλει γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ συμφέρον τῆ ψυχῆ σου· σου δὲ οὐ πάντως τοῦτο ζητεῖς.</p>	<p>Не моли са твоимъ воламъ вѣгити. не во и <b>вѣхма</b> сзглас(с)суютъ. сзвѣтѣу бжїю. нъ пагѣ акоже еси наоученъ. моли са глѣ. да будетъ вола тво (Мт 6:10) на мнѣ (Мт 26:42) и о всакои же вѣщи тако ѿ него проси да того будетъ вола. хощеть во блгооуму и полезномуу дши.(!) ты же сзхма не того просиши.</p>	<p>лѣ. Не моли са твоимъ воламъ вѣгити. не во и <b>вѣхма</b> сзгласуютъ сзвѣту бжїю. но пагѣ акоже еси наоученъ глѣ, да будетъ вола твоѣа на мнѣ. и о всакои вѣщи тако ты ѿ него проси да того будетъ вола. хощеть во блгоуму и полезномуу дши. ты же вѣхма не того просиши.</p>	<p>ѣр. Не моли са твоимъ волѣмъ быти. не сзгласѣшт' во <b>вѣшиѣ</b>, сзвѣтѣу бжїю, нъ пагѣ акоже еси наоученъ глѣ, да бждеть волѣ твоа на мнѣ. и о всѣхъ кон же вѣщи тако проси ѿ него. да того(бж)деть волѣ. хощеть во блгоумѣ и полезномуу дши. ты же тычиѣ не того просиши.</p>	<p>кѣ. Не моли са твоимъ волѣмъ быти. не сзгласоужт во <b>вѣшиа</b>, сзвѣтѣу бжїю. нъ пагѣ акоже еси наоученъ глѣ, да бждеть волѣ твоа на мнѣ. и о вѣсѣхъ кон же вѣщи тако проси ѿ него. да твго да бждеть волѣ. хощет во блгоуму и полезнымъ дши. ты же тзчїа, не твго просиши.</p>	<p>лѣ. Не мѣи са твоимъ волѣмъ быти, ни во сзгласоужѣть хотѣнїю бжїю. нъ пагѣ акоже надычѣнъ бы(с) мѣи са глѣ, да бждеть волѣ твоа въ мнѣ. и въ всѣхъ кон же вѣщи. сице егѣво моли, тако да волѣ его бждеть. хощеть бѣ блгое и полезное дши. ты же не всѣхъ(о) се ицї(е)ш(и).</p>	<p>Не мѣи се твоимъ волѣмъ быти, ни во сзгласоуютъ хотѣнїю бжїю. нъ пагѣ акоже наоученъ бы(с) мѣи се глѣ, да будетъ вола твоѣа къ мнѣ. и въ вѣсакон же вѣщи. Сице него мѣи. тако да вола него будетъ. хощет' бо блгое, и полезное дши. тыи же не всако се ищѣши.</p>

At places, the redacted text shows relocation in the order of the wise sayings, e.g.: МЛТВА ЕСТЬ КРОТОСТИ И БЕЗГНѢВІЮ ПРОЗАБЕНІЕ. МЛТВА ЕСТЬ ПЕЧАЛИ И ОУНЫІІІІА Л(Ъ)УБА. МЛТВА ЕСТЬ РАДОСТИ И Б(Л)ГДТИ ПОДАТЕЛЬ (translation A) in the redaction reads as: МОЛИТВА Е(С) КРОТОСТИ, И БЕЗГНѢВІОУ ПРОЗАБЛЕНІЕ. МЛТВА Е(С), РАДОСТИ, И БЛГОДѢТИ ПОДАНІЕ. МЛТВА Е(С), ОУНЫІІІОУ, И ПЕЧАЛИ ЛЪУБА (National Library 1036). There are also other insignificant differences, which give reason to conclude that the initial translation served as the basis for the redaction.

The copies indicate different versions of the Byzantine tradition, but the prologue, in which allegory is used to explain the number of chapters of wise sayings (153), the ratio of the numerical values and their symbolism<sup>49</sup> is missing. A most general comparison between translations A and B makes it clear that the second translation uses that branch of the Greek tradition which contains additional changes in respect to the ending. The work in translation B is definitely imbued with the ideas of Hesychasm and its main guidelines for 'intelligent' ascesis. The style and language follow certain rhetorical techniques typical of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Without a doubt, translation B did gain some authority and that was why it spread in manuscripts of an origin both like the Tărnovo school or Balkan literary centres and from Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos. It was precisely this remake of the work that spread quite widely in manuscript tradition of 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> century South Slavic, Moldo-Wallachian and Russian ascetic miscellanies, also being accepted and included in the Great Reading Menaion of Makarios.

Hilferding 47 of the third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century is a representative Middle Bulgarian manuscript preserving translation B. At the end of the manuscript, there is a marginal note stating that it was in the Orthodox monastery of Piva in Montenegro, where it was found later on. The works of Gregory of Sinai, Symeon the New Theologian, the *Chapters on Love* by Maximos the Confessor, Diadochos of Photike, the 40 chapters of Thalassios the Libyan to presbyter Paul, chapters by Abba Macarios, Abba Mark, chapters by Theodore of Edessa, Abba Isaiah, questions and answers of Athanasios of Alexandria to Prince Antioch, *Stoslovets* (*Centuria de fide*) attributed to Genadios, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and other texts, characterize the contents. As I have already pointed out, the 15<sup>th</sup> century manuscript from the Perm State Humanitarian and Pedagogical University, of Bulgarian provenance, mainly contains part of the sermons for hermits of Isaac of Nineveh, as well as excerpts with the names of Abba Isaiah and Abba Mark. The content of Kiiiv 151 is similar: the ascetic sermons of Isaac of Nineveh, the sermons of Stephen of Thebes<sup>50</sup>, chapters by Abba Macarios, Abba Mark, chapters by Theodore

<sup>49</sup> C. JOEST, *Die arithmetische Feinstruktur im Traktat De oratione des Evagrius Pontikos*, VC 72, 2018, p. 21–40.

<sup>50</sup> The first translation is contained in Dečani 93; the second revised translation is preserved in the group of manuscripts which contain the second translation of *De oratione*, cf. W. VEDER, *The Commandments of Stephen of Thebes*, [in:] ПКИІІ, vol. XII, София 2012, p. 165–190.



of Edessa, Gregory of Sinai, Abba Isaiah, Hesychios of Jerusalem to Theodoulos, chapters by Niketas Stethatos, questions and answers of Athanasios of Alexandria to Prince Antioch, etc. The content of MS 1054, Pogodin Collection, *Scala Paradisi* by John Sinaites and homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza, works of Gregory of Sinai and others, is no less important. The similarity between the Bulgarian part of the book with the hand and the design of the miscellany came from the pen of the scribe Lavrentii – No. F.I.376 from the collection of the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg (known as the miscellany of Ivan-Alexander of 1348) – is well known and equally well studied<sup>51</sup>. The copy is a good presentation of *De oratione* in a didactic content of monastic type. The Russian scribe copied the text of *De oratione* (preserved in part because of missing folia) from a Middle Bulgarian protograph. K. Ivanova assumed that the manuscript, written in the capital of Târnovo, was already in Russia by the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>52</sup>. The copy of the translation B in MS 1044 of the Pogodin collection (with one-*jer*, Serbian orthography, probably originating in Western Serbia or Bosnia<sup>53</sup>), which is similar in content to the Ryapov miscellany, is evidence of how widespread it was in the Balkans and of its connection with the Athonite monasteries.

MS 159 and 315 from the Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest, are ascetic miscellanies. In addition to the listed authors, No. 159 includes the treatise of Hesychios of Jerusalem to Theodoulos, chapters by Niketas Stethatos and others, and No. 315 – excerpts from Anastasios of Sinai, Athanasios of Alexandria, Ephrem the Syrian, Makarios of Egypt, and others. The manuscripts of Serbian provenance from Hilandar obviously follow the tradition of ascetic miscellanies – No. 28 is probably the most distinguished example, written by a highly educated scribe, containing works of Diadochos of Photike, Philotheos Monachos, Symeon the New Theologian, Niketas Stethatos, *Stosloveti* of Genadios with accompanying short florilegia, chapters of Thalassios the Libyan, the treatises of Gregory of Sinai, the chapters of Maximos the Confessor, as well as of Hesychios of Jerusalem to Theodoulos. The miscellanies from Hilandar No. 456 and No. 468 are also included in the group, with works belonging to Gregory of Sinai, Symeon the New Theologian, the chapters of Maximos the Confessor about love, of Hesychios of Jerusalem to Theodoulos, the “acting” chapters of Theodore of Edessa, Diadochos of Photike, Macarios of Egypt and excerpts from the Paterikon.

This shortlisting makes it clear that the second translation of *De oratione* by Evagrius Ponticos (with the name of Neilos of Ancyra) has been incorporated into a permanent context. M. Scarpa thinks that its formation was completed around

<sup>51</sup> А.А. Турилов, *К истории Тырновского “царского” скриптория XIV в.*, [in:] *Межславянские культурные связи эпохи средневековья и источниковедение истории и культуры славян. Этюды и характеристики*, Москва 2012, p. 318–319, 539 (note 26/1).

<sup>52</sup> К. ИВАНОВА, *Български, сръбски и молдо-влахийски...*, p. 325.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 381.

the middle to the end of the 1360s, Hilferding 47 being quoted as an example together with the closely related National Library in Sofia 672<sup>54</sup>. In his quest for a Greek source of appropriate content, he cites the miscellany quoted by Italian researcher A. Rigo as written in an environment close to Patriarch Kallistos the First: Matsouki Ecclesiae S. Parasceuae (olim monasterii Bylizas 5) of the third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>55</sup> and Mosqu. Synod. 509 (Vladimir 247) of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, written at the Iviron monastery<sup>56</sup>. To this period M. Scarpa adds the Ryapov miscellany No. 80, NL 1036, and now I am adding the newly discovered No. 2 from the State Archives of the Republic of Moldova, from New Neamț monastery. I can hypothesize that the archetype of these three manuscripts may have been written before the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but this is the subject of relevant research.

In Russian 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup>-century tradition, translation B is part of contents of identical type. Interesting cases include the manuscripts with traces of a Middle Bulgarian protograph, in which the discussed work is included together with the text of the Epistles with interpretation (Solov. 116 (91), which is an exception), with the homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza (Solov. 165 (1720)) and the *Scala paradisi* by John Sinaites and homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza (Solov. 167 (1673), 183 (1675)). More examples can be given related to the distribution of translation B, topical from the end of 14<sup>th</sup> through the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century, such as the formation of the ascetic collection called “Glavnik” by Metropolitan Daniel (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century – 1547) who gathered in one book the translations of authors, read and popularized by monks in the era of Hesychasm<sup>57</sup>. An important attestation to the transmission of *De oratione* is its inclusion in the contents of the Great Reading Menaion for February. As T. Chertoritskaya<sup>58</sup> has underscored, on the one hand, the contents for this month as a whole reveals continuity compared with the topical trends in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and on the other – the perception of the works as complex.

<sup>54</sup> М. СКАРПА, *Аскетико-монашеские сборники XIV в.: содержание и среда составления*, Рбг 36.2, 2012, p. 46; ИДЕМ, *Славянские переводы аскетико-монашеских сборников в XIV в.: между Болгарией и Святой горой*, [in:] *Афон и славянский мир. Сборник 3. Материалы международной научной конференции, посвященной 1000-летию присутствия русских на Святой горе. Киев 21–23 мая 2015 г.*, Афон 2016, p. 311–316; ИДЕМ, *Аскетико-монашеские сборники между България и Атон в XIV столетие*, [in:] *Сребърният век. Нови открития*, София 2016, p. 221–227.

<sup>55</sup> Description of the manuscript and bibliography: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/40509/> [26 II 2021].

<sup>56</sup> А. RIGO, *Il monaco, la Chiesa e la liturgia. I Capitoli sulle gerarchie di Gregorio il Sinaita*, Firenze 2005 [= МСОУ, 4], p. XXI–XXIV, XXVI–XXXIII; ИДЕМ, *Callisto I patriarca, I 100 (109) capitoli sulla purezza dell'anima. Introduzione, edizione e traduzione*, B 80, 2010, p. 333–407.

<sup>57</sup> MS 134 (489), 16<sup>th</sup> c., collection of Joseph Volokolamsk Monastery (113), Russian State Library, Moscow. ИОСИФ ИЕРОМ, *Опись рукописей перенесенных из библиотеки Иосифова монастыря в библиотеку Московской духовной академии*, Москва 1882, p. 101–107.

<sup>58</sup> Т.В. ЧЕРТОРИЦКАЯ, *Четъи сборники в составе Великих Миней Четъих митрополита Макария*, ТОДЛ 46, 1993, p. 100–101.

The transmission of *De oratione* turns over a new leaf in the entire account of connections and exchange of translated works, both in initial and new forms, between Tärnovo, Mount Athos, the Balkan literary centres and Russia. The continuity between the ages, on the one hand, and the reconsideration of the genre of didactic “chapters” (κεφάλαια) in the different periods, on the other, are a distinctive accent in the panorama of Orthodox literature. The translated anthologies of rich content are proof of a wide circle of sources used by scribes. The veritable boom of ascetic literature strengthens the ideological and cultural principles in the spiritual life of Orthodox Christians.

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